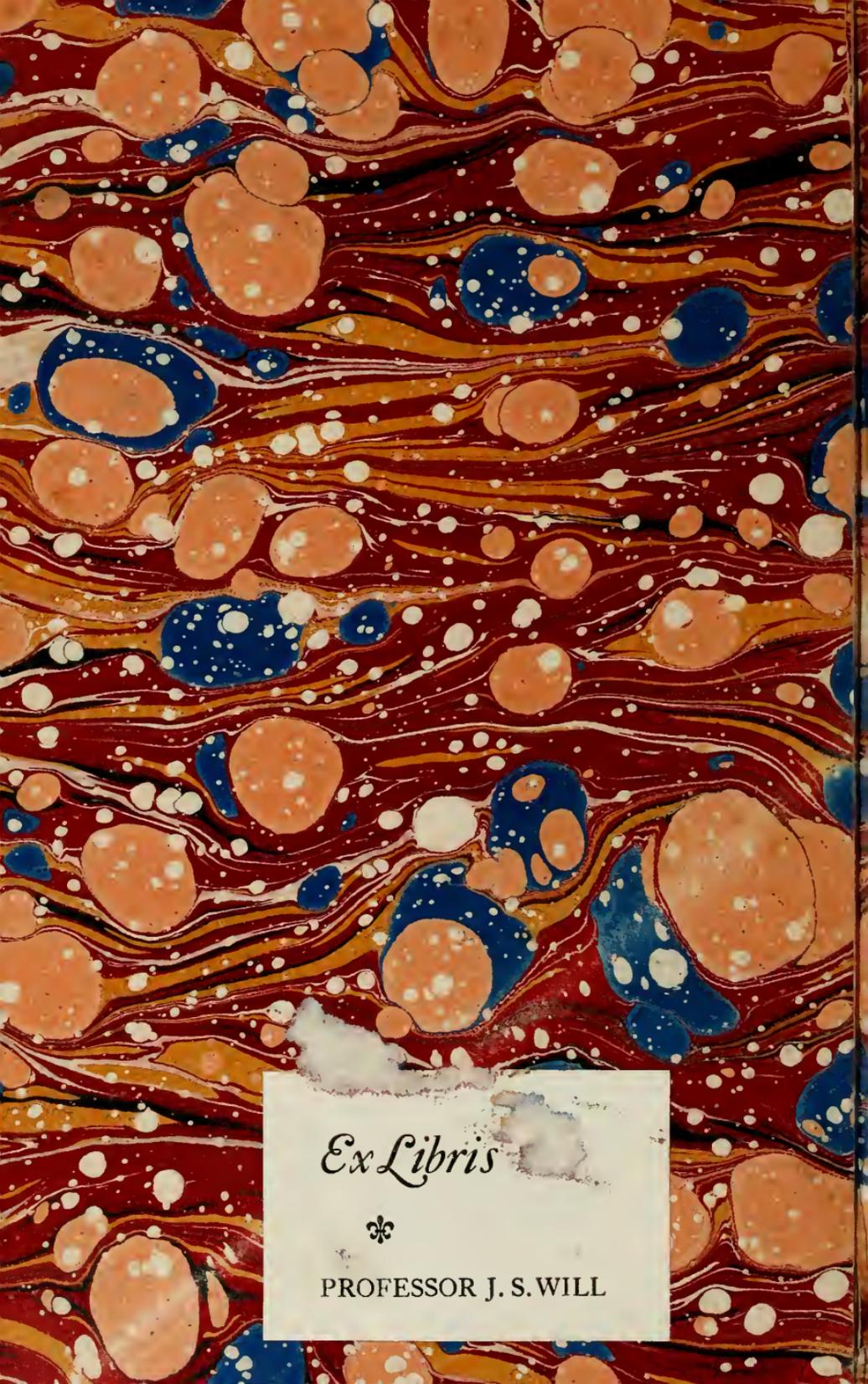


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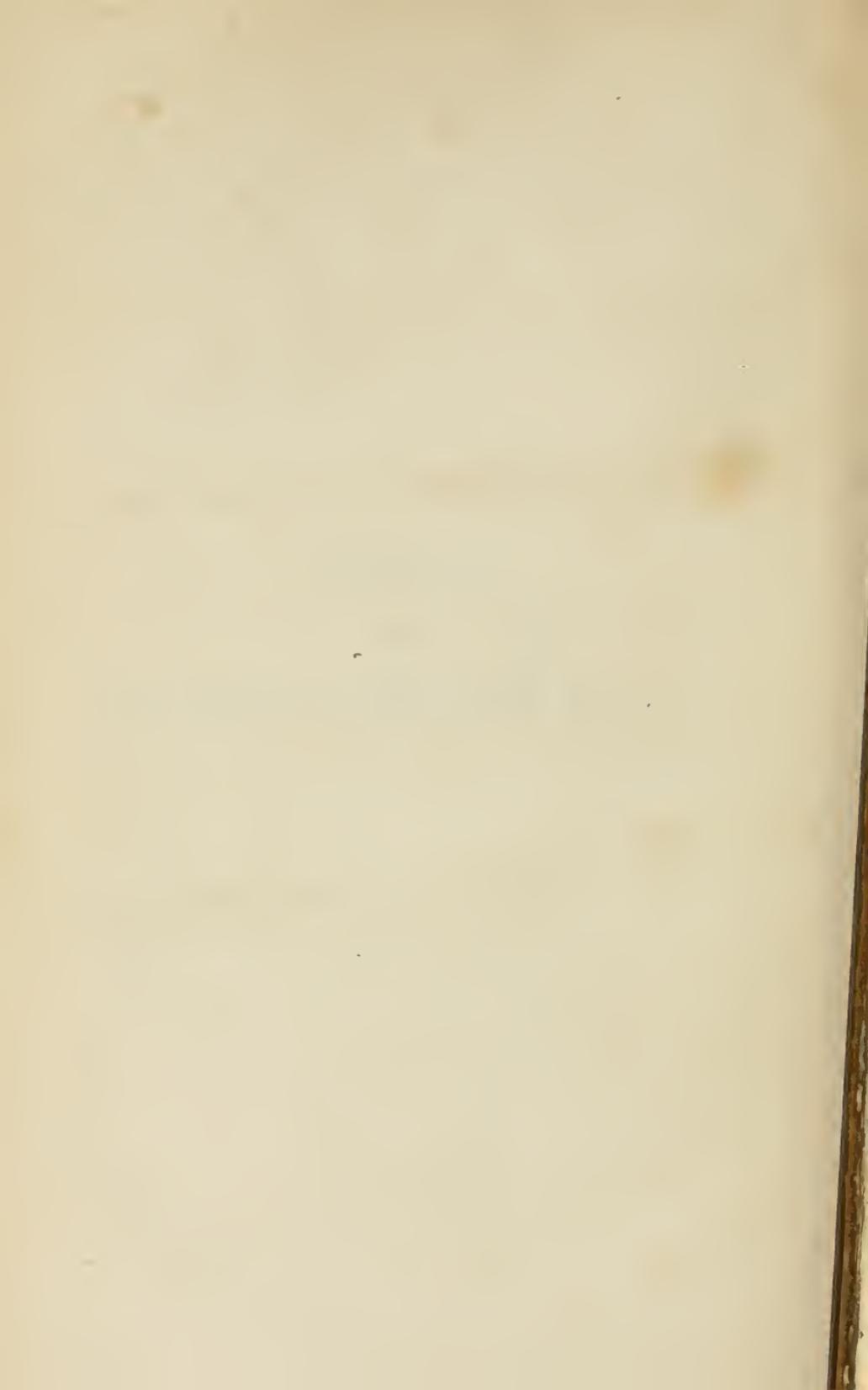


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HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEES

FROM

THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES
TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY

CHARLES WEISS

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE LYCÉE BONAPARTE

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EDINBURGH AND LONDON

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN writing the History of the Protestant Refugees of France, we have no intention of incidentally discussing the religious question that has been for three centuries open between the Church of Rome and the Reformed religion, and of reviving the irritating debate which still divides the most intelligent minds.

Neither do we seek to stir up old resentment against the monarch who was, notwithstanding the fatal error of his reign, one of our greatest kings. Admitting, as an established fact, that Louis XIV. committed an irreparable fault when he signed the revocation of the edict promulgated by his grandfather, and by no means seeking the difficult glory of convincing those who maintain a contrary opinion, we have had in view but a purely historical aim: that of studying the destinies of the three hundred thousand voluntary exiles, who hesitated not to renounce their country for the sake of their God, and whose energetic resolution cannot but inspire a lively sympathy in those who hold the same doctrines, a profound respect in those who profess a different religion, and a painful regret in the breasts of all men who

sincerely love their native land. A law, voted by the Constituent Assembly in 1790, restored the title of French citizens to the descendants of the Refugees, dispersed over the whole world, upon the sole condition of their return to France, and fulfilment of the civic duties imposed upon all Frenchmen. We believe that, in tracing the history of these fugitive bands, we fill in some sort a blank space in our national history, to which we add a new chapter, a little-known episode, full of dramatic interest and of the most serious instruction. A blind panegyric of the conduct of all the emigrants is not to be sought in these pages. It is impossible not to deplore the injury many of them did to France, by bearing arms against her, and rejoicing in her reverses. But is the fault entirely that of men reduced to despair by an odious persecution, and must it not rather be imputed to the advisers of the iniquitous measure which drove them to seek an asylum in countries where their misfortune was commiserated? Do we not also know that exiles of all ages and all countries have never hesitated to cut out by force of arms a road back to their native land? A cruel extremity, which national feeling reproves and human justice condemns, but which man's conscience has never stigmatised as a vulgar crime! We have not sought to disguise this painful aspect of their history. But, that much blame admitted, it has seemed to us that none have the right to treat as aliens the descendants of those victims of past intolerance, and that all will read with

emotion an impartial narrative of the various vicissitudes reserved for them in their banishment.

The establishment of the colonies of French Protestants in Germany, England, Holland, Switzerland, America, and even in Denmark, Sweden, and Russia; the edicts of governments in their favour; the services that they in their turn rendered to the nations that welcomed them, as well in a political point of view as with respect to agriculture, manufactures, trade, literature, and religion; the degree in which they contributed to the greatness, wealth, and liberty of the countries in which they were received; finally, their successive fusion with the races amongst which they dwelt, and the actual condition of their descendants,—such is the outline we have endeavoured to fill in, and within which we have undertaken to include those facts which best depict the fate they underwent and the influence they exercised.

It was not easy to get together the scattered materials of such a work. We were compelled ourselves to visit England, Switzerland, and Holland, to consult the public archives and those of the churches founded at the period of the emigration, to interrogate the most influential of those families who still take pride in their French origin, although they appear definitively lost to the country of their forefathers. In London we found precious documents in the great *depôt* of archives at the Foreign Office, amongst the manuscripts of the British Museum, in the collection of acts and in the correspondence of the French church in Threadneedle Street,

which dates from the reign of Edward VI., and was as the metropolis of the communities formed by the Refugees in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and in the British colonies in America. In Switzerland we found numerous and important documents in the federal archives of Berne; in those of the French colony of the same town, which have been recently transferred to La Neuveville; in those of the Corporation of Lausanne; at Geneva, in the registers of the Council deposited at the Hotel-de-Ville, in the manuscripts of the library where Anthony Court's voluminous correspondence is preserved, and in the archives of the French Bourse. But nowhere have we met with more abundant materials than in Holland, where we have especially consulted the archives of the Hotel-de-Ville, and those of the French churches of Amsterdam; the library at Leyden, which possesses a multitude of pamphlets and newspapers published by the Refugees; the archives of the Hague, which include, amongst other curious documents, the *Secret Resolutions* of the States-general; those of the churches of Rotterdam; and, finally, family papers communicated to us by the surviving descendants of those sacerdotal races in which the pastor's functions have been transmitted hereditarily from father to son for upwards of a century.

To the documents, for the most part unpublished, to which we have had access abroad, we must add those we have collected in Paris. We have made use of the memorials addressed to the government in 1698 by the

intendants of provinces, and of which copies exist in the Imperial Library; of documents relating to the Calvinists, and preserved in the manuscript department of the same library; of papers having reference to the administration of the sequestered property of the Refugees, of which thousands of files have been preserved in the general archives of France; finally, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, we have availed ourselves of the despatches of our ambassadors in England, Holland, Switzerland, and Denmark, during the ten years preceding and following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Special researches concerning the Refugees in Germany, made by our diplomatic agents by order of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, and, previously, by that of General La Hitte, have enabled us to complete on that head the materials furnished us by the *Memoirs of Erman and Réclam*, by the work of Charles Ancillon, and by the works of the Great Frederick.

We seize this opportunity of publicly thanking M. Drouyn de Lhuys for the support he afforded us during his embassy in England, and since he joined the Ministry. We have pleasure also in acknowledging our obligations to the zealous assistance afforded us by the Protestant ministers Martin and Daugars in London; by Mr Panizzi, one of the directors of the British Museum; by M. Edward Mallet at Geneva, M. Anthony de Tillier at Berne, M. Verdeil at Lausanne, Messieurs Kœnen, Brugmans, Mounier, and de Chauffepié at Amsterdam, M. Groen van Prinsterer at the Hague, by M.

Delprat at Rotterdam. At Paris we have been seconded by M. Mignet, who has followed our labours during several years with an interest and solicitude by which we shall always feel honoured; by M. Guizot, who has never ceased to give us advice dictated by his great experience as a writer and a statesman; by Messieurs Villemain and Naudet, whom we have several times consulted with advantage upon questions relating to this subject. Finally, we express our gratitude to the Academy of Moral and Political Science, whose encouragement has sustained us in our efforts, and has been our most precious recompense.

In conclusion, we beg the scattered members of the Refuge¹ whose hands our work may reach, not to spare us their critical observations on those errors of detail we may have committed. We hope, also, that they will allow us to profit by such documents as they may have in their hands, and by the aid of which we will one day endeavour to complete this history.

¹ We are aware that the word Refuge, applied collectively to the whole of the Refugees established in the countries which served them as asylums, is not French. We borrow it from those expatriated writers whom a new situation more than once compelled to coin new words.

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HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEES.

BOOK FIRST.

HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE FROM THE PROMULGATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES BY HENRY IV. TO ITS REVOCATION BY LOUIS XIV.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST PERIOD: FROM 1598 TO 1629—APPRECIATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES : ITS RATIFICATION BY LOUIS XIII. AND LOUIS XIV.—HATRED OF THE OLD LEAGUERS — DISCONTENT OF THE PROTESTANTS — SAYING OF AGRIPPA D'AUBIGNÉ—SYNOD OF GAP—ASSEMBLY OF CHÂTELLERAULT—DEATH OF HENRY IV.—ASSEMBLY OF SAUMUR—DEFINITIVE CONSTITUTION OF THE REFORMED PARTY — CONSISTORIES AND COLLOQUIES — PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL SYNODS — ASSEMBLIES OF CIRCLES — GENERAL ASSEMBLIES—GENERAL DEPUTIES—RISING AGAINST LOUIS XIII.—TREATY OF LOUDUN—EDICT OF 1620—REVOLT IN BÉARN—ILLEGAL ASSEMBLAGE AT LA ROCHELLE—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—SIEGE OF MONTAUBAN—PEACE OF MONTPELLIER—ARMED RISING IN 1625—MEDIATION OF THE KING OF ENGLAND—PACIFICATION OF 1626—CAPTURE OF LA ROCHELLE BY RICHELIEU—TREATY OF ALAIS.

THE history of Protestantism in France, from the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes by Henry IV. in 1598, to the revocation of that edict by Louis XIV. in 1685, may be divided into three principal periods. In the first, which extends from the great religious transaction that marks the close of the civil wars of the sixteenth century, to the taking of La Rochelle in 1629, the Pro-

testants, involved, sometimes by their fault, sometimes by the artifices of the great, in the disturbances which agitated the regency of Mary of Medicis and the first years of the majority of Louis XIII., behold themselves deprived successively of their places of refuge, and of their political organisation, and finally cease to form a State within the State. In the second period, extending from the taking of La Rochelle to the first persecutions by Louis XIV. in 1662, the Protestants no longer form anything more than a religious party, which is gradually abandoned by its most powerful chiefs. They no longer distract France, as their ancestors had done, by incessant armed insurrections, but they enrich her by their industry. In the third period, which comprises the interval between the first persecutions and the revocation of the edict of Nantes, they are excluded from all public employments, assailed in their civil and religious rights, and finally reduced to change their religion or to quit their country.

The edict of Nantes was, properly speaking, but a new confirmation of the various treaties concluded between Catholics and Protestants, but incessantly infringed by the victorious party. It began by an act of oblivion of all past injuries. The sentences pronounced against Protestants, on account of their religion, were annulled, and struck out of the registers of the sovereign courts. Their children, settled abroad, were declared Frenchmen, and invited to re-enter the kingdom. The prisoners amongst them, even those who had been sent to the galleys, were set at liberty. Catholics were permitted the public celebration of their worship in all those provinces where it had been interrupted. Unlimited liberty of conscience was guaranteed to the Protestants; but the public exercise of their worship, formally interdicted at

established at the epoch of the promulgation of the edict, and to those where it had been conceded by the conventions of Fleix and Nérac, even though it had there been since suppressed. The public exercise of the reformed religion was moreover granted to all gentlemen having right of high justice. They were three thousand five hundred in number, and they were entitled to admit the families of their vassals to their religious meetings. To insure impartial justice to the Protestants, the king created in the parliament of Paris, under the name of the Chamber of the Edict, a tribunal composed of a president assisted by sixteen counsellors, and especially charged to judge all causes in which Protestants were concerned, within the jurisdiction of the parliaments of Paris, Rennes, and Rouen. A chamber, composed half of Protestants and half of Catholics, was retained at Castres for the jurisdiction of the parliament of Toulouse, and two others were established within the jurisdictions of the parliaments of Grenoble and Bordeaux, to investigate and judge disputes in which Protestants were concerned as principals. Finally, places of safety were assigned to them for four years, and they kept the political organisation they had given to themselves during the religious wars.

This solemn edict, which marked for France the end of the middle ages and the true commencement of modern times, was sealed with the great seal of green wax, to testify that it was perpetual and irrevocable. It was verified in the most authentic form by all the parliaments, and particularly by that of Paris, and sworn to by all the sovereign courts, by the governors of provinces, the magistrates, and even by the principal inhabitants of towns throughout the kingdom.

Louis XIII., and Louis XIV. himself, solemnly confirmed the edict of Henry IV. On the 22d May 1610, the regent, Mary of Medicis, declared, in the name of the king, then a minor, that he recognised that the observance of this edict had *established an assured repose amongst his subjects*. "For which reason," they made the new king say, "and notwithstanding that this edict be perpetual and irrevocable, and consequently needs not to be confirmed by a new declaration, nevertheless, in order that our above-named subjects be assured of our goodwill, we make known, pronounce, and order that the said Edict of Nantes, in all its points and articles, shall be inviolably kept and observed." His majority attained, Louis XIII. confirmed this declaration at a bed of justice, held on the 1st October 1614, with the formal clause that transgressors against it should be punished as disturbers of the public peace. The following year, when it was proposed to the States-general, in the Chamber of the Nobles, to supplicate the king to preserve the Catholic religion according to the oath taken at his coronation, which required him to expel from his dominions *all heretics denounced by the Church*, Louis XIII. made, the 12th March 1615, a declaration, which is one of the finest monuments of that prince's justice. After protesting his intention of preserving the edicts inviolate, he added "that he experienced very great displeasure at the contention that had arisen amongst the Catholic deputies of the Chamber of the Nobles, . . . ; that all the deputies had declared to him separately, and afterwards conjointly, that they desired the observance of the peace established by the edicts." But what was most remarkable in this act of Louis XIII. was, that he condemned all violence in religious matters, "being persuaded," he said, "by experience of the past, that such means had served but to augment the number of those who had quitted the Church, instead of turning them into the path that would have led them back to it."

A similar declaration was made the 20th July 1616, to confirm Henry IV.'s edict, and to forbid, for the future, the application of the term heretics to the members of the reformed religion. This prohibition was absolutely necessary, that the oath which the French kings took at their coronation, and by which they bound themselves to destroy heretics, might not be in formal contradiction with the new laws of the kingdom.

Anne of Austria followed Louis XIII.'s example. Her declaration of the 8th July 1643, given in the name of the infant king, said that Louis XIV., after taking counsel with the queen his mother, with the Duke of Orleans and the Prince de Condé, ordered that his subjects of the so-called reformed religion should enjoy the free and entire exercise of their faith, conformably with the edict. Similar declarations were repeatedly published from that date up to 1682. The most important is that of the 21st May 1652, the honour of which belongs to Mazarine. The king, recalling his own engagements and the example of his predecessors, solemnly confirmed the edict, "Inasmuch," he said, "as the said subjects have given him certain proofs of their affection and fidelity, notably in the present occasions, with which he remains well satisfied."¹

Henry IV., when he signed the Edict of Nantes, broke, in a signal manner, with the traditions of the middle ages. He would be content with nothing less than the concession to the Protestants of all the civil and religious rights which the intolerance of their adversaries denied them, and insisted on placing them on a footing of entire equality with the dominant party. For the first time, civil power in France rose boldly above religious parties, and laid down limits which they could no longer, without violating the laws of the state, venture to overstep.

A policy so novel could not fail to excite the clamours

¹ *Memoir on the State of the Reformed Religion in France*: the Hague, 1712. British Museum.

of extreme partisans, and to provoke the hatred of factions, who never think they have anything unless they possess all. The remembrance of forty years of civil war was not yet effaced. The old leaguers, the *Catholiques à gros grains*,¹ did not credit Henry IV.'s sincerity. They attributed the concessions he had made to the Protestants to the secret attachment he still cherished to their doctrine. Thus to insure a legal existence, and to give guarantees to heretics—to men excommunicated and damned in this world and the next—to place them on the same line with the orthodox! these were acts which they could not approve, and which in their eyes were but proofs of manifest treason, or, at the least, of blamable indifference. But, independently of religious fanaticism, interest would have sufficed to raise the Catholic party against Henry IV.'s edict. The clergy feared the diminution of their revenues and authority, if the new doctrines were recognised by the state and continued to make progress. The parliaments, on their part, complained of the edict as an infringement on their rights. They long refused to recognise it, and yielded only to the formally-expressed will of the sovereign. "I have made the edict," said Henry IV. to the members of the parliament of Paris, "and I will have it observed. My will ought to suffice as a reason. In an obedient State, reasons are never demanded of the sovereign. I am king; I speak to you as king, and I will be obeyed." At the assembly of the clergy, which exhorted him to do his duty, he replied that he exhorted them to do the same, adding, with his feigned Gascon simplicity, "My predecessors have given you fine words; but I, with my grey jerkin, I will give you good results. I am all grey without, but all gold within."²

The Protestants were hardly better satisfied. When the Spaniards surprised Amiens, several of their chiefs

¹ The name given to the most ardent Catholics.

² *The Government of Louis XIV. from 1683 to 1689*, by M. Pierre Clement, p. 91.

showed small alacrity in taking arms. They kept aloof from the king since his conversion. Duplessis-Mornay no longer showed himself at court. Some days after Châtel's attempt upon the king's life, Henry received in his palace his old companion in arms, Agrippa d'Aubigné, whom he now rarely saw ; and when he showed him his lip, pierced by the assassin's dagger, the Huguenot gentleman could not restrain his satirical tongue. "Sire," he said, "hitherto you have denied God but with your lips, and God has been contented with piercing your lips ; but when you shall deny him with your heart, then shall God pierce your heart." The Protestant assemblies resounded with complaints and recriminations against the apostate monarch. The most ardent talked of again having recourse to arms. Henry IV. was informed of their proceedings. "I have not yet spoken to you of your assemblies," he one day said to d'Aubigné, "where you were near spoiling all, for you were in earnest. . . . I had got the principal heads of the party in my interests, and you were few who laboured in the common cause. The greater part of your people thought of their private advantage, and to earn my good graces at your cost. That is so true that I can boast that a man amongst you, of one of the best families in France, cost me but five hundred crowns to serve me as spy upon you and to betray you." ¹

Many of the principal chiefs of the nobility had abandoned the Calvinist party. The ministers who succeeded them, and who were thenceforward to be its most energetic representatives, lent to their deliberations that theological asperity from which priests of all religions have so great difficulty in abstaining. In a synod held at Gap in 1603, after fruitless efforts to effect a fusion between the partisans of Luther and of Calvin, they agreed

¹ *Mémoires d'Agrippa d'Aubigné*, vol. i. p. 149-150 : Amsterdam edition, 1731.

only in solemnly declaring that the Pope was Anti-christ, and this declaration was added to the Confession of Faith of the Protestant party. It was uselessly wounding the Catholics, in the midst of whom they lived, and rendering more arduous the mission of the king, who protected them. Henry IV. did not the less maintain their religious and political assemblies. He deemed them necessary for their safety ; but he kept away from them, at any cost, the chiefs of the nobility, the Rohans, the Bouillons, the La Tremouilles, the Lesdiguières, the La Forces, the Châtillons, whose ambitious plots he feared. The fortresses he left in their hands gave him less uneasiness. He did not hesitate to grant to the assembly of Châtellerault, met together in 1605, a four years' prolongation of the term fixed for the restitution of the towns in which they kept garrison. Thanks to these skilful and cautious combinations, peace was maintained in the kingdom. The honour of its maintenance belonged entirely to Henry IV. The Protestants ended by becoming reconciled to a prince who at least assured them religious liberty. In his *Universal History*, dedicated to posterity, d'Aubigné renders justice to the great king, whom he had more than once offended by his rough repartees. "We take," he says, "a prince out of a cradle encurtained with thorns, armed and studded with them altogether, like a flower that has long languished in a thicket of nettles and serpents. His dawn beheld the sun but through the clouds that drowned it. His noon has been terrible with thunder and unceasing storms. His serener evening has given us leisure to suspend our wet garments before the altar of the God of peace. As to the night which has closed his eyes in a manner as little ordinary as was his whole life, we leave it under a veil, until the time comes to speak of it." ¹

The assassination of Henry IV. spread alarm amongst

¹ Agrippa d'Aubigné ; *Universal History*—Preface.

the Protestants. Ill contented with the confirmation of the edict of Nantes by Mary de Medicis, they demanded and obtained authorisation to convoke their general assembly at Châtellerault. The dukes of Rohan, Soubise, Sully, La Tremouille, the Seigneurs of Châtillon, the La Forces, the Duplessis-Mornay, repaired to this assembly, which was soon transferred to Saumur. But, with most of the chiefs of the nobility, ambition and the spirit of intrigue predominated over religious zeal. The Duke de Bouillon wished to enter the ministry ; to this end he exerted himself to give the court the most exalted idea of the power of the Protestants. At the same time, he wished to appear their chief, by having himself named president of their assembly. But his interested views were seen through, and Duplessis was elected. Then, changing his tactics, he endeavoured to persuade his party to give up all their places of safety,¹ to place themselves entirely at the discretion of the regent. He concluded by affected praises of the glory they would acquire by thus voluntarily exposing themselves to martyrdom. "Yes, sir," replied d'Aubigné, "the glory of martyrdom cannot be celebrated by praises too lofty. Immeasurably happy is he who endures for Christ's sake ! To expose himself to martyrdom is a characteristic of a true and good Christian ; but to expose his brethren to it, and to facilitate their arriving at it, is to play the part of a traitor and of an executioner."²

The assembly did not follow the insidious counsels of the Duke de Bouillon. It exerted itself to restore harmony amongst the chiefs of the party, and Mornay drew up the famous *Act of Reconciliation*, which was signed by all the nobles assembled at Saumur, and even by Lesdiguières and Bouillon. Concord re-established, the

¹ Places of refuge or safety—the strongholds the Protestants were allowed to keep, as La Rochelle, &c.

² *Memoirs of Agrippa d'Aubigné*, vol. i. p. 168, 169 : Amsterdam edition, 1731.

assembly organised a system of general defence by dividing Protestant France into eight circles, each having its own council. These councils were to correspond with each other, so that thenceforward it might be easy to direct them all in unison.

The religious and political organisation of the Calvinists was anterior to the edict of Nantes, which modified it but imperfectly ; the assembly of Saumur gave it its last development, and established, in all reality, a representative republic in the bosom of the absolute monarchy.

The religious constitution of the Protestants reposed upon the consistories, the colloquies, the provincial synods, and the national synods.

Every church formed a consistory—that is to say, a little democratic council, composed of ministers, deacons, and elders. It met weekly. At its meetings took place the division of the alms collected in the assembly of the faithful. Faults committed by members of the church were denounced, especially those contrary to ecclesiastical discipline. It was investigated whether the guilty persons were deserving of private exhortation or of public excommunication. In case of disobedience, the delinquent was denounced to the colloquy.

The colloquies met every three months. They were composed of two deputies from each consistory of a certain district, and they decided the affairs which the first council had been unable to terminate. In them were fixed the sums that should be sent to Protestants persecuted for religion's sake. Censure was passed on elders, deacons, aspirants to orders, and ministers, who had gone astray from their duties ; and all members of a consistory who had been guilty of prevarication were dismissed from their functions.

The provincial synods met once a-year. In them each colloquy was represented by two deputies, and all the affairs of the province were discussed. Young clergymen who desired promotion to the ministry were exa-

mined. The rate of payment of the pastors was fixed, according to the amount of the sums received in the general collection made by the consistories. To each parish its minister was assigned, and choice was made of professors of theology.

The general or national synods were convoked every three years, but political circumstances often prevented their meeting. These assemblies were composed of lay and ecclesiastical deputies from all the provinces of the kingdom. They elected the *moderator*, or president, by a plurality of voices. They judged the appeals of the provincial synods. They gave final decisions in questions of dogma and discipline, and the statutes they enacted had force of law in all the churches.¹

The government of the reformed church was, it is here seen, arranged entirely upon the representative system, for it consisted of assemblies subordinate one to the other, and all formed by means of election. The consistories were subject to the colloquies, the colloquies to the provincial synods, the provincial synods to the national synod. The lowest ranks of this hierarchy were in immediate contact with the people. The consistories were composed of pastors and elders named by the people, or at least admitted into those assemblies with the people's publicly-expressed adhesion. The colloquies were formed of deputies named by the consistories; the provincial synods, of deputies named by the colloquies; the national synods, of representatives designated by the provincial synods. In the hands of a minority which was only too frequently oppressed, such a government had necessarily great vigour. Discipline was maintained as a means of union for all the adherents of the reformed religion, as a means of defence against a dominant and jealous church. There was mutual observation and watchfulness; and the measures adopted were rapid and efficacious, because they

¹ French manuscripts in the National Library. Affairs of Calvinism from 1669 to 1788. *Memoir of La Beaumelle*, vol. iii. : Toulouse, 1759.

were susceptible of being carried into instant execution, and always conformable to the general interest of the party.

In the first half of the seventeenth century there were in France eight hundred and six churches, divided into sixteen provinces and sixty-two colloquies.¹ The first province, which comprised Berri, the Orléanais, the Blaisois, the Nivernais, and the Haute Marche, included three colloquies; those of Sancerre, of the Blaisois, of Berri and the Bourbonnais. The second, which was that of Brittany, had but a single colloquy, composed of ten churches. The third, in which were comprised Saintonge, the Angoumois, Aunis, and the Islands, was divided into five colloquies: those of Aunis, of St-Jean-d'Angély, of the Islands, of Saintonge, and of Angoumois. The fourth—Burgundy—contained the four colloquies of Gex, Dijon, Chalons, and Lyons. The fifth—Lower Languedoc—was divided into three colloquies: Nismes, Uzès, and Montpellier. The sixth—Poitou—consisted of the three colloquies of Upper Languedoc, Central Poitou, and Lower Poitou. The seventh, made up of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, had three colloquies, bearing those three names. The eighth, comprising the Vivarais, Forez, and Vélay, had but a single colloquy. The ninth, containing the churches of Béarn, was divided into six colloquies: viz., Sauveterre, Orthez, Pau, Oleron, Nai, Vibil. The tenth—the Provençal churches—had but one colloquy. The eleventh, including the Cevennes, was divided into three colloquies: Anduze, Sauve, and St Germain. The twelfth was Lower Guienne, which reckoned the five colloquies of the Lower Agénois, of the Condomois, of the Upper Agénois, Perigord, and Limousin. The thirteenth—Dauphiné—had the eight colloquies of the Gapensois, Diois, Viennois, Val-Luçon, Grésivaudan, Valentinois,

¹ We take this estimate from the catalogue produced in the national synod held at Alençon in 1637. See Aymon, *Synodes nationaux des églises réformées de France*, vol. i. p. 291, 306: the Hague, 1710.

of the Baronies, and of the Embrunois. The fourteenth—Normandy—comprehended six colloquies: Rouen, Caux, Caen, Cotentin, Alençon, Falaise. The fifteenth—Upper Languedoc and Lower Guienne—was of seven colloquies: Lower Querey, Upper Querey, the Albigeois, Armagnac, the Rouergue, the Lauraguais, and Foix. Finally, the sixteenth, which was that of the Isle of France, was divided into four colloquies: Paris, Picardy, Champagne, and the Chartrain district. The national synods, which were the councils-general of the Calvinist church, assembled twenty-nine times in the period of one century. The first washeld at Paris, in 1559; the last, at Loudun, in 1659.

The political constitution of the Protestants was, like their religious constitution, democratic and representative. Its bases were *provincial councils*, *circular assemblies*, and *general assemblies*.

The provincial councils were composed of the notables of each province, charged to watch over the maintenance of the rights and privileges granted to the party. They looked into complaints preferred by those of their religion, and transmitted their succinct exposition to the *deputies-general* charged to obtain from the king redress of their grievances. The provincial councils were anterior to the assembly of Saumur, but their regular meetings dated only from that epoch, and subsisted, notwithstanding the opposition of the court, until the taking of La Rochelle. The *circles* established by that assembly in 1611, on the model of those of Germany, were each composed of several provinces. The name of *circular assembly* was given to the meeting of the delegates from the *provincial councils*. Any province of the circle had a right to convoke it, when danger menaced one or several churches, or the generality of the churches of France and Béarn. Did the danger become too pressing, the *assemblage of circles*, intruding upon the royal prerogative, took upon itself to convoke a general political assembly.

The *general assemblies* were held in a somewhat irregular manner. They were preceded, and sometimes succeeded, by provincial political assemblies. In the first case, these named the deputies of the future general assembly, and digested the documents that were to be submitted to its deliberations. In the second case, they received a report on the decisions adopted. The edict of Nantes permitted these *general assemblies*, but on the express condition that they should be authorised by the king. Without such authorisation they lost their legal character, and were held to be seditious. From the promulgation of Henry IV.'s edict to 1629, nine general assemblies took place. Those convoked in the reign of Henry IV.—at Sainte-Foy in 1601, at Châtellerault in 1605, at Jargeau in 1608—were licit and regular. So was that of Saumur under Louis XIII.; but those of La Rochelle in 1617, of Orthez and of La Rochelle in 1618 and 1619, and especially that of La Rochelle in 1620, were irregular and illegal. The last degenerated into a revolutionary assembly, and gave the signal of that civil war which cost the Protestants all their political liberties.

In principle, the *general assemblies* had but one well-defined object—it was the election of the deputies-general, and, subsequently, the designation of six candidates to the general deputation, from which the king selected two commissioners of the reformed religion to be present near his person in the interval between the sessions; but, in fact, their functions extended to all things that concerned the party. As long as Henry IV. lived, they did not overstep the restricted circle allotted to them; but under the reign of Louis XIII. they constituted themselves sovereign assemblies—following the example of the Dutch States-general—and provoked disturbances and rebellion.

Such was the formidable organisation given to the

Protestant party by the assembly of Saumur, and which subsisted until the taking of La Rochelle.

So much boldness alarmed the court, already bound by its treaties with Spain, which the Protestants considered a culpable deviation from the policy of the fourth Henry. The double marriage of Louis XIII. with Anne of Austria, and of a prince of the Asturias with a daughter of France, was not less odious to the Prince of Condé, who aspired to govern the kingdom during the young king's minority. He took advantage of the discontent of the Protestants to lead them to revolt. At first the movement had rather a feudal than a religious character; but when the Duke of Rohan had raised the ardent population of the Cevennes, the general assembly of the Protestant deputies transferred itself, of its own accord, from Grenoble, where Lesdiguières held it in a sort of captivity, to Nismes, where it no longer hesitated to uplift its voice for war. Thus were Protestants and Catholics about again to meet upon the battle-field, as in the days of the third Henry and of the ninth Charles.

It was at the time when the young king was to proceed to Bordeaux to marry Anne of Austria. He set out escorted by an army commanded by the Duke of Guise, who had been named lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Then was once more seen the strange sight of a king of France travelling in his own kingdom at the head of an army, and making his entry into his good towns preceded by artillery with lighted matches. The odium of this rested upon the Protestants, who had unnecessarily allied themselves with a factious nobility. There were grounds for accusing them of being always ready to second the enemies of the State; and doubtless it was from that date that their ruin was resolved upon.

But, before overwhelming, it was necessary to divide them. The union of their chiefs was only apparent. With the exception of Soubise and Rohan, they thought

more of their private interests than of those of the party. The queen-regent took advantage of their mood. She sowed jealousies amongst them, and drew them towards her by the bait of rewards. The defection of Condé led to the treaty of Loudun, and France once more enjoyed internal peace (1616).

During the four following years, the government, which had passed from Concini into the hands of Albert de Luynes, prepared to deprive the Protestants of that formidable political organisation which had permitted them to brave with impunity the royal authority. The whole kingdom resounded with passionate preachings, which excited against them both the inhabitants of towns and the rural population. At Lyons, at Moulins, at Dijon, at Bourges, a misled multitude invaded their cemeteries, disinterred their dead, burned their temples, drove away their ministers; and for none of these outrages could they obtain justice. What finally soured them was the edict of 1620, which united Béarn to the crown, re-established the Catholic religion in the ancient kingdom of Jeanne d'Albret, and ordered the restitution of the ecclesiastical property of which the Protestants had taken possession. In vain did the parliament of Pau protest against this edict. Louis XIII. declared he would himself go and have it registered, and that he would let himself be stopped neither by the advanced season, nor by the poverty of the Landes, nor by the ruggedness of the mountains. He kept his word; and after having completely changed the organisation of that province, so long the hotbed of Protestantism in the south, he returned to Paris, where the people greeted him with cries of joy.

But the submission of Béarn was only apparent. The king had no sooner quitted it than the Marquis de la Force, to whom he had left the government of the provinces, openly encouraged those of the reformed religion

to resume their sacred edifices and the ecclesiastical property they had secularised. At the same time the town of La Rochelle convoked within its walls a general assembly of the Protestant deputies. This assembly, convoked without the king's sanction, was illegal. The most eminent chiefs of the party—the Duke of Bouillon, Sully, and above all Duplessis—made useless efforts to retain the Protestants within legal limits. “Were I in a state to be carried to the Louvre,” cried the Duke of Bouillon, then ill at Sedan, “I would drag myself, all crippled as I am, to the king's feet, and would ask him pardon for the assembly.” These wise counsels were rejected. The burgesses and ministers who had assumed the direction of the party gave themselves blindly up to the maddest hopes. The more violent they were, the more they were applauded. They had faith in their own strength; and upon the 10th May 1621 the assembly dared to publish a declaration of independence, which destroyed the unity of the kingdom, and gave the signal for civil war. Disposing at its own will of powerful men, some of whom were nowise disposed to obey it, this assembly allotted to the Duke of Bouillon the command of the Protestants in Normandy, the Isle of France, and the other northern provinces of the kingdom; at the same time it conferred upon him, as first marshal of France, the general command of the reformed troops. To old Lesdiguières, who was on the point of abjuring, was given the command of Burgundy, Provence, and Dauphiné. The Duke de la Tremouille was appointed to the Angoumois, Saintonge, and the Islands. To the Marquis of Châtillon the assembly assigned lower Languedoc, the Cevennes, and the Gévaudan; to old La Force, Guienne; to his eldest son, Béarn. The Viscount de Favas was named *admiral of the seas for the cause of the reformed religion*. The Seigneur de Saint Blancard, Jacques de Gautier, received the dignity of admiral of

the Levant, with the command of a little squadron which was to combat that of Aigues-Mortes. All these chiefs were agreed to resist the royal authority, so long as it was lessened in the hands of a favourite ; but it was easy to foresee that they would not persist to the end, when once royalty had recovered its ancient prestige. In reality, the assembly found absolute devotedness only in the Dukes of Rohan and Soubise, the first of whom received the command of upper Guienne and upper Languedoc ; the second, of Brittany and Poitou.¹ To meet the expenses of the civil war, it ordered the seizure of all the ecclesiastical revenues, and the collection of all the king's taxes, excise duties, &c. It confirmed in their places only those judicial and financial officers who professed the reformed religion, and ordered the payment of the Protestant ministers to be guaranteed out of the most assured of the church's revenues. It was an open proclamation of a Protestant republic, upon the model of that of the United Provinces ; it was elevating La Rochelle to the rank of a second Amsterdam, and giving the signal for a fatal war, which might bring about the dismemberment of the kingdom, and which was not justified by the amount of oppression endured.

All France was indignant. The king, strong in the public support, resolved at once to take arms, and to direct the war in person. After taking Saumur from Duplessis, and receiving the submission of all the towns of Poitou, he laid siege to St-Jean-d'Angély, in which the Duke de Soubise had shut himself up. The defence was prolonged for twenty-two days ; and the place surrendered only when the royal artillery had made a breach in the ramparts. Louis XIII. destroyed the fortifications, filled up the ditches, and decreed the forfeiture of all the privileges of the inhabitants. Then he marched

¹ *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des réfugiés français dans les Etats du Roi*, by Erman et Réclam, vol. ii. p. 78-87 : Berlin, 1784.

upon Montauban, where the Marquis de la Force and the Duke de Rohan had got together the most audacious and deeply-compromised of the Huguenots. At the beginning of the siege, the Duke de Mayenne was mortally wounded by a ball. The news of this misfortune everywhere excited the most lively grief; the furious passions of the days of the League seemed to revive. At Paris the populace burned the temple of Charenton, and massacred the Protestants returning from their prayers. Montauban, however, resisted all attacks. Winter approached; disease daily thinned the ranks of the royal army. It was found necessary to raise the siege, and to sign a truce, which was called the peace of Montpellier (1621). The exercise of the two religions was re-established in all places where it had been interrupted; but the Protestants had to discontinue their political assemblies, to content themselves with their religious meetings—thenceforward invested with power to designate the deputies-general—and to deliver up their strongholds, with the exception of La Rochelle and Montauban. The king promised, however, not to garrison Montpellier, nor to construct a citadel to keep the town in check, and to demolish Fort Louis, recently built at the gates of La Rochelle.

These last conditions were not observed. The garrison of Montpellier was reinforced, and the foundations of a citadel were laid. Fort Louis, which the Count de Soissons had built at a thousand paces from the gate of La Rochelle, was daily strengthened by formidable works. The defection of Lesdiguières having replaced Dauphiné in the monarch's power, he dismissed all Protestant governors of fortresses, and replaced them by Catholics. In the other provinces the Protestants remained exposed to the hatred of governors, military commandants, priests, and populace. All their remonstrances were met with the disdainful reply: His majesty makes no contracts with his subjects, and least of all with heretics and rebels.

The struggle with Spain, in which France had just embarked, appeared to the Dukes de Rohan and de Soubise to afford a favourable opportunity of action. They again took up arms, in hopes of recovering for their party its political assemblies, its cities of refuge, its military organisation, and all the advantages it had lost by the pacification of Montpellier (1625). Whilst Soubise seized the island of Ré, in order to raise the blockade of La Rochelle, Rohan convoked at Castres an assemblage of the churches of Languedoc, and had himself appointed general. The effect of these steps was greatly to embarrass Louis XIII., whose arms were then triumphant in Italy ; to strengthen the house of Austria, and occasion cruel prejudice to the cause of Protestantism in Germany ; to raise to the utmost pitch the king's just anger, and to afford a decisive argument to those who sought the annihilation of the Protestant party. This party itself was not decided to recommence unnecessarily an unequal struggle. Its former chiefs, superior in skill and foresight, Duplessis-Mornay and the Duke de Bouillon, would perhaps have withheld it from so doing, but both were dead. The La Forces, the Châtillons, the La Tremouilles, the new Duke de Bouillon, had attached themselves to the court. Most of the towns in the south sent word to Rohan that they would not take part in the revolt. Force had to be employed to raise Montauban, Nismes, Béziers, and the Cevennes.

Once more civil war covered France with ruins. It was at first concentrated around Castres and Montauban ; and such was the exasperation of the royal troops, that soon, in all the environs of those towns, there remained neither corn nor fruit-trees, vines nor houses. Everything had been burned. At the same time Soubise kept the sea with a formidable fleet, equipped by the people of La Rochelle, landed on the coasts of Guienne, and ravaged that country with the utmost barbarity. His cruelties occasioned popular outbreaks at Toulouse and

Bordeaux. All the Protestants who could be got at in those two towns were pitilessly massacred. Louis XIII. had no fleet to oppose to that of Soubise ; but the Dutch and English, his allies, supplied him with vessels, which were manned by Frenchmen. Attacked in the roadstead of Saint-Martin-de-Ré, Soubise lost a part of his squadron, and fled to England with those ships that escaped.

Upon this occasion the English loudly manifested their aversion for Charles I., whom they accused of supplying arms to a Catholic king, to aid him in oppressing his Protestant subjects. The Dutch testified the same dislike to the policy of their government. Richelieu, who had just given to France an impulse at once so firm and so national, conceived a deep resentment against the Huguenots. He reproached them with having rendered a service to the Spaniard, at the same time that they indisposed the English and Dutch towards him. To get out of his difficulty, he took a decisive resolution : this was to treat with all his enemies, and to take advantage of peace to complete their ruin, after which he might resume the prosecution of his projects against the house of Austria. The Protestants agreed to a treaty, which was signed in 1626, by the mediation of the King of England. This prince determined the Rochellese to accept the conditions offered to them, declaring that he guaranteed their faithful observance. Whilst Richelieu thus consented to *scandalise the world*, and to let himself be called, in the satires of the day, the *Cardinal of La Rochelle, Pontiff of Calvinists, and Patriarch of Atheists*, he actively pursued his negotiations with Spain, and terminated the war of the Valteline by the treaty of Monçon. Thus did France recover the free disposal of all her forces, and then he no longer hesitated to declare himself openly against the Huguenots. The capture of Ré by the Duke of Buckingham, whom the King of England sent to the assistance of La Rochelle, did not weaken his resolution. Preparations terminated, he put himself at the head of

his army, and went in person, having the king under his orders, to besiege this citadel of the reformed religion. The good wishes of all France accompanied him. When Malherbe addressed these lines to Louis XIII.—

“ Done un nouveau labeur à tes armes s’apprête ;
 Prends ta foudre, Louis, et va comme un lion,
 Donner le dernier coup à la dernière tête
 De la rebellion,”

he expressed very truly the idea of the whole nation, which felt, with Richelieu, that the annihilation of the Protestant party, as a political party, was essential to the welfare of France. La Rochelle fell, notwithstanding the equivocal support of the King of England, to whose prestige this check gave an irreparable blow. The masculine courage of the Duchess of Rohan, the devotedness of the mayor Guiton, the heroism of the inhabitants, all had to yield to the cardinal’s genius. This town, which since 1568 had been truly an independent and sovereign republic, was replaced under the king’s authority ; and although the siege cost forty millions, Louis XIV.’s minister did not hold his victory too dearly bought, even at that price. It terminated the war. The Protestants, it is true, were not yet completely subjugated : the Duke de Rohan still kept the field in Languedoc with a small army ; but he felt that a prolongation of the struggle could only bring about the entire ruin of his party, and that peace was henceforward his sole refuge. The treaty of Alais, concluded in 1629, definitively terminated the religious wars. The Calvinists were pardoned upon the sole condition of laying down their arms and swearing fidelity to the king. Richelieu guaranteed to them the free exercise of their religion, maintained their religious organisation, their synods, their deputies-general. But he demolished their strong places, interdicted for ever their political assemblies, and completely annulled them as a body in the state.

CHAPTER II.

SECOND PERIOD, FROM 1629 TO 1662—APPRECIATION OF THE EDICT OF PARDON—POLICY OF RICHELIEU WITH RESPECT TO THE PROTESTANTS—IMPULSE OF THEIR AGRICULTURE—DEVELOPMENT OF THEIR MARITIME TRADE—SUPERIORITY OF THEIR MANUFACTURES—PROTESTANT LITERATURE—VALENTINE COURART—CLERICAL ELOQUENCE—LUSTRE OF THE CHARENTON PULPIT—PROVINCIAL PREACHERS—PROTESTANT UNIVERSITIES—SERVICES OF THE PROTESTANTS IN THE FRENCH ARMIES—GASSION, GUÉBRIANT, RANTZAU, LA FORCE, ROHAN, CHÂTILLON, TURENNE, SCHOMBERG, DUQUESNE—SUCCESSIVE DEFECTION OF THE NOBILITY—CONDUCT OF THE PROTESTANTS DURING THE TROUBLES OF THE FRONDE—POLICY OF MAZARIN—EARLY POLICY OF LOUIS XIV.—LETTERS OF MADAME DE MAINTENON.

CHANCELLOR DE L'HÔPITAL under Charles IX., President de Thou under Henry IV., Cardinal Richelieu under Louis XIII., had attached their names to the three edicts promulgated in 1562, 1598, 1629, and which regulated in turn the condition of the Protestants in France ; the last, granted to vanquished rebels, received the name of *the Edict of Pardon*. In fact, the government was then strong enough to dare everything : emerged victorious from a formidable crisis, it was sustained by the unanimous support of the Catholics : the most moderate, it is true, did not call for further rigorous measures, because they dreaded popular movements and the breaking out of civil war ; but if they differed from the more zealous as to the employment of the means, they agreed with them as to the end to be attained. All believed that the first duty of the Most Christian King, the eldest son of the church, was to suppress heresy in his dominions ; all regarded the existence of a Protestant party as a permanent danger to the public safety ; all considered the unity of the church as a fundamental principle in religion.

None, either amongst the Catholics, or amongst the Protestants themselves, had as yet put forward the great principle of religious liberty ; no man had as yet uplifted his voice to exempt conscience from the sovereign's domination. Richelieu showed himself, therefore, truly superior to his contemporaries—superior even to the distinguished men who directed the destinies of France during the second half of the seventeenth century—when, after the capture of La Rochelle, he contented himself with overthrowing a political party, whilst he testified the utmost respect for the religious convictions of the vanquished.

The Edict of Pardon was, for the Protestants, the inauguration of a new era. Deprived of their places of refuge, and of their political organisation, gradually excluded from court employments and from almost all civil posts, it was fortunately impossible for them to impoverish themselves by luxury and idleness. Compelled to apply themselves to agriculture, trade, and manufactures, they abundantly compensated themselves for the former restraints. The vast plains they possessed in Béarn and the western provinces were covered with rich harvests. In Languedoc, the cantons peopled by them became the best cultivated and the most fertile, often in spite of the badness of the soil. Thanks to their indefatigable labour, this province, so long devastated by civil war, arose from its ruins. In the mountainous diocese of Alais, which includes the lower Cevennes, the chestnut tree furnished the inhabitants with a ready-made bread, which those pious people compared to the manna with which God satisfied the Israelites in the desert. The Aigoal and the Esperou, the most elevated of that chain of mountains, were covered with forests and pastures, in which their flocks grazed. On the Esperou was remarked a plain enamelled with flowers, and abounding in springs of water, which maintained a fresh vegetation during the summer's most ardent

heat. The inhabitants called it the Hort-Diou, that is to say, the Garden of God. That part of the Vivarais designated Montagne produced corn in such great abundance that it exceeded the wants of the consumers. The diocese of Uzès also yielded corn in abundance, and exquisite oil and wine. In the diocese of Nismes, the valley of Vaunage was celebrated for the richness of its vegetation. The Protestants, who possessed within its limits more than sixty temples, called it Little Canaan. The skilful vine-dressers of Berri restored its former prosperity to that district. Those of the *Pays Messin*¹ became the élite of the population of more than twenty-five villages; the gardeners of the same province brought their art to a degree of perfection previously unknown.

The Protestants who dwelt in towns devoted themselves to manufactures and trade, and displayed an activity, an intelligence, and at the same time an integrity, which perhaps have never been surpassed in any country. In Guienne, they took possession of almost the whole of the wine-trade; in the two governments of Brouage and Oleron, a dozen Protestant families had the monopoly of the trade in salt and wine, which annually amounted to from 1,200,000 to 1,500,000 livres. At Sancerre, by their persevering industry, and by the spirit of order that animated them, the Protestants became, as was admitted by the intendant, superior to the Catholics in numbers, wealth, and consideration. In the *Généralité*² of Alençon, almost all the trade passed through the hands of about four thousand Protestants. Those of Rouen attracted to their town a host of wealthy foreigners, especially Dutch, to the great benefit of the country. Those of Caen resold to English and Dutch merchants the linen and woollen cloths manufactured at Vire, Falaise, and Argentan, thus insuring a rich market to that branch of national manufactures.

¹ The country adjoining Metz, now part of the department of the Moselle.

² A district governed by a general. There is no correct English equivalent.

The important trade that Metz maintained with Germany was almost entirely in the hands of the Huguenots of that department. Accordingly, its governor subsequently recommended, although in vain, to the ministers of Louis XIV., to show them particular attention, much gentleness, and patience, inasmuch, he said, as they hold the trade in their hands, and are the richest of the people. The merchants of Nismes, renowned throughout the south of France, afforded means of subsistence to an infinity of families. "If the Nismes merchants," wrote Bâville (the intendant of the province) in 1699, "are still bad Catholics, at any rate they have not ceased to be very good traders." Elsewhere, in his remarkable report, he said: "Generally speaking, all the new converts are more at their ease, more laborious and more industrious, than the old Catholics of the province."

It was also to the Protestants that France owed the rapid development of its maritime trade at Bordeaux, La Rochelle, and the Norman ports. The English and Dutch had more confidence in them than in the Catholic merchants, and were more willing to open correspondence with them. And the French Protestants deserved their high reputation for commercial probity. Lost, in a manner, amongst a people who regarded them with distrust, unceasingly exposed to calumny, subjected to severe laws, which imperiously compelled them to perpetual self-watchfulness, they commanded public esteem by the austerity of their morals, and by their irreproachable integrity. By the avowal even of their enemies, they combined the qualities of the citizen—that is to say, respect for the law, application to their work, attachment to their duties, and the old parsimony and frugality of the burgher classes—with those of the Christian; namely, a strong love of their religion, a manifest desire to conform their conduct to their conscience, a constant fear of the judgments of God.

In high repute for their intelligence and commercial activity, they were no less so for their manufactures. More inclined to toil than the Catholics, because they could become their equals only through superiority of workmanship, they were further stimulated and seconded by the principles of their religion. These principles tended incessantly to instruct and enlighten them, by leading them to faith only by the path of examination. Thence the superior enlightenment necessarily found in their modes of action, and which rendered their minds more capable of seizing all the ideas whose application might contribute to their wellbeing. Their own manufactures were further augmented and brought to perfection by the knowledge they had of foreign manufactures. Most of them, when young, visited Protestant countries, French Switzerland, Holland, England; and, whilst extending the sphere of their knowledge, they gave to their minds that suppleness essential to the development of manufacturing industry. It must be added that the working year of the Protestants consisted of 310 days, because they dedicated to repose only the fifty-two Sundays and a few solemn festivals, which gave to their industry the superiority of one-sixth over that of the Catholics, whose working year was but of 260 days, because they devoted more than 105 to repose.

The system of united manufactures, afterwards so much encouraged by Colbert, was generally adopted by the Protestants. These establishments, organised on the principle of the division of labour, directed by skilful chiefs who employed thousands of workmen, stimulating them by the prospect of salaries proportioned to their work, certainly offered the surest and promptest means of obtaining the most perfect, abundant, and economical production. Long since adopted in England and Holland, this system, which France was about to apply for the first time upon a large scale, was particularly advan-

tageous to the Protestants, whose capital enabled them to form and sustain great enterprises. In the provinces of Picardy, Champagne, Normandy, the Isle of France, in Touraine, the Lyonnais, and Languedoc, it was they who created the most important manufactures; and this was made evident by the rapid decline of those manufactures after the revocation of Henry IV.'s edict.

Previous to that fatal measure, France possessed the finest woollen manufactories, and shared with the English, Dutch, and Italians the rich trade in cloth. Those in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné furnished quantities of cloth to the merchants of Marseilles, who exported it to the Levant. Those in Champagne supplied northern Germany. Rheims manufactured woollen stuffs, and fabrics of mingled silk and wool, which were consumed in the Rhine provinces and in Brandenburg. Rheims reckoned upwards of 1200 looms. Rhétel had 80, Mézières 100, which produced woollen stuffs similar to those of Rheims, serges known as London pattern, and woollen serges. The celebrated cloth-manufactory of Abbeville was founded in 1665 by the Van Robais. Those of Elbeuf and Louviers also owed their origin and progress to Protestant families, who established them in 1669. Those of Rouen and Sedan became noted for the beauty of their productions.

The French manufacturers purchased their wools in England and Spain. They also used those of Berri, Languedoc, and Roussillon, the quality of which is not very inferior to that of the wools of those two countries. Moreover, by employing skilled workmen, they made up for the deficiencies of the material by the excellence of the work.

The recent invention of the stocking-loom multiplied the manufactories of woollen, silk, thread, and cotton stockings. The Protestants distinguished themselves no less in this new manufacture, which they extended

especially in the Sedanais, and in Languedoc. A part of this province, the Upper Gévaudan, a mountainous and sterile country, peopled almost entirely by those of the reformed religion, found an unexpected and precious resource in the manufacture of *cadis* and serge. Under this name were designated light stuffs, whose extreme cheapness insured them a market. All the peasants had in their houses looms for their manufacture, at which they passed the whole of the time not devoted to the cultivation of their lands. As the soil is there very ungrateful, this cultivation was soon done; and moreover, the winters being long, and the mountains remaining covered with snow, the inhabitants had, during all that part of the year, no other occupation than that afforded them by their looms. Children only four years of age were taught to spin, and thus entire families were occupied. This manufacture brought in no less than from two to three millions of livres to the Upper Gévaudan. The stuffs were taken to Mende and Saint Léger, and purchased wholesale by merchants, who had them dyed, and who resold them at a large profit in Switzerland, Germany, on the coasts of Italy, at Malta, and in the Levant.

In the Sedanais the manufacture of arms, of implements of husbandry, of scythes, buckles, and, in general, of all kinds of steel and iron articles, had become very considerable. The Protestants had manufactories at Rubécourt, iron-works on the Vrigne, at Pours-Saint-Remy, at Pont-Maugis. Comfort prevailed in that little country, and extended itself from thence to the adjacent districts.

At Montmorency, at Villiers-le-Bel, and in several other parishes¹ of the *généralité* of Paris, the Protestants

¹ The French word *commune* has of late years been adopted in English. It has here been translated as parish, to which it nearly assimilates in meaning. France comprises upwards of 30,000 *communes*, which are its lowest subdivision. A *commune* consists sometimes of several villages, at others of a single town, or of part of a city.

manufactured gold and silver lace, and buttons of silk and metal, which were in request in all the European markets. Colbert was right in saying that the fashions were to France what the mines of Peru were to Spain.

The fine hats of Caudebec found an immense sale in England and Germany. They were manufactured exclusively by Protestant workmen.

The beautiful paper-manufactures in Auvergne and the Angoumois were also in their hands. They had mills at Ambert, at Thiers, at Chamalières, near Clermont. Those at Ambert produced the best paper in Europe. The best printing of Paris, Amsterdam, and London was done upon the Ambert paper. This manufacture supported a great number of families, and brought in every year more than 80,000 crowns. The manufactures of the Angoumois were not less flourishing and famous. Six hundred mills were at work in that province, and its papers rivalled those of Auvergne. The Dutch and English took immense quantities of them, as well for their own use as for that of other countries in the north of Europe. In the *généralité* of Bordeaux, the canton of Casteljaloux, which was almost entirely peopled by Protestants, also possessed several paper-mills, whose products were exported for the use of the Dutch printers.

It was the Protestants who gave to France the magnificent linen-manufactures that so long enriched her north-western provinces. In Normandy, they manufactured linen cloths at Viré, at Falaise, at Argentan, which the Protestants of Caen purchased wholesale to resell to the English. The celebrated Coutance cloths brought in, up to 1664, more than 800,000 livres a-year. In Maine, they had established manufactures of coarse cloths at Mans, Mayenne, and in the election of Château-du-Loir, but the principal manufacture of this province was that of fine cloths at Laval. It had been introduced towards the end of the thirteenth century, by

Flemish workmen who had followed Beatrice, the wife of Guy de Laval. The native workmen had since brought it to perfection by discovering the art of bleaching the cloths. In the time of Louis XIV. it occupied three classes of persons : the wholesale dealers, who purchased the unbleached cloths to have them bleached ; the merchant weavers, who purchased the thread, and sorted it for weft and warp ; the operative weavers, who worked for masters, and sometimes for themselves. Previous to the revocation of the edict of Nantes there were twenty thousand of these latter. In Brittany, where the Protestants were grouped at Rennes, Nantes, and Vitré, their chief branch of manufacture was that of the *noyal* cloths, so called because the first manufactory had been established in the parish of Noyal, two leagues from Rennes, and in eight or ten neighbouring parishes. They were coarse unbleached cloths, adapted for the sails of ships. Before the emigration of the Protestant workmen, the Dutch and English purchased annually between 300,000 and 400,000 livres' worth. At Vitré were made coarse hempen cloths, which were left unbleached. They were manufactured in about thirty parishes around Vitré. The merchants of that town bought them wholesale, and sold them again at St Malo's, Rennes, and Nantes, whence they were exported. The English purchased them for their colonies. They were also taken by Cadiz and Seville merchants, who used them to pack fine goods destined for Mexico or Peru. At St-Paul-de-Léon, at Morlaix, at Landernau, at Brest, were produced bleached cloths, intended chiefly for export. Such was the extent of this manufacture, that the English every year bought at Morlaix 4,500,000 livres' worth of these cloths, a fact verified by the register of the duties they paid for the stamp on their exit from the kingdom.

The tanneries of Touraine were renowned throughout the whole of France. The Protestants had established

more than four hundred in that industrious province. In the towns of Loches and Beaulieu alone they possessed from thirty-five to forty.

The silk manufactures of Tours and Lyons, so flourishing in the middle of the seventeenth century, owed nearly all their splendour to the industry of Protestant workmen. Those of Tours, whose origin had been under the reign of Louis XI., but which owed their development to the protective ministry of Richelieu, produced plain taffetas in sufficient quantity to supply all France, red and violet velvets as brilliant as those of Genoa, silk serges superior to those of any other country, and cloth-of-gold of greater beauty than that which proceeded from Italy. Tours possessed more than 8000 looms for silken stuffs, 700 silk-mills, and employed more than 40,000 workmen and apprentices in winding, preparing, and manufacturing the silk. Ribbon-making alone kept 3000 mills at work in Tours and the adjacent parishes, and the town annually consumed not less than 2400 bales of silk.

The chief products of the Lyons manufactures were black taffetas, and stuffs of silk, gold, and silver, which were sent to Holland. The returns for taffeta alone amounted to 300,000 livres, although only the best qualities were exported. It was from this fastidiousness of the Dutch that the Lyons manufacturers found it answer their purpose better to export to England. Trade with that country was carried on in London, at Plymouth, and at Exeter. Thither were sent especially lutestrings, silken stuffs, gold and silver brocade. Often the Lyonnese sold, at a single fair, more than 200,000 crowns of lute-string, chiefly black, to the agents of the great English houses. These taffetas, more particularly known as English taffetas, and the rich silken stuffs into whose fabric gold and silver entered, were the two articles in which the Lyons manufacturers especially excelled.

As regarded the gold and silver stuffs, it was the genius

of the manufacturer that gave them all their superiority. Elsewhere the work might be as good, and even better; but only the Lyons workmen were capable of inventing, every year—almost every day—new designs which foreigners knew not how to invent, but which they greatly liked, and did their utmost to imitate. At Lyons a good designer often sufficed to make the fortune of a house, and if he conducted himself well, he easily, from being a workman, became a master. The Lyons manufacturers also began to imitate Indian products with such perfection, that the fashion of these stuffs constituted two-thirds of their value. In all these respects Tours was inferior to Lyons; but the manufacturers of Tours surpassed their rivals in the elegance and finish of their small stuffs, and still more in an art of shading colours, to which Lyons could never attain.

Even after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Lyons still received as many as 6000 bales of silk, of which 1400 came from the Levant, and principally from the province of Ghilan in Persia, 1600 from Sicily, 1500 from the remainder of Italy, 300 from Spain, and 1200 from Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. The consumption of this town was then estimated at about 3000 bales; 1500 were sent to Tours, 700 to Paris, 200 to Rouen, as many to Picardy, 500 to other parts of the kingdom. "This estimate," wrote d'Herbigny, the intendant, in 1698, "is a sort of mean rate, higher than the present state of things, but far below what it is said to have been when most flourishing. For it is affirmed that there have been as many as 18,000 looms of stuffs of all kinds working at Lyons, and they calculate that only 6000 are required for the consumption of 2000 bales of silk."

The Protestant part of the French middle classes did not devote itself entirely to commerce and manufactures, but entered the liberal professions. A great number of

adherents of the reformed religion distinguished themselves as physicians, lawyers, and writers, and powerfully contributed to the literary glory of Louis XIV.'s century. A Protestant advocate, Henry Basnage, the learned commentator of the *Coutume de Normandie*, led for fifty years the Rouen bar. All consulted him as an oracle, and the parliament, so hostile to the Huguenots, revered his character and his knowledge. His friend and cotemporary, Lémery, the father of the illustrious chemist, of whose birth within her walls Rouen is to this day proud, fulfilled, in that same parliament, with rare distinction, the duties of *procureur*. The true founder of the French Academy was a Protestant, Valentine Conrart, a careful and elegant writer, whom the most renowned authors went to consult, and who, according to Balzac's expression, dipped his pen in good sense. In the house of this learned and illustrious person were accustomed to meet, as early as the year 1629, a number of literary men, several of whom, such as Gombaud, d'Ablancourt, Pelisson, were Protestants. Those literary meetings inspired Richelieu, whose ideas had a character of grandeur proportionate to the elevation of his genius, with the project of creating the French Academy, of which Conrart drew out the letters-patent, and the regulations of which he drew up in 1635. He was its first secretary, and, notwithstanding his unalterable attachment to the Protestant religion, Richelieu maintained him in that eminent post until his death. The celebrated Madame Dacier, daughter of Tanneguy-Lefèvre, whom that great man honoured with his friendship, was also a Protestant. Another writer, of the same faith, Guy Patin, deserves mention in our annals of learning as a man of letters, a philosopher, and a physician. His was an admirably regulated mind, notwithstanding his proneness to raillery. His letters, full of subtle traits and reflections, and of anecdotes whose truth has been too hastily declared suspicious,

are written without effort or art, and with a familiar simplicity that imparts to them a great charm. Pierre du Moulin was not inferior to the best of our classical prose writers. With more respect for the proprieties and less harshness of character, his style reminded the reader of the great qualities of that of Calvin, whose Institutes of Christianity had supplied France with its first model of a lucid, ingenious, and vehement prose, such as the author of the *Provincial Letters* would not have disowned. Pulpit eloquence especially was indebted to the Protestants for a part of its immense success. Whilst, with the Catholics, sermons were still but an accessory of their worship, they had become the essential part of that of the Huguenots. "They ask but their fill of preaching," said Catherine of Medicis, jestingly, at the time that she still hesitated between the two creeds. Charged to instruct in the religion of the gospel, the Protestant pastors addressed themselves much more to the intelligence than to the imagination, and strove, above all, to convey conviction to the minds of their hearers. Such a ministry required cultivated minds, and forced the preacher to be at once a man of learning, a writer, and an orator. There soon resulted an emulation between the two religions, by which both pulpits profited; and if, at the close of the century, the Catholics bore away the palm—if Bossuet, Massillon, Fléchier, Bourdaloue, Fénelon, were superior to most of the Protestant ministers of their period—it is not less sure that the preachers formed in the school of Calvin, and, more than all the others, Lingende and Senault, prepared in some degree the path these afterwards so successfully and brilliantly followed.

The church of Charenton, which may be considered as that of Paris, constantly had distinguished ministers, whose names would perhaps have become more celebrated had they belonged to the dominant religion: Daillé, reared in the house of Duplessis-Mornay, and concerning

whom Costar the academician, who was a Catholic, wrote to Conrart : " I have read Daillé's sermons, and found them very learned, very eloquent, and very polished ;" Drelincourt, renowned for the popular style of his preaching, as Daillé was for the nobility and dignity of his discourses ; Allix, whose learning, great clearness, and exquisite sobriety of language were highly praised ; Mestrezat, of whom Cardinal de Retz speaks so flatteringly in his Memoirs, and who, for luminous exposition and firm discussion of doctrine, deserves to be compared to Bourdaloue ; Claude, whose genius was unsurpassed save by that of Bossuet, and who, more than all the others, was worthy, by reason of the rare vigour of his mind, by his close logic, and sometimes by his eloquence, of combating at the head of his party. At Montpellier, Michael le Faucheur, a disciple of Théodore de Bèze, had retained something of his master's oratorical style, and was a fair representative of those gentlemen whom d'Aubigné shows to us discoursing *à la vieille Huguenotte*. At Caen, Pierre du Bosc inspired admiration by his solid science, his judicious criticism, his elevated intelligence. At Metz, David Ancillon won all hearts, not less by his irreproachable life, his sincere and unostentatious piety, than by the care with which he considered and composed his sermons. The elegant temple of Quévilly, built near Rouen, and looked upon as the metropolis of the reformed church in Normandy, had, during nearly a hundred years, an unbroken succession of distinguished preachers. Du Feugueray, Lhérondel, de Larroque, long famous, were worthily replaced by de Langle, Legendre, and especially by Jacques Basnage, who published so many learned works which his own century admired, and ours still esteems. He was a son of Henry Basnage, the glory of the Rouen bar.

The synods favoured this literary movement. They voted, out of the funds of which they disposed, rich

endowments for the four Protestant academies of Saumur, Montauban, Nismes, and Sedan. Over these establishments they watched with jealous care, and soon the reputation of the schools spread into foreign countries, so that not only many Dutch preachers, but princes of the house of Brandenburg, went to study there. Joachim Sigismund studied at Sedan, John George at Saumur. Montauban, which in France was the stronghold of the doctrine of Calvin, as, in Germany, Wittemberg was of that of Luther, produced Garissolles, Chamier, Bérault; from that of Saumur, founded by Mornay, came forth Cappel, Amyraut, Saint-Maurice, Desmarets, Tanneguy-Lefèvre; from that of Sedan, Du Rondel, Bayle, Jurieu, Du Moulin. Less celebrated than the three others, the academy of Nismes reckoned, nevertheless, some professors of merit, among whom Samuel Petit holds the first rank.

In all the principal towns of the kingdom the Protestants supported colleges, of which the most flourishing were those of Nismes, Bergerac, Béziers, Die, Caen, Orange. At Paris only they never possessed either college, temple, or academy.

A portion of the Protestant nobility took part in that literary movement which was the purest and most durable glory of Louis XIV.'s century. The Duke of Montausier, the Marquis of Dangeau, the Abbé Dangeau, his brother, had been brought up in the reformed religion; the Basnages belonged to one of the most illustrious families in Normandy; the Counts of Lude, the Saint-Blancards, the Lords of Cerisy, long defended with the pen the great cause which their ancestors had defended with the sword. In most cases, however, old family traditions made the Protestant nobility prefer the military profession. It was to Huguenot gentlemen that France owed several of her greatest victories, under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. Count de Gassion, who was said to have advised the manœuvre to which the Great Condé owed the fortunate

issue of the battle of Rocroy, and who was elevated after that battle, at the request of the young prince, to the rank of marshal, and killed when fighting at the siege of Sens in 1647, was a Protestant, and continued so until his death. Marshal Guébriant, the conqueror of Alsatia—to whom Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar gave, when dying, his valiant sword—the conqueror too at Weissenfels and at Wolfenbittel, who perished gloriously at the siege of Rothweil in 1643; Marshal Rantzau, so devoted, so brave, who received sixty wounds, lost an arm, a leg, and an eye, and preserved entire the heart alone;¹ the Marshal Duke de la Force, who so miraculously escaped from the hands of his father's and brother's assassins on the night of the St Bartholomew, who beat the Spaniards at Carignan, the Duke of Lorraine at Montbéliard, and triumphed alternately in Italy and in Germany, and who, when the cavalry of John de Werth surprised Corbie, and the Croats were at Pontoise, restored confidence to terrified Paris, and hastily enrolled the fifteen thousand porters who saved the capital; the Duke of Rohan, who, condemned to exile in 1629, then restored to the king's favour, conquered the Valteline in 1635, and, again in disgrace, fought as a private volunteer in the army of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and was mortally wounded at the siege of Rhinfeld; Marshal Châtillon, who led Richelieu's armies to victory, on the northern frontier, in the first years which followed the declaration of war against Austria and Spain—the brilliant victor at Avain, the conqueror of Hesdin and Arras: all these illustrious generals, and a host of officers who fought under their orders, belonged to the reformed religion. Is it necessary to name Turenne, one of the greatest tacticians of his century, and Schomberg, heir to his marshal's baton, who, in the words of Madame de Sévigné, was a hero

¹ *Ne conserva d'entier que le cœur.* The full meaning of this happy and historical phrase can hardly be rendered in English.

also? Need we remind the reader of that glorious Duquesne, the conqueror of Ruyter, who beat the Spaniards and English at sea, bombarded Genoa and Algiers, and spread consternation amongst the Barbary pirates? The Mussulmans dared not face the man whom they called the old French captain who had espoused the sea, and whom the angel of death had forgotten.

Nevertheless, the greater part of the nobility did not maintain to the end their attachment to the reformed faith. They had lavished their blood and treasure in defence of their religious conviction, as long as they had been sustained by the dangers of the struggle, and by the obligation they were under to preserve their honour by fidelity to the cause they had embraced. Under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV., the same men who had braved tortures succumbed before the favours of the court. Many doubtless thought—as once had thought the Béarnais—that honours and dignities were well worth a mass. It must be added that the edict of Nantes, by giving a legal constitution to the Protestant party, had naturally placed that party under the direction of its assemblies, in which the clergy had always a preponderant influence. The great nobles whose ancestors had thrown themselves into the party to satisfy that craving for feudal independence which still gnawed at the heart of the nobility, thenceforward felt a less lively attachment to the cause. They were humiliated, as formerly was the Baron des Adrets, to see men of words set above men of action, and were quite disposed to follow his example, and to quit a sect in whose ranks they could thenceforward play but a secondary part. Doubtless they also remembered the harsh words that the Duke de Rohan had been obliged to address to an assembly he presided over in Languedoc, during the civil war which Richelieu terminated. Violently interrupted by some of the most influential of the pastors, a mark for the most passionate attacks and cruel invectives,

the great nobleman, suddenly making himself heard above the tumult, angrily exclaimed: "You are nothing but republicans, and I would rather preside over an assembly of wolves than over an assembly of ministers." Others were sincere in their change, and yielded to the religious reaction so powerful in France at that period. The deserved success obtained by the *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church*, and the celebrated work *On the Perpetuity of the Faith*, which Bossuet and Arnault directed against Calvinism, went a long way towards the conversion of several of the most illustrious families. Besides, the Protestant Church, contrary to its interests, and with a conscientiousness which will always do it honour in the eyes of reason, inclined to admit that salvation might be found in either of the two communions. The minister Jurieu openly supported this doctrine, with that vigorous conviction which he carried into controversial questions. According to Bossuet's expression, he had opened the gates of heaven to those who lived in the communion of the Church of Rome. He had not feared to declare that the contrary opinion was inhuman, cruel, barbarous, and that he considered it an *opinion de bourreau*—an executioner's opinion. Claude, minister at Charenton, who was of a gentler and more conciliatory character than Jurieu, condemned, it is true, this doctrine; but he daily witnessed the losses sustained by his church, and was naturally hostile to a principle so prejudicial to his party. The Catholic Church, on the contrary, was inflexible in its dogma, and hesitated not to deny the hope of eternal life to all who adhered not to its doctrine. In the doubt, many acted upon the principle of adopting the safest side, and joined the dominant party.

Such are the various reasons which decided the majority of the great families successively to abandon the Protestant religion. Old Lesdiguières abjured in 1622, and

was made constable. His daughter, Madame de Crequi, had long been converted, but she kept her change a secret, lest she should lessen her father's credit amongst the Huguenots. The son of Gaspard de Coligny, Charles de Coligny, Marquis of Andelot, abjured the Protestant religion. Marshal Châtillon, son of Francis de Coligny, who had taken refuge at Geneva after the death of his father, the admiral, joined the Church of Rome in 1653. The Duke de la Tremouille, that ancient chief of the nobility of Poitou, nephew of the Prince of Orange and of the Duke de Bouillon, and a pupil of Duplessis-Mornay, made his abjuration in Richelieu's camp, before La Rochelle, in 1628. His wife, a woman of masculine courage, and one of the heroines of the party, seized, it is true, the domestic authority, and had his children brought up in the religion of their ancestors; but his son, Henry Charles de la Tremouille, Prince of Tarentum, after having served for some time in Holland under the Stadtholders, his near relatives, returned to France after his mother's death, attached himself to Turenne, whom he hoped one day to replace, and was converted a year after him. His children were brought up in the Catholic religion. The house of La Rochefoucault reckoned one of its ancestors amongst the victims of the St Bartholomew; nevertheless, a branch of this family abjured as early as Louis XIII.'s reign. Marshal Rantzau went over to Rome in 1645. In the same year Margaret de Rohan, only daughter of the Duke de Rohan, and last heiress of one of the branches of that illustrious family, whose hand her father had intended, it was said, for the Duke of Weimar, in order to unite by such alliance the Lutherans and the Calvinists, married a Catholic, Henry Chabot, Lord of Saint-Aulaye and of Montlieu; and the princes of Rohan-Chabot, on reaching an age to choose, preferred their father's religion, which was that of the king. The Duke de Bouillon, son of the marshal of that name, and

elder brother of Turenne, renounced his religion in 1635, in order to marry the daughter of the Marquis de Berghe, a zealous Catholic, who afterwards contributed to his reverses; which gave occasion to the Protestant writers of the period to say that she had brought him as a dowry the loss of Sedan. Turenne himself abjured before the Archbishop of Paris, in 1668. Marshals Duras and de Lorge, his nephews, followed his example. Their sister, Mademoiselle de Duras, who was tire-woman to the Duchess of Orleans, provoked that celebrated conference between Claude and Bossuet, subsequently to which she became a convert to Rome, in 1678. Louis de Duras, their brother, was sent to England by his mother, a zealous Protestant, who hoped by that means to retain him in his family's religion; but he was not long in getting converted at the court of the Stuarts, who raised him to the highest dignities of the state under the title of Earl of Feversham. The Duke of Montausier, brought up at Sedan under the superintendance of the celebrated minister, Du Moulin, was converted at the Hôtel Rambouillet, by the influence of the pious Julie d'Angennes, whom he subsequently married. The Abbé Dangeau, of the French Academy, was brought back to the Catholic religion by Bossuet, in 1667. The Marquis of Dangeau, his brother, afterwards so celebrated for his talents as a courtier, had abjured in his early youth. The Marquises of Maintenon, Poigny, Montlouet, Entragues, were successively received into the bosom of the Church of Rome.

Almost the whole of the inferior nobility also became converts during the reigns of Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. Most of the gentlemen, long accustomed to follow to the wars those great lords who had influence in their respective provinces, followed them also to court, and solicited employment in the king's service, which was usually given by preference to Catholics. Obligated, moreover, to

serve under chiefs too often animated by feelings of lively hatred towards the Calvinists, excluded from the recently instituted order of St Louis, which became for every officer a mark at once of his creed and of his bravery,¹ almost constantly separated from their families and from the pastors who had instructed them in childhood, unable to consider as destined to eternal damnation those with whom they passed their lives, they readily adopted the doctrine that salvation might be found in either religion, and embraced that which was in the ascendant. It is therefore not to be wondered at that there remained few Protestants amongst the nobility except those who had renounced the service of the state, and the number of these diminished in each successive generation, because very few chose to content themselves with the existence of mere country gentlemen.

The defection of the nobility at least delivered the Protestants from the ambition of the powerful men who had so frequently compromised them by their revolts against the royal authority. The country was now exempt from religious disturbances. Free and tranquil, but without union and without strength, the Huguenots did not suffer themselves to be seduced by any of the factions who endeavoured to struggle against Richelieu and Mazarin. In 1632, the Duke of Montmorency in vain employed every artifice to win over the Protestants of the Cevennes, promising them the restitution of the places of safety of which they had been despoiled by the minister of Louis XIII., and admission to all state-offices, conformably with the edict of Henry IV.; they remained firm and immovable in their fidelity, and contributed to the prompt destruction of the rebels. In 1651, the Prince of Condé, who had large estates and numerous

¹ The order of Military Merit was not instituted until 1759, in favour of the Alsations and of the officers of foreign regiments.

partisans in Languedoc, succeeded no better in his attempts to raise the Cevenols. Whilst the remainder of the province declared for him, after the combat of Miradoux, Montauban afforded a safe retreat to the royal army. The Rochellese supported the party of the queen-regent against their own governor. The town of St-Jean-d'Angély, whose walls had been overthrown, defended itself against the rebel troops. The Protestant population of the southern provinces rose in a body against the Prince of Condé, and kept for the king a part of Languedoc, of Saintonge, and of Guienne. There can be no doubt that had they, instead of thus acting, joined the insurgents, civil war would soon have spread over the whole of France, so that it may be said that the Protestants then contributed to the safety of the state. Accordingly, we find Count d'Harcourt replying to the deputies of Montauban, who reiterated to him the assurance of their devotion to the royal cause: "The crown tottered on the king's head, but you have given it stability." When the Prince of Condé, after accepting the command of a Spanish army, proposed to Cromwell to transport the civil war into Guienne, and to call the Huguenots to arms, the Protector, who still wavered between the alliance of Mazarin and that of Philip IV., secretly sent agents to France to study the real temper of the Protestants, and when he knew that they were satisfied and obedient, he treated the prince's offer as mere folly, and united his forces to those of the minister of Louis XIV., whom he powerfully supported against the King of Spain.¹ A new word, adopted at that time, testified to their loyalty. In those days of internal divisions, when two men could hardly meet without challenging with a "Who goes there?" the Huguenots, whom they wished to compel to cry "Vive

¹ According to Burnet, he said of Condé that he was a fool and a talker, whose own friends sold him to the Cardinal: *Stultus et garrulus et a suis cardinali proditus*.—Burnet's *History of his own Times*, vol. i. p. 113: London, 1725.

les Princes!” or “*Vive la Fronde!*” usually replied, “*Tant s’en faut* (on the contrary, or, very far from that), *Vive le Roi!*” When it was desired to know the opinion of some one, the question was, “Is he of ours?” and the frequent reply, “*Tant s’en faut*, he is a Huguenot.” Little by little, for brevity’s sake, people took the habit of designating by the name *Tant-s’en-faut* every man who was of the king’s party. Mazarin did not ignore the service rendered him by the calm and loyal attitude of the Protestants. “I have not,” he said, “to complain of the little flock; if it feeds upon ill weeds, at any rate it does not stray.” In 1658, he replied to the delegates of the reformed churches that neither his cardinal’s hat nor his character had prevented his remarking their fidelity; and addressing himself to de Langle, minister of Rouen and deputy to the Norman Synod: “The king,” he said, “will make known by deeds the goodwill he bears you; be assured that I speak to you in sincerity of heart.” These were not idle words. Mazarin named commissioners, chosen in equal numbers from the two religions, to visit all the provinces and remedy the infractions of the edict of Nantes by the unintelligent zeal of the local authorities. He did more,—he renewed the frequently violated decisions which exempted Protestant ministers from the *tailles* and other taxes, thus putting them on the same footing as the Catholic clergy. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the bishops, he conferred the office of Comptroller-general of the Finances upon the Protestant banker, Bartholomew Herwart, a Swabian by birth, who had formerly placed his fortune at the disposal of Richelieu, to aid that minister in retaining a body of ten thousand Swedes, who, their pay being in arrear, were about to abandon him at the very moment of the invasion of Alsatia. But for the obstacle of his religion, he would not have hesitated to elevate him to the dignity of Superintendent. The financial department then became

the chief refuge of the Protestants, who had difficulty in making their way into other departments. They were employed in the collection of the taxes, and rendered themselves so necessary that Fouquet and Colbert never ceased to defend and support them, as equally capable and trustworthy. Another nomination proved Mazarin's solicitude for Protestant interests. After the death of the Marquis of Arzilliers, the king, who had already assumed the right of naming the deputies-general without the participation of the reformed churches, which were consulted merely for decency's sake, gave that post, upon his prime minister's recommendation, to the Marquis of Ruvigny, a friend of Turenne's, and singularly esteemed by both parties. "Ruvigny," says the Marquis of St Simon, whose portraits are not suspected of flattery, "was a good but plain gentleman, full of sense, wisdom, honour, and probity, a great Huguenot, but of excellent conduct and dexterity. These qualities, which had gained him great reputation amongst those of his religion, had procured him many important friends and much consideration in the world. The ministers and the principal nobles reckoned him as their friend, and were not indifferent to its being known that they were his, and the most influential magistrates were eager to be so also. Under very plain externals, he was a man who knew how to ally straightforwardness with finesse in his views and resources, but whose fidelity was so well known that he held secrets and deposits from the most distinguished persons. For a great number of years he was deputy of his religion at the court, and the king often availed himself of the connections his religious creed gave him in Holland, Switzerland, England, and Germany, for secret negotiations in those countries, where he served him very usefully."¹ Ruvigny was French ambassador in England under the reign of Charles II., and his friendship and

¹ *Mémoires de St Simon*, vol. ii. p. 260 : Paris edition, 1842.

family connection with several of the most illustrious English families, particularly with the Bedfords, contributed not a little to maintain the alliance between the two kings during the Dutch war. His son, Henry de Ruvigny, who succeeded him in his functions as deputy-general of the reformed church, an office which he held until the revocation, fulfilled them with equal distinction. Louis XIV. had unbounded confidence in him. In 1679 he sent him as negotiator to Charles II. (whose alliance he wished to retain), considering him an agent the more agreeable by reason of his relationship to Lady Vaughan, and of his intimacy with the powerful family of the Russells.

One other fact may be mentioned as enabling us to appreciate Mazarin's moderate policy. In 1655, he had sent troops into Savoy, to help Duke Charles-Emanuel to subdue the Vaudois. But soon, doing justice to Cromwell's remonstrances, he recalled his soldiers, reprimanded their commanders, and even permitted the Protestants of France to make collections for their brethren in the valleys. Then, uniting his remonstrances with those of the Protector, he put a stop to the persecutions ordered by the Duke of Savoy, and, by the treaty of Pignerol, rendered the condition of the unfortunate Vaudois more tolerable. When, after Mazarin's death, Louis XIV. took the supreme authority into his own hands, the Protestant religion was not only tolerated, but permitted and authorised in all parts of the kingdom. If Catholics or Protestants complained of infraction of treaties, the redress of their wrongs was, for the government, a mere matter of police. As to the Huguenot faction, once so restless, it was completely destroyed. The royal authority, on the other hand, had acquired such great power and prestige, and the general state of the nation had undergone so complete a transformation, that the king, in the exercise of his supreme power, no longer met with obstacles, and it seemed impossible that he should henceforward encounter

any. The new constitution of the army, its superiority over troops hastily got together, the constant and formidable use of artillery, the progress of the art of fortification, no longer permitted party insurrection ; besides, the nobility of both religions had lost sight of their castles, and coveted but the favours of the court. The middle class was satisfied and happy at the preservation of peace and public order. The triumph of royalty was complete.

During the first years of his rule, Louis XIV. followed, with respect to the Protestants, the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin. Madame de Maintenon, who had been a Calvinist, and who subsequently was instrumental in the ruin of those she had quitted, tells us what were then the king's sentiments with respect to them. Towards 1672 she wrote to her brother :—

“ You have been complained of to me for things which do you no honour. You maltreat the Huguenots ; you seek means and pretexts of so doing : that is not the conduct of a man of quality. Have compassion on people who are more unfortunate than guilty. Their errors are those we ourselves once shared, and from which violence would never have extricated us. Henry IV. and many great princes have professed the same religion. Do not, then, molest them. One should seek to convert men by gentleness and charity. Jesus Christ has set us the example, and such is the king's intention. It is your duty to enforce the obedience of all. It is that of the bishops and priests to effect conversions by doctrine and example. Neither God nor the king have intrusted to you the cure of souls. Sanctify your own, and be severe for yourself alone.”

This letter is a precious memorial of Louis XIV.'s true sentiments at that period. They are attested by that celebrated woman who was one day to sit upon the throne of France, and whose sole study then was to

penetrate the prince's thoughts, and to associate herself with them. In 1670, he himself explained to his son the principles that directed him in his conduct towards the Protestants. They were very different from those by which he was subsequently guided.

“I thought, my son, that the best means of gradually reducing the Huguenots of my kingdom, was, in the first place, not to press hardly upon them by means of any new rigour directed against them, but to maintain them in the enjoyment of all that they had obtained from my predecessors ; granting them, however, nothing beyond it, and even confining its execution within the narrowest limits justice and propriety could permit. . . . But as to the favours that depend upon me alone, I resolved, and I since have pretty punctually kept to the resolution, to show them none, and that from kindness rather than from severity, in order thereby to compel them, of their own accord to consider, from time to time, and without violence, if it was with any good reason that they voluntarily deprived themselves of the advantages they might enjoy in common with all my other subjects. . . . I also resolved to attract, even by recompense, those who should show themselves docile ; to animate the bishops as much as I could, that they might labour for their instruction, and detach them from the scandals which sometimes kept them at a distance from us.”¹

¹ *Mémoires historiques et politiques de Louis XIV.*, vol. i. p. 86 : Paris, 1806.

CHAPTER III.

THIRD PERIOD : FROM 1662 TO 1685—DEVIATION FROM THE POLICY OF RICHELIEU AND MAZARIN—FIRST PERSECUTIONS IN THE COUNTRY OF GEX—ORDINANCES DIRECTED AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS, FROM 1662 TO 1666—CONTINUATION OF THE PERSECUTION UNTIL THE WAR WITH HOLLAND, FROM 1666 TO 1672—RESUMPTION OF THE PERSECUTION AFTER THE TREATY OF NIMEGUEN—PROTECTION BY COLBERT—PURCHASED CONVERSIONS—PÉLISSON'S MIRACLES—CONVERSION OF THE MARCHIONESS OF CAYLUS—FIRST DRAGONNADES IN POITOU, IN 1681—ACT OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT IN FAVOUR OF THE REFUGEES—RENEWAL OF THE DRAGONNADES IN 1684—APPARENT SUCCESS OF THIS MEASURE—ILLUSION OF THE COURT—REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES—DEMOLITION OF THE TEMPLE AT CHARENTON—CONSTERNATION OF THE PROTESTANTS—AGGRAVATING ORDINANCES—ZEAL OF THE INTENDANTS OF PROVINCES—EXILE OF SCHOMBERG AND RUVIGNY—PREPARATIONS FOR EMIGRATION—THE PROTESTANTS AT THE GALLEYS—EMIGRATION BY LAND AND SEA—NUMBERS OF THE REFUGEES—REPORTS OF THE INTENDANTS—RUIN OF MANUFACTURES—DECLINE OF TRADE—COTEMPORARY OPINIONS—BOSSUET—MASSILLON—DISCOURSE OF THE ABBÉ TALLEMAND AT THE FRENCH ACADEMY—OPINION OF THE JANSENISTS—THE COURT OF ROME.

THE policy of Louis XIV. was neither just nor impartial; but it was at least prudent and moderate. Gradually, however, he deviated from this line of conduct. Already, in 1662, he ordered the destruction of twenty-two temples in the district of Gex, under pretence that the edict of Nantes was not applicable to that bailiwick, which had not been annexed to the kingdom until after its promulgation. As a favour, he allowed those of Fernex and Sergi to remain standing. Another order in council granted to the Catholics of Gex three years' delay for the payment of their debts, alleging their poverty, and the danger of total ruin with which they were said to be menaced. The real object was to induce the conversion of embarrassed Protestants, for the sake of participation in this favour. That same year, the persecution began in Lan-

guedoc. The Prince of Conti became devout, and fanaticised the ardent population of that province by sending intolerant missionaries to every part of it. Soon an order in council appeared, forbidding Protestants to bury their dead, save at daybreak or nightfall. In 1663, newly-converted Protestants were dispensed from payment of debts to their former co-religionists. It was ordered that children born of Catholic fathers and Protestant mothers should be baptised in the religion of the former. Old and barbarous laws against converts who relapsed into the reformed faith were revived and enforced, under pretext that those who had participated in the most sacred mysteries of the religion of Rome had thereby renounced the benefit of the edict of Henry IV. Then was once more seen the hideous spectacle of corpses drawn upon hurdles amidst the outrages of the populace. All who had abjured Protestantism, and who, upon their deathbeds, refused the sacraments of Rome, were condemned to this shameful treatment. Amongst the persons of quality to whom this barbarous law was applied, Jurieu mentions with grief a Demoiselle de Montalembert, whose body was drawn naked through the streets of Angoulême, without consideration for her sex, age, or birth. In 1664, all the letters of freedom granted to Protestants were annulled. A new order prohibited the reception as sempstress of any woman who did not profess the Catholic religion. In 1665, priests were authorised to present themselves, accompanied by the magistrate of the place, at the bedside of dying Protestants, to exhort them to conversion ; and if they appeared disposed to it, the work was to be proceeded with, in spite of any opposition offered by the family. This measure was as dangerous as it was unjust. It might happen that, at a time when a poor sick person had need but of consolation and prayers to die in peace, he was cruelly tormented by captious questions ; and when, in the last agony, he was no longer

in a state to reply, the civil officers and the priests might affirm in their written statement that he had testified by some movement of the eyes, by an inclination of the head, or by some other sign, that he wished to change his religion. This declaration was held sufficient grounds for interring the body in the Catholic cemetery, and for dragging the children of the deceased to mass, under pretext that their father had abjured in his last moments.

Such was the commencement of the persecution. Already several professions were closed to Protestants. The law often entailed the ruin of their fortunes, and carried disturbance into their families, by pursuing them even on their deathbed with odious controversies. Thenceforward no month passed without some fresh act of rigour. In 1666, they were forbidden to tax themselves for the support of their ministers. They were deprived of the right of challenging suspected judges. Several temples having been demolished in Poitou, the ministers were forbidden to preach in the open air. The chambers of the edict were suppressed, in 1669, in Paris and at Rouen. Protestants were forbidden to abandon the country, and those already settled abroad were recalled. The physicians of Rouen were forbidden to receive into their corporation more than two persons of the reformed religion. Special decrees ordered the closing of the temples of Melgueil, Poussan, Pignan, Cornonterrail, and Suigeac. Ministers convicted of having held illicit assemblies were condemned to do penance, led by the executioner, with a rope round their necks, before the gate of the palace, and were then banished the kingdom. In 1670, the mixed court of Castres was transferred to Castelnaudari. By this means was ruined a town which, by reason of the power the Protestants had acquired there, had become odious to the clergy. In the same year, schoolmasters were prohibited from teaching the children of Protestants anything but

reading, writing, and ciphering. In 1671, it was ordered that not more than one school and one master should be allowed to exist in the places where the exercise of their religion was still permitted. The clergy had obtained special decrees forbidding the Protestants of Grenoble and Montélimart to put in their temples either the fleur-de-lys or the arms of Louis XIV. This first step taken, they solicited, according to their custom, a decree rendering the prohibition general. In the petition addressed to the king in 1672, the Catholic clergy complained that in places where the Protestants were allowed the public exercise of their religion, they placed in their temples raised benches resembling those that magistrates, consuls, and sheriffs occupied in Catholic churches; that they spread carpets, strewn with lilies, and marked with the royal arms; that the officers of justice wore, in the temples, the red robes, hoods, and other insignia of the magistrature and consulate. In that age of privileges, the nobility were all the more tenacious of these flattering distinctions, because they had lost their hereditary rights. The king, under pretext that those honours had never been permitted by any of his edicts, ordered the raised benches, the carpets, and the armorial bearings to be removed from the temples, and forbade the exhibition in those places of meeting of the marks of the magistrature and consulate. That there might be no doubt as to the object of this ordinance, a decree published a few years later restored these same privileges to those who should become converts.

Thus were the Protestants assailed in the daily exercise of their religion, in the education of their children, in the discipline of their families. This system of persecution was connected with the plan for destroying the Protestant republic of Holland. In 1672, when all was prepared for the overwhelming of the United Provinces, Louis XIV. addressed a manifesto to the Catholic

powers, in which he attributed the war to his ardent desire to extirpate heresy. This unjust aggression, partly brought on by political causes, displayed in all their lustre the talents of Turenne and Condé, and raised to the highest point the military glory of France. But it fortified Protestantism in Europe, for it concentrated the strength of Holland in the hands of the Prince of Orange, who ever afterwards was Louis XIV.'s most inveterate, indefatigable, and skilful enemy.

Slackened for a brief space during the war with Holland, the persecution resumed its course after the peace of Nimeguen. Strange to say, Louis XIV. did not hate the Protestants. He was deeply incensed against the Ultramontane party, and he provoked that celebrated *Declaration of the clergy* against them, which was the basis of the liberties of the Gallican Church. He detested the Jansenists, and revenged himself for their opposition by the destruction of Port-Royal. He entertained a lively repugnance to the Quietists. The Protestants inspired him with none of those sentiments, and nevertheless they were the objects of his greatest rigour. Doubtless their resistance to his will appeared to him an act of rebellion. The absolute and haughty monarch showed himself so much the more severe that it was the first time he encountered disobedience. He thought that by surrounding them with dangers, incessantly recurring under new forms, by entangling them in a net of obstacles, of obscure privations, of daily injustice, he should succeed in wearying their patience and taming their obstinacy. The ruin of heresy, which his predecessors had been impotent to uproot from the French soil, seemed to him the most glorious triumph Providence had reserved for him.

In the year that followed the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen, he suppressed the mixed chambers of the parliaments of Toulouse, Grenoble, and Bordeaux, "inasmuch," he said, in the preamble to the ordi-

nance, "as all animosities are extinguished." Thus were the Protestants deprived of the sole means still left to them of repelling the unjust actions frequently brought against them before the parliaments. Thenceforward it was nothing uncommon, in purely civil causes, to hear the Catholic party invoke this argument: "I plead against a heretic;" and when the Protestant complained of an unjust sentence, "Your remedy is in your own hands," coldly replied the judge; "why do you not become a convert?" In 1680, a royal declaration forbade Catholics to embrace the reformed religion, under penalty of the galleys for life—forbade the ministers and elders of the consistories to allow Catholics and relapsed converts to enter the temples, under pain of perpetual interdiction of worship, of banishment of the ministers and elders, and of confiscation of their property. Two years later, penance was added to this punishment, in so far as it applied to ministers. The new edict was a fruitful source of injustice. Not only was the prohibition to every Frenchman to adopt the reformed religion contrary to the liberty of conscience guaranteed by the treaties of pacification, but, moreover, it was absolutely impossible for the ministers and elders to prevent the Catholics and relapsed converts from entering the temples. They had no force at their disposal to keep them out, and it was difficult to recognise them in the crowd of the faithful. By an odious reversal of all justice, the Protestants were thus rendered guilty of the crime for which the Catholics and relapsed persons ought to have been punished, for these it was who really violated the royal declaration, by joining religious assemblies from which they were legally excluded. And yet no punishment was decreed for them, and the Protestants, who in no way contributed to their transgression of the ordinance, suffered for the faults of others.

This was not all. The authorities were not contented with ordering the demolition of temples in which

Catholics had abjured, or a relapsed convert been seen. Now they interdicted Protestant worship in a town in which a bishop was on a visit; then they affirmed that it was impossible to endure the scandal of a Protestant preaching-house in the neighbourhood of a Catholic church. The former was accordingly demolished, and its reconstruction was permitted only in some inconvenient and distant place. It was chiefly in towns where the Protestant population was numerous—at Bergerac, Montpellier, Nismes, Montauban, Nérac, Uzès, St-Jeand'Angély, St Quentin, Castres—that the temples were destroyed, in order to separate the pastors from their flocks. To add to all these vexations, ministers were forbidden to hold children's schools elsewhere than in the precincts of their temples, and thus were their young pupils compelled daily to perform long journeys to and from their studies.

For a long time past children had been authorised to abjure Protestantism—boys at fourteen, girls at twelve years old. An edict of the 17th June 1681 allowed them to return to the bosom of the church as early as at the age of seven years. “It is our will and pleasure,” said the ordinance, “that our subjects of the so-called reformed religion, both male and female, having attained the age of seven, be permitted to embrace the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion, and that, to that end, they be admitted to abjure the so-called reformed religion, without their fathers and mothers and other parents being suffered to offer the *least hindrance*, under whatever pretext.” This was encouraging proselytism in its most immoral and hideous form, for henceforward it addressed itself to minors, to feeble beings, incapable of comprehending the acts they were made to perform.

This law had terrible consequences. It undermined paternal authority in Protestant families. It now suf-

ficed that an envious person, an enemy, a debtor, declared before a tribunal that a child wished to become a Catholic, had manifested an intention of entering a church, had joined in a prayer, or made the sign of the cross, or kissed an image of the Virgin, for the child in question to be taken from his parents, who were compelled to make him an allowance proportioned to their supposed ability. But such estimates were necessarily arbitrary, and it often happened that the loss of his child entailed upon the unfortunate father that of all his property.

The synods received orders to accept no more legacies or donations. Ministers were forbidden to speak in their sermons of the *misfortunes of the times*, and to attack the religion of Rome directly or indirectly. It was resolved even to destroy all writings directed against Catholicism. The Archbishop of Paris drew up a list containing the names of five hundred authors, and perquisitions were made in the dwellings of the elders and pastors, to seize and burn the condemned books. Greek, Hebrew, philosophy, theology, were successively struck out of the scheme of instruction permitted to the reformed religion. Every engine was set at work to do away with the academies of Montauban, Nismes, Saumur, Sédan, all once so flourishing. The last named was destroyed in 1681, and its buildings abandoned to the Jesuits. That of Montauban, after having been transferred to Puy Laurens, was interdicted in 1685. That of Saumur, which had existed for eighty years, and was the most celebrated of all, was suppressed in the same year, on the pretext that its foundation had not been authorised by letters-patent. It was sought, by these means, to obliterate that mental distinction and literary cultivation remarkable in the Protestants, and which excited the jealousy of their adversaries.

All hope of promotion was denied to those who had embraced the profession of arms. Retired officers were

deprived of their pensions, and officers' widows lost their privileges so long as they adhered to the reformed faith. Recently-ennobled Protestants were stripped of their nobility and subjected to taillage. Two months were allowed to all who still held employments at court, or judicial offices, or who practised as attorneys and notaries, to sell their places or business. Barristers were forbidden to plead, on pretence that they abused their influence to prevent the conversion of their clients. Physicians were not allowed to exercise their profession, because, it was said, they did not warn the Catholic patients when the moment came for the administration of the sacraments. This prohibition was extended to surgeons, apothecaries, and even to midwives, accused of sacrificing, in dangerous childbirths, the infant to the mother, at the risk of letting it die without baptism, and of thus exposing it to eternal damnation. Printers and booksellers were ordered to discontinue their trade under penalty of 3000 livres' fine. Domiciliary visits were ordered at the dwellings of the booksellers, ministers, and elders, to seize and destroy all copies of works that attacked the dominant religion. Notwithstanding the opposition of Colbert, the Protestants were excluded from all employments in the department of the taxes. That great minister, who had revived the prosperity of France, and who was foolishly accused of *thinking only of his finances, and hardly ever of religion*, beheld with regret a large number of men of recognised capacity and probity removed from his ministry. Before his accession to power, financiers had been objects of hatred for their rapacity, of ridicule for their profusion. After him, there was again beheld the accumulation of those scandalous fortunes that La Bruyère stigmatised. And then dawned the era of the Turcarets, which the preceding period had not known; for never, under his administration, had La Fontaine, or any other of the satirists who lashed the vices of their cotemporaries,

directed their invectives against the men of finance, chosen for the most part amongst the Protestants. Thus did the government deprive itself of its most skilful and honest agents, at the very moment when Louis XIV.'s prodigality began to exhaust the treasury, and rendered their services more necessary and more valuable.

Great efforts were made to deprive the Protestant ministers of their influence, and to restrict the exercise of their religion within the narrowest limits. The Catholic and Protestant priests were then literally public officers. From most of the latter they took away the registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials, and transferred them to the registries of the bailiwicks and of the seneschal's jurisdictions. To deprive the pastors of the moral influence which long residence and a spotless life might give them over the minds of their congregations, they were forbidden to exercise their holy office for more than three years together in the same place. The exemption from taillage, which they enjoyed in virtue of decrees, was revoked as an abusive custom. Everywhere was restrained *personal exercise*—that is to say, the exercise of religion derived from possession of the right of high justice. The hospitals of their poor and of their sick were confounded with those of the Catholics, and the dying Protestants were exposed to the importunities of misplaced zeal, and too often of odious fanaticism.

Thus was the condition of the Protestants reduced to the limits of the narrowest tolerance. They had no longer any rights left save those they could not be deprived of without outraging humanity, such as the right of contracting marriages, burying their dead, bringing up their children. They no longer exercised any other professions but those of traders, manufacturers, agriculturists, and soldiers, which could not be interdicted them without detriment to the state. Even these last limits were soon to be overstepped.

Colbert had never ceased to protect the Protestants, whom he held to be peaceable, industrious, and useful citizens. More than once, in the king's council, he had defended them against Louvois, who gladly flattered his master by deploring the evils that heresy caused to religion. So opposed was Colbert to the persecutions directed against them, that he brought Protestants from Holland to Picardy, to assist in the manufactures he had established. When he died, and Le Peletier took his place, there was no longer any division in the council as to the necessity of taking decisive measures. Persecution, which hitherto had affected a legal form, boldly entered a new phase, and led finally to the fatal revocation of Henry IV.'s edict.

Two measures hastened this great catastrophe—the purchased conversions, and the *dragonnades* or military missions.

In 1677, Louis XIV. had devoted a secret fund, since fed by the *droit de régale*,¹ to the conversion of his Protestant subjects. Owing to that sense of propriety which ruled all the actions of the great king, the destination of this fund was long surrounded by an impenetrable mystery. A celebrated convert, Péllisson, took charge of its administration, and drew up the rules for those who worked under his orders. The bishops were his chief instruments. They received money from him, and sent in return lists of converts and their prices. The average price was six livres per head. The justificatory documents—that is to say, the abjurations and the receipts—were submitted to the king himself. Soon nothing was talked of at court but Péllisson's miracles. Every one lauded his golden eloquence—less learned, it was said, than that of Bossuet, but far more efficacious. Encouraged by the apparent success of this religious corruption,

¹ *Droit de régale*. After a bishop's death, the revenue of the bishopric, until the appointment of his successor, and for one year afterwards, went to the king—a custom which gave rise to many abuses, and frequently caused bishoprics to remain long vacant.—(Tr.)

Louis XIV. increased from year to year the fund allotted to conversions. It was from that chest, which the Protestants compared to Pandora's box, that issued nearly all the evils that ultimately overwhelmed them. Sure to please the king by sending him numerous lists, the bishops hardly recoiled from any means of obtaining conversions. They purchased them especially in the lowest classes of the Calvinists. Stratagems and pious frauds were alternately employed, and constraint was resorted to for the purpose of retaining in the bosom of the church those whom such means had attracted thither. Many rogues pocketed the price of the bargain and returned to Protestantism. Others, more ignorant, after having received a small sum, disguised under the name of charity, and made a cross at the foot of a receipt, did not know that they had abjured, and exposed themselves, without knowing it, to the terrible penalties the law inflicted on relapsed converts. Soon it became a fashion to labour at conversion. The discreet Madame de Maintenon busied herself in the work with a sort of rage. "Madame d'Aubigné," she wrote to her brother, "ought certainly to convert some one of our young relatives." To another she wrote—"I am continually seen leading some Huguenot to church:" and to a third—"Be converted, as so many others have been; be converted with God alone; be converted, in short, in the manner that best pleases you; but, in short, be converted."

The Marchioness of Caylus was descended, like her, from Agrippa d'Aubigné, whose daughter her grandfather had married. Her father, the Marquis of Villette, a naval officer distinguished for merit and for Protestant zeal, was first cousin to Madame de Maintenon. She several times attempted to win him over; and when she saw that she could not succeed, she resolved at least to convert his children. She caused a distant mission to be assigned to the marquis, and in his absence carried off his daughter,

and took her to St Germain. The child wept ; but the next morning she found the king's mass so beautiful that she consented to become a Catholic, on condition that she should hear it every day, and should never be whipped. "That was," she says in her memoirs, "all the argument employed, and the sole abjuration I made." On his return the marquis bitterly complained, which did not prevent Madame de Maintenon from working at the conversion of his two sons, who held out longer. Finally, the marquis, who had been wont to say, "It would take me a hundred years to credit the infallibility, twenty years to believe in the real presence," yielded in his turn ; and when the king complimented him on the change, he replied, with the address of a consummate courtier, that it was the only occasion in his life upon which he had not sought to please his majesty.

A new word, that of *convertisseur* (converter), first applied to Péllisson, then enriched the French language. Following the example of Madame de Maintenon, the celebrated academician spared no pains to win over those whose religion he had abandoned. But both were outstripped by the harsh Louvois. Jealous of the growing influence of Madame de Maintenon, and after having long combined his efforts with those of Madame de Montespan against the new favourite, he resolved, after her example, to employ all his credit to effect the conversion of the Protestants. He would have feared to sink in the king's opinion by remaining alien to the great project that engrossed the thoughts of the court ; and he conceived the idea, according to the expression of Madame de Caylus, *d'y mêler du militaire*—to mix up the army with it—and claimed for the war department, which he directed, the principal share in the annihilation of heresy.

It was in Poitou that he first essayed the terrible means of conversion, afterwards known by the name of *dragonnades*, or dragoonings. Troops of all arms were

employed in this military mission ; but owing to their more fiery zeal, or perhaps to their more brilliant uniform, the dragoons had the honour of giving it their name. This province, full of Protestants, had for its intendant Marillac, grandson of Michael de Marillac, keeper of the seals under Louis XIII., and who had had the misfortune to incur the hatred of Richelieu. He was the only member of that family who was in a position to repair its fortune, ruined, for half a century, by the disgrace of the former minister, and by the execution of his brother the marshal. Up to this date he had shown in all his acts a prudence and a moderation which had endeared him both to Catholics and to Protestants ; but when he saw all the king's efforts directed to the conversion of his subjects, he changed his conduct, and exhibited a zeal whose ardour was in proportion to its tardiness. Louvois judged him a fit instrument to carry out his designs. On the 18th March 1681, he advised him that, by the king's commands, he sent him a regiment of cavalry. " His majesty will find it good," he wrote, " that the greater number of the officers and troopers be lodged in Protestant houses, but is not of opinion that they should all be so lodged. . . . If, according to a just distribution, the Protestants would have to receive ten, you may give them twenty." The month afterwards he got an ordinance signed by the king, granting to all those who should become converts, *exemption for the space of two years from lodging men-at-arms*. This measure sufficed to transfer the affairs of the reformed religion to the department of the minister-at-war, and consequently to give their direction to Louvois.

Marillac sent the dragoons to those towns in Poitou which contained most Huguenots. He lodged them exclusively in their houses, and even in those of the poorest, and of widows previously exempt from that onerous charge. In many towns and villages the priests followed

them in the streets, crying out—"Courage, gentlemen! It is the king's intention that these dogs of Huguenots should be pillaged and sacked." The soldiers entered the houses with uplifted swords, sometimes crying, "Kill! kill!" to frighten the women and children. As long as the inhabitants had wherewithal to satisfy them, they were but pillaged; but when their means were exhausted, when the price of their furniture was spent, and the clothes and ornaments of their women were sold, the dragoons seized them by the hair to drag them to church; or, if they left them in their houses, they employed threats, outrage, and even tortures, to oblige them to become converts. Of some they burned the feet and hands at a slow fire; they broke the ribs and limbs of others with blows of sticks. Several had their lips burned with red-hot irons; and others were thrown into damp dungeons, with threats that they should be left there to rot. The soldiers said that they were allowed every licence, except murder and rape.

The success of this first mission exceeded Louvois' hopes. Whilst the newspapers of the Hague and Amsterdam informed Protestant Europe of these odious acts, and one long cry of indignation arose in Holland, England, and Germany, the French Gazette regularly filled its columns with lists of new converts. The court was dazzled by this marvellous success. "I think there will be no Protestants left in Poitou but our own relations," wrote Madame de Maintenon to her brother, the 19th May 1681. "It seems to me that everybody is becoming converted; soon it will be ridiculous to belong to that religion." Then, informed of the flight of a large number of Protestants, who sold their lands for a song, she again wrote to him, with reference to a gratification of 118,000 livres which she had just procured him on a readjudication of the taxes: "But, I beg of you, employ usefully the money you are to receive. Land in Poitou

sells for nothing ; the desolation of the Huguenots will cause more to be sold. . . . You may easily make a great establishment in Poitou.”

There was a talk of extending to other provinces the measure that had been already applied to Poitou, when an act of the English parliament opened the eyes of Louis XIV. On the 28th July 1681, Charles II. saw himself constrained, by the irresistible impulse of public opinion, to sanction a bill granting the most extensive privileges to those French refugees who should seek asylum in England. The king perceived his error. He recalled Marillac, and appointed as his successor Bâville, who then passed for a milder and more moderate man. There was a pause in the persecution, but not of long duration.

The *dragonnades* began again in 1684. A body of troops assembled on the Pyrenean frontier became disposable by the accession of Spain to the truce of Ratisbon. The Marquis of Boufflers, who commanded them, received orders to enter Béarn, and to second the intendant Foucault in his efforts to convert that province. The soldiery, excited by this fanatic, showed themselves much more cruel than those in Poitou. They were marched from town to town, from village to village ; and Foucault himself pointed out to them the houses delivered up to their apostolate, and taught them new devices for overcoming the most resolute fortitude. “ Amongst the secrets he taught them, to subdue their hosts,” says a writer of that day, “ he ordered them to deprive of rest those who would not yield to other torments. The soldiers relieved each other, in order not themselves to sink under the torture they made others suffer. The noise of drums, the blasphemies, the shouts, the crash of the furniture which they threw about, the agitation in which they kept those poor people in order to force them to remain up and with their eyes open, were the means employed to deprive them of repose. To pinch and prick them, to drag them about,

suspend them by ropes, blow tobacco smoke into their nostrils, and a hundred other cruelties, were the sports of these executioners, who thereby reduced them to such a state that they no longer knew what they did, and promised all that was required in order to escape from such barbarous treatment.

“As there were often in one house several persons who were thus to be kept awake, whole companies of soldiers were quartered there, that there might be sufficient executioners to suffice for so many tortures. . . . The soldiers offered to the women indignities which decency will not permit me to describe. . . . The officers were no better than the soldiers: they spat in the women’s faces; they made them lie down in their presence on hot embers; they forced them to put their heads into ovens whose vapour was hot enough to suffocate them. All their study was to devise torments which should be painful without being mortal.”¹

The constancy of the Huguenots of Béarn yielded to the prolonged rigour of these torments. Conversions were no longer reckoned by individuals but by whole towns; and the intendant was enabled to announce to Louis XIV. that the entire province had become Catholic. The court ordered public rejoicings in celebration of this happy event.

It was difficult, however, to delude one’s-self as to the value of these collective conversions, which many attributed to the Divine grace. “I certainly believe,” wrote Madame de Maintenon, “that not all these conversions are sincere. *But God employs all manner of means* to bring heretics back to him; the children at least will be Catholics, though their fathers be hypocrites. Their external reunion with the church at least brings them nearer to the truth. They have the outward signs in common with the faithful. Pray God that he

¹ Benoit, book xii., vol. v., p. 833-834.

may enlighten them all; the king has no desire nearer to his heart."

Languedoc, Guienne, Angoumois, Saintonge, received in turn soldiers of all arms, and especially dragoons. In the distribution of quarters, care was taken to separate the officers from the soldiers they commanded, that the latter might be unchecked by any sentiment of decency. The greater share of trade and manufactures was then in the hands of the Protestants; their dwellings were adorned with costly furniture, their warehouses were full of merchandise. All these riches were abandoned to the mercy of the soldiers, and destroyed by them. They were not content with taking what suited them; they tore and burned what they could not carry away. Some gave their horses fine Holland sheeting to lie upon, others converted storehouses full of bales of wool, cotton, and silk, into stables. It was determined to treat with the utmost rigour those who, according to the expression of Louvois, "aspired to the foolish glory of being the last professors of a religion displeasing to his majesty."

All the provinces of the kingdom were in turn subjected to this treatment, with the exception of the *généralité* of Paris. As everything there passed under the king's eye, the troubles were less violent than elsewhere; whether it was that the chiefs of the persecution feared lest the complaints of the oppressed should reach the monarch's ears, or that the local authorities were more enlightened and humane than those of more distant provinces, or, as the Protestants loved to flatter themselves, that Louis XIV. was naturally compassionate and good, and took no pleasure in beholding the misery and ruin of his own subjects.

But nowhere was the violence more horrible than in the south. At Montauban, Bishop Nesmond convoked, at the quarters of Marshal Boufflers, the Barons de Mauzac, de Vicoze, de Montbeton. Suddenly the lackeys of the

hotel, hidden behind the door, fell upon them by surprise, threw them down, and compelled them to kneel; and whilst the gentlemen were struggling in the hands of the varlets, the prelate made the sign of the cross over them, and their conversion was held accomplished. The citizens, delivered up as a prey to the frantic soldiery, were compelled to abjure, after a mockery of public deliberation. An aged man at Nismes, M. de Lacassagne, after having been for several days deprived of sleep, yielded to this horrible treatment, and became a Catholic. "You are now at peace," Bishop Seguiet said to him. "Alas! my lord," replied the unfortunate man, "I expect no peace but in heaven; and God grant that what I have this day done may not close its gates to me." Whilst he renounced his faith, Madame de Lacassagne, disguised as a servant, wandered in the fields, where many women, overtaken in their flight by the pains of labour, were delivered without aid. At Bordeaux, a brother of Bayle, who was pastor at Carlat, where his father had just expired, was thrown, by order of Louvois, into a dungeon in the Château Trompette known by the name of Hell, to remain confined there until such time as he should become a convert. He held out courageously; but his courage was greater than his strength, and after five months of suffering, alleviated by the tardy intervention of Pélisson, death released him. Some of the horrible cells in that castle were called *chausses d'hypocras*.¹ The walls, arranged lozenge-fashion, had the form of an alembic, and persons there confined could neither stand upright, nor sit, nor lie down. They were let down into them by cords, and daily drawn up to undergo whipping or the strappado. Several prisoners, after some weeks passed in the dungeons of Grenoble, came out without either hair or teeth. At Valence they were thrown into a sort of well, in which,

¹ The allusion is to a *chausse*, or strong bag, through which liquors were strained—amongst others, probably, the medicated wine called hippocras.—(Tr.)

by a refinement of barbarous cruelty, sheep's entrails were left to putrefy.

Driven to despair by the inventive fury of their torturers, a great number of Protestants feigned to be converted, in order to gain time to realise their property and quit the kingdom. Meanwhile the court exulted in its victory over heresy. Early in September, Louvois wrote to the old chancellor, his father: "There have been 60,000 conversions in the *généralité* of Bordeaux, and 20,000 in that of Montauban. The rapidity with which this goes on is such that there will not be 10,000 Protestants left in all the *généralité* of Bordeaux, where there were 150,000 on the 15th of last month." The Duke of Noailles announced the complete conversion of the towns of Nismes, Uzès, Alais, Villeneuve. "The principal persons of Nismes," he wrote to the minister of war, "made their abjuration in the church the day after my arrival. There was afterwards some coolness, but things resumed their good course in consequence of a few billets I gave upon the houses of the most obstinate." He added, *confidentially*, that two of these billets were of a hundred men each. In a second despatch, he informed Louvois that he was preparing for an excursion through the Cevennes, and that he hoped that, before the end of the month, not a Huguenot would remain there. Finally, in a third despatch, he wrote: "The number of Protestants in this province is about 240,000, and when I asked until the 25th of next month for their entire conversion, I fixed too distant a date—for *I believe that at the end of this month all will be done.*" Madame de Sévigné wrote, at about the same time, to her cousin, Count de Bussy: "Father Bourdaloue is going, by the king's order, to preach at Montpellier, and in those provinces where so many persons have become converts without knowing why. Father Bourdaloue will teach them why, and will make good Catholics of them. Hitherto the

dragoons have been very good missionaries; it is for the preachers now to make the work perfect."

No day passed without the king's receiving some courier who brought him great subject for joy—that is to say, news of thousands of conversions. In the two months of September and October 1685, he was informed that La Rochelle, Montauban, Castres, Montpellier, Nismes, and Uzès had definitively abjured the reformed faith. The whole court then believed Protestantism annihilated. The king shared in the general illusion, and no longer hesitated to strike the last blow. On the 22d October 1685, he signed at Fontainebleau the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

In the preface to the revocatory ordinance, he spoke of the efforts of his grandfather, Henry IV., and of his father, Louis XIII., to bring about the triumph of the Catholic religion, attributing to the premature death of the former, and to the long wars sustained by the latter, the small success they had obtained. He added, that since his coming to the throne he had adopted the same design, and that his endeavours had had the end he proposed to himself, *since the best and the greatest part of his subjects of the so-styled reformed religion had embraced the Roman Catholic faith.* This change rendering the edict of Nantes, and all other ordinances in favour of the Protestants useless, he entirely revoked that edict, as well as all the articles since added to it.

The chief provisions of the revocatory edict were the following:—

The temples of the Protestants shall be demolished, and all exercise of their worship shall cease, as well in private houses as in the castles of the nobles, under pain of confiscation of body and of goods. Ministers who refuse to be converted are ordered to quit the kingdom within fifteen days, under pain of the galleys. Protestant schools shall be closed; children born after the publica-

tion of the edict shall be baptised by the parish priests, and brought up in the religion of Rome. A period of four months is granted to refugees to return to France and abjure; that term expired, their property shall be confiscated. Under pain of the galleys for the men, and of confiscation of body and goods for the women, Protestants are forbidden to quit the kingdom and to carry their fortune abroad. All the provisions of the law regarding relapsing converts are confirmed. Those Protestants who have not changed their religion may remain in France, *until it shall please God to enlighten them.*

Upon the same day in which was registered the edict of revocation, the demolition of the great temple at Charonton, built by the celebrated architect Jacques Debrosse, and capable of containing fourteen thousand persons, was commenced. In five days, no trace of the structure remained. Marillac, the intendant; Le Guerchois, attorney-general to the parliament of Rouen; and the Councillor Fauvel de Touvents, set out for Quévilly, axe and hammer in hand, to deal the first blows to that detested preaching-house. A misguided multitude followed them, armed with levers and pickaxes, and soon not one stone remained upon another. In its place was raised a cross, twenty feet high, and adorned with the royal arms. The Protestant church at Caen, which had so often resounded to the eloquent voice of Du Bose, was laid in ruins amidst a flourish of trumpets and cries of joy. At Nismes, the Marquis of Montanègre, the king's lieutenant in the province of Languedoc, closed, the 23d October, the celebrated temple of La Calade, built in the reign of Charles IX., after permitting divine worship to be celebrated there for the last time. The minister, Cheyron, delivered a farewell sermon, and moved his auditors to tears when he affirmed, before God, that he had preached the truth according to the gospel, and when he exhorted them to be steadfast in faith until death. The

temple of Nismes was soon but a heap of ruins, in the midst of which was long remarked a stone that had surmounted the overthrown portico, with this inscription: *This is the house of God, this the gate of heaven.*

The Protestants were stupefied. Notwithstanding the persecutions they had undergone, they saw Louis XIV. with the same eyes as all France; in him they admired the greatest king of his century, and they persisted in believing in his good faith, his wisdom, his humanity. They reckoned also on the remonstrances of the Protestant powers, to whom they had addressed complaints. But all self-deception was at an end when they witnessed the fall of their eight hundred temples, and when troops were sent into Normandy, Brittany, Anjou, Touraine, Orléanais, and the Isle of France, to convert those provinces by the same means that had been employed in the south. At the same time, a final series of ordinances came to complete and aggravate the rigour of the edict of revocation.

Protestant worship was forbidden on board of ships—whether men-of-war or merchantmen. Severe penalties were decreed against all mariners who should favour the escape of Huguenots. Catholics were forbidden to employ Protestant servants. Protestants were ordered to hire none but Catholic servants, under pain of a thousand livres fine for each act of disobedience. Servants convicted of having infringed this ordinance were condemned, the men to the galleys, the women to the whip, and to be branded with a *fleur de lys*. Colbert de Croissy, brother of the great Colbert, who then was minister of foreign affairs, even enjoined the ambassadors of England, Brandenburg, and Denmark to conform to this decree. “The king does not intend,” he wrote to James II.’s envoy, “that Frenchmen who are Protestants should enjoy the same privileges with the foreign ministers as those who are not, and who are in their service.” A rich English-

man, Lord Sandwich, lived in retirement on his estate in Saintonge; by order of the intendant of the province, his Protestant servants were arrested and thrown into prison. The ordinance relating to children was rendered retroactive, by a new ordinance displaying a singular disregard of natural rights: "Having ordered by our edict given at Fontainebleau in the month of October last, that the children of our subjects of the pretended reformed religion should be brought up in the Catholic and Roman religion, we now deem it necessary to procure by the same means the salvation of those who were born before that law, and thus to supply the deficiency of their parents, who still unfortunately find themselves entangled in heresy, *and who could make but an evil use of the authority nature gives them for the education of their children.*" Ministers were forbidden to return to France without a written permission from the king. The punishment of death was substituted for that of the galleys in the case of those who should brave this prohibition. Those of the king's subjects who should give shelter or assistance to ministers who had remained in or returned to the kingdom, were condemned, the men to the galleys for life, the women to be shaved and shut up for the remainder of their days—both to confiscation of their property. A recompense of 5500 livres was promised to whomsoever should procure the arrest of a minister. Finally, pain of death was decreed against all who should join *assemblies in the desert*, or any other exercise of the proscribed religion.

To please the king, the intendants enforced his ordinances with inexorable rigour. In their exaggerated zeal, they applied them not only to natives, but even to a great number of foreigners—Germans, English, and Dutch—under pretence that they were allied to French families. A large number of Dutchmen, settled at Bordeaux and Rouen, saw their houses invaded by Louvois' troopers,

and the intervention of the States-general was found necessary to exempt them from this persecution. At Paris, an envoy of the Duke of Zell was shut up in the Bastille for having refused to change his religion.¹ The English were chosen as particular objects of the vexatious proceedings of the French authorities, who thought everything permitted them towards the subjects of James II. England, so respected in Cromwell's day, rose in indignation on learning the treatment to which its children were subjected. A merchant, established at Caen, received orders to abjure, although he was not naturalised a Frenchman, and, on his refusal, he was thrown into prison, and fifty soldiers were quartered in his house.² An Englishwoman, married to a Frenchman of Bordeaux, was thrown with her husband into a dungeon for a similar reason. The English ambassador daily received fresh complaints, and it was but tardily that he was authorised, by the Duke of Sunderland, to address remonstrances to the court of Versailles. "His Majesty hopes," he wrote to Colbert de Croissy, "that the Most Christian King will soon give the necessary orders for the replevy of these seizures and detentions, and for the exemplary punishment of the persons who have committed insults so contrary to the laws of nations and to the treaties between the two crowns."³

These acts of violence at last bore fruit. A multitude of Protestants resolved upon quitting the kingdom. The ministers were the first to depart. Fifteen days had been allowed them within which to leave the country.

¹ "The resident of the Duke of Zell is put into the Bastille, being a subject of this king, and refusing to change his religion."—Despatch from Trumbull, dated 2d March 1686. England, State Papers.

² "I received last night a letter from Mr Daniel of Caen, an English merchant not naturalised, by which he acquaints me that on Monday the intendant sent his coach for him to come and sign his abjuration; which he refusing to do, he sent ten musqueteers to carry him to prison, and ordered fifty soldiers more to be quartered in his house. Upon which he immediately signed."—Trumbull's Despatch of the 19th January 1686.

³ This despatch forms part of a memorial sent to the court of Versailles, the 6th February 1686.—Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris.

Most of them set out in haste, unprovided with the barest necessities, in an inclement season, and not knowing where to find an asylum. Several were refused passports, without which they could not pass the frontier, in order that the fortnight granted them might elapse, and that they might be cast into prison as having infringed the edict. For some—deemed particularly dangerous, because they were particularly respected—the delay granted to the others was abridged. The celebrated Claude received orders to quit Paris within twenty-four hours, and one of Louis XIV.'s footmen was ordered to accompany him as far as Brussels. The other Protestant ministers in Paris had but two days allowed them to prepare to quit the kingdom.

Upon the other hand, the emigration of laymen was forbidden under the severest penalties. Several applied in vain to the court for permission to withdraw from France. It was granted but to Marshal Schomberg and to the Marquis de Ruvigny, on condition that they should retire, the first into Portugal, the second to England. The king sent for Admiral Duquesne, one of the creators of the French navy, and urged him to change his religion. The old hero, then eighty years of age, pointed to his white hair. "For sixty years, sire," he said, "have I rendered unto Cæsar that which I owe to Cæsar; suffer me still to render unto God that which I owe to God." He was permitted to end his days in France, unmolested for his religion. His sons were authorised to leave France, and their father made them take an oath that they would never bear arms against their country. The Princess of Tarentum, daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, had difficulty, notwithstanding her high birth, in obtaining leave to quit the kingdom. No opposition was made to the departure of the Countess de Roye, who went to join her husband, then general-in-chief of the Danish army.

These were the only exceptions made to the cruel law which compelled the Protestants to remain in a country where their religion was proscribed. But the pains taken to check emigration were fruitless. In vain were the coasts and frontiers guarded by men who were paid in proportion to the captures they effected; in vain were the peasants armed and compelled to quit their work, to watch night and day upon the high-road and at the passages over rivers; in vain were they promised a part of the spoils of the emigrants they should arrest; in vain was it published that in foreign countries no asylum was open to the refugees—that they everywhere found themselves without employment and without assistance—that more than ten thousand were dead of misery in England—that the majority solicited permission to return to France, and promised to abjure. All these reports met little credit, and did not prevent thousands of Protestants from daily braving the most terrible dangers to escape from their persecutors. Attempts were made to inspire terror by publicity of punishment. Those who were captured whilst making their escape, were sent to the galleys, not one by one, but in bodies, and after having been, according to Jurieu's statement, *led as a show*, with refinements of cruelty intended to inspire terror.

“In all parts of the kingdom,” says Benoît, “were seen these wretched prisoners marching in large troops, bearing round their necks heavy chains, the most inconvenient that could be found, many of them weighing over fifty pounds. Sometimes they were placed in carts, with irons on their feet, and their chains made fast to the cart. They were forced to make long marches, and when they sank under fatigue, blows compelled them to rise. The bread they were made to eat was coarse and unhealthy; and the avarice of their guards, accustomed to put into their own purses the half of what was given them for expense of escort, prevented their getting suffi-

cient food. At halting-places they were lodged in the dirtiest prisons, or, where there were none, in barns, where they lay upon the bare earth, without covering, and still borne down by the weight of their chains. Besides all these inconveniences, they were further insulted by seeing themselves associated with robbers—criminals who had been spared death upon the rack, only that their punishment might be useful and profitable to the state. . . . They affected to make these chained persons pass before the prisons in which others were, who, being arrested for the same cause, might expect a like punishment; and, to strike them with greater horror, they ill-treated these poor people before their eyes.”¹

In the month of June 1686, there were already more than six hundred Protestants at the galleys of Marseilles, and about as many at those of Toulon—most of them condemned upon a simple decision of Marshal Montrevel or of Lamoignon de Bâville. The discipline of the galleys was then of extreme severity. “The galley-slaves,” says Admiral Baudin, “were chained two-and-two upon the benches of the galleys, and employed to row with long heavy oars. . . . In the axis of each galley, and in the centre of the space occupied by the benches of the rowers, was a sort of gallery, called the *coursive*, on which continually walked guardians, called *comes*, armed with whips of bullock’s hide, with which they lashed the shoulders of those unfortunates who did not row with enough vigour to please them. The galley-slaves passed their lives on their benches; they ate and slept there, unable to change their place beyond what the length of their chain permitted, and having no other shelter against the rain, or the sun’s heat, or the chills of night, than a cloth called *taud*, which was spread

¹ Benoit, book xxiv., vol. v., p. 964.

above their bench when the galley was not in motion, and the wind not too high.”¹

Amongst the galley-slaves at Marseilles were David de Caumont—sprung from the illustrious family of Caumont de la Force—and Louis de Marolles, formerly one of the king’s council, who had resisted Bossuet’s pressing solicitations. The first-named was sixty-five years of age when sent to the galleys; the second left Paris with the chain of galley-slaves, and suffered with unshaken constancy all the evils of captivity. “I live quite alone now,” he wrote to his wife, with the resignation of the martyrs of the olden time. “For nine sous a-day they bring me my food—meat and bread. Wine is supplied me in the galley, in exchange for the ration-bread allowed by the king. . . . Everybody in the galley shows me civility, seeing that the officers visit me. To-day I am having a mattress made; I will buy sheets, and endeavour to put myself at my ease. You will perhaps say that I am unthrifty, but from Tuesday last till now is long enough to lie hard. You would be transported to behold me in my fine galley-slave’s dress. I have a red shirt, made for all the world like the smock-frock of the carters of the Ardennes, and open only in front. Moreover, I have a fine red cap, two pairs of breeches, and two shirts of linen as thick as my finger, and stockings made of cloth. My own clothes are not lost, and if it pleased the king to pardon me, I should resume them. The iron I wear on my foot, although it does not weigh three pounds, incommoded me much more at first than the one you saw round my neck at La Tournelle.”² The hour of liberty never struck for this unfortunate man. He died in 1692, at the galley-slaves’ hospital at

¹ Letter from Admiral Baudin to the president of the Society of the History of French Protestantism. — *Bulletin of the Society for June and July 1852*, p. 53. In 1846, M. Baudin was maritime prefect at Toulon.

² *History of the Sufferings of that blessed Martyr, M. Louis de Marolles*: the Hague, 1699.

Marseilles, and was buried in the Turkish cemetery—the usual resting-place of those Protestants who died at the galleys, faithful to the last to the religion for which they had suffered.

These barbarous cruelties did not slacken the emigration. All who hated servitude hastened to flee from French soil. They set out disguised as pilgrims, couriers, sportsmen with gun on shoulder, peasants driving cattle, porters carrying burthens, in footmen's liveries, and in soldiers' uniforms. The richest had guides, who, for sums varying from 1000 to 6000 livres, helped them to cross the frontier. The poor set out alone, choosing the least practicable roads, travelling by night, and passing the day in forests and caverns, sometimes in barns, or hidden under hay. The women resorted to similar artifices. They dressed themselves as servants, peasants, nurses; they wheeled barrows; they carried hods and burthens. The younger ones smeared or dyed their faces, to avoid attracting notice; others put on the dress of lackeys, and followed on foot, through the mire, a guide on horseback, who passed for their master. The Protestants of the sea-board got away in French, English, and Dutch merchant vessels, whose masters hid them under bales of goods and heaps of coals, and in empty casks, where they had only the bung-hole to breathe through. There they remained, crowded one upon another, until the ship sailed. Fear of discovery and of the galleys gave them courage to suffer. Persons brought up in every luxury, pregnant women, old men, invalids, and children, vied with each other in constancy to escape from their persecutors—often risking themselves, in mere boats, upon voyages the thought of which would in ordinary times have made them shudder. A Norman gentleman, Count de Marancé, passed the Channel, in the depth of winter, with forty persons, amongst whom were several pregnant women, in a vessel of seven tons burthen. Overtaken by

a storm, he remained long at sea, without provisions or hope of succour, dying of hunger ; he, the countess, and all the passengers reduced, for sole sustenance, to a little melted snow, with which they appeased their burning thirst, and moistened the parched lips of their weeping children, until they landed, half dead, upon England's shores.

Fortunately for the refugees, the persons appointed to watch the coast did not always faithfully execute the king's commands. Either from compassion or avidity, they often helped the escape of the fugitives. The land frontiers were not more faithfully guarded. The sentries sometimes themselves served as guides to those it was their duty to arrest. It must also be related, to the honour of humanity, that a great number of Catholics, after aiding the escape of their persecuted countrymen, became depositaries of their property, and faithfully transmitted it to them in their exile. In London, in Amsterdam, in Berlin, many refugees, when telling the tale of their disasters, spoke with tender emotion of those of their fellow-citizens who, deaf to the voice of fanaticism, had hearkened only to the cry of their indignant conscience.

It is now impossible to ascertain the exact number of Protestants who succeeded in quitting France. We believe, however, that we shall not be far from the truth if we admit that, out of one million of Protestants scattered amongst twenty millions of Catholics, from a quarter of a million to three hundred thousand left the country in the last fifteen years of the seventeenth century. The documents we have been able to procure are too vague and incomplete to permit a more exact estimate of the loss sustained by France at that period. The question is moreover obscured by the opponent passions of Protestant and Catholic writers. Jurieu maintains that in 1687 more than two hundred thousand persons had already left France ; but the emigration still continued, and

he could not foresee what would be its term. In a celebrated memorial addressed to Louvois in 1688, Vauban deploras the desertion of a hundred thousand men, the exit of sixty millions from the country, the ruin of trade, hostile fleets recruited by nine thousand of the best sailors in the kingdom, hostile armies by six hundred officers and twelve thousand soldiers inured to war. But these figures, otherwise incomplete, apply in fact but to the military emigration. Sismondi vaguely estimates the number of emigrants at from three to four hundred thousand.

The only official documents to which recourse can be had are the reports addressed to government by the intendants of *généralités* in 1698. But the lists of fugitives they drew up extended over a very small number of years, and consequently gave no exact idea of the supposed mass of Protestants who had passed into foreign lands—for the most part with their entire families. It must be added that several of those reports are silent on this head, that others contain manifest errors, and even falsehoods. Doubtless those who drew them up feared to give, by exact statements, too severe a contradiction to the erroneous previsions of the court, and sought to palliate the disastrous consequences of the revocation. Perhaps, too, to enhance their own reputation for vigilance and skill, they strove to diminish, in the king's mind, the importance of an emigration which testified to their negligence; since it was their mission to prevent it, and since there was no lack of ultra-severe laws, of judges to apply them, of soldiers and hangmen to insure their execution, or of fanatical multitudes ready to stimulate and aid the zeal of their agents. Finally, it is to be remarked that the new converts did all in their power to lead the magistrates into error, and to obliterate the traces of the emigration, in order to save the property of their fugitive relatives, to whom they sent its value in money or merchandise,

and whom they in many instances afterwards rejoined in the countries of their exile.

In the absence of more exact documents, we borrow some data from those reports. They will at least serve to give a proximate appreciation of the number of citizens lost to France out of most of the provinces, and to exhibit some of the fatal consequences of their departure.

Before the revocation there were seventy-two thousand Protestants in Provence, dwelling for the most part at Ormarin, Cabrières, in the villages of the valley of Tour-d'Aigues, and especially at Mérindol, that Geneva of France, which sent out ardent missionaries for the propagation of the doctrines of Calvin. Of these, about one-fifth part left the country between 1686 and 1698.

Dauphiné and Languedoc were the two southern provinces which contained most Protestants. A great many of the Dauphinois emigrated in 1685 and 1686. It appears, from an enumeration made in 1687, that in the election of Grenoble¹ there still were, at that date, 6071 Protestants. At the end of November of that year, 2025 had emigrated. In the election of Vienne, out of 147, 73 left the kingdom that same year; in that of Romans, out of 721, 333; in that of Valence, out of 4229, 617; in that of Gap, *recette* of Briançon, out of 11,296, 3700; in that of Gap, *recette* of Gap, out of 1200, 744; in that of Montélimart, out of 15,580, 2716.

The Protestant population of Languedoc had increased to more than 200,000 men, almost all resident in the seven dioceses of Nismes, Alais, Montpellier, Uzès, Castres, Lavaur, and the Vivarais. In the first, in 1699, they were still 39,664 strong; in the second, 44,766, a number then exceeding that of the Catholic population. If we are to believe Bâville, only 4000 emigrated, and 600 of those soon returned. But the proportion he establishes

¹ By the word election is here meant the district or jurisdiction of an assessor of taxes.

between those who remained and those who left the kingdom, is so inferior to that in Dauphiné and all the other provinces, as certified by the other intendants, that it is impossible to doubt Bâville's intention of concealing the truth. It is true that he does not believe in the sincerity of the new converts, whose number he states at 198,483, disseminated amongst the 1,238,927 old Catholics. To deprive them of all hope of success in case of revolt, he made more than one hundred roads, twelve feet wide, through the Vivarais and the Cevennes, in places previously impracticable, but thenceforward accessible to cavalry and heavy artillery. By his command forts were constructed at Nismes, St Hippolyte, and Alais—that is to say, at the three principal entrances to the Cevennes. In order to substitute for popular massacres the regular and permanent action of a public force, he had enrolled the old Catholics into fifty-two regiments of unpaid militia, spread over the province, and ready to repress all seditious movements. Such was the situation of Languedoc at the commencement of the war of the Spanish succession, whose reverses were soon to be aggravated by a final armed insurrection on the part of the Protestants of the Cevennes.

In 1684, one-half of the inhabitants of Béarn were still Protestants. Thanks to Foucault the intendant, and to Marshal Boufflers' dragoons, they were all converted in that same year. According to the report addressed to the king in 1698, most of the new converts did their duty badly, and indulged a flattering hope that they would be permitted to rebuild their temples, but only a small number had left the kingdom.

Previously to the revocation, Protestants were numerous in the *généralité* of Bordeaux. At Bergerac, and in its neighbourhood, were more than 40,000. The canton of Casteljaloux, renowned for its fine manufactures of paper, was full of them: most of them emigrated.

In 1685, the *généralité* of Bourges reckoned about 5000 Protestants, 2200 of them at Sancerre, which had served as an asylum to so many after the massacre of St Bartholomew; 700 to 800 in the village of Asnières, all vine-dressers and day-labourers, *more obstinate than the others*, wrote the intendant, their ancestors having been *infected* by Calvin himself, when he studied law at Bourges; 250 at Issoudun, and the remainder at St Amand, Valençay, and in a few villages. "Since the revocation," wrote the same intendant (M. Seraucourt) in 1698, "the most zealous have left the country, some for Paris, where they live with more liberty, some for foreign parts. Those who remain perform none of the duties of the Catholic religion, but do not in other respects give offence by their conduct."

The intendant of the *généralité* of La Rochelle, notwithstanding his desire not to displease the king, made, in 1699, an avowal that was quite overwhelming for the promoters of the revocation. "This country," he wrote, "is being insensibly destroyed by the diminution of *more than a third* of its inhabitants." He attributed this growing depopulation to the war, to the poverty of the inhabitants, to the flight of the Protestants, and to the impossibility of marriage for those who remained, because the priests put insurmountable difficulties in their way, preferring to see families become extinct than to see them continued to the advantage of heresy. "The bishops," he said, "are full of zeal for the conversion of those of their diocese, but they are not seconded by their priests, the greater part of whom are very ignorant, very mercenary, litigious, and uncharitable." From this unfortunate province emigration never ceased during the last fifteen years of the reign of Louis XIV., and it continued long after the accession of his successor.

In Auvergne, the little towns of Marsac and of Job-la-Tourgyon lost the best part of their population and of

their trade. The rich manufacturers of Ambert, and a great number of their workmen, left the country ; which, as is admitted by the intendant d'Ormesson, that zealous partisan of the revocation, greatly diminished the lucrative trade in paper, and closed most of the mills.

The paper manufactures of Angoumois were reduced from sixty to sixteen mills at work, by the departure of the masters, and of their workmen, who followed them, some out of religious sympathy, others because they found it their interest so to do.

Of the four hundred tanneries which a short time previously enriched Touraine, there remained but fifty-four in the year 1698. That province's 8000 looms for the manufacture of silken stuffs were reduced to 1200 ; its 700 silk-mills to 70 ; its 40,000 workmen, formerly employed in the winding, preparation, and manufacture of silks, to 4000. Of its 3000 ribbon-looms, not sixty remained. Instead of 2400 bales of silk, it now consumed no more than 700 or 800.

The population of Lyons was 90,000 souls in the time of its prosperity. In 1698 this number had diminished by nearly 20,000. The evils of war, the mortality of the preceding years, and the decrease of manufactures, are the causes to which the intendant attributed this rapid decline. The population of St Etienne had diminished from 16,000 to 14,000 ; that of Villefranche from 3000 to 2200. Of the whole Protestant population of Lyons, there remained but twenty families of new converts. The others, the intendant confesses, carried off their wealth to Switzerland (especially to Geneva), to Holland, England, and Germany. The fine manufacture of Lyons silks long suffered from their departure. Of the 18,000 looms of stuff of all sorts, once at work in that city, there remained in 1698 scarcely 4000.

In the north of France, as in the south, the population was thinned. Out of 1938 Protestant families inhabiting

the *généralité* of Paris, 1202 emigrated, and but 731 remained. Out of 32 families scattered through the election of Senlis, 18 retired into Holland; they were those who had most fortune. Fourteen families remained at Senlis, Verneuil, Brénouille, and Belle-Eglise. Out of 62 families of the election of Compiègne 38 departed, 24 stayed. In the election of Beauvais, out of 48 families, consisting of 168 persons, 22 went to England and Holland. In the election of Mantes, out of 80 families, 74 emigrated; in that of Montfort, 6 went out of 12; in that of Dreux, 18 out of 104. There were 6 families at Bois-le-Roy, in the election of Melun; all expatriated themselves. In that of Meaux, out of about 1500 families, 1000 departed. The 500 that remained consisted of about 2300 persons, most of whom lived, according to the report of the intendant, as they did before their conversion. In the election of Rosoy there were but four Protestant families in the parish of Lumnigny, and as many in that of Morcerf; all went away. Of 53 families in the election of Vézelay, 8 departed, 45 abjured; but most of these observed none of the rites of the Catholic religion. The manufacture of gold and silver lace, in several parishes around Paris, underwent great diminution, and all that country was impoverished in consequence.

Normandy was the one of the northern provinces of France which contained most Protestants. At one time 200,000 dwelt within its limits, giving no grounds for complaint, and forming the most industrious part of the population. After the revocation, the number of the inhabitants of Rouen decreased from 80,000 to 60,000. It is true that the mortality of the years 1693-4, and the calamities of the war which the peace of Ryswick terminated, must have contributed to that mournful result. The town of Caen contained about 4000 Protestants, almost all engaged in maritime trade. The richer ones

all went abroad, and the impoverished population found itself in no condition to carry on the commercial connection they had kept up. At St Lô, out of about 800 Protestants, 400 left the kingdom. The entire Protestant population of Coutances emigrated, and the fine linen manufactures that place possessed were transferred either to the adjacent town of Cerizy, or to the islands of Jersey and Guernsey, and thence to England. In the election of Mortain, out of about 300 Protestants, more than half settled in England and Holland. The emigration of the masters, whose most skilful workmen hastened to follow them, ruined for several years the various branches of trade and manufactures which previously flourished at Rouen, Darnetal, Elbeuf, Louviers, Caudebec, Havre, Pont-Audemer, Caen. This industrious province could now hardly supply its own consumption. More than 26,000 habitations were deserted; and if we may trust to the calculations of the accredited historian of Normandy,¹ there were not less than 184,000 Protestants who took advantage of the vicinity of the sea, and of their connection with England and Holland, to abandon their country.

In Picardy, in the election of Abbeville, out of 160 Protestants, 80 left; in that of Amiens, 1600 out of 2000; in that of Doullens, 60 out of 100; in the Boulonnois, 28 families out of 40. In the governments of Calais and Ardres, out of 3000 families, 2700 went abroad. In Picardy, as in Normandy, the neighbourhood of the sea favoured escape to England and Holland. In the *généralité* of Alençon were about 4000 Protestants, nearly 3000 of whom lived in the town, which they enriched by their trade. The greater part of these latter, after selling the goods with which their warehouses were stored, went abroad with the proceeds.

In Burgundy about one-third of the Protestant popu-

¹ Floquet, *Histoire du Parlement de Normandie*.

lation quitted France. In the bailiwick of Gex, out of 1373 families, 888 went into voluntary banishment.

Champagne was impoverished by the departure of the most industrious portion of its population. Out of 1812 looms which in 1686 were at work at Rheims, not 950 remained in 1698. At R  thel there remained but 37 or 38 manufactories of woollen stuffs, out of 80 that the town previously possessed. Of 105 looms for the manufacture of serge, which existed at M  zi  res before the revocation, there remained but 8 in 1698. The rich manufactory of cloth at S  zanne had but two workmen left, and there was little probability of its reviving, because the masters had emigrated.

The adjacent principality of Sedan lost about 400 families of all classes, who bore with them to Holland, and especially to Leyden and Amsterdam, their fortune, their industry, and a deep-seated feeling of resentment for the ills they had suffered. The curse of expatriation, in this little state, fell principally on the villages of Givonne and Daigny, whence sixty manufacturers of stoves, scythes, and other ironware, departed in less than a month. They were the most flourishing cantons of that country, and have never since regained the degree of prosperity to which they had then attained. Raucourt, St Menges, and Donzy, also greatly suffered by the departure of a portion of their inhabitants. The decrease in trade, the diminution of fortunes, the disappearance of great manufacturing establishments, converted the city of Sedan, up to that time so flourishing, into a poor town. More than 2000 workmen, who had earned their living in the manufactories of the fugitives, found themselves without bread. Sedan did not recover from this state of languor and decay until long afterwards, under the reparatory ministry of Choiseul.

Almost all the Protestants in Metz followed their pastors to Brandenburg. In that city, their number, which,

according to the intendant, was infinite before the revocation, was reduced, at the end of the seventeenth century, to 1700 persons, very zealous, but kept in check by the rigour of the edicts. The number of new converts amounted to 2017 in Metz, to 1313 in the rest of the Pays Messin. Most of the refugees were traders, vinedressers, and gardeners.

In Brittany the number of emigrants was estimated at about 4000, almost all proceeding from Rennes, Nantes, Vitré, and from a few country parishes in the environs of those three towns. Since the revocation the profitable manufacture of the *noyal* cloths decreased from year to year, and the peasants, observing this decline, gradually ceased to cultivate hemp, and sowed the greater part of their land with corn. The once flourishing trade in white linens, carried on at Landernau, Brest, and Morlaix, had diminished, in 1698, by two-thirds. In many parts of Brittany manufacturers found it advisable to discontinue production, and to sell their stock of thread.

In Maine the linen manufactures, formerly so prosperous, which the Protestants had possessed at Le Mans and Mayenne, were rapidly declining; those at Laval were almost ruined. Of 20,000 workmen that there formerly had been, but 6000 remained in 1698, including the women, who spun and wound the thread.

These are the principal figures contained in the intendants' reports on the Protestant emigration. To the ruin of manufactures, which they prove to have occurred in most of the provinces, must be added the diminution of commerce, occasioned by a vexatious measure intended for the prevention of emigration. It had been a habit with the Protestant merchants of Bordeaux to send their sons to London to learn business; those of Caen and Rouen also sent theirs to London, and sometimes to Amsterdam. Fathers and sons were both compelled to discontinue such journeys. Since the revocation none

were permitted to travel abroad but with the king's permission—that is to say, with a passport granted in his name, and signed by the principal minister of state, after inquiries made upon the spot, and transmitted to the court by the commandants and intendants of the various provinces. These officers applied to subordinate functionaries, and, if necessary, to the bishops and priests, to ascertain if the person asking for a passport were not a Protestant or a false convert, who thus sought to prepare himself a retreat upon foreign soil, with the intention of transferring thither his family and capital. To guard against this, the intendants exacted of those who asked for passports—even for a very limited time—security for their return; the amount of the said security being in proportion to the confidence reposed in the good faith of the petitioner. The sums deposited or guaranteed by solvent merchants and by notarial acts amounted to 10,000, 20,000, and 30,000 livres; and even then the intendants sometimes excited the minister's suspicions, and advised refusal of passports, in the apprehension that the Protestants had resolved to sacrifice a part of their fortune to avoid the confiscation of the rest, to escape imprisonment, or the necessity of betraying their faith and conscience by abjuration.¹

These deplorable difficulties laid a species of interdiction on French commerce. Foreign countries did as well as they could without it, and the necessity in which they often found themselves thus to act had consequences more fatal to France than any occasioned by the ill-will of her enemies.

It were erroneous to suppose that Louis XIV. did not foresee these fatal consequences; but, doubtless, he guessed not their extent, and thought to give to France durable

¹ The papers relating to the Protestants, to be found in the Archives, are full of notes supplied by the intendants on the presumed intentions of persons who asked for passports to foreign parts.

repose and prosperity at the cost of a fleeting evil. A considerable part of the nation partook of the delusion; and it may be said that, with the exception of Vauban, St Simon, and a small number of superior minds (amongst whom must be reckoned Christina of Sweden), the nation was the accomplice, either by its acts or by its silence, of the great king's fault. Some days after the publication of the edict, Madame de Sévigné wrote to her daughter: "You have doubtless seen the edict by which the king revokes that of Nantes. There is nothing so fine as all that it contains, and never has any king done, nor will ever do, aught as memorable." Chancellor Le Tellier, after affixing the seal of state to the fatal act, declared that he would never seal another, and pronounced those words of the canticle of Simeon, which, in the mouth of the aged Hebrew, referred to the coming of the Lord. The clergy celebrated the day of revocation by public thanksgivings, in which the people of Paris eagerly took part. "Touched by so many marvels," exclaimed Bossuet, "let us expand our hearts in praises of the piety of Louis. Let our acclamations ascend to the skies, and let us say to this new Constantine, this new Theodosius, this new Marcian, this new Charlemagne, what the thirty-six fathers formerly said in the council of Chalcedon: 'You have strengthened faith, you have exterminated heretics; it is a work worthy of your reign, whose proper character it is. Thanks to you, heresy is no more. God alone can have worked this marvel. King of heaven, preserve the king of earth: it is the prayer of the Church, it is the prayer of the bishops.'"

Massillon, in his turn, celebrated Louis XIV.'s great victory over heresy: "How far did he not carry his zeal for the Church, that virtue of sovereigns who have received power and the sword only that they may be props of the altar and defenders of its doctrine! Specious reasons of state! in vain did you oppose to Louis the

timid views of human wisdom, the body of the monarchy enfeebled by the flight of so many citizens, the course of trade slackened, either by the deprivation of their industry or by the furtive removal of their wealth; dangers fortify his zeal, the work of God fears not man; he believes even that he strengthens his throne by overthrowing that of error. The profane temples are destroyed, the pulpits of seduction are cast down, the prophets of falsehood are torn from their flocks. At the first blow dealt to it by Louis, heresy falls, disappears, and is reduced either to hide itself in the obscurity whence it issued, or to cross the seas, and to bear with it into foreign lands its false gods, its bitterness, and its rage.”¹

Fléchier testified the same enthusiasm for the zeal and piety of Louis XIV. In a discourse uttered before the French Academy, the Abbé Tallemand exclaimed, when speaking of the temple at Charenton, which had just been destroyed: “Happy ruins, the finest trophy France ever beheld! The statues and triumphal arches erected to the glory of the king will not exalt it more than this temple of heresy overthrown by his piety. That heresy, which thought itself invincible, is entirely vanquished. . . . There seems such power in the conqueror of heresy, that the mere idea of this victory strikes into the soul of his enemies a terror which stops them short. Nothing but the fable of the hydra can aid us in some sort to describe by words the astonishing victory we admire.”

The Jansenists themselves departed from the rigidity of their principles to approve the conduct of Louis XIV. After having long maintained, in their writings, that God accepts no other homage than our love, that an enterprise founded on profanity must necessarily incur the malediction of heaven and fail, and that their hair stood on end at the mere thought of the unwilling communions of Calvinists, they suddenly changed their language, and

¹ Massillon's Funeral Oration on Louis XIV.

declared by the great Arnault, their most illustrious interpreter, that *the means which had been employed were rather violent, but nowise unjust.*

At Rome, the joy was immense. A *Te Deum* was sung in thanksgiving for the conversion of the Huguenots, and Pope Innocent XI. sent a brief to Louis XIV., in which he promised him the unanimous praises of the Church. The arts concurred to celebrate this deplorable victory. In one of the brilliant saloons of Versailles is still seen a painting in which hideous forms fly at sight of the chalice. This masterpiece of Lesueur's represents the sects vanquished by the Catholic Church. The provost and sheriffs of Paris erected at the Hôtel-de-Ville a brazen statue in honour of the king who had rooted out heresy. The bas-reliefs displayed a frightful bat, whose large wings enveloped the works of Calvin and of Huss. On the statue was this inscription: *Ludovico Magno, victori perpetuo, ecclesie ac regum dignitatis assertori.*¹ Medals were struck to perpetuate the memory of this fatal event. One of them represented Religion planting a cross on ruins, to mark the triumph of truth over error, with this legend, *Religio victrix*; and this exergue, *Templis Calvinianorum eversis* 1685. Another represented Religion placing a crown on the head of the king, who leaned upon a rudder and trampled heresy under foot, with this legend, which comprised at once an error and a lie: *Ob viciis centena millia Calvinianorum ad ecclesiam revocata.* MDCLXXXV.

¹ This statue, which replaced that of the young king trampling the Fronde under foot, was melted in 1792, and cast into cannon, which thundered at Valmy.

BOOK SECOND.

BOOK SECOND.

THE REFUGEES IN BRANDENBURG.

CHAPTER I.

THE REFUGEES UNDER THE ELECTOR FREDERICK-WILLIAM.¹

OLD CONNECTION OF THE ELECTORS OF BRANDENBURG WITH FRANCE—POLICY OF THE GREAT ELECTOR—REFUGEES BEFORE THE REVOCATION—EDICT OF POTSDAM—RECEPTION OF THE REFUGEES—THE CHAMBER OF THE “SOL POUR LIVRE”—DISTRIBUTION OF THE REFUGEES: THEIR NUMBER.

1°. MILITARY MEN: THEIR SERVICES—COMPANIES OF CADETS—THE “GRANDS MOUSQUETAIRES”—CORPS OF MINERS—PIEDMONTESE COMPANIES—NAVY.

2°. GENTLEMEN: THEIR DIPLOMATIC SERVICES.

3°. LITERARY MEN AND ARTISTS: THE CLERGY—JACQUES ABBADIE—WRITERS—LAWYERS—CHARLES ANCILLON—PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS—MEDICAL COLLEGE—PAINTERS—ARCHITECTS.

4°. TRADERS AND MANUFACTURERS: ASSISTANCE GRANTED—COLONY OF MAGDEBURG—COLONY OF HALLE—BERLIN MANUFACTURES—DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE—THE LOMBARD—MULTIPLICATION OF WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES—MANUFACTURE OF HATS—TANNERIES—THE SHAMOY-DRESSER, THE TAWER, THE GLOVER—PAPER-MILLS—LINSEED AND RAPE OIL—SILK-MANUFACTORIES—CARPETS AND TAPESTRY—GLASS-WORKS—IRON AND COPPER MINES—MANUFACTORIES OF ARMS—BUTTON-MAKING—BRASS INSTRUMENTS—GOLD-SMITH'S WARE AND JEWELLERY—EMBROIDERY—PRINTED CALICOES—GAUZE—HARDWARE—FASHIONS—COTTON MANUFACTURES—INCREASE OF POPULATION—COLONY AT BERLIN.

5°. AGRICULTURISTS: AGRICULTURAL COLONIES—DISTRIBUTION OF LANDS—VAUDOIS AND ORANGE EMIGRANTS—CULTIVATION OF TOBACCO—GARDENING—CULTIVATION OF THE KITCHEN-GARDEN—FLOWERS.

PRIOR to the great epoch of the Refuge, which began in 1685, a host of Protestants had already quitted France,

¹ This first chapter, which comprises the establishment of the refugees in Brandenburg, under the Elector Frederick-William, is a very succinct summary of the *Memoirs of Erman and Réclam*, completed on some points with the assistance of other writers. The second chapter, which contains the history of the refugees after the accession of the Elector Frederick III., is founded, like all the rest of the work, upon new documents, of which scarcely any have been published.

to establish themselves in England, Holland, Switzerland, and other countries that had embraced the new doctrines. Notwithstanding the distance, many had settled in Brandenburg. In that country, religious liberty, banished from France, had found an inviolable asylum. There, French Protestants might reckon on a welcome, all the more cordial because the court of Berlin itself was Calvinist and almost French. In 1611 the Margrave John-George had gone to the university of Saumur, where he formed a close friendship with Duplessis-Mornay. In 1614 he openly embraced Calvinism; whether it was that he preferred the doctrine of the Genevese reformer to that of Luther, or whether he desired thus to consolidate his alliance with Holland. His brother Joachim-Sigismund, second son of the Elector John-Sigismund, was sent, some years later, to the university of Sedan. The calamities that overtook Brandenburg during the Thirty Years' War prevented Frederick-William from visiting France; but this prince, the true founder of the greatness of his house, did not the less receive a thoroughly French education at the court of Orange, whither his father, George-William, sent him in his early youth. The princes of Orange, heirs of the old counts of Châlons, were established in Holland, but their court was French; and Frederick-William there contracted intimacies with the Bouillons, the Turennes, and the flower of the Protestant nobility of France. His marriage with Louisa Henrietta, daughter of the Stadtholder Frederick-Henry, and grand-daughter of William the Taciturn and of Louise de Châtillon, Coligny's daughter, contributed yet more to give the French language a marked preponderance at the court of Berlin. Arrived at a degree of perfection which no other yet approached, it was naturally greatly preferred to the German tongue, which was but just extricating itself from the barbarism of the Middle Ages. Elegant society hastened to adopt it.

The first offices of the state were filled by men who had lived long in Paris, and who spoke and wrote in French. One of the most illustrious families in the country, that of the counts of Dohna, almost ceased to be German, by reason of the long stay it made in France, and of the alliances it formed there.

But it was not his birth and education alone that inspired Frederick-William with the warmest sympathy for the refugees. State reasons urged him still more strongly to receive with eagerness all who asked an asylum. On his accession to the throne in 1640, he had found his country depopulated by war, agriculture neglected, trade and manufactures entirely destroyed. His long reign was passed in efforts to heal the wounds Brandenburg had received. He encouraged foreigners to settle in the country, where he granted them lands, and aided them to establish themselves. Louis XIV.'s persecution of the Protestants appeared to him to afford a favourable opportunity of attracting into his dominions a part of that laborious and honest population which participated in the general progress that industry and trade, literature and the arts, had achieved in France. He saw that, by giving them a welcome, he should not be opening an asylum to fugitives bare of all resources, but to active intelligent men, who would give their talents in exchange for the advantages granted them.

Schwerin, Frederick-William's minister at the court of Versailles, profited by the first rigorous measures directed against the Protestants, to induce them to settle in Brandenburg. As early as 1661, several French families went to reside at Berlin. Their numbers gradually increased, and, after a few years, the elector permitted them to found a church, where divine service was celebrated for the first time in the French language on the 10th June 1672. This community, the cradle of the colony of Berlin, consisted originally but of about one

hundred families, the most illustrious of which was that of Count Louis de Beauveau d'Espenses, the elector's master of the horse. The numbers of the refugees did not much increase until the revocation of the edict of Nantes. But scarcely had Louis XIV. committed that irreparable error, when Frederick-William resolved to profit by it. To the edict of revocation he hastened to respond, on the 29th October 1685, by the edict of Potsdam. In the preface to that memorable act, he said—

“As the persecutions and rigorous proceedings used for a long time past in France against those of the reformed religion have compelled many families to quit that kingdom, and seek establishment in foreign countries, we have been pleased, touched with the just compassion that we must necessarily feel for those who suffer for the Gospel, and for the purity of the faith that we profess in common with them, to offer, by the present edict signed by our hand, to the said Frenchmen a safe and free retreat in all the countries and provinces of our dominions; and to declare to them, at the same time, with what rights, franchises, and advantages we propose there to endow them, in order to relieve them, and in some sort to make amends for the calamities with which Providence has thought fit to visit so considerable a part of His church.”

The declaration of Potsdam opened to the refugees a safe and inviolable asylum in the states of the elector. It promised them, moreover, the most efficient protection in the countries they would have to pass through on their way to Brandenburg. Frederick-William's representative at Amsterdam was directed to supply them with provisions, and with vessels to convey them to Hamburg, where the Prussian resident was to assist them to reach the towns they should select as places of abode. Those who left France by the Sedanais, the Pays Messin, or by

Burgundy and the southern provinces, were invited to proceed to Frankfort on the Maine, where the Prussian resident awaited them with subsidies and means of travelling. Thence they were to descend the Rhine to Clèves, to settle in that duchy, and in the County of La Marek, which the partition arranged by the treaty of Santen had allotted to the house of Brandenburg. Great facilities were accorded to those who preferred pushing farther forward into the Prussian states. The property they brought with them paid neither duty nor toll. The deserted houses they might find in towns were assigned to them in all property. The local authorities were ordered to furnish wood, lime, bricks, and other necessary materials for the reconstruction of these. For six years they were exempt from all taxes. The gardens, meadows, and pasturages appertaining to those houses were likewise to be made over to the emigrants.

The right of citizenship was assured to the refugees in all the towns where they might fix their abode. They were to be admitted into those corporations of trades which they should select on their arrival. To those who desired to create manufactures, the edict guaranteed privileges, and all the assistance necessary to the success of their enterprises. To agriculturists, it offered lands to clear; to noblemen, places, honours, dignities, and, if they should purchase fiefs, the same rights and prerogatives that the native nobility enjoyed. In towns where several families of refugees should settle, they were permitted to choose amongst themselves judges to terminate their differences, without any formality of trial. If disputes arose between French and Germans, they were to be terminated by the magistrate of the place, conjointly with the one who had been freely chosen by the newcomers. A minister was attached to each colony to perform divine service in French, with the ceremonies practised in France by the reformed church. Special

commissioners were sent to each province to protect the refugees. To this end they were to correspond with the general commission at Berlin, charged to report to the elector.

Frederick-William's declaration was quickly disseminated in France. In vain did the intendants of provinces publish severe orders to compel those who possessed copies to deliver them up to the authorities. In vain did they affirm that the edict of Potsdam was a fabrication : nobody believed the falsehood. The city of Frankfort was soon crowded with emigrants from the eastern provinces of France. The elector's resident in that place, Matthew Mérian, provided for all their wants. The princes whose states they were to traverse, and especially the Landgrave of Hesse, had been forewarned of their coming ; so that they were everywhere welcomed, not as distressed exiles, but as the adopted subjects of a powerful sovereign. At the frontier of Brandenburg they found commissaries to receive and succour them, and instal them in their new country. They could hardly perceive that they were transported into a foreign land.

Those who came from the provinces adjacent to the Netherlands found, at Amsterdam, eager auxiliaries in the elector's two agents, Romswinckel and Diest, who supplied them with means to reach Hamburg. Thence Gericke, the resident, forwarded them to the various parts of Brandenburg where they wished to settle. Thus did their arrival in that country in no way resemble a flight. They were expected, taken by the hand, and the foundation of a new fortune was laid for them beforehand by their generous protector.

The refugees naturalised in Brandenburg were not completely confounded with the natives. The elector apprehended their transferring themselves, after a while, to England and Holland, whither they might be attracted by sympathy with a more commercial and manufacturing

population, further advanced in letters and arts. To attach them to a country of whose language, manners, and customs they were wholly ignorant, he allowed them to subsist, to a certain extent, as a national body. They had, as in France, their courts of justice, their consistories, their synods, and all proceedings that concerned them were conducted in French. They seemed to be still living amongst their relations and friends, so completely did Brandenburg reproduce their distant country. This far-sighted policy completely succeeded. Not only did the colonies remain, but they were increased by the arrival of a great number of refugees who had at first settled in Switzerland, Holland, and England. Vaudois, Walloons, Orangese, whole families from Geneva, Vaud, Neuchâtel, Montbéliard, came to profit by the privileges that this second native country offered them.

The establishment of the refugees put the elector to fresh charges. Travelling expenses, the subsistence of the poor, advances to merchants, manufacturers, artisans, and labourers, the pensions it was necessary to grant to numerous nobles and officers for whom no employment could be found, caused expenses so much the more burthensome, that the resources of a state of two millions of souls, without manufactures, and exhausted by a ruinous war, were necessarily feeble and insufficient. Frederick-William prudently avoided having recourse to fresh taxes, which might have exposed the refugees to the hatred of his German subjects. He did not hesitate to dip into his private treasure. "I will sell my plate," he one day said, "sooner than let them lack assistance." He afterwards had collections made, but the sums they produced were insufficient to supply the wants of so many fugitives. In those early days of the emigration, all, even the most active and industrious, required the prince's assistance. But the elector foresaw that his sacrifices would be but temporary, and that the industry of the exiles would soon

repay him his advances with usury. He also presumed that most of them would ultimately be able to realise a part of the property they had possessed in their native land. It would be erroneous to suppose that the first refugees bore with them into exile nothing but their misfortunes and their new hopes. Jurieu estimates at not less than 200 crowns the average sum that each took out of France. Several commercial families of Lyons sent as much as 600,000 crowns into Holland and England, whither it was easy for them to transport their fortune, thanks to their connection with the merchants of those countries. But if the richest emigrants preferred the countries that offered them superior advantages, there yet were, amongst those who settled in Brandenburg, many who had managed to save some portion of their fortune. In the first years that followed the revocation, French silver money formed a large portion of the mass of specie circulating in the country; and, during the whole of the eighteenth century, one commonly met, in Germany, with the louis-d'ors the emigrants had imported thither, and which were known by the name of old louis. The elector made the most of these first resources. Most of the refugees depended for sole means of subsistence upon the interest of their capital, for which it was difficult to find investment. He came to their assistance, by ordaining that any sums they chose to pay in should be received by his treasury. In exchange they received bonds, bearing interest at six, seven, and eight per cent, reimbursable in full after three months' notice to the treasurer. The establishment of the *Chambre du sol pour livre* (chamber of the sou in the livre) was another means of relief for the fugitives. The French officers having offered to leave in the paymaster's hands the twentieth part of their pay—or, as they said, *le sol pour livre*—for the assistance of the most necessitous, all who shared the bounty of the elector desired to contribute to the

charity. The prince approved the institution, and enriched it by the gift of all the fines his subjects might incur. The Duke of Schomberg subscribed the annual sum of 2000 livres, which was regularly paid up to his departure for England.

Four illustrious refugees, who had been for several years settled in Brandenburg, had charge given them of all that concerned the establishment of their future companions in exile. The four were—Count de Beauveau, Claude du Bellay, Henry de Briquemault, and Gualtier de St Blancard.

The Count de Beauveau, lord of Espenses, had been a lieutenant-colonel in the service of Louis XIV. His religion preventing his advancement in the army, he obtained permission to quit the kingdom, and retired into Brandenburg about fifteen years before the revocation. The elector received him with favour, and soon employed him in the negotiations which preceded the peace of Nimeguen and the treaty of St Germain. On his return from Paris, he made him lieutenant-general of his armies, colonel of his guards, and master of the horse. He was the true founder of the church of Berlin, and the first receiver of the *deniers des pauvres*. To him the elector intrusted the establishment of the refugees proceeding from the Isle of France, where he had passed his youth.

Claude du Bellay, lord of Anché, was sprung from one of the most ancient families of Anjou. He had gone to Berlin several years before the revocation. The elector made him his chamberlain, and confided to him the education of the three margraves, Albert-Frederick, Charles-Philip, and Christian-Louis. Subsequently he associated him with Count de Beauveau, for the establishment of the refugees from Anjou and Poitou.

Henry de Briquemault, baron of St Loup, in the duchy of Réthel, belonged to one of the first families of the

reformed party. The elector made him lieutenant-general, intrusted to him the organisation of a regiment of cuirassiers, appointed him governor of Lippstadt, and deputed him to superintend the establishment of the refugees from Champagne, who went into Westphalia. He it was who organised the first colonies at Lippstadt, Ham, Soest, Minden, and founded the French churches of Clèves, Wesel, Emmerich, and Duysburg.

Gaultier de St Blancard, who had been a pastor at Montpellier, was appointed preacher at the court of Berlin, and had the care of the refugees from Languedoc. He it was who presented Frenchmen of rank to the elector.

The electress, Louisa Henrietta, and the future queen, Sophia-Charlotte, desired to have presented to them the women whom the rigours of persecution had driven from their country. With delicate attention, court etiquette was modified in their favour, and they were admitted in black dresses—their best ornament the voluntary indigence they had preferred to apostasy.

One of the most notable chiefs of the emigration was David Ancillon, pastor at Metz. In spite of the edict of Nantes and the treaty of Westphalia, upon the observance of which seemed to depend the peace of all Europe, the Pays Messin, until then gently dealt with as a conquered country, was included in the general misfortune that overtook the French Protestants in 1685. Measures had been so well taken, that the edict of revocation was registered there the same day as in Paris. It was taken to Metz the 22d October, the temple was shut the 24th, and its demolition began upon the following day. The pastors, Ancillon, de Combles, Joly, and Bancelin, invoked in vain the privileges of their country. "What!" harshly exclaimed Louvois, "they have but a step to take to quit the country, and they are not already gone?" On learning this reply, they set out for Branden-

burg. The elector received them with honour, and named Ancillon pastor of the Berlin church. A great number of the faithful followed them into exile. Those who remained endured cruel persecution. Paul Chenevix, senior councillor of the parliament of Metz—then more than eighty years old, and who for fifty-three years had been seated on the *fleurs-de-lys*—courageously resisted, upon his deathbed, the prayers and threats of the governor and bishop, and breathed his last sigh without having consented to receive the sacraments of the Church of Rome. The presidial court ordered his corpse to be drawn upon a hurdle. In vain did the indignant parliament stop the execution of this barbarous order, which the rigour of the edicts authorised. An order from the court overruled their act, and the old man's body was dragged through the streets. This cruel sentence, and the fear of having their children taken from them, decided between two and three thousand inhabitants of the Pays Messin to take refuge in Brandenburg. Many went to Berlin, attracted by Ancillon's reputation. Amongst them were the Lord of Baucourt, who was named commandant of Frankfort on the Oder, and major-general; Le Bachellé, councillor of the presidial court at Metz; de Varennes, de Vernicourt, de Montigni, Le Chenevix, Le Goulon, Ferri. A German writer estimates at no less than two millions of crowns the sums with which they enriched their new country. But they brought thither, above all, a branch of industry which soon turned to the profit of the native population. Brandenburg owes to them perfection in the art of gardening, and in the cultivation of fruit trees. At the present day, the suburbs of Berlin are in great part inhabited by the descendants of the Metz emigrants who still practise the art, unknown in the north of Germany until the arrival there of their ancestors.

David Ancillon superintended the establishment of the

refugees from the Messin; the pastor Abbadie that of those from Béarn. It is not possible exactly to ascertain the total number of the French who retired to Brandenburg. For several years they passed, not only from one colony to another, but also from one country of refuge into the adjacent country. Often they arrived singly, and were not inscribed on the roll of immigrants. In the list of the colonies, which Charles Ancillon was desired to draw up in 1697, their numbers amount but to 12,297. But he had not set down those scattered about the country, mingled with the natives, or fixed in towns where there were no French churches. Above all, his list did not comprise military men, of whom there were then five regiments. If we add the three thousand refugees who at first had gone to Switzerland, and who joined the colonies of Brandenburg in 1699, and about two thousand refugees from the principality of Orange, who arrived in the first few years of the eighteenth century, the whole number does not amount to less than twenty-five thousand men. They may be divided into six classes: the military, gentlemen, men of letters and artists, traders and manufacturers, labourers, and unfortunate persons without any resources. All received assistance in money, employments, privileges, and contributed in their turn, in a proportion very superior to their number, to the greatness of their adopted country.

1°. THE MILITARY.

At the end of the seventeenth century, part of the Protestant nobility of France held subordinate ranks under Schomberg and Duquesne, who still held their high commands in the army and navy. Before the revocation several went abroad. The Prince of Tarentum took service in the Dutch army, the Duke of La Tremouille in that of Hesse, Count de Roye in that of Denmark. Others went to Brandenburg, whither a

concurrence of fortunate circumstances called them. In his youth, Frederick-William had been sent to Holland, to serve his apprenticeship to war under Frederick-Henry, Prince of Orange. Turenne, the prince's nephew, had studied in the same school, whither the Protestant nobility of France willingly resorted, in hopes of fighting against the tyranny of Spain. Thus were formed, between the elector and the French officers, connections or intimacies which decided many of them to seek asylum in his dominions. To the Counts of Beauveau and de Briquemault, who set the example, were subsequently added Henry d'Hallard, a distinguished officer, whom the elector appointed counsellor-at-war, major-general of infantry, and commandant of the fortresses on the Peene; Pierre de la Cave, whom he named governor of Pillau and major-general; Du Plessis Gouret, who became colonel and commandant of Magdeburg and Spandau. These favours were repaid by glorious services. In 1676, d'Hallard defended the town of Wolgast against the Swedish allies of France, who besieged it with a formidable train of artillery, and two years later he assisted the elector to conquer the island of Rugen. Du Plessis Gouret contributed to the defeat of the Swedes at Fehrbellin, a victory which assured to Brandenburg the preponderance in northern Germany. After them came Count Henry de Montgomery, Colonel Dolé-Belgard, the Counts de Comminges, de Cadal, de Gressy, and a great number of subaltern officers, who were admitted into the Prussian army, and filled the gaps made by the Thirty Years' War. The number of officers who retired into Brandenburg after the revocation may be estimated at more than six hundred. The elector admitted them into his army, which he did not hesitate to augment in their favour, adding companies to several regiments, and even forming new regiments in order to give them employment. To all of them he assigned (a signal mark of his esteem) a

higher rank than that they had held in France. Thus, colonels became major-generals ; lieutenant-colonels, colonels ; majors, lieutenant-colonels ; captains, majors ; and lieutenants got their companies. The refugee officers were appointed, in preference, to regiments commanded by French colonels, or by German colonels to whom French was familiar. The corps of infantry and cavalry commanded by Briquemault was filled with French officers, and even with French soldiers. His regiment of cuirassiers, composed at first but of six squadrons, was augmented to ten in 1686. From this regiment proceeded men who were afterwards the glory of the Refuge, such as the Beauforts and the Du Buissons, who then served in subaltern ranks, but who rose to that of general.

The arrival of the Marquis de Varennes gave the elector a new opportunity of strengthening his army. Of a noble family in Champagne, Varennes had had the king for his godfather, and this honour had brought him, whilst yet in the cradle, a company and a captain's commission. In 1685 he was lieutenant-colonel, and commanded a battalion of the regiment of Maine, most of whose officers were Protestants. Frederick-William made him a colonel, and authorised him to raise a regiment of sixteen companies, on the footing of those of France. All the officers of this regiment were French ; many of the private soldiers also. Most of them had belonged to the regiment of Maine, and had accompanied their chief into his voluntary exile. From their ranks afterwards issued one of the most distinguished officers the Refuge gave to Brandenburg, Joel de Cournaud, of a noble family of Guienne, who had commanded a battalion in France. The elector made him colonel ; his successor promoted him to be lieutenant-general. He fought in Italy during the war of the Spanish succession, and distinguished himself by his skill and courage. It was also

under the following reign that a fourth regiment was raised, consisting almost entirely of French officers and soldiers, and commanded by Lieutenant-General Rouvillas de Veyne.

These various newly-raised corps did not suffice to employ all the officers whom the edict of Potsdam had brought to Brandenburg. It was necessary to provide for the remainder. Those too advanced in years to continue active service, received pay in proportion to their rank, and of larger amount than the retiring pensions to which they were entitled in France. Those who had commanded regiments obtained pensions of five hundred crowns, with the rank of major-general, and the seniors were appointed to governments. Several were placed in the colonies, commissioned to terminate such disputes as might arise amongst the new-comers, and to maintain amongst them a spirit of peace and fraternity.

Whilst thus turning to account the services of officers too old to enter his army, the elector sought to avail himself of those of a great number of young nobles who desired to embrace the profession of arms. In 1682, Louvois had formed companies of cadets at Tournay and Metz, and, later, at Strasburg and Besançon, for the reception of young men of family, whose fortune was not equal to their birth. From these military academies Louis XIV.'s armies had drawn a host of able officers, to whom they partly owed the rigid discipline that made them the admiration of Europe, and which has since been surpassed only by the troops of Frederick II.

In 1685, a large number of cadets fled from the frontier towns, and scattered themselves through Holland and Brandenburg. The Prince of Orange and Frederick-William formed whole companies of them. Two of these companies were sent to Brandenburg to Cournaud's regiment, one to Lippstadt to Briquemault's corps, and a fourth to that of Varennes. The muster-roll of these

cadets shows us names that were not undistinguished: Fouquet, Beaufort, Beauchardis, La Salle, Du Périer, De Portal, Montfort, St Maurice, St Blancard. The elector, by forming these companies, laid the first foundation of the schools of cadets afterwards created for the education of the Prussian nobility. In the eighteenth century, the aggrandisement of the monarchy gave additional weight to those schools, and placed them almost upon a level with those of France, which had served as their models.

Of all the officers of high rank who quitted France, Marshal Schomberg was the most illustrious. But his residence at Berlin was of short duration. The elector endeavoured in vain to retain him, by naming him governor-general of Prussia, minister of state, member of the privy council in which sat the princes of the blood, and generalissimo of all the Brandenburg troops. The great interests of Protestantism decided him to join the Prince of Orange, whom he helped to overthrow James II. It was by his advice that the elector formed a corps composed solely of gentlemen, on the model of the *mousquetaires* or horse-guards of the King of France. An act of violence, of which the Protestant *mousquetaires* had been guilty in the church of Charenton, had served as a pretext for dispensing with their services. A great many of them having retired to Berlin, Frederick-William formed them into two companies of sixty men each. They received the name of *grands mousquetaires*, and the rank of lieutenants in the army. The elector himself was colonel of the first company, which took up its quarters at Prentzlau, capital of the Ukraine Marches, where was a French colony. His second in command was Count Dolna, his first captain the Marquis of Montbrun. Schomberg was colonel of the other company, which was quartered at Furstenwald.¹

¹ The complete list of all the *grands mousquetaires* is to be read in *Erman and Réclam*, vol. ii. p. 244-260.

As yet, Frederick - William had no special corps. After the revocation he formed one of miners, and placed in it several refugee engineers for whom he had been unable to find employment in his army. Amongst them he showed particular favour to two illustrious men, Jean Cayart, a pupil of Vauban, upon whom Louis XIV. and Louvois had publicly bestowed the highest praise, and to whom they had intrusted the fortification of Verdun, and Philip de la Chiese, a native of Orange, who made the canal of Muhlrose, to connect the Spree with the Oder, and so to establish a communication between the North Sea and the Baltic. Both of these men subsequently initiated Frederick-William's subjects into the arts of engineering and fortification, then in their infancy in Germany, whereas in France Vauban had carried them to high perfection.

When the Duke of Savoy renewed his persecutions of the Vaudois, the elector received in his dominions a certain number of those unfortunates, of whom he formed a last corps, which was called the *free company*. It was the origin of the two *Piedmontese companies* that afterwards distinguished themselves in Italy under the command of Cournaud.

The glory of Duquesne had attracted a great number of Protestants to the navy. Most of them belonged to the southern provinces, where the proscribed religion had retained most partisans. Attempts were first made to convert them by fair means. A doctor of the Sorbonne, named Pilon, was sent to the officers of the Toulon fleet to reclaim them by his discourse. But he soon disgusted them, and returned unsuccessful. Recourse was then had to violence, and they were ordered, in the king's name, to be converted. Those who refused were at once dismissed the service. Most of them emigrated to England and Holland; some went to Brandenburg. After the brilliant victory of Fehrbellin, Frederick-William had equip-

ped some vessels to cruise in the Baltic and harass the Swedish trade. The Dutchman Raulé had superintended the construction of this flotilla, which aided the elector to possess himself of Stettin and the island of Rugen. To him the refugee officers addressed themselves, and he employed them according to the ranks they had held in their own country.

Frederick-William turned his infant navy to good account. In 1682 he took possession of part of the coast of Guinea, and built there the fort of Gross-Friedrichsburg. In 1685 he occupied the island of Arguin, at the mouth of the Senegal, and formed the African company to trade in slaves and gold-dust. In 1686 he formed establishments in the islands of St Thomas and St Eustache, where soon took refuge a great number of Protestants who had been transported to America by order of Louis XIV. These colonies, founded by the great elector, maintained themselves under the following reign. But Prussia, engaged in great Continental struggles, had not sufficient resources to keep up a navy capable of making itself respected. She ended by contenting herself with a merchant navy, and in 1720 sold those distant establishments to the Dutch.

2°. THE GENTLEMEN.

Under pretext of verifying which were the reformed churches subsisting in the time of Henry IV., and of examining the legitimacy of their rights, Louis XIV. had compelled the consistories to give up their original titles, and their registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials. These documents were retained, and a great number of noble families thus found themselves deprived of legal means of proving their origin. When the temples were demolished in 1685, gentlemen lost the proofs of nobility to be traced in the decorations of the tombs. When pillaging their houses and châteaux, Louvois' soldiers

destroyed their family papers. Fortunately for them, the learned Spanheim, the elector's minister at Paris, had kept up an acquaintance with the principal Protestant families of that capital. Count de Beauveau, Du Bellay, de Béville, de Briquemault, Gaultier de Saint Blancard, Abbadie, who knew most of the noble families of the provinces, were also witnesses to whom gentlemen might address themselves to prove their nobility. Finally, the Marquis de Rébenac, French ambassador at Berlin, a descendant of the house of Feuquières, which Protestantism had so long reckoned amongst its defenders, never refused the refugees any evidence he could give of their birth, although he thereby risked displeasing the cabinet of Versailles.

To those of the refugee gentlemen who did not enter the army the elector gave places at his court, or admitted them into the diplomatic corps with the title of councillors of embassy. Count de Beauveau was employed in the negotiations that preceded the treaty of Nimeguen, then sent to the Marshal de Créquy to complain of the ravages of the French troops in Westphalia, and sent a second time to France to sign, in the elector's name, the peace of St Germain. Du Plessis Gouret was charged with an important mission in Switzerland. Pierre de Falaiseau was sent to the court of England, then to that of Sweden, which the elector wished to detach from the alliance of Louis XIV. In the following reign he was for six years ambassador at Copenhagen.

Several councillors of embassy, for whom this quality had been at first but an honorary title, were subsequently intrusted with the direction of ecclesiastical affairs, and of the civil affairs of the colonies. They almost all belonged to distinguished French families. Amongst them were Olivier de Marconnay, lord of Blanzay, a native of Poitou; Jacques de Maxuel, lord of Deschamps, born at Pont-Audemer; Philip Choudens de

Grema, from the district of Gex, whom the elector sent to Switzerland to induce the French refugees, and especially the manufacturers, to transfer themselves to Brandenburg ; Louis de Montagnac, formerly a king's councillor at the presidial court of Béziers ; Henry de Mirmand, who had been president at the parliament of Nismes before the suppression of the mixed courts ; the Baron de Fauçières, of the ancient family of the Counts de Narbonne Pelet ; Isaac de Larrey, lord of Grandchamp in the Cotentin, whom Queen Sophia-Charlotte appointed her reader, and lodged in her palace of Charlottenburg ; the Marquis of Chandieu, lord of Boule in the Beaujolais ; Francis d'Agoust, lord of Bonneval, whose family was allied to the Lesdiguières and the Créquy ; Eleazar de la Primaudaye, whose father had been governor of Tours ; Baron Philip de Jaucourt, lord of Brazé, of one of the most ancient families in the kingdom.

3°. LITERARY MEN AND ARTISTS.

The acts of severity that preceded and followed the revocation, drove from France a large number of men illustrious for their learning, who betook themselves to Geneva, to Heidelberg, and to the universities of England and Holland. The elector welcomed several of them to his dominions, in hopes that they would contribute to enlighten the minds and polish the still uncouth manners of his subjects. His ministers, Schwerin, Meinders, and Dohna, seconded him in his efforts ; and, thanks to their intercourse with those eminent men, the court of Berlin acquired an elegance and lustre that gave it some resemblance to the brilliant court of Versailles.

Amongst the men of letters, the pastors were the first to arrive in Brandenburg. Already, before the revocation, Gauthier de St Blancard, David Fornerod, and Jacques Abbadie had retired into that country. They

were followed by Gabriel Dartis, David Ancillon, the senior pastor at Metz, and Francis de Repey, pastor at Montauban, who were attached to the French church at Berlin. The elector made fruitless attempts to bring to his court the two most illustrious representatives of the Protestant clergy, Claude and Jurieu, who had taken refuge in Holland.

The most numerous of the French congregations, after that of Berlin, was that of Magdeburg, founded in 1685. Other congregations were successively formed at Frankfort on the Oder, at Halle, Prenzlau, Schwedt, Spandau, Königsberg. Several pastors were attached to the French regiments as almoners.

Of all the ministers who settled in Brandenburg, Abbadie exercised the most uncontested and lasting influence. Sprung from a distinguished family in Béarn, he had studied theology at Saumur and Sedan, and took a doctor's degree at the age of seventeen. It was Count de Beauveau who called him to Berlin, and attached him to the rising church in that city. Frederick-William soon had reason to congratulate himself on the choice made by his master of the horse; for his panegyric, eloquently written by Abbadie, made the tour of Europe, and gave him, before his death, fame which powerfully contributed to the success of his later designs. Men were still inquiring the name of the Protestant writer who had composed this discourse, when the author made it known; and almost at the same time insured it a very great celebrity by his *Treatise on the Truth of the Christian Religion*, published in the same year as the grand elector's panegyric. Protestants and Catholics received this work with equal favour. "It is long," wrote Bayle, in his *News of the Republic of Letters*, "since a book has been written displaying greater vigour and grasp of mind." Bussy Rabutin, who did not pass for being very orthodox, nor even a believer, wrote to Madame de Sévigné :

“ We are reading it now, and we think it the only book in the world worth reading.” This judgment delighted Madame de Sévigné. “ It is the most divine of all books,” said she in her turn : “ this estimation of it is general. I do not believe that any one ever spoke of religion like this man.” The Duke of Montausier, speaking of it one day with the Prussian ambassador, said : “ The only thing that grieves me is that the author of this book should be at Berlin, and not at Paris.”

It was at Paris that Abbadie conceived the design of his book, and commenced its execution. One easily perceives this in the elegance and animation of the style—in the lucidity and fire of the composition. It does not read like the work of a refugee, and one traces in it the superior mind, nourished equally by Protestant theologians and Catholic writers.

Some years after the publication of this masterpiece, Abbadie brought out his *Treatise on the Divinity of Jesus Christ*. Although not so successful, this book was not unworthy of its predecessor. It extorted from Péliſson the prayer of Polyuctes for Pauline.* “ Lord !” he exclaimed, in his posthumous work on the *Eucharist*, “ it is not without you that man combats for you thus powerfully ; deign to enlighten him more and more.”

Péliſson, and other eminent minds amongst the Catholics, mistook the real tendencies of the defender of the Christian religion. They thought he had but a step to take to re-enter the pale of the church, and they held out their hand to help him to take it. With some pride Abbadie made them feel that they deceived themselves. Instead of returning to France after the death of the great elector, he embarked with Marshal Schomberg,

* Seigneur, de vos bontés il faut que je l'obtienne,
Elle a trop de vertus pour n'être pas Chrétienne.

who had conceived the warmest friendship for him, and accompanied him to England, where he passed the rest of his life.

Amongst the lay men of letters, the most remarkable were—Jean Baptiste de Rocoules, from Béziers, who was appointed historiographer of Brandenburg, and whose successor was the learned Puffendorf ; Anthony Teissier, of Nismes, son of a receiver-general of Languedoc, who translated into French Rocoule's Memoirs of Frederick-William ; Isaac de Larrey, son of a Protestant gentleman of Caux, an ex-barrister at Montivilliers, protected alternately by the grand elector, by Queen Sophia-Charlotte, and by Queen Sophia-Dorothea, author of the *Annals of Great Britain*, which at once obtained general and deserved success amongst northern *literati*, but which Rapin-Thoyras' history of England caused subsequently to fall into unmerited oblivion.

French jurists had ever defended Gallican liberties against the encroachments of the church. In the sixteenth century, Chancellor Michel de l'Hôpital had dared to say to the deputies of the nation, assembled at Orleans, " Let us banish those fatal words, names of parties and of factions, Lutherans, Huguenots, Papists ; *let us not change that beautiful name of Christians.*" President de Thou long showed himself the enemy of the persecutions directed against the Protestants. Jacques Cujas openly took part with Henry IV. against the League ; and when pressed to give his opinion on controversial matters, he ironically replied, "*Nihil hoc ad edictum prætoris.*" Accordingly, the clergy reproached these three men with not being sincere Catholics. Other celebrated lawyers openly embraced the new doctrines. Anne Du Bourg, and the unfortunate President Brisson, sealed their religious convictions with their blood. Charles Du Moulin, Francis Hottman, Lambert Daneau, William Budé, John Coras, chancellor of the Queen of Navarre, followed the

same doctrine, and suffered death or exile for its sake. The revocation of the edict of Nantes dealt a mortal blow to the Protestant bar. La Bazoge, member of the parliament of Rouen ; his son d'Heuqueville, holding the same office ; Baron de la Pierre, counsellor to the parliament of Grenoble, and l'Alo, his colleague ; Virezel, counsellor to the parliament of Bordeaux, remained unshaken in their faith, gave up their posts, and quitted their country. Muysson and Béringhen, who had been members of the parliament of Paris, withdrew into Holland. Their colleague, Aymar Le Coq, fled with his family to Brandenburg.

Upon several of these refugees the elector conferred the title of counsellor of embassy. He attached others to the commissariat of Berlin, charged with all business concerning the establishment of the colonies ; but the majority were placed as judges of their fellow-countrymen in the principal towns of Brandenburg. Charles, son of David Ancillon, was named *judge and director* of the French in Berlin ; Joseph Ancillon, the pastor's brother, judge of all the French in Brandenburg ; Andrew de Persode, of Metz, counsellor and judge at Magdeburg ; Peter de Persode and Francis de Colom, formerly a pleader at the parliament of Dijon, were named judges at Königsberg ; Paul Lugandi, of Montauban, at Halle ; John Burgeat, of Vitry-le-Français, at Frankfort on the Oder ; d'Hauterive and Rosel-de-Beaumont, from Languedoc, at Brandenburg ; Papillon de la Tour, at Spandau. The judges of the colonies, several of whom were able lawyers, applied, for the first time in Germany, the principles of the Roman law, with which French legislation was imbued. Thence that tendency to civil equality which showed itself in Prussia long before the French Revolution of 1789, and which prepared the brilliant part that kingdom was destined to play in modern times.

The labours of Ambrose Paré, those of the university of Montpellier, and the recent creation of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, had given a great impulse to medical science ; and the elector received with marked favour the physicians and surgeons who took refuge in his states. Jacques de Gaultier, brother of the minister at Berlin, and a former doctor of the university of Montpellier, was attached to the person of Frederick-William. He it was who created, under the name of *marmite* (kettle or saucpan), a benevolent institution intended for the assistance of sick poor persons, of old men, and of women in child-bed, by supplying them with food and medicine free of cost. Alexander Brazi, of Châtillon-sur-Loing, was appointed his colleague. The new quarter, called the Dorothée-Stadt, which was inhabited almost exclusively by refugees, had allotted to it, as special physician, Samuel Duclos, of Metz, who acquired celebrity by the composition of a fever powder, known as Duclos' Powder. The other refugees who applied in Berlin the improved practice of French medicine were—Peter Carita, senior of the medical college of Metz ; Bartholomew Pascal, of Viviers, in the Vivarais ; Paul Batigue, of Montpellier ; Daniel de Superville, who was named professor of anatomy at Stettin, and who afterwards originated the Academy of Bareith. It was with the help of these eminent men that the elector instituted, in 1685, the *Superior College of Medicine*, to remedy the abuses which had crept into the practice of that art.

Of the surgeons who took refuge in Brandenburg, the most celebrated was Francis Charpentier, whom the elector named surgeon-major of the hospitals of Berlin, and who was subsequently elevated to the rank of surgeon-general of the Prussian armies. Several were placed as full surgeons in the French regiments, or attached to the charitable establishments which the French congregations were not long in founding in favour of the indigent.

Amongst the artists were to be remarked the painters Abraham Ramondon, Henry Fromenteau, Jacques Vailant, who popularised in Prussia the art of Lebrun, Lesueur, Mignard, Lemoine, and advised the elector in the selection of the pictures with which he enriched the gallery of Berlin; the architects Paul Detan of Béziers, Abraham Quesney, and Peter Boynet, who presided, with the engineers Cayart and de la Chiese, over the construction of the principal public buildings of Berlin, and over the rebuilding of several towns in Brandenburg, which were but heaps of ruins since the Thirty Years' War.

4°. TRADERS AND MANUFACTURERS.

Holland and England offered greater resources than Brandenburg to traders and manufacturers. Knowing this, the elector did his very utmost to attract to his dominions those industrious men whom France cast out from her bosom. His ambassador at Paris facilitated the flight of a great number of workmen from the northern provinces, by procuring them money and guides. Francis de Gaultier attracted many from the south. His brother, Jacques de Gaultier, who had first settled in Switzerland, circulated in that country thousands of copies of the edict of Potsdam, with a view to induce the refugees to transfer themselves to Brandenburg. Choudens de Grema took advantage of his connection with the Protestant cantons to second him. Abbadie went to Holland upon a similar mission, so great was the haste of the elector to profit by Louis XIV.'s deplorable error.

It was especially from Languedoc and the Sedanais that a large number of woollen-manufacturers took the road to Brandenburg. Some came also from Normandy and Picardy, although most of the Protestants of those provinces preferred seeking an asylum in England and Holland. The elector settled them in towns favourably situated for the manufactures they wished to establish. To

the neediest of the workmen he had clothes and furniture given, and allowed them two *groschen* a-day for their subsistence. Many were lodged free of cost in the houses intended for manufactories. To the manufacturers he gave assignments on the treasury, and all the instruments necessary for their work. Every cloth-manufacturer received, in the town where he established himself, a fulling-mill, presses, a dye-house, and even ready money for his first wants.

The town of Magdeburg, completely ruined by the Thirty Years' War, but admirably situated upon the bank of the Elbe, which facilitated its trade with Hamburg and the Dutch ports, received a colony of refugees, who contributed to repeople it, and who soon converted it into a rich focus of industry. Three brothers, Andrew, Peter, and Anthony Du Bosc, from Nismes; John Rafinesque, of Uzès; and John Maffre, of St Ambroise, there established a manufactory of cloth, of Rouen serge, and of druggets. Andrew Valentin, of Nismes, and Peter Claparède, of Montpellier, manufactured woollen stuffs. Anthony Pellou and Daniel Pernet, from Burgundy, established a manufactory of woollen and beaver hats. The manufacture of stockings, so far advanced in France, was taken to Magdeburg by six refugees from the Vigan, directed by Pierre Labry.

The colony of Halle owed its prosperity to the manufactures of stuffs and Hungarian lace, and to the facility it enjoyed of disposing of its products at the Leipzig fairs. That of Brandenburg became flourishing after the arrival of several Norman manufacturers, who made the cloths of Mûniers, Elbeuf, and Spain. This branch of manufacture was especially indebted for its celebrity to Daniel Le Cornu of Rouen, a skilful dyer, who introduced the art, until then unknown in Prussia, of dying scarlet. Frankfort on the Oder, so well situated for the Baltic trade, received several manufacturers from Rouen, who

founded fine manufactories of cloth, aided by Luke Cosard, their countryman, who had been dyer to the Gobelins.

The refugees founded few united manufactories in Berlin. That capital, which was transforming itself into a rich and populous city, offered too great advantages to private manufactures. A throng of workers in woollen stuffs, in stockings, in hats, themselves vended the produce of their toil. They got rid of it without difficulty, for, during the first years of the emigration, the refugees were almost the only persons who supplied woollen goods; and as their manufactures were strictly necessities, their large profits soon made them rich. Some united manufactories were, however, formed in Berlin, and especially a great one of Uzès, Cadis, and Crépon serges. Commerce came to the assistance of this branch of industry, by the immense market it opened to its produce in Germany and in all the north of Europe. The exportation of woollen stuffs increased so rapidly that, in the reign of Frederick I., Berlin possessed eighty-four woollen manufactories, affording subsistence to several thousands of workmen. The elector was enabled to promulgate, on the 30th March 1687, an ordinance forbidding the importation of foreign wools, thus putting an end to the burthensome tribute that the want of native manufactures had until then compelled Brandenburg to pay to France and England. Following Colbert's example, Frederick-William published a detailed regulation, to fix invariably the quality, measure, and weight of the stuffs. He knew that the Hanseatic league had founded their commercial prosperity on a similar precaution. Inspectors of manufactures, placed in all the manufacturing towns, were charged to correspond with the *Department of Commerce*, a new institution annexed to the commissariat-general of Berlin. Pierre de Mézeri was named *Inspector-general*, with the mission of visiting all the manufactures, of seeing that the ordinances were executed, and of taking counsel

with the subordinate inspectors, the principal merchants, the judges and directors of the colonies. It was his special duty to examine the quality of the work, to attend to complaints made by workmen of their masters, as regarded either treatment or wages; to hear also the complaints of the masters against the workmen; to draw up an exact statement of the condition in which he should find each manufacture, and to make a precise report to the Berlin commissariat. Finally, to meet the temporary accumulation of goods, the elector authorised, and sustained by his assistance, the establishment of a discount bank, called the *Lombard* or *bureau d'adresse*. The lombard was to make advances to merchants and manufacturers, to aid them, in moments of difficulty, to carry on their manufactures or their trade, and thus to assure the payment of the workmen. A similar establishment existed in Holland since 1550, under the name of *bank van leeningen* or loan bank, and was advantageous to trade and manufactures. The Berlin lombard, founded on the model of that of Amsterdam, lent money on goods left in deposit, at an interest fixed by government. The privilege of this establishment was granted to Nicholas Gauguet, a Parisian refugee, and the establishment itself was placed under the inspection of the French judicial authorities and of the fiscal attorney of the colonies.

The support of government, joined to the inventive spirit of the manufacturers, increased production to such an extent that the elector had to look out for fresh markets at home and abroad. Fortunately for the refugees, there was a sure and steady demand in Brandenburg, whose population had adhered to the austere customs of their ancestors, and as yet knew neither the silken stuffs nor the other fashions which France began to spread through Germany. In plebeian families woollen clothes alone were worn, and the court itself set the example of a simplicity as prudent as it was profitable to the national

industry. The government did its utmost to favour the exportation of woollen stuffs to those provinces of Germany which as yet did not manufacture them for themselves. Soon the refugees found new and rich issues for their produce at the fairs of Leipzig, Naumburg, Brunswick, and Frankfort on the Maine. The elector's protection, added to the habit of the strictest economy, enabled them to sustain the competition of the great French and English manufacturers, who frequented the same markets. Their reputation for probity, and that practical piety which distinguished them nearly all, everywhere inspired confidence, and obtained them a degree of credit which insured the success of their enterprises, notwithstanding the slenderness of the funds at their disposal. Little by little they acquired fortunes, which enabled them to extend their transactions and seek more distant markets. They formed connections with Poland, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and the agencies they established in Copenhagen, Hamburg, and Dantzic, opened to Brandenburg an inexhaustible source of wealth.

After the manufacture of woollens, that of hats was one of the most productive that the refugees brought into Brandenburg. Thitherto, that country had manufactured but a small number of coarse hats. They were little worn; and those who attended to elegance of costume, purchased French hats at a heavy cost. The elector was naturally glad to make those industrious strangers welcome, who brought him a manufacture which would prevent considerable sums from leaving the country, and soon would bring in money from foreign lands. The chief manufactories of hats were established at Magdeburg, by Anthony Pelou, from Romans in Dauphiné; at Berlin, by David Mallet of Rouen, Grimaudet of Montélimart, and especially by William Douilhac of Revel, who exported his elegant manufactures as far even as to Poland and Russia.

The tanner's art was brought to perfection in Brandenburg by the refugees. The fine forests of that country offered great advantages to the French tanners. They established tanyards at Berlin, Magdeburg, Stettin, Potsdam; and soon they so fully supplied the country that the importation of leather from Silesia and the Northern States entirely ceased.

The arts of the shamoy-dresser and of the tawer, and that of the glover especially, were introduced into Brandenburg by the refugees. The use of leather gloves, substituted for those of cloth and fur, was soon adopted amongst the upper classes, and soon all Germany and even the Northern States went to Berlin for that article of luxury, of which France had previously had the monopoly. There was a great demand especially for kid and Swedish leather gloves. There were many instances of mere working glovers making considerable fortunes at Berlin. Others established manufactories at Halle, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg, to profit by the vicinity of the fairs of Leipzig and Brunswick.

Frederick-William, who had seen the fine paper-mills of Holland, and witnessed the extensive exportation of paper which contributed to the wealth of that industrious country, gladly received a refugee from Grenoble, Francis Fleureton, who established the first paper-manufactory in Brandenburg. He supplied him with a sum of 1200 crowns to build a mill, and granted him free entry for all materials necessary to his manufactory, with the exclusive privilege of collecting them in his dominions.

The extraction of oil from linseed, and from rapeseed, which the Flemings called *Colza*, the preparation of the black soap which had long been employed in the manufactures of Amiens and Abbeville, the use of tallow and wax candles instead of rude lamps, were due to the refugees. It was difficult to get the mulberry tree to flourish and to rear silkworms in so cold a country as Bran-

denburg, but the refugees at least gave the country the profit of the fabrication. They founded manufactures of silk, velvet, gold and silver brocade. They made ribbons, gold lace, and other fashionable articles, which before had been brought from Paris. Carpets and tapestry became, owing to the interest the court took in them, important articles of trade. Peter Mercier, of Aubusson, obtained the appointment of tapestry-maker to the elector. He made tapestries of gold, silver, silk, and wool, which were used to embellish the palaces at Berlin and Potsdam, and other royal residences. They represented the most glorious events of that memorable reign—the landing in the island of Rugen, the taking of Wolgast, the victory of Fehrbellin, the conquest of Stralsund. Similar manufactories were founded by the refugees at Brandenburg, Frankfort on the Oder, Magdeburg. Tapestry, the use of which has now almost ceased, was then in constant demand. It was the luxury of the time, and the highest elegance to which the most opulent families thought of aspiring.

The glass-worker's art was not imported into Brandenburg by the refugees, but they contributed to bring it to perfection. The great glass-manufactory they established at Neustadt was at first limited to the production of window panes and bottles, but soon a manufactory of mirrors was added to it—the first seen in the country. The Neustadt mirrors were equal to those of France and Venice, and had a considerable sale in Germany.

The working of iron and copper mines, with which the government had as yet but little busied itself, was taken up by several refugees from the county of Foix and from Dauphiné. Stephen Cordier, from Mauvesin in Guienne, was named director of the elector's forges and founderies. The alum mines near Freyenwald were first worked by the Béarnese Isaac Labes.

Persecution also drove into Brandenburg a host of

artisans skilled in the fashioning of metals—armourers, polishers, locksmiths, cutlers. A refugee from Sedan, Peter Fromery, who excelled in steel work, was named armourer to the court in 1687. Manufactories of arms were established at Potsdam and Spandau. The refugee locksmiths made the first stocking-loom Brandenburg possessed. The founder's art was one of those which France had long successfully cultivated, and which the Refuge imported into Prussia. A great number of founders of bronze, copper, and lead, of bell and type founders, were driven, by persecution, into the elector's dominions.

The button-makers found great encouragement for their industry. The French costume had replaced, throughout almost all Europe, that of Italy or Spain: accordingly, the French button-makers found such a demand that they soon formed a numerous corporation in Berlin, and instead of buying buttons (of wool, silk, or metal) abroad, Brandenburg exported them.

The Prussian tinmen used as yet none but German tin, which they drew from the Saxon and Bohemian mines, and as yet they were inexpert in imparting that elegance of form, which a more advanced state of the manufacture and a purer taste had rendered common in France. The refugees brought this art to such perfection that they created a new branch of export for Brandenburg.

Before the revocation, Sweden found in France a vast market for her copper. One town alone—that of Ville-Dieu-les-Poëles, in the circle of Coutances—contained a thousand braziers. The Refuge brought this branch of industry into Brandenburg, where copper utensils were indispensable to brewers, distillers, and dyers. It soon reached a point of great perfection, and its products were exported, especially to Holland and Poland.

But for the Refuge, France would still have long continued to supply Germany with the goldsmiths' and jewellers' productions. In the very first years that followed the

revocation, Berlin beheld the arrival within her walls of Frenchmen practising those two arts, who formed considerable establishments, and originated a traffic which never ceased to increase during the whole of the eighteenth century. The art of engraving, introduced at Berlin by the refugees, contributed especially to give to their jewellery a well-deserved reputation. The lapidary's art, imported by workmen from Languedoc, followed the progress of the Berlin jewellery. The art of clockmaking was as yet so little advanced in Brandenburg, that those who exercised it were incorporated in the locksmiths' guild. The use of clocks and watches did not extend through the elector's dominions, and thence into neighbouring countries, until after the arrival of the working watchmakers from France, most of whom were natives of Grenoble, Geneva, Neuchâtel, and especially of Languedoc.

Embroidery, in which France excelled, was taken to Berlin by four brothers, James, Peter, John, and Anthony Pavret of Paris, whom the elector commissioned to embroider the saddles and housings of the cavalry, and the uniforms of the officers. The first manufactures of printed calicoes were founded in Brandenburg by the workmen of a great manufactory established in the buildings of the Arsenal at Paris, where thread and cotton stuffs were printed. Gauze-makers came from Picardy, Normandy, and Champagne, and especially from St Quentin, Troyes, and Rouen. The austerity of German habits at first gave little encouragement to so frivolous a fabric; but fashion soon took it under its protection, and Frederick-William's successors favoured the manufacture with a view to diminish the export of specie.

Under the brilliant reign of Louis XIV., everything in France had assumed a more elegant and polished form. The plainest and rudest trades had been elevated almost into arts by the perfection of the details, and the finish of the work. The refugees, brought up in this school of

good taste, propagated its usages in Germany. The French coat, lace, artificial flowers, curled and powdered wigs, became the fashion there, and the refugees diverted to their profit a stream of gold which had previously flowed into France. French cookery substituted a more refined taste for the former coarseness with which food was prepared. Wheaten bread, called French bread, replaced that made from rye, the only kind previously known in Berlin. The first confectioners' and cooks' shops in that capital were those of Frenchmen; and the first hotel there established upon the footing of those of Paris was kept by a refugee from Metz. The art of brewing was greatly improved by exiles from the Palatinate, whose ancestors had been driven by the Duke of Alba's cruelties from the French provinces of the Low Countries. The manufacture of brandy was developed and improved by refugees from La Rochelle and the country of Aunis.

Several manufacturers were also traders. But a great number of refugees devoted themselves exclusively to commerce. At first they sold retail, seeking an honest living rather than aspiring to wealth. Then they had neither cashier, book-keeper, nor clerk. It was the dealer himself, his wife, and his children, who filled all these departments. They went to the most frequented fairs, most commonly on foot, carrying their goods upon their backs. These simple customs, this severe economy, were the foundation of more than one large fortune. As their means increased, they sought to extend their connections. Soon they ceased to confine themselves to the home-trade, and frequented foreign markets. The establishment of refugees in almost all the towns of Germany facilitated these incipient commercial relations, and the central position of the Brandenburg March further favoured the traffic. Little by little the merchants established in this province made themselves the agents of all those who traded in the Northern States.

Berlin, Magdeburg, Frankfort, became commercial cities. The Elbe and the Oder were covered with boats, and all the high-roads with vehicles, conveying foreign goods and native manufactures.

The branches of trade which prospered most in the course of the eighteenth century, were those of woollen and silken stuffs, velvets, and lace. Many commercial houses in the Berlin colony grew rich by this traffic, whose principal markets were in Poland and Russia. The trade in hardware, which has become so important since, owed its origin to the refugees. After that of Birmingham, French hardware was the most esteemed. Refugee artisans, skilful in that kind of manufacture, diffused the taste for it at Berlin, whence it spread through the rest of Germany. The grocer's business was extended, almost originated, by the refugees; and in it was included trade in French wines, which permitted many of the exiles from the wine-growing provinces to recover a part of the fortune they had abandoned when they quitted their country. Relations and devoted friends sent them wines, to compensate them in some measure for the confiscation or sacrifice of their property, and sometimes as a remittance of sums they had intrusted to them at the moment of departure. The trade in articles of fashion attained such an extent that Berlin was called the Paris of Germany. The book trade took a great start when Robert Roger, of Rouen, established, in 1687, the first printing-house for French books in the capital of Brandenburg. The reign of Frederick II. especially, so favourable to letters, communicated a vigorous impulse to the French book-trade of Berlin.

In proportion as the national industry revived under the powerful impetus given it by the refugees, trade found new resources. In a few years, the towns of Magdeburg, Königsberg, Stettin, Halle, Frankfort on the Oder, Prentzlau, possessed commercial houses rivalling those of

Berlin. The great establishment of Paul Demissy, a native of Marennnes, who manufactured the first stuffs that were made of mingled thread and wool, silk and cotton, designated as *siamoises* and cottonades, gave rise to a rich trade throughout Brandenburg, and greatly contributed to the prosperity of the French colonies.

The flourishing state of trade and manufactures had a marked influence on the progressive increase of the population in all parts of Brandenburg. The town of Magdeburg, entirely sacked by Tilly in 1631, was again populous towards the end of the seventeenth century, thanks to the French refugees, and to those from the Palatinate, who joined the former in 1689. Prentzlau, of which the Thirty Years' War had made a heap of ruins, was in great part rebuilt by them. But nowhere was the change more complete than in Berlin. Of the five great quarters which composed that city in the reign of Frederick II., there existed, during the first years of the grand elector, but those of Berlin and of old Cologne. This prince added the Werder, new Cologne, and began the suburb of the *Dorotheestadt*. Many refugees settled in these new quarters, as well as in the Friedrichstadt, whose first houses they built, and whose principal street has kept the name of *Rue Française*. Berlin, Cologne, Werder, and Friedrichstadt became the centres of the manufactures and trade of this capital. But those refugee nobles who had saved some remnant of their fortune, preferred to dwell in the spacious suburb of the *Dorotheestadt*, intersected by the avenue of lime-trees which became the principal public walk in Berlin. It was *the noblemen's quarter* of the capital of Brandenburg. The total number of French who settled in Berlin during the last fifteen years of the seventeenth century amounted to not less than ten thousand. They contributed to transform that town, which, before their arrival, resembled an unclean stable, inhabited by a few thousand cattle-breed-

ers, into an elegant capital, adorned with sumptuous palaces and convenient houses, and whose population was rapidly increased from seven thousand to twenty-seven thousand souls.

5°. AGRICULTURISTS.

Agriculture was not less indebted to the refugees than were trade and manufactures. Before their arrival, in all parts of Brandenburg the traveller's gaze rested upon vast monotonous plains, and upon land uncleared for lack of inhabitants. The Ukraine March, whose soil is generally better than that of the other provinces, attracted the largest number of French cultivators, who flocked particularly into the great bailiwicks of Laekenitz, Grambow, and Chorin. The colony of Bergholz owed to them the high degree of prosperity it ultimately attained. The villages of Gross-Ziethen and Klein-Ziethen, burned in the Thirty Years' War, were rebuilt by them, and the surrounding country was cleared and cultivated for the first time since that calamitous period. The county of Ruppin, which had hardly any inhabitants left, was cultivated by French labourers. All the lands of which the court could dispose—those that had been abandoned for a term of forty years, and those that had belonged to churches or convents—were distributed amongst the new-comers. The towns of Prentzlau and Strasburg in the Ukraine March, those of Stendal, Bernau, Burg, Neuhaldensleben, in the adjoining Marches, were partly peopled by French planters and gardeners, whose descendants to this day possess the lands assigned to them at the time of the Refuge.

Agreeably with the promises held out by the edict of Potsdam, commissioners, chosen by the elector, distributed to the French cultivators the lands best suited to them. Not only did they participate, with all the other refugees, in the years of immunity from taxation, but

they were perpetually exempted, both they and their descendants, from all the *corvées* or compulsory labour to which the natives were subjected, and in lieu of which they paid an annual fine, fixed for ever. It was placing them in a very superior position to that of the French peasants, who were then sinking under the combined weight of public imposts and feudal exactions. Frederick-William's commissioners assigned to the colonists not only land, but also materials for building houses and barns. Every man received about fifty crowns for the purchase of farming implements; and, to attach them yet more strongly to their new establishments, and to destroy in their minds all idea of return to France, the lands were given not only to families, but to the corporation of the colonies. It was expressly decreed that they should pass from the fathers to the children, and that, in case of a family becoming extinct, they could be sold only to refugees, or to persons belonging to the French colonies.

The French agriculturists who settled in Brandenburg were chiefly from Dauphiné, Champagne, the Sedanais, Picardy, the Pays Messin, and from French Flanders, recently conquered by Louis XIV.'s armies. Their numbers were increased, at least for some years, by the arrival of a great number of Vaudois, driven from the Piedmontese valleys by the Duke of Savoy; but the greater part of these returned to their country in 1690, when that prince joined the allies in declaring war against France, and but a small number of their families remained in Brandenburg. Two other immigrations made more considerable additions to the agricultural colonies: that of about three thousand refugees established in Switzerland, and who, lacking means of subsistence amidst the rugged mountains of that country, retired into Brandenburg in 1698; and, five years afterwards, the arrival of about two thousand natives

of Orange, former subjects of William III., who, flying before the Count de Grignan's troops, sought an asylum in the elector's territory. Most of them joined the establishments created by the French agriculturists at Halle, Magdeburg, Neu-haldensleben, Halberstadt, Stendal, and shared all the privileges granted by the elector to those who had preceded them.

The most important of the new branches of cultivation by which the refugees enriched Brandenburg, was that of tobacco. The soil of the Ukraine March and that of the duchy of Magdeburg were particularly favourable to the plant, which the French colonists introduced, and brought to considerable perfection. The Brandenburg tobaccos were soon exported to Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Silesia, Bohemia. Even the Dutch bought it, to sell again to the foreigner.

A special service which the refugees rendered to Brandenburg was the improvement—we may almost say the creation—of the art of gardening. Previous to the Refuge, that country scarcely produced the most ordinary vegetables. Those served at the elector's table came from Hamburg or Leipzig. Amongst the refugees, especially amongst those from Metz, were a great number of gardeners, who fixed themselves, by preference, at Berlin, where a numerous colony of French gentlemen had need of their toil, and where the residence of the prince, of a rich nobility, and of many opulent private persons, made it likely to prosper. They converted into gardens those vast suburbs of Berlin which as yet were but uncultivated fields. They sent to France for seeds, for vines of the best species (for they did not content themselves with the wines of the country),¹ and for fruit-

¹ The grand elector having one day at dinner an officer of note, a Gascon refugee, told him he should taste Potsdam wine. "*Monseigneur!*" exclaimed the officer, with the vivacity of his country, "I think all the thrushes who ate the grapes of those vines must have died of the colic!"—*Memoirs of Erman and Réclam*, vol. vi. p. 107.

trees. By grafting they improved wild fruit-trees, and made them produce good fruit. By means of hothouses they naturalised plants and fruits previously unknown in that climate. Some applied themselves to the cultivation of oranges and lemons. Private persons had orangeries, and supplied orange trees to the gardens of the court, besides selling them to Saxony and other neighbouring countries.

The refugees paid more attention to the kitchen-garden than to the orchard. Before their coming, the food of the Prussians was limited to smoked or salted meats, to fish and dried vegetables, and to a few ill-cooked roots. They made scarcely any use of green pease and French beans. The epithet of bean-eaters (*mangeurs d'haricots*) was a nickname applied by the Germans to the French. The refugees made them acquainted with cauliflowers, asparagus, artichokes — even with salad, whose present German name testifies to its French origin. Skilful florists taught them the secret of doubling single flowers, of variegating and multiplying their colours. Such prodigies had never before been witnessed by the Berliners. Mysterious reports were circulated that, at certain seasons of the year, and on particular days, the gardener Ruzé, his wife and his children, assembled after midnight in their garden, and that there, after taking every precaution against interruption, they performed magical operations, by virtue of which, and in an instant, all their flowers became doubled, and streaked with many colours!

CHAPTER II.

THE REFUGEES UNDER THE FIRST KING OF PRUSSIA.

QUEEN SOPHIA-CHARLOTTE—FRENCH COLLEGE—ACADEMY FOR THE NOBLES—
 FRENCH INSTITUTE AT HALLE—NEW JOURNAL DES SAVANTS—ACADEMY OF
 BERLIN—LACROZE AND CHARLES ANCILLON—DES VIGNOLLES, CHAMBER-
 LAINE, NAUDÉ, PELLOUTIER—JAQUELOT—BEAUSOBRE—LENFANT—CHAUVIN
 —MANUFACTURERS' FUND—PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH MANUFACTURES—MIL-
 ITARY REFUGEES: THEIR SERVICES—COMBAT OF NEUSS—SIEGE OF BONN—
 CAMPAIGN AGAINST CATINAT—BATTLE OF LA MARSAILLE—SIEGE OF NAMUR
 —WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION.

FREDERICK-WILLIAM, who laid the foundation of the prosperity of the French colonies, which so powerfully contributed to the future greatness of his country, died in 1688, at the very moment that his ally, the Prince of Orange, was about to land in England, to expel the Stuarts from that kingdom, and to make it the bulwark of Protestantism in Northern Europe. His successor, Frederick, who first bore the title of King of Prussia, continued his work. A son of Henrietta of Orange, who was descended from Coligny, brought up by French masters in the first colony founded by the refugees at Vieux-Landsberg, his marriage with one of the most accomplished princesses of his time attached him still more to the great cause which his father had so nobly defended. Queen Sophia-Charlotte had a most decided taste for French literature. Her aunt, Elizabeth of Bohemia, whose pupil she was, had been a passionate admirer of Descartes. Her mother, the Electress Sophia, who subsequently united England and Hanover under her sceptre, was the patroness and friend of Leibnitz and of New-

ton.¹ She herself had long resided at the court of Louis XIV., where she had formed the closest intimacy with the Duchess of Orleans, and where political reasons had alone prevented her marriage with the first dauphin. As Margravine of Brandenburg, and afterwards as Queen of Prussia, she ardently shared in her father-in-law's projects of renovation. The palace of Charlottenburg became the asylum of all the refugees distinguished for their birth and talents. It was there that she loved to converse with Abbadie, Ancillon, Chauvin, Jaquelot, Lacroze, Lenfant, and frequently with the great Beausobre, her chaplain. It was there that, with smiling lips, she held discussions with Toland the Irishman, who hoped to win her over to the party of the free-thinkers. The refugees hardly perceived that they had lost their benefactor. There was no change in the conduct of the government towards them. But if Frederick-William had set the greater number of them to improve agriculture, trade, and manufactures, his successor, obedient to his wife's gentle influence, applied himself more to the development of their literary establishments, and to impart to the whole nation a higher degree of civilisation, by inspiring it with the love of letters, arts, and sciences, so long neglected in Brandenburg.

Amongst the literary establishments founded by the grand elector for the refugees, the three principal ones were—at Berlin, the French College and the Academy of Nobles; at Halle, the French Institute or Academy of Chevaliers. The French College, directed by refugees, but frequented by both French and Germans, prepared the rising generation for civil employments, and especially for ecclesiastical and judicial functions. The Academy of Nobles, afterwards revived with lustre by Frederick II., and confided by the grand elector to his *dear and well-beloved*

¹ The Electress Sophia of Hanover was the daughter of Elizabeth and of Frederick V., Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia.

Charles Ancillon, was to qualify the nobility of Brandenburg and Pomerania for military and diplomatic employment. The refugees who directed these two establishments, founded, in Frederick I.'s reign, a literary organ, which first appeared in 1696, and was called the *Nouveau Journal du Savants*. It was under the direction of the philosopher Chauvin, the friend of Bayle and Basnage, and professor at the French College at Berlin, that this newspaper was got up, on the model of that of Paris. The French Institute at Halle, founded under the patronage of the elector by the refugee La Fleur, had, from the very first, so large a number of masters and scholars, that Frederick transformed it into an *Electoral University*. But the most celebrated of the literary establishments in Brandenburg, whose origin is traced back to the first king of Prussia, was the *Academy of Sciences and Literature* of Berlin, decreed the 18th March 1700, and whose first president for life was Leibnitz.

The death of Sophia-Charlotte, and the war of the Spanish succession, unfortunately distracted the king's attention, and occasioned delays which prevented the Academy from really commencing its labours before 1710. During the interval, Leibnitz himself composed almost the whole of the society ; but in the year 1700 he instituted a directive committee, charged with the defence of the interests of the company, and to it he summoned the learned Lacroze and Charles Ancillon. Thanks to their concurrence, the society maintained itself, notwithstanding the opposition of the public and the lukewarmness of the court. Upon its benches the Refuge was represented not only by Lacroze and Ancillon, but by Jacques Basnage of Rouen, who had just published his great history of the Church—a masterpiece of criticism applied to religious history ; by Des Vignoles, the creator of biblical chronology ; by Chamberlaine, and, later, by the mathematician Gabriel Naudé ; by Pelloutier, the historian of

the Celts and of the Galatæ, the predecessor of M. Amédée Thierry; by Mauclerc, who published learned works on German erudition and literature; by Du Han, the Great Frederick's tutor; by Formey, one of the men the most universal in attainments of his century. The jealousy of the German ecclesiastics long excluded their French colleagues. Neither the Champenois Jaquelot, one of the best modern champions of Christianity—the eloquent defender of the rights of reason against Bayle's scepticism and Spinoza's dogmatism—nor the great Beausobre, whom Voltaire admired, and whom Frederick the Great called the best pen in Berlin, and the greatest genius of which persecution had deprived France, were admitted. Lenfant, whom the theologians of the colony called their Gamaliel—Beausobre's elegant fellow-labourer—the man around whom the literary society of Berlin assembled—entered the Academy only in 1724. The sole French ecclesiastic received *ab origine* was Stephen Chauvin of Nismes, who had at first taken refuge at Rotterdam, where he became intimate with Bayle, and who was subsequently the representative of Cartesianism at the Berlin Academy, to which he did good service by his learned researches in physics and chemistry.

Following his predecessor's example, Frederick I. protected commercial and manufacturing industry. Notwithstanding the occupation given him by the German war that broke out in 1689, and by the still more ruinous conflict resulting from Philip V.'s accession to the throne of Spain, he neglected no means of sustaining the manufactures established by the refugees. Whilst Germany exhausted itself by sacrifice of men and money, and Brandenburg suffered from the calamities that fell upon the common country, he not only maintained them on a flourishing footing, but he even contrived to create new sources of revenue. The German mania for titles afforded him the

first means. On the 29th October 1712, he published a declaration to the effect, that *his intention being to form a fund destined to support manufactures in his dominions, he was willing, in consideration of a suitable sum, fixed by a regulation, to grant rank and titles to persons of merit and distinction, without, however, giving them any right to the effective posts whose brevet they should thus obtain.* At the same time, he informed the French commissioner, to whom he had addressed this declaration, of the use to which he intended to apply the money. Such was the origin of the *manufacturers' fund*, to which were afterwards allotted various casual incomings, and particularly the *droits d'aubaine*, or escheats. New manufactories of stuffs, and especially of woollen stockings, were established at Berlin, Magdeburg, Frankfort on the Oder, Brandenburg, and in almost all the other towns where the elector had formed colonies. They gave work to thousands of refugees, and even to a great number of native workmen, whose industry was stimulated by the example of their new fellow-citizens. The government made all the more efforts to get Germans to enter the French manufactories, because, until the peace of Utrecht, the refugees never ceased to anticipate the re-establishment of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. Had that taken place, the greater number would have returned to France, and the good they did to Brandenburg would have been but transitory.

The army bequeathed by Frederick-William to his son was thirty-eight thousand men strong. In it the refugees held a distinguished rank. Marshal Schomberg had been general-in-chief of the Prussian troops. His eldest son, Count Maynard de Schomberg, was general of cavalry, and commanded the corps of dragoons; Count Charles Schomberg, his second son, was major-general; Count Beauveau d'Espenses was lieutenant-general; and Briquemault commanded two regiments. Hallart, La Cave,

Varenes, Du Portail, Dorthé, Cornuaud, were all names distinguished in the ranks of the Prussian army. Whole corps were composed of refugees—as, for instance, the *grands mousquetaires*, the mounted grenadiers, the regiments of Briquemault and Varenes, the cadets of Cournaud, and the Piedmontese companies. Under the reign of their benefactor, these valiant soldiers had but one opportunity of signalling their courage. It was at the siege of Buda, where several served as volunteers in the imperial army, and where one of them, the brave St Bonnet, met a glorious death. The European war, which broke out in 1689, was the bloody proof that attested their attachment to their adopted country. Frederick I. took part in it as the ally of the Emperor against the King of France, whom he had offended by assisting the Prince of Orange to overthrow James II. The army he assembled in Westphalia was composed, in great part, of French regiments. In the first campaign the refugees dispelled the opinion spread against them in Germany, that they would fight but feebly against their former fellow-citizens. At the combat of Neuss the *grands mousquetaires* attacked the French troops with a fury that proved a long-cherished resentment, and with which French writers have often reproached them. On seeing them gallop towards the enemy with the velocity of lightning, one of the Prussian generals exclaimed, “We shall have those knaves fighting against us presently.” Count Dohna, who overheard these offensive words, compelled the general to draw pistol, and washed out in his blood this outrage to the honour of the refugees.

The victory of Neuss delivered Prussia from the insults of Louis XIV.’s army. The brilliant share the musqueteers took in it redoubled the impatience of the other refugees to come to blows with the French. At the siege of Bonn, a hundred refugee officers, three hundred of Cournaud’s cadets, a detachment of musqueteers,

another from the troop of horse grenadiers, and the company of cadets under the orders of Campagne and Brissac, were appointed to give the assault, on their express demand, whilst the Dutch and six thousand Imperialists were to support them by two feigned attacks. At the signal given by the cannon, officers and soldiers rushed forward with equal fury. "The officers," says Ancillon, "gave proof that they preferred to rot in the earth, after an honourable death, than that the earth should nourish them in idleness whilst their soldiers were in the heat of the fight."¹ All the exterior works were carried, and next day the French garrison beat a parley, and obtained permission to march out with the honours of war.

In 1690, the scene of the struggle was transferred from the banks of the Rhine to Flanders, where the Prussians, commanded by Charles de Schomberg, prevented Marshal Luxemburg from profiting by the bloody victory of Fleurus. But it was especially in Italy that the refugees signalized their valour. The Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, having declared for the allies, it was necessary to support him against the French, who threatened invasion of his dominions. The regiments of Cournaud and Varennes formed part of the troops Frederick sent to his assistance. They distinguished themselves at the taking of Carmagnola, at the siege of Susa, and in the numerous actions between Prince Eugene and Catinat. An audacious dash into Dauphiné took them to Embrun, which they compelled to capitulate. The regiment of Cournaud marched in the van, by order of the Emperor Leopold and of the Duke of Savoy, who reckoned on the refugees' animosity to their former persecutors. The soldiers revenged themselves by pillage and fire for the sufferings that many of them had endured in that province. Terror spread afar, and many Protestants who

¹ ANCILLON, p. 204.

had as yet been unable to get out of the kingdom, availed themselves of this opportunity of escape. But the bloody battle of La Marsaille put an end to the success of the allies in Italy. The Piedmontese companies and the French Protestant regiments, assailed with the bayonet by Catinat's army, were almost entirely destroyed, after having valiantly disputed the victory. Soon the Duke of Savoy's defection compelled Frederick to recall his troops, and the Marquis de Varennes led back to Brandenburg the wreck of the refugees he had commanded in Italy.

Those who fought in the Low Countries won equal distinction in the six campaigns that preceded the peace of Ryswick. That of 1695 was especially glorious to them. At the siege of Namur, almost all the engineers having been killed or wounded, the Elector of Bavaria sent for Brigadier-General John de Bodt, who directed the attack with so much resolution and skill that the next day the besieged capitulated. The fort into which Boufflers had thrown himself was taken some days later, and it was to La Cave, who led two thousand volunteers to the assault, that this new success was due. William III. paid high testimony to the valour of the Prussians, and of the refugees who fought in their ranks, by declaring that it was to them he owed the capture of Namur.

In the war of the Spanish succession the refugees sustained the reputation they had won in Italy and the Low Countries. Marlborough and Eugene were witnesses of their heroism in the battle-field, and of their entire devotedness to their new country. In 1704, Henry Du Chesnoi commanded the assault which gave Landau to the allies. In all the other important encounters of the war—at the battles of Hochstedt, Cassano, Turin, in the bloody actions of Oudenarde and Malplaquet, at the siege of Mons—they were seen to brave death with the rarest intrepidity, and to distinguish themselves as much as their fellow-exiles who fought

under the banner of William III. Besides the officers of all grades scattered through the various corps of the Prussian army, three regiments, commanded by Varennes, Du Portail, and Du Trossel, were entirely composed of refugees. The prince-royal saw them fight at Malplaquet, and was so much struck by their brilliant valour that, when he came to the throne, he selected from amongst them the principal officers with whom he reorganised his army.

CHAPTER III.

THE REFUGEES UNDER FREDERICK-WILLIAM I.

SOCIETY OF SOPHIA-CHARLOTTE—EDUCATION OF THE GREAT FREDERICK—
PROGRESS OF NATIONAL MANUFACTURES—MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC SER-
VICES OF THE REFUGEES—TAKING OF STRALSUND.

FREDERICK I. did not see the end of the war for the Spanish succession, in which he had taken an active and glorious part. He died in 1713, leaving the throne to his son Frederick-William I., who signed the treaty of Utrecht, and was recognised by Louis XIV. as King of Prussia and sovereign prince of Neuchâtel and Valengin.

Whilst the new king, absorbed by his unrefined predilection for the gigantic grenadiers of Potsdam, brutally dismissed the painters, sculptors, and other artists whom his father had called to Berlin, and gave a successor to the great Leibnitz in the person of the buffoon Gundling, whom he imposed upon the Academy as its president, the court of Queen Sophia-Dorothea served as asylum to those cultivated minds who avoided with disgust the ignoble tavern whither that prince nightly repaired to smoke and intoxicate himself. It was around the mother of Frederick II. that the remains of the elegant society with which Sophia-Charlotte had surrounded herself rallied. Amongst them were to be noticed the refugees to whom was intrusted the education of the princes and princesses of the royal family, Madame de Rocoules and Du Han, who were the masters of the great Frederick, and Lacroze, tutor to the future king's sister, the Princess Wilhelmina, afterwards Margravine of Baireuth. To this

nucleus attached themselves the professors and directors of the principal colleges of Berlin, Audruy, Barbeyrac, Chauvin, Mauclerc, Naudé, Pelloutier, Pennavaire, Sperlette, Des Vignolles, most of whom also belonged to the Academy. We must add Beausobre and Lenfant, and the pupils and successors of Charles Ancillon and Jaquelot, several of whom were not only eloquent orators and profound thinkers, but men of taste, capable of maintaining the happy influence the first refugees had exercised on German literature, by adding the delicacy and facility which distinguish French genius to the solidity and depth of reason and judgment that characterise the writers of Germany. The king himself, yielding one day to his wife's influence, suffered to be presented to him young Baratier, son of a Protestant minister, and who, at the age of fourteen, had renewed the prodigy of Pic de la Mirandole, arguing publicly at Halle on all possible questions, and exciting the wonder and admiration of his judges. The monarch, notwithstanding his slight sympathy with letters, was for an instant dazzled. But the avowedly irreligious opinions of the young Frenchman confirmed him in the belief that enlightenment destroyed piety and fostered a spirit of revolt. In these prejudices, unworthy of an elevated mind, he thenceforward persisted, and literature was reduced to hope for better days.

If magnificence and luxury disappeared from the Prussian court during the reign of this *sergeant-king*, whom George II. called *his brother the corporal*, they at least maintained themselves in the costume of the army to an extent at once useful and conformable to the tendencies of a military government. Many of the manufactures introduced by the refugees found an excellent customer in the army. Frederick-William I. had laid it down as a rule to have everything necessary for the equipment of his troops manufactured exclusively in the kingdom, and

his favourite passion thus procured to his subjects real advantages. The cloth-manufactures especially were largely used for the supply of the soldiery, to whom he gave new clothes every year. There was also a demand from foreign countries. In the year 1733, the Prussian manufacturers exported forty-four thousand pieces of cloth, of twenty-four ells each piece. To favour this manufacture, which Prussia owed to the refugees, the king forbade, under severe penalties, the export of wools, thus compelling his subjects to make them into cloth themselves, and to retain in the country the profit of workmanship. With the same object he established the *Lagerhaus*, an immense warehouse, whence wools were advanced to poor manufacturers, who were to repay the value by the profits of their industry. In 1718 he entirely prohibited the entrance of foreign buttons, and ordered all the button-sellers in his dominions to supply themselves at the great manufactory founded by Fromery, and at the other manufactories in the country. Finally, let us add that, following the example of his father and grandfather, he eagerly welcomed the refugees of all countries who fled from religious persecution, that he established a new French colony in the town of Stettin, which was ceded to him by the treaty of Stockholm, and that he increased the population of his kingdom by more than twenty thousand Protestants, driven in 1738 from the bishopric of Salzburg.

But it was especially to the military refugees that this prince showed kindness and esteem. The engineer John de Bodt was made major-general in 1715, and, four years later, governor of the fortress of Wesel. Peter de Montargues, whom he had seen fight in the war of the Spanish succession as lieutenant-colonel, as quartermaster-general, and as chief of the corps of Prussian engineers, and whom he had sent to his father with the news of the victory of Malplaquet, was charged, after the peace of Utrecht, to

which Germany did not at first accede, to second, in the capacity of quartermaster-general, Count Stephen Du Trossel, who commanded the Prussian contingent of the Imperial army. Under the orders of this general, who directed the operations of the war on the banks of the Rhine, Montargues served until the conclusion of the treaties of Rastadt and Baden. On his return to Berlin, Frederick-William sent him to compliment Charles XII. on his return from Turkey; and when war broke out, some years later, between Sweden and Prussia, he employed him as major-general and as chief engineer at the siege of Stralsund. The kings of Prussia and Denmark, present at that celebrated siege, were eyewitnesses of the valour and skill of this distinguished officer. Montargues powerfully contributed to the capture of that strong fortress, which Swedish valour and obstinacy defended to the last extremity. After the peace of Stockholm, he rendered a last service to Frederick-William by drawing plans of the principal fortresses of his kingdom, and by constructing new defensive works. Two other refugees, the barons of Gorgier and Chambrier, were employed in Prussian diplomacy, the first as minister resident in London in the years 1738 and 1739, the second as ambassador at the court of Versailles. This last directed, in 1739, the difficult negotiations opened with Cardinal Fleury respecting Juliers and Berg, and at a later period he was honoured with the confidence and friendship of the great Frederick.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REFUGEES UNDER FREDERICK II.

DU HAN—JORDAN—REORGANISATION OF THE BERLIN ACADEMY—PREDILECTION OF FREDERICK II. FOR THE FRENCH LANGUAGE—BÉGUELIN—ACHARD—DES JARIGES—CHARLES AND LOUIS DE BEAUSOBRE—LE CATT—LAMBERT—PRÉMONTVAL—VILLAUME—BITAUBÉ—THE PHILOSOPHIC REFUGE AND THE CALVINIST REFUGE—SERVICES OF THE REFUGEES IN THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—LA MOTHE FOUQUÉ—PROGRESS OF MANUFACTURES.

FREDERICK-WILLIAM died in 1740, bequeathing to his successor an unencumbered revenue, eight million seven hundred thousand crowns of savings, and a perfectly disciplined army of eighty-five battalions and one hundred and eleven squadrons. The prince who received this inheritance, and who was destined one day to elevate Prussia to the rank of a first-class power, was almost a Frenchman. Educated at first by Madame de Rocoules, then by a disciple of Lacroze and of Naudé, Captain Du Han,¹ who had distinguished himself as a volunteer at the siege of Stralsund, Frederick II. derived from his tutors a marked predilection for France, and, it must be said, an unjust antipathy to the national language and literature. Scarcely had he left the prison of Custrin, when he betook himself to Rheinsberg, where he studied Feuquière's military memoirs, and drew around him a completely French circle, composed of Du Han, Maupe-tuis, Chazot, at the same time entering into correspondence with the élite of French writers—with Rollin, Fontenelle, Hénault, and especially with Voltaire, the great interpreter of public opinion and the idol of the century.

¹ Du Han was born in 1685, at Jandun, in Champagne.

Become king, he recalled Du Han, who had shared his disgrace, to Berlin. The tone of Du Han's mind and wit, at once judicious and caustic, pleased his sceptical and mocking genius. He recompensed him by a seat in the Academy, and by a place in the department of foreign affairs. Chazot received an appointment adapted to his military acquirements. Baron de Chambrier was confirmed in his post of ambassador at Versailles. Jordan, the man of letters, was named privy-councillor, and intrusted with the reorganisation of the Academy, which had been rendered contemptible by Frederick-William I. In the very first year, the new king's wishes were so well fulfilled in this respect that he was enabled to write to Voltaire: "I have laid the foundation of our new academy. I have got Wolf, Maupertuis, and Algarotti. I await answers from Vaucanson, S'Gravesende, and Euler. I have established a new college for trade and manufactures. I am engaging painters and sculptors." Formey, the refugee, seconded Jordan's efforts, and was for fifty years the mainspring of the Academy. Born at Berlin in 1711, of a family originally from Vitry, in Champagne, he studied at the French college under Lacroze and Achard, and subsequently under Beausobre, Lenfant, and Pelloutier. Appointed French pastor successively at Brandenburg and at Berlin, he became professor of rhetoric at the French college in 1737, and two years afterwards succeeded Lacroze in his chair of philosophy. Immediately after his accession, Frederick II. proposed to him to edit a political and literary journal, to which he himself supplied articles up to the commencement of the war in Silesia. From that time forward he never ceased to contribute to the principal literary newspapers of the time, the *Bibliothèque Germanique*, the *Bibliothèque critique*, the *Bibliothèque impartiale*, the *Abeille du Parnasse*, *Annales Typographiques*. At the restoration of the Academy he was chosen secre-

tary of the department of philosophy. In 1745 he was appointed historiographer, and, three years later, sole and perpetual secretary of the Academy. His literary occupations did not prevent him from filling at the same time several posts in the French colony, to which he rendered signal service, as councillor of the supreme Directory, until his death in 1797.

Formey was one of those who most contributed to substitute the use of the French language for that of Latin in the Berlin Academy. "French has been substituted for Latin," he said, "to render the use of its memoirs more extensive; for the limits of Latinity grow visibly narrower, whereas the French language is now in about the position in which that of Greece was in Cicero's time. Every one learns it; books written in French are eagerly sought after; all the good works published in England or Germany are translated into this tongue; it seems, in a word, as if it were the only one that renders ideas with the clearness and peculiar turn which captivate the attention and flatter the taste." Already, before Formey, Leibnitz had used the French language for his *Théodicée* and for his *Nouveaux Essais sur l'entendement humain*, destined to refute the scepticism of Bayle and the empiricism of Locke. But the true author of this change was the king himself, whose will so often stood for law. "He willed," says Maupertuis, "that a language which he himself spoke and wrote with so much elegance should be the language of his Academy." Doubtless, also, Frederick II. wished to clear a broad road northwards for French ideas. But, at the same time, he hoped to propagate afar, by the help of the French language, the literary works of the Berlin academicians, and so associate them in the European glory which French literature had gained.

Neither Formey nor Frederick II., however, would have succeeded in thus introducing the general use of French, had it been an entirely foreign tongue. But, since

the great elector's reign, it was spoken at Berlin, Magdeburg, Halle, and yet more in the small towns, where the refugees lived more isolated than in the focuses of population. The French officers taken prisoners at the battle of Rosbach were greatly struck, not only at meeting, in the land of their captivity, with a multitude of their countrymen proceeding from every part of France, but also at finding their language in almost general use in all the provinces of the Prussian monarchy, even amongst the natives. Everywhere they fell in with numerous descendants of the refugees, applying themselves to the cultivation of letters and arts, setting an example of gravity and morality, and preserving, in the midst of a society which began to be led away by the incredulous spirit of the century, an unshaken attachment to the religious convictions of their ancestors.

A great number of illustrious writers proceeding from the Refuge contributed, under this memorable reign, to preserve the lustre of French literature, and to propagate the language the king preferred. Nicholas de Béguelin, at first secretary of legation at Dresden, then governor of the prince-royal, Frederick II.'s nephew, was received into the Academy at the age of thirty-two years, and read before it a series of dissertations on physics, mathematics, and other elevated subjects, which d'Alembert considered to be inimitable masterpieces. Born at Neuchâtel, Béguelin did not belong, properly speaking, to the Berlin colony, but he became identified with it by his writings and by the influence he exercised. Anthony Achard, born at Geneva, but sprung from a Dauphiné family, replaced David Ancillon as pastor, and Isaac de Beau-sobre as member of the consistory of the colony. Towards the year 1740, he passed for the most distinguished French preacher in Germany. Frederick II. received him into his intimacy, and had him admitted into the Academy. A declared adversary of Spinoza's pantheism,

Achard opposed the doctrines of the Gospel, of Descartes, and of common sense, to those of the Amsterdam philosopher. The juriconsult Des Jariges, born at Berlin, in 1706, of an old family of Poitou, attained, under Frederick II., the dignity of grand chancellor. Like Achard, a member of the Academy, he was, like him, the implacable adversary of Spinozism, to the refutation of which he devoted his whole life. Charles and Louis de Beausobre, sons of the great Beausobre, were successively received into the Academy, who seemed thus to wish to repair the injustice by which their illustrious father had been excluded. The first made himself remarked by his writings on Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg; the second undertook learned researches on certain phenomena of the soul, such as enthusiasm, presentiments, dreams, madness. The latter had for his successor Benjamin d'Anières, sprung from an ancient family of La Bresse, but born at Berlin in 1736, and educated at the French college in that capital. His *Discours sur la Législation*, favourably received by Frederick II., applauded in France, and especially in England, opened to him the gates of the Academy. Henry Le Catt, the king's secretary, followed Frederick throughout all his campaigns, and long had charge of his literary and academical correspondence. The learned and profound Lambert, whose cotemporaries compared him with Leibnitz, was the grandson of a refugee. Born at Mulhausen in 1728, deceased in 1777, he belonged by his origin to France, by his life to Germany, by his immense researches to all the domains of intellectual activity. He it was who drew up the statutes and directed the labours of the Academy of Munich, founded in 1720 by the elector of Bavaria, on the model of that of Berlin. Foolishly accused of atheism, he quitted Bavaria in 1764, and went to Berlin, where the most celebrated of the academicians entreated the king to give him a place amongst them. He held it for twelve

years. The most illustrious of Lambert's disciples, Ploucquet, professor at Tübingen, also belonged to the French colony. Andrew Peter Leguay, born at Charonton, near Paris, in 1716, and better known under the name of Prémontval, took refuge at Geneva in 1743, embraced Protestantism, and after having rambled for some years in Switzerland, Germany, and Holland, went to Berlin in 1752, and was received a member of the Academy. He criticised with equal severity the then dominant philosophy of Wolf, and the style of the refugees, and thus earned the double renown of an independent thinker and an incorruptible purist. Villaume saw a crown accorded by the Royal Society of Metz to his fine treatise in reply to this question—"What means are there, reconcilable with French legislation, of animating and extending patriotism in the third estate?" He afterwards published several educational and philosophical works, and did honour by his character, as much as by his writings, to that Refuge to which he was proud to belong. Bitaubé, born at Königsberg, in 1732, of a family from Castel-Jaloux, attracted the attention of Frederick II. by his free translation of the Iliad, published at Berlin in 1762. The literary king made him a member of his Academy, and by special favour allowed him to pass several years at Paris to complete his work. He there published, in 1764, his complete translation of the Iliad, and added to it, in 1785, that of the Odyssey. When the revolution of 1789 had restored their rights to the descendants of refugees, Bitaubé joyfully became a Frenchman. He was appointed a member of the Academy of Inscriptions, but soon his intercourse with Brissot and Roland rendered him an object of suspicion to the Terrorists. Thrown into prison in 1793, he did not recover his liberty until after the 9th of Thermidor. Named member of the third class of the Institute, he received the most flattering distinctions from Napoleon, and prolonged

his career in Paris until 1808, in the enjoyment of ease won by his labours.

Thus, notwithstanding his scepticism, Frederick II. felt the same sympathy with the refugees that his predecessors had done. He deemed himself happy, he said, in his old age, to have lived long enough to celebrate with them, in 1785, the jubilee of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Perhaps, by giving pre-eminence to their language in his regenerated Academy, he had wished to afford them fresh facilities for distinction in that society, indebted to them, it may be said, for its origin and first success. Perhaps, also, he had hoped thus to attach the religious colony to the sceptical colony—the Calvinist Refuge to the philosophical Refuge, in which shone alternately, Maupertuis, d'Argens, d'Alembert, La Mettrie, and Voltaire. If Frederick II. conceived such a hope, he had soon to give it up. The Protestant refugees never blended with the free-thinking refugees.

When the Seven Years' War menaced the very existence of Prussia, the refugees armed at Frederick's call, and took a glorious part in the national defence. Louis le Chénevix de Béville served as lieutenant-general in the Prussian army, and afterwards received as a recompense the government of Neuchâtel. In the campaign of 1760, Forcade was ordered to check the Russians, who had penetrated into Pomerania. At the siege of Schweidnitz, Le Fèvre was engineer-in-chief. In the fatal but honourable defeat of Landshut, in 1760, a gentleman, sprung from one of the oldest families in Normandy, General Baron de la Mothe-Fouqué, held out with eight thousand Prussians against General Laudon, who had twenty-eight thousand Austrians under his orders. He formed his troops in square, and, after having exhausted his ammunition, he continued to fight with cold steel, repulsed for eight hours the furious attacks of the enemy's cavalry, and fell at last, overwhelmed by numbers—

enhancing, by this very disaster, the splendour of his reputation. "This fine action," said Frederick II., "can be compared only to that of Leonidas and the Greeks who met, at Thermopylæ, a fate like his."

There were not less than nine generals of French origin, who then contributed to defend Prussia against Austria, France, and Russia. The most distinguished were, La Mothe-Fouqué, Hautcharmoy, de Bonin, Dumoulin, and Forcade. Their respected names are inscribed on the statue lately erected on the square of the palace at Berlin, in honour of the great Frederick and his century.

Prussia, when she emerged from this unequal and murderous strife, resembled, according to her king's expression, a man riddled with wounds, weak from loss of blood, and like to sink beneath the weight of his sufferings. But she had made head against Austria, France, and Russia, leagued for her ruin, and thenceforward she ranked amongst the great powers of Europe. After the peace of Hubertsburg, which insured exterior tranquillity, Frederick II. was enabled to turn his attention to domestic affairs. The manufactories founded by the refugees lacked workmen. He brought in from foreign countries a number sufficiently large to form two hundred and eighty new villages, of two hundred families each. Not a town in Prussia but beheld new manufactories arise within its walls. Those of velvets and rich stuffs had their place assigned at Berlin; those of light velvets and plain stuffs at Potsdam. Frankfort on the Oder made Russia leather; Berlin, Magdeburg, and Potsdam, stockings and silk handkerchiefs. Jewellery, goldsmith's work, and the arts connected with them, attained to a high degree of perfection. Frederick II. annually ordered a certain number of gold snuff-boxes, enriched with brilliants and other precious stones, and which required a combination of the arts of the jeweller, the engraver, and the painter. The prices he paid for them varied from six thousand to

twenty thousand crowns. Not satisfied with giving these extensive orders, he sent for the workmen he employed, and who almost all belonged to the French colony, to Potsdam, conversed with them concerning their art, and himself supplied them with designs, or corrected theirs with all an artist's taste. Soon the jewellery of Berlin was almost as much sought after as that of Paris. The courts of Russia, Poland, and Saxony, in which the taste for luxury and magnificence had made immense progress, encouraged it by the orders they gave, and became the great resources of the Berlin artists. The most celebrated for their skill were Daniel Baudesson, who attained a great superiority—the brothers Jordan, who enriched themselves by trade in brilliants—and Francis Réclam, the rare perfection of whose work elicited the praises of Frederick II. Plantations of mulberry-trees were encouraged, notwithstanding the rigour of the climate, in all the provinces where the refugees had established silk-manufactories. The French set an example to the cultivators, and taught them how to rear the precious insect. In places where wood was abundant, and where the absence of rivers prevented its advantageous sale, foundries were established, which supplied the fortresses and the army with iron cannon, balls, and shells. Vast marshes which extended along the Oder from Swinemunde to Custrin were drained and cultivated, perhaps for the first time, and afforded a comfortable subsistence to twelve hundred families. In a word, manufactures and agriculture were generally encouraged, and Prussia doubled both her population and her power.

CHAPTER V.

THE DESCENDANTS OF THE REFUGEES DURING THE LAST SIXTY YEARS.

THE BERLIN ACADEMY—LOUIS ANCILLON—CASTILLON THE YOUNGER—ERMAN—BURJA—CHAMISSO—DUBOIS REYMOND—HENRY—FREDERICK ANCILLON—SAVIGNY—HISTORICAL SCHOOL—CONSTITUTION OF 1847—LA MOTHE-FOUQUÉ—MICHELET—ADOLPHE ERMAN—THÉREMIN—GAILLARD—PAINTERS—REFUGEES DISTINGUISHED IN DIPLOMACY AND IN HIGH ADMINISTRATIVE DEPARTMENTS—LOMBARD—IN THE MILITARY PROFESSION—IN MANUFACTURES AND TRADE.

IN the interval of sixty years from the death of Frederick II. to our days, a number of remarkable men, proceeding from the Refuge, have contributed to maintain Prussia in the high rank in which that prince's genius had placed it. The Berlin Academy continued to recruit its most eminent members amongst them. In the first year of the reign of Frederick-William II., three Frenchmen, Louis Ancillon, Castillon the younger, and Erman, were received into that celebrated society. Louis Ancillon, grand-nephew of Charles Ancillon, the friend of Leibnitz, and one of the founders of the Academy, was born at Berlin in 1740. He was then the last scion of that family which the great elector had so warmly welcomed, which the public had ever since venerated, and which, during a century and a half, had never ceased to occupy a brilliant position in the magistracy, in the church, and in literature. Already pointed out to the choice of the Academy by the three academical crowns he had obtained at Rome, Dijon, and Berlin, Louis Ancillon was elected a member soon after the death of Frederick II., whose funeral eulogium he spoke in the temple at Potsdam, where that great

man's ashes rest. For six-and-twenty years he was one of the luminaries of the class of Philosophy, a metaphysician of the first order, a high-minded, sensible, and sagacious thinker. Frederick de Castillon, born at Berne in 1747, but who had long joined the Berlin colony, was received into the Academy in 1800, and acquired fame by his remarkable logical, psychological and ideological works. Erman, his cotemporary and friend, is the author of the memoirs on the establishment of the refugees in Brandenburg.

To these three academicians, chosen amongst the descendants of the refugees, were subsequently added others of the same descent, and of more recent distinction either in sciences or letters. Several of these still live.

Abel Burja, born at Berlin in 1752, belonged to the colony. He made himself celebrated as a preacher, a geographer, and a geometrician. His mathematical labours opened to him the doors of the Academy in 1789. Adalbert Chamisso, born in 1781, at the château of Beaucourt in Champagne, emigrated to Berlin during the French Revolution, attached himself completely to the colony, and showed rare intelligence of German poetry and philosophy. He published in 1813 the singular work entitled *Peter Schlemihl; or, The Shadowless Man*. This tale, written in German, was forthwith translated into French, English, Dutch, and Spanish, and gave birth to a new style which the Germans call the *fantastic*. The celebrated Hoffmann, who excelled in this eccentric branch of modern literature, admits himself to be the disciple and imitator of Chamisso. Subsequently devoting himself to the study of natural history, and of the exact sciences, Chamisso accompanied Otho Von Kotzebue in his voyage round the world, undertaken at the cost of the chancellor, Count Romanzoff. Quitting Cronstadt in 1815, he returned in 1818, and published at Berlin the results of his dis-

coveries. The university of that town gave him the diploma of doctor, and the Academy admitted him a member of the class of physical and mathematical sciences. Professor Paul Erman, son of the pastor, also a member of the Academy of Sciences, is now more than eighty years of age, and still occupies himself with learned researches. Doctor Emilius Dubois Reymond, descended by his mother's side from a Nismes family, is at this moment exciting the attention of the learned world by his fine work on the law of the muscular current, which seems destined to open to modern science a path hitherto unexplored. His system, exhibited to the Academy of Sciences of Paris, in presence of which he repeated his experiments, has not yet received general assent; but the Academy of Sciences of Berlin has already testified its esteem for the illustrious descendant of the refugees by admitting him to its ranks at the age of thirty-two years. The pastor Henry, author of a justly-esteemed work on Calvin, also belongs to the society. But the two academicians whose names have made the most noise in our days are Frederick Ancillon and Savigny.

An eminent writer has already narrated the life, and passed judgment upon the political and literary career, of Frederick Ancillon, with an elevation of views and a sureness of appreciation it would be difficult to equal.¹ We will but recall their most striking features. Frederick was the son and the pupil of Louis Ancillon. Born at Berlin in 1766, first a preacher, then professor of history at the military and historiographical school of Brandenburg, he was received into the Academy in 1803. His *Mélanges de Littérature et de Philosophie*, which revealed a clear and sure judgment, and a profound knowledge of the principal problems discussed by the greatest thinkers in France and Germany, his *Tableau des Révolutions du Système Politique de l'Europe depuis le Quinzième*

¹ M. Mignet's Notice of Frederick Ancillon.

Siècle—a work unfortunately unfinished, full of brilliant passages, and whose style would not be disowned by the best French writers of our epoch—attracted the attention of King Frederick-William III., who named him preceptor to the prince-royal, and to his brother, the present Prince of Prussia. After having prepared his two illustrious pupils for the parts they now play, he was named successively councillor in the department of foreign affairs, director of the political section, and finally, in 1831, he succeeded Count Bernstorff as secretary of state for foreign affairs. At his death, in 1837, he was the leading minister of the Berlin cabinet, and one of the props of European peace, which he had had the happiness to preserve in conjunction with the skilful statesmen who then directed the policy of France.

By the side of the last of the Ancillons is to be placed one of the finest geniuses the Refuge produced, a man still living, alternately an administrator, a professor, a jurisconsult, a man of erudition, and who, during the last forty years, has taken a brilliant share in the modern movement of Germany against the influence and domination of the arms and ideas of France. The name of this man is Frederick-Charles de Savigny.

The family from which Savigny is descended emigrated in the first half of the seventeenth century. Paul de Savigny, born at Metz in 1622, served in the Swedish army until 1650, and after having been governor of the little fortress of Alt-Leiningen, he died at Kirheim in 1685. His son, Louis-John de Savigny, born in 1652, was privy-councillor to the Prince of Nassau, and president at Weilburg, where he died in 1701. One of the most violent of the books then published at Cologne by the refugees, to denounce to Europe the encroaching policy of Louis XIV., is attributed to him.¹ A few pages extracted

¹ This pamphlet is entitled: *The Dissolution of the Reunion, in which it is proved by legal maxims that the lords and subjects of the reunion are no longer bound by the homage or oaths they have paid and taken to the kings of France, to*

from this publication were republished in 1813, and met with a certain degree of success by reason of the appositeness of their appearance, at the very moment when the great-grandson of Louis-John, Frederick-Charles de Savigny, was organising with Eichhorn the Prussian *landwehr* and *landsturm*, to act against France. Louis, son of Louis-John, was director of the regency of Deux Ponts from 1684 to 1740. The son of Louis, Christian-Charles-Louis, member of the assembly of the circle of the Upper Rhine, as deputy of several princes of the Empire, was the father of Frederick-Charles de Savigny, born at Frankfort in 1779. After having finished his studies at Marburg, Savigny travelled in Germany, France, and the north of Italy, everywhere collecting memorials, as yet unpublished, of the history of Roman law. Called in 1810 to the university of Berlin, he was named successively member of the Academy of Sciences, of the council of state reorganised in 1807, and of the court of revision instituted for the Rhenish provinces. Subsequently he shared with Muhler the direction of the ministry of justice, and was especially charged with the department of the revision of the laws.

Savigny ranks with Niebuhr as one of the renovators of modern historic science of the Roman law. The lucidity, the method, the erudition, the rare sagacity with which he knows how to combine texts and to deduce from them conclusions at once safe and precise, a purity of style, and an elegance by no means common in Germany—such are the qualities which distinguish this author, French by his origin, German by the language in which he writes.

In his learned works, which almost all relate to Roman law, Savigny directly attaches himself to the school of Cujas. He is more anxious to re-establish the Roman law

the royal chamber of Metz, and to the sovereign councils of Alsatia and Besançon, with discourses of the alliance of the King of France with the Turks. Cologne : 1692.

in its original sincerity, and in its historic truth, than to modify it for the sake of the convenience of its more or less direct application to the present times. Besides numerous minor works, Savigny has produced two great works on Roman law—the *Treatise on Possession*, in which he reconstructs the very original constitution of the Roman *property* and *possession*, and the *History of Roman Law in the Middle Ages*. In this second work, which is the first in importance, Savigny has proved, in the first instance, that the German laws were *personal*, in the sense that they were proper to every German by his national origin. It was generally believed, before him, that every German was at liberty to declare and to adopt the law it suited him to follow. The personality of customs and of laws during the Germanic period is now a recognised fact. Secondly, Savigny proved the permanence of the Roman law during the middle ages as *custom* and *object of study*. It had previously been believed that the Roman law had not survived the ruin of the Western Empire—that it had been lost sight of in the first days of the conquest, in consequence of the mixture of races, and of the neglect even of the Romans, who were supposed to have adopted the German laws, in order to blend themselves with their conquerors, and that it had, in some sort, suddenly risen from its tomb to rule the world for a second time, when, in the eleventh century, a soldier discovered a manuscript of the Pandects in the town of Amalfi. This opinion was founded upon fables and upon misapprehension of facts. The permanence of the Roman law in the middle ages is a historical truth of which certain minds had had a glimpse, but which Savigny alone re-established in a manner henceforward indisputable.

But Savigny's most original work, that by which he has marked out for himself a special place, and exercised a direct influence on the political constitution of Prussia,

is the tract entitled, *De la Vocation de notre Siècle pour l'étude de la Jurisprudence*. In that celebrated treatise, which established him as the chief of a school, Savigny often rises into eloquence, suffering the sentiment of independence to burst forth with the proud strong energy of one of Tacitus's Germans suddenly transported into the midst of modern society, and uttering the philosophical language of law. At the time when this work was published, the question was in agitation, whether Prussia, liberated from the yoke of France, should preserve the French codes in the Rhenish provinces, into which conquest had imported them, and if she should imitate them by analogous codes in some parts of the kingdom, where they had not yet been applied? Savigny protested against this tendency, which was connected with the promises of the coalition in 1813, and published his famous treatise. In it he proves, as things are proved in theory, by reiterated assertion rather than by facts, that new codes are neither necessary nor even possible; that the laws of France could not, any more than those of Prussia or Austria, be adopted in every country; that every nation has a law which is proper to it, and which is due to an instinctive manifestation of its nationality. This manifestation becomes the basis of common law, a kind of law essentially progressive, which developes, perfects, and modifies itself by the action of the cause that produces it; that is to say, by the progress of nationality under the influence of the new facts and circumstances which present themselves in the existence of nations. Custom and its progress—such is, according to Savigny, the only possible legislation. To seek the legislation of a people outside the circle of its customs, and of the natural growth deriving from them, is to do it violence—to interrupt its autonomy—to stifle its vitality—is the substitution, in short, of a sort of artificial and mechanical locomotion for its natural progress. The legislators of

the French Revolution, with their impromptu codes, are tyrants who kill liberty. Their rational law is a dead letter. The great principles inscribed at the head of their constitutions are not historically appreciable. The liberty, equality, and fraternity they invoke, to impose a new and absolute law which has not proceeded from the inner life of the French people, are pompous and useless declarations, beneath which they strive in vain to conceal the enormity of an act of leze-nation.

Savigny maintains that all legislations which have lasted have been but the progressive development of custom. He cites, in ancient times, the Roman law, the work of the juriconsults and prætors, and not in any degree of the legislators; in modern times the English law, which, in its civil as in its political department, is but the continuous development of the primitive customs of the nation.

Germany, too, according to Savigny, has its great law, virtually proceeding from its powerful and fruitful nationality. Why should she renounce that law to adopt a collection of written rules, unalterable, imported from abroad, putting a term to her natural autonomy, and substituting for such autonomy the will of a few men? France has renounced her common law. She has uprooted the tree of life, to substitute for it the legislative will of power. To this sovereign abdication she has given the name of the reign of philosophy, of the installation of reason. Accordingly, the French people no longer know what true liberty is. It seeks it, and cannot find it. That people no longer belongs to itself; it belongs to systems, to ideas, or rather to a few intelligent and skilful men, who sport with its destinies amidst quickly succeeding events, and with whom Providence in its turn sports. Germans! do not then renounce your natural autonomy to imitate France—to adopt her codes,

to be no longer an independent nation, to substitute a sonorous name for real liberty.

This is the point of view at which Savigny stations himself to give vent to his violent polemics in favour of custom against legislation, of common law against written and ideal law. This point of view, profoundly conformable to German genius—a genius of independence, of isolation, of political and religious partition and division, against which have been wrecked, for two thousand years, all attempts at concentration and unity—found ardent sympathisers in Germany. It produced the *historical school*, and threw down the gauntlet to the *philosophical school*. The German universities have remained divided between these two schools. But the victory is almost everywhere for the first, which has exercised, for the last thirty years, immense influence on the policy of the Germanic Confederation. The system of Savigny, imperfectly perceived by Joseph de Maistre, in his *Essai sur le Principe générateur des Institutions politiques*, combated by Rossi, who reproaches him with seeking the relative and contingent, and with not taking account of the absolute, has been warmly embraced by the King of Prussia, Frederick-William IV., a disciple of Savigny as much as of Ancillon, and on whose mind the lessons of law given in 1814 by the great juriconsult appear to have left a deep impression. The singular contempt this prince expressed for the charter of 1830; the manner in which he organised the Prussian Diet in 1847; the policy followed until the troubles of March 1848, and to which he now seems to wish to return, attest his complete adhesion to the principles of the historical school. We hasten to remark that hitherto their application has been by no means always happy, and that, if France still pursues, amidst revolutions and ruins, an ideal which, like some distant mirage, seems ever to recede, the experience of

recent years has not pronounced more strongly in favour of the opposite system.

Summoned by the gratitude and admiration of his royal pupil to the highest functions of the state, Savigny felt the necessity of withdrawing from the squabbles of the schools, in order not to add the bitterness of theoretical disputations to the real troubles of power. He now seems to decline the honour of having founded a system and created a school. He seeks to shelter himself behind history and erudition. But although the chief has disappeared, the name, the banner, the army remains; and, but for the revolution of 1848, historical Germany and philosophical Germany would doubtless still continue the ardent struggle brought on by Savigny's book.

Other descendants of the refugees, to whom the gates of the Academy were not opened, did not the less exercise a happy influence on the progress of letters in Germany.

La Mothe-Fouqué, grandson of the hero of Landshut, after having made the campaigns of 1793-4-5 as lieutenant of cavalry in a Prussian regiment, devoted himself entirely to literature, when the treaty of Basle restored peace to his country. He took arms again in 1813, and fought bravely at Lutzen, Kulm, and Leipzig. In the interval between those two periods of military life, and during the long peace that ensued, he published various works, of which the most justly celebrated is the Romance of Undine, one of the most graceful creations of German literature. It is the only one of his works that has been translated into French.

Charles Frederick Michelet, one of the principal disciples of Hegel, and one of the editors of the complete works of that philosopher, professor at the French college, and at the university of Berlin, has established his reputation by his estimable work on Aristotle's Metaphysics,

which obtained a crown from the Academy of Moral Sciences, and by a history of modern German philosophy.

Adolph Erman, son of Paul Erman, and grandson of the author of the memoirs of the Refugees, became celebrated by his voyage round the world, which Humboldt, who himself belongs, by the mother's side, to the colony, has frequently referred to in his *Cosmos*.

Francis Théremin, who died a few years ago, had succeeded Frederick Ancillon as pastor of Werder. Afterwards he was appointed preacher to the court. He has left behind him several justly-esteemed volumes of sermons.

The poet Charles Gaillard, a merchant at Berlin, has composed, in the German language, lyric and dramatic poetry, which are not devoid of inspiration. The Berliners especially praise his songs of the Tcherkess.

During the present century the refugees have continued to distinguish themselves in arts, in diplomacy, in arms, commerce, and manufactures. The painters Rodolph Jordan and Bartholomew Pascal, whose pictures are in demand all over Germany, belong to the Refuge. The painters Bardou and Louis Blanc are also of French origin.

In diplomacy, and the higher branches of public administration, we must name Lombard, born in Berlin in 1766, of a Dauphinese family, secretary of the cabinet under Frederick II., and principal councillor of Frederick-William II. and of Frederick-William III. When, in 1795, Prussia separated herself militarily from Austria by the treaty of Basle, and reconciled herself with the French Republic, it was from Berlin that proceeded the advice given to the Directory, to send an army into Italy, in order thus to annul the influence of Austria in Germany, and to establish the preponderance of Prussia in the north. Frederick-William II. and his successor were entirely surrounded, at that period, by the sons of

refugees, eager to aggrandise their adoptive country by means of the struggle between France and Austria. There may also be mentioned Gustavus de Le Coq, formerly ambassador at Constantinople, now under-secretary of state for foreign affairs; Balan, councillor of legation, who has been ambassador at Frankfort; William Théremin, formerly consul-general at Rio-de-Janciro, now chargé-d'affaires of Hamburg and several other German states; Théremin, his son, late vice-consul at Rio, now secretary at Bucharest; the Counts of Perponcher, one secretary of embassy at London, the other at Constantinople, where the Count Albert de Pourtalès, a Neuchâtelese, descended from a refugee family, holds the office of ambassador; Le Prêtre, until lately municipal councillor at Magdeburg, and who is descended from the family of Vauban, extinct in France, but preserved to the present day in Germany. Finally, in both chambers of the Prussian parliament now sitting are found a great number of representatives of French origin, elected in Berlin and in the provinces.¹

In the military profession there may be cited the Count of Perponcher, lieutenant-general; colonels Jordan and Valette; Baudenant, an officer of engineers of rare merit, whose friendship consoled Carnot's exile during his abode at Magdeburg, and to whom was intrusted the rebuilding of several fortresses in the Rhenish provinces.

In manufactures, trade, and agriculture: the house of Humbert and Gärtner, celebrated silk-manufacturers; the Fonroberts, noted for their india-rubber and gutta-percha manufactures; the brothers Baudoin; the Asches, the Plantiers, manufacturers and merchants; the Moreau-Valettes, one of the largest commercial houses in Berlin; Jaquier, a banker of the first class; Godet and Humbert, jewellers to the court; the booksellers Logier and Sauvage; the brothers Mathieu, famous gardeners, of a family which,

* This passage, relating to cotemporary Prussia, was written in 1850.

ever since the time of the Refuge, has had gardeners amongst its members, and which has never ceased to improve the art of gardening.

Of all the manufactures with which the refugees have enriched the kingdom of Prussia, that of silks and velvets has best maintained and developed itself. In 1837 it occupied in that country 14,111 looms, of which 1575 were in Berlin, 390 at Potsdam, 350 at Frankfort on the Oder, 310 at Cologne, 11,137 at Elberfeld and Crefeld. It is true that the last named two towns were especially indebted for the flourishing state of their manufactures to the decline of those the emigrants had established in Holland.

CHAPTER VI.

ACTUAL STATE OF THE COLONY OF BERLIN.

GERMAN REACTION: 1°. AFTER THE DEATH OF FREDERICK II.: 2°. IN 1813—
TRANSFORMATION OF THE COLONY OF BERLIN — GERMAN LITERATURE OF
THE REFUGEES—TRANSFORMATION OF THE PROVINCIAL COLONIES.

AT the present day the colony of Berlin is still about six thousand strong, and, all things considered, their morality is purer than that of the rest of the population. The number of suicides, illegitimate births, and of crimes of all kinds, is relatively smaller. The rigid spirit of Calvin still animates the descendants of his expatriated sectaries. The French language is dying away; only the old men continue to speak it. The young people learn the language in which their ancestors expressed themselves, just as do all other Berliners of a certain degree of education. But it is no longer their mother tongue, no longer the every-day colloquial language. Intermarriages and habitual intercourse with Germans have gradually blended the two races. The reorganisation of Prussia in 1808, by depriving the French parishes of that peculiar constitution which dated from the first years of the emigration, and by confounding them, as regarded the administration of justice, the superintendence of churches and schools, with the other parishes of the monarchy, powerfully contributed to the same result. The Berlin colony alone still held out for some years against the invading action of Prussian nationality, and perhaps would yet longer have maintained its distinctive character, had not two decisive events—the victorious reaction of

the German language and literature which succeeded the death of the great Frederick, and the political reaction of 1813 and 1814—hastened an inevitable transformation.

The long preponderance of the genius and language of France at the Berlin court, and Frederick II.'s strange contempt for German literature, had excited the anger and jealousy of a people justly proud of its rapid political and literary progress. After the great king's death, the national sentiment reacted violently against the exclusive preference shown until then to French writers. In the first year of the reign of Frederick-William II., out of fifteen members elected by the Berlin Academy, twelve were chosen amongst the Germans, three only from the French colony. This election at once gave a decided superiority to the national party, whose triumph Hertzberg assured by instituting the celebrated committee intrusted with the improvement of the German grammar. Under the following reign the Academy adopted the national tongue. Nevertheless, the French language still sustained itself against the passionate attacks of a reaction whose injustice was the greater by reason of its tardiness. Frederick Ancillon, who annually celebrated the memory of the great Frederick, continued to use the language of his ancestors whilst Napoleon's armies occupied Potsdam and Berlin. But the humiliating rout of Jena and the overwhelming treaty of Tilsit severed Prussia's last sympathies with a language which most of the families of French origin still spoke. Thenceforward the Berliners abandoned the custom of addressing in French the letters they wrote in German. Many of the refugees followed this example. Several had already translated their family names into German. The Lacroix, the Laforges, the Duprés, the Harengs, the Sauvages, had adopted the names of Kreutz, Schmidt, Wiese, Hering, Wild. Others had allowed theirs to be altered by a vicious pronunciation which

had Germanised them. Thus was it that the family of Boutemont, which was to give to cotemporary Germany one of the most renowned of its Hellenists, saw its name transformed into that of Buttman. In the midst of the patriotic fervour excited by the war of independence—at the time that Fichte quitted his philosophical lectures to take arms in the ranks of the *landwehr*, and that Schleiermacher forgot himself to the point of branding the hero of the Seven Years' War with the epithet of deserter, and compared his writings to *the cress that one makes to grow without earth under a white sheet*—the refugees established in Berlin held solemn deliberation whether they should for ever renounce the French names they until then had borne, to blend themselves completely with the Prussian people. The pastor, Molière, and Savigny, opposed this extreme resolution, which was executed but by a part of the commercial class. The rest of the colony were satisfied to adopt the German language. Frederick Ancillon himself set to work seriously to study it, so as to speak and write it, and thenceforward to take his place in German literature. Already, before him, the novelist La Fontaine had used the German language to depict those simple and touching scenes of domestic life which were promptly translated into French, and found so much favour under the empire. Already had the Calvinist minister Villaume, born in the colony of Halberstadt, written with equal facility his mother tongue and his adopted language. Soon La Mothe-Fouqué, Thérémin, Chamisso, Savigny, Gaillard, Henry, yielded to the general impulse, and went with the current.

Thus was accomplished the definitive transformation of the Berlin colony. Up to 1819 the refugees possessed seven churches in that capital—those of the Klosterstrasse, Werder, the Dorotheestadt, the Luisenstadt, the Hospital, the Cathéchètes, and that of the Friedrich-

stadt, constructed on the model of the temple of Charenton, and which had been inaugurated with a sermon by the great Beausobre. During that long period, worship had been celebrated in these churches exclusively in French; but from 1819 forward the sermons were preached alternately in French and German. Since 1830, German prevails everywhere, and at the present day the refugees possess but one church where service is still performed in a language which doubtless will soon cease to be understood. In the small towns and in villages, preaching in French has long been discontinued; and in large towns, like Potsdam, Magdeburg, Stettin, French is so little used that divine worship is celebrated in that tongue but once a-year, for certain old people who adhere with filial attachment and religious respect to the language of their fathers. But the new generation is German in heart as in language, and no tie attaches it to the country of its ancestors.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REFUGEES IN THE SECONDARY STATES OF GERMANY.

WANT OF SYMPATHY OF THE LUTHERAN PRINCES WITH THE REFUGEES—ELECTORATE OF SAXONY—COLONY AT FRANKFORT ON THE MAINE—COLONY AT HAMBURG—COLONIES AT BREMEN AND LUBECK—STATES OF BRUNSWICK : COLONIES OF HANOVER AND HAMELN : COLONY OF ZELL : COLONY OF BRUNSWICK—COLONIES OF BAIREUTH AND ERLANGEN—COLONIES IN BADEN AND WURTEMBERG—LANDGRAVIATE OF HESSE—EDICT OF CHARLES I.—COLONY OF CASSEL—COLONY OF HANAU—EIGHTEEN AGRICULTURAL COLONIES—COLONY OF FRIEDRICHSDORF—LITTLE FRANCE—VAUDOIS COLONIES IN HESSE—COLONIES IN ALSATIA.

BRANDENBURG was not the only country in Germany which afforded an asylum to the French Protestants after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. A great many of the refugees dispersed themselves in the various principalities composing the German Confederation. The Lutheran princes generally showed them less sympathy than they had found in Prussia. The peace of Westphalia conceded, it is true, in principle, equal rights to the Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists, of which the population of Germany was made up. But everywhere the dominant party had circumscribed those rights, by rendering them subordinate to the particular constitutions of states and to established customs. In the south of Germany, and especially in Austria and Bavaria, governments persevered in their intolerant policy towards those who dissented from their creed. Scarcely would they suffer them within their dominions, and the eighteenth century offered the spectacle of a bishop of Salzburg driving sixty thousand of his Protestant subjects from the territory of his diocese. The Lutheran princes might

fear that, if they admitted the Calvinist refugees to the enjoyment of the same rights as their own subjects, the Catholics might make this a pretext to claim the same concessions. And they accordingly resisted the pressing solicitations addressed to them by the sovereigns of the Reformed church in favour of the refugees from France. If they did not exactly forbid them the entrance of their states, they at any rate granted them but a limited tolerance. Everywhere they excluded them from public employment, and from corporations or guilds. In some places they would not allow them to hold landed property. Such unfavourable conditions naturally discouraged the refugees, and private considerations alone induced a portion of them to settle in countries which showed them such niggard hospitality.

A certain number of commercial families established themselves in the electorate of Saxony. The facilities they found in disposing of the produce of their industry at the Leipzig fair attracted thither some who at first had gone to Halle, in the states of the grand elector. Other refugees went to Dresden, although there they were fain to celebrate their worship clandestinely, and to exact an oath of secrecy from the faithful before admitting them to their religious assemblies. At Leipzig it was not until 1701 that they were permitted to have a pastor. Previously to that year they were compelled to go to communion in the neighbouring town of Halle.

Notwithstanding Frederick-William's solicitations in their behalf, the free cities of Frankfort on the Maine and Hamburg refused to allow them publicly to exercise their religion.

The first French refugees who settled in Frankfort were natives of the Spanish Low Countries. Flying from the persecutions of the Duke of Alva and Cardinal Granvelle, they betook themselves to that town, which had embraced the Protestant religion. They formed

a community of about three hundred persons, when the temple that had been assigned to their use was closed by magisterial order. Many families then made up their minds to emigrate again, and passed into the Palatinate, where they formed a little colony at Kloster-Frankenthal. Those who remained obtained, in 1601, permission to build a temple outside the Bockenheim gate. This temple was burned down in 1608, and not rebuilt. The following year, by permission of Prince Wolfgang of Ysemburg, the French refugees had service performed in the village of Offenbach. After the revocation of the edict of Nantes many of the fugitives joined the little colony at Frankfort, and were permitted to celebrate worship in the house inhabited by the Princess of Tarentum. In 1768 they obtained leave to build a temple at Bockenheim, but leave for the free exercise of their religion at Frankfort was not conceded to them until 1787. In 1806, Charles de Dalberg, Archbishop of Ratisbon, become prince-primate of the German confederation and sovereign of Frankfort, issued a decree elevating the descendants of the French refugees, both laymen and ecclesiastics, to an equality with their fellow-citizens. Finally, in 1820, Frankfort, once more a free city, gave to the reformed religion a governing consistory, thus recognising and sanctioning the civil and religious equality of all the communities of the republic.

This French colony has constantly maintained its prosperity. At the present day it consists of about sixty families, who have not forgotten the language of their forefathers. It provides for the wants of all its members, and it is chiefly to its industry and commercial activity that it owes the honourable and independent position it has never ceased to enjoy up to the present time.

The little colony of Hamburg, formed by the Duke of Alba's persecutions, and increased by those of Louis XIV.,

was authorised only in 1761 freely to celebrate its worship. The principal families of French origin who now occupy high positions in that city are Messrs Cæsar, Adolphus and Gustavus Godefroy, the first shipowners in the country; the Chapeaurouges, rich bankers; the celebrated physician Chauffepié; Gabain, one of the first merchants; Morin, a famous gunsmith. The French colony has long since mingled with and been lost in the German race. Nevertheless, the national tongue is not yet entirely superseded, and there still exists a church where a French pastor, M. Barrelet, officiates.

The hanseatic towns of Bremen and Lubeck did not show the emigrants more sympathy than Frankfort and Hamburg had done. In 1693, the elector Frederick III. wrote in vain to the magistrates of the two republics to beg them to show compassion to those unfortunate persons. His remonstrances were not listened to.

Although the princes of the House of Brunswick were Lutherans, they received the refugees better. Ernest-Augustus, Duke of Brunswick-Hanover, had married Sophia, daughter of Frederick V., elector-palatine and King of Bohemia. Granddaughter, by her mother Elizabeth, of James I. of England, this princess, who was one day to transmit to her family the crown of the Stuarts, had been brought up in the reformed religion. Full of zeal for the interests of the refugees, she assisted with her advice all the measures taken by her husband for their establishment in his dominions. Following the example of Frederick-William, Ernest-Augustus published, the 1st December 1685, an edict in fifteen articles, granting them the most extensive privileges. All civil, ecclesiastical, and military dignities were open to them, and they were exempted from taxation for ten years. Several refugees of high family went to Hanover, and were attached to the court or placed in the army. This little colony acquired a certain political importance

by the correspondence it kept up with the refugees in England, and was not without influence on the act of parliament which regulated the succession to the throne of England in 1701. A second colony, composed chiefly of manufacturers and artisans, was formed in the town of Hameln. In 1690 the elector allotted a Lutheran church to the new-comers, pending the construction of one exclusively reserved for the reformed worship.

In the duchy of Brunswick-Luneburg it was the town of Zell which attracted the greatest number of refugees. Several years before the revocation, the court of this little capital was almost wholly French, composed of persons of distinction whom fanaticism had driven from France. The Duchess of Zell was a French Protestant. By her beauty, her virtue, and the rare qualities of her mind, she had risen from the condition of a mere *demoiselle noble* to the rank of consort of a prince belonging to one of the most ancient families in Germany. Her maiden name was Eleonora d'Esmiers; her father was Alexander, lord of Olbreuse in Poitou; she had accompanied the Princess of Tarentum to Germany, and soon afterwards had married George-William, Duke of Brunswick-Zell. In 1685 she welcomed a crowd of refugees who formed in Zell a congregation distinguished amongst all the other congregations of the Refuge by the rank of those composing it. Roques de Maumont, who was its pastor at the time of the Seven Years' War, imparted fresh lustre to it by the correspondence he maintained with the Duke of Armentières and the other generals of Louis XV.'s armies.

The princes of Brunswick-Wolfenbittel and Bevern also showed kindness to the refugees. A former priest of the diocese of Poitiers, Du Plessis by name, a convert to Calvinism and a refugee in Germany, became the private secretary and confidential adviser of the eldest prince of Wolfenbittel. The colony which formed itself

in the town of Brunswick obtained numerous privileges, and contributed in return, by its manufactures and commerce, to the wealth of the country. Amongst the members of this congregation who reflected honour upon it by their birth as well as by their virtues, was remarkable, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, Eleanor-Charlotte, Duchess of Courland.

The policy, alike skilful and generous, of the grand elector was imitated by all the princes of his house. The Margrave of Brandenburg-Baireuth dared to brave the menaces of Louis XIV., whose vindictive rigour was more than once felt by the protectors of the fugitives. He did still more, for he resisted his own subjects, rigid Lutherans, of no great enlightenment, who demanded that the refugees should be prohibited the public exercise of their religion, and that their ministers should be forced to sign the Confession of Augsburg. In spite of all these obstacles, one of the most flourishing colonies of the Refuge was formed at Baireuth. The town of Erlangen, one of the most elegant in Germany, was constructed entirely by fugitive French, and, thanks to the industry of its founders, it soon attained to a high degree of prosperity.

The Margrave of Anspach, the Duke of Nassau, the Count of Lippe, the Duke of Saxe-Hildburghausen, eagerly received the small number of refugees whom circumstances took into their territories. The Margrave Frederick-Magnus of Baden-Durlach allotted to them uncultivated lands in the township of Neureuth, a league from Carlsruhe. This little colony, known as Welsch-Neureuth, subsisted until 1821 as a distinct parish. Those who settled in Wurtemberg were joined in 1698 by about three thousand Vaudois, chiefly from the valleys of Pragela and Pérouse, which had been partly incorporated with France by the treaty of Ryswick. The ravages of war had left vast tracts of land, on the eastern side of the

Black Forest, in an uncultivated state. The Duke of Wurtemberg offered them to the exiles, who hastened to pitch their tents there. Long did they persist in believing that they would one day be permitted to return to their native country. But, understanding at last that they must give up that hope, they made up their minds to build villages on the territory that had been bestowed upon them. It is affecting to find them giving to these villages the names of the places they had been compelled to abandon. Such was the origin of the colonies of Villar, Pinache, La Serre, Lucerne, Queyras, Pérouse, Boursset, Mentoule, La Balme, Mûriers. The pastor Arnaud, who had been the hero of the glorious re-entrance of the Vaudois into Piedmont, was chosen minister of the village of Mûriers, and there terminated his laborious career. Within the humble temple which had often resounded with his eloquent discourse, repose the mortal remains of the former colonel and pastor of the valleys. The communion-table covers them. An engraving, suspended under the pulpit-desk, displays the features of the conqueror of Salabertrand and La Balsille; and a Latin inscription, cut on the stone that closes his tomb, recalls his exploits: "Beneath this stone rests the venerable and valiant Henry Arnaud, pastor of the Vaudois of Piedmont as well as colonel." The most flourishing of these villages, which almost all continue to use the French language, is that of Mentoule, situated at the foot of a hill covered with vines, and in the midst of fields that produce rich harvests. It is there, too, that the Vaudois customs are adhered to with most fidelity. Less mingled with the Germans than the people of the other villages, and not compelled to seek amongst the former a subsistence which they readily find in the culture of their own land, the inhabitants of this colony have longest preserved their language, manners, customs, and national character.

The King of England, William III., and the States-general of Holland, testified the strongest interest in these unfortunates. Doubtless, the Duke of Wurtemberg, witnessing the services rendered to Brandenburg by the refugees from France, regretted not to have published, after the revocation, an edict similar to that of Potsdam. He seized this opportunity of repairing his error. By an edict promulgated in 1699, he granted the most extensive privileges to the Vaudois. Holland supplied him with 10,000 crowns, to meet the expense of their first establishment, and England allowed a fund of £140 for the support of their pastors and schoolmasters. The last church they founded in Wurtemberg was that of Kanstadt, to which were long attached the refugees settled at Stuttgart.

The elector-palatine Philip-William, who was a Calvinist, afforded an asylum to several refugee families, who dispersed themselves through his states and did not form distinct colonies. At Hochstein, Nicholas Guinand, from Franche-Comté, compelled to quit his native land at the age of eighteen, established, in 1742, the ironworks that still exist there. In 1750 he discovered the deposit of iron ore known as the Imsbach mines. His son Jean-Jacques continued the occupation of his father, and became councillor of mines to the elector-palatine. His grandson Louis acquired an immense fortune, by placing himself at the head of mining enterprise in Rhenish Bavaria. Appointed member of the council-general of the department of Mont-Tonnerre by the First Consul in 1800, member of the council-general of commerce, agriculture, and the arts, in 1802, deputy to the Bavarian chamber in 1818, peer of Bavaria and baron in 1818 and in 1836, he has never ceased to dispense his bounty to the numerous families that have appealed to his charity. He has given employment to thousands of workmen, and, generously substituting his own fortune for

that of the State, he has repaired churches, portioned poor children, and made, at his own charge, new roads, which will long call forth the benedictions of the people upon his venerated name. That name is now Germanised, as in the case of so many other emigrants. Nicholas Guinand took that of Gienanth as soon as he arrived in Germany, either at once to efface the traces of his French origin, or else because the vicinity of France made him uneasy for his personal safety at a moment when the palatinate was open to the armies of Louis XIV.

Such apprehensions were but too well justified by the misfortune that overtook Jean Cardel. That skilful manufacturer from Tours, driven from France by the persecution, established vast silk-manufactories at Mannheim. Inveigled by an odious stratagem into his former country, he was imprisoned at Vincennes, and then transferred to the Bastille, where he endured thirty years' captivity, and whence, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Elector, the States-general, and the Emperor of Germany, he was released only by death.

Of all the principalities of Germany, that which after Prussia received the largest number of refugees was the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel. In 1685 it was composed of the present provinces of Upper and Lower Hesse, of the county of Schaumburg, the lordship of Smalkalden, the bailiwick of Katzenellenbogen, and the abbacy of Herzfeld. This little state, whose population amounted to about three hundred and fifty thousand souls, was governed by Charles I., a young, active, ambitious prince, one of the most intelligent of the Empire, and early trained to business by his mother and guardian the landgravine Hedwige of the house of Brandenburg. He was a Calvinist, and the marriage of a princess of his family with the Prince of Tarentum had further strengthened his sympathy with the French Protestants, and rendered more intimate the intercourse he kept up with several

of their families. Feeling, like the grand elector, the advantage a French colony must be to his country, and foreseeing that last blow which was about to strike his persecuted brethren, he did not wait for the revocation of the edict of Nantes to offer them an asylum in his domains. On the 18th April 1685 he addressed to them a proclamation, in which he enumerated the favours and franchises he would grant them. By this edict, which may be compared to that of Potsdam, he authorised them not only to settle in his country, but to fix their residence in the places best adapted to their occupations. He promised them twelve years' exemption from all charges and taxes. The artisans were to enjoy the privileges of freemen. A fund was assigned to them to build houses, which were to pass as property to their heirs. All the advantages conceded to the fathers were declared transmissible to their children, treated in this respect as if they were new-comers. They were granted full and entire license to trade everywhere. A prolongation of the term of twelve years was promised to those who should establish manufactories. The prince undertook to build a temple, and to support a French clergyman and a schoolmaster, in all the places where they should settle in sufficient numbers. Those who bought lands were to be invested with any seigniorial rights inherent to their new domains. Those who should bring furniture, clothes, or tools, used in their household, trade, or handicraft, were to pay no duty, provided they undertook to remain in the country.

A certain number of French Protestants responded to this appeal, and took advantage of the fine season to prepare for departure. They were the boldest and most enterprising of their fellows. They reached Cassel in the summer of that year, eager to profit by the landgrave's generous offers—happy too, perhaps, not to be far removed from their native land, to which they hoped one

day to be recalled. Most of them were from Dauphiné, Champagne, the Sedanais, Picardy, and especially from the Pays Messin; some from French Flanders, then recently conquered by Louis XIV. On learning the revocation of Henry IV.'s edict, they assembled for the first time in the house of the refugee Jeremy Grandidier. A solemn fast was ordered, and all the congregations of the landgraviate joined in this mark of pious grief. Some weeks afterwards, the colony had received reinforcements. Winter suspended emigration; but the landgrave, desirous to stimulate and profit by it, published, on the 12th December, a fresh decree, renewing the promise contained in the first, and ending by a pompous enumeration of all the advantages the emigrants would realise from establishing themselves in his dominions. This was followed, in the spring of the following year, by the arrival of a crowd of emigrants, and the colony of Cassel soon amounted to about three thousand persons—a number which it does not appear to have afterwards exceeded. The emigration continued during the last fifteen years of the seventeenth century. It spread through the landgraviate five or six thousand French, about one hundred and fifty of whom were heads of families belonging to the nobility, to the bench, and to commerce. The remainder were artisans and agriculturists.

The richest of the emigrants settled at Cassel and Hanau. The others founded several agricultural colonies. The last comers were established by the landgrave in the little town of Siburg, which afterwards took the name of Karlshafen.

The principal colony was that of Cassel, whither the landgrave's edicts had especially summoned the first emigrants. That town, then of 18,000 inhabitants, living in rudely-constructed wooden houses, was indebted to its new guests for the flourishing state in which it soon found itself. They created numerous manufactures previously

unknown in that part of Germany—manufactures of cloth, hats, light French stuffs, hosiery, lace, hardware, brushes, gloves, and also tanneries and dyeing-houses. A profusion of goods, quite novel to the natives, were soon exposed for sale in handsome shops; and so great was the advantage to Cassel, that, in the year 1688, the old town no longer sufficed for the increasing population, and they began to build the *Ville Neuve*, which is now the handsomest quarter of that capital, and the only one that appears habitable to strangers. By the prince's order, the works were directed by a skilful architect, sent to him by William of Orange, the refugee Paul du Ry, employed until then in fortifying Maestricht.

The colony of Cassel, divided into two parishes, which comprised the refugees domiciled in the old and in the new town, was authorised to govern and administer itself, under merely those restrictions indispensable in a monarchical country. A chancery of justice, instituted under the title of the French Commission, was intrusted with the settlement of all civil disputes, and with the guardianship of the privileges conceded by Charles I. Its first director was Lalouette de Vernicourt, formerly a councillor in the parliament of Metz.

Amongst the families composing this colony, several became to a certain extent celebrated, and rendered undeniable service to their new country. The Arbouins brought to great perfection the art of tanning, and the various modes of preparing leather. The Lenormands, Andrés, Beauclairs, Collins, Descoudres, Le Goulons, Rivières, Estiennes, added to the public wealth by the manufactures they introduced, and by the impulse they gave to trade. Pierre de Beaumont, from Picardy, one of the first leaders of the emigration, was the father of a celebrated physician who wrote esteemed works on medicine and on thermal waters. The Ferrys, Astrucs, de la Serres, Rivaliers, all from Languedoc, also produced dis-

tinguished physicians. The Feuquières d'Aubigny, Vernicourts, Savignys, Grandidiers, Harniers, Roques de Maumonts, Rochemonts, and especially the Perachon du Collets, proceeding from a parliamentary family at Grenoble, gave distinguished men to the bench and the bar.

The family of Du Ry, of Paris, which died out only in 1811, reckoned no less than four generations of justly-renowned architects. The first, Paul du Ry, began the building of the new town, of the Wilhelmshöhe, and of the Orangery, works continued by his son Charles, and his grandson Simon. The last Du Ry, John Charles Stephen, was, like his forefathers, intendant of government buildings. Most of the public edifices the electorate now possesses were constructed upon the plans, and under the directions of some member of this family. Others signalized themselves in the army. George Dumont was colonel of a regiment of infantry, and commandant of the town of Cassel in 1689 ; Pierre de Lorgerie, of the landgrave's household, also held the commission of a colonel of infantry ; Alexandre du Rozey, one of the protectors of Denis Papin, during his stay at Marburg, was appointed in 1685 colonel of the regiment of Hanstein, and subsequently preceptor to Frederick, the landgrave's son, who was one day to ascend the throne of Sweden. The last Du Rozey, who died in 1779, was grand-marshal of the palace under Frederick II., and director-general of the French colonies. The Cadets de Morembert, Foissacs, Fonvielles, Landrons, de Lestoilles, de Roux, Gissots, de Gironcourts, Raffins, powerfully contributed to complete the discipline of the landgrave's little army, which owed to them some of its most skilful and devoted officers.

It can hardly be said that any French colony now exists at Cassel. It is true that the descendants of the emigrants are still designated as refugees or colonists, accordingly as they inhabit town or country, but they are not the less completely amalgamated with the German

population, whose language, manners, and customs they have little by little adopted. It may be added that very few amongst them still retain the feelings of Frenchmen. Those who belong to the educated classes continue to learn the language of their ancestors, but they do not employ it in conversation amongst themselves. Traders and artisans know and speak only German. Several have Germanised their names so as to render them unrecognisable.

This neglect and oblivion of the mother tongue dates from the beginning of the reign of William IX. That jealous and parsimonious prince, who loved nothing belonging to France except its language and its literature, showed small favour to the refugees, and although he granted them a partial renewal of their privileges, he was ever intent upon bringing them under the common law, at the same time that he carefully excluded them from the service of the state and from his household. After his expulsion by Napoleon, the Westphalian government showed no greater sympathy with the colony of Cassel. Finally, the anti-French reaction which preceded and followed the restoration of the legitimate dynasty, effaced, in many families, the last remembrance of the land of their origin. In 1821 the two parishes of the old and the new town were united, and, two years later, the French parish was joined to the German parish of Neustadt.

In like manner, and from similar causes, the colony of Hanau has lost its national character. That town received a crowd of artisans, and especially of goldsmiths and jewellers, whose descendants exercise to the present day the handicrafts exported from France by their ancestors. It owed to them the celebrity which its jewellery and goldsmith's work soon obtained. These manufactures were hardly inferior to those of Paris, and for a hundred and fifty years they have preserved their vogue in all Germany, and even in all the north of Europe. Manufactories

of cloth, silks, carpets, were also established at Hanau by the Souchays, the Claudes, the Toussaints, the Porticqs. A magnificent carpet-manufactory, the first in all Germany, for it employs not less than two hundred workmen, still exists there under the direction of the descendant of an emigrant family named Dufays.

Agriculturists, and all those who lacked means of existence, received grants of uncultivated land in various cantons of lower Hesse, where they created successively eighteen agricultural colonies: Karlsdorf, founded in 1686; Mariensdorf, Schwabendorf, and Frauenberg, in 1687; Louisendorf, in 1688; Kertingshausen, in 1694; Leckinghausen, Frankenheim, and Wolfskante, in 1699; Karlshaven, Kelse, Schönberg, St Otilie, Gethsemane, in 1700; Todenhausen and Wiesenfeld, in 1720; Gewissenruhe and Gottestreue, in 1722. The expatriated French were of great service to agriculture, which was singularly backward in that country. They rendered sterile lands fertile, and drained marshes, which their intelligent toil transformed into fruitful orchards, and into fields producing vegetables, most of whose sorts were unknown before their arrival. They improved the breeding of cattle, which they understood better than the Hessians. They taught them the art of gardening, introduced (for the first time in the landgraviate) artificial meadows and the cultivation of the potato. Turkeys, also, were first taken into Hesse by them. The working of coal mines, now so profitable to the whole electorate, also dates from their establishment in the country.

The little colony of Friedrichsdorf, situated in the states of the landgrave of Hesse-Homburg, at half a league from the town of Homburg, and three leagues from Frankfurt, deserves a special mention in the history of the Refuge. Founded in 1687, it is, of all the French Protestant colonies in that part of Germany, the one that has best preserved its language and character. It now con-

tains nine hundred inhabitants, who still speak French as it was spoken in the time of Louis XIV. Public proclamations by crier are made in French; children are taught in the same tongue. For the last hundred and fifty years these refugees have constantly intermarried, and have never allied themselves with the German families of the country. They are renowned for their temperance and sobriety. They are all in comfortable circumstances—a result due to labour. Not a single poor person is to be seen amongst them. Hospitable to strangers, they afforded an asylum to unfortunate stragglers from the rout at Leipzig; and a considerable number of French soldiers, finding themselves abandoned by fortune, settled for ever in this colony, which they called Little France.

The principal existing families at Friedrichsdorf are the Achards, the Privats, the Garniers, the Rousselets, the Lebeaus, the Gauterins, the Foucars. Others which long flourished, such as the Agombards, the Lefaux, the Lardés, the Rossignols, the Bonnemains, are now extinct. It is a manufacturing rather than an agricultural community. The principal manufactures are those of flannel, striped woollen stuffs, thread for knitting, stockings, hats. Several neighbouring villages owe their prosperity to the manufacturers of Friedrichsdorf, who afford employment to numerous workmen.¹

To the French emigrants who settled in Hesse after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, were added, at the end of the seventeenth century, some thousands of Vau-
dois, who formed seven little colonies in that country. An envoy from the States-general of Holland, Peter Walckenaër, drew up and signed on their behalf articles of agreement, which have remained in force for a century and a half. On the southern slope of the Taunus mountains, not far from the little town of Homburg, there

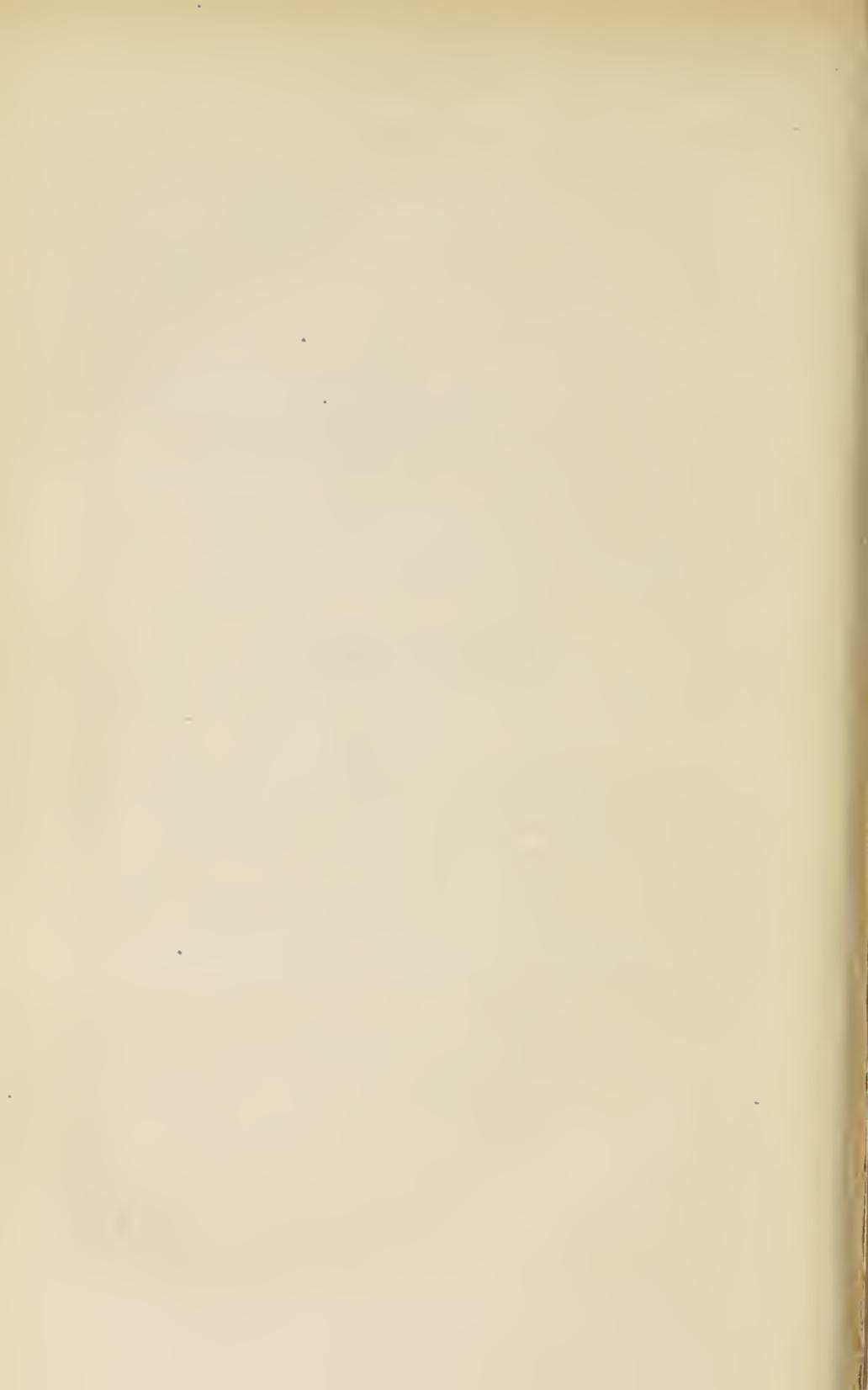
¹ Communicated by Mr Leuthold, pastor at Friedrichsdorf, and ecclesiastical councillor to the Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg.

stands at the edge of a fine forest of fir-trees the village of Dornholzhausen—an old colony, half French half Vaudois—the only one, besides Friedrichsdorf, in all Hesse, which has preserved, in every respect, including the language, its primitive character. Annexed at first to the French church of Homburg, whose pastors were also chaplains to the landgrave, it obtained, in 1755, by means of subscriptions raised in foreign countries, a temple of its own, and a pastor paid by the King of England, whose charity was annually transmitted to Frankfort through the Archbishop of Canterbury. The other Vaudois colonies of Hesse are now entirely Germanised.

Finally, Alsatia, imperfectly united to France by the treaty of Westphalia, served as an asylum to a certain number of refugees. In the early days of the Reformation, the free and imperial city of Strasburg had welcomed within its walls Lefèvre d'Étaples, Gérard Roussel, Francis Lambert, Calvin himself, and the jurisconsults Charles Du Moulin and Francis Beaudouin. After the massacre of Vassy, the Countess de Roye, Condé's mother-in-law, betook herself thither with the five children of that prince, who was then the true head of the Bourbon family. But the Strasburgers' interest in the French Huguenots was soon chilled, when the rigid Lutheran orthodoxy prevailed over the conciliatory spirit of Bucer. In 1577 their church was shut up, their worship was proscribed, and the Calvinists, treated as heretics, were tolerated only through pity. Most of them quitted the now inhospitable city. Those who remained, and to whom, after the revocation, were added a few new-comers, were fain to go and celebrate their worship in the neighbouring village of Wolfsheim, which belonged to the Count of Hanau. It was not until after the Revolution of 1789 that they were authorised to have a temple at Strasburg.

The treaty of Westphalia, whilst attaching Alsatia to France, had guaranteed their possessions to several princes of the Empire, such as the Counts of Zweibrücken and of Veldentz, the lords of Fleckenstein, Saarwerden, Rappolstein. The territories of these princes, enclosed in a province which was thenceforward French, and not definitively annexed to France until a decree of the Constituent Assembly to that effect, served, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as places of refuge to numbers of the victims of religious intolerance. The valley of Lièvre, situated at the entrance of the Vosges, received numerous refugees from Lorraine, who joined the colony of Sainte-Marie-aux-Mines, founded a century before by the Sire Egenolph de Rappolstein. Others established themselves in great numbers in the fortress of Phalzburg, on the confines of Alsatia and Lorraine, which had been founded by the Count-Palatine George-John of Veldentz to serve as an asylum to French refugees during the religious wars. Most of these passed into the territory of the Count of Zweibrücken, and joined the colony of Bischwiller, whose first pastor was Didier Mageron, of Metz. This colony created the first cloth-manufactories in Alsatia, and spread around it an ease and prosperity of which that province still feels the effects. The other colonies founded on the territory of the princes holding possessions in Alsatia, were those of Annweiler in the county of Zweibrücken, of Bonhomme, Balschweiler, Badonville. In the district of Saarwerden, whole villages, which had been deserted by the inhabitants, were made over to them. The Count of Nassau built them churches, and allotted a fund for the maintenance of their ministers. The villages of Picardy and Champagne, situated in the canton of Petite-Pierre, have preserved to this day their French names, which contrast with the German names of the villages that surround them.

BOOK THIRD.



BOOK THIRD.

THE REFUGEES IN ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFUGEES IN ENGLAND.

ALLIANCE OF THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE WITH ENGLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—ELIZABETH—JAMES I.—CHARLES I.—CROMWELL—FRENCH REFUGEES IN ENGLAND IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—FOUNDATION OF THE FRENCH CHURCH IN LONDON—JOHN A LASCO—PROGRESS OF THE LONDON COLONY UNDER ELIZABETH—ORGANISATION OF THE REFUGEES UNDER CHARLES I.—THEIR CONDUCT DURING THE TROUBLES—CROMWELL'S PROTECTION OF THEM—FRENCH CHURCHES IN THE PROVINCES—EDICT OF HAMPTON COURT—POLICY OF JAMES II.—HIS EDICT IN FAVOUR OF THE REFUGEES—NUMBERS OF THE REFUGEES—FOUNDATION OF TWENTY-SIX NEW CHURCHES IN LONDON—CHURCHES FOUNDED IN THE PROVINCES—FRENCH COLONY AT EDINBURGH—COLONIES IN IRELAND—INDIGNATION IN ENGLAND AGAINST LOUIS XIV.—JAMES II.'S EMBARRASSMENT—ROYAL BENEFICENCE—JAMES II.'S TERGIVERSATIONS—HE HAS CLAUDE'S BOOK BURNED—BAD EFFECT OF THIS MEASURE—ATTEMPTS TO GET RID OF THE REFUGEES—JAMES II.'S CONNIVANCE WITH LOUIS XIV.—MISSION OF BONREPAUS—RETURN OF FIVE HUNDRED AND SEVEN REFUGEES—FALL OF JAMES II.—POLICY OF WILLIAM III. AND OF QUEEN ANNE—ACT OF PARLIAMENT IN 1709.

ENGLAND, like Brandenburg, gave asylum to the French refugees who there sought shelter from persecution. For more than a hundred years she had supported the Protestant party in France, now by arms, then by negotiations. In 1562, when the massacre of Vassy gave the signal for the religious wars, Queen Elizabeth signed the treaty of Hampton Court with the Prince of Condé, by which she undertook to send him a reinforcement of six thousand men—half of them to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and the other half to garrison Havre, which the Protest-

ants delivered up to the English. The defeat of Dreux and the treaty of Amboise broke off this alliance; and Condé himself fought in the ranks of the royal army, which retook Havre from the Earl of Warwick. But Dandelot and Coligny avoided taking part in this expedition; and some Protestant gentlemen, animated by a more ardent fanaticism, and preferring their religion to their country, threw themselves into the besieged town, to aid in its defence. When the two parties again took up arms, Elizabeth sent money and artillery to the Huguenots. After the massacre of St Bartholomew, she refused for several days to give audience to La Mothe Fénelon, the French ambassador. When at last she consented to admit him to her presence, she received him in her privy chamber, which had the gloomy aspect of a tomb. She was surrounded by the lords of her council and ladies of her court, all attired in deep mourning. The ambassador passed through the silent throng, whilst every eye was averted from him in anger, and approached the queen, who compelled him to justify Charles IX. from that odious crime. She did more: she permitted Montgomery to fit out, upon English ground, an expedition for the relief of La Rochelle, then threatened with a siege by the royal troops. Under Henry III.'s reign she took a less active part in the religious troubles of the kingdom; but when, after that prince's death, Henry IV. had to make head against the League and the King of Spain, she sent him money and three thousand soldiers. After the peace of Vervins and the promulgation of the edict of Nantes, she wrote to Walsingham, her ambassador at Paris: "We doubt not that you bear in mind how advantageous it is to our tranquillity, and to that of our kingdom, that the French party, which makes profession of being reformed, be maintained. And therefore we desire that on all occasions, when you can contribute to make the edict observed, you will not spare yourself." These instructions corresponded

with the belief universal amongst the English, that the ruin of Calvinism in France would be the prelude to the destruction of Protestantism in England.

Like Elizabeth, James I. favoured the French Protestants. Of a peaceable character, and of all princes the least disposed to support rebellious subjects against their sovereign, he nevertheless said to Marshal de Bouillon, ambassador from France during the reign of Mary of Medicis: "If the queen your mistress chooses to infringe the edicts granted to the Protestants of her kingdom, I do not admit that the alliance I have made and confirmed with France shall prevent my aiding and protecting them. When my neighbours are attacked in a quarrel that concerns me, natural right enjoins me to prevent the harm that may ensue from it to me." The Chevalier d'Egmont, his ambassador, took part in the general assembly held at La Rochelle, and, in concert with the Duke of Sully, prevailed with the representatives of the reformed party to accept the conditions proposed by the court of France at the conferences of Loudun. There even occurred, upon that occasion, a very animated dispute between Louis XIII.'s commissioners and the chiefs of the Huguenots, the latter demanding that the ambassador of England should sign the treaty, since it had been thought good that he should be present as mediator. But the secretary of state, Villeroy, refused to consent, alleging that it was neither fitting nor honourable to the king to permit it.

Charles I. did not discontinue the protection afforded by his predecessors to the French Protestants. The treaty of pacification of 1626 was concluded by his mediation and with his guarantee, although, for reasons of propriety, this officious intervention was not set forth in the public treaty. But Richelieu had concluded that treaty with the sole view of dividing his enemies. He had no sooner signed the peace with Spain than he laid

siege to La Rochelle. "Be assured," wrote Charles I. to the Rochellese, "that I will never abandon you, and that I will employ all the forces of my kingdom for your delivery, until God grants me the favour of giving you an assured place." In his speech to the Parliament in 1628 he thus expressed himself: "I will not stay to prove to you that you should work at what I propose. If the necessity of joining in a war undertaken against your persuasion, of preserving the religion, laws, and liberty of the state, of defending our friends and allies, be not capable of moving you, all the eloquence of men, and even of angels, would fail to persuade you." After these words, marked by some bitterness, the keeper of the seals, Coventry, insisted, in his turn, on the necessity of supporting the Protestant religion, attacked by powers which, he said, worked in concert to re-establish everywhere the errors of Popery. War was decided upon. "His majesty has abounded in patience," said the Duke of Buckingham in his published manifesto, "so long as he believed he could be useful to the reformed church in France by other means than by arms; so much so, that he made himself mediator of the last peace, on conditions sufficiently disadvantageous, which never would have been accepted but for his majesty's intervention, who interposed his credit and his authority with the churches, even to menacing them, to make them coincide in those conditions, in order to shield the honour of the most Christian king." These news revived the courage of the Rochellese. "We have obtained," they said, "an edict built and cemented by the word of the King of Great Britain." That was the ordinary subject of their discourse. But the Duke of Buckingham's expedition shamefully failed, and in their grief the besieged wrote to Charles I. a letter couched in energetic and affecting terms. "Contrary to your magnanimous instructions," they said, "your people have abandoned us, without having dared approach or

confront the peril for the execution of your sacred word. . . . We address you, sire, with tears in our eyes. To abide in the honour of your protection, we have despised the advice of our friends, and, if we must so express ourselves, the considerations of our birth. And now that all is lost, let us at least find in your justice what we have no longer means to recover in the person of the king our sovereign! God still grants us enough of life and vigour, under these our fresh wounds, to await your reinforcement a full month. Let your majesty second this miracle! These are our very humble and ardent supplications, or, better to speak, our will and testament that we leave inscribed upon your throne, before heaven and earth, as a memorial to posterity of the strangest desolation that an innocent people ever suffered, and that ever can appeal to the power of a great king."

The King of England made fresh armaments, but the promised succours did not arrive; and soon it was known at La Rochelle that the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham had caused the failure of the expedition. The Rochellese surrendered to Richelieu, persuaded that the court of London had merely pretended to protect them to appease the discontent of the English people, who ardently desired that they should be energetically succoured. This check endured by the French Protestants contributed not a little to increase the misunderstanding between Charles I. and his Parliament.

The revolution of 1648 and Cromwell's glorious dictatorship replaced England at the head of the Protestant party in Europe. Disdaining the interested offers of the Prince of Condé, who proposed to become a convert to the reformed religion, and to raise Guyenne against the royal authority, the protector allied himself with Mazarin, and made that alliance serve his policy. When the Vaudois were cruelly persecuted in 1655, he made Louis XIV.'s minister ashamed of the part he had allowed the

French troops to play. The cardinal disowned the leaders of the army which had shared in that war of extermination, and interceded with Charles-Emanuel in favour of the sufferers. Cromwell wrote a threatening letter to the Duke of Savoy himself, who forthwith gave way, and revoked his bloody edict of proscription. He repaired by his succours the calamities the Vaudois had undergone, and by the intervention of Lord Lockhart, his ambassador in Paris, he extended his protecting hand even to the Protestants of Nismes and the Cevennes.

Disturbances having broken out at Nismes in 1657, at the election of the consuls, the Catholic party passionately demanded the chastisement of its adversaries. Mazarin granted an amnesty. He had just received a despatch from Cromwell, containing the plan of the approaching campaign, and informing him of the operations prescribed to the English fleets in the Mediterranean and on the ocean. The protector added his opinion on the attacks to be directed against Austria by the armies of Sweden, Portugal, and France, and concluded with the following words, negligently thrown out: "Something has occurred in a town of Languedoc, called Nismes. I beg of you to let everything pass without effusion of blood, and as gently as may be."

Such, for one hundred years, was England's habitual policy with respect to the Protestants of France. It was natural, therefore, that these should frequently seek refuge on the hospitable soil of the three kingdoms, even before that great epoch of the Refuge which corresponds with the reigns of Charles II., James II., and William III. As early as the second half of the sixteenth century the massacre of the St Bartholomew had driven into England thousands of fugitives from France and the southern provinces of the Spanish Low Countries, such as Artois, Hainault, the country of Namur, Luxemburg, Flanders, and Brabant. The practical spirit which,

ever since Edward III., prevailed in the councils of the crown, insured them a warm welcome. Even as, in the fourteenth century, the kings of England had encouraged the immigration of the Flemish manufacturers—then vexed and oppressed by their counts, who were supported by the feudal dynasty of Valois—so, in the sixteenth, did they welcome the French and Walloon refugees, in the hope (soon justified) that their active industry would add immensely to the national wealth. Hence the numerous churches¹ founded in the capital and in the provinces, and which continued to increase until the end of the seventeenth century. The oldest is that of London, founded in Edward VI.'s reign, and to which most of the French churches of England, Scotland, Ireland, and even of America, owe their origin and their first organisation. Established at the moment when persecution was about to commence in the Low Countries, and civil war to ensanguine France, its special mission was to be a church of refuge for its Continental brethren, and to prepare them an asylum on the generous soil that gave it shelter.

The French church in London was established in 1550. It owed its origin to the piety of the young Edward VI., and to the protection of the Duke of Somerset, and of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury. It was with this latter that Martin Bucer, Peter Martyr, Fagius, Peter Alexander, and other Protestant refugees, had found shelter from persecution. Amongst those ardent promoters of the new doctrines whose life was incessantly menaced on the Continent, was John A Lasco, a Polish gentleman, who had given up the office of provost of the church of Gnezne, of which his uncle was archbishop, and the bishopric of Vesprim, in Hungary, to which he had just been appointed, to go and found a

¹ The word *church*, as the reader will have observed, is commonly used by Mr Weiss in the sense of a congregation or body of the refugees.—(Tr.)

Protestant church at Embden, in East Friesland, in 1544. An order of Charles V.'s having obliged him to quit that town in 1548, he went to England, and placed himself in communication with Cecil, who recommended him to the Duke of Somerset and to Cranmer. Soon a royal patent, dated the 24th July 1550, invested him with the superintendence of all the Protestants of Holland, France, Switzerland, and Germany, who had taken refuge in England. At the same time the king assigned to them the temple of the Augustines, wherein to hold their assemblies and celebrate their worship according to the custom of their country.¹ "Great and grave considerations"—thus ran the royal patent—"having convinced us that it is the duty of Christian princes to be prompt and well-affectioned towards the holy Gospel and the apostolic religion, instituted and given by Christ himself, without which civil government can neither prosper nor endure; . . . considering, moreover, that it is the office of a Christian prince, for the good administration of his kingdom, to provide for religion, and for unfortunate persons afflicted and banished by reason of their religion, we let you know that, pitying the condition of those who for a considerable time have dwelt in our kingdom, and of those who daily enter it, . . . of our special grace, of our certain knowledge, and of our free impulse, as also by the advice of our council, we will and order that there shall henceforward be in our city of London a temple, called the temple of the Lord Jesus, where the assembly of the Germans and other foreigners may be held and celebrated, to the end that, by the ministers of this church, the holy Gospel be purely interpreted, and the sacraments administered according to the Word of God and the apostolic ordinance." With the superintendent were associated four ministers, two of whom were of German and Dutch origin; the two others were

¹ Now the Dutch church in Austin Friars, in the city of London.

French, and their names were Francis de la Rivière and Richard François. The king, to consolidate his work, and put it out of reach of the changes which might possibly occur in England, constituted the superintendent and the ministers a body politic, which he placed under the safeguard of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of the kingdom.

Some months afterwards, the French obtained from the Windsor chapter the chapel of St Anthony in Threadneedle Street, there to have their service performed in the French tongue; and, without separating themselves from their German and Dutch brothers, they had thenceforward a distinct existence, which soon derived, from numerous immigrations of French refugees, new conditions of force and durability.

A Lasco wrote a book in which were laid down the rules of the church confided to his care. It had for title, *All the Form and Manner of the Ecclesiastical Ministry in the Foreigners' Church, set up in London by the most faithful Prince Edward VI.* He established in that city the first French printing-house, for the publication of religious books. Edward VI., who had the strongest friendship for him, himself had a marked predilection for the French tongue. He wrote in that language a *Collection of Passages against Idolatry*, which he dedicated to his uncle the Duke of Somerset; and another controversial work, *Against the Abuses of the World, directed against the Pope*, which he had composed, it is said, at the age of twelve years. When, after this prince's death, Mary Tudor reconciled England with Rome, and gave the signal of fresh persecutions, A Lasco was obliged to fly, to escape certain death, and returned no more to London, although he was still alive when Elizabeth came to the throne. The foreign church, which he had founded, dispersed. Some returned to Friesland, others embarked for Denmark. A crowd of English,

flying from the faggots lighted by Charles V.'s aunt, followed them into exile, and found a fraternal reception at Strasburg, Basle, Zurich, at Geneva especially, where Knox strengthened himself in those ardent convictions which he was soon to take back with him to Scotland.

On the accession of Elizabeth, the French resumed possession of their temple, and Grindal, Bishop of London, was raised to the dignity of superintendent, vacant since A Lasco's flight. The queen confirmed all the privileges granted by Edward VI., and ceased not, throughout her long reign, to show warm sympathy with the French refugees. In 1563, the government of Charles IX. having seized the property and merchandise of a great number of English then in France, under pretence that they were favourable to the Huguenots, Elizabeth's ministers made reprisals, and in like manner confiscated the property of the French settled in England. But, upon the representation of the Bishop of London, Cecil caused the refugees for religion's sake to be exempted from this cruel measure. In 1568, their new pastor, John Cousin, interfered a second time in their favour with Cecil, and obtained the liberation of all the French refugees detained in prison for debt.

The French colony in London then consisted but of four hundred and twenty-two persons ; but the religious wars which rent France under Charles IX., and the massacre of the St Bartholomew, added so greatly to this number, that the church was no longer able to provide aid for all those who arrived in a state of complete destitution. The queen recommended the refugees to the charity of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who relieved their misery. Subsequently, in 1586 and in 1595, she protected them against the animosity of the city apprentices, of the artisans and shopkeepers, who were jealous of the opposition of these new-comers, and

who clamoured menacingly for their expulsion from England.

Elizabeth's successors did not show themselves less benevolent to the poor fugitives. James I. wrote to them, upon his accession to the throne, to reassure them with respect to the intentions attributed to him by his adversaries. "I will protect you," he said, "as it becomes a good prince to protect all who have abandoned their country for religion's sake. My wish is to defend you, as did the queen my sister, renowned throughout the world, who received you in her kingdom, and for whom you have prayed to God. And if any be so bold as to molest you, address yourselves to me, and I will do you such justice that they shall not desire to do the same again."¹

On his accession to the crown in 1625, Charles I. expressed himself to the deputies of the French church in terms of equal kindness. The 23d November 1626, he issued a decree, enjoining all officers of the crown to maintain the members of the foreign churches and their children in the peaceable enjoyment of all the immunities granted them by his predecessors, *considering*, he said, *the good reception and kind treatment that our subjects and their children find beyond the seas*. But at the commencement of the disturbances that preceded the great convulsion of 1648, the Anglican bishops took umbrage at the liberty the state granted to the foreign churches not to *conform* to the discipline of the Established Church. They maintained that episcopacy was obscured by this permission, and that the Presbyterian party might one day invoke the dangerous precedent, and claim a similar privilege. The council, displeased at the spirit of opposition which manifested itself in some of the French churches in the provinces, let the bishops

¹ The original document is in French, and bears the date of the 21st May 1603.—Archives of the French church in London.

act, and Laud lost no time in ordering all the members of those congregations who were born in England to perform service for the future according to the Anglican ritual. He excepted from this measure only those who were not born subjects of the King of England, declaring that they might continue to worship God according to their discipline, so long as they stood in the position of strangers in the kingdom. The French resisted this order, and several ministers were suspended, and even imprisoned, for having refused to *conform*. Some congregations were dissolved, their ministers choosing rather to abandon them than to obey injunctions that wounded their conscience. Fortunately for the refugees, the church of London had established, since the year 1581, annual colloquies and synods, attended by deputies from the churches of Canterbury, Norwich, Southampton, Rye, Winchelsea, Hampton, Thorney Abbey. In these religious assemblies, copied from those of France, was freely discussed all that concerned the spiritual prosperity of the churches, as well as the means of maintaining in them the pure Calvinist doctrine. This organisation, by centralising the strength of the French colonies, enabled them to resist the Archbishop of Canterbury. The synod held in London in 1634 obstinately refused to submit to his orders. The dispute was prolonged, and when Charles I. was constrained, by the revolt of the Scotch, to convoke a Parliament, the synod addressed a petition to the national assembly, which listened to its complaints, glad to find, in the concurrence of the refugees, a new element of strength against the despotism of the king and the bishops.

In 1641, when the civil war broke out, the French churches felt it necessary to draw their bond of union yet closer, the better to combat the common enemy. In a new synod, they adopted a series of regulations, under the title of *Ecclesiastical Police and Discipline, observed*

by the Churches of the French Language, gathered together in this Kingdom of England, under the protection of our sovereign sire Charles (whom God preserve in all happy prosperity), according as it has been revised by the Synod of the said Churches, in the year MDCXLI. These regulations, almost all extracted from A Lasco's book, became the fundamental code which governs, since that period, the French church in London, and those in the provinces. Every pastor, upon assuming his functions, had to sign it in token of adhesion. England was then on the eve of the revolution of 1648.

When Charles I. had died upon the scaffold, and the republic had been substituted for the monarchy, the French refugees were loaded with favours by the new government. Thenceforward their cause was won; and notwithstanding the fall of Richard Cromwell and the restoration of the Stuarts, the maintenance of Protestantism in England appeared to them a sufficient guarantee for the preservation of their rights. "I rejoice to have heard you," replied Charles II. to their deputies, "and thank you for your good wishes. Rest assured that, under our protection, you shall have as much liberty as ever you had under any of my predecessors." We shall soon see that the new king's acts corresponded with his words, and that James II. himself could not help following his example, and aiding the establishment of the multitude of new refugees, whom the revocation of the edict of Nantes was about to bring to England.

The principal churches founded before the great epoch of the Refuge, and destined to share with that of London the honour of welcoming the victims of Louis XIV.'s intolerance, were the following :—

That of Canterbury, founded in 1561 by Queen Elizabeth for the Walloon refugees. They assembled in the crypts of the cathedral, which were assigned to them for the service of their religion. This colony was gradually

increased by the arrival of a great number of French Protestants, who joined it. In 1634, the number of communicants amounted to nine hundred ; in 1665, to about thirteen hundred ; in 1676, to two thousand five hundred. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the French refugees detached themselves from the Walloon congregation, and formed a new church, whose first pastor was Peter Richard.

That of Sandwich, founded in Elizabeth's reign by French refugees, who had at first settled in London and Norwich. The registers of this church are full of French names, as Balthazar Ernoult, Peter de Larbre, John Delahaye, John Descamps, Nicholas Bayart, Nicholas Lefebure, John Taillebert, Martin Roussel, Charlemagne.

That of Norwich, founded in 1564, on the demand of the Duke of Norfolk, was composed of French and Walloons. The names that appear most frequently in its registers are those of Martineau, Colombine, Le Monnier, Desormeaux, de la Haize, Desbonnets, de Lannoy, Malebranche, Levasseur, Polet.

That of Southampton, composed of Walloons, of fugitives from the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, and from the northern provinces of France, was established by letters-patent of Edward VI. and Elizabeth.

That of Glastonbury, founded under the patronage of Cranmer, the Duke of Somerset, and Cecil.

That of Rye, in the county of Sussex, established by French refugees after the massacre of the St Bartholomew.

That of Winchelsea, founded in 1560.

That of Dover, created in 1646, by permission of the Long Parliament, and on the demand of the colloquy of London. Its most celebrated preacher was John Campredon.

That of Feversham, in the county of Kent, founded some years later.

That of Whittlesey, founded by Lord Sandwich in 1662.

That of Thorney Abbey, in the county of Cambridge, where numerous sepulchral stones still recall the names of the French refugees who settled in that town. It was created in 1652, and its first pastor was Ezekiel Daunois.

That of Sandtoft, in Lincolnshire, established in 1634.

That of Ipswich, erected in the last years of the reign of Charles II., and supported by the refugees established in the capital.

In London itself, besides the church established by Edward VI., the French possessed, previously to the revocation of the edict of Nantes, that in the Savoy, founded in 1641 by Benjamin de Rohan, lord of Soubise; that in Marylebone, established by Cromwell in 1656; and that in Castle Street, created by Charles II.

These various colonies had prepared England to receive the new refugees, whom Louis XIV.'s persecution was about to compel to fly their country. They were so many centres around which were soon to rally some of the scattered fragments of the Protestant church of France. Taught by experience, the English foresaw the immense advantages they might derive from the influx of so many thousand men, active, industrious, and so conscientious that they sacrificed everything to their religious convictions. When, in 1681, Louvois for the first time essayed in Poitou the system of *dragonnades*, the action of the nation upon the government was so strong, that the frivolous Charles II., who did not blush to receive a pension from Louis XIV. to betray the interests of his country, could not avoid interfering in favour of the fugitives. By an edict signed at Hampton Court the 28th July 1681, he declared that he held himself bound by his honour and conscience to assist the Protestants persecuted for their faith. Consequently he granted them letters of naturalization, with all the privileges necessary for the exercise of their trades and handicrafts which

should not be contrary to the interests of the kingdom. He undertook to propose to the next Parliament to naturalize all those who in future should come to England, and, meanwhile, he exempted them from all imposts to which natives were not subject. He authorized them to send their children to the public schools and to the universities. He ordered all his civil and military officers to receive them wheresoever they should land, to give them passports free of charge, and to supply them with the needful sums to go whithersoever they proposed. The commissioners of the treasury and customs he enjoined to let them pass freely, with their furniture and their merchandize, their tools and implements, without exacting any duties. He commanded all his subjects to collect whatever sums charitable persons would give by way of alms, to assist those who should be in want. Finally, he appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to receive their requests, and present them to him. This edict was soon followed by an order in council, naturalizing eleven hundred and fifty-four fugitives, who had just quitted France.

James II. himself, notwithstanding his strong attachment to Rome, was no persecutor. His great fault towards his subjects was the wishing, of his own authority and without the concurrence of Parliament, to grant to the Catholics rights which the laws had taken from them at a time when the dominant party deemed it dangerous to leave them in their enjoyment. On his accession, the French churches of London, Canterbury, Norwich, and Thorney Abbey sent a deputation to him to solicit the confirmation of their privileges. He replied that they should have the same protection from him which they had had from the king his brother and from his ancestors, that he looked upon them as loyal subjects, and would make it appear that he did so. Notwithstanding his antipathy to their religion, and although he was con-

vinced that they were animated by republican principles, and wholly opposed to monarchy, he did not treat them as enemies, but kept the promise he had made to them. It must also be observed that he was not entirely at liberty to act according to his religious convictions. England was on its guard, and the more the government of Louis XIV. showed itself intolerant, the more did the English nation declare itself in favour of the persecuted religion. "What most angers the English," wrote the ambassador of France, some days before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, "is that they see no means of preventing the success of what Your Majesty has undertaken. They speak very freely in London of what passes in France in that respect, and many people imagine, and even say aloud, that it is a consequence of England's not being governed by a Protestant king." A month after the revocation, he wrote again to Louis XIV. : "I have spoken to the King of England of the discourse held at his court with respect to Your Majesty, and of the little measure observed by those whom passion inspires. I told him that up to this time I had not reported it to Your Majesty, but that I begged him to take order in the matter, and to repress insolence which it would be beneath me to notice."

We must not then wonder if, after the revocation, James II., bowing to public opinion, promulgated an edict favourable to the fugitives who should establish themselves in his States. By this edict, which resembled that of Charles II., he declared that he felt forced, by the laws of Christian charity and the common ties of humanity, to relieve those unfortunates, and to give them marks of his royal compassion. The ministers, elders, and deacons of the French Church of London solemnly thanked him for the support granted to their persecuted brethren.

"Your Majesty," said they, "having promised us, on your accession to the crown of this empire, that you would

maintain us in the enjoyment of the advantages we have had under the reigns of the kings your predecessors, and having since had the goodness to extend great encouragement to the strangers who retire into your dominions, we come to throw ourselves at your feet in testimony of our gratitude that you deign to favour us with your royal protection. That protection is so necessary to us, that there is nothing in the world, after that of heaven, that we have so much cause to desire; and as Your Majesty could do nothing so important for us as to allow your kingdoms to be an asylum where we may serve God according to our feelings in the shadow of your sceptre, suffer us, Sire, in presence of so inestimable a benefit, to pay homage to your clemency by declaring that the august throne on which you reign with so much glory is truly a throne of mercy and of grace, and by blessing God for that he has inclined Your Majesty's heart to be favourable to the afflicted multitudes that daily land in your empire."

The refugees who sought asylum in England were from all the provinces of France, but principally from Normandy, Brittany, Picardy, and Guienne. It is impossible to ascertain their exact number, even by examining the registers of all the churches of the kingdom; for the consistory never rendered complete lists to the English authorities, lest they should give umbrage to a nation which, although truly hospitable, is excessively jealous of the integral possession of its territory, and who might perhaps one day have closed it to new emigrants. Judging, however, from the registers of the Church in London, to which most of those unfortunates addressed themselves on landing in England, we may estimate at about eighty thousand the number of those who established themselves in the kingdom during the ten years that preceded or followed the revocation.¹ At least one-third of the refugees

¹ Hume estimates the number of refugees in England at fifty thousand. In

settled in London, in the districts of Long Acre, Seven Dials, Soho, and especially of Spitalfields. Others distributed themselves through the districts of Thames Street, Aldgate, St Helens, Cripplegate, Temple Bar, Bishopsgate, Shoreditch, and Southwark. During the years 1686, 1687, and 1688, the consistory of the French Church in London, which met at least once every week, was occupied almost exclusively in receiving the marks of repentance of those persons who, after abjuring their faith to avoid death, had escaped from their persecutors, and resumed, in a more tolerant country, the religion they preferred to their native land. The ministers examined their testimony, heard the narrative of their sufferings, and received them back into the communion of their brethren. At the sitting of the 5th March 1686, fifty fugitives from Bordeaux, Saintes, Balbec, Havre, Fécamp, Montivilliers, Tonneins, thus abjured the Catholic religion to which they had feigned to go over. The list of the 30th April of the following year contains sixty names; that of the first Sunday in May, fifty-four. During the month of May 1687, four hundred and ninety-seven persons were reconciled with the church they had pretended to abandon.¹

The feelings experienced under these painful circumstances by the ministers of the reformed church are expressed in a simple and touching manner in the proclamation of a fast to be observed on the 2d September 1687, on the occasion of the anniversary of the great fire of London in 1666. After referring to that terrible catastrophe, they added these mournful and eloquent words: "Moreover, the condition to which the Church of the Lord finds itself reduced, in almost all parts of the world, is a second very pressing motive, which should

the *Bibliothèque des Sciences and des Beaux Arts*, vol. xiv. p. 164, it is stated that there were reckoned in the three kingdoms about seventy thousand emigrants. These estimates appear to us to be too low.

¹ Acts of the Consistory of the French Church in London during the years 1686 and 1687.

lead us to humiliate ourselves profoundly before God, and to afflict our souls in His presence, in hopes thereby to disarm His hand, which has now for so long a time stricken it. So many temples demolished, so many flocks not only dispersed but entirely destroyed, so many communities banished from their country, so many of the faithful who still groan under the cruelest and longest oppression ever known, are but too manifest proofs of Heaven's anger, and of our sins, which have doubtless provoked it; and for this reason they should be for us so many voices calling us to tears, to penitence, to mortification, to fasting, to prayer, and to all the efforts of an extraordinary humiliation, to appease the wrath of God, visibly inflamed against His people, to dissipate the storm that still threatens them, and to bring down upon them the return of that divine protection they formerly so happily enjoyed."

At that time the old temple in Threadneedle Street, and those of the Savoy, Marylebone, and Castle Street, were insufficient to contain the daily increasing throng of the faithful. The consistory applied to James II., who permitted the construction of a new church in Spitalfields. It was the temple of the Hospital, which opened in 1688, and which subsequently was called the New Church, after it had been repaired in 1743. To these first five churches, appropriated to the Protestants of France, twenty-six others were successively added, almost all founded during the reigns of William III., of Queen Anne, and of George I.

That of Leicesterfields, founded in 1688, and which for some time had Saurin for its minister; that of Spring Gardens, whose first pastor was Francis Flahaut; that of Glasshouse Square, in the neighbourhood of Golden Square, which was formed in 1688; that of Swallow Street, in Piccadilly, erected in 1692; that of Berwick Street, in 1689; that of Charenton, in Newport Market,

in 1701; that of West Street, in the Seven Dials, which the refugees called the Pyramid, or the *Tremblade*; that called the *Carré*, in the district of Westminster, in 1689; that of the Tabernacle in 1696; that of Hungerford, founded in 1689, and which subsisted until 1832; the Temple of Soho, or the Patent, erected in 1689; that of Ryder's Court in 1700; that of Martin's Lane, in the City, in 1686; that of St James in 1701; that of the Artillery, in the Bishopsgate district, in 1691; that of Hoxton in 1748; that of St John, in Shoreditch district, in 1687; the Patent, in Spitalfields, or the New Patent, in 1689; that of Crispin Street in 1693; that of Pearl Street in 1697; that of Bell Lane, in Spitalfields, in 1718; that of Swanfields in 1721; that of Wheeler Street, in Spitalfields, in 1703; that of Petticoat Lane, in Spitalfields, in 1694; that of Wapping in 1711; that of Blackfriars in 1716. Several of these churches ultimately adopted the Anglican ritual. The others, such as the Artillery, the Patent in Spitalfields, St John, Wheeler Street, Crispin Street, Seven Dials, preserved the reformed liturgy, without on that account discontinuing their fraternal intercourse with the pastors of the conformist churches.

But London did not alone receive the Protestants of France. About two-thirds of them spread themselves through the provinces, and attached themselves to the churches already established at Canterbury, Sandwich, Norwich, Southampton, Glastonbury, Winchelsea, Dover, Wandsworth. On the frontispiece of this last are still to be read these three words, which record its history:

ERECTED 1573. ENLARGED 1685. REPAIRED 1809—1831.

Amongst the new churches then founded in the provinces the following were the most important. That of Greenwich, composed of about one hundred refugees, established by the Marquis de Ruigny, and whose first ministers were Séverin and Rivière. Those of

Chelsea and Hammersmith, near to London ; that of Thorpe, in the county of Essex, which was founded by the Bishop of London in 1683, and closed *for want of members*, say its registers, in 1731; that of Bristol, whose congregation was at first so numerous that the building could not contain the crowd of faithful who thronged the nave, and even encumbered the benches ranged round the altar. The members of this church, established in 1687, were mostly from La Rochelle, Nantes, and the provinces of Saintonge, Poitou, and Guyenne ; that of Plymouth, which bore the name of the French Conformist Church, owed its origin to a colony which settled in that town during the last years of the seventeenth century ; that of Stonehouse, in the county of Devon, erected in 1692, had for its first pastors Stephen Molenier, Joseph de Maure, and Fauriel. It subsisted until 1791. That of Exeter, founded soon after the revocation by a Protestant minister named Magendie ; that of Dartmouth, which existed from 1692 to 1748 ; finally, that of Barnstaple, which dates from the first years of the eighteenth century, and that of Bidefort, in the county of Devon, composed especially of traders and manufacturers.

A certain number of refugees, at first established in England, went thence into Scotland, and settled at Edinburgh ; most of them were from Cambray, Amiens, and Tournay ; they peopled that quarter of the town which was long known by the name of Picardy. The colony of Edinburgh, chiefly consisting of manufacturers, traders, and artisans, retained the use of the French language during the greater part of the eighteenth century.¹

Ireland received, after James II.'s fall, several thousands of refugees, who distributed themselves amongst

¹ See in the archives of the French Church in London, a letter from Edinburgh, dated 30th March 1732, and signed François Bochar and Claude Paulin. It is full of orthographical mistakes, and written by illiterate workmen, who apologize for their ignorance. They express their wish to rejoin the Church of London, to which they originally belonged, and to adhere to the Calvinist ritual.

the towns of Dublin, Cork, Kilkenny, Waterford, Lisburn, and Portarlington. The French colonies in that island date from the fourteenth year of the reign of Charles II. In 1674, the parliament assembled in Dublin passed an act, by which it promised letters of naturalization and gratuitous admission into all corporations to those foreign Protestants who should settle in Ireland. The Duke of Ormond, Viceroy of Ireland under Charles II., favoured with all his power the establishment of French refugees in that country. A faithful servant of Charles I., he had retired into France when the Parliament prevailed, and had there contracted close intimacy with the ministers of Caen and Paris. In a dedicatory epistle, Charles Drelinecourt, minister of Charenton, addressed to him these deserved commendations : “ By the purity of your life you have silenced those who accuse our religion of libertinism ; and by your inviolable attachment to your sovereign you have confounded those who tax it with rebellion against the superior powers.”¹ The colony the French Protestants formed in Dublin, owed partly to him its origin and first progress. His agents in France promised to those Protestants who should seek an asylum in Ireland, great facilities for the formation of woollen and linen manufactures ; and, to those who preferred agriculture, fertile pasturages and good arable land, with all the necessary materials for building houses, at a very light rent. He even engaged to take charge, to the extent of 50,000 crowns, of all the capital the emigrants chose to confide to him, to place it in safe hands, and to pay ten per cent interest upon it, the owners of the money having the right to withdraw it whenever they pleased. He guaranteed the free exercise of their religion to those who chose to continue in the Calvinist rite, on condition that they maintained their own clergymen. But he declared that

¹ *Charles Drelinecourt's reply to the letter of Prince Ernest, Landgrave of Hesse. Dedicatory Epistle. Geneva, 1662.*

he himself would maintain the pastors of those congregations that conformed to the Anglican Church, as the Dublin colony had done.

Several Protestant noblemen followed the viceroy's example. One of them, whose estates were in the interior of the island, had printed papers circulated in France, to induce Protestants to go and settle on his domains. He promised to those who would build houses and till the land allotted to them, leases for twenty-one years; or, if they preferred it, for three men's lives, without their having to pay any rent for the first seven years. After that they were to be subjected but to a moderate one, to be agreed upon by both parties, according to the extent of land in cultivation.

The English government was then endeavouring to restore a little vitality to that unhappy country of Ireland, whose population, decimated by Cromwell and Ireton, had been driven almost all into the sterile province of Connaught. The rising of the Irish in favour of James II., and the disastrous war which ended by the battle of the Boyne, having again dyed that kingdom with blood and covered it with ruins, Protestant interests required the renewal of the measures adopted in Charles II.'s reign. In 1692, the Irish parliament, composed of zealous Orangemen, revived the bill of 1674, whose efficacy experience had proved. It, moreover, abrogated the oath of supremacy previously exacted from the new colonists, and assured to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion throughout the whole island. The French who had accompanied William III. to Ireland immediately availed themselves of the benefits of this bill. Those who settled in Dublin took possession of the church of the Jesuits, expelled from that city by the victorious party. A great number of French officers who had followed William III. and fought under his banner, and who had been put on half-pay after the peace of Ryswick, joined the Dublin colony,

which became one of the bulwarks of the Protestant party against the enterprises of the Jacobites. The others joined the colonies of Waterford and Lisburn (where their descendants still spoke French at the end of the eighteenth century), and especially that of Portarlington, on the Barrow, founded at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. The Marquis of Ruvigny, who had received a vast grant of land in the neighbourhood of the last-named town, summoned thither about four hundred French, and built a church and a school at his own cost. Besides these military colonies, intended to cover Dublin, another was established at Cork, composed exclusively of traders. The richest of these were Ardouin, Cazalette, de la Millière, Cossart, Bussy, Bonneval, Mazière, Hardi, and Fontaine. For a long time they avoided blending with the indigenous population. Almost all inhabited the same quarter of the town—that which now forms the parish of St Paul, and whose principal street is still called French-church Street.

At the middle of the eighteenth century the French colonies in Ireland received an augmentation as considerable as it was unexpected. In 1751, Count de Saint-Priest, intendant of Languedoc, forced a crowd of Protestants to emigrate by the rigour with which he executed the edicts. In their first terror, most of the fugitives fled into Switzerland. The single canton of Berne beheld the passage of more than six hundred of them during the months of June and July 1752. This band, soon increased, went down the Rhine to Rotterdam, and after having there been generously succoured by the Walloon churches, betook themselves to Ireland, where the British government, some prelates, and a multitude of private persons, had prepared establishments for them.

The principal colonies in Ireland were, therefore, founded for the most part subsequently to the reign of James II.

But the great immigration into England occurred during the rule of the last of the Stuarts. Whilst this prince welcomed the refugees, and allowed them to form so many new colonies, the two governments of France and England acted with the most perfect harmony. Whilst Louis XIV. sent booted missionaries to convert his Protestant subjects, James II. dispensed the English Catholics from the test-oath, restored to them, by a declaration of general tolerance, the free exercise of their worship, publicly recalled the Jesuits, and solemnly received at Windsor the nuncio of Innocent XI. The apparent progress of Catholicism in England inspired Louis XIV. with unlimited confidence, and James II. was confirmed in his fatal blindness by his conviction of the complete triumph of Popery in France. But the arrival of so many thousands of fugitives, the narratives of their sufferings that passed from mouth to mouth, exaggerated by report, and eagerly listened to by a people whose laws were audaciously violated, and who feared soon to experience similar treatment, roused public opinion, alarmed the Catholics themselves, and restored confidence to the Protestants, dismayed for a moment by Monmouth's execution and by Jefferies' judicial murders. James II. and the Pope's nuncio entreated the French ambassador and the Marquis of Bonrepaus, who had just arrived in London, charged with a special mission by the minister of marine, to calm the scruples of the English Catholics by disavowing the odious persecutions imputed to Louis XIV. The two representatives of the great king were reduced to play the strange part of apologists of their master to Lords Castelmaine, Dover, and Tyrconnel, chiefs of the Catholic aristocracy, and the men in whom James II. had the most unbounded confidence.

The indignation of the Protestants, who formed the immense majority of the nation, may be imagined. Although James II. more and more considered the refugees

as his secret enemies, and as the future allies of the Prince of Orange, he saw himself compelled to continue the protection he had at first granted to them. The richest had taken refuge in Holland. Those who went to England had, for the most part, little fortune. The London mint received, it is true, during the first four months following the revocation, 50,000 pistoles in specie to convert into English money; and the French ambassador wrote to Louis XIV., in 1687, that 960,000 louis-d'ors had already been melted down in England. But these considerable sums were the property of a small number of great families. Most of the fugitives landed in a state of extreme destitution. James II. authorised collections for their benefit; the Parliament hastened to vote funds, and on the 16th April 1687 an order in council prescribed a fresh general collection in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The amount of the sums thus obtained was about £200,000 sterling, which formed a fund known by the name of the *royal bounty*. A lay French committee, composed of the chiefs of the immigration, was intrusted with the annual distribution of a sum of £16,000 sterling amongst the poor refugees and their descendants. A second committee, composed of ecclesiastics, and placed under the direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Lord Chancellor, was formed for dividing amongst the indigent pastors and their churches an annual sum of £1718 sterling, drawn from the public treasury.

The French committee was to give in, every year, an exact account of the employment of the funds confided to it. Its first report, dated in December 1687, and printed 19th March of the following year, contains valuable information concerning the number and quality of the refugees who profited by the generosity of the English people. From this document it appears that 15,500 French were relieved in the course of that year. Of these,

13,050 were settled in London, and 2000 in the different seaport towns where they had disembarked. Amongst them the committee distinguishes 140 persons of quality with their families, 143 ministers, 144 lawyers, physicians, traders, and burghers. It designates the others under the general denomination of artisans and workmen. The persons of quality received weekly assistance in money throughout the whole of that year. Their sons were placed in the best commercial houses. About 150 of them entered the army, and were provided, at the cost of the committee, with a complete outfit. The ministers obtained for themselves and their families pensions which were regularly paid. Their sons found employment in the houses of rich merchants or of persons of quality. Weekly assistance was granted to the sick, and to those whom great age prevented from earning their own living by labour. The greater part of the artisans and workmen were employed in the English manufactories. The committee supplied them with the necessary implements and tools, and provided, at the same time, for all their other wants. Six hundred of them, for whom it could not find employment in England, were sent at its cost to America. Fifteen French churches were erected out of the proceeds of the national subscription—three in London, and twelve in the various counties where the greater number of the refugees had settled.

At the beginning of the year 1688, 770 families in London and the provinces received weekly succours from the French committee—namely, 170 families of persons of quality, 117 married ministers, 187 families of lawyers, physicians, merchants, and citizens, and 296 of persons of inferior condition, who, by reason either of age or infirmities, were unable to provide for themselves. The total number of those who claimed assistance amounted to about 27,000.

Whilst the sums due to the national liberality were distributed, according to English custom, in the name of the king, or, as the public acts ran, in the names of His Majesty's lords commissioners, James II., with shameful duplicity, secretly endeavoured to withhold from the refugees a portion of the advantages he unwillingly granted them. At the very moment that he authorised a general collection in their favour, he set every engine at work to prevent its proving productive. Defeated by the national impulse, he revenged himself on the Bishop of London, whom he punished for his too lively sympathy with the French exiles by excluding him from his councils. This was not all. The minister Claude, welcomed in Holland by the Prince of Orange, had just published a book aimed at Louis XIV., and bearing this title, *The Complaints of the Protestants cruelly persecuted in the Kingdom of France*. This work was forthwith translated into French, and made an immense sensation in London. The French ambassador took offence, and addressed himself directly to James. "Those who attempt the lives of kings," he said to him, "find neither asylum nor safety in any country. Those who attack their honour, and who try to blacken their reputation, ought they to enjoy entire impunity, and may one not at least testify the horror he entertains of their writings?"¹ The King of England hastened to convoke his council, and demanded that Claude's book should be burned by the hangman's hand. The chancellor having expressed a contrary opinion, he passionately interrupted him. "I have made up my mind!" he cried. "Dogs defend each other when attacked; why should not kings do as much?" None made reply, and a few days afterwards the book of the former pastor of Charenton was burned at the Royal Exchange by the public executioner. A sheriff and numerous police agents were

¹ This passage is extracted from a memorial addressed to James II. by Barrillon, a copy of which is annexed to the despatch of the 13th May 1686.

present at this execution, ready to repress the mob, which could hardly restrain its indignation. The impression produced throughout England by this concession to Louis XIV. was most grievous. The French ambassador himself was frightened at the energy with which public opinion manifested itself. "It is difficult," he wrote to Louis XIV., "to express the consternation of the Protestant party, and the reflections that are here made upon the mark of consideration that His Britannic Majesty has testified for Your Majesty. They say aloud that it is openly taking part with and approving all that has been done in France against the Protestants. They pretend that it is contrary to custom to burn a book that contains nothing against the State. Perhaps Your Majesty will not deem this affair so important as it here appears; but nothing has occurred during the reign of the King of England that has produced more impression on the public mind."¹

After this, James forbade the officers of his guards to receive, for the future, any foreigners into their companies. This prohibition was levelled at the French Protestants, who came in crowds to enlist in the household troops. He hoped to disgust the military portion of the emigrants with England, and to compel them to return to France or transfer themselves to Holland, in which country their numbers would then become a burthen to the State. His desire to rid his kingdom of them was so strong, that he favoured, to the utmost of his power, a wild project conceived by the Marquis de Miremont, who proposed to lead his fellow-exiles to Hungary, to fight, under the banners of the Empire, against the Turks. The captain of a yacht having received some fugitives on board his vessel, he broke him without listening to his excuses, although he was one of the best officers in his navy. He shut his eyes to the audacious intrigues of an emissary of the

¹ Barrillon's despatch to Louis XIV., 16th May 1686.

French police, named Forant, a converted Protestant, who announced that he was equipping a vessel for Holland, hoping by this pretext to get a number of French sailors to ship with him, and to take them back to France. This expedient, far from succeeding, made the refugees fear lest they should be carried away by force; and some naval officers, who did not know the laws of England, hid themselves for fear of being arrested. James II. especially aided with all his power, and to the prejudice of his own subjects, the Marquis of Bonrepaus, whom Louis XIV. sent to England and to Holland, to persuade the refugees to return to France. The instructions given to this skilful agent convey some idea of the importance attached by the cabinet of Versailles to this delicate mission.

“The conversion of heretics being one of the things His Majesty has most at heart, and passionately desiring to bring back to the Church those of his subjects whom the misfortune of their birth has separated from it, and to recall to France those who, from a religious caprice, have quitted it, the Sieur de Bonrepaus will take all possible pains, as well by himself as by the persons he may think proper to make use of, to know all the French who have retired into England; and, after having examined their conduct and penetrated their intentions, he will endeavour, with address, to induce them to return to their homes, by facilitating the means of their so doing, and by proposing to each those things to which they are likely to be most alive, and which may the most contribute to make them listen with docility to the reasons he has to urge to induce them to be converted.

“He is to make known to all in general that there is no truth in the report spread in foreign countries of pretended persecutions in France of persons of the Religion, His Majesty availing himself only of the means of exhortation which he causes to be addressed to them to bring them back

to the Church, from which they cannot but admit that they have been groundlessly separated. He may also assure them from His Majesty that all who return shall be favourably received and re-established in their property, which for the future they shall peaceably enjoy, without being disturbed in their commerce.

“He will have money given to those who have need of it to reach their homes, and will provide them with letters for the intendant of their *généralité*, to whom His Majesty will give orders to re-establish them in their possessions, and to revoke the sequestration if they have been seized.

“Those who shall be converted at once, or on their return to France, may expect a more particular protection from His Majesty, and may be assured that he will never abandon them. He will give employment to those capable of serving, and pensions to such as have need of them to subsist.”¹

Bonrepaus left no stone unturned to fulfil the wishes of the French government. Seconded by James II., who gave him a most distinguished reception, supported by Barrillon and by skilful spies, Forant, Le Danois, Robert, he employed threats, promises, and especially money, to win over those of the refugees whom he supposed to have influence over the others. Most of them resisted his importunities. They said that they had done themselves extreme violence for the sake of peace of conscience, that they had abandoned for it all they held dearest in the world, and that they had not the least desire to find themselves again in the midst of those troubles from which they had had so much difficulty in extricating themselves. They referred to the suppression of the edicts formerly given in their favour, and said that there could no longer be any security for them. They added that it was impos-

¹ These instructions are dated from Versailles, 20th December 1685, and bear the signatures of Louis XIV. and of Colbert de Croissy.—Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

sible for them to practise their religion if they were not allowed sermons and ministers. Several, about to embark for Dublin, told Robert that, even if it were allowed them to perform their church-service in France, it would only be to lure them thither and afterwards break the promise. "When I insisted," this agent wrote to Bonrepaus, "that there should be given to them every guarantee they could desire, they would no longer listen, but went away."¹ In spite of these obstacles, Bonrepaus succeeded, in the course of some months, in sending back to France five hundred and seven of the fugitives, a list of whom he forwarded to Seignelay. They were two merchants of La Rochelle, a surgeon of the same town, a Languedocian merchant, twenty-four linen-manufacturers with their master, eight workers in white linen, seventeen artisans from Picardy and Normandy, one hundred artisans from Guienne and Languedoc, twenty-seven naval officers from the Rochefort department, two hundred and four sailors from the same department, six Languedocian sailors, thirty-three from Brittany, and eighty-four from the coasts of Picardy and Normandy. "The King of England," he wrote to the Versailles cabinet, "who looks upon the fugitives as his enemies, took no heed of the complaints made to him upon the subject. Had Parliament been sitting, I should have had trouble."²

For more than two years James II. favoured the manœuvres of Bonrepaus and Barrillon, without caring for the injury done to the national industry by the ruin of a great number of manufactories established by the refugees. Those who returned to France were directed, by Louis XIV.'s agents, to Châteauneuf, who received them upon their landing at Dunkirk, and gave them money. But the Revolution of 1688 put a period to this cunning policy, which sought to palliate, by intrigue, an irrepar-

¹ Report addressed to Bonrepaus by Robert. London, 21st January 1686.—Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

² Bonrepaus' despatch of the 5th May 1686.

able evil. William of Orange had no sooner ascended the throne of England than Châteauneuf sent in his account to Versailles, saying that, although the wind was favourable, there were no arrivals from the other side of the Straits, and that it was not likely there would be any more.

He was not mistaken. The refugees in England thenceforward found sincere support in the government. The King of France had to content himself with maintaining agents in London, to endeavour to enlist members of Parliament in his interests. During the last twenty years of his reign, the packet seldom crossed from Calais to Dover without having on board ten thousand louis-d'ors, and even larger sums, intended for the most influential orators in the Houses of Lords and Commons. At the peace of Ryswick, opinion, led astray by the Jacobites, had ceased to be favourable to William III. The Tories prevailed in Parliament, and when the king proposed to grant to all the French refugees those letters of naturalisation so repeatedly promised by the Stuarts, he met a refusal. The Bishop of London, Compton, and the celebrated Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, were all who raised their voices in favour of the refugees. Perhaps the ill-humour of the nation with its Dutch sovereign was reflected on those he protected, and to whom he partly owed his crown. Perhaps, also, the Parliament feared to augment the authority of the new king, by associating with the English the brave and active foreigners who were entirely devoted to him. But this spite or envy, envenomed by the friends of the Pretender and by Louis XIV.'s gold, was but transitory. After William III.'s death, the humour of the nation changed; and the Parliament convoked in 1709, under Queen Anne, at last granted right of citizenship to all Protestants settled in the kingdom, or who might thereafter fix themselves there.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC SERVICES RENDERED
BY THE REFUGEES.

PART TAKEN IN THE REVOLUTION OF 1688—SCHOMBERG—BATTLE OF THE BOYNE—DEATH OF SCHOMBERG AND OF LA CAILLEMOTTE-RUVIGNY—RAPIN-THOYRAS—JOHN DE BODT—MÉNARD DE SCHOMBERG—THE INFERNAL MACHINE OF ST MALO'S—CHARLES DE SCHOMBERG—THE MARQUIS OF RUVIGNY—CAVALIER.

OF all the services rendered to England by the refugees, the most important was the energetic support they gave to William of Orange against James II. When the prince embarked at the port of Naerden, and sailed to dethrone his father-in-law, his little army consisted but of eleven thousand infantry and four thousand horse. But these troops comprised a chosen body of three regiments of infantry and one squadron of cavalry, composed entirely of refugees. Each regiment numbered seven hundred and fifty fighting men. Moreover, seven hundred and thirty-six French officers, for the most part veterans, accustomed to conquer under Turenne and Condé, were dispersed through the battalions of the prince's army. Left in inferior grades, notwithstanding the most brilliant merit, a great number of them had found themselves compelled, in 1685, to become nominally Catholics, in order to avoid the shame of being declared unworthy to serve under the flag of France, in whose shadow they had so long fought. Reconciled with the Protestant religion in the French churches in Holland, their resentment was bitter, and they burned to wash out their dishonour in the blood of

their persecutors. William of Orange had no partisans more resolute and devoted. He had placed fifty-four in his regiment of horse-guards, and thirty-four in his body-guard. The most renowned for their bravery as well as for their birth were Didier de Boncourt and Chaland de Remeugnac, colonels of cavalry; Danserville, lieutenant-colonel of cavalry; Petit and Picard, majors of cavalry; Massole de Montant, Petit, de Maricourt, de Boncourt, de Fabrice, de Lauray, the Baron d'Entragues, Le Coq de St Léger, de Saumaise, de Lacroix, de Dampierre, captains of cavalry; de Saint Sauveur, Rapin, de Cosne-Chavernay, Danserville, Massole de Montant, Jacques de Banne, the Baron d'Avejan, Nolibois, Belcastel, Jaucourt de Villarnoul, Lislemaetz, de Montazier, the three brothers de Batz, captains of infantry. De l'Estang, de la Mclonière, the Marquis d'Arzilliers, were attached to the person of the Prince of Orange in the capacity of aides-de-camp. Goulon received command of the Dutch artillery, to which had been added a corps of bombardiers and miners. In France he had attained the rank of captain-general of the corps of miners, and was considered one of the first engineers of Louis XIV.'s armies. Cambon was employed as chief of the military engineers. A great number of refugees who had never served enrolled themselves as volunteers. Marshal Schomberg commanded under the orders of the Prince of Orange. Such was the confidence inspired by that skilful general, that the Princess of Orange gave him secret instructions to assert her rights, and carry out the enterprise, should her husband fall. Two other refugee officers were bearers of similar instructions to direct the expedition, in case of the death of both the prince and the marshal.

Frederick Armand de Schomberg, the hero of this expedition, was descended from the old dukes of Clèves, whose arms he bore. One of his ancestors, Thierry de Schomberg, was killed at the battle of Ivry, where he

fought at the head of the *reiters* whom Prince John Casimir led to the assistance of Henry IV. His father, John Ménard, grand-marshal of the Palatinate of the Rhine under the Elector Frederick V., negotiated that prince's marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of James I., and himself married Anne Dudley, daughter of Edward Dudley, peer of the kingdom. When Frederick V. was driven from Prague by Tilly's victorious troops, after having ruled Bohemia but for a moment, young Schomberg followed him to Holland, where he learned the art of war under Frederick-Henry, Prince of Orange, thus forming himself at the same school as Turenne and Frederick-William. The Emperor of Germany having confiscated his property, he went to France in 1650, and tendered his services to Louis XIV. He was not long in distinguishing himself. The great Condé compared him to Turenne, of whom he often said, "If I could change myself, I would change myself for Turenne; he is the only man who makes me desire the possibility of such exchanges." Public opinion assigned to Schomberg the first rank after those two great captains. In reward for his services, Mazarin made him lieutenant-general of the army of Flanders. Sent to Portugal in 1661, he there commanded the combined French, English, and Portuguese troops. He disciplined the latter, taught them to beat the Spaniards, and by the victory of Villaviciosa forced Philip IV. to recognise the Duke of Braganza as King of Portugal. Fresh successes obtained in Catalonia earned him, upon Turenne's death, a marshal's baton. In 1675, he commanded in the Low Countries, and compelled the Dutch to raise the sieges of Maestricht and Charleroi. On the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Louis XIV. allowed him to quit the kingdom, assigning Portugal to him as his place of exile. But although he had given stability to the throne of the house of Braganza, he soon found himself an object of hatred, covered with

the mask of religion. Forced to leave Portugal, he first went to Brandenburg, where Frederick-William made him minister of state and generalissimo of his armies. In 1686, he was present at the interview which took place at Clèves between the Elector of Brandenburg and the Prince of Orange, who already meditated the great enterprise he carried out two years later. Schomberg confirmed him in his resolution, and promised him his support. On his way from Portugal, he had coasted England to observe the ports and places most favourable for the landing of an army. He had even opened communications with the chiefs of the English aristocracy, who were weary of James II.'s government, and desired a revolution. The courage and skill he displayed in this expedition, and the memory of the services he had formerly rendered to the Duke of Braganza, caused men to say of him that *he placed kings upon the throne, and removed them from it.*

Such was the illustrious man whose example had brought the other refugees under the flag of the Prince of Orange, and who went to crown his long career by a glorious death upon the battle-field. When the vessels that bore these devoted men reached the open sea, they hoisted the English colours, on which were inscribed these words, expressing the dearest hope of the offended subjects of James II., *Libertate et libero parlamento.* One of the ships had a flag on which was represented a Bible sustained by three swords. The prince's vessel bore the arms of the house of Orange, with the device, *Je maintiendray.* William would have sailed straight up the Thames to London, in hopes that his presence would suffice at once to overthrow the banner of the Stuarts, and cause the outburst of the revolution already ripe in men's minds; but Schomberg made him understand that the liberator of England ought not to present himself as a conqueror, and enter the capital of his future

kingdom at the head of an army of French and Dutch ; that it was better to temporise a little, show his partisans the forces that were ready to second them, and so inspire them with courage to take a resolution. It was in consequence of this advice that William, modifying his first plan, disembarked at Torbay. After a few moments' hesitation, the sight of the brave men who accompanied him gave courage to the English. Courage is as contagious as fear. Soon the first nobles of the country joined this picked army. The soldiers sent to fight against the prince went over to him. Most of the bishops declared in his favour ; and James perceived, too late, that the refusal to obey annuls the right to command, and that the most legitimate sovereignty vanishes when it ceases to be recognised. Not a sword was drawn in behalf of Catholicism in England, and the dethroned monarch esteemed himself too happy to be able to reach the shores of France, and ask an asylum of Louis XIV. Thus did Schomberg and the refugees triumph this time without fighting. By one of those odd caprices of fate frequent in political catastrophes, the *Sieur de l'Estang*, a French refugee, and lieutenant in William's guards, was selected by the conqueror to enjoin the King of France's ambassador to quit London within four-and-twenty hours ; and another refugee, *Saint Léger*, a gentleman of Poitou, received orders to accompany him to Dover, and to protect him, in case of need, against the animosity of the English. *Barrillon* wrote to Louis XIV., in a last despatch, dated from Calais (8th January 1689) : " It was the will of the Prince of Orange that an officer of his guards should accompany me. I was not sorry for it. He served to remove some difficulties which are met with on such occasions. He is a gentleman of Poitou, named *St Léger*, who passed into Holland with his wife and children. I received all manner of civility and good treatment wherever I passed."

In proportion to the progress of the cause in which they had taken arms, the hopes of the refugees grew brighter, and they attained their culminating point when the convention assembled in London proclaimed the deposition of James II., and tendered the crown to the Prince and Princess of Orange. The minister Du Bourdieu solemnly harangued the new king, to congratulate him on his elevation. Jurieu wrote to him from Rotterdam, to recommend to him the interests of the refugees, and of the persecuted church, and William replied, with his own hand, with as much dignity as address: "Be assured that I will neglect nothing in my power to protect and advance the Protestant religion. God, I hope, will give me the means of so doing. May the rest of my life be devoted to the advancement of His glory!"¹

Scotland and Ireland had still to be subdued. The affection felt in Scotland for Mary, James II.'s daughter, greatly contributed to bring over that country to the Orange cause. It was not thus in Ireland. The viceroy, Tyrconnel, a powerful nobleman, devoted to the Roman Catholic religion, raised an army for James II., and received him in Dublin as his king. Louis XIV. supplied him with ships, soldiers, and money. He sent to him, as ambassador, the able Count d'Avaux, to aid him with his advice. In this pressing danger, it was Schomberg whom William chose to establish his authority in Ireland, where the town of Londonderry alone, closely blockaded, still displayed the banner of the Revolution. The marshal lost no time in crossing St George's Channel. But the cares of his new royalty, and especially the English jealousy of the Dutch, had prevented William from giving him sufficient men vigorously to assume the offensive. Unable to oppose to Louis XIV.'s veteran troops, whose example was to lead on James II.'s Irish regiments, an army of more than half their numbers, lacking money and muni-

¹ Archives of the Geneva Library ; Manuscript of Anthony Court.

tions of war, finding everywhere a population hostile to his cause, he nevertheless contrived by skilful temporising to check the progress of the enemy, to create in some sort an Orange territory, and so to prepare the great victory of the following year. Taxed in London with weakness and indecision, he energetically defended himself against the perfidious insinuations of the new king's courtiers. "I confess," he wrote to William, "that, but for my profound submission to your Majesty's orders, I should prefer the honour of being tolerated near your person to the command of an army in Ireland, such as that I had under my orders in the last campaign. Had I risked a battle, I should perhaps have lost all you possess in this kingdom, to say nothing of the consequences in Scotland, and even in England."¹

The numerous refugees in his army seconded him with the greatest vigour. At the siege of Carrickfergus, de la Melonière rendered great services as brigadier, Cambon as quartermaster-general. "We have no better here for that duty," wrote Schomberg, speaking of the last named. In another despatch, after stigmatizing the rapine and robberies committed by the native regiments, he contrasted with them the severe discipline of the refugees. "Your Majesty," he wrote, "will be able to learn from other sources that the three French regiments of infantry, and the one of French cavalry, do their duty better than the others." And he added, some months afterwards, this high praise, which ought not to be forgotten in the history of the Irish war, "From these three regiments, and from that of cavalry, your Majesty has more service than from double the number of the others." It must be mentioned, that to the skill of a great captain Schomberg added the most entire devotion to the cause he had embraced. The troops were in want of money, and the paymaster-general could not give them their arrears.

¹ Schomberg's despatch to William, of the 27th December 1689. See *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, by Dalrymple, vol. ii., appendix, second part. London, 1773.

“*Je n’oserais me vanter de rien,*” he wrote to the king (from his camp at Lisburn, upon the 9th January 1690); “but if I had in my hands the hundred thousand pounds sterling Your Majesty has done me the grace to bestow upon me, I would deliver them to the person you might appoint for the payment of your army.” This sum, which Parliament had voted to him, but which he delicately attributed to the royal munificence, was actually employed to pay the troops, and he contented himself with a pension. What wonder that French refugees flocked from all parts of Europe to fight under his glorious banner? The triumph of the marshal in Ireland, which would permit William III. to direct all his strength against Louis XIV., appeared to them a certain pledge of their early return, in arms, to their native land. “I feel assured,” said the Baron d’Avejan to one of his friends, to whom he spoke of this enterprise, and whom he begged to enlist expatriated Protestants for the regiment of which he was lieutenant-colonel, “that you will not fail to have published in all the French churches in Switzerland the obligation under which the refugees lie to come and aid us in this expedition, which is directed to the glory of God, and ultimately to the re-establishment of His church in our country.”¹ Accordingly, a great number of soldiers, settled at Geneva and Lausanne, were sent to Ireland by the care of the Baron d’Avejan and of the Marquis d’Arzilliers. Sometimes four or five hundred left Geneva in one week.² A great many, scattered along the shores of the Lake, were daily drilled under the flag of Orange, until they could be sent off. The French resident made many complaints, but the enlistment continued before his eyes. Thus was kept up the strength

¹ This letter is quoted in an unpublished memoir by Anthony Court, to be found in the Geneva Library.

² “At this time a great number of those of the reformed religion quitted Geneva to go and enlist in England. Sometimes there set out four hundred or five hundred in a week.”—Jacques Flournoy’s Manuscript, year 1689. This manuscript, remarkable for its exactness, is in the possession of Mr Mallet of Geneva.

of the three regiments which were about to cover themselves with glory at the decisive battle of the Boyne, under the command of La Melonière, Cambon, and La Caillemotte-Ruvigny. William III. had joined the old marshal, to fight at his side.

The river Boyne separated the two armies. At sight of the foe, the ardour of the refugees was unrestrainable. Count Ménard de Schomberg, son of the marshal, passed the Boyne, accompanied by his father and by the élite of his companions in exile, and, rudely driving before him the eight Irish and French squadrons placed to defend the passage, routed them, and formed in order of battle. William, witnessing this brilliant action, took his army across the river, and the combat became general. "Come, my friends," cried Schomberg, addressing the refugees, "bear in mind your courage and your resentment; yonder are your persecutors." Animated by these words, they impetuously charged and broke the French regiments opposite to them, commanded by the Duke of Lauzun. But, in the heat of pursuit, Schomberg, fighting at the head of his men, was suddenly surrounded by Tyrconnel's guards, and received two sabre-cuts and a carbine wound.¹ The venerable hero fell, mortally struck, but with his dying eyes he looked upon the flight of James II.'s soldiers. He was eighty-two years of age when he thus fell in the flush of victory. Few men have attained, during their lives, to greater honours and more flattering distinctions. He was Marshal of France, duke and grandee in Portugal, Governor-general of Prussia and generalissimo of its armies; in England, a duke, a peer, and knight of the garter. He everywhere justified the confidence he inspired by the most irreproachable loyalty, by

¹ Some slight differences of detail are to be found in the accounts given by other historians of Schomberg's death, but they are not important, the main fact, that he died bravely heading his troops, being recorded by all. Mr Weiss has relied chiefly upon the narrative of Rapin-Thoyras, who ought certainly to be good authority, since he was a sharer in the fight.—(Tr.)

the rare constancy of his opinions, by his courage and military skill, and by all those chivalrous qualities which our modern civilisation daily effaces and has not yet replaced.

In this same battle La Caillemotte-Ruvigny, younger brother of the Marquis of Ruvigny, was mortally wounded. "To glory, my children, to glory!" he still cried, as he was carried, covered with blood, past the French Protestant regiments, then marching against the enemy.

The death of Schomberg and of La Caillemotte delayed, perhaps by several years, the entire submission of Ireland. Notwithstanding James II.'s flight, the Jacobite party maintained the struggle. On their part, the French regiments continued to fight energetically for William III. At the siege of the fortress of Athlone, which made so vigorous a defence, they headed the assault. There fell, covered with mortal wounds, several of the bravest officers of those valiant troops,—Captains Hautcharmoy, La Roche-Louherie, La Roquière, Lieutenant Boisribeau. La Caillemotte's old regiment, then commanded by Belcastel, bore a brilliant share in that exploit. Its colonel, and its lieutenant-colonel Chavernay, were wounded; Captains Duprey de Grassy and Monnier, Lieutenants Madaillan and la Ville-Dieu, were killed. The victory of Aghrim, gained by General Ginkel, and which brought about the definitive submission of Ireland, was due in great part to the refugees, and especially to the superior talent of the Marquis de Ruvigny.

Amongst the French officers who distinguished themselves in this campaign, and subsequently on the Continent, the most prominent places must be given to Rapin-Thoyras, Jean de Bodt, Schomberg's sons, and the Marquis de Ruvigny.

The celebrated Rapin-Thoyras was of a noble family of Savoy, which had settled in France in the reign of Francis I. One of his ancestors was almoner to Catherine de Medicis; but he had three brothers, military men, who embraced the reformed religion. The eldest

commanded a regiment of infantry in the Huguenot army, and was governor of Montauban. The second held a captain of cavalry's commission. The third, Philibert, was a gentleman of the Prince of Condé's household, served in Coligny's army, and had his head cut off by order of the parliament of Toulouse, when he visited that town to register, by the king's order, the edict of peace of 1568. He was the only one of the four brothers who left children. His son, Pierre de Rapin, was governor of Masgranier, one of the places of safety granted to the Protestants in Guienne. He carried arms from his earliest youth, and followed Henry IV. in all his expeditions. Jacques, lord of Thoyras, son of Pierre de Rapin, was received advocate in the chamber of the edict of Castres, and fulfilled the duties of the office at Castelnaudary and at Toulouse, as well as at Castres, for more than fifty years. He married a sister of Péliisson, who died at Geneva, whither she had been sent by the king's order, for having refused to be converted.

Paul de Rapin, lord of Thoyras, the younger son of Jacques, was born at Castres in 1661. Like his father, he studied law; but he had not completed his studies when the chambers of the edict were suppressed in 1679, which obliged his family to transfer itself to Toulouse. In 1685 he lost his father, and two months afterwards the edict of Nantes was revoked. He then retired to a country-house with his mother and brother; but persecution followed them thither. He decided to emigrate, and went to England with his younger brother. Presented by a friend of Péliisson's to the French ambassador in London, Rapin resisted Barrillon's pressing arguments and solicitations to conversion. Then, finding nothing to do in England, he went to Holland, and entered a company of French cadets, which formed part of the garrison of Utrecht, and was commanded by his cousin-german. With it he returned to England, in the fleet that bore

the Prince of Orange. After James II.'s flight, he was sent with the French regiments to Ireland. At the very outset of the campaign he distinguished himself by his gallantry. At the siege of Carrickfergus, and upon the report of Fielding, his lieutenant-colonel, he received his lieutenancy before the end of the year 1689. In 1690, the regiment in which he served was placed under the orders of Lieutenant-general Lord Douglas, who, upon the recommendation of the three French colonels who fought in the army of William III., distinguished him amongst all his officers, and showed him that unlimited confidence which the refugees so often met with in foreign lands. Rapin justified the high opinion with which he had inspired his superiors. He fought right manfully at the battle of the Boyne, and was wounded in the assault of Limerick. In 1691, not being in a state to accompany the Earl of Douglas to Flanders, he remained in Ireland with most of the refugees, and was at the siege of Athlone. When the generals ordered the assault, he was one of the brave men who daringly crossed the river which washed the ramparts at their strongest point, and contributed by this exploit to the day's fortunate result. After the capture of Athlone he was sent into garrison at Kilkenny, where he succeeded, by his conciliatory character, in checking the discord which was ever imminent between the Irish population and the English officers. Thence he went to rejoin his regiment at Kinsale, where a letter from Belcastel informed him of William III.'s intention to make him preceptor to the son of the Duke of Portland. He obeyed, not without regret, and went to London, after making over his company to his brother, who afterwards attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel in a regiment of English dragoons.

Rapin's new employment obliged him to live sometimes in Holland, sometimes in England, and even in France,

where the Duke of Portland was appointed ambassador, until at last the young lord settled for some time at the Hague. It was in that city that Rapin resumed his studies of jurisprudence and history. Then, after completing his pupil's education, he went to live at Wesel, where he found a great number of refugees, and amongst them several officers of merit, with whom he formed close intimacy. It was there that he wrote his *Dissertation on Whigs and Tories*, and his *History of England*, composed with the assistance of the collection of public acts. This last work occupied him for seventeen years. He exhausted his health by his researches, and died on the 16th May 1725.

The refugee John de Bodt also devoted his whole life to the defence of the cause for which he was proscribed. Born in Paris, he fled to Holland at the age of fifteen, and was recommended to the Prince of Orange by General de Gor, chief of the Dutch artillery. He accompanied the Prince to England, was made captain of artillery in 1690, and was afterwards placed at the head of the corps of French engineers. William III. employed him in eight sieges and four great battles—those of the Boyne, Aghrim, Steinkirk, and Nerwinde. At the siege of Namur, it was he who, in the capacity of chief of brigade, directed the attack on the castle, and forced the besieged to surrender to the Elector of Bavaria, who commanded the allies. In 1699, with the consent of the King of England, he passed into the service of the Elector of Brandenburg.

When, after the victory of the Hogue, the council revived the project of a descent upon the French coast, William selected the refugee regiments in Ireland to compose the advanced guard, and appointed young Ménard de Schomberg, whom he had created Duke of Leinster, to command them. He had collected arms for thirty thousand men, in hopes the new converts would

rise. But contrary winds drove back the English fleet, which was commanded by Admiral Russell. Louis XIV. had time to provide for the safety of his coast, and the advanced period of the year prevented the King of England from carrying out his design.

Next year he resolved to make up for this disappointment by the destruction of St Malo. The people of that seaport were intrepid privateers, and as the share claimed by the French admiralty was small, and the profit of prizes was almost entirely for the fortunate captors, they had enriched themselves by a series of bold surprises, which had roused against them the implacable hatred of the Dutch and English. Between the years 1688 and 1697 they took from those two nations a hundred and sixty-two armed vessels, and three thousand three hundred and eighty-four merchantmen. Accordingly their town had become, in proportion to its size, the most opulent in Europe. William undertook to ruin it entirely, by means of an infernal machine, invented, it is said, by a refugee. But an unforeseen accident caused the failure of the project at the moment of its execution. A gust of wind having driven the fireship upon a rock, the engineer who managed it, perceiving that there was a leak by which the water was spoiling the powder that filled the hold, hastened to set fire to the mine, and perished, according to all appearance, in the explosion. This was so terrible, that the earth trembled for three leagues around, all the houses in the towns were shaken, and about three hundred were entirely destroyed.

As long as the war against Louis XIV. lasted, the refugees continued to shed their blood for the great cause to which they had sacrificed everything. Count Charles de Schomberg, who commanded a body of troops sent by William to Italy, to assist the Duke of Savoy, was mortally wounded at the battle of La Marsaille, after having dearly sold the victory to Catinat. The

Count du Chesnoi died a hero's death at Almanza. Others, more fortunate—Ligonier, Chanclos, Deshayé—received the first dignities of the state, in recompense for their exploits. Baron Philibert d'Herwart, sent at first as envoy-extraordinary to Geneva, was afterwards British ambassador to Switzerland from 1689 to 1697. The Marquis de Miremont, of the ancient family of Malause, proceeding from that of the Bourbons, a nephew of Turenne by his mother, and a near relative of William III., was the principal agent of the refugees at the Congress of Utrecht.

The Marquis de Ruvigny, son of the former ambassador from Louis XIV. to Charles II. of England, and who had filled, like his father, the delicate post of deputy-general of the reformed church, was, perhaps, after Marshal Schomberg, the refugee who rendered William the most brilliant and the most various services. Alternately a military leader and a diplomatic negotiator, he evinced a rare capacity for business, and a valour that nothing could daunt. The king conferred upon him the title of Earl of Galloway, and the rank of lieutenant-general of his armies. Whilst his brother, La Caillemotte-Ruvigny, found a glorious death at the Boyne, he fought and triumphed at the battle of Aghrim. At that of Nerwinde, where Marshal Luxemburg, the victor of Fleurus and Steinkirk, the *Tapissier de Notre Dame*,¹ put the keystone to his military reputation by his victory over William's veterans, Ruvigny kept at bay, almost unsupported, the entire force of the French cavalry. He was made prisoner for a moment, but the French officers let him go, their chief affecting not to perceive it,² and he continued to cover the retreat of the English, fighting like a hero. In 1694, the king sent him to Savoy, to

¹ An allusion to the numerous captured flags with which he draped the walls of that cathedral.—(T.)

² *Mémoires de St Simon*, vol. i. p. 143, edition of 1842. St Simon himself fought at Nerwinde.

command in the place of Charles de Schomberg, who had just died of his wounds. At the same time, he accredited him as ambassador to Duke Victor Amadeus, of whom he had a well-founded distrust. Ruvigny was to watch the proceedings of this prince, and thwart the secret negotiations by which Louis XIV. sought to detach him from the alliance of England and the Empire. The regiments he took with him to Italy were full of refugees, but his forces were insufficient to resume the offensive against Catinat. Deceived in his expectations, the Duke of Savoy concluded at Turin a separate peace with France. Ruvigny was recalled, and soon afterwards he received the command of the English troops sent to Spain to fight against Philip V. In 1705, at the siege of Badajoz, he lost his right arm, which a cannon-ball carried off, as he raised it to show General Fagel the spot he intended to attack. On the 26th June 1706, he entered Madrid at the head of the English and Portuguese troops, and proclaimed Charles III., whilst Philip V. fled before his victorious army. Medals struck at Madrid called the Austrian pretender *Catholic king by favour of the heretics*. Wounded by two sabre-cuts in the face at the battle of Almanza, won by Marshal Berwick, he made up for his defeat by rapidly assembling a new army in Catalonia, and by putting in a state of defence the fortresses of Lerida, Tortosa, Tarragona, and Gerona, which the enemy threatened. After the peace of Utrecht, he received, as a recompense for his services, the office of high justiciary of Ireland, where he long survived in the midst of the colony of French refugees he had established at Portarlington.

St Simon, who so eloquently condemns the revocation of the edict of Nantes, cannot, however, pardon the two sons of the former ambassador of France in England for having borne arms against their country. He represents the younger, La Caillelotte, as a man yet more deformed

in mind than in person. He accuses the elder of ingratitude and ambition. "He distinguishes himself," he says, "by his hatred against the king and against France, although he was the only Huguenot who was allowed to retain his property there, even when serving the Prince of Orange." Louis XIV., who had in vain endeavoured to retain him in France, and who did not think him entirely relieved, in his voluntary exile, from his duty as a subject, repeatedly notified to him his displeasure at his conduct. Ruvigny persisted, and the king at last confiscated his property.

An anecdote, related by St Simon, throws a sad light upon the manner in which were sometimes broken the last ties between the refugees and their former fellow-citizens. "Old Ruvigny," he says, "was a friend of Harlay, then attorney-general, and afterwards first president, and, confident in his fidelity, he left a deposit in his hands. Harlay kept it as long as he could not abuse it, but when he saw the *éclat*, he felt himself modestly embarrassed between his friend's son and his master, to whom he humbly revealed his trouble. He pretended that the king already knew of it, and that it was Barbézieux who had found it out, and told his majesty. I will not investigate this secret; but the fact is, that he told it himself, and that, as a recompense, the king gave him the deposit as confiscated property, and that this hypocrite of justice and virtue and disinterestedness did not blush to take it, and to shut his eyes and ears to the noise his perfidy made."¹

By the side of the two Ruvignys, of Rapin-Thoyras, of John de Bodt, of the sons of Schomberg, and of so many other French officers who fought in the ranks of the English army, must be placed a humbler name, not deficient in a certain prestige—the name of the peasant Cavalier. Trained in that rude war of the Cevennes, which embraced

¹ *Mémoires de St Simon*, vol. ii. p. 261, 262.

all the mountainous region comprised between the sources of the Loire and the mouths of the Rhone—a region now divided into the departments of Gard, la Lozère, and l'Ardèche—Cavalier had struggled for four years against the whole forces of Montrevel and Villars. Born near Anduze, the son of poor peasants, he was barely twenty-one years old when he had already displayed rare talent for that war of surprises and ambushades, whose bloody episodes remind one of the atrocities of the war of the Albigenes. He was not a man of imposing appearance, but he had, according to Villars, surprising firmness and good sense. He knew how to marshal his troops for the fight as well as the most intelligent officers. Compelled at last to abandon an unequal strife, he made a treaty with Villars, and went to Paris, where the mob, eager to behold him, thronged the streets he rode through, and extemporized a triumph which scandalised St Simon.¹ Taken to Versailles, and admitted into Louis XIV.'s presence, he dared to justify the Cévenol revolt, alleging the cruelties of Montrevel, and claimed the performance of Marshal Villars' promises. The king in vain exhorted him to be converted. He resisted the importunity of Chamillard, who sharply reproached him for having refused the honour of being the king's proselyte, and offered him a pension of fifteen hundred livres for his father, and the rank of major-general for himself. "Do you suppose," he added, "that the king's religion can be false? Would God bless him as he does?" "Monseigneur," replied Cavalier, "Mahometanism has possessed a great part of this earth. I do not judge the designs of God." "I see that you are an obstinate Huguenot," said the minister; and, dismissing him, he desired the cabinet courier who had accompanied him on his journey to show him the splendours of Versailles. Taken after-

¹ "The people," says St Simon, "were so greedy to see this rebel, that it was scandalous."

wards to Macon, and thence sent to Brisach, in Alsatia, Cavalier feared that there was an intention of imprisoning him in that fortress for the rest of his days. He at once made up his mind to quit France, as so many thousands of refugees had done ; and on arriving at Onan, a village about three leagues from the frontier, in a wooded country favourable to escape, he warned his companions, and fled with them at nightfall. The fugitives entered the principality of Montbéliard, thence passed into the Porentrui, and so on to Lausanne. After a short stay at Berne,¹ Cavalier left for Holland, where he received the rank of colonel. The exiled *camisards* crowded to his call, eager to serve under a chief already so celebrated, and hoping perhaps one day to return with him to their native land. But when it came to organizing the new regiment, unforeseen difficulties arose. The Anglo-Dutch commissioners required that all the companies should be commanded by refugee gentlemen, whilst Cavalier insisted on selecting his own officers. The commissioners, who found it their interest to conciliate this *little man*, were fain to come to terms with the shepherd of the Gardon, who at last consented that one-half the officers should be men of noble birth. Thus the captain and lieutenant of each company were taken alternately from amongst the gentlemen and the *camisards*. Upon his staff the Cévenol hero admitted none but his mountain warriors, of whose obedience and enthusiasm he was sure, and whose valour, which had already won him so many triumphs, he hoped to see again displayed upon broader battle-fields.

After serving for some time in Italy, Cavalier was sent to Spain. At the memorable battle of Almanza, where Berwick, born English, and become French by a revolution, was opposed to the Marquis of Ruvigny, born a Frenchman, and converted into an Englishman by persecution,

¹ See, with reference to Cavalier's abode in the canton of Berne, our chapter on Switzerland.

Cavalier's regiment, composed entirely of Protestant refugees, found itself opposed to a Catholic regiment which had perhaps shared in the pitiless war of the Cévennes. As soon as the two French corps recognised each other, they charged with the bayonet, disdaining to fire, and slew each other with such fury that, according to Berwick's testimony, not more than three hundred men survived. Cavalier's regiment was but seven hundred strong; and if, as is probable, the Catholic regiment was complete, its almost total destruction was a bloody glorification of Cévenol valour. Marshal Berwick, who had witnessed so many fierce encounters, never spoke of this tragical event without visible emotion.

Notwithstanding the loss of the battle of Almanza, Cavalier received promotion in the English army. He attained the rank of general, was subsequently appointed governor of the island of Jersey, as a reward for his services, and died at Chelsea in 1740. The valley of Dublin still contains a cemetery formerly devoted to the refugees. It was there that were interred his remains, which, by a strange fatality, repose near one of those military colonies founded by William III. upon the soil of Catholic Ireland.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE PRINCIPAL MANUFACTURES WITH WHICH THE REFUGE
ENDOWED ENGLAND.

MANUFACTURES IMPORTED OR BROUGHT TO PERFECTION BY THE REFUGEES—
SILKS—PROGRESS OF THIS MANUFACTURE—THE WORKMAN MONGEORGE—
LOSSES SUSTAINED BY THE MANUFACTURERS OF LYONS AND TOURS—MANUFAC-
TURES OF LINEN AND SAIL-CLOTH—BONREPAUS' INTRIGUES—MANUFACTURE
OF PRINTED CALICOES—OF CAMBRIC MUSLINS—IMPROVEMENT OF WOOLLEN
MANUFACTURES—TAPESTRY—HATS—FIRST MANUFACTURES OF FINE WHITE
PAPER—CULTIVATION OF EXOTIC FLOWERS—PROGRESS OF TRADE—FRENCH
FASHIONS.

THE services rendered by the military refugees who fought in William III.'s armies were brilliant but transient. They powerfully contributed to consolidate the dynasty elected by the Revolution of 1688, and helped it to conquer rebellious Ireland. The war over, their influence ceased, or assumed a new character. That exercised by the refugee manufacturers and traders was more durable. They imparted to English trade and manufactures an immense impulse, whose effects are felt to the present day.

It appears certain that the revocation of the edict of Nantes sent into the three kingdoms about 70,000 manufacturers and workmen, most of whom proceeded from Normandy, Picardy, the maritime provinces of the west, the Lyonnais, and Touraine. A great number settled in London, in the districts of Soho and St Giles, then suburbs, and in lonely Spitalfields, which they entirely peopled, and which their descendants still inhabit.

The English were indebted to them for the introduction of several new manufactures, which soon contributed to

the public wealth, and for the improvement of others still in their infancy. Before that period the paper made in England was of common description and greyish colour ; and the better qualities of glass-ware, hats, and a number of other articles of everyday consumption, were imported from the Continent, and especially from France. The refugees taught the English to manufacture these superior qualities for themselves, and, moreover, showed them how to produce silks, brocades, satins, velvets, light tissues of linen and wool, clocks and watches, glass-ware, cutlery, hardware, French locks, surgical instruments. The Bill of Rights which, in 1689, consecrated the liberties of the people, and guaranteed individual property, further added to the happy influence exercised by the Refuge, by giving the signal for an immense development of English manufactures, commerce, and navigation.

Of all the manufactures with which the refugees endowed this kingdom, not one acquired a more magnificent development than that of silks. First, in the quarter of Blackfriars, at Canterbury, skilful workmen from Tours and Lyons established themselves. In 1694 their numbers had so greatly increased that they possessed 1000 looms, giving work to 2700 persons ; but the majority finally settled in London, in the district of Spitalfields. Thence they propagated their manufacture to Dublin, where it assumed an unexpected importance. England and Ireland then presented the memorable sight of a manufacture borrowed from the foreigner, consuming foreign materials, and which nevertheless succeeded in equalling, and even in surpassing, the products of those countries where it had long been cultivated.

The French artisans took into England models of looms similar to those of Tours and Lyons. They taught the English improved modes of weaving, and showed them how to make brocades, satins, very strong silks known as

paduasoyes, watered silks, black velvets, fancy velvets, stuffs of mingled silk and cotton. The figured silks which proceeded from the London manufacturers at the end of the seventeenth century, were due almost exclusively to the industry of three refugees—Lauson, Mariscot, and Monceaux. The artist who supplied the designs was also a refugee, named Beaudoin. A common workman, named Mongeorge, took them the secret, recently discovered at Lyons, of giving lustre to silk taffety. Barrillon, the French ambassador, (in pursuance of the express orders of Louis XIV., transmitted by Louvois) made him brilliant offers to return to France. It was too late. This secret, which Octavio Mai had found by a lucky chance, which had re-established the impaired fortune of that manufacturer, and had since become a source of wealth to the whole of the Lyons manufacturers, was thenceforward divulged.

Up to that time the English had annually bought about 200,000 livres' worth of black lustrings, manufactured on purpose for them, and known as English taffeties. Often they had imported, at one time, as much as 150 cases, worth 400 to 500 livres each. After the revocation, the British government tripled the import duty on this article. Soon it amounted to 53 per cent. In 1698, the import of these silks was entirely prohibited. D'Herbigny, the intendant, pointed out with grief to Louis XIV. the progressive ruin of this important branch of the Lyons manufactures. "French refugees," he wrote in 1698, "having for some years past established in England manufactories of taffeties, Parliament has forbidden their import from abroad. This manufacture has not made great progress, and it is not believed that it can attain the perfection it has got to in France; nevertheless it is to be feared that, in course of time, the English will be satisfied with taffeties made in their own country, or that, some other

fashion replacing that of taffeties, they will get accustomed to do without ours. It would be a great loss for Lyons."

D'Herbigny's prognostics were but too soon realized. From the end of the seventeenth century, the English manufacturers sufficed for the home consumption, and even exported to other countries not only taffeties, but all the other silk articles which France had previously exclusively supplied. The invention of the stocking-loom permitted them to export even to Italy, and at advantageous prices, quantities of silk stockings. Keysler, the traveller, who journeyed over Europe in 1730, affirms that, in the kingdom of Naples, when a shopkeeper wished to recommend his silks, he declared them to be of English make. During the whole of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, England beheld an annual increase of the profits she derived from this manufacture, which she owed to the revocation of the edict of Nantes. In 1800, the importation of raw silks into Great Britain amounted to about a million of pounds' weight. At the present day it exceeds 5,500,000 pounds. In 1820, the declared value of the silks exported to Germany, Belgium, Holland, the United States, and even to France, was £371,000 sterling; in 1847 it was £978,000 sterling.¹ In 1849, the exportation to France alone of those English silk-manufactures upon which there is not a prohibitive duty, amounted to a value of four millions of francs.²

At the very moment at which we write these lines, the silk-manufacturers of Manchester, stimulated by a noble susceptibility, and by a generous confidence in their strength, are requesting the English government to remove all remaining duties upon French silks imported into England.

The English so well appreciated this pacific conquest

¹ *Revue Britannique* for April 1851, p. 260.

² We take these figures from an article by M. Michel Chevalier, of the 27th July 1851.

that, for the last hundred and fifty years, they have recoiled from no sacrifice to preserve it and make it fructify. As, in the fourteenth century, they granted rights and privileges to Flemish workmen, to induce them to transport into England the cloth-manufactures that constituted the wealth of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres ; so, in the eighteenth, they unceasingly allured, by the bait of high wages, the most skilful workmen of Lyons, in order to preserve and propagatè in their manufactures that good taste which the refugees had first introduced. The emigration, begun in 1685, continued under Louis XV., under Louis XVI., and especially during the long cessation of work in the Lyons manufactories in 1793 and 1794. It took nothing less than the persevering efforts of the First Consul to bring back to France a certain number of these emigrants of the Reign of Terror. By his express orders, the minister of foreign affairs wrote to all the ambassadors of the Republic, and especially to the ambassador in London, to do their utmost to send back the Lyons silk-workers. In our own day, when the February revolution had made labour languish in that industrious city, the agents of the English manufacturers redoubled their efforts to get hold of our best workmen, and offered them such advantages that a large number were tempted, and went to London to give new life to the establishments founded by their Protestant predecessors.

We have seen the extent of the loss experienced by Lyons at the end of the seventeenth century. Previous to the revocation, the intelligence of its manufacturers, and the special aptness of its workmen, had placed that city in the first rank for the production of satins, silks, velvets, and damasks. The Italian looms, beaten by this formidable opposition, had gradually disappeared, and France seemed destined to retain the monopoly of those lucrative manufactures, when religious per-

secution drove more than half the weavers from the country. We have but to remember that, in 1698, the number of looms at Lyons had decreased from 18,000 to 4000, that at Tours there were but 1200 instead of 8000, 70 mills instead of 700, 4000 workmen instead of 40,000, less than 60 ribbon-looms where 3000 had before existed, and that, in the capital of Touraine, the consumption of silk had sunk from 2400 bales to 700 or 800. Nevertheless, Tours long preserved its fame for the lighter sorts of silk-manufactures, and its superiority in the art of shading colours; and Lyons still holds the first place by its exquisite designs, its admirable taste, and by its incomparable inventive genius.

Before the revocation the English bought a large portion of their sail-cloth in Normandy and Brittany. In 1669 they paid £171,000 for that article alone. It was also from those two provinces that they obtained the white linens they sold again in the West Indies. At Morlaix they annually purchased to the extent of four millions and a-half livres. In 1681 the company of elders and deacons of the French church in Threadneedle Street supplied funds for the establishment of a linen-manufactory at Ipswich, where Charles II. had permitted a great number of refugees to found a colony. A Protestant of Paris, named Bonhomme, one of the most skilful manufacturers of linen cloth in that city, spread its manufacture in England, and at the same time taught the English to make sail-cloth.¹ In 1685, new refugees added a manufactory of sail-cloth to that of white linen, established four years previously at Ipswich. Other linen-manufactories were founded successively in various English towns, and the consequence was a great diminution

¹ In 1681 Savil wrote from Paris to the secretary of state, Jenkins, to announce the approaching departure of Bonhomme and all his family, and he added in his letter, "This man will be also able to give you some lights into the method of bringing the manufacture of sail-cloth in England."—See Burn's *History of the Foreign Protestant Refugees settled in England*, p. 258.

of the demand for the products of Normandy and Brittany. The merchants of St Malo complained to Bonrepaus of the diminution of the exports from Brittany, which in 1686, they said, exceeded two millions of livres. Twelve years later, the trade in linen had diminished by two-thirds at Morlaix, Brest, and Landernau. That in noyal cloths had almost wholly ceased. Not only the Protestant workmen, but even a crowd of Catholics, had followed their masters across the Channel. As already stated, at least four thousand went from Rennes, Nantes, and Vitré alone. Had they remained in France, they would have been reduced to abandon their occupation and to till the ground, as did many of their former fellow-workmen. The fine manufactures of linen at Coustances had entirely disappeared. All the manufacturers, all the workmen, had emigrated to Guernsey, and thence to England. Out of twenty thousand workmen who manufactured fine linen at Laval, more than fourteen thousand quitted the kingdom.

Louis XIV.'s minister, Seignelay, was uneasy at the decline of this once flourishing branch of French manufactures. By his orders, Bonrepaus offered ten pistoles a man to those Ipswich workmen who would return to France. The better to insure success, he passed himself off as the partner of a rich French manufacturer, who desired to give them, in their own country, more profitable work. By dint of stratagems and lies, he succeeded in ruining, first the sail-cloth manufactory at Ipswich, and then that of white linen. This fine exploit cost him about five hundred crowns. Several other manufactories were in like manner ruined by his malevolent manœuvres, and, exaggerating to himself the importance of the work of destruction he had accomplished, "I do not think," he wrote to Seignelay at the moment of his departure, "that, as regards England, the trade of France will suffer any prejudice from the desertion." But the in-

fluence of Bonrepaus did not extend beyond the reign of James II., and, after the Revolution of 1688, new manufactures of sail-cloth and linen were established by the refugees in England and Ireland, where William favoured their introduction by every means in his power. They never afterwards ceased to increase in both those countries. In 1850, the registers of the Board of Trade prove the export from England and Ireland of 122,397,457 yards of linen.

Printed calicoes were made for the first time in England in 1690, by a refugee who established a manufactory on the banks of the Thames, not far from Richmond. A second and much more considerable manufactory was established at Bromley Hall, in the county of Essex, and transferred to Lancashire in 1768. Other manufactories of printed calicoes were founded at the beginning of the eighteenth century in the neighbourhood of London. They were a fresh loss to France, a new source of wealth to England.

The refugees introduced into England the first manufactures of fine linens, known as Cambray muslins, because they were first made in that town. Before the revocation, England annually purchased two hundred thousand pounds' worth. She gladly welcomed the Cambray and Tournay workmen who brought her this lucrative manufacture. Many of them ultimately settled in Scotland, where the town of Edinburgh allowed them, in 1730, five acres of land, whereon to establish a great manufactory of muslins. The part of the town they inhabited has since borne the name of Picardy.

As early as in Elizabeth's reign, numerous Protestant workmen from Flanders, Brabant, and France, had settled in London and at Sandwich, and had thence scattered themselves through all the maritime towns of the kingdom, where they manufactured serge, flannel, and especially woollen cloth. This last manufacture was remark-

ably increased and improved by the refugees. In 1703, the members of the House of Lords, in conference with those of the Commons, alleged, to justify the aid granted to the French exiles, that they had established a great number of useful manufactures, and had improved those that already existed, to such a degree that, in recent years, the export of woollen goods had exceeded, by more than one million sterling, the export of the same article in Charles II.'s reign.

The first manufactory of tapestry, on the plan of that of the Gobelins, was established in England by an ex-Capuchin monk, whose superior had sent him thither as a missionary. Discouraged, perhaps, by the ill success of his attempts at conversion, he became a Protestant, and founded, under the name of Parisot, a tapestry manufactory at Fulham. The English nobility assisted him in his enterprize by a loan of £10,000. This first attempt was not fortunate. The manufactory was sold; but a refugee named Passavan bought it cheap, transferred it to Exeter, and there made it prosper by the aid of some workmen from the Gobelins, seduced by his predecessor's promises.

Bonrepaus wrote from London in 1686, "The other manufactures which are being established in this country are those of Caudebec hats, and for the dressing of chamois skins." Hat-making became, in fact, one of the most important manufactures taken into England by the refugees. In France it had been almost entirely in the hands of the Protestants. They alone possessed the secret of the liquid composition which serves to prepare rabbit, hare, and beaver skins, and they alone supplied the trade with the fine Caudebec hats in such demand in England and Holland. After the revocation, most of them went to London, taking with them the secret of their art, which was lost to France for more than forty years. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth

century that a French hatter, named Mathieu, after having long worked in London, stole the secret the refugees had taken away, took it back to his country, generously communicated it to the Paris hatters, and founded a large manufactory in the faubourg St Antoine. Before this lucky larceny, the French nobility, and all persons making pretensions to elegance in dress, wore none but English hats; and the Roman cardinals themselves got their hats from the celebrated manufactory at Wandsworth, established by the refugees. In England, the beaver hats made by the French, and known by the name of Carolinas, became so much the fashion as to excite the jealousy of the English manufacturers, who bitterly complained of the preference given to hats which they declared to be both inconvenient and inferior to theirs, both in quality and in durability.¹

The only paper made in England, previously to the revocation, proceeded from the Kentish manufactories, and especially from the great one at Dartford. It was a brownish and very coarse paper. The first manufactories of fine white paper were founded in London in 1685 and 1686 by French workmen from Casteljaloux, Thiers, Ambert, and especially from Angoulême, which lost three-fourths of its paper-mills. Barrillon succeeded, by the same means Bonrepaus had employed, in destroying the manufactories they founded in their new country. To the workmen of a single manufactory he distributed 2300 livres to induce them to return to France. Six months later, he informed Louis XIV. that he had just expended 1150 livres to send across the Channel the last five French paper-makers in England. But, in the reign of William III., the Protestants reopened the manufac-

¹ *History of the Trade in England*, p. 124. London: 1702. "About that time we suffered a great herd of French tradesmen to come in, and particularly hat-makers, who brought with them the fashion of their country, . . . and the making of a slight, coarse, mean commodity—viz., felt hats, now called Carolinas."

tories, and England remained definitively in possession of this branch of trade.

According to Macpherson, the importations from France into England diminished, in the interval from 1683 to 1733, in silks of all kinds, to the amount of £600,000 ; in linen-cloth, sail-cloth, and canvass, £500,000 ; beaver hats, glass ware, watches, and clocks, £220,000 ; paper of all kinds, £90,000 ; hardware, £40,000 ; Châlons serges, and Picardy and Champagne stuffs, £150,000 ; French wines (for which those of Portugal were generally substituted), £200,000 ; French brandy, £80,000. Thus the manufactures taken to England by the refugees, and the great development they attained, deprived France of an annual return of £1,880,000 sterling.

Finally, let us add that the refugees taught the English the cultivation of exotic flowers, since brought to such perfection in England, Scotland, and especially in Ireland, where it was introduced by Frenchmen belonging to the Spitalfields colony. They it was who founded in Dublin, in George I.'s time, the celebrated Flower Club which still exists.

English commerce profited by the impulse given by the refugees to the national manufactures. Foreigners were more willing to buy English articles, because they bore that stamp of good taste peculiar to the French nation, and which the English, left to themselves, have never attained. The export trade of France thus received a fatal blow, from which it has not yet recovered. In England even, the refugees' manufactures were so much preferred, that the native manufacturers more than once testified their vexation. French stuffs, in particular, were so sought after at the end of the seventeenth century, that an English manufacturer, named Thomas Smith, established in Spitalfields, having had precisely similar ones made by his workmen, in vain offered them for sale in Covent Garden market. In order to dispose of them,

he was obliged to avail himself of the services of a refugee manufacturer, who easily sold them as of his own make. The same was the case with a number of other articles; they would go down only with French names.¹ A refugee opened successively in Leadenhall Street four shops for the sale of ready-made clothes, stuffs, silks, and other articles of French manufacture. He made an immense fortune. Others followed his example in Smock Alley, in Bishopsgate, and succeeded in like manner. The English traders were indignant at the injury done, as they pretended, to the national industry, by these foreigners. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, they calculated that if the number of French merchants and manufacturers continued to augment in the same ratio as during the twenty years that followed the revocation, more than half of the trade and manufactures of England would be in their hands within ten years. These exaggerated predictions were not destined to realisation, and if some classes of the indigenous population momentarily suffered from this general passion for French productions, it was not long before the whole nation derived immense advantage from it.

¹ "Nay, the English have now so great an esteem for the workmanship of the French refugees, that hardly anything vends without a Gallic name."—*History of the Trade in England*, p. 177. London: 1702.

CHAPTER IV.

INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES ON THE PROGRESS OF
SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.

THOMAS SAVERY—DENNIS PAPIN—SOCIETY OF SAINT-EVREMOND—JUSTEL, COLOMIÈS, AND DESMAISEAUX—RAPIN-THOYRAS—MOTTEUX, MISSON, LA BASTIDE, GRAVEROL—REFUGEE PREACHERS—PIERRE DU MOULIN AND MARMET—PIERRE ALLIX—SAURIN AND ABBADIE—FIRST LITERARY NEWSPAPER IN DUBLIN.

THE refugees also influenced, in a ratio very much greater than their numbers, the progress of the sciences and of literature.

Amongst those whose inventive genius advanced modern science, must first be cited Thomas Savery and Dennis Papin. Savery, an ex-captain in the service of Louis XIV., settled in England since the revocation, obtained a patent in 1698 from William III. for his fine invention of a machine to drain marshes. It has doubtless since been brought to greater perfection; but the honour of the invention is his alone. The celebrated physician Dennis Papin, whose name recalls one of the greatest discoveries human intelligence has to boast of, was also an humble Protestant, self-exiled for his faith. Born at Blois in 1647, he first practised medicine at Paris, where he had taken his degrees. Under the skilful guidance of the Dutchman Huygens, who still inhabited that capital, he studied the science of physics, and he already began to attract the attention of the learned world, when he was called to London in 1681, and named member of the Royal Society by the interest of Boyle, whom he assisted in his experi-

ments on the nature of air. An emigrant after the revocation, he inserted in *The Philosophical Transactions* several papers which quickly extended his reputation. The Academy of Sciences at Paris named him its correspondent in 1699, and the town of Marburg offered him a mathematical professorship, which he accepted, and ably filled until his death in 1710. The most celebrated of his works, the *Ars nova ad aquam ignis adminiculo efficacissime elevandam*, was published at Leipzig in 1707; but his researches on the employment of steam, and what was termed his *pretension* to navigate a vessel without oars or sails, dated from the first years of his banishment. It was in England, according to all appearance, that the ingenious exile first conceived the idea of steam-navigation, which he afterwards tried upon the Fulda. The experiment, as is known, was but half successful. Papin's engine was rude, and required improvements in its details to insure its success. But he had not less the glory of giving an impulse to his successors, and of opening to science a new and fruitful path. He was the first who made steam move a piston in a pump; the first who demonstrated the possibility of applying it to navigation; finally, foreseeing the danger of explosions, he invented the safety-valve, the same that is in use to this day.

The world, therefore, was very near arriving, a hundred years earlier than it has done, at the marvels of steam-navigation. Papin had in fact realised it; and could he have carried out his discovery under the protection of his native country, it would at that day have been acquired to civilisation.

Had Papin remained in France he could not have followed his profession, the practice of medicine having been interdicted to Protestants. A considerable number of physicians and surgeons emigrated like him, and found employment in the English army and navy.

It is to the surgeons especially that England owes the remarkable perfection of her surgical instruments. Many artists also sought an asylum on that hospitable soil, which offered them greater resources than most other Protestant countries.

Several literary men, who left France to escape from persecution, found a friend in Saint-Evremond, proscribed like themselves, and who showed a brotherly sympathy with the Protestant refugees. Amongst them were de l'Hermitage,¹ nearly related to Gourville, Justel, Colomiès, and Desmaiseaux. Justel, who had been secretary to Louis XIV., had early penetrated the monarch's designs, and, resolutely making up his mind, he sold his rich library several years before the revocation, and went to England. This was a great joy to Bayle. "I hope," he said, in his journal, "that M. Justel, who now resides in London, and who is so inquiring, so learned, so well-informed in all that concerns the republic of letters, and so well disposed to contribute to the satisfaction of the public, will tell us many things that will do much honour to our undertaking."² Scarcely had Justel arrived in London when he was named librarian to the King of England; and such was his reputation as a man of learning, that he was more than once chosen to arbitrate in erudite quarrels. His rich and copious conversation attracted Saint-Evremond, who loved those *talking libraries*.

Justel was a zealous Protestant. Colomiès, son of a physician of La Rochelle, was less so, and passed in England for one of the pillars of Socinianism. Violently attacked by Jurieu, he went over to the Presbyterian church, and became librarian to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Saint-Evremond, who was amused by his mental eccentricities, described him to Desmaiseaux as

¹ De l'Hermitage is mentioned with praise in a letter from Saint-Evremond to Ninon de l'Enclos.

² *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, March 1684.

an unbeliever, who strove to prove in his books that the version of the Seventy is divinely inspired, and showed by his discourse that he did not credit Revelation.

On his arrival in England and admission to the intimacy of Saint-Evremond, Desmaiseaux persuaded the illustrious old man to revise with him the originals of his works, in order to put an end to the abuse made of his name by authors and publishers. He gathered from his lips sufficient information respecting his writings to be competent subsequently to publish an authentic edition.

Saint-Evremond received coldly the pardon offered him by Louis XIV., after thirty years' exile and ten years of refusals. He alleged his old age and his infirmities, and acknowledged the hospitality of England by confiding to her the repose of his latter years and his mortal remains, for which were reserved the honours of Westminster Abbey. In his will he gave a final proof of his pity for and sympathy with the refugees, by bequeathing them a sum for the relief of their poor. It is true that, full of compassion for misery, whatever its creed, and wholly inaccessible to religious hatred, he left an equal sum to the Catholic poor.

Besides these men, who lived in the intimacy of one of the most elegant minds of that day, the Refuge included other literary men of various merit—Rapin-Thoyras, the brave soldier of the army of Ireland, who was also a profound historian and an able lawyer, and who defended the Protestant cause alternately with pen and with sword; Peter Anthony Motteux of Rouen, who acquired so thorough a familiarity with the language of his new country that the English translations he published of Spanish and French works read like original compositions. His translation of *Don Quixote*, and that of *Rabelais*, first popularized the works of these two writers in England. Maximilian Misson, whose work, entitled the *Théâtre Sacré des Cévennes*, was published in

London in 1707, and translated into English the same year ; Mark-Anthony de la Bastide, born at Milhau, one of the elders of the reformed church at Charenton, and author of some esteemed controversial works ; Graverol of Nismes, a celebrated jurisconsult, a poet and man of erudition, one of the founders of the academy still existing at Nismes (of which the regular meetings commenced as far back as the year 1682), and who published in England a history of his native town, with an epistle addressed to *Messieurs les Réfugiés de Nîmes qui sont établis dans Londres*. The last pages of this book contain an affecting narrative of the sufferings of the Protestants of Languedoc, and of the martyrdom of Brousson, Rey, and Barbut. "We," concludes the unfortunate exile, "who are in a country so remote from ours only for the sake of God's word, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ, let us study to render our confession and our faith glorious, by discreet and modest conduct, by an exemplary life, and by entire devotion to the service of God. Let us ever bear in mind that we are the sons and the fathers of martyrs. Let us never forget this glory, but strive to transmit it to our posterity."

To these writers must be added some renowned preachers who formed part of the great emigration. They were preceded by Pierre Du Moulin and Ezekiel Marmet, who do not, properly speaking, belong to the Refuge, but who are connected with it by the nature of their works, and by the principal circumstances of their lives. The first published, in the reign of Charles I., a great number of writings, which became popular with the refugees, and with the English themselves—the *Buckler of Faith*, the *Defence of the Confession of the Reformed Churches*, the *Christian Combat*, the *Vocation of Pastors*. His eldest son is the author of the *Treatise on the Peace of the Soul*, of which he conceived the plan during his stay in England. "It is some years since," he says

in the preface to his book, "that, being cast by the tempest on a foreign shore, and judging that it was useless, and even impertinent, to quarrel with the storm, I sat down peaceably on the bank, calmly to contemplate it, without taking other interest in its progress than that inspired by the sight of persons who were dear to me still struggling in its eddies. And my condition contributed much to this tranquillity, for past agitations had left me very little motive to excite myself on account of present ones, or of those which might yet overtake me. Thereupon I felt impelled to avail myself of this uncertain interval of unhopèd-for repose, to meditate on the means of possessing everywhere, and even in trouble, repose and contentment of mind, and to try if I could be so happy as to procure peace to others by acquiring it myself." Another pastor who did honour to the French church in London, during that agitated period, was Ezekiel Marmet, who published a series of religious meditations on these words of Job's—*I know that my Redeemer liveth*. The ministers whom the revocation sent to England exercised, in their turn, by their works as much as by their discourses, a marked influence on English literature. Samuel Delangle and the learned Pierre Allix, who had both been pastors of the church at Charenton, supplied fine models of sacred eloquence. The sermons of the second, especially, were distinguished by their tasteful simplicity, and by precepts appropriate to the circumstances in which his church found itself. As previously in France, he excelled in appeasing dissensions, and in preserving union amongst the Protestants. Louis XIV. tried every means to induce him to be converted, and return to France. Seignelay wrote to Bonrepaus concerning him: "The family of the minister Allix, who is in London, have become sincere converts here in Paris. If you could get at that minister, and

prevail upon him to return to France, with the intention of being converted, you need not hesitate to offer him a pension of three thousand or four thousand livres; and if it were necessary to go further, I doubt not but that, upon the advice you should give me of it, the king would consent to show him still more considerable favours, in which case you might be assured that you would have done a thing very agreeable to his majesty.”¹ Allix resisted all the overtures of Louis XIV.’s envoy extraordinary. He remained in England, enjoying the respect and sympathy of all. He received the title of honorary doctor of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford; and, upon the recommendation of Bishop Burnet, he was made canon and treasurer of Salisbury Cathedral. The Anglican clergy commissioned him to write the history of the Councils, and the Parliament gave him a particular token of consideration, by ordering that all the paper brought from Holland for the printing of this work should be exempt from duty. Delangle, his colleague, a former deputy of the Synod of Normandy, conquered, like Allix, the public esteem, and was named canon of Westminster.

The French churches in London had also the honour of possessing the already celebrated Jacques Saurin and Abbadie. The first-named preached for five years at the church in Threadneedle Street, but in 1705 he was called to the Hague, and it was only there that he entirely developed his admirable talent as a preacher, and placed himself by his eloquence in the first rank of sacred orators. Abbadie, who came from Berlin with his reputation as a preacher and religious writer already established, accompanied Marshal Schomberg to Ireland. After the battle of the Boyne, where he saw his illus-

¹ Despatch from Seignelay to Bonrepaus, Versailles, 9th Feb. 1686.

trious benefactor fall mortally wounded, he returned to London, and was attached to the Church in the Savoy, where his mild eloquence long instilled peace into the souls of the numerous refugees who flocked to hear him. At the same time, he served as a pattern to the English preachers, who, moreover, loved to seek inspiration in his fine *Traité de la Verité de la religion Chrétienne*. But the best part of Abbadie's literary career was over at that time. His *Art de se Connaître soi-même*, which dates from the early part of his residence in England, and which has been extolled as the most perfect of his religious treatises, is a book of remarkably vigorous conception, but it speaks less to the heart than do his previous works, and does not, like them, bear the stamp of the passion of Christian holiness. It is difficult to believe that the worldly man will be very effectually reclaimed by the perusal of the following passage, one of the best in the book:—

“One might, it seems to me, define the worldling who, to cure himself, or to console himself for his natural poverty and misery, loves to invest himself with imaginary goods, as a *phantom walking amongst things which have but the appearance of existence*. I call a phantom, not the natural man, composed of a body and of a soul formed by God, but the man of cupidity, composed of the dreams and fictions of his self-love. I call things which have but appearance (and that after the Psalmist), the advantages that the world so passionately seeks, those great voids filled by our own vanity, or rather those great nothings which occupy so much space in our disordered imagination.”

Abbadie also put his able pen at the service of William III. In his *Defence of the British Nation*, he strove to justify, as regarded both right and morality, the Revolution of 1688, the deposition of James II., and the

whole conduct of the prince who took his father-in-law's place upon the throne of England. He resolutely laid down the doctrine of the popular right of resistance, and completely and unreservedly defended the new king. He was chosen in 1694 to pronounce the funeral oration of Queen Mary, wife of William III., and his speech was one long panegyric—always elegant, sometimes pompous—of the Protestant princess whose name covered with an appearance of legitimacy the insurrection that overthrew the last of the Stuarts.

“In vain,” he said, “would the State and the Church have interfered in this suit between religion and superstition. In vain would magnanimous prelates have attempted to solve the difficulty by application and firmness. In vain would the Parliament, that authorised council of the nation and the monarchy—an assembly of sages, and, by the sceptre's authority, an assembly of legislators, the sacred depository of the rights and privileges of the country, the respected mouth of the people, the interpreter of its wants and of its will—have thought to terminate this difference brought before its august tribunal, if grace had not first decided it in the heart of this young princess. She believed that she owed herself to God and to the State, and that it was only by complete devotedness to her country and her religion that she could respond to the vocation addressed to her by Heaven. Desiring to live but for her nation and her religion, ready to die for either of them, she accepted the crown; but she also accepted death, disposed, had it been needful, to undergo, in so precious and holy a cause, the one or the other fate.”¹

Then, at the recollection of William's victory, and of the triumph of the Protestant revolution, facilitated by

¹ *Panegyric of Mary Stuart*: The Hague, 1696, p. 224. The little volume from which we take this passage contains two other sermons by Abbadie.

Mary's conduct, he grows fervent in tone, and again congratulates England on the accession of a dynasty which has restored her liberties, so long infringed by the Stuarts.

“Let us call to mind that time which will be present to the memory of all centuries, since it interests the most remote posterity, when God put limits to the oppression of nations and to the affliction of His church ; when He stopped by a single event the progress of that power which menaced all others ; when He preserved the earth from the vast overflowing of that furious ocean, by making it read this order traced by His hand upon the sand, *Here shall thy waters cease to rise.* We have present to our eyes that important conjuncture, when the Wisdom which presides over events, and links as it pleases secondary causes, thought fit to attach the preservation of England and that of so many people to the resolution of one man ; when the laws, the property, the liberty, the religion of several nations were intrusted by Providence to the inconstancy of the waves ; when the tempests themselves admirably aided the execution of the plan for our deliverance ; when bloodless victories accomplished the intention of the God of mercy ; when war was waged against the bad cause by the consent and union of minds and wills ; when the Liberator presented himself, and a terror of God seized his enemies ; when at last, by the extraordinary blessing which God granted to the greatest and most necessary enterprise of our days, it is permitted to England to have laws, to the church to serve God, to men to live and breathe.”

Abbadie was rewarded with the deanery of Killaloe in Ireland, where he lived until 1724. He published several other works, and amongst others a *Defence of Religion* and the *Triumph of Providence*. But the *Art of knowing Oneself*, which appeared soon after his arrival

in England, was the last of his great successes, and after it he produced nothing to equal his early masterpieces.

Not only in England, but even in Ireland, the refugees exercised a certain influence on the progress of literature. The first literary newspaper that appeared in Dublin was commenced by the pastor Droz, who long officiated as a clergyman in that city, and who founded a library on College Green.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE INFLUENCE EXERCISED BY THE DESCENDANTS OF
THE REFUGEES.DESAGULIERS—THE ROMILLY FAMILY—LIGONIER, PRÉVOST, DE BLAQUIÈRES,
LABOUCHÈRE, THÉLUSSON.

THUS, in diplomacy and war, in manufactures and in trade, in science and in letters, the refugees deserved well of the English nation. The same may be said of their sons and grandsons. One of the most celebrated, the physician Desaguliers, was born at La Rochelle in 1683. His father, Protestant minister to the Seigneur of Aitré, having been obliged to take refuge in England, was placed at the head of a school at Islington, near London. He himself educated his son, who took holy orders, and was chaplain successively to the Duke of Chandos and to the Prince of Wales. But the young man's irresistible bent was for the study of the exact sciences. Newton, whose disciple he was, and who recognized his talent, intrusted him with the repetition of some of those great experiments upon which his new doctrine was based. He neglected nothing to justify such high confidence. He invented and constructed new instruments, improved those already known, and gave a public course of experimental Newtonian physics, to which thronged the most illustrious of England's men of learning and statesmen. He had the glory of reckoning amongst his auditors George I. and the Prince of Wales, who desired to learn Newton's discoveries from him. On his return to London,

after a scientific journey in Holland, he received from the Royal Society the appointment of demonstrator, which the celebrated Robert Hook had for many years filled. His lectures were again thronged, and his instructions formed several disciples, who in their turn became eminent, amongst others S'Gravesend.

The family of Romilly, originally of Montpellier, has produced men distinguished in literature, at the bar, in diplomacy, and in the army. One of them, born in London in 1739, received into orders in 1763, and pastor of one of the French churches in that capital in 1766, long excited admiration by his vivid imagination, his strong good sense, and his great penetration. A Genevese critic considers his sermons as the best published by the Protestant preachers, after those of Saurin. Romilly was intimate with Diderot, d'Alembert, and Voltaire. He was a friend of Rousseau's; but he always, in his conversations with these freethinkers, defended the Christian religion.

Samuel Romilly, a celebrated London lawyer, who, by his brilliant talents and liberal tendencies, became one of the chiefs of the Whig party, was the creator of his family's great fortune. Several of his sons now hold high positions in the magistracy and in the government. John Romilly, an advocate of rare merit, was at the head of the chancery-bar when he was named solicitor-general, and afterwards attorney-general. He is now member of the Privy Council; and, after having long represented the town of Devonport in the House of Commons, he has succeeded Lord Langdale as Master of the Rolls. Charles Romilly was private secretary to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards to the lord-chancellor; in 1851 he was made Queen's counsel in the Court of Chancery. Henry Romilly is at the head of one of the first commercial houses in Liverpool. Frederick Romilly, formerly a colonel in the English army, was aide-de-camp

to Lord Fortescue, viceroy of Ireland, and subsequently secretary to Lord Normanby, when that nobleman governed the same province. He has since quitted the army, and lately sat for Canterbury in the House of Commons.¹

The Thélusson family, from Lyons, long settled at Geneva, thence transferred to England, has given two distinguished members to the British Parliament—Isaac Thélusson, who was created Lord Rendlesham in 1806, and his brother Charles. They were sons of Peter Thélusson, one of the richest merchants in London.

Saurin, attorney-general for Ireland, was grandson of a brother of the celebrated preacher, whom William III. took with him to that country. The learned modern traveller, and explorer of Nineveh's ruins, Henry Layard, descends from a family of French emigrants; his father filled for ten years a high judicial post in Ceylon, and powerfully contributed to the propagation of Christianity in that distant land; his grandfather, Dr Thomas Layard, Dean of Bristol, was one of the most eminent of English philologists. The Bishop of Chester, Magendie, was a grandson of the refugee Magendie, pastor of the French church at Exeter.

General Ligonier, who commanded the English army at the battle of Lawfeld; General Prévost, who distinguished himself in the American War; General de Blaquières, who recently died, after having long distinguished himself by his military talents and personal courage, and who has bequeathed to his son an Irish peerage, belonged to refugee families. Labouchère, lately in the English cabinet, is also descended from a Protestant family from the neighbourhood of Toulouse.

In trade and manufactures the descendants of the proscribed Protestants have not ceased to display the intelligent activity of their ancestors. We will name

¹ This paragraph was written in 1851.

only Peter Thélusson, who left at his death a fortune of £600,000 sterling, and willed it, by an eccentric caprice, to that legal heir who should survive all the members of his family already born, or that might be born during the nine months following his decease. This strange will was, as is well known, the occasion of a new law being passed by Parliament with respect to hereditary succession.

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CHAPTER VI.

FUSION OF THE DESCENDANTS OF THE REFUGEES WITH
THE ENGLISH.

THE FIRST REFUGEES' HOPES OF RETURN—THEIR LAST ATTEMPTS TO REALIZE THEM, ON THE OCCASION OF THE TREATY OF UTRECHT—INCREASING OPULENCE OF THE REFUGEE FAMILIES—DIMINUTION OF THE ROYAL BOUNTY—CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS—THE FRENCH HOSPITAL—ASSISTANCE GRANTED TO THE VAUDOIS AND TO THE GALLEY-SLAVES AT MARSEILLES—TRANSFORMATION OF THE LONDON COLONY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—TRANSFORMATION OF THE OTHER COLONIES IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND—CHANGE OF NAMES—PRESENT STATE OF THE SPITALFIELDS COLONY.

THE first emigrants did not at once give up all hopes of return to their country. Many of them long persisted in believing that its gates would one day be reopened to them, or to their children; and these hopes, sometimes expressed with too much ardour and confidence, injured them in the opinion of the nation that had adopted them. At the peace of Ryswick they claimed to be comprised in the treaty, and for a moment they believed that, by favour of the king and parliament, they might attain their end. During the sitting of the congress, Pierre Jurieu, minister of the Walloon church at Rotterdam, pleaded their cause with William III., who then directed the policy of England and Holland. This prince recommended their interests to the plenipotentiaries of the United Provinces. At the same time the refugees in London printed a very submissive request, which they purposed presenting to Louis XIV. In it they acknowledged that, after God, their first duty was to show him unbounded obedience: they implored him to reflect that

perhaps, in the last hours of his life, the frightful misery into which evil counsels had made him plunge so great a number of his subjects, would be present, but too late, to his troubled mind. All was useless. The representatives of France at the congress refused to listen to the remonstrances addressed to them in favour of the refugees, alleging that, as they did not meddle with the condition of the Catholics in England, William had no right to complain with respect to France's treatment of her Protestant children. Moreover, the Tories, who were in the ascendancy in Parliament, and whose work this peace was, took too little interest in the fate of the emigrants to run the risk, as they said, of impeding the negotiations for an object of such secondary importance. It must also be remarked that there had sprung up amongst the refugees settled in England, a numerous party which no longer desired to return to France. When, in 1709, during the conferences at the Hague, the Marquis Du Quesne, deputed by his fellow-exiles in Switzerland to the Protestant powers, applied to the French church in London to unite its efforts to those of the other refugees to obtain permission to return to their native land, the consistory refused to support him, upon the ground that most of those who had chosen England as an asylum were naturalised English. At the peace of Utrecht, Queen Anne's ministers made a last effort, but only for the sake of appearances, and not to deviate from England's traditional policy. They succeeded, however, in obtaining the liberty of a large number of Protestants held prisoners in the galleys of Marseilles and Toulon.

But if the English government did not seriously desire the return of the refugees to France, it continued, it must be owned, generously to support those who fell into distress. Up to the year 1727, it annually distributed amongst them, with the consent of Parliament, a sum of £16,000, proceeding from the *Royal Bounty*. Happily the number

of those in need of aid constantly diminished. Temperate in their habits, and accustomed to toil, most of them gradually worked their way to competency, and even to wealth. In 1720, the French committee divided this public alms amongst no more than five thousand persons; and under Walpole's administration it was found practicable to diminish by one-half the amount annually distributed. A royal order, given by George II. in 1727, reduced it to £8591, but did not touch the £1718 allowed to the pastors. The refugees not only abstained from remonstrance with respect to this spoliation, which had become inevitable, but they uncomplainingly beheld the annual diminution of the sum Walpole had left to them, and which was no longer essential to them. In 1812, Parliament reduced it to £1200, which is still distributed to the needy amongst their descendants.

Long tried by misfortune, the refugees never showed themselves insensible to the sufferings of their brethren settled in England, or even of those they had left in France. Most of the charitable institutions, whose benefits have been perpetuated to the present time, date from the first years following the revocation. The most important is the French Hospital, in which are still supported sixty aged persons of both sexes. It owes its origin to Gastigny, a French gentleman, who had been grand-huntsman to the Prince of Orange, and who, in 1708, bequeathed £1000 sterling for this pious foundation. This moderate sum being inadequate to carry out the plan, the distributors of the royal bounty, who were charged with its administration, began by letting the interest accumulate for eight years, to add it to the capital. Then they had recourse to a collection, in which the principal refugee families who had enriched themselves by commerce displayed their customary generosity. Baron Philibert d'Herwart contributed £4000 sterling. In 1718 George I. granted letters-patent, by

which the chiefs of this establishment were formed into a corporation, under the title of *Governors and Directors of the Hospital for the poor Protestant French and their Descendants, resident in Great Britain*. To the French Hospital must be added the numerous French schools, and especially that of Westminster, in Windmill Street, which formerly had as many as one hundred scholars, belonging to refugee families. The churches, in their turn, received rich gifts, which are still employed for the relief of the poor. The expatriated French also formed associations for mutual assistance, which realised the purest ideal of Christian fraternity.

The charity of the refugees was not confined within the narrow limits of England. During the last fifteen years of the seventeenth century, the consistory of the Church of London ordered frequent collections to be made for the assistance of the Protestant families who fled from France, or who embarked in English ports for Carolina or Pennsylvania. The French colonies of Charlestown, Boston, and New York, continually solicited assistance from this same consistory. The Vaudois had their share of these pious charities. One refugee, Didier Foucault, left by his will £1250 sterling to the churches of the valleys of Piedmont. The Protestants who languished in the galleys and dungeons of France received a large share of the charity of the London exiles. In 1699, the consistory allotted a sum of two hundred and fifty crowns to be distributed to those in the galleys of Marsilles and Toulon. Two months later, they sent them a second sum of four hundred crowns. In the archives of the French church of London are still preserved affecting letters which those unfortunates addressed to their benefactors, whom they sometimes reached after a thousand risks of loss. The following letter, now published for the first time, deserves rescue from oblivion: "We, the undersigned, as well in our own names as in those of all

our brethren suffering for the profession of the truth of our Lord Jesus Christ on the galleys of France, and in the prisons, declare to have received from the very honourable deacons, by the hands of Monsieur de Campradon, according to his advice of the 1st of May last, eight hundred crowns, making two thousand four hundred livres, for which we thank with all our heart those gentlemen who are thus mindful of poor captives. May God abundantly requite this good work, in this life, by loading them with all the gifts and favours which He knows to be necessary to them, as well for their souls as for their bodies, and, after this life, grant them that which is permanent and eternal in heaven, and the contemplation of His face in the society of His blessed saints. We promise to distribute the above sum according to their desire, and we shall ever remain sincerely grateful for it, entreating them always to afford us their precious goodwill, and especially their holy prayers. We do not forget them in ours, and are, with profound respect, their most humble and obedient servants. — Marseilles, this 11th November 1705.”

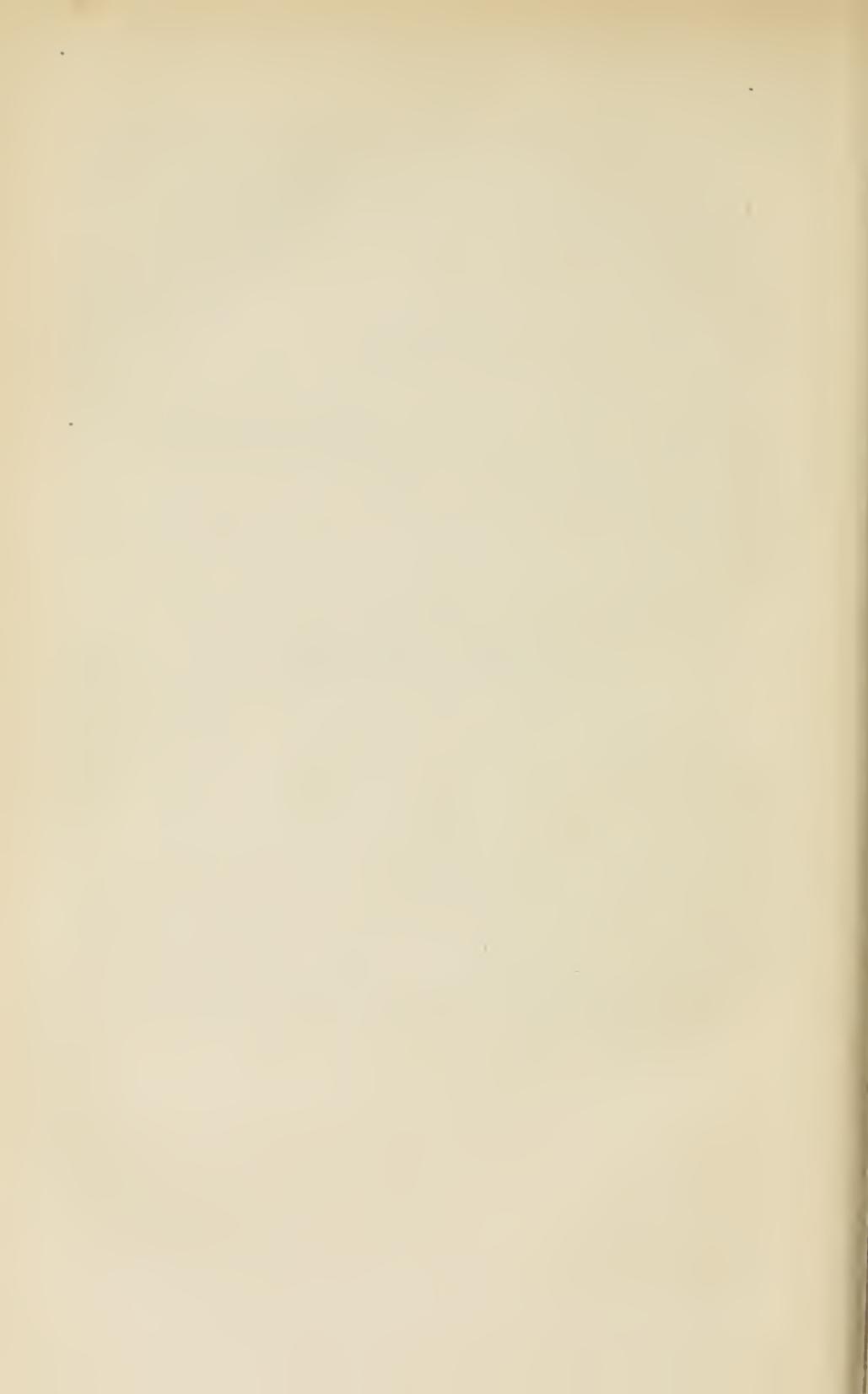
This letter, written on a small sheet of paper, defaced by dust, bears the following signatures: Delarougerie, Delafosse, Giovanni, de Lissart. Until the end of the reign of Louis XV., the descendants of the refugees continued thus to succour those French Protestants whom religious intolerance accumulated in galleys and prisons. But towards the end of the eighteenth century they themselves became entire strangers to the land abandoned by their ancestors, and did but vaguely call it to mind. Gradually absorbed in the nation that welcomed them, they had ceased to be French. The transformation was slow, but continual and inevitable. Its progress may be traced in the successive disappearance of the churches founded at the beginning of the Refuge. In the reigns of James II. and William III. there were

thirty-one of these in London. In 1731, they were already reduced to twenty, but these were crowded. Nine were closed between 1731 and 1782. Of the eleven that remained at the latter date, several approached their end, and subsisted only by aid from without. At the present day their number is reduced to two; and soon, doubtless, the church of St Martin's le Grand, heir to that of Threadneedle Street, instituted by Edward VI., will alone assemble, for the celebration of Calvinist worship, the last remnant of the Refuge. In the course of the eighteenth century, the churches founded in the English provincial towns almost all adopted the Anglican liturgy, and the French tongue and the reformed ritual disappeared together. The same was the case in Edinburgh, Dublin, and in the other colonies formed in Scotland and Ireland by the refugees. Although there is no longer any French service performed in Dublin, that city still possesses two consistories holding funds proceeding from the liberality of their founders. The interest of this capital is applied to the relief of poor Protestants of French origin. It is not very long since a pension was still paid to the daughter of the last French pastor. The colony of Portarlington remained longest true to the customs and language of their ancestors. It was only in 1817 that English was substituted, in the celebration of divine worship, for the old French of Louis XIV.'s time, which had been preserved in singular purity up to that date.

A fortuitous circumstance accelerated, at the commencement of the nineteenth century, the definitive amalgamation of the descendants of the refugees with the English. The fierce wars of the Republic, the Continental system, and the long struggle which lasted till the end of the Empire, having revived the old hatred between France and England, the descendants of the exiles, whose interests were completely identified with those of the Eng-

lish, would no longer avow their origin. Most of them changed their names, by translating them into English. The Lemâitres called themselves Masters; the Leroy, King; the Tonneliers, Cooper; the Lejeunes, Young; the Leblancs, White; the Lenoirs, Black; the Loiseaux, Bird. Thenceforward the French colony in London no longer existed. At the present day the only vestige of it that remains is in the Spitalfields district, where a few thousand artisans, for the most part poor, still betray their origin, less by their language than by their costume, which bears some resemblance to that of the corresponding class in Louis XIV.'s time. The architecture of the houses they inhabit resembles that of the workmen of Lille, Amiens, and the other manufacturing towns of Picardy. The custom of working in cellars, or in glazed garrets, is also borrowed from their original country. The aged members of this artisan colony remember that, in their youth, the children amused themselves with games derived from France, and unknown to the children of the indigenous families. To this day the English recognize the descendants of the refugees by the vivacity of their character, and by certain phrases peculiar to them. Although they consider them their fellow-citizens, they are apt to reproach them with levity and frivolity, and with not observing the Sabbath with sufficient strictness. The Spitalfields workmen themselves seem to have little recollection of their foreign origin. Nevertheless, in their old age, they frequently claim the right of ending their days in the French Hospital, which they call their Providence.

BOOK FOURTH.



BOOK FOURTH.

THE REFUGEES IN AMERICA.¹

CHAPTER I.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFUGEES IN AMERICA.

COLIGNY'S PROJECT FOR THE FORMATION IN AMERICA OF A REFUGE FOR THE PROTESTANTS—VILLEGAGNON'S EXPEDITION—RIBAULT'S EXPEDITION—LAUDONNIÈRE'S EXPEDITION—MASSACRE OF THE COLONISTS BY THE SPANIARDS—REPRISALS EXERCISED BY DOMINIC DE GOURGUES—REFUGEES IN AMERICA BEFORE THE REVOCATION—POLICY OF THE STUARTS—REFUGEES AFTER THE REVOCATION—FRENCH COLONIES IN MASSACHUSETTS—NEW OXFORD—BOSTON—NEW YORK—NEW LA ROCHELLE—COLONIES IN PENNSYLVANIA AND VIRGINIA—KING WILLIAM'S PARISH—COLONIES IN SOUTH CAROLINA—JUDITH MANIGAULT—ISAAC MAZICQ—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ORANGE QUARTER—ESTABLISHMENT OF SANTEE—CHARLESTOWN—PETITION FROM THE CAROLINA REFUGEES TO THE GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA—PONTCHARTRAIN'S REPLY—REFUGEES OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—EMIGRATION OF 1764—FOUNDATION OF NEW BORDEAUX.

OF THE LEGISLATIVE MEASURES OF THE COLONIES IN FAVOUR OF THE REFUGEES—ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE OF MARYLAND IN 1666—ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE OF VIRGINIA IN 1671—IMMUNITIES GRANTED TO KING WILLIAM'S PARISH IN 1700—NATURALISATION OF THE REFUGEES IN CAROLINA IN 1697—NATURALISATION OF THE REFUGEES IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK IN 1703.

ADMIRAL COLIGNY first conceived the project of forming in America a vast refuge for the persecuted Protestants of France. In 1555, a Knight of Malta, Durand de

¹ We learn, just as this part of our work is going to press, that an American, whose name seems to indicate a descendant of a refugee family, Mr Thomas Gaillard, residing at Mobile, in the State of Alabama, has made a special study of the same subject, and has completed a work upon it, whose publication he has delayed in hopes of adding fresh and more complete information to that he has for several years been occupied in collecting. We await with impatience the appearance of the work in question, destined, as we hope, to complete our chapter on the United States.

the French, hung them to trees, with this inscription, "*Hung as heretics, and not as Frenchmen.*" This tragical event, the first act of hostility between two European nations in the New World, excited the liveliest indignation in France. Dominic de Gourgues, a gentleman of Mont de Marsan, was so incensed at it that he vowed vengeance. He had once been taken prisoner by the Spaniards, when fighting against them in Italy, and had been condemned to the galleys as a punishment for the obstinate valour with which he had refused to yield. He was on his way to Spain, when the vessel that bore him was captured by an Algerine corsair. But a ship, manned by Knights of Malta, bore down upon the pirate, and the captives who were about to be reduced to slavery were restored to liberty. Since that day, the outraged gentleman had turned sea-rover, and had largely compensated himself, at the cost of the Spaniards, for his losses and injuries. On his return to his native country he learned the crime perpetrated by Melendez. He instantly sold his patrimony, and, assisted by two of his friends, equipped three vessels in the port of Bordeaux, enlisted two hundred men, and sailed for America in 1567. Upon his arrival at his destination, he won, by costly presents, the goodwill of the Indians, and prevailed on them to join him against the Spaniards, whom he attacked by surprise, making a great slaughter of them. Then, using cruel reprisals, he hung his prisoners, affixing to them the inscription, "*Hung as assassins, and not as Spaniards.*" This revenge taken, he returned to France, where a price had just been set upon his head by His Catholic Majesty, with the courteous permission of the Most Christian King; and the noble gentleman, who had sacrificed his fortune and exposed his life to avenge the insult offered to his country, was long compelled to concealment to avoid the scaffold.

Such was the sad result of Coligny's generous efforts

to found a Protestant colony in North America. The time marked out by Providence had not yet come. Neither the fervour of the religious sentiment, nor the excess of persecution, had as yet sufficiently prepared men's minds. Carolina, occupied for an instant by Christian colonists, relapsed into the power of the Indians, who resumed possession of that fine country, and kept it a hundred years longer.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, England revived Coligny's projects. At the period of the revocation of the edict of Nantes she possessed in North America twelve colonies, already flourishing, and which were about to receive from France a multitude of new inhabitants.

Even before that fatal measure of Louis XIV.'s, and especially since the capture of La Rochelle, numerous fugitives, chiefly from Western France, had sought an asylum in British America. In 1662, some La Rochelle shipowners were brought to judgment by the authorities, for affording passage to emigrants, and conveying them to a country belonging to Great Britain. They were condemned to ten livres' fine to the king, and nine hundred livres of alms, of which the sentence allotted five hundred to the six houses possessed in that town by mendicant monks, three hundred to the support of the Palace Chapel, and a hundred to bread for the prisoners. One of them, named Brunet, was condemned to produce, within one year, either thirty-six young men, whose escape he was accused of favouring, or a valid certificate of their death, *under pain of a thousand livres' fine and of exemplary punishment.* These voluntary exiles perhaps settled in Massachusetts, for in the same year in which this odd trial took place, a French doctor, named John Touton, addressed the council-general of that province, as well in his own name as in that of other Protestants forced to fly their country, asking authorisation to abide in the

colony, which was immediately granted. From that time, Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, possessed establishments formed by Huguenots, and which continually received new emigrants. It was to this town that, in 1679, the chief of a great family from the principality of Soubise, in Saintonge, took his way. This refugee, who bore the name of Elie Neau, having subsequently embarked for Jamaica on board a merchantman he himself commanded, was taken by a St Malo privateer, conveyed to France, and sent to the galleys, whence he was released only in 1697, by Lord Portland's intercession.

The state of New York also served as an asylum to a multitude of Huguenots long before the revocation. They formed, after the Dutch, the richest and most considerable part of the population, even before that country, which comprised all the territory of the New Netherlands, passed under English rule in 1664. In 1656, they were sufficiently numerous and influential for public documents to be drawn out in French, as well as in Dutch and English.

Maryland, colonized in Charles I.'s reign, and peopled almost entirely by English and Irish Catholics, served as a place of retreat to a certain number of French families, who settled there before the year 1685. Virginia also received a few, who prepared an asylum for those who were to follow them at the end of the century.

In the two Carolinas, the arrival of the Huguenot refugees coincides with that of the first English colonists, who went thither from Virginia and Massachusetts. When Charles II., in 1663, granted all that territory to a company, composed of Lord Ashley Cooper, Lord Clarendon, Monk, Lord Craven, Sir John Colleton, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret, and the lots of Charleston were distributed, three Frenchmen, Richard Batin, Jacques Jours, and Richard Deyos, were invested

with the rights of free tenants, and placed upon a footing of complete equality with the English colonists. Everything leads us to believe that these French emigrants were refugees for religion's sake, for the archives of the State of Charleston contain numerous similar concessions made to Huguenot fugitives during the first years of the establishment of this new colony—in 1677 to John Bullon, in 1678 to John Bazant and Richard Gaillard, in 1683 to Mary Batton, wife of John Batton. The first notable increase of the population of this colony, by the arrival of French Protestants, was in 1680. An English frigate, the *Richmond*, that year landed forty-five refugees in Carolina, by the express order of Charles II., who himself paid the expenses of their conveyance. A more considerable number soon followed in another ship, freighted by the English government.

The severe laws promulgated by the Stuarts against non-conformists, especially the one that forbade French Huguenot pastors to preach until they had been ordained by an Anglican bishop, seemed to interdict to the refugees residence in the American colonies, which were subject to the same legislation. The case, however, proved different. Although heartily detesting the dissenting sects—except, perhaps, the dominant sect, whose hierarchy made the nearest approach to that of the Church of Rome—Charles II., and even James II., encouraged, for State reasons, the emigration of foreign Protestants to America. Instinctively conforming to England's traditional policy, they kept open the asylum that kingdom had always afforded to the persecuted Protestants of the Continent; but at the same time, in the expectation of a religious revolution, which was not to occur, they gladly saw a portion of the emigrants betake themselves to the colonies. The Revolution of 1688 gave additional facilities to those refugees who betook themselves to America. Liberated from the detested

yoke of the Stuarts, England, under William III., Queen Anne, and the dynasty of Hanover, more frankly followed the policy which her interests and her religious sympathies alike dictated, and more freely favoured the proscribed French Protestants who sought refuge on her territory, and on that of her transatlantic possessions.

It was natural that the new refugees who quitted the kingdom, either immediately after the revocation, or after the fall of James II., should resort especially to those of the American provinces which had already welcomed so many of their predecessors. A great number went to Massachusetts. In 1686, a little French colony was organized at New Oxford. The same year a French church was founded at Boston, and ten years later it received as its pastor a French refugee minister, named Daillé. The colony of New York was augmented by so great a number of fugitives, that the French church of that town became for some time the metropolis of Calvinism in the New World. Amongst its most notable members were, Peter Valette, Thomas Bayeux, John Cazals, John James Moulinars, John Barberie, Abraham Jouneau, who formed part of the consistory at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The principal heads of families were, Stephen de Lancey, d'Harlette, Lafonds, Girard, Pineau, David, Moreau, Vincent, Dupuy, Allaire, Garnier, Clérambault, Pellereau, Ebrard, Jay, Gautier, Bonrepos, Tharge, Barre, Bodin, Ravaux, Richer, Rousset, Beau, Fresneau.

At sixteen miles from New York, on East River, some Rochellose refugees founded an entirely French town, which they called New La Rochelle. Too poor at first to build a church, they used to set out on Saturday evening—after passing the whole week in the rudest toil—for New York, which they reached on foot in the course of the night. The next day they went twice to

church, started again in the evening, walked a part of the night, and reached their humble homes in time to go to work on Monday morning. Happy and proud that they had conquered their religious liberty, their letters to France informed their persecuted brethren of the favour God had shown them, and urged them to come out and join them.

Pennsylvania gave shelter to many hundreds of emigrants who had first fixed themselves in England, but to whom that country, under James II.'s rule, did not appear a safe refuge from intolerance. In 1690, Maryland also received a considerable number, and in the same year William III. sent a body of Huguenots, who had followed him from Holland to England, and many of whom had doubtless fought in Ireland, to the province of Virginia. Lands were assigned to them on the southern bank of the St James's River, twenty miles from Richmond, in the midst of a fertile territory, where they founded, near the town of Mannikin, an establishment known at first by the name of *Mannikin-Town Settlement*, and afterwards by that of King William's Parish. In 1699, about three hundred families, who had recently left France, reinforced this young colony, which was further increased the following year by two hundred, and soon afterwards by one hundred other French families. Pastor Claude-Philip de Richebourg, driven from his native land by the edict of revocation, accompanied the first colonists who settled on the banks of the St James, and was long the spiritual guide and comforter of the poor exiles. Dissension having broken out amongst them, he restored harmony by leading a part of his flock into North Carolina, where they settled on the banks of the Trent. But a rising of the Indians and the massacre of their white neighbours compelled them to abandon the land they had just cleared, and to emigrate into South Carolina, where they definitively established themselves.

It was this last-named province that received the greater part of the French emigrants to America. Some went thither after a short abode in New York, and did not again quit it. The warm climate was particularly congenial to the numerous exiles from Languedoc. They thronged thither from all sides, and South Carolina thus became the principal retreat, and, as the Americans expressed it, the Home of the Huguenots in the New World.

None will read without painful interest the narrative of the adventures and misfortunes of one of those emigrant families, from its departure from France to its establishment in this province. We will give it in the very words of Judith Manigault the younger, wife of Peter Manigault, to whom she was married at Charlestown.

“ We left our home in the night-time, leaving the soldiers in bed, and abandoning to them our house and all that it contained. Doubting not that they would seek us everywhere, we hid for ten days at Romans in Dauphiné, in the house of a good woman, who was sure not to betray us. After embarking at London (where they arrived after a long circuit through Germany and Holland), we had all manner of misfortunes. The scarlet fever broke out on board ; several of our people died, and amongst them our old mother. We touched at the Bermuda Islands, where the vessel that conveyed us was seized. We spent all our money there, and it was with great difficulty that we obtained a passage by another ship. In Carolina fresh mishaps awaited us. At the end of eighteen months we lost our eldest brother, who sank under such unusual fatigues, so that, since our departure from France, we had suffered all that it is possible to suffer. I was six months without tasting bread, working the while like a slave ; and for three or four years I never had wherewith completely to satisfy my hunger. And yet,” added this woman, in a spirit of admirable

resignation, "God has done great things for us, in giving us strength to support these trials."¹

This fragment of Judith Manigault's history gives an idea of the unheard-of sufferings braved by so many other emigrants in their flight across the seas, and in the early days of their abode in Carolina. General Horry, who distinguished himself in the war of American independence, and who was descended from a family of Huguenots settled on the banks of the Santee, often said that his grandfather and great-grandfather had begun their fortune by working together at the whip-saw.

From the Dutch ports alone more than a thousand fugitives embarked for Carolina, before the eyes of Count d'Avaux, who carefully inquired their projects, and spared no pains to counteract them. "More than a hundred persons," wrote de Tillières, the wildest and best-informed of his agents, to him in 1686, "are purchasing a frigate—half merchantman and half man-of-war—to go to Carolina. I can assure you that she will contain more than 1,200,000 livres." A few days later he added: "I have spoken to the Sieur La Clide, a refugee captain here, some of whose relations are going to Carolina. . . . He tells me there will be at least four hundred persons resolved to fight hard in case of attack, and to set fire to the vessel should no hope remain. Provided the money be saved, the loss of their persons will not be a great one." "*Messieurs les Carolins*," he again wrote, "have bought at Utrecht one hundred and fifty muskets, fifty musketoons, and thirty brace of pistols. . . . The gentlemen cannot suit themselves with a ship in this country. One of fifty guns is fitting out for them in England."

In a final letter he gives the ambassador more detailed information, and points out sure means of surprising them upon their passage. "Our Carolinians of Amsterdam

¹ Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 180-181.

are to join those of Rotterdam, to the number of nearly one hundred and fifty. At Rotterdam they have two barques in which they will go to England. . . . In London they have a great many associates who will go with them. . . . The two barques, which belong to them, and in which they will make the voyage to England, will also serve them to go to Carolina. They are to load them with Malvoisie wine and other merchandize at the island of Madeira. The two barques, and their ship of forty-five or fifty pieces of cannon, which they are having freighted in England, will be manned by four hundred well-equipped persons. . . . If ships were had in readiness in the neighbourhood of the island of Madeira or of Lisbon, it would be a great affair."

We are justified in supposing that Louis XIV.'s ministers paid no attention to these odious denunciations; at least nothing proves that they attempted to impede the flight of these armed emigrants, who would have sold their lives dearly.

One of these refugees, whose name does not appear in the correspondence of Count d'Avaux, and who founded one of the first families in Charlestown, landed in that town in the month of December 1686, accompanied by many other emigrants. This was a merchant, originally from Liege, but who had long been established at St Martin's, in the island of Ré, opposite La Rochelle. His name was Isaac Mazicq. On leaving France he had first gone to Amsterdam, whence, with a sum of £1500 sterling in his possession, he sailed for London, where he embarked for Carolina on board a vessel freighted partly with the wreck of his patrimony. The sale of the cargo enabled him to establish a commercial house in the capital of the province, and to lay the foundations of an immense fortune, of which he made the most generous use in his adopted country.

During James II.'s reign, a number of English, dread-

ing the approaching restoration of the Roman Catholic religion, emigrated to Carolina, and were accompanied thither by Huguenots who had taken refuge in England, and who sought to get rid of the equivocal and precarious protection of a prince openly attached to the Church of Rome. All found an asylum in that province, where the Anglican was the established form of worship, but where Shaftesbury's tolerance had opened a refuge to Christians of all communions. The most considerable emigration was that of 1687. In that year the Lords Commissioners intrusted with the distribution of the funds of the *Royal Bounty* sent six hundred Huguenots to America—chiefly to Carolina—after abundantly providing for their wants. They were principally labourers, artisans, and workmen, to whom had been given even the farming implements and tools necessary to their occupations.

In South Carolina the refugees created several establishments of secondary importance, and three principal colonies—Orange-Quarter on the banks of the Cooper, Santee, and Charlestown.

The first, founded by Charles II. in 1680, and greatly augmented during the reigns of James II. and William III., obtained lands on the eastern bank of the Cooper. "There," says the historian of the United States, "the exiled Calvinists could fearlessly celebrate their worship in the midst of the forest, and mingle the notes of their psalms with the sound of the breeze that murmured through the mighty oaks. Their church was at Charlestown. Thither they each Sunday repaired from all parts of their plantations, scattered over the shores of the Cooper. Profiting by the tide, whole families arrived in light canoes, preserving a religious silence, broken only by the plash of the oars and by the stir of the flourishing village that stood at the confluence of the two rivers."¹

Some half-score refugee families from Orange-Quarter

¹ Bancroft, vol. ii. p. 182.

subsequently ascended the western stream of the Cooper, and formed establishments on the site of the modern town of Strawberry-Ferry. They even founded a church there, whose first pastor was Florent-Philip Trouillart. A Languedocian emigrant, James Dubosc, settled with several of his family upon the banks of the Dockon, which falls into the western arm of the Cooper. Others received from the lords-proprietors of Carolina lands on the south bank of the Santee. This new colony of planters extended, at the end of the seventeenth century, from Wambaw creek to the fort of Lenud. To the south, it stretched to the sources of the eastern arm of the Cooper, where it rejoined the French population of Orange-Quarter. The principal grant of land in this district was made in 1705 to René Ravenel, Bartholomew Gaillard, and Henry Bruneau. It consisted of three hundred and sixty acres of ground, which they were authorized to apply either as the site of a town, to the formation of farms, or to commercial and manufacturing establishments. The new town, built in that previously uninhabited country, was called Jamestown. At the beginning of the seventeenth century it contained a hundred French families. Their first pastor was Peter Robert, a Swiss by birth, who had doubtless accompanied a portion of these refugees on their departure from France. Thenceforward it was the most flourishing of the French colonies in Carolina, after that of the capital. Such was the importance it acquired, that the name of *French Santee* was given to that part of the country—a name found on all the old maps of North America.

But the richest and most populous of all the establishments formed by the refugees in this province was that of Charlestown. Whole streets of that town were built by them. One of them still bears the name of its founder, Gabriel Guignard. This colony had for its first pastor Elias Prioleau, grandson of Anthony Prioli, elected Doge

of Venice in 1618, and doubtless son of Benjamin Prioli, the godson of the Duke de Soubise, whom the Duke de Rohan had attached to himself during his stay in Italy. Forced to leave France after the revocation, he took with him from Saintonge a part of his flock, and went to settle at Charlestown, where his descendants still exist. Of the other French colonists who were reckoned, from the first, amongst the principal inhabitants of this city, and of most of whom the descendants still occupy an honourable position there, may be mentioned the names of Bayard, Bonneau, Benoit, Boquet, Bacot, Chevalier, Cordes, Chastaignier, Dupré, Delisle, Dubosc, Dubois, Dutarque, de la Consillère, Dubourdiou, Fayssoux, Gaillard, Gendron, Horry, Guignard, Huger, Legaré, Laurens, Lansac, Marion, Mazycq, Manigault, Mallichamp, Neuville, Péronneau, Porcher, Peyre, Ravenel, St Julien, Trévezant.

Notwithstanding the advantages of their new position, many of the refugee settlers in Carolina long regretted France. The indelible feeling that attaches man to the country of his fathers, suggested to them a singular project, whose execution could not be permitted, but which must have deeply touched the heart of Louis XIV. They could not expect, like those of their brethren who remained in Europe, to return to France; but they cherished the hope that they might be admitted upon French ground in America. The governor of Louisiana, Bienville, ascending the Mississippi, met an English ship of war taking soundings. The treaty of Ryswick had just been concluded, and France and England vied with each other in efforts to explore and colonize those distant regions to which Providence reserved so brilliant a future. Bienville went to visit the English captain, and whilst on board, a French engineer employed in the vessel handed him a document which he begged him to transmit to the court of Versailles. It was a memorial signed by four hundred families who had fled to Carolina after the

revocation. They begged permission to settle in Louisiana, stipulating only for liberty of conscience. Count Pontchartrain replied that the king had not driven them from his European dominions for them to form a republic in his American colonies. Thus, whilst the most complete religious liberty prevailed in British America, the colony of Louisiana was founded under the auspices of intolerance and despotism, whose malignant influence made it languish for another century in a painful infancy. It was only after its entrance into the great and glorious American family that it emerged from its torpor, rapidly doubled and tripled its population, and freely developed the immense riches it bore in its bosom.

Louis XIV.'s refusal destroyed the last illusions of the refugees in Carolina. All hope vanished of their continuing to be French. They resigned themselves to their lot, and attached themselves more strongly to their new country. The emigration which continued more or less during the whole of the eighteenth century, contributed to maintain amongst them the faith for which their ancestors had suffered. In 1733, Jean Pierre Pury of Neuchâtel led thither three hundred and seventy Protestant families from French Switzerland, to whom the British government liberally granted forty thousand acres of land. Each adult emigrant, moreover, received £40 sterling. These new colonists were not strictly exiles for religion's sake; nevertheless the community of language and worship procured them a joyful reception from the French refugees. In 1764, after the conclusion of the peace of Paris, two hundred and twelve voluntary exiles from France further augmented and strengthened the French community in Carolina. A pastor, named Gibert, determined these men, oppressed in their native land, to seek liberty on American soil. The English government supplied them with the means. Quitting France one by one, to elude the jealous vigilance of the local authorities, they met at Ply-

mouth, and thence were shipped to Charlestown, where they arrived in April 1764. The inhabitants made a subscription to provide for their first wants. Unoccupied land was allotted to them to clear. Soon a new town arose, and its founders gave it the name of New Bordeaux, in memory of the capital of Guienne, from which province most of them came. Finally, in 1782, not less than sixteen thousand foreign Protestants went to settle in South Carolina, and amongst them were a great many Frenchmen.

“In our colonies,” says Bancroft, “they were everywhere welcome.” Partly peopled with rigid Puritans and with dissenters of every sect, those colonies were naturally disposed to favour these new victims of the intolerance of a church which was still more odious to them than that of England. All their religious sympathies were aroused by the arrival of the exiles from France. Those completely destitute were liberally assisted. The towns of Massachusetts raised subscriptions to support them, and gave them vast tracts of land to cultivate. In 1686, the French colony of Oxford received a gift of eleven thousand acres of ground. The other provinces followed the example of Massachusetts. The poor amongst the refugees were everywhere received with generous hospitality. Everywhere land was distributed to the able-bodied men, and political rights were conferred upon them. As early as 1666, the Maryland legislature naturalised the French Protestants established in that province. Virginia admitted them as citizens in 1671. By an act of the legislature in the year 1700, all those who had built houses near the town of Mannikin were formed into a distinct parish, which received the name of *King William's Parish*. Privileges and immunities were bestowed upon them to prevent them from dispersing, and to induce them to remain united in the vicinity of Mannikin. They were exempted from all the parochial contributions which

weighed upon the English parishes. It was moreover declared that all refugees already established, or who should thenceforward settle in *King William's Parish*, should be exempt from the general taxes of the province, and from the private taxes of the county of Henrico, within whose limits it was situated. This favour was at first granted them for seven years only; but, at the expiration of that term, the congress of Virginia hastened to renew it.

In both the Carolinas, the lords proprietors had, from the beginning, not only granted lands to the French Protestants on the sole condition of the annual payment of a penny an acre, but they had also directed the governor and council to give them all the civil and military places it was possible to dispose of in their favour. Although belonging to the Episcopal Church, and naturally inclined to intolerance, with the exception perhaps of Lord Ashley Cooper, they were all interested in the prosperity of their American possessions. It was therefore from policy, and by no means from religious sympathy, that they extended their protection to these foreign dissenters, and granted them the most unlimited liberty of conscience. They more than once even interposed their authority to protect them from arbitrary acts of the local government, and against the prejudices of the English colonists. When, after the definitive organisation of Carolina, the old party names of *Cavaliers* and *Roundheads* were revived at the elections for the first provincial parliament, the refugees kept aloof from these contests, and did not think even of profiting by them to form an intermediate party. Still unacquainted, for the most part, with the English language—aliens, especially, to a quarrel whose signification and bearing they perhaps did not clearly understand—they showed themselves inclined towards the lords proprietors under whose exalted patronage they were; but at the same time they considered the colonists as

brothers and companions of good and bad fortune, whom they were always ready to join for the common defence. These intestine discords were the sole reason for which the numerous refugees of both Carolinas were not naturalized until 1697.

Similar dissensions delayed until the year 1703 their legal entrance into the American family of the State of New York.

CHAPTER II.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES ON THE PROGRESS OF
AGRICULTURE, TRADE, AND MANUFACTURES.

CLEARINGS IN VIRGINIA, MASSACHUSETTS, AND NEW YORK STATE—NEW AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS INTRODUCED INTO CAROLINA—PROSPERITY OF THE AGRICULTURAL COLONY OF SANTEE—LAWSON'S EVIDENCE—DEVELOPMENT OF THE TRADE OF CHARLESTOWN—SILK AND WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES.

THE American colonies were largely remunerated for their wise and generous hospitality by the services the refugees rendered them. The uncultivated banks of the river St James were by these transformed into fields covered with rich harvests. All Virginia admired the flourishing state of their model farms in the environs of Mannikin. And the provincial legislature showered privileges upon them, to prevent their emigrating towards the south, whither a milder climate and the increasing numbers of their proscribed fellow-countrymen might have attracted them. In Massachusetts they in great measure cleared the forests that still surrounded the infant colonies of Boston and Oxford. In the State of New York, the founders of New La Rochelle recoiled from no fatigue that might render productive the virgin land on the banks of East River. Men, women, and children unceasingly laboured until they converted a wilderness into a smiling landscape. In South Carolina they reared magnificent plantations on the banks of the Cooper, where they introduced the vine, the olive, the mulberry tree, and most of the other agricultural pro-

ductions of Southern France. When Charles II., in 1680, sent a first band of Huguenots to Carolina, it was mainly in the hope of endowing that colony with those branches of agriculture which the French Protestants had brought to such perfection in their own country. In a *Description of the present state of Carolina*, published in 1682 by Thomas Ash, clerk on board the *Richmond*, which conveyed these emigrants to Carolina, the English writer, after enumerating the chief productions of the province, and insisting on the possibility of there establishing silk-manufactures, and of raising the vine and the olive, adds, "His Majesty, to aid so fine a design, has given to these Frenchmen whom we have conveyed a free passage for themselves, their wives and children, their property and their servants, because many of them are very experienced in the art of cultivating the vine and the olive-tree, . . . and also to try if a manufactory of silk will succeed in that country." This fact is confirmed by an act of the legislature of South Carolina, passed eleven years afterwards in favour of the refugees, and commencing in these terms, "Inasmuch as King Charles II., of happy memory, was pleased, in the year 1680, in order to contribute to the establishment of a silk-manufactory, and to hasten the introduction of the vine and the olive-tree, to send several French Protestants to this country in one of his own ships, that they might inhabit it, and that their posterity might dwell here after them. . . ." The agricultural colony on the banks of the Santee surpassed all those formed in the same province by the English, although these brought with them considerable fortunes, and all that was necessary for the success of their plantations. The fugitive French hardly possessed the things indispensable to life; most of them were not even accustomed to the kind of work, and they had, moreover, to contend with a pro-

verbially unhealthy climate. But, stimulated by want, sober, industrious, ready to help one another, they succeeded more rapidly and completely. The English traveller Lawson, who visited their establishments in 1701, admired the cleanliness and decency of their dress, the convenient arrangement of their solidly-constructed houses, and all the external signs of a prosperity much superior to that of the other colonists. He beheld with astonishment a country recently covered with swamps, formed by the overflowing of the river, rapidly assuming the appearance of the best-cultivated parts of France and England. A very good road to Charlestown further increased the favourable impression he received of this young French colony. Lawson attributed the superiority of the French over the English to the union prevailing amongst them. "They live," he said, "like a tribe, like a family. Every one makes it a rule to assist his countryman, and to watch over his fortune and reputation as if they were his own. The misfortunes which assail one of them are shared by all the others, and every one rejoices in the progress and prosperity of his brethren."

The shopkeepers and workmen who sought an asylum in Carolina preferred to settle in Charlestown. The arrival of these honest and laborious men was a fortunate acquisition for this newly-founded colony. Some traded with the Indians, and accumulated sufficient capital to enable them gradually to give a much greater extension to their commerce. The houses of Laurens, Manigault, Mazycq, soon ranked with the wealthiest and busiest in the province. Others established silk and woollen manufactories and made druggets. They also formed a great manufactory of those linen cloths much sought after in America by the name of *romalls*. As in England, the traditions of elegance and good taste brought

over by the artisan emigrants of 1685 were incessantly revived by the arrival of fresh fugitives. In the second half of the eighteenth century, South Carolina witnessed the creation, at New Bordeaux, of manufactories nurtured by refugee industry. The silk-manufactories, especially, which the French established in that town, attained to a high degree of prosperity, and added to the national wealth of the United States.

CHAPTER III.

THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES IN AMERICA.

DEFENCE OF CHARLESTOWN IN THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR—FRAGMENT OF A BURLESQUE POEM—PART TAKEN IN THE AMERICAN WAR—PATRIOTISM OF THE FRENCH COLONISTS OF CAROLINA—JOHN BAYARD, JOHN LOUIS GERVAIS, FRANCIS MARION, HENRY LAURENS, JOHN LAURENS, THE TWO MANIGAUTS, JOHN JAY, ELIAS BOUDINOT.

THE political services rendered to North America by the emigrants were neither less numerous nor less remarkable than those already recounted. Faithful subjects of England, they frequently, during the first half of the eighteenth century, fought in the ranks of the American militia. During the Seven Years' War, when the Spanish governor of the island of Cuba, backed by a French frigate commanded by Captain Lefébure, threatened Charlestown, under pretext that the Carolina territory belonged to Florida, they flocked from all parts of the province, and helped to repulse the enemy. A burlesque poem, doubtless composed by the descendant of a Huguenot, long preserved the memory of the Spaniards' discomfiture. To their chief's braggart threats, the French poet replied by these lines, which he placed in the mouth of the English governor, Johnson :—

“ Que s'ils attaquaient notre camp,
 Ils y trouveroient bien mille hommes,
 Qui ne se battraient pas de pommes ;
 Outre cinq cents réfugiés
 Que la France a répudiés,
 Et réduits presque à l'indigence,
 Qui ne respiraient que vengeance,
 Ce qu'on leur feroit éprouver
 S'ils osaient nous venir trouver.”

But it was especially in the colonists' memorable struggle with Great Britain that they deserved well of their new country. At the end of the seventeenth century, English America possessed but about 200,000 inhabitants. The refugees, notwithstanding their small numbers, formed an important part of the population; and their generous blood flowed in the veins of a multitude of families when the American War broke out. The natural enemies of political despotism and religious intolerance, they had certainly contributed to maintain, and even to foment, the love of liberty amongst the other colonists; and when they saw them take up arms, they seconded the insurrectionary movement with that vigorous energy they had inherited from their ancestors.

When England, victorious but exhausted in the Seven Years' War, endeavoured to restore order in her finances, and the Parliament, by passing the Stamp Bill, roused the indignation of the colonists thus arbitrarily taxed, South Carolina, the province in which the French element had most deeply pervaded the American character, was one of the first to give the signal of resistance. She boldly named delegates to the National Congress, then about to assemble to combine a plan of uniform action for all the provinces, thus fearlessly connecting herself with the great measure which was one day to constitute the continental union of America. When the British Parliament, after revoking the Stamp Bill in 1766, again endeavoured, in the following year, to tax the colonies, by laying duties on glass, paper, and tea; and when, after the interdiction of the port of Boston, a committee met in that city to urge the thirteen provinces to break off all connection with the mother country, the son of a Huguenot courageously offered to the orators of New England the hall that became celebrated by the patriotic deliberations of which it was the theatre. There still is shown at Boston a large house of singular aspect, whose pointed

roof, numerous windows, and old-fashioned architecture attract the traveller's attention. It is Faneuil Hall, which the Americans call the Cradle of Liberty. When, at news of the combat of Lexington, the people everywhere rose, South Carolina was the first to give herself an independent constitution, and the president she chose was a Frenchman, the son of a refugee, Henry Laurens. In 1776, when the tribunals of this province, which for twelve months had been closed by order of the English authorities, were solemnly reopened by the provisional government, and the chief-justice made a speech justifying the American Revolution by the example of the Lords and Commons of England assembled in convention in 1688, the grand juries of the different districts loudly approved the principle of legal resistance; and that of Charlestown, in whose ranks sat Pierre Léger, Daniel Lesesne, and Louis Dutarque, protested in its turn against the iniquitous acts of the British Parliament, and invited all the citizens to arm in defence of their outraged rights. A great number of the descendants of refugee families enlisted as volunteers in the American militia. Amongst the officers appointed by the provincial congress of South Carolina to command its regular forces, we find the names of Isaac Motte, Lieutenant-Colonel; Francis Marion and William Mason, captains of infantry; Joseph Jours, James Péronneau, Thomas Lesesne, Louis Dutarque, lieutenants of infantry; John Canterier and Isaac Dubosc, captains of dragoons. The American generals had no braver auxiliaries than these children of the refugees. Amongst the prisoners of war whom the English confined, in 1780, in the cellars of the Charlestown Exchange, we also find the descendants of French exiles: Pierre Bocquet, Samuel Legaré, Jonathan Larrazin, Henry Péronneau. They were thrown, loaded with irons, into damp and ill-ventilated dungeons, as a punishment for their patriotism and devotion to liberty. Others were crowded

on board vessels, there to perish. The French physician Pierre Fayssoux, who during that war filled the post of chief doctor to the Charlestown hospitals, addressed, five years later, to a member of Congress, a faithful narrative of the sufferings those unfortunates endured. "One of them," he said, "Major Bocquet, remained for twelve hours in an open boat, with a violent fever upon him, and blisters on his back; at last they laid him in the bottom of the boat, whence he was transferred to the town prison with the vilest criminals and murderers. There he was left to languish and groan until his death was morally certain, and was taken out only through fear of just reprisals. No sooner did his recovery appear probable than he was taken hastily back to prison, to remain there until the general exchange of prisoners released him from the hands of those barbarians."

Several descendants of French families led the Americans to victory, or shone in the councils of the young republic. Some signalized themselves at once as intrepid soldiers, skilful negotiators, and as magistrates enjoying the confidence of the nation, and charged to preside over its destinies. The names of John Bayard, of John Louis Gervais, of Francis Marion, of Henry and John Laurens, of John Jay, of Elias Boudinot, of the two Manigaults, obscured by the more radiant glory of Washington, Franklin, Lafayette, and Rochambeau, nevertheless deserve to fix the attention of all who do not limit the study of history to that of the lives of a few great men.

John Bayard, a zealous patriot and fervent Christian, was born in 1738, in Maryland, of a noble family of Languedoc. He embarked in trade at Philadelphia, and by his severe probity acquired the esteem of his fellow-citizens. But soon his country claimed his services. When the American War broke out he set out at the head of the second battalion of the Philadelphia militia, to assist Washington, and was engaged in the combat of

Trenton. He was afterwards for several years president of the legislative chamber of the province of Pennsylvania. In 1785 he took his place in the National Congress. Three years later he settled at New Brunswick, where he was mayor, judge of the court of common pleas, and elder of the church until his death in 1807.

John Louis Gervais belonged to the colony of Charlestown. When the English besieged that town in 1780, Governor Rutledge quitted it, with him and two other members of council, in the conviction that the civil authority of the province would be more advantageously exerted in the interior of the country than in the capital, which was invested on all sides. Gervais ardently seconded his efforts to rally the scattered militia, and to get them to march to the assistance of Charlestown. Unsuccessful in this design, they established themselves to the north of the Santee, to put themselves in communication with North Carolina. But the captain of the town and garrison having spread terror amongst their soldiers, they retreated farther northwards, and after drawing reinforcements from North Carolina and Virginia, they resolutely returned into South Carolina, where they strove to impart more vigour and unison to the inhabitants' efforts against the British troops. Too late to save Charlestown, they at least opposed a powerful obstacle to the progress of the English, elated by their victory. And when the province, with the exception of the capital, had been completely cleared of the enemy, public gratitude hastened to raise Gervais to the dignity of President of the Carolina Senate, provisionally assembled in the village of Jacksonborough.

Another Frenchman, no less intrepid, shared in the patriotic enterprize of Rutledge and Gervais. This was Francis Marion, grandson of the refugee Benjamin Marion who had settled in South Carolina in 1694. Appointed, at the commencement of the insurrection, captain

of a free company, he was soon at the head of a regiment. At the siege of Charlestown he had a leg broken, and this accident, incapacitating him from command, induced him, fortunately for his country, to quit the town, which was soon afterwards obliged to surrender to General Clinton. He retired into North Carolina, and, when General Gates advanced against Lord Cornwallis, whom Clinton had left at Charlestown whilst he himself went to protect New York, threatened by Washington's army, he penetrated, with sixteen picked men, into the province occupied by the English, took position on the banks of the Santee, and thence made an appeal to the patriotism of the inhabitants, who thronged to fight under his orders. One day he fell upon a detachment of the enemy, and rescued a large number of prisoners they were taking from Camden to Charlestown. The consequences of the defeat of General Gates obliged him again to quit the province; but he returned in ten days, and, by dint of activity and courage, succeeded in rallying the friends of independence, then greatly alarmed at their country's peril. Raised by Governor Rutledge to the rank of brigadier-general, his services justified the high confidence placed in him. Destitute, at first, of all means of defence, he took the saws from the saw-mills, and forged them into sabres for his cavalry. Short of ammunition, he more than once attacked the English when his soldiers had scarcely three cartridges a man. He even led his troops against the enemy without either lead or powder, but still formidable from their resolute bearing. For several weeks he had but seventy men under his orders, all volunteers, and whom fatigue and wounds often reduced to five-and-twenty, but he nevertheless succeeded in maintaining himself in the midst of a country overrun in every direction by the English. Great efforts were made to shake the fidelity of the patriots attached to his fortunes. Major Wemyss one day burned a score of houses on the banks

of the Pedee, of Lynch's Creek, and of Black River, to punish the inhabitants for secretly assisting him. This cruel measure produced a contrary effect to that expected by the English officer. Revenge and despair combined with patriotism to make the ruined colonists join Marion's soldiers and help him to carry on the war. Many times did British officers thus, by their violence, send him reinforcements. Major Wemyss one day assembled several hundred colonists from the banks of the Santee, whom he suspected of favouring the insurgents, and whilst he harangued them, and declared that the British army came to deliver them from tyranny and oppression, a party of soldiers he had stationed near at hand seized their horses. The Americans returned home on foot, but most of them again left their houses and joined Marion. Compelled to retreat before superior forces, this officer and his faithful band beheld themselves reduced for several months to sleep in the open air, and to lurk in inaccessible hiding-places, in the midst of swamps and forests. But from these impenetrable asylums they never ceased to harass the English, and disarm their isolated detachments. Thanks to this partisan warfare, the consternation caused by the reduction of Charlestown and the rout of General Gates was gradually dissipated. Whilst Cornwallis, who had imprudently advanced into Virginia, was obliged to lay down his arms with a body of eight thousand men, and General Green, repulsed in a first expedition, prepared again to enter Carolina from the summit of the mountains that overlook the Santee, sixty-six refugees, who had taken refuge in Marion's camp, quitted it to propagate the insurrection. All was prepared for success when Colonel Lee came to join Marion's corps, whilst the principal American army, under Green's orders, drove the English from post to post, and compelled them to shut themselves up within the lines of Charlestown. In that memorable campaign, whose upshot was to be

the liberation of Carolina, Marion's daring facilitated the American general's success. By an audacious *coup-de-main* he got possession of Fort Watson, thus breaking the chain of fortified posts which kept up the communication between Camden and the capital of the province, and destroying all resistance to the principal army, which took possession of Camden and of the forts of Orangeburg and Granby. He himself, at the head of his brigade, compelled the garrison of Fort Motte to surrender at discretion, drove the English from Georgetown, and pursued them to Charlestown; contributing by his brilliant operations, as well as by his valour and heroic patience, to the triumphs of the Americans in that decisive campaign, which left to the English, on the soil of the United States, no other possessions than Charlestown, Savannah, and New York.

When, upon the 18th January 1782, Governor Rutledge, by virtue of the extraordinary powers conferred on him by Congress, assembled the two legislative bodies of Carolina in the village of Jacksonborough, he paid, in presence of the members of the senate and of the chamber of representatives, a solemn tribute to Marion, praising his *enterprising genius and indefatigable perseverance* in the midst of the greatest difficulties. The French general had been himself sent to this assembly by the suffrages of his fellow-citizens, but he did not the less retain command of the brigade of the banks of the Santee. A district on the shores of the Pedee was then the only part of Carolina, outside the lines surrounding the capital, which did not recognize the authority of the national government. The inhabitants, who took the name of *loyalists*, refused to obey the new magistrates. Intrenched behind deep swamps, they made frequent sorties to plunder the adjacent country. Marion reduced them to submission, generously pardoning them their treason to the other colonists, and guaranteeing them

their property and the protection of the law, on the sole condition of their restoring the booty they had made in their expeditions, and of signing a written paper to declare their allegiance to the republic of the United States. This moderation inspired them with more patriotic feelings. Several voluntarily enlisted with their conqueror, and distinguished themselves by their valour. The others at least abandoned the impious struggle against their fellow-citizens, and, soon afterwards, the evacuation of Charlestown by the English completed the pacification of all Carolina.

Henry Laurens rendered his country yet more brilliant services than Gervais and Marion. Born at Charlestown in 1724, of Calvinist parents, who had quitted France after the revocation, and had first settled at New York, thence moving to the capital of Carolina, young Laurens early enriched himself by trade, and the noble use he made of his fortune earned him the esteem and affection of his fellow-citizens. In 1774, at the moment that the British Parliament resounded with the ardent debates excited by the *Boston Port Bill*, he signed the petition which forty-nine Americans addressed to the two Houses, to point out the fatal consequences that might ensue from this act of vengeance. He was then in England. A rupture was evidently imminent, and his friends entreated him to put off his departure. He refused, and resolved to return to his native town, to aid his countrymen against their oppressors, in the fratricidal struggle he had done his utmost to prevent. Just as he was about to embark, his former partner, Oswald, afterwards one of the negotiators of the peace between the two countries, made a last and solemn attempt to prevail with him not to take part in the revolt. "I am determined," he replied, "to stand or fall with my country." On reaching Charlestown, he announced to the inhabitants that war was inevitable. They made their preparations in

silence, and named him president of the general committee they convoked in 1775. Laurens accepted this dangerous honour, thus risking his fortune and his life, henceforward irrevocably engaged in the insurrection. At the head of the provisional government of Carolina, he did his utmost to give a legal character to the movement of resistance. "We see with pain," he wrote to the English governor, William Campbell, who had gone on board a ship of war, "that for some days past Your Excellency has thought fit to leave us. Nothing can be more evident than the inconvenience which must inevitably result from this step, since the people are thereby deprived of that access to your person which is absolutely necessary for public business. We submit to Your Excellency's judgment whether the retreat of our governor on board a king's ship, at this time of general uncasiness, when the minds of the inhabitants are filled with the greatest fears for their safety, be not calculated to increase their alarm, and to make them suspect some design premeditated against them. We consequently entreat Your Excellency to return to Charlestown, the ordinary residence of the governor of South Carolina. Your Excellency may be assured that as long as, conformably with your solemn and reiterated declarations, you take no active part against the good people of this colony, in the difficult struggle it is at this moment obliged to sustain for the preservation of its civil liberties, we will guarantee you, with all our power, that safety and respect for your person and character which the inhabitants of Carolina have always desired to testify to the representative of their sovereign.

"By order of the general committee, HENRY LAURENS, president."

The governor would not accept these conciliatory overtures, and his reply plainly gave Laurens to understand the fate reserved for him, if the colonies were beaten in the strife :—

“I have received a message, signed by you, from a number of persons calling themselves a general committee. The presumption of such an address, coming from a body assembled by no legitimate authority, and whose members I am obliged to consider in actual and open rebellion against their sovereign, is equalled only by the outrages which forced me to take refuge on board the king’s ships in port. It deserves no reply, and I should make none, were it not to remark on the boldness with which you have imagined that I could sufficiently forget what I owe to my sovereign and my country, to promise that I would not actively endeavour to bring back to a sense of their duty the destroyers of our glorious constitution and of the true liberties of the people. Your committee may continue to employ the cowardly artifices they have already practised, to prejudice public opinion against me. But I will never return to Charlestown, unless I can maintain the king’s authority, and protect his faithful and loyal subjects.”

Named a member of the first national congress that assembled after the Declaration of Independence in 1776, Laurens was soon elected president of that assembly, which definitively constituted the republic of the United Provinces. He exhibited great fitness for that eminent post, and by the nobility and dignity of his language was constantly the respected interpreter of the great country he had the honour to represent. When England, so arrogant a short time before, revoked the bills that had provoked America’s armed resistance, and Lord Howe transmitted to him, in 1778, the *Bill of Conciliation* of the British Parliament, he replied, with the pride befitting the first magistrate of a free people—

“Your lordship may be assured, that when the King of Great Britain shall be seriously disposed to put an end to the cruel and unprovoked war made upon these United States, Congress will eagerly listen to conditions

of peace that may accord with the honour of an independent nation."

His official letters, preserved in the archives of Congress, all bear the stamp of the statesman and the patriot, as well as of those elevated sentiments and of that masculine energy which had caused the presidency of the national assembly to be confided to him. When, at the end of the year 1778, he voluntarily resigned his high functions, he received from Congress a vote of public thanks, and a declaration that he had deserved well of his country. In 1779 he was named minister-plenipotentiary of the United States to Holland. The ship in which he embarked having been taken by an English cruiser, he was shut up in the Tower of London. No visitors were admitted to his prison. He was forbidden to write letters and to receive those addressed to him. He was then fifty-six years old, and suffered cruelly from gout and other infirmities. Confined in a small room, without other society than two gaolers, who watched him night and day, and deprived of reading and conversation, he received, at the end of a month's captivity, a letter couched in these terms:—"Their lordships inform you that, if you will undertake to serve the interests of England in her conflict with the colonies, you shall be set at liberty." He rejected the proposition with the liveliest indignation. It was next insinuated to him that, if he wrote to the ministers to express his sorrow for his past conduct, he would be allowed to quit the Tower, and would have all London for his prison. "I will never," he replied, "sign my own infamy and my family's dishonour." They hoped to break his dauntless courage by concealing from him the victories of the insurgents in the northern provinces, whilst they sent him the American newspapers announcing the successes of the British army in South Carolina, the capture of Charlestown, and the order given by the victor to sequestrate his property, and that of the other rebels.

His firmness never wavered. "Nothing," he said, "can move me." When, in 1781, Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, his eldest son, was sent to France upon a mission from Congress to Louis XVI., the English ministry summoned the father to order him to quit the court of Versailles, promising on that condition to soften the rigour of his captivity. "My son," he replied, "is of an age to take counsel of himself, and to be guided by his own will. If I wrote to him in the prescribed terms, my words would have no effect. He would conclude that confinement had weakened my mind. I know him to be a man of honour. He loves me tenderly, and would sacrifice his life to save mine; but he would not immolate his reputation to purchase my deliverance, and I applaud him for it." A year had elapsed since he fell into the hands of the English, when he received orders to pay £97, 10s. sterling to the jailors charged to watch him. "I will not pay my keepers," he replied; "I should willingly dispense with their services." Three weeks later, he received pen and ink for the first time. The secretaries of state reckoned on his intervention to obtain a speedier exchange of prisoners. He had no sooner complied with their desire than they again deprived him of the means of correspondence.

Towards the end of the year 1781 the excess of moral torture they inflicted on their victim excited such general compassion, and so greatly roused public opinion, that the executioners blushed for their cruelty, and resolved to break his chains. One difficulty still stopped them—that of finding a mode of deliverance which should leave the honour of both parties unimpaired. Laurens would consent to no act by which he recognized himself to be a British subject. The government, on the contrary, persisted in treating him as such, and in imputing to him the crime of high treason. When he was taken before the Court of King's Bench, and the judge, addressing him

in the usual legal form, said, "The King, your sovereign master," he at once interrupted him. "He is not my sovereign!" he cried. He was set at liberty, on bail, after he had undertaken to reappear at Easter before the same tribunal. When the time fixed approached, he was not acquitted of the charges brought against him, but it was required of him by Lord Shelburne that he should repair to the Continent, to aid in the re-establishment of peace between the two countries. Laurens got alarmed at the gratitude that seemed expected of him for the act of tardy generosity. He had always looked upon himself as a prisoner of war, and, in the fear of alienating his independence, he would not contract any obligation towards the English. "I cannot accept your boon," he replied to the ministers; "Congress formerly offered to exchange General Burgoyne for me; I have no doubt that it will now agree to give you in my place General Lord Cornwallis." He was set at liberty unconditionally; but a rigorous imprisonment of more than fourteen months had destroyed his health. Long accustomed to the most active of lives, he never recovered the effects of the forced repose in which he had languished. Nevertheless he once more served his victorious country, when he was charged by Congress to form part of the commission appointed to negotiate peace with England. He went to Paris, and there, upon the 30th November 1782, he signed, conjointly with Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, the provisional articles of the memorable treaty that was to assure the independence of the Thirteen Provinces, and place them in the rank of nations. When, in the following year, the conditions of the peace of Versailles were stipulated, the son of the French refugee, familiar from his infancy up with all the persecutions suffered by his ancestors, did not lay aside his natural distrust of a country momentarily allied with his own, but which still maintained the barbarous edicts against the Protes-

tants ; and, thanks to his powerful intervention, the frontiers of the Republic were pushed to the Mississippi, and the navigation of that river was thrown open to the citizens of the United States. The annexation of Louisiana, which France had ceded to Spain at the close of the Seven Years' War, but which was to be reunited to France in 1799, to be definitely sold to the Americans by the First Consul twenty years after the conclusion of the peace of Versailles, was prepared by this adroit clause which Laurens got inserted in the treaty. On his return to Charlestown, his fellow-citizens offered him the honour of representing them in the national Congress. He did not accept this flattering testimony of the confidence of a free people. When the question of the revision of the federal union was agitated, he was elected deputy without solicitation on his part. He again refused, in order not to quit the circle of his family and friends. His exhausted strength declined from day to day, and upon the 8th December 1792 he died, aged sixty-nine.

His son, John Laurens, was born at Charlestown in 1755. At the age of sixteen years he was sent to pursue his studies, which he began at Geneva and ended in London. When the American War broke out, he manifested the strongest desire to return to his country and fight in the ranks of his fellow-citizens. Forced to obey his father and to remain in England, he regretfully submitted ; but, anxious to reconcile the duty of the son with that of the patriot, he substituted Vauban, Follard, and other military writers, for the law-books he had previously studied. Thus prepared for the career he burned to adopt, he went to France, and thence to the capital of Carolina, where he arrived in 1777. Attached to Washington as aide-de-camp, he soon had opportunities of signaling his courage and skill at the combat of Germantown, where he was wounded. He continued to serve under Washington's orders, in the central provinces of the Union, until the

day when the British army was driven back from Philadelphia to New York. On the 28th June 1778, he took a glorious share in the battle of Monmouth, lost by Lord Clinton during his retreat. When the theatre of the war was transported north, young Laurens received a lieutenant-colonel's commission in the Rhode Island army. At the head of some light troops, he contributed so much to the happy issue of the campaign, that Congress awarded him its thanks in its sitting of the 5th November 1778. The following year, when the English directed their principal efforts against the southern provinces, he hastened to the defence of Carolina. Detached from General Moultrie's camp with a small number of picked men and a numerous body of militia, to dispute the passage of the bridge of Coosawatchie with the enemy's army, then advancing upon Charlestown, he sustained this perilous enterprize until half his best soldiers had fallen by his side. Himself wounded, he scarcely waited to be cured before reappearing in the American ranks, and again distinguished himself in the unfortunate expedition against Savannah. When the English seriously threatened Charlestown, he shut himself up in that place, which was soon invested by Clinton. The garrison was hardly five thousand strong, and the success of the defence seemed so doubtful that many of the inhabitants loudly declared themselves in favour of surrendering. Laurens declared he would run the first man through who dared to utter the word capitulation, contrary to the opinion of the commandant. When the superior officers were at last convinced of the inutility of prolonging an unequal strife, he yielded to necessity, and became a prisoner of war. Exchanged against an English officer, he was sent to France by Congress as envoy-extraordinary, to represent to Louis XVI. the critical situation of the United States, to ask prompt and efficacious assistance, and particularly to solicit a loan of money, and the assistance of the French

fleet. The success of his mission was so rapid and complete that the reputation of the skilful negotiator thenceforward equalled that of the valiant officer. Conjointly with Franklin, the Count de Vergennes, and the Marquis de Castries, he formed the plan of the decisive campaign of 1781, which brought about Lord Cornwallis's capitulation and the end of the American War. Six months after his departure, he returned, having obtained all he had been desired to ask—a subsidy of six millions, the King of France's guarantee for ten millions borrowed from Holland, the co-operation of a fleet, a powerful reinforcement of troops, the support of distinguished officers, such as the Count de Rochambeau, placed at the head of the French troops, Baron Vioménil, Chevalier Chastellux, the Duke de Laval-Montmorency, Viscount Rochambeau, Count de Saint Mesmes, Viscount de Noailles, Count de Custine, Duke de Castries, Prince de Broglie, Count de Ségur, Duke de Lauzun. The grandson of an obscure refugee led to his country's assistance the representatives of the first nobility of the land of his ancestors. After rendering an account to Congress of the results of his negotiation, he hastened to resume his place amongst Washington's aides-de-camp. As disinterested as he was brave, he refused the considerable indemnity to which he was entitled, and would take but the sum he had actually expended. When, in conformity with the convention entered into at Paris, the armies of France and America laid siege to Yorktown in Virginia; young Laurens, who had just been raised to the rank of colonel, again justified the confidence of his chiefs by one of the most brilliant exploits of that campaign. Two redoubts, about three hundred yards to the front of the left of the British intrenchments, impeded the progress of the Americans and their allies. It was resolved to take them at any price, and, the better to excite the emulation of the combatants, one was allotted to the French, the other

to the Americans. The latter, under Laurens' orders, marched to the assault with unloaded muskets, scaled the palisades, and, attacking the English with the bayonet, were masters of the place in a few minutes. Laurens himself made prisoner the officer commanding the fort, and was so fortunate as to save his life. Meanwhile, the French took the second redoubt, and Cornwallis, after having defended, foot by foot, the approaches to his camp, saw himself compelled to surrender, with a body of eight thousand men. John Laurens was designated by Washington to draw up the articles of capitulation, and, by an odd caprice of fate, the son fixed the conditions upon which a British army became prisoners, at the same moment that the father was closely confined in the Tower of London.

After this great reverse the English rapidly lost all their positions, scarcely retaining anything but Charlestown and some portions of South Carolina, when Colonel Laurens, considering nothing done until the enemy was entirely expelled from American soil, and disdaining even to witness the sight of Cornwallis's surrender, went to share the last dangers that remained to be run for his country's deliverance. Military operations were not yet terminated when he was named deputy to the provincial congress that was to sit at Jacksonborough until the capital of Carolina should be retaken. But he preferred service in the field to political assemblies. He had no sooner fulfilled his duties as a representative than he returned to fight in Green's army. One day that the English made a sortie to revictual Charlestown, at the sound of the musketry he quitted his room, to which he was confined by illness, and followed Brigadier-general Gist, sent with three hundred men to repulse one of their strongest detachments. When the two bodies of troops were only separated by a short interval, he pressed forward with some soldiers, and began the con-

test against superior numbers, in hopes of prompt support. But support came not in time, and, after prodigies of valour, he received a mortal wound, and died on the field of battle, the 27th August 1782. He was hardly twenty-seven years old. An American, a member of the National Congress, David Ramsay, has given a faithful picture of the noble character of this young man, struck down in the hour of triumph, after so many services rendered, so many hopes given, to his fellow-citizens.

“Nature,” he says, “had adorned him with a profusion of her most exquisite gifts, which an excellent education had further embellished and perfected. Although his fortune and his family’s credit gave him right to pre-eminence, he was not the less an ardent friend of republican equality. Generous and liberal, his heart abounded in natural and sincere philanthropy. In his zeal for the rights of humanity, he maintained that liberty was the birthright of every human creature, whatever his country, colour, or capacity. His fascinating address won the hearts of all who knew him ; his sincerity and other virtues assured him their lasting esteem. Acting upon the noblest principles, combining the valour and other qualities of an excellent officer with the knowledge of a profound scholar and the delicate urbanity of a high-bred gentleman, he was the idol of his country, the glory of the army, and an ornament to human nature. His talents were not less remarkable in the legislature and in the cabinet than on the battle-field, and were equal to the highest employments. His country, which admired him, and marked the growth of his rare merit, was ready to invest him with the most distinguished honours. Cut down in the midst of so many bright hopes, he has left men great reason to deplore the calamities of war, which thus deprived society of so precious a citizen, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.”

The name of Manigault, less illustrious than that of

Laurens, deserves, however, to be mentioned amongst the citizens of French origin who contributed to the triumph of American liberty, and thus requited the hospitality shown to their ancestors. Born at Charlestown in 1704, of a family which formerly had inhabited La Rochelle, Gabriel Manigault became one of the richest merchants in America, and by the loyalty of his character, and the nobleness of his sentiments, he so won the public esteem, that, when still young, he was elected representative of his native town in the provincial congress of Carolina. In a second election voices were divided, and the result appeared doubtful, when the workmen went in procession to the voting place, and by their unanimous suffrage again assured his victory. When the American War broke out he was too old to take arms ; but he aided with his fortune the patriots who risked their lives to release their country from the yoke of despotism, and proved his confidence in the national government by lending 220,000 dollars to the State of Carolina. In the month of May 1779, when General Prevost threatened Charlestown, the noble old man, deprived of the support of his only son, who had preceded him into the tomb, could not make up his mind quietly to look on at the victory of the English. He took by the hand his grandson, Joseph, a child of fifteen, and ranged himself with him amongst the volunteers who were going out to fight for their country. This touching act of patriotism was the last proof of attachment he could give to his fellow-citizens. He died two years afterwards, bequeathing to his family an honourably-acquired fortune of 500,000 dollars, and the example of a spotless life.

His son, Gabriel Manigault, was born at Charlestown in 1731. Brought up in England, he returned to Carolina in 1754, there held the office of judge, and was named representative to the provincial congress. His

eloquence and his aptitude for business soon gave him a legitimate influence. Devoted to the interests of his country, he opposed the Stamp Bill and the other encroachments of the British Parliament. In 1766 he was named president of the Carolina assembly, and in that capacity signed several legislative acts, which prepared the insurrectionary movement that occurred nine years later. He would doubtless have been one of the chiefs of the revolution, if a premature end had not removed him at the most brilliant moment of his career. He died at the age of forty-two, in the same year in which the inhabitants of Boston, by throwing a cargo of tea into the sea, provoked the struggle between England and her colonies.

A last fact establishes the considerable share that the descendants of the refugees took in the American Revolution. Of the seven presidents who directed the deliberations of the congress of Philadelphia during the American War, three had French emigrants for ancestors, and all three were distinguished men—Henry Laurens, John Jay, and Elias Boudinot. Failing more precise information, we subjoin a few facts, giving some idea of the high influence exercised by the two latter upon the destinies of the United States.

Born at New York, of a Guienne family, John Jay was deputed to the National Congress which assembled at the beginning of the war with England. In 1774 he signed the act of association of the thirteen provinces to suspend the importation of British merchandize. Afterwards, in 1779, named president of Congress, he was the worthy interpreter of the aspirations of a free people. The pride of antique republicanism, combined with that of modern honour, inspired that eloquent circular he addressed to the electors in the name of the members of the National Assembly, when the success of the English in the southern provinces had discouraged a part of the

population, and brought about the depreciation of the paper money issued at the commencement of the civil war.

“ Friends and fellow-citizens,” he said, “ it is the duty of governments raised upon the generous principles of liberty and equality—where those who guide the State, far from being the masters of those from whom they derive their authority, are the servants of the people—to inform their countrymen of the situation of their affairs, and, by proving to them the propriety of public measures, to induce them to join the influence of inclination to the force of legal obligation to make them succeed. To this all such governments are bound, even in times when perfect peace, order, and tranquillity reign, when the safety of the republic is exposed neither to the force of foreign seduction, nor, within its own bosom, to the effects of faction, treason, or misdirected ambition.”

Then, after detailing the origin of the public debt, and proving that the United States, by their natural wealth, by the value and resources of their territory, would always be able to keep their engagements, he conjured the Americans to resume confidence in themselves and in the government they had founded.

“ We agree that there has been a time when men of honour might, without being accused of timidity, doubt the success of the present revolution, but that time is past. The independence of America is now as fixed as fate, and Great Britain’s violent efforts to overthrow it are as vain and useless as the fury of the waves that break against the rock. Let those whom such doubts still pursue consider the character of our enemies and the state in which they are. Let them remember that we fight against a kingdom which is falling into ruins, against a nation without public virtue, a people sold to its own representatives and betrayed by them, a government which, by violating in the most impious manner the rights of

religion, justice, and humanity, seems to invoke the vengeance of Heaven and renounce the protection of Providence. It is against the fury of these enemies that you successfully contended, when you were alone, unfriended, in the days of national weakness and infancy, before 'your hands were trained to war, or your fingers to the fight.' Is it reasonable to fear that the divine Disposer of human events, after separating us from the house of bondage, and leading us in safety, through a sea of blood, to the promised land of liberty, will leave the work of our political redemption incomplete—that He will suffer us to perish, swallowed up in a sea of difficulties, or allow us to be led back, loaded with chains, into that abode of oppression and tyranny whence His powerful arm has deigned to deliver us? . . . Arouse yourselves then at last; vie with each other in efforts for your country; light up again that flame of patriotism, which burst forth throughout America, menaced with ignominy and slavery, and inflamed all its citizens. Resolve to terminate this quarrel as you began it—with honour and glory. Let it never be said that America became insolvent when as yet hardly independent, or that her lustre and renown were obscured and tarnished at their birth by the violation of engagements and of faith, in the same hour when all the nations of the earth admired, almost adored, the splendour of her dawn."

Like Henry Laurens, John Jay had the honour, when his presidency expired, of representing his country at the court of Louis XVI. He was one of the four United States commissioners who signed, the 30th November 1782, the preliminary articles of the treaty of Versailles, by which England recognized the liberty of her former colonies.

Elias Boudinot was born at Philadelphia, the 2d March 1740, of a French family which had emigrated after the revocation. Intended by his parents for the bar, he distinguished himself as a student, and was soon considered one

of the most eminent juriconsults in Pennsylvania. When the American War broke out, he was chief-justice in New Jersey. Like almost all the descendants of the refugees, he arrayed himself with the patriots. The National Congress appointed him commissary-general of the prisoners. In 1777 he was himself elected member of that great assembly, and became its president in 1782. After the adoption of the constitution, by which, to the present day, those fortunate provinces are ruled, he entered the chamber of representatives, and belonged to it for six years. He was then named director of the mint in lieu of Rittenhouse; but he held this important post only for a few years, and then, weary of public life, went to live in retirement at Burlington, in New Jersey. There, true to the traditions of the French Protestant families, he devoted himself wholly to the great work of the propagation of the Gospel. The American Bible Society, of which he was long president, received constant marks of his munificence. A great number of charitable institutions, and almost all the establishments of public utility, received from him donations in proportion to his immense fortune. Surrounded by the respect and veneration of all, he prolonged his noble and useful career until the month of October 1821.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LITERARY AND MORAL INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES
IN AMERICA.ELIAS PRIOLEAU — CLAUDE-PHILIP DE RICHEBOURG — PROGRESS OF PUBLIC
INSTRUCTION—SUPERIOR POLITENESS—EXAMPLES OF CHARITY.

THE literary influence of the refugees in America was less considerable than their political action; nevertheless it must not be passed entirely unnoticed. It is attested by one of the most notable members of the Episcopal Church in the United States. "The names of the French emigrants," he says, "appear with distinction in the great bodies of the State, on the seats of our tribunals, and in the pulpit."¹ The first pastor of the French church of Charlestown, Elias Prioleau, was not only an eloquent preacher, but a writer of a certain degree of merit. His descendants possess manuscript copies of his works, which show, in the opinion of a distinguished writer, great purity of doctrine, and, at the same time, elegance of style and vigour of mind. Claude-Philip de Richebourg, pastor of the Virginian colony, appears to have been a man of fervent and profound piety, of resignation resembling that of the first Christians in presence of their persecutors, and at the same time of a serious character, strengthened and invigorated by the poverty and misfortune which were his lot in the land of exile. His will, written in French and preserved in the public archives of Charlestown, displays, according to the same writer, the true

¹ Baird, vol. i. p. 179.

spirit of the believer, submissive to the decrees of Providence, firm in faith, and triumphant at the approach of death. In the midst of a people incessantly struggling with the material difficulties of life, the example and the discourse of such men must have disposed all to meditation, to prayer, and, at the same time, to reading and study. Nowhere, it is well known, was the Bible, that sole consolation of so many exiles, more widely spread, nowhere was the whole of society more strongly impregnated with its divine spirit. North America is now not only one of the freest, but one of the most truly Christian countries in the whole world. Public instruction also owed some advancement to the exiles, who looked upon freedom of thought as the noblest attribute of human nature. "In the State which forms our northern frontier," says Bancroft the historian, "the name of the oldest college reminds us of the wise liberality of the descendant of a Huguenot."

A politeness and elegance of manners very superior to those of the inhabitants of English origin, severe morality, constant charity—such were the other qualities by which the refugees won the esteem of their fellow-citizens. The little colony of French Santee became particularly celebrated for the exquisite urbanity of its founders. Thanks to the intolerance of Louis XIV., the French language, and with it all the perfections and refinements of the French society of the seventeenth century, were propagated by them in those distant countries, where the austere and sombre spirit of the Puritans of England had previously almost exclusively reigned. Lawson could not sufficiently praise the courtesy they showed him during his stay amongst them, and touchingly expressed the regret he experienced in quitting "*these good, affable, and affectionate people.*" With the polished manners they had brought from their former country, and which they strove to impart to the Americans, they combined

that rigidity of principles and of conduct of which their persecuted ancestors had set the example in France. "Nobody in America," says an eminent member of the Anglican Church in that country, "need blush to have had some one of those respectable Huguenots amongst his ancestors, for it has more than once been observed, and I believe the remark to be well founded, that nothing was rarer than to see them appear as criminals before a court of justice."

The historian of the United States, Bancroft, also recognizes that moral elevation of which the refugees gave so many proofs in all the countries through which they scattered themselves, and he adds these words, "The children of the French Calvinists have certainly reason greatly to honour the memory of their fathers." They were especially distinguished throughout the whole of the eighteenth century by their sympathy with the suffering classes. Gabriel Manigault, the founder of his family's fortune, was ever ready to succour the poor, and would never be induced to increase his wealth by the slave-trade, then so lucrative. At his death, he left a legacy of £5000 sterling to the society founded at Charlestown for the education of indigent children. The refugee Isaac Mazicq nobly disposed of a part of his patrimony in favour of the religious and charitable institutions of the town in which he resided. The church of Charlestown was more than once the object of the pious liberality of emigrants in Carolina. Isaac Mazicq left it a hundred pounds; Philip Gendron also bequeathed it a portion of his fortune, "to be employed," said he in his will, "for the use of the poor of that church, so long as it shall be of the reformed faith, as at present." On two occasions—in 1740 and 1796—fire destroyed the edifice consecrated to God by the first French fugitives, and on both occasions their descendants hastened to reconstruct it.

CHAPTER V.

ACTUAL STATE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF THE REFUGEES.

PROGRESSIVE FUSION OF THE DESCENDANTS OF THE REFUGEES WITH AMERICAN SOCIETY — DISAPPEARANCE OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE — CHURCH OF CHARLESTOWN.

To this day it is still easy to trace the descendants of the Huguenots in all the provinces of the United States Republic, and particularly in New York, Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas. They are distinguished from the English colonists by their greater sociability and frankness of manner, and by a certain vivacity of character and language that contrasts with British stiffness. It is less easy to recognize them by their names, which have been translated into English, or altered by a vicious pronunciation. As in England, Holland, and Germany, and from the same causes, the descendants of the refugees gradually blended with the society that had welcomed their fathers. Their congregations successively attached themselves either to the Presbyterian, the Episcopalian, or the Dutch Reformed Church. In its turn, the French tongue disappeared, and with it one of the last reminiscences of the country of their ancestors. Nevertheless, in towns where they were sufficiently numerous to possess distinct churches, they adhered longer to the use of their national language. At Boston there still was French preaching at the end of the eighteenth century. At New York, in 1772, divine service was celebrated both in French and in English, although this congregation had long previously joined the Anglican

communion. In a letter addressed in that year by the deacons and elders to the French church in London, which the American Huguenots regarded as a mother-church, they particularly asked for a pastor who could expound the Gospel to them in both languages. The colony of Charlestown has alone retained, to the present day, the Calvinist liturgy in its primitive purity, and the exclusive exercise of public worship in the tongue that its first founders spoke.

BOOK FIFTH.



BOOK FIFTH.

THE REFUGEES IN HOLLAND.

CHAPTER I.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFUGEES IN HOLLAND.

THE WALLOON COLONIES—ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST REFUGEES FROM FRANCE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES—CELEBRATED REFUGEES—MISSION OF AMONET AND SCION—DECLARATION OF THE AMSTERDAM MAGISTRATES (1681)—DECLARATION OF THE STATES OF HOLLAND—GENERAL COLLECTION IN FAVOUR OF THE REFUGEES (1682)—DECLARATION OF THE PROVINCE OF FRIESLAND—THE FUGITIVES FROM SEDAN (1685)—FAGEL'S SPEECH TO THE STATES OF HOLLAND—REPRISALS AGAINST THE CATHOLICS OF ZEALAND—LETTER FROM LOUIS XIV. TO THE COUNT D'AVAUZ—GENERAL FAST ORDERED—POLITICAL MEASURES—RESOLUTION OF THE MAGISTRATES OF MIDDELBURG—RESOLUTION OF THE TOWN OF UTRECHT—RESOLUTION OF THE STATES OF GRONINGEN (1686)—RESOLUTION OF THE PROVINCE OF FRIESLAND.

THE EXILED CLERGY—MEASURES TAKEN IN THEIR FAVOUR—THE MILITARY REFUGEES—CONDUCT OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE—MEASURES TAKEN IN FAVOUR OF THE MILITARY REFUGEES—THE REFUGEE WOMEN: ASYLUMS PROVIDED FOR THEM—ARRIVAL OF RICH REFUGEES—SUMS EXPORTED INTO HOLLAND—COUNT D'AVAUZ'S DESPATCHES—LOUIS XIV.'S REPLY—MISSION OF BONREPAUS—COUNT D'AVAUZ'S SPIES—INCREASING ABUNDANCE OF MONEY IN HOLLAND.

OF THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF REFUGEES—THEIR NUMBERS—FRENCH COLONY AT AMSTERDAM—COLONIES AT ROTTERDAM AND THE HAGUE—COLONIES AT LEYDEN AND HAARLEM—DISPERSION OF THE REFUGEES IN THE SEVEN PROVINCES—THE SIXTY-TWO FRENCH CHURCHES IN 1688—EMIGRATION SUBSEQUENT TO THE YEAR OF THE REVOCATION—EFFORTS OF THE REFUGEES TO OBTAIN THEIR RECALL TO FRANCE—CONCESSION OF CITIZEN'S RIGHTS IN HOLLAND AND WEST FRIESLAND (1709)—DECLARATION BY THE STATES-GENERAL (1715).

As far back as the Middle Ages, Holland was an asylum for refugees from all parts of Europe. But it was especially the religious troubles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that peopled the Dutch territory with numerous exiles.

Under Mary Tudor, more than thirty thousand English, who had embraced the reformed faith, there found shelter. The Thirty Years' War sent thither a crowd of Germans flying before the armies of Wallenstein and of Tilly, and who found upon the banks of the Amstel, the Yssel, and the Rhine, the religious liberty they had in vain implored in their own country. But the most important emigration was that of the Walloons, the Brabanters, and the Flemings, who fled from the tyranny of the Duke of Alba, of Requesens, and of the Prince of Parma. The reformed religion had long found adherents in the Spanish provinces of the Low Countries. The first churches that were *under the cross*, or, as it was also called, *of the secret*, avoided persecution by hiding themselves under mystical names, whose sense was revealed but to the faithful. That of Oudenarde was called the *Fleur-de-lis*; that of Tournay, the *Palm*; that of Antwerp, the *Vine*; that of Mons, the *Olive*. The church of Lille had the *Rose* for its symbol; that of Douai, the *Sheaf*; that of Arras, the *Heart's-ease*. In 1561 they published their Confession of Faith in the French language. In 1563, the deputies of the reformed communities of Flanders, Brabant, Artois, Hainault, united in one body, and held the first synod whose acts have been handed down to us. There was then in the Low Countries an innumerable throng of partisans of the new religion, and this country would perhaps have become the most Protestant in all Europe, but for the torrents of blood shed by the Duke of Alba to maintain the Catholic faith. The general insurrection that ensued, the elevation of William I., the union of Utrecht, the pacification of Ghent, and the memorable acts by which the King of Spain was declared to have forfeited the sovereignty of the northern provinces of the Low Countries, caused thousands of fugitives to flock into these latter. Eagerly welcomed by the States-general, they formed Walloon colonies at Amsterdam in 1578, at

Haarlem in 1579, at Leyden in 1584, at Delft in 1586, at Middelburg in 1579, at Utrecht in 1580, at Dordrecht in 1589. When the Prince of Parma, by his skilful policy as much as by his victories, had replaced the southern provinces under the dominion of Spain, he left the non-Catholic inhabitants the choice between exile and return to the religion of their ancestors. The greater part sold their property, and retired into Holland. Thus were extinguished the last remains of Protestantism in the towns of Tournay, Oudenarde, Malines, Antwerp, Ghent. But if the new religion disappeared from the Spanish provinces of the Low Countries, it flourished with renewed vigour in those of the north, and at Rotterdam in 1605, at Nimeguen in 1621, at Tholen in 1658, new churches arose.

It was natural that the Protestants of France should frequently seek an asylum in a country which welcomed with so much sympathy the Walloon refugees they considered as their brothers. When, in 1585, an edict of Henry III.'s ordered them to be converted to the Catholic faith, or to quit the kingdom within six months, many retired into Holland and joined the Walloon communities, whose language they spoke, and whose faith they shared. After the fall of La Rochelle, the emigration recommenced. It redoubled under Louis XIV., when that prince had promulgated his first edicts against his Protestant subjects. In 1668, Count d'Estrades, on his return from his embassy to the Hague, informed Ruvigny that more than eight hundred families had passed into Holland to escape persecution. From that time forward, and for a whole century, the depopulation of the maritime provinces of western France never ceased, to the great advantage of the Batavian republic. A great number of preachers and men of learning, flying from the perils of all kinds to which they were incessantly exposed, joined, at various periods, the Academy of Leyden, and the

churches founded by the Walloon refugees. The most distinguished were Pierre du Moulin, who for several years occupied a professor's chair at Leyden, and at the same time did duty at the Walloon church; Charles Drelin-court, son of a Parisian pastor, physician to Turenne's army in Flanders, and physician in ordinary to Louis XIV., who retired to Leyden in 1688, was named professor of the university of that town, and subsequently became physician to William of Orange; Moses Charas, the celebrated chemist, whose teaching at the royal garden of plants at Paris had excited so much attention, and whose *Pharmacopeia* had been translated into almost all the languages of Europe;¹ John Polyandre, born at Metz, who exercised, for a long series of years, pastoral functions at the church of Dordrecht, which reckoned him amongst its most eloquent preachers. Etienne Lemoine from Caen, Frederick Spanheim from Geneva, Andrew Rivet and a host of others followed these first emigrants. Precursors of the refugees who left France in 1685, they opened the road to Basnage, Claude, Jurieu, Superville, Huet, Martin, Benoit, Chauffepié, and to him who was to eclipse them all by the superiority of his genius—to Saurin, who was the patriarch of the Refuge, and who contributed more than all the others to induce the Protestants of France to quit *that Babylon drunk with the blood of the faithful*.

From the commencement of the last twenty years of the seventeenth century, the French emigration into Holland assumed the magnitude of a political event. The first *dragonnades* gave the signal. When, in 1681, Louvois' armed missionaries spread themselves through Poitou, all were seized with inexpressible terror, and thousands of refugees set out for that blessed land of Protestant liberty

¹ Charas afterwards returned to Paris, was received into the Academy of Sciences, and died a Catholic in 1698.—*Memoirs of Erman and Réclam*, vol. iv. p. 116.

which, for a century past, had received so many of the persecuted. The Sieur Amonet left Paris for the Hague, to facilitate their settlement in their future country. He first addressed himself to Scion, a Protestant minister, who was in receipt of a pension for services rendered to the State. These two men, animated by an ardent faith, combined their efforts in favour of their unfortunate fellow-countrymen. In a memorial which they drew up, and addressed to the magistrates of the towns, they put forward the powerful reasons which ought to decide the republic to receive the fugitives well, to sustain them at first, to grant them privileges, and especially to aid them to establish manufactures which would one day contribute to the wealth of the country. These considerations forcibly struck Van Beuningen, the chief burgomaster of Amsterdam, and the Sheriffs Hudde, Korver, and Opmeer. They saw all the advantages they might derive from the fatal policy that prevailed in Louis XIV.'s councils. Soon a public declaration informed the refugees that the city of Amsterdam would confer on all who sought asylum within its limits the right of citizenship, that of free exercise of their trades, and an exemption, for the term of three years, from taxes and other ordinary charges of the town; and this however considerable their property might be. Moreover, they were promised advances for the purchase of the tools necessary in their trades, and an undertaking was entered into to purchase all the produce of their manufactures, so long as they should stand in need of public assistance. The States of Holland followed the example of Amsterdam. By declaration made the 25th September 1681, they exempted the refugees who should settle in that province from all imposts for the space of twelve years.

In these public acts in favour of the oppressed Protestants, the Amsterdam magistrate and the States of Holland had avoided mentioning the name of France.

The recollection of the invasion of 1672, to which the insolence of some newspaper writers had served as a pretext, was present to all minds, and the republic carefully avoided all that could wound the jealous susceptibility of Louis XIV. The end desired was not the less attained, for within a week after the promulgation of the last decree, all the Protestants in France were informed of it. On the arrival of the first fugitives, and at their recital of their sufferings, a cry of indignation arose throughout all Holland. The name of Marillac, who headed the *dragonnades* in Poitou, was never uttered but with horror. The recent edict permitting the children of Huguenots to embrace, at seven years of age, the Catholic religion, further added to the public anger. "The irritation is extreme in all the towns, and especially in Amsterdam," wrote Count d'Avaux to his government. The edict was translated into Dutch, and circulated in every province. At night, in the streets, lamentations were chaunted to move the compassion of the people. So great became the exasperation that the Prince of Orange, who had in vain opposed the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen, thought the moment come to act openly, and to satisfy his implacable hatred to Louis XIV. At his instigation the Grand Pensionary Fagel proposed to the States of Holland to order a general collection in favour of the French Protestants who had taken refuge in that province. This proposition, made the 3d December 1682, was adopted the same day, and immediately executed. The Protestants still in France were informed that part of the sums thus collected would be kept for the relief of those who should thereafter ask asylum of the republic. That year's rigorous winter enabled a great number of new emigrants to escape more easily from their oppressors, by taking advantage of the ice to reach Amsterdam. Amongst them was the son of Claude, who was on his return from a pastoral tour in

France, and who settled for ever in Holland. The sight of these unfortunates roused public opinion, and so revived religious hatred that there was talk of expelling the Catholic priests; and but for the energetic remonstrances of Fagel, a cruel persecution would have been avenged by reprisals no less unjust and odious.

The province of Friesland, always renowned for its love of liberty, had not waited for the example set by Holland in 1681. On the 7th May of that memorable year it had offered an asylum to the refugees, promising them all the rights enjoyed by the natives. On the following 16th October, it exempted them for twelve years from all imposts. These two decrees preceded the arrival of the fugitives. Thanks to the generous reception they found, their numbers rapidly increased; and when, on the 4th August 1683, a considerable number again presented themselves, the chief magistrate granted them various privileges, and distributed lands to all who undertook to cultivate them. The refugees who settled in Friesland were almost all rich proprietors or agriculturists. The manufacturers and artisans preferred the large towns as a residence, and the merchants the seaport towns.

The progress of the persecution in France soon gave a new impulse to the emigration. According as Louis XIV.'s ordinances increased in rigour, and as the revocation of Henry IV.'s edict became more imminent, the Huguenots departed in greater numbers from the land where they were so cruelly treated. When, in July 1685, they were forbidden to exercise their religion at Sedan, a crowd of fugitive families repaired to Maestricht, and joined the Walloon community, founded in that town in 1632, dispersed in 1672 during the French occupation, and re-established there since the peace of Nimeguen.

About a month before the revocation, on the 20th September 1685, the Pensionary Fagel addressed to the

States of Holland an energetic speech, in which he reminded them of all that their ancestors had suffered in defence of their religion, and of the assistance they themselves had thitherto given to the refugees. He wound up by a touching picture of the persecution of the Protestants in France. His eloquent words found an echo in every heart. "I must not conceal from your majesty," wrote Count d'Avaux, "that all the deputies of the towns have been very much animated by his discourse in favour of those of their religion, especially when he said that the Dutch residents in France could not quit it, or withdraw their property, although they were not naturalised Frenchmen." A commission was named to present a report to the assembly on the measures proper to be adopted. Remonstrances were addressed to the representative of Louis XIV., and instructions sent to the Dutch ambassador at Paris to complain to the king of the iniquitous proceedings of his government. These representations were not without their effect. The French monarch declared to Count Staremberg that he had no intention of retaining subjects of the States-general against their will, and that passports should be given to all those amongst them who desired to sell their property and quit the kingdom. The deep irritation produced by Fagel's speech was nevertheless heightened by news from France announcing the progress of the persecution. In Zealand it was so violent that the States of that province shut the Catholic churches, drove away the priests, forbidding them under pain of death to return, and ordered a great number of families to sell their property and quit the country. For a moment there was fear that the provinces of Gelderland, Friesland, and Groningen would follow the example of Zealand. Fortunately nothing of the kind occurred. Not only did the barbarous act find no imitators, but the expelled Catholics were kindly welcomed at Rotterdam, notwithstanding that city's zeal for the Pro-

testant religion. The magistrates of Amsterdam, true to the great principle of religious liberty, showed themselves no less generous towards these victims of their co-religionists' intolerance; but at the same time they manifested a growing sympathy with the fugitives of their own faith. To the three French preachers, whom they had till then supported, they added five others in 1685, thus preparing future comforters for the fresh exiles whom the revocation of the edict of Nantes was soon to collect within their walls.

Count d'Avaux had long feigned ignorance of the cruel measures of his government. He denied the persecution, or taxed the narratives of the fugitives with exaggeration. But soon dissimulation was no longer possible, and all disguise fell when Louis XIV. himself wrote to his ambassador at the Hague (the 18th October 1685), announcing to him the revocation of his ancestor's edict. "I am very glad to tell you," he wrote, "that God having given all the good success I could desire to the pains I have so long taken to bring back all my subjects to the bosom of the church, and the advices I daily receive of an infinite number of conversions leaving no reason to doubt that the more obstinate will follow the example of the others, I have forbidden any exercise in my kingdom of the so-called reformed religion, by an edict, of which I send you a copy for your private instruction. It will be forthwith presented in all my parliaments; and there will be the less difficulty in its execution that there will be few persons so obstinate as to persist in remaining in error."

This decisive act aroused public sympathy in favour of the Protestants of France. In all the provinces and towns collections were made for the assistance of the poor amongst the refugees; everywhere measures were taken to receive them, and to render tolerable the voluntary exile they so courageously encountered. The repre-

sentatives of the Seven Provinces, united in a national assembly, prescribed a general fast for Wednesday, 21st November 1685. All Protestants were invited to thank God for the grace he showed them in enabling them to serve him freely, and to supplicate Him, at the same time, to soften the heart of the king who inflicted such cruel persecution on the faithful. Upon that solemn day all business was suspended; three sermons were preached in every church; and care was taken to select, in almost every instance, refugee ministers, in order that, themselves being afflicted, they might find in their own sufferings pathetic inspirations calculated to strike the people, and to produce a profound impression upon their hearers.

Political measures followed these demonstrations of religious sympathy. On the 24th October 1685, the magistrates of Middelburg, in Zealand, announced in the papers that those refugees who settled in their towns should be exempt for ten years from all taxes. On the 16th November the burgomasters of the town of Utrecht advertised that all who sought an asylum there should be naturalized citizens, and pay no taxes for twelve years. A similar resolution was adopted the 5th February 1686, by the States of Groningen and of the Ommelands of Groningen. The province of Friesland distinguished itself amongst all others by the numerous and important privileges it granted to the refugees. It moreover ordered a general collection, whose produce was divided amongst the poorest. The towns of Holland vied with each other in generosity; and such was the liberal and truly Christian spirit of that country, that not only persons of the reformed communion, but Lutherans, Anabaptists, and even Catholics were seen to contribute to the relief of the fugitives.

The French preachers who first arrived were especially the objects of public solicitude. In the single year of the revocation, more than two hundred and fifty sought shel-

ter on the free soil of the United Provinces. Everywhere measures were taken for their support. On the 21st December 1685, the States of Holland allotted to their use an annual sum of 12,000 florins, increased, a month later, to 25,000. Pensions were bestowed upon seventy of them, who were distributed through the various towns of the province. The married ministers received a stipend of 400 florins, the unmarried of 200. Four new pastors were attached to the Walloon community of Amsterdam. The States of Zealand voted 4000 florins for those who should settle on their island. They fixed the annual allowance of the married clergy at 400 florins, and of the others at 300 florins. Moreover, they allowed an indemnity of 200 florins to every town that should receive a refugee minister amongst its pastors.

The Prince of Orange attached to his person two preachers, from the church of Paris, whose names were celebrated amongst the Protestants. He added 600 florins to the pension of 1400 allowed by the States to Claude, as historiographer of Holland. Ménard, at first placed as minister at the Hague, became chaplain to the future King of England. But it was especially to the gentlemen and the military that the prince granted his powerful protection. Sensible of all the benefit he might one day derive from this multitude of veteran officers, who had just quitted France, eager for revenge upon their persecutors, he proposed to raise two new regiments, in order to give them employment until the time should arrive for an expedition against James II. But the States, who still feared his warlike projects, would not consent to augment the army. They met with equal coldness his demand for a fund to pay the French officers. Exclusively occupied with the care of reducing the heavy imposts that weighed upon the country, they opposed all measures that would have entailed fresh expenses. Irritated by these delays, and dreading the departure of

these chosen troops for England or Brandenburg, the prince had it publicly proclaimed at the Hague that he would himself pay the expenses of all the military refugees. This step put an end to the hesitation of the States. They found funds to pension a large number of gentlemen, until such time as vacancies should permit their incorporation with the armies of the republic. Nevertheless, with a last remnant of deference for Louis XIV., they took this money from the secret-service money of the ambassadors. Thus did the Prince of Orange succeed in retaining the French officers in Holland. Gradually he distributed them in the army, with promise of promotion. The colonels received 1800 livres, the lieutenant-colonels 1300, the majors 1100, the captains 900, the lieutenants 500, the ensigns and cadets 400.¹ Soon afterwards he obtained the formation of several companies of cadets. The first, composed of fifty young gentlemen, was placed in garrison at Utrecht. Finally, the States, yielding to his reiterated importunity, set apart a special fund, which was afterwards increased, and ultimately amounted to 180,000 florins per annum, for the French refugee officers; or, as the Count d'Avaux expressed it, for the French officers who had deserted.

The women found a generous protectress in the Princess of Orange. She chose several whom she attached to her person as maids of honour, and herself provided for the education of the younger ones. Houses of refuge for them had been founded by rich families belonging to the emigration; the princess took them under her patronage. Thanks to her generous support, more than a hundred women of noble birth, after having lost all they possessed in France, after having seen their fathers or husbands dragged to prison, found shelter in these establishments, prepared for them at Haarlem, Delft, the Hague,

¹ The proportion of the money of France to that of Holland was as 6 to 5; that is to say, that 6 French livres were equal to 5 Dutch.—Count d'Avaux, Despatch of the 27th December 1685.

and Harderwick, by the generous foresight of those who had preceded them in the land of exile. Madame de Danjeau exercised this hospitality in the houses she directed at the Hague and Schiedam ; Madame de Soustelle at Rotterdam ; Marie Du Moulin at Haarlem. The house at Haarlem, founded by the Marquis de Venours, was reserved exclusively for noble maidens, each of whom was to contribute to the common stock a sum of 4000 florins. The burgomasters exempted it for three years from all taxes, and the States of Holland completed this act of national munificence by an annual gift of 2000 florins. At Amsterdam, the magistrate assigned to the Marquis of Venours a vast property, which received a similar destination, and served, at the same time, as a retreat for the widows of the refugee clergy. At the Hague, an old convent was converted into an establishment for the women. A boarding-school, established at Noot for young ladies of quality, received from the Princess of Orange an annual subsidy of 2000 florins. All these pious asylums, created or protected by that illustrious princess, were placed by her under the superintendance of Marie Du Moulin. When the English Parliament had awarded her the crown, she did not forget them ; and Mademoiselle de la Moussaye, Turenne's niece, was often the dispenser of her bounty.

The State thus assisted all the poorer part of the refugees ; but a great number had no need of public assistance ; and it was with odious subtlety that Count d'Avaux's spies spread the report, that most of them were reduced to seek snails in the woods, and to roast them, for want of bread. Many of the refugees had succeeded in saving some remains of their fortune. Those who had been in most haste had certainly often sold their property for a mere trifle ; but the wisest waited a while, in order to get rid of it upon more advantageous terms. A wine-merchant of Paris, named Mariet, thus saved a fortune

of 600,000 livres, and retired into Holland with a false passport, which afterwards served for fifteen of his friends. A bookseller of Lyons, named Gaylen, established himself in Amsterdam with more than 1,000,000 livres. His brother, who lived in Paris, had preceded him with 100,000 livres. The emigration of the principal traders and merchants did not take place till 1687 and 1688. Most of them, natives of Normandy, Brittany, Poitou, and Guienne, embarked in ships of their own, and landed in Dutch ports, with sometimes more than 300,000 crowns in gold ingots or in coin. One of the first merchants of Rouen, named Cossard, thus went and settled at the Hague, after realizing all his fortune. More than two hundred and forty traders belonging to the same town followed him to Holland, or went to England, taking their wealth with them. "It seems," wrote Count d'Avaux, "that those who are richest now begin to quit the kingdom." As early as 1685, more than twenty millions had been taken out of France, and Count d'Avaux informed Louis XIV. of it. Perhaps he hoped the French government would desist from the disastrous course it had adopted. In 1687, he was so alarmed that he ventured to make representations to the king. "I should think myself wanting in my duty, sire," he wrote, "if I did not give you an account of what comes to my knowledge, and concerns the good of your service. It is certain that most of those who, for some time past, have left the kingdom, have done so merely in consequence of different imprisonments made in a few provinces; as, for instance, the detention of some persons at Alençon made the Sieur Cossard apprehend similar treatment, although he is of Rouen, where they are completely tranquil. And I again venture to take the liberty to say to your majesty, that if the new converts throughout the kingdom were treated in the manner in which they are treated in Paris, at Rouen, and under your majesty's

eyes, not one-half would have left." The blinded monarch made this strange reply : " The desertion of my newly-converted subjects is the effect of a wounded imagination, and the remedy that might be applied would be still worse than the evil. Thus we must wait until Divine goodness makes this disorder to cease, it having, perhaps, been permitted only to purge my kingdom of bad and indocile subjects."

Attempts were made to bring back to France a certain number of the refugees. The Marquis of Bonrepaus was intrusted with this delicate mission, which succeeded no better in Holland than in England. On his part, Count d'Avaux succeeded in diminishing the exportation of money from the kingdom by paying skilful agents, who insinuated themselves into the confidence of the fugitives, learned their secrets, and informed him of the preparations of Protestant families intending to emigrate. One Tillières, whom he designates in his despatches under the name of giver of advices, welcomed all the poor Protestants so generously that they looked upon him as their father ; to some he distributed money, others he established in ways suited to their trade or condition. He founded a little colony at Voorburg, in an agreeable and fertile country, between Delft, Leyden, and the Hague ; he built a church there, and by that means won the esteem and confidence of all the refugees. Count d'Avaux also employed one Blanquet at Brussels, a certain John Noel, to whom he held out hopes of the release of a friend held captive in France, a Sieur Vallemont at Amsterdam, Le Boutelier, Foran, Danois, and several others who served him as spies ; and, thanks to their venal information, hundreds of unfortunate persons, arrested on the frontiers of Flanders, or as they were about to embark, were dragged away to the galleys. But the Prince of Orange had a strict watch kept upon the palace of the ambassador, whose manœuvres he

divined. Tillières, surrounded one day in his house, defended himself with the desperation of a bandit against the soldiers who came to seize him, and perished in the contest. Foran and Danois, recognized on the Amsterdam Exchange, were warned in time by a refugee from La Rochelle, who saved their lives by generously facilitating their flight to the Hague, where they found an inviolable asylum at the hotel of the French embassy. To prevent their accomplices from continuing their machinations, the newspapers were forbidden to publish news concerning the refugees, and especially the means they had employed to escape from their persecutors. This prohibition was scrupulously observed, and it partly explains the few certain data that have reached us as to the number and exact period of the arrival of the many families that emigrated into Holland.

Count d'Avaux could oppose but a feeble barrier to the emigration. It lasted a long time, as well as the export of specie. The following facts will give an idea of the extreme abundance of money it caused in the United Provinces.

In 1679, the city of Amsterdam had reduced from 4 to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent the rate of interest it paid its creditors. In 1684, it again diminished the interest, which was lowered from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent, offering to pay off at par all who refused to accept the decreased rate. The rich refugees, nevertheless, continued to prefer this investment to any other; so much so, that in 1686 the city inscribed life annuities to their account for a capital of 150,000 florins. In 1687, it was difficult to get more than 2 per cent for money in Amsterdam. At Rotterdam, in the year 1685, the treasury procured an authorisation to receive all the sums the refugees chose to intrust to the town, and to pay them an equitable interest, so long as they dwelt within its walls. In Friesland, Le Noir de Monfreton and some of his fellow-exiles offered to the

States of the Province, in 1686, a capital of a million, for which they asked but the current interest. Thus the wealth of the refugees served to raise the public credit, and compensated the temporary sacrifices Holland imposed upon herself to relieve the needy.

In 1709, the children of Paul Bennelle, a French refugee in Amsterdam, drew up a memorial by which they showed that the subjects of Louis XIV. had already received more than 1,400,000 florins, inherited from their relations deceased in the Low Countries. On the 23d October of the same year, the States-general decreed that in future the King of France's subjects should not inherit from relatives who died upon Dutch territory. This decree was justified by the circumstance that in France the right of reciprocity guaranteed by the treaty of Nimeguen was not observed in this respect. For several years the republic alone inherited the property (often very considerable) of defunct refugees. The peace of Utrecht put an end to these unjust reprisals, and the natural order of succession was re-established in both countries.

Of what elements were the body of French emigrants to Holland composed? What were the men whom France rejected from her bosom, and who soon were so energetically to influence the destinies of the people that received them?

In the first rank figured about two hundred and fifty pastors, well-informed and zealous men. Several amongst them bore names still celebrated. There was Ménard, who became preacher to the court of William III.; Claude, deemed worthy to contend with Bossuet; Jurieu, whose fiery letters filled with remorse the souls of the Protestants who had remained in France, and announced, in prophetic terms, the approaching fall of Rome; Basnage, illustrious on so many grounds, and to whom the misfortunes of those of his creed suggested that fine book

in which he describes the wandering state of the ancient people of God upon earth ; Martin, who made an elegant and correct translation of the Bible, that sole treasure of so many exiles ; Superville, the author of a catechism still used in Holland ; Benoit, who wrote the history of the revocation ; Du Bose, who described in such affecting terms the signs by which are recognized the children of God, comparing the misfortunes of the refugees to those of the first Christians. These were really banished and proscribed men. Driven from France by a royal order, by returning thither they would incur the punishment of death. It had been sought to separate the pastors from their flocks ; they met again in the land of exile.

To the clergy must be added a great number of gentlemen, chiefly from the south of France ; brave officers, who reproached themselves with an apostasy imposed by military discipline ; rich and able merchants from Amiens, Rouen, Bordeaux, and especially from Nantes, so cruelly dealt with in the *dragonnades* ; artisans from Brittany and Normandy ; agriculturists from Provence, from the coasts of Languedoc, from Roussillon and Guienne ; finally, workmen from all parts of France, most of them Protestants, some Catholics, but whom attachment to their masters induced to abandon their country. Thus were met together, upon the hospitable banks of the Amstel, Pierre Baille, the richest manufacturer of Clermont-Lodève ; Pineau of Nismes, Dinant Laures of Nantes, celebrated manufacturers, by whose skill and invention Holland was thenceforward to benefit ; Goulon, Vauban's rival in glory ; gentlemen of high birth, common artisans, celebrated ministers.

Of all the countries that served as asylums to the refugees, none received more numerous swarms than the republic of Holland. Bayle calls it the *Great Ark of the Fugitives*. No document exists enabling us exactly

to compute their number. The Abbé de Caveirac, who is not suspected of exaggeration, estimated it at fifty-five thousand. An agent of Count d'Avaux, admitted into the confidence of Claude, and of the principal chiefs of the Refuge, wrote in 1686 that the lists of the voluntary exiles from France amounted to nearly seventy-five thousand men. But the emigration continued several years longer, and the number of the fugitives so increased towards the end of the seventeenth century, that in 1698 the States-general entreated the King of Sweden, Charles XII., to take charge of any new emigrants that might come, and to give them lands in his German provinces. "The United Provinces," they wrote to that prince, "are so encumbered with them, that they cannot support a greater number."¹ The towns in which the largest number of fugitives established themselves were Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and the Hague. At Amsterdam, in the month of March 1684, a year and a-half before the revocation, there were already more than two thousand, and many others had left for the colony of Surinam. They were men belonging to all classes of society—men of letters and men of the sword, laymen and pastors, traders and artisans, manufacturers and sailors. There were amongst them especially skilful workmen, several of whom exercised crafts previously unknown in Holland. This first colony rapidly increased. In 1685, Count St Didier wrote to Louis XIV. that there were five thousand refugees in Rotterdam, and *a much larger number in Amsterdam*. From that period the French deacons of this town constantly maintained two thousand poor—new arrivals replacing those who became able to provide for themselves. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the colony amounted to fourteen thousand or

¹ "Nostra quidem terra, quæ tam angustis circumscibitur limitibus, tot repleta est ex Gallia religionis causa profugis, ut plures alere nequeat."—See Kœnen, p. 96, note.

fifteen thousand persons, most of whom were settled in the part of the town called the *Jardin* (garden), and which to the present day is called *Jordan*. They decked out the streets and quays with roses, pinks, eglantine, and other flowers. Some took up their abode in the quarter of the *New Plantation*, and in that of the *Nordsche Bosch*, which now includes the quays of the *Réguliers* and *Mortiers*, North Street, Cross North Street, and Tanners' Street.

It is impossible to determine more exactly the number of the refugees who went to Rotterdam and the Hague ; everything induces a belief, however, that it was not much inferior to that of those who went to Amsterdam. At Leyden and Haarlem, which became the two principal centres of their manufacturing industry, they formed colonies that never ceased to augment during the fifteen last years of the seventeenth century. In the first of these two towns the quarter of Hovgewoerd was enlarged for their accommodation. In the second they almost entirely peopled the Faubourg of Nieuwstad, begun in 1672, and whose previously inconsiderable population amounted in 1722 to nearly forty thousand souls. Others settled at Delft, Gouda, Schoonhoven, Schiedam, Briel, Dordrecht. We may estimate the relative importance of these groups of refugees by the number of pastors allotted to them. In 1686, the States of Holland, on the proposition of the Walloon synod, decided to allow stipends to sixteen at Amsterdam, seven at Dordrecht, seven at Haarlem, six at Delft, eight at Leyden, five at Gouda. The towns of Schiedam, Schoonhoven, and Briel received two each. In Zealand the refugees dispersed themselves in the towns of Middelburg, Flushing, Thøelen, Goes, Veere, and Zirik-see. At Middelburg, between 1685 and 1693, five hundred and sixty-two Frenchmen were admitted to burgher's rights. Less numerous colonies were formed at Sluys, at Walcheren,

at Groede, Ardenburg, Cadsand. West Friesland attracted them less; cattle-breeding, ship-building, and fishing, the chief means of existence of the inhabitants of that province, little suited them. In East Friesland they were distributed through the towns of Leeuwarden, Franeker, Harlingen, Bolsward, Sneek, where they joined old Walloon communities, and in the large village of Balk, where they formed a congregation of their own. The States of Groningen allowed eleven preachers to those who established themselves in their province. In the town of Groningen itself a flourishing colony was also formed, but its origin was anterior to the revocation.

The northern provinces, Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Groningen were particularly resorted to by those fugitives who came by sea. Those who came by land preferred to settle in the southern provinces, such as Gelderland, where the towns of Arnheim, Nimeguen, and Zutphen attracted a great number, and Overyssel, where many took up their residence at Zwolle and Deventer. At Utrecht they founded a colony, directed by two ministers. That of Maestricht consisted, in 1687, of five hundred and fifty heads of families, almost all from the Sedanais. In North Brabant, French communities formed themselves at Bois-le-Duc, and in villages of the ancient barony of Breda. This little territory, which belonged to the house of Orange, served as an asylum to a great many Protestant refugees from the town of Orange, whom that prince received with marked favour. In 1688 the United Provinces reckoned sixty-two churches, founded or considerably increased by the refugees. Thus had a new class of citizens joined that previously existing, upon which it exercised a happy and durable influence.

The establishment of the French Protestants in the United Provinces dates from the first persecutions leading to the revocation, and ends about the year 1715, when the States-general granted letters of naturalisa-

tion to all the new citizens. During this interval three partial emigrations were added to the great emigration of 1685. First, the devastation of the Palatinate in 1689 compelled a multitude of families who had been for three years settled in that province to move on into Holland. Then, when in 1703 Louis XIV. took possession of the principality of Orange, and prohibited Protestantism within its limits, many of the faithful departed thence into the Low Countries. Finally, when the peace of Utrecht had replaced Lille and its territory under French domination, numerous Protestant families who had freely exercised their religion under the protection of the armies of the coalition, joined the French communities of the United Provinces.

For a long time the refugees persisted in hoping that Henry IV.'s edict would be re-established, and themselves recalled to France. They reckoned on the intercession of the Protestant powers, and, at the time of the conferences of Ryswick, the French clergy in London entered into correspondence with Jurieu, with whom they desired to work in concert for the attainment of this great end. But imperious political considerations proved fatal to this attempt to restore a native land to so many banished men. Notwithstanding the urgent entreaties of the pastors of Rotterdam, the new King of England and the States-general of Holland did but feebly press the matter upon Louis XIV., who repelled their interference in the internal affairs of his kingdom, and refused even to discuss a proposition which he deemed contrary to his royal prerogative. The humble supplication of the refugees in London, with which was associated that of those in the United Provinces, was no better received by the persecuting monarch. A memorial presented to the ministers-plenipotentiary of France, on the eve of the signature of the treaty, by the representatives of the Protestant princes of Germany, was equally unsuccessful.

Louis XIV.'s reverses during the war of the Spanish Succession afforded a last glimmering of hope to the refugees. When, in 1709, the Marquis de Torey bore proposals of peace to the Hague, they again entreated the States-general to interfere in their favour. A memorial, drawn up by the Marquis de Rochemore, was placed in the hands of a commission charged to report upon it to the National Assembly. But the exactions of the allies caused the failure of the conferences opened at the Hague and at Gertruydenberg. The refugees renewed their claims, ever less listened to, at the time of the negotiations which led to the treaty of Utrecht, but they were rejected with the same firmness as at the peace of Ryswick, and all hope of return to France finally vanished.

But if Catholic France showed herself without bowels of compassion for her proscribed children, in Holland they found a new country, which ended by solemnly adopting them, and abolishing all distinction between them and its own citizens. The rights of citizenship were conferred in three ways, and were of three degrees. Sometimes the foreigners admitted to their enjoyment were authorised only to exercise their trades, without being received into the corporations; in other cases they were allowed to enter into commercial transactions; the most favoured received full rights of burghership, and were eligible, after a residence of a certain number of years, to all public employments. Foreign Jews were placed in the lowest grade of this hierarchy of unequal rights, the French refugees in the second; and when the distinction between the greater and lesser burghership had been suppressed in some towns, the refugees there found themselves on a footing of perfect equality with the natives. In 1625, a Frenchman, expatriated for religion's sake, was naturalised a Dutchman. He was the first of his countrymen to whom this occurred. In 1687, a Rochellese, named Pierre Brevet, received the same

favour. In 1709, the same year in which Queen Anne naturalised all the refugees in England, the States of Holland and West Friesland adopted a similar resolution, and granted the title of citizens to all who had settled in those two provinces. The motives for this great resolution deserve to be noted in this work. "Considering," they said, "that the prosperity of States is in proportion to the greater number of their citizens, and that these provinces, more than any others, have seen their wealth increased by the arrival of Frenchmen driven from their own country for their attachment to our common faith—considering that they have caused commerce and manufactures to flourish, and that their conduct has long entitled them to the most favourable treatment—that consequently it is just that they should be in all respects assimilated to other citizens, we declare them naturalised Dutchmen." The representative assembly of Gelderland adopted, in the same year, a similar resolution, and in 1710 Zealand followed the example. Finally, in 1715, the States-general, grounding themselves on the terms of the decree of 1709, extended its benefits to all the provinces of the republic. Thus was all distinction between the old and new citizens completely effaced, excepting that these latter still retained certain privileges that had been granted to them in the early years of the emigration. These privileges were successively abolished in the interval between 1690 and 1720, but power was left to the burgomasters of Amsterdam to grant similar favours, for a limited time, to any new fugitives who might seek an asylum in the United Provinces.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES IN HOLLAND.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE ORANGE PARTY—COUNT D'AVAUX'S POLICY—EFFECT UPON THE PUBLIC MIND OF THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES—DECREASING INFLUENCE OF COUNT D'AVAUX—INCREASING INFLUENCE OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE—PART TAKEN BY THE REFUGEES IN THE COALITION OF 1689—BROUSSON—MORAL SUPPORT GIVEN BY THE REFUGEES TO THE PRINCE OF ORANGE'S EXPEDITION TO ENGLAND—JURIEU—PECUNIARY SUPPORT—MILITARY SUPPORT—OATH TAKEN BY THE MILITARY REFUGEES—SERVICES RENDERED BY THE REFUGEES IN THE DUTCH ARMIES—GENERAL BELCASTEL—OTHER OFFICERS OF NOTE—NAVAL OFFICERS—SERVICES RENDERED TO THE DUTCH NAVY—THE SONS OF ADMIRAL DUQUESNE—POLITICAL WRITINGS OF THE REFUGEES—JACQUES BASNAGE: HIS RELATIONS WITH THE DUKE OF ORLEANS.

IN Holland, as in England and Germany, the refugees exercised a powerful influence with respect to politics and war, literature and religion, manufactures and commerce. We will endeavour to define their claims under these three different points of view.

Contrary to all expectation, the Dutch republic had survived the formidable invasion of 1672. More powerful than John de Witt, more skilful than Van Beuningen, the Prince of Orange had arrested the progress of Louis XIV. This general, only twenty-two years of age, who, as a commencement to his career, undertook to make head against the greatest king in the world, concealed, under an appearance of physical weakness, an energetic mind and an indomitable will. In him was revived the cool obstinacy of his grandfather the Taciturn, Philip II.'s adversary, the founder of the liberties of the United Provinces. He hated France as his ancestor had hated Spain. It is positively affirmed, that at the peace of

Nimeguen, when he attempted to surprise Marshal Luxemburg at Mons, he was already informed of the conclusion of the treaty, but desired to break it off at any cost, and to rekindle war between France and combined Europe.

For the first time Louis XIV. had found an adversary worthy of him. The close union between the republic and the Stadtholder had created a barrier sufficiently strong to limit his conquests. Accordingly, all the efforts of the French government were directed to the rupture of that union. This was the great task imposed upon Count d'Avaux, when he was sent in 1679 as ambassador to the Hague. Two parties then disputed the direction of affairs in Holland: the republican party, formed of the remnant of the partisans of the brothers de Witt, and of all those who had been dispossessed of power in 1672, and the Stadtholder party, devoted to the house of Orange. The first, numerically small, but supported by the richest merchants of Amsterdam, desired the maintenance of peace with Louis XIV., and the re-establishment of the old traditional understanding between France and the Low Countries. The Prince of Orange, on the contrary, sought to form an alliance between the Dutch republic and England, liberated from the yoke of the Stuarts, in order thus to establish the basis of a new European coalition against the French monarch. Whilst awaiting the propitious moment for the success of this bold policy, he endeavoured to gain over to his views the most important members of the States-general, by representing to them the alliance between the two countries as a guarantee given to the treaty of Nimeguen. He carefully concealed from them his ulterior designs; above all, he surrounded with impenetrable mystery his views upon the throne of Great Britain. Whilst he thus manœuvred, Count d'Avaux strove, with rare skill, to form a French party in the assembly that

presided over the destinies of Holland. Working upon the political tendencies of the republicans, he spared neither promises nor money, and succeeded in gaining over several of the most influential deputies. He offered as much as two millions of florins to the Councillor-pensionary Fagel, the most devoted friend of the Prince of Orange, to induce him to espouse his master's interests ; but Fagel's fidelity was not to be shaken. The powerful and respected magistrate of Amsterdam had a marked preponderance in the assembly of the States of the province of Holland, whose example was almost always followed by the other provinces. Count d'Avaux neglected nothing to gain him over. The better to succeed, he acted only occultly, and skilfully disguised the odious features of the part he played. Soon a serious opposition was formed in the assembly of the States-general, and more than once the prince witnessed the rejection of propositions conformable to the European policy he was labouring to get accepted, conformable also to the true interests of Holland, but which required, on the part of that little country, and especially of the commercial city of Amsterdam, sacrifices that all were not alike disposed to offer upon their country's altar. The selfishness natural to the more fortunate classes, and the local feeling inherent in federal States, served as a lever to the French ambassador ; and although he did not always use it to the best advantage, yet, in proportion as the prince's policy assumed a bolder and more personal character, he gained ground. Already he thought himself sure of victory, and perhaps his persevering efforts were really on the eve of a triumph, when an unexpected event broke the chain of his long intrigues. This event was the work of Louis XIV. himself, who was so strongly interested to support his representative, but whose habitual clear-sightedness was then obscured by the pursuit of a chimera—the religious unity of his kingdom.

The correspondence of Count d'Avaux conclusively proves the bitter vexation with which that skilful diplomatist saw all the fruit of his negotiations and secret manœuvres utterly destroyed by the impression produced by news of the persecution in France, and by the arrival of living testimony to the intolerance of Louis XIV. Upon the 24th July 1681, he had already written, referring to the edict concerning the children of the Protestants : “ This edict has caused no little change, especially in the sentiments of the Frieslanders—so much so, that M. de Haren, who had always been friendly to France, and had openly opposed the Prince of Orange, said, in the assembly of the States-general, that since it is the intention in France entirely to ruin their religion, measures can no longer be kept with her. . . . He pointed out in private to the deputies of Friesland and Groningen, that although it be against their interest to submit to England and to the Prince of Orange, nevertheless, since the destruction of their religion is determined on in France, they must end by allying themselves with Charles II., and that he is confident of bringing over the province of Friesland to the same opinion within three weeks . . . I was informed of this discourse, and of this change in M. de Haren, by two deputies of Friesland and Groningen. That obliged me to go to him. I broached the subject of religion, and of what was being done in France with respect to it ; but, say what I would to prove to him that His Majesty was doing nothing contrary to the edict of Nantes, and although I tried in every way to make him speak out, all I could get from him was, that the king was master in his own kingdom, and could do what he pleased there.”¹

The 9th March 1685, he wrote to Louis XIV. : “ I have discovered to-day that they are working to reconcile the Prince of Orange and the Prince of Nassau. The

¹ Count d'Avaux's Negotiations, vol. i. p. 152-3.

minister Vandervaye, who has always been so opposed to such reconciliation, has been for the last two days very secretly at the Hague. The means taken to make this man act are founded upon what is passing in France with respect to the so-called reformed religion.”¹ Upon the 22d March he added: “The affairs of the Huguenots of France have caused vexation to some persons in Amsterdam, but they have not yet made sufficient impression on the minds of the government of that city to induce it to alter its line of conduct. I am nevertheless obliged to tell your majesty that the preachers, and the reports sent hither from France, breed so much bitterness, that I know not what will come of it in the end.”²

The magistrates of the town of Leyden were opposed to the Prince of Orange. The revocation of the edict of Nantes made them change their views. After long hesitation the burgomasters of Amsterdam followed the example of those of Leyden. “They gave it to be understood,” wrote the Count d’Avaux, “that it was the affairs of the Huguenots of France that had induced their reconciliation with the Prince of Orange. It is true that such was the motive of some amongst them, who were most zealous for their religion. It is certain that it served also as a pretext to the weakness of some others, who were not sorry to avail themselves of the opportunity, seeing that the public, excited by the declamation of the French ministers, and by the false reports of the refugees, testified a great animosity.”³

The report spread by the Prince of Orange that Louis XIV. demanded the extradition of all the Huguenots who had taken refuge in the Seven Provinces, influenced even the election of burgomaster of Amsterdam, which took place a few months later. “Amongst the four burgomasters of Amsterdam,” wrote Count d’Avaux

¹ Count d’Avaux’s Negotiations, vol. iv. p. 294-295.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iv. p. 319-320.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. v. p. 191.

on this head, "the two new ones, who were perhaps the two best that could be chosen, have the fault of being very zealous for their religion, to such a point that one of them said, three weeks before, to one of his friends, that he had always been of opinion that the republic could not subsist without a close alliance with France, but that now that he sees how those of his religion are treated, he will be the first to take quite opposite measures."¹

On the 10th June 1688, at the very moment that Louis XIV. was preparing to move his armies to the Rhine, in hopes of thus preventing the Prince of Orange from quitting Holland to dethrone his father-in-law, Count d'Avaux sent him this significant despatch: "I am obliged to tell your majesty that it is much to be feared the Prince of Orange will get assistance from the States-general, which formerly he would not have had. But he has made such good use of the pretext of religion, and the fugitives from France have so animated the Calvinists of this country, that it is too much to hope that the States will follow their true interests, *as they formerly would have done.*"²

It thus is proved that the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the *dragonnades* which preceded and followed that fatal measure, counteracted the astute calculations of the French ambassador at the Hague. The disunion he had fomented disappeared before the imminence of the peril that menaced at one and the same time the reformed religion in France, England, and Holland; and the happy concord of all classes of the nation was re-established by the prince who was considered the representative and defender of the Protestant church, and the implacable antagonist of the persecuting monarch. His mind tranquil on this score, William of Orange was at liberty to pursue a loftier object.

¹ Count d'Avaux's Negotiations, vol. v. p. 231-232.

² Despatch of the 10th June 1688; Archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

It does not enter into the plan of this work to detail the means by the aid of which the prince prepared, for ten years, with the patient confidence that true genius inspires, his accession to the throne of England. We shall content ourselves with exhibiting the part the refugees took in that event.

William of Orange was the real author of the League of Augsburg, which prepared the European coalition of 1689. But the first idea of that League belongs to a refugee—to Brousson, settled at Lausanne, and deputed by his companions in exile to the Protestant powers of northern Europe. He put himself in communication with the Pensionary Fagel, with the Prince of Orange, and with the Elector Frederick-William. It was at Berlin that he imparted to the two princes the plan of a Protestant confederation against Louis XIV., and from this project issued the League of Augsburg, which united in a bond of common resistance the Reformed and the Catholic States, alike alarmed by the King of France's ambition, and indignant at the conquests he had just accomplished, in a time of profound peace, in virtue of the decisions of his chambers of reunion. When all Europe had agreed to oppose a barrier to the flood of invasion—when the Pope had become the ally of Holland, Denmark of Austria, Sweden of Savoy, Saxony of Bavaria, Brandenburg of Spain—William of Orange no longer hesitated to embark to overthrow James II., and to rid England of a detested government.

It was in the month of April 1688 that Count d'Avaux first obtained information of the understanding existing between the prince and the chiefs of the French emigrants in England. According to all appearance, Jurieu was William's principal channel of communication. That ardent preacher, who was at the same time a man of resolution and action, had passed a part of his youth in England. The violence of his writings against Charles II.

and the Duke of York had drawn upon him the attention of the prince to whom the fiery divine looked for the deliverance of Great Britain. Excited by him, the refugees in London prepared by their discourse the success of William's projects. The narratives of their sufferings passed from mouth to mouth, inspired the English with lively apprehensions and an unspeakable horror of the designs attributed to James II. In vain did this prince affect to disapprove Louis XIV.'s intolerant policy—in vain did he appear disposed to succour those fugitives who had need of public assistance. None were deceived by these apparent marks of sympathy, so contrary to his real sentiments—so opposed especially to the rigorous measures he had decreed against the Scotch Presbyterians. Moreover, he himself threw off the mask when he caused to be burned, by the hangman's hand, Claude's temperate and touching narrative of the persecution of the French Protestants. The refugees established in Holland manifested the same antipathy to James II. They spread doubts (affected or sincere) of the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales' birth, and thus helped the Prince of Orange to profit by the adroit falsehood which was one of the pretexts of his expedition. They further facilitated his enterprise by the large sums they circulated in the country. "The States of Holland," wrote Count d'Avaux in 1688, "consented, upon the remonstrances of the Prince of Orange, to grant four millions to be employed in the fortification of Amsterdam. The burgomasters, who desired that this money should be well employed, and that the Prince of Orange should not be able to make any bad use of it, took all possible precautions to that end. They inserted in the resolution, that the levy of these four millions should be distributed over four years; that each year, before raising the million, it should be decided to what purpose it should be applied, and the places should be designated for whose fortification

it was to be used. But the Duke of Orange and Pensionary Fagel eluded all these precautions. As there was great abundance of money in Holland, and as the French refugees had brought thither a great quantity, he so managed that the receiver-general of the States-general, who, according to the resolution of the States, was to take but one million, did not close his office till he had accepted the whole four; and he declared to the States-general that the concourse had been so great that he had not had time to know what he was about. The Prince of Orange and Fagel prevented harm coming to him from this affair. They merely ordered him to keep the money, and these four millions served the prince for part of the expense of his expedition to England.”¹ The ambassador of France added, in one of his subsequent despatches, that of these four millions about five hundred thousand crowns had been supplied by the refugees.

The flower of the little army with which the prince landed at Torbay was also composed of French emigrants. A large number of officers of the regiment of fusileers in garrison at Strasburg; of the regiment of Burgundy, garrisoned in the same city; of that of Auvergne, divided between Metz and Verdun; of officers, and even of private soldiers, proceeding from Lille, Quesnoy, and the frontier towns in general, had sought an asylum in Holland, and the States-general, at the Stadtholder's request, had distributed them in the principal fortresses. There were companies composed almost entirely of Frenchmen at Breda, under Captains La Berlière, Pralon, d'Auteuil, Desparon, Loupie, La Pesrine; at Maestricht, under the colonel of cavalry, de Boncourt, and under Captains de Boncourt junior, Du Bac, Marsilly, Falantin; at Bergen-op-Zoom, under Captain St Germain; at Bois-le-Duc, under Captains Cormon, Fugni, Rieutor, La Méric; at Zutphen, under Captains Dortoux, Ronset, Malboix,

¹ Count d'Avaux's Negotiations, vol. vi. p. 132-134.

Blanchefort ; at Nimeguen, under Captains Belcastel, d'Avejan, de Maricourt, d'Entragues, de St Sauveur ; at Arnheim, under Captains de Montant, Monpas, Chalais, and La Rambillière ; at Grave, under Captain Cabrole ; at Utrecht, under Captains Gastine, de l'Isle, Villé, Traversy, de Chavernay, Rapin ; at the Hague, under Captains Petit, Monbrun, de Jaucourt, de Fabrice. All these officers had entered the Dutch service. Several had previously stipulated that they should not be required to fight against France. Although fugitives and reputed deserters, according to military law, they yet did not hold themselves entirely released from the oath of fidelity they had taken to Louis XIV. Thence frequent duels between those who, preferring their religion to their country, bitterly blamed the persecuting king, and those who maintained that a French officer ought never, under any circumstance or pretext, to fail in the respect due to his legitimate sovereign. The Prince of Orange openly protected those whose views chimed in with his policy, and sheltered them from the effects of the prosecutions directed against them by the Dutch tribunals. But, feeling the necessity of crushing in the bud these incipient dissensions, and of giving a new direction to the sentiment of honour and fidelity that animated these loyal exiles, he imposed upon them an oath by which they bound themselves to serve the republic against all her enemies. This oath, intended to de-naturalize them, by breaking the last link that attached them to France, was thus conceived :—

“ I promise and swear to be loyal and faithful to my Lords the States-general of the United Provinces ; to obey the orders and commands of the said States, of his highness, and of the Council of State, as also of all chiefs and officers, already named as such, or who may hereafter be named by the States-general, or by authority from them, against all in general, without excepting whomsoever it may be, according as the affairs and need of the said Pro-

vinces may require it, both in and out of the country, by land and by sea ; to respect and execute their commands ; and generally to be guided by the articles and ordinances already made, or which may be made, with respect to the employment I hold.—So help me God.”¹

We have elsewhere related that three French regiments of infantry, a squadron of cavalry, and seven hundred and thirty-six Protestant officers distributed through all the battalions, embarked with the Prince of Orange, and powerfully contributed to the triumph of his cause in England, Scotland, and Ireland. When the Revolution was accomplished in the three kingdoms, William III. returned to the Continent to continue the war against Louis XIV. The refugees followed him thither, and continued to serve with the same valour and fidelity. A regiment commanded by the Marquis de Ruvigny fought under his orders at Steinkirk and Neerwinden. A division, under Charles de Schomberg, was sent to the assistance of the Duke of Savoy against the army of Catinat. The Dutch troops became more and more officered by Frenchmen, who covered themselves with glory in that bloody war, to which the treaty of Ryswick put an end. Peace restored, the French regiments were disbanded ; but they were hastily re-formed in 1703, when the war of the Spanish succession again set Europe in a flame. Two regiments of infantry, composed entirely of refugees, fought in Piedmont, under the orders of La Porte and Cavalier ; three others in Holland, under the command of Belcastel, afterwards replaced by Montèze, de Lislemaetz, and de Viçouse. They contributed to the victory of the allies on the bloody day of Oudenarde, and on that of Malplaquet, which reduced Louis XIV. to sue for peace, and to consent to the humiliating conditions of the preliminaries of the Hague, which the coalition had the folly to refuse. Whilst

¹ *Groot Plakaatboek*, vol. iv. fo. 165.

Prince Eugene took possession of Lille, and the road to Paris was open to the enemy, a Dutch party, commanded by refugee officers, had the boldness to push forward from Courtrai to the gates of Versailles, and to carry off, upon the bridge of Sèvres, the king's first equerry.

When the allied powers at last made up their minds to assist the Camisards, they selected Belcastel to direct the expedition. Named major-general in a conference held at the Hague on the 28th April 1704, in the Duke of Marlborough's quarters, he received orders to raise a body of five thousand men, with which he was to make his way into the Cevennes. Cavalier's submission made this project miscarry. The arrest of one of Belcastel's principal officers, named Villas, son of a physician at St Hippolyte, and who had served as cornet in Galloway's regiment, made him abandon all further attempts at organizing a rising in Languedoc; but he continued to serve under the banner of the republic, and in 1710 he received command of the Dutch troops in Spain. He distinguished himself at the battle of Saragossa, which cost Philip V. five thousand dead, four thousand prisoners, and sixteen pieces of artillery. It was partly through his entreaties that Charles III. made up his mind to march on Madrid, which Louis XIV.'s grandson abandoned, for the second time, on the 9th September, but which the allies were forced to evacuate in their turn on the 18th of the following November. Some days afterwards occurred the celebrated battle of Villaviciosa, won by Vendôme, where Belcastel was killed.

Amongst the officers who remained in the Dutch service, after having fought under the flag of William III., one of the most illustrious was Goulon, that distinguished pupil of Vauban, who had been so useful to Marshal Schomberg during the war in Ireland. As general of artillery and commander of the regiment of Hoorn, he maintained his high reputation. The other refugees

who most signalized themselves in the armies of the republic are—Baron d'Ivoi, quartermaster-general and first engineer of the Prince of Orange, who made him governor of the fort of Schenck ; Jacques de l'Etang, a celebrated architect and engineer, who afterwards settled at Amsterdam ; Collot d'Eseury, an artillery officer of great merit ; Mauregnault, equally distinguished in the same arm ; Paul-Augustus de Rochebrune, son-in-law of Barbeyrac, captain, afterwards lieutenant-colonel ; Paul du Ry, an officer of engineers, who repaired the fortifications of Maestricht. The military refugees powerfully contributed to improve the art of war amongst the Dutch and their allies. The French engineers especially, who proceeded from the schools recently established by Louvois, were then superior to those of all other nations, and the knowledge which those who emigrated disseminated in the Protestant States was not without its influence on some of the victories which the allied powers afterwards obtained over the armies of Louis XIV.

A great number of men-of-war's-men and naval officers, after having been constrained to external acts of Catholicism, quitted the French service for that of Holland. In the month of January 1686, three French vessels, having put into Dutch ports, were forthwith entirely deserted by their newly-converted crews, who declared they would not return to a country where their religion was proscribed. All the Dutch writers acknowledge the considerable share our sailors had in improving the naval art in their new country. Admiral Duquesne was one of the most skilful seamen of his century. More than any other he had seconded Colbert's efforts to create those formidable fleets which beat De Ruyter in the waters of Sicily, chastised the corsairs of Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, bombarded Genoa, and for thirty years gave the empire of the sea to Louis XIV. After the revocation he beheld, with gloomy despair, the king's

ships gradually deserted by a portion of their best sailors, who went to Holland, where they were most welcome, that country being then richer in merchantmen than in ships of war. In 1686 more than eight hundred experienced mariners had already gone to the United Provinces, and their numbers continually increased, because they preferred the Dutch service to that of England, then governed by the Stuarts. Often, after taking temporary shelter at Plymouth, they re-embarked for some Dutch port. When the Prince of Orange made his preparations to attack James II., on the island of Zealand alone one hundred and fifty French sailors were enlisted, forming part of the great levy of nine thousand sailors ordered by the States-general. They were placed, as picked men, on board the admiral's and vice-admiral's ships. Most of them, natives of the coast of Saintonge, had come to Zealand under the guidance of the minister Orillar, and they announced that more than five hundred seamen from the same French province were preparing to follow them. The coasts of Normandy, Brittany, and Guienne also largely contributed to this emigration, much to be regretted by France, since it was one of the causes of the rapid decline of her naval power. Many of these fugitives were made officers or midshipmen, and Holland had more than once occasion to be grateful for the services of such men as Colin de Plessy, Créqui la Roche, Francis Leguat, Anthony Valteau, Chobases, Guillot, Desherbiers. But the most distinguished sailors whom persecution drove into that country were the two sons of the admiral whom Louis XIV., making an exception to the severity of the edicts, had allowed to end his days in France, unmolested on account of his religion. Henry, Marquis Duquesne, who had been associated in the councils and last great naval victories of his father, was accompanied by his brother Abraham, and by an excellent naval officer, named Charles de Sailly. By a regular

treaty with the States-general, signed in 1689, he was authorized to equip ten vessels, to convey a colony of refugees to the Mascarenhas islands. The sovereignty of the colony was to be his, and to descend at his death to his legitimate heirs, on condition that each new possessor should acknowledge himself a vassal of the republic, and should never conclude any treaty or alliance that might prejudice his *suzerain*. Soon great preparations announced to all the refugees dispersed in Holland, England, Switzerland, and Germany, the approaching departure of an expedition directed against a distant country vaguely designated under the name of Eden. A certain number of fugitives presented themselves, resolved to risk the enterprise. Stephen de Frégodière, a captain in a French regiment in the service of the United Provinces, was authorized to accompany the expeditionary corps as engineer, to fortify the island, and remain there six years, retaining his rank in the army. But when the brothers Duquesne learned that the expedition was in reality directed against the island of Bourbon, and that ships of war were leaving France for the same destination, they abandoned the project, in order not to violate their oath never to make war upon the French flag. They quitted their comrades, and retired into the canton of Vaud, whilst most of the sailors enrolled under their command went on board the Dutch fleet, and fought against that of Louis XIV.

The refugees served the republic by their political writings, and by the diplomatic talents of one of the most illustrious amongst them. Whilst the great Arnaud published attacks upon the Prince of Orange, perhaps to facilitate his return to France, whence the influence of the Jesuits had obtained his banishment, the prince's rights were ably defended by some of the refugees, who at the same time exposed the intrigues of the powerful order which exercised so fatal an influence over Louis XIV.

and James II. When Bayle accused all France of having shared in the persecution of the Protestants—when, addressing the soldiers who had been victorious over their countrymen in their campaigns in the interior of France, he exclaimed, with his southern vivacity—“ They say that you take such pleasure in seeing the heretics’ houses ransacked, that you already ask one another, ‘ Shall we not urge the king to send us with his victorious armies to convert all the Protestant States?—shall we not go and help the King of England to do in his kingdom what has just been done in this?’ ”—did he not serve the cause of Holland and that of William of Orange? Did he not revive the hatred against Louis XIV., and give new strength to those who were preparing to fight against him? Claude’s celebrated publication, composed, if Count d’Avaux is to be believed, by the express order of the Prince of Orange, was it not a heavy blow dealt to the King of England, who revenged himself in so puerile a fashion? The *Soupirs de la France esclave*, attributed to Jurieu, did it not add to the moral influence of the philosophical party in France, which was opposed to the persecution—a party as yet little numerous, but which comprised several illustrious thinkers, the Dukes de Beauvilliers and Chevreuse, St Simon, Fénelon, Vauban, Catinat? The political and religious reaction experienced at the death of Louis XIV., and the new system followed by the regent, had they not been partly prepared by that fervid publication, which, notwithstanding the jealous vigilance of the police, circulated throughout all France, and which was reprinted, as the work of a patriot, in the first years of the French Revolution?

But, of all the refugees, it was Jurieu’s brother-in-law, Jacques Basnage, who shone in the first rank as a diplomatist, and who acquired a European reputation, not only by his writings and discourses, but also by the negotiations which he directed with equal skill and suc-

cess. Appointed, in the first instance, preacher at Rotterdam, he was soon called to the Hague by the Grand Pensionary Heinsius, who appreciated his political genius, and desired to have him nearer to his person.

Voltaire has said of Basnage that he was better suited to be minister of State than of a parish. Heinsius and Van Haren, who, after the death of William of Orange, were dominant in the councils of the republic, intrusted him with several important missions, whose result invariably justified the confidence they reposed in him. Once only, in 1709, at the conference of Gertruydenberg, he failed in his efforts to bring about peace, which the allies, intoxicated with their triumphs, did not sincerely desire; and he witnessed with grief the rejection of the request he addressed to Louis XIV.'s plenipotentiaries for the restoration of liberty of worship to those Protestants who had not quitted the kingdom. At the conferences of Utrecht he was intrusted with a secret negotiation with Marshal Uxelles, and he accomplished it with brilliant success. The marshal's praise of him, that of the Marquis de Torey, and the high opinion formed of him by Cardinal de Bouillon, who confided to him, during his residence at the Hague, all the affairs of which he treated with the States, drew upon Basnage the notice of the regent, who soon gave him a singular mark of his consideration and esteem. When, in 1716, he sent the Abbé Dubois, afterwards cardinal and prime-minister, as ambassador to the Hague, to negotiate a treaty of defensive alliance between France, England, and Holland, he directed him to address himself to Basnage, and to be guided in all things by his advice. The exile's heart had not grown cold towards his country. He zealously seconded the French negotiator, and the alliance was concluded in 1717. The discernment he had shown, and the disinterestedness that had guided him, determined the regent to remove, of his own accord, the sequestration that for thirty-two years

had rested upon his property. When Dubois asked him, in his master's name, what recompense he desired for the service he had rendered : " None for myself," he replied, " but I should esteem it a great favour if they would restore to my brother, Samuel Basnage of Flottemanville, preacher at the French church at Zutphen, the property he possessed in Normandy."¹ Lemontey insinuates, in his *History of the Regency*, that Basnage let himself be won over by Dubois, and that he acted as he did in hopes of a stipulated remuneration. The supposition is wholly inadmissible. Refuted by the recognized integrity of the noble exile, it is formally contradicted by the irrefragable testimony of Dubois himself.² It is more probable that the regent tried to attach him to him by the ties of gratitude, so as to reserve the right of making another appeal to his patriotism, should an occasion present itself, as it soon afterwards did. The regent had reason to fear that the intrigues of Alberoni, who aspired to play the part of Richelieu, and to restore to Spain its former power, might induce the Protestants of the Cevennes to take up arms again, and to rekindle the terrible war of the Camisards. In his uneasiness, he sent a gentleman to the Hague, and addressed him to Basnage, whose assistance he asked for the maintenance of peace in France. Basnage put the French government in communication with Anthony Court, one of the preachers in the desert, who, by his active correspondence, by the authority attached to his words, and by frequent visitations undertaken, at the peril of his life, in the southern provinces of France, exercised unbounded influence over

¹ Born at Bayeux, in 1638, Samuel Basnage of Flottemanville did duty in the church of that town until 1685. He accompanied his father, Anthony Basnage of Flottemanville, to Holland. Anthony was brother to Henry Basnage of Franquenay, father of Jacques Basnage, and died pastor of Zutphen in 1721. Samuel was, therefore, the cousin and not the brother of Jacques Basnage. The denomination of brother, in the mouth of the latter, is to be taken in a purely Christian sense.

² See Dubois' letter to Basnage, inserted in the preface to the second volume of the *Annals of the United Provinces*. The Hague, 1726.

the Protestant population, and could, at his will, soothe them to submission or rouse them to revolt. Imbued with Calvin's doctrines of passive obedience, Basnage had severely condemned the insurrection of the mountaineers of the Cévennes, whilst Jurieu justified it upon principles of natural right. Moreover, another civil war, fomented by the agents of Philip V.'s minister, could but further aggravate the lot of the Cévenols. Basnage felt this, and, uniting his efforts with those of Anthony Court, at the admonition of the Count de Morville, French ambassador in Holland, and at the express entreaty of the regent, he addressed to those of his religion in France a pastoral admonition, which was printed in Paris, by order of the Duke of Orleans, and circulated in all the provinces of the kingdom, especially in the south. This letter, written with tact and moderation, powerfully aided the work of conciliation commenced by Anthony Court. The Protestant population of Languedoc and the Cévennes abandoned the idea of an unequal struggle, which could be profitable only to the foreigner, and the French government, in return, put a salutary curb on the pitiless zeal of the successors of the Montrevels and the Bâvilles.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY INFLUENCE OF THE
REFUGEES IN HOLLAND.

THE OLD WALLOON COLONIES—INFLUENCE OF THE FRENCH PREACHERS: JACQUES SAURIN, CLAUDE, JURIEU, DU BOSQ, SUPERVILLE—INCREASED USE OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN HOLLAND—PROGRESS OF EDUCATION AMONGST THE MIDDLE CLASSES—THE FRENCHMAN AS A REFUGEE—PROGRESS OF LITERATURE AND SCIENCE—INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES ON CIVIL AND CRIMINAL LAW—ADVANCE OF THE EXACT SCIENCES—PIERRE LYONNET—LITERARY EMIGRANTS: BAYLE—PROGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCE: JACQUES BASNAGE, BENOÎT, JANIÇON—PERIODICAL LITERATURE—FRENCH NEWSPAPERS—LETTERS ON CURRENT SUBJECTS—HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL MERCURY—LEYDEN GAZETTE—LITERARY JOURNALISM—NEWS FROM THE REPUBLIC OF LETTERS.

SINCE the revocation of the edict of Nantes, Calvinist France, deprived of its academies, no longer possessed either great writers or the means of forming new ones. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, whole provinces were without either temples or pastors. Others only possessed ministers of little education, irregularly appointed by assemblies in the desert, and less commendable for their oratorical talents than for the indomitable zeal which made them brave martyrdom. But a colony of preachers and of learned men had passed into Holland. There they found liberty and repose, honour and respect, and thence they unceasingly laboured to maintain the faith and to diffuse enlightenment in the unfortunate country they had been compelled to abandon. From the time of the *dragonnades* to that of Louis XVI., Holland was the most ardent focus of French Protestantism, whose rays were darted thence into France, Germany, and England. But it was upon the United Provinces

themselves that its action was most powerful. There it renovated the Walloon church; propagated, or at least accelerated the propagation of, the French tongue; and communicated to literature and science a salutary impulse, felt in that country to the present day.

The Walloon communities, created in the second half of the sixteenth century, and which had a rapidly increasing tendency to lose their distinctive character, and to blend with the Netherlanders, were revived and reanimated by the arrival of the refugees. The colonies of Rotterdam, Nimeguen, and Tholen, about to disappear, owed to them their preservation. That of Amsterdam had been sufficiently numerous and strong to defend its nationality against the invading flood of the Dutch language; but it was increased and strengthened by the arrival of so many thousand new fugitives.

Before the revocation, the Walloon communities lacked pastors. Louis XIV.'s government amply supplied this want. The colony of Amsterdam alone received sixteen exiled preachers, whilst more than two hundred others spread themselves through all the towns of the United Provinces. They were the élite of the Protestant clergy of France; for, it must here be said, a certain number of ministers had yielded to seductions and snares, and had embraced the Catholic religion, in order not to quit their country. Those who resigned themselves to exile were firm and courageous men, who had resisted promises and menaces, and who thenceforward added the authority of their example to the weight of their words. Sprung, for the most part, from noble families, or from the higher ranks of the *bourgeoisie*, they were equally accustomed to intercourse with great people and with small. By birth equal to the former, they knew how to place themselves, by a natural and easy familiarity, on a level with the latter; and they performed their pastoral duties with a conscientious dignity to which the old Walloon congregations

were unaccustomed. During the whole of the eighteenth century, in all the towns where French refugees or their descendants were met with, the names of those exiled ministers were never uttered but with respect and veneration.

The influence they exercised on the style of preaching constituted their first title to honour. To appreciate its extent, it suffices to compare their discourses with those of the Walloon or Dutch pastors. The difference is immense. In France, pulpit eloquence had reached the highest degree of perfection in both of the two churches that disputed the empire of man's conscience, and several of the exiled ministers were hardly inferior to Bossuet, and certainly superior to Massillon, Bourdaloue, and Fléchier. The Walloon communities had no orators to compare to them. The Dutch style of preaching was learned, but monotonous, and deficient in animation. Accordingly, the French churches were frequented not only by the refugees, but also by the descendants of the Walloon families, and by all those Dutch who knew French, and to whom education had given a certain purity of literary taste. In many towns, the magistrates almost regularly attended the French service. A number of Dutch even joined the French communities, thus compensating the losses occasioned to the new colonies by the desertion of those of their members who attached themselves to the national church.

The superiority of French preaching was long maintained,—thanks, perhaps, to a custom peculiar to the churches of the Refuge in the United Provinces. The office of pastor was there habitually handed down from father to son, and tended to become hereditary in the same families. Thus were formed, as with the Hebrews of old, sacerdotal races,—the *Chaufepiés* from Poitou, the *Mouniers* from Perigord, the *Delprats* from Montauban, the *Saurins* from Nismes. A large number of pastors, the

issue of these illustrious ancestors, filled in succession the pulpits of Amsterdam, the Hague, Rotterdam, Leyden, Haarlem, and contributed to maintain the fame given to those churches by the talent of their first founders. Their distance from their former country, and the impossibility of taking for models the great lights of the French Catholic church, rendered them, in the long-run, inferior to their predecessors. But, previous to this tardy decline, a complete revolution had taken place in Walloon and Dutch preaching, which formed itself completely on the pattern of that of France, and afterwards maintained a high rank.

The most brilliant orator of the Refuge, Jacques Saurin, belongs to the second period of the emigration. Born at Nismes in 1677, he followed his father to Geneva, and quitted the grave studies he had commenced in that town to enter, at the age of fifteen, a regiment raised by the Marquis de Ruvigny for the service of the Duke of Savoy, then engaged in the European coalition against Louis XIV. After that prince's defection, he returned to Geneva, and completed his religious education. The young student's oratorical exercises early attracted numerous auditors : one day it was found necessary to open the cathedral to the crowd that had flocked to hear him. He had but just taken orders when he was named minister of the French Protestant church in London. He took the celebrated Tillotson for his model, and, by so doing, perfected the admirable talents nature had bestowed upon him. It was then, perhaps, that Abbadie, hearing him for the first time, exclaimed, "Is it a man or an angel who speaks?" Summoned to the Hague in 1705, with the title of minister extraordinary of the French community of nobles, he preached there with immense success. By the extent of his knowledge, the elevation of his thoughts, the fervour of his imagination, the strength of his arguments, his luminous method of exposition, the purity of his style,

the appropriateness and vigour of his expressions, he produced the liveliest impression on the crowds of refugees who thronged his temple—far too small to contain them. The élite of the Dutch population of that town, the Heinsius, the Van Harens, the statesmen who then held in their hands the destinies of Europe, hurried to hear him, and to add their approving testimony to that of the French. The serenity of his noble countenance, the clearness of his sonorous and thrilling voice, even his mixture of Genevese fervour and of southern ardour, all contributed to enrapture the numerous auditors who flocked to his sermons.

Saurin excelled especially in those solemn prayers by which he loved to close his discourses. He displayed in them a gift of supplication previously unexampled. It may be judged of by a celebrated passage of his discourse on *passing devotions*, delivered on New-year's-day, 1710. On arriving at the peroration, he forms wishes for all classes of his auditors—for the magistrates of the republic, the ambassadors of allied powers, the ministers of the church, fathers and mothers of families, military men, young people, old men, refugees, and for the monarch who is the author of so many calamities. This passage, we think, deserves to be classed amongst the most perfect masterpieces of sacred eloquence.

“After having heard our exhortations, receive our wishes. First, I turn towards the walls of that palace, where are formed those laws of equity and justice which are the glory and felicity of these provinces. . . . Fosters of the church, our masters and our sovereigns, may God give strength to the power you sustain with so much glory! May God maintain in your hands the reins of that republic which you guide with such wisdom and gentleness! . . .

“To you also I turn, illustrious persons, who represent in these provinces the chief heads of the Christian

world, and who display, in some sort, in the midst of this assembly, princes, electors, republics, kings; may God open all His treasures in favour of those sacred men, who are gods upon earth, and whose august character you bear; and, that they may worthily sustain the weight of supreme power, may God preserve to them ministers such as you are, knowing how to make the sovereign authority at once loved and feared! . . .

“ We bless you also, holy Levites of the Lord, ambassadors of the King of kings, ministers of the new alliance, who bear written on your brows *Holiness to the Lord*, and upon your breasts *the names of the children of Israel*.¹ And you, leaders of this flock, who are as associated with us in the work of the ministry, may it please God to animate you with the zeal of His house! . . .

“ Receive our wishes, fathers and mothers of families, happy to see yourselves born again in your children, happier still to bring into the assembly of the first-born those whom you brought into this valley of misery! God grant that you may make of your houses sanctuaries of His glory, and of your children offerings to Him who is *the Father of spirits, and the God of all flesh*!²

“ Receive our wishes, men of war, ye who, after so many combats, are called to new combats still; who, after escaping so many perils, behold a new career of perils open before you: may the God of battles for ever combat on your side! May you see victory constantly attached to your steps! May you, whilst prostrating your foe, exemplify that maxim of the wise man, that *he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city*.³

“ Receive our wishes, young men: may you for ever be preserved from the contagion of this world, into which you have just entered! May you devote to your salva-

¹ Exod. xxviii. 29 and 36.

² Heb. xii. 9; Numb. xvi. 22.

³ Prov. xvi. 32.

tion the precious time vouchsafed to you! May you be mindful of your *Creator in the days of your youth!*¹

“Receive our wishes, old people, who have already a foot in the grave—let us rather say already *your heart* in heaven, *there where your treasure is.*² May you behold *the inward man renewed*, even as the *outward man perishes!*³ May you see the weakness of your body repaired by the strength of your soul, and the gates of the eternal tabernacles open when the house of dust shall crumble to its foundations!

“Receive our wishes, desolated lands, which for so many years have been the bloody theatre of the bloodiest war that ever was: may the sword of the Eternal, drunk with so much blood, at last *put up itself into its scabbard!*⁴ May the exterminating angel, who ravages your plains, at last desist from his sanguinary executions! . . . May the dew of heaven succeed to the rain of blood that for so many years has covered you!

“Are our wishes exhausted? Alas! in this day of joy, should we forget our sorrows? Happy inhabitants of these provinces, so often importuned by the narrative of our miseries, we rejoice in your prosperity—will you refuse your compassion to our woes? And you, *brands plucked out of the burning,*⁵ sad and venerable ruins of our unhappy churches, my dear brothers, whom the misfortunes of the times have cast upon these shores, are we to forget the unfortunate remains of our own body? Groans of captives, sobbing priests, weeping virgins, solemn festivals interrupted, the paths of Zion covered with mourning, apostates, martyrs, bloody sights and sad complaints, move the hearts of all this audience! *If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above*

¹ Eccles. xii. 1.

² Matt. vi. 21.

³ 2 Cor. iv. 16.

⁴ Jer. xlvii. 6.

⁵ Amos, iv. 11.

*my chief joy. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sakes I now will say, Peace be within thee.*¹ May God be touched, if not by the ardour of our wishes, at least by the excess of our misery ; if not by the disasters of our fortune, at least by the desolation of our sanctuaries ; if not by these bodies that we drag wearily through the world, at least by these souls of which they deprive us."

This reference to the persecution of the Protestants of France leads back his thoughts to the persecuting monarch. For an instant he pauses. The silence and attention are redoubled. A cry of anger is expected ; but religion arrests the malediction already hovering on his lips, and replaces it by words of pardon, and by a sublime prayer :

" And thou, formidable prince whom I once honoured as my king, and whom I still respect as the scourge of the Lord, thou also shalt have share in my wishes. These provinces which you threaten, but which the arm of the Eternal sustains ; these climes that you people with fugitives, but with fugitives whom charity animates ; these walls which contain a thousand martyrs whom you have made, but whom faith renders triumphant, shall yet resound with benedictions on your head. May God remove the fatal bandage that hides the truth from your sight ! May God forget the rivers of blood with which you have covered the earth, and that your reign has seen shed ! May God efface from His book the evil you have done us, and, whilst recompensing those who have suffered, pardon those whose work their sufferings have been ! God grant, that after having been for us, for the church, the minister of His judgments, you may be the dispenser of His grace and the minister of His mercies !

" To you I return, my brethren ; I include you all in my wishes ! May God cause His Spirit to descend on

¹ Psalms cxxxvii. 5, 6 ; cxxii. 7, 8.

this assembly ! God grant that for us all this year may be a year of love, a preparation for eternity . . . But it suffices not to wish for these good things, they must be sought at the fountain-head. It suffices not that a mortal man has formed wishes in your favour, their ratification must be implored of *the blessed and only God*;¹ you must go to the throne of God Himself, wrestle with Him, urge Him with your tears and our prayers, and not *suffer Him to go till he has blessed us*. Magistrates, people, soldiers, citizens, pastors, flock, come, let us bow the knee before the monarch of the world ! And you, flights of birds, gnawing cares, earthly troubles, begone and disturb not our sacrifice.”²

Often the refugees were given up to discouragement and despair. They doubted of Providence, and complained of the ill fortune that seemed to cling to all their steps. Saurin, in his sermon for the fast-day kept at the opening of the campaign of 1706, so fatal to Louis XIV., endeavours, with a boldness of which Christian preaching offers no other example, to convince them of their wrong, and to justify God. The exordium of this discourse is very majestic :

“ I conjure you, by the walls of this temple, which still subsist, but which the enemy would fain overthrow, by the interests of your wives, of your children, whose loss is already prepared, by the love you owe to religion and the State, in the name of your sovereigns, of our generals, of our soldiers, whose prudence and valour must fail of success without the succour of the Almighty ; I conjure you to bring to this exercise attentive minds and accessible hearts.”³

After these exhortations, he places an extraordinary spectacle before the faithful who fill the temple. As in the time of the Prophet Micah, the Eternal has a

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 15. ² *Sermons de Jacques Saurin*, vol. ii. p. 144-6. Paris, 1829.

³ *Saurin's Sermons*, vol. viii. p. 95.

suit with his people. He will reply to the accusations of Israel, and, to lead him to the knowledge and repentance of his faults, he opens the solemn debate by asking him this question :

“ *My people, what have I done unto thee?* ¹ Ah ! Lord, how many things hast thou done to us ! Zion’s paths spread with mourning, Jerusalem’s gates desolate, sobbing priests, afflicted virgins, sanctuaries overthrown, deserts peopled with fugitives,² members of Jesus Christ wandering on the face of the universe, children torn from their parents, prisons full of the faithful, galleys crowded with martyrs, the blood of our countrymen poured out like water, venerable corpses cast upon the dung-heap and given as pasture to beasts of the field and to birds of the air, temples in ruins, dust and ashes for sole remains of the houses consecrated to our God, fire, the rack, gibbets, tortures unknown until our day, reply, and bear witness against the Eternal ! ”

After the manner of the ancient Prophets, the Protestant preacher then justifies God, maintaining that He wished to punish the sins of His flock, and that even His rudest chastisements were tempered with the clemency of a merciful father. The strange dialogue continues. God complains in His turn, and when His just reproaches have been heard, Saurin cries out : “ Such are the charges God brings against you ; such the complaints he makes of you . . . Justify yourselves, plead, speak, reply, *my people, what have I done unto thee?* What have you to say in your behalf ? how do you justify your ingratitude ? ” And when he sees his audience confused and in consternation, he replies in their name, as Israel replied to Micah, “ Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God ? ” ³

¹ Micah, vi. 3.

² Several of these expressions are repeated in the Sermon for New-Year’s-Day, 1710. Repetitions of this kind, tolerably frequent in Saurin’s sermons, constitute one of that great preacher’s defects.

³ Micah, vi. 6.

In another sermon on the depth of divine designs, he consoles and cheers the refugees by exhibiting Louis XIV., so long successful in all his enterprises, fallen from his high fortune, and bowed in his turn beneath the hand of an avenging God. One cannot read, without a sentiment of bitter sadness, this eloquent invective proceeding from a Frenchman alienated from his native land, and who rejoices in our disasters at Ramillies and Hochstedt. But it must be borne in mind, that for him, as for most of the fugitives exasperated by misfortune, Louis XIV.'s subjects are no longer anything but enemies, and that the enemies of France have become their countrymen.

“ I see him at first equalling—what do I say?—surpassing the superbest potentates, arrived at a point of elevation which astonishes the universal world, numerous in his family, victorious in his armies, extended in his limits. I see places conquered, battles won, all the blows aimed at his throne serving but to strengthen it. I see an idolatrous court exalting him above men, above heroes, and equalling him with God himself. I see all parts of the universe overrun by his troops, our frontiers menaced, religion tottering, and the Protestant world on the verge of ruin. At sight of these storms I await but the last blow that shall upset the church, and I exclaim, O skiff beaten by the tempest! art thou about to be swallowed up by the waves?

“ Behold the Divinity *who makes bare His holy arm*,¹ who comes forth from the bosom of chaos, who confounds us by the miracles of His love, after having confounded us by the darkness of His providence. Here, in the space of two campaigns, are more than one hundred thousand enemies buried in the waters, or hewn down by the swords of our soldiers, or trampled by the feet of our horses, or loaded with our chains. Here are whole provinces sub-

¹ Isaiah, iii. 10.

mitted to our obedience. Here are our generous warriors, covered with the fairest laurels that ever met our view. Here is this fatal power which had risen to the sky—behold, it totters, it falls! My brethren, let these events teach us wisdom. Let us not judge the conduct of God, but learn to respect the profoundness of His providence.”

But if he lavishes consolatory words upon his companions in exile, if he exalts and glorifies those men who, as he expresses it, *carried away their lives for sole booty*, he is pitiless to those whom he accuses of making a traffic of the truth, and whom he brands with the name of temporisers. Including in one common anathema all the Protestants remaining in France, and officially designated as new converts, he heaps upon them these overwhelming reproaches :

“Where is the family of our exiles that may not apply to itself these words of the prophet, *My flesh is in Babylon, my blood amongst the inhabitants of Chaldea*.¹ Ah! shame of the reformation—ah! remembrance worthy to open an eternal flood of tears! Rome, that insultest and bravest us, seek not to confound us by showing those galleys that you fill with our slaves, whose sufferings you aggravate by the blows with which you strike them down, by the chains with which you overwhelm them, by the vinegar you pour upon their wounds! Seek not to confound us by showing us those black dungeons, inaccessible to light, and whose horrors you augment by leaving the dead with the living. Such places are changed into blissful abodes by the influence of the grace that God sheds upon the soul of the prisoners, and by the songs of joy with which they cease not to hymn His glory. Seek not to confound us by showing those ruined habitations, those scattered families, those bands of fugitives dispersed

¹ Jeremiah, li. 35.

in all parts of the universe : all those objects are our glory, and you praise whilst seeking to insult us. Would you cover us with confusion ? Show us the souls you have robbed us of ; reproach us, not that you have extirpated heresy, but that you have found some to deny their religion ; not that you have made martyrs, but that you have got some to desert the truth.”¹

In his ordinary sermons, he has often bursts of eloquence, which remind one of the elevation and proud audacity of the eagle of Meaux.¹ Raising his voice against those pusillanimous men who postpone their conversion from day to day, unmindful of death, which may at any time overtake them :

“ Ah ! ” he exclaims, “ would to God that our voice, with the power of thunder, and that the light of our discourse, rendered vivid as that which prostrated St Paul upon the road to Damascus, might strike you down, like that apostle, at the feet of the Lord ! Would to God that the idea of despair and the frightful image of the torments of the next life might fill you with salutary terror, and lead you to repentance ! ”

In a fine sermon on the equality of men, he borrows, from the idea of the death that awaits us all, a picture of terrific energy :

“ Whither goest thou, rich man, who congratulatest thyself on the abundance of thy fields, and who sayest to thy soul, ‘ Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years ; take thine ease, eat, drink, and be merry ? ’ To death. Whither goest thou, poor man, who draggest out a wearisome life—who beggest thy bread from door to door—who art in continual anxiety as to the means of procuring bread to eat and raiment to cover thee—ever the object of the charity of some, and of the harshness of others ? To death. And thou, noble, who

¹ *Saurin's Sermons*, vol. i. p. 421.

² Bossuet, (Tr.)

deckest thyself with a borrowed glory, who reckonest as thy virtues the titles of thine ancestors, and who thinkest thyself formed of more precious clay than the rest of humankind? To death. Whither goest thou, plebeian, who laughest at the noble's folly, and who art thyself as foolish in other ways? To death. Whither goest thou, trader, who thinkest but of the increase of thy goods and of thy revenue? To death. Whither, my dear hearers, go we all? To death. Does death respect titles, riches, dignities? Where is Alexander? where Cæsar? where the men whose name alone made the universe to tremble? They have been, but they are no more."

Saurin's sermons on *Almsgiving* and *Divine Compassion* abound in passages in which his eloquence is displayed in tenderer and more affecting strains. His beautiful soul seems to exhale itself in the exclamation, at once so simple and so pathetic, *You love me, and I die*. We may imagine the effect produced by this inspired voice which, for twenty-five years, resounded beneath the vaulted roof of the temple at the Hague! Nothing can give an idea of it unless it be the profound veneration and pious worship with which the memory of the great orator, continually revived by the perusal of his writings, has remained surrounded in Holland.

By Saurin's side, but in an inferior rank, other orators of the Refuge contributed to supply models of Christian eloquence to the Walloon and Dutch preachers. Born in 1619 at Sauvetat, near Villefranche-en-Rouergue, Claude, the son of a clergyman, was himself received into holy orders at the age of twenty-six years. He was first attached to a manor-church, then he preached successively at St Affrique, at Nismes, and at Montauban. Having opposed the proceedings of some of his people who wished to unite the Protestants to the church of Rome, he was forbidden by the Court to exercise his pastoral functions

in Languedoc and Quercy. But his reputation soon procured him a summons to Paris, and he was minister of Charenton from 1666 to 1685. After the revocation, he was compelled to take refuge in Holland, where the Prince of Orange received him with deference and respect. He died at the Hague in 1687. The refugees considered him the oracle of their party, and the theologian most capable of contending with Arnaud and Bossuet. His exterior had nothing imposing, his voice was even disagreeable, and his style wanted brilliancy and colour. But he made up for these defects by a masculine and vigorous eloquence, and by a close and urgent logic, which bore conviction to the mind. He had, above all, a special aptitude for treating controversial questions, and his method of teaching was so lucid, and so happily appropriate to the pulpit, that his disciples derived the same profit from his discourse as from the most celebrated masters of the old Protestant academies. Hence the great concourse of aspirants to holy orders that thronged around him. Hence the influence he exercised, less by himself than by their intervention, on the Walloon and Dutch preaching. He left behind him but a small number of printed sermons. The most remarkable is the one he delivered at the Hague, the 21st Nov. 1685—that is to say, hardly a month after he left France. In it the aged and almost expiring exile thanked the magistrates and inhabitants of the United Provinces for the noble use they made of their wealth, to succour so many poor refugees whom the profession of their common faith had driven from their homes and from their native land. Who would not have been painfully moved at hearing these words, at once so simple and so affecting?—

“ May God be your remunerator, and return to you a thousand and a thousand fold the good He has put it into your hearts to do us. Suffer us, however, in order more and more to attract your affection, to say to you, nearly

as Ruth said to Naomi, We come here to form but one body with you ; and as your God is our God, so shall your people henceforward be our people, your laws our laws, and your interests our interests. Where you live we will live, where you die we will die, and we will be buried in your tombs. Love us then as brothers and countrymen, and be indulgent to our weaknesses. We are born under a sky that does not give to all that wise, discreet, and reserved temperament that yours communicates to you. Bear with us ; for, as it is just that we should conform ourselves, as much as may be possible to us, to the rules of your prudence, so we also hope of your equity that it will not reckon with us for all our infirmities.

“ As to you, my brethren, who are here as the miserable remains of a great wreck, it is to you I ought principally to apply these other words, *And in the day of adversity take heed.* ’Tis you that they concern, ’tis to you that they belong. I own that one of our first duties, on entering this country, has been to thank God for deliverance from so rude and violent a storm, and for conducting us happily into port ; and, in that view, we still may call this the day of our prosperity. But although this good be of inestimable price, it still is accompanied by so many sad recollections, and mingled with so much bitterness, that one must be very unfeeling not to regard it also as the day of the greatest adversity that could happen to us. I do not propose here to enter at length into our misfortunes, or to dwell upon the secondary causes that brought them upon us. Our calamities are known to you ; and how should they not be ?—they are so to all Europe. And as to the secondary causes, since they are but impure channels and inferior springs which the malignity of the century has poisoned, it is good to cover them with a veil, for fear of exciting in us emotions we wish not to have. Let us leave them to the judgment

of God, or rather let us pray God to change them, and not to impute to them this evil."

Besides his sermons, Claude left some works of religious controversy, and a celebrated treatise which appeared in Holland in 1686, under this title, *Plain-tes des Protestants de France*. The two following passages, which we borrow from this last publication, are perhaps devoid of elegance, but the strength and gravity of the expressions everywhere correspond with those of the thoughts, and the writer's profound conviction invincibly communicates itself to the reader :—

"After this breach of faith what will henceforward be firm and inviolable in France? I speak not only of the fortunes of private persons and families, but of general establishments, of the other laws, of the order of justice and police—in a word, of everything that serves as basis and foundation to society, of the inalienable rights of the crown, and of the form of government. There is in the kingdom a very great number of enlightened persons; I mean not those makers of verses, who, as the price of a dozen madrigals, or of some panegyric of the king, bear away places and pensions; nor of those composers of books whom we see on all sides, who know everything save that which it would be good for them to know, which is, that they are very little people; I speak of those wise, steadfast, and penetrating minds that discern from afar the consequences of things, and know how to judge them. How is it that they did not see in this affair that which is but too visible, that the *State is mortally wounded by the same thrust that pierces the Protestants*, and that this revocation of the edict, made with so high a hand, leaves nothing sacred or immovable? Aversion to our religion was far from being general in the minds of the Catholics, since it is certain that, with the exception of the bigot faction, and of what are styled the propagators of the faith, neither people nor nobles

bore us any animosity, and that they have pitied our misfortune.”

Further on, protesting solemnly, in the name of all the refugees, against Louis XIV.’s injustice :—

“ We desire,” he says, “ that this writing, which contains our just complaints, may serve as protest, before heaven and before the earth, against all the violence done us in the kingdom of France. . . . In particular, we protest against the edict of the month of October 1685, as against a manifest fraud upon his Majesty’s justice, and a visible abuse of the royal authority and power, the edict of Nantes being by its very nature inviolable and irrevocable, out of the reach of any human power, made to be a perpetual treaty between the Catholics and us, an act of public faith, and a fundamental law of the state, which no authority can infringe. We protest against all the consequences of this revocation—against the extinction of the exercise of our religion in all the kingdom of France—against the infamy and cruelty they there practise upon men’s bodies, refusing them burial, throwing them amongst offal, dragging them ignominiously on hurdles—against the abduction of children, to have them instructed in the Roman religion. . . . We protest especially against the impious and detestable practice, now current in France, of making religion depend on the will of a mortal and corruptible king, and of treating perseverance in the faith as rebellion and crime against the State, a course which makes of a man a god.”

Pierre Jurieu, like Claude, acted more powerfully on men’s minds by his controversial works than by his discourses. Born at Mer, near Orleans, in 1637, he studied at the academy of Saumur, afterwards visited the Dutch and English universities, and was called, after the brilliant success of his *Traité de la Dévotion*, to fill the chair of Hebrew and Theology at Sedan. On the suppression

of this academy he retired to Rotterdam, where he was appointed pastor of the Walloon church, and professor of theology. It was at the time when Bossuet, after combating the pretensions of Ultramontanism, and laying the foundation of the liberties of the Gallican church, recommenced his formidable polemics against Reform, and pursued the refugees even into those distant asylums where Louis XIV.'s vengeance could not reach them. A dogmatic masterpiece, *L'Exposition de la Doctrine de l'Eglise*, had already been one result of this ardent struggle. He recommenced it in 1688 by an historical masterpiece, the *Histoire des Variations*. The banished ministers were strangely embarrassed. They could refute the Bishop of Meaux only by disputing his fundamental proposition, by denying that variation is a sign of error. Orthodox Protestantism feebly defended itself in the person of Basnage, who endeavoured to oppose to the picture of the variations drawn by the champion of the Roman church that of this same church's variations, and the persevering unity of the fundamental dogmas in the reformed communities. Rationalist Protestantism replied more boldly. Jurieu, who then represented it with considerable distinction, did not attempt to deny the variations; he at once admitted them; but at the same time, he applied himself to prove that they have been frequent in the history of Christianity, that religion has been built up, so to say, piece by piece, and the divine truth discovered parcelwise. He ventured to maintain, in his *Traité de la puissance de l'Eglise*, that the great Christian society is composed of all the different societies which recognize the law of Christ and have retained the foundations of faith. This argument was not irrefutable. Bossuet replied victoriously, reproaching his adversary with breaking down all the barriers of sects, and with so enlarging the bosom of his church that he soon would find it impossible to exclude even Arians and Socinians. Jurieu

would perhaps have found a more powerful argument for his doctrine, had he gone a step further, and proclaimed the absolute independence of individual conscience. It is true that, in this system, an imperceptible line of demarcation would alone have separated him from philosophy, and Jurieu would never have consented to overstep this last limit. On another capital point he was still the only person who, with a resolution that was not exempt from temerity, dared make head against Bossuet. The *Histoire des Variations* reproached the Protestants with having authorized revolt for the defence of their religion, thus contemning that gospel precept which enjoins obedience to the established powers. Contrary to the Calvinist tradition preserved by Basnage, Jurieu distinctly maintained the right of resistance to tyranny, and proclaimed, in formal terms, the sovereignty of the people—being thus the first to revive the great but dangerous principle abandoned in France since the end of the Wars of Religion.

Doctrines so audacious could not but compromise and ruin Jurieu in the opinion of most of his fellow-exiles. The calamities attending the emigration of so many fugitives, and the fresh persecutions which brought on the war in the Cevennes, finally soured his passionate character. He attacked the Roman Catholic religion with a violence unworthy of a minister of the gospel, and hesitated not to announce, in prophetic terms, its approaching fall. His friends in vain endeavoured to moderate the excess of his fiery zeal. Their remonstrances served but to irritate him the more, and in their turn he assailed them in savage libels. Bayle, Basnage, Saurin, were no better treated than Bossuet, Fénelon, Arnaud, Nicole. These continual struggles early exhausted him. He died at Rotterdam in 1713, his reputation diminished in his latter days by his political predictions, which events had proved to be false, but leaving a number of works

which undeniably influenced many minds. The only one that has not become obsolete, and which is not defaced by an aggressive spirit, is his *Histoire critique des Dogmes*, in which he establishes, with as much sagacity as erudition, the succession of religious systems amongst the nations of antiquity.

Another Rotterdam minister, Pierre Du Bosc, played a more modest but a more useful part than Jurieu. Son of a lawyer belonging to the parliament of Rouen, he was born at Bayeux in 1623, was appointed, when still a young man, pastor at Caen, and gained such a reputation for eloquence that the Paris church desired to obtain him. Turenne, La Force, and Pélisson wrote to him to induce him to fill the important pulpit he was thought worthy to occupy. He refused, because he would not quit his native province. Banished for a time to Châlons, under pretext of attacks directed against the Catholic religion, he formed a close friendship with Conrart, and with d'Ablancourt, who died in his arms. When it was rumoured, in 1668, that Louis XIV. proposed suppressing the chambers of the edict at Paris and Rouen, he was chosen unanimously by the deputies of the churches to bear their complaints to the monarch's feet. After the audience, the king, on entering the queen's apartments, where all the court awaited him, could not help saying, addressing himself to Maria Theresa, "Madam, I have just heard the man in all my kingdom who speaks the best." And turning to the courtiers, "It is certain," he added, "that I never heard any other speak so well." Seventeen years later, when the banishment of the ministers was decreed, Denmark, Holland and England disputed the honour of welcoming the illustrious exile. Holland was least remote from Normandy. He embarked for Rotterdam, where he was appointed pastor, and where he was successively rejoined by his best friends, the Marquises de Tors, de Langeay, de

l'Isle de Guat, de la Musse, de Verdelle, and de Vrigny ; Messieurs de St Martin, de la Bazoche, de la Pierre, de Villazel, de Béringhen, counsellors in the sovereign courts ; the ladies de Tors, de St Martin, Le Coq, de Cheüs ; demoiselles de Villarnoul, de Danjeau, de Cour-sillon, de Langeay, de la Moussaye. His success as a preacher was immense. He passed for a perfect orator. His fine sonorous voice heightened the impression produced by his discourse. A particular feature that distinguished him from the other ministers of the Refuge, was his attachment to the doctrines of St Augustin. Hence he was called *the preacher of grace*. But his career was as brief as brilliant. He died at Rotterdam less than four years after his departure from Normandy.

Daniel de Superville, Du Bose's colleague at the Walloon church of Rotterdam, was born in 1657, at Saumur, where he began his studies, which he ended at Geneva under the ablest masters. Already, in 1683, the *dragonnades* in Poitou had decided him to go to England, when the church of Loudun made an appeal to him which delayed, although but for two years, his departure from the kingdom. A severe ordeal preceded his exile. Summoned to Paris to give an account of a sermon of which the authorities had taken note, and which was taxed with sedition, he found himself surrounded by converters, who thought that an elegant and polished young man would be easy to seduce. But in vain did they take him about with the court, from Paris to Versailles, and from Versailles to Fontainebleau ; he persisted in his faith, and departed. Arrested, and separated from his wife and child, he contrived to recover his liberty, and reached Maestricht, where Madame de Superville joined him. He chose Rotterdam amongst the posts offered him, and there he soon acquired the reputation of an ingenious and profound preacher. He often said that the Christian orator should have religion in his heart as well as in his mind,

and certainly in this respect he practised the precept he inculcated. The rare gentleness, clearness, and grace of his discourses, the naturalness of his delivery, his manners, which were those of a gentleman, almost of a courtier, constituted him a sort of Protestant Fénelon. In 1691 he had the honour to be sent for to the Hague to preach before the new King of England, who had expressed a wish to hear him. Upon the day after the peace of Ryswick he ascended the pulpit, and took that happy piece of news for theme of his discourse. The 10th September 1704, he preached a thanksgiving sermon for the victory of Hochstedt, won by the allies under Marlborough and Eugene.

“ The superb chiefs on either side are skilful, intrepid, inured to war ; the troops are good and chosen. But the enemy has the advantage in the ground ; he has it even in the number of combatants ; he is so well posted that he cannot be attacked without much risk. But the Almighty, who has resolved to respond to us *by terrible things done with justice*, makes us surmount all obstacles. March, march, He cries by a secret voice ; by the resolution with which He inspires the generals, by the fire and courage He breathes into the hearts of the soldiers. *It is here the Valley of Decision.* Be not afraid ; I have delivered your enemies into your hands. They fall, indeed, into our power, those insolent adversaries who mocked at our enterprise, and reckoned the victory as already won.” . . .

Resentment and despair, it is here seen, have extinguished the national sentiment in Superville's heart. France is no longer his country ; the abasement of Louis XIV., the humiliation of the French armies, are for him matter of joy, a consolation, a hope for the persecuted churches. It is not, however, his occasional sermons that show him to the best advantage. He more excels, and displays all his qualities of a Christian orator, in didactic

preaching. This may be judged from the following extract from his fine sermon on forbidden revenge :—

“ Revenge is the daughter of anger and hatred ; it is an unquiet and turbulent passion that devours the breast that has conceived it. Oh ! how many fires does this fury kindle within us before she carries them abroad ! How many lighted torches she has ! how many serpents to torment the vindictive soul by day and by night ! Picture to yourselves all the throbbings, and palpitations, and contractions of the heart, the sleepless nights, the uneasiness, the furious emotions that one experiences when revolving in his head some fatal design of vengeance. Is it not a great misfortune to torment ourselves because another has offended us ? By dwelling on an injury, we sink it more and more into our heart ; we render the wound deeper and more difficult to heal ; we often do ourselves more harm than our enemy even hoped to do us, and we perfectly serve his hatred ; whereas, by effacing the memory of the injury we have received from him, we shall deceive his intention, if that was to do us outrage.”

He possesses the same superiority in dogmatical preaching, from which he is careful, by a method then new, to strip the apparatus of learning, and the useless questions on which most ministers loved to linger, in order rather to implant in the souls of his hearers the principal truths of the Gospel, and to persuade by touching the heart. A few thoughts collected from his sermons will justify our judgment :—

“ The belief in a God was never difficult to a good man ; and, in all atheists, the heart has ever had much to do with the irreligion of the mind.

“ The fear of God has always better counsels than the Portico and the Lyceum, than all the philosophy and politics in the world. Always boldly adhere to the side of piety : that is the greatest art, the greatest wisdom of life.

“ It is a great perplexity for us, to behold, in the conduct of Providence, its delays, and, if I dare so to speak, its tediousness. It moves like great armies, heavily, with much encumbrance and slowness—in our estimation. It resembles those rivers which make so many turns and windings, and roll their deep waters so tranquilly, that scarcely can one remark their current.”

Amongst the other ministers who improved the Walloon and Dutch preaching, we have still to name David Martin and Philiponneau de Hautecourt. The first, appointed pastor at Utrecht, published a translation of the Bible, which was universally adopted by the French churches of Holland, Switzerland, and England. Considered a classic work, it has remained in use in those three countries, and the French bibles distributed all over the world by the London Bible Society are, to the present day, mere reprints of that of this pastor. The second, an ex-preacher and professor at Saumur, received, at the university of Friesland, a professor's chair, which he for many years occupied, and formed numerous disciples, who propagated in the United Provinces the method peculiar to the ministers of the Refuge.

It stands proved, therefore, that Walloon preaching received fresh life from the ministers banished by Louis XIV.'s government. At the same time we should deceive ourselves did we attribute to them exclusively the rapid propagation of the French tongue in the Low Countries. Doubtless they helped to spread and generalize the knowledge of what was then the best-ordered language spoken in Europe, but it was neither they nor the other refugees who imposed upon the Dutch the necessity of this new study. The language and literature of France had long been familiar to the upper classes in all the provinces of the republic. Perhaps it would have been in the power of William of Orange to substitute the English tongue for that of Louis XIV.'s court, and to give to Shakespeare's

and Milton's masterpieces precedence over those of Racine and Molière. But that prince admired, like all Europe, the classic literature of that great century. He found, moreover, in his own family, the traditional admiration of that refined language which then tended to substitute its universality for that of the Latin. His grandfather, William the Taciturn, had married Louise de Châtillon, daughter of Coligny. French was the prevailing language at his court, and when the illustrious founder of Dutch liberty fell beneath an assassin's dagger, his last words were spoken in French. "*Mon Dieu!*" he exclaimed, as he expired, "*aié pitié de moi et de ce pauvre peuple!*" French was also the language of his son and grandson. French literature consequently found no difficulty in acclimatizing itself in Holland, and with it the habit of conversing in that tongue was early adopted in most of the great families. At the same time it must be admitted that the refugees rendered it popular by their preachings, writings, and teaching. The numerous schools they founded in almost all the towns, and the most celebrated of which owed its origin to one of the brothers Luzac, and their educational establishments for young men and young girls, especially hastened this result. Soon the French language was the only one used in diplomatic intercourse with other powers, and thenceforward there was not a member of the magistrature of Amsterdam, the Hague, Leyden, Rotterdam, who did not make it a point to speak it correctly, to write it, and to have it taught to his children.

French soon invaded the Dutch tongue, introducing into it new turns of expression. The refugees first introduced them in familiar conversation, then even in writing. From the end of the seventeenth century, the Dutch writers no longer scrupled habitually to use the words *officier* and *ingenieur*. They substituted the word *resoluzion* for that of *staatsbesluiten*. The French fashions and

usages diffused in Holland, also forced the Dutch to borrow new terms from France, to designate objects of luxury previously unknown. Thus the Dutch authors adopted the words *pourpoint*, *rabat de dentelles à glands*, *chemise*, *baudrier*, *grègues*, and a host of others for which their native language possessed no equivalents.

The increasing popularity of the French language exercised a marked influence on the progress of education in the middle classes of society. Before the emigration, instruction in literature and the sciences was in Latin, so that serious studies were inaccessible to all who did not belong to the class of learned men. Women were completely excluded from them by their ignorance of that classic tongue, an invincible obstacle ill atoned for by unfaithful and negligent translations. Thus, without disputing the advantages of Latin during the middle ages, it may be affirmed that the increased use of French powerfully contributed to the diffusion of enlightenment in Holland. For the first time education descended to the inferior layers of society, until then fatally condemned to privation of all intellectual culture. From the rich man's study science penetrated to the poor man's cabin, to the artisan's garret. It was no longer in Latin, like Grotius formerly, but in French that Basnage wrote his *Annales des Provinces Unies*, and the study of national history was thus facilitated to the meanest citizen. It was in the same tongue that he produced his *Histoire des Juifs dans les temps modernes*, and that he attempted to reveal the obscure mysteries of the cabala. When Saurin published his *Discours sur l'ancien et le nouveau Testament*, he did not make use of the official language of theology, as Voetius and Coccejus had done, and the truths of Holy Writ were thus placed within reach of all. The popular writings of Bayle gave theology a relish even for illiterate readers. The standard of education gradually rose in all the provinces of the republic, and civilisa-

tion, stationary under the empire of a dead language, took a fresh and magnificent flight.

Nevertheless, this powerful instrument of progress soon degenerated in the hands of the refugees. Their prolonged sojourn in the United Provinces impaired, little by little, the purity of the language they had so widely propagated, and gave birth to that particular style known as *refugee French*.

Voltaire attributes the relative inferiority of the language of the emigrants to their tendency to study and reproduce the incorrect phrases of the Genevese reformers, who, according to him, had themselves adopted the dialect of French Switzerland. But there can be no doubt that the Protestant authors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries wrote in as pure and cultivated a language as the Catholic authors, and that French prose derived from Calvin, Theodore de Bèze, and their successors, a vigour and clearness of expression that accelerated the advent of Balzac and Pascal. Voltaire is less mistaken when he imputes that fault to the circumstance that most of the preachers exiled in 1685 were natives of Languedoc and Dauphiné, and that they had studied in the town of Saumur. In a foreign land, they naturally retained the particular forms of expression, and even the accent, of the towns in which they had been brought up, or of the villages and remote districts in which they had dwelt. Perhaps also the psalms of Clement Marot, and the Bible in use in the reformed churches of the kingdom, and read from father to son in the exiled families, confirmed them in their old French idioms. But these are only the accessory causes of the diminished purity of *refugee French*. The main causes of the change are the daily intercourse of the expatriated families with the people (so different in most respects) amongst whom they lived, and the impossibility of further improving a language spoken in a foreign land, which had become

stationary, and, as it were, petrified, since it no longer shared in the modifications introduced by the great prose-writers of the eighteenth century. Refugee French resembles the branch detached from the tree, and checked in its growth, which still for a while preserves a factitious life, but which gradually, deprived of vivifying sap, withers and dries up.

This degeneracy was extremely rapid. As early as 1691, Racine wrote to his son, who had been travelling in Holland, and whose style gave token of his residence for some years at the Hague: "My dear son, you give me pleasure by sending me news, but beware of taking them in the Dutch newspapers; for, besides that we have them as well as you, you might there contract certain expressions that are worth nothing, as that of *recruter*, which you use, instead of which you should say, *faire des recrues*." In 1698, he renewed his critical observations: "Your narration of the voyage you made to Amsterdam gave me very great pleasure. I could not refrain from reading it to Messieurs de Valincourt and Despréaux. I took care not to read to them the strange word *tentatif*, which you have learned from some Hollander, and which would greatly have astonished them." In another letter he said to him: "You will permit me to criticise a word in your letter—*il en a agi avec politesse*; you should say, *il en a usé*. One does not say, *il en a bien agi*, and it is a bad mode of expression."

The same reproaches Racine addressed to his son might be addressed by France to the literary works of the refugees. Dating from the first years after the emigration, the works they published in Holland, and especially the *Mercure Historique et Politique*, bear the stamp of the disastrous action of the national tongue on the French language. One meets not only with old-fashioned phrases, but also with confused, and sometimes incorrect, constructions, more akin to the Dutch than to the French.

Voltaire points to the traces of this corruption in all the preachers, and even in Saurin's fine sermons, whose value he does not sufficiently appreciate. The only author to whom he does not impute the same faults of language is Bayle, who offended, he says, *only by a familiarity which sometimes borders upon meanness*.¹ At the same time, he admits that, at this first period of the Refuge, French had not yet been corrupted in Holland, as it was in his time. Saurin himself admitted the relative inferiority. "It is difficult," he says, "for those who have sacrificed their country to their religion to speak their language with purity." Accordingly, as the exiles transformed themselves into Dutchmen, and accustomed themselves to speak the language of their new country, this degeneracy became more striking. Expressions borrowed from the Dutch, and antiquated idioms, imparted to their style more and more of that particular turn of phrase, which in the eighteenth century constituted the distinctive character of their literature. There was but a small number of families who preserved the unalloyed French their ancestors had spoken. Perhaps they lived more apart from the Dutch, or refreshed, by study and by frequent visits to France, their knowledge of the pure language that was corrupting around them. The celebrated Leyden Gazette, founded by Stephen Luzac, was written in as correct and elegant a style as the best French contemporary periodicals.

All the branches of human knowledge received a forward impulse in Holland from the refugees. That country was propitious ground for the propagation of new ideas. There were no shackles, no censorship, no persecution. The most daring democratic theories, the boldest philosophical systems, might freely be developed. The refugees seconded this spirit of investigation, directing it

¹ *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, article Saurin.

alternately to the study of law, of the exact sciences, of philosophy, history, and towards literary and political criticism.

The prohibition to practise as advocates in France drove into Holland many Protestants learned in the law. Some, like Hotman, were imbued with republican principles, incompatible with Louis XIV.'s absolute monarchy. The majority, opposed to written law, and conceiving the possibility of a legislation founded on reason and equity, had applied themselves especially to the study of natural law. The most distinguished of these juriconsults, who, by the tendency of their ideas, seem to belong to the great generation of the end of the eighteenth century, was Barbeyrac.

Born at Béziers in 1674, he was compelled by the persecution to take refuge at Lausanne. Thence he was called to Groningen, where he long and ably filled the chair of professor of law and history. He there gave popularity to legal science, not only by his teaching, but by his writings. He translated into French and commentated Puffendorf and Grotius. In his preface to Puffendorf, praised by Voltaire, he was not afraid openly to place himself without the pale of Christianity, by preferring the morality of modern philosophers to that of the Fathers of the church. Voltaire also praises other of this freethinker's works. "It seems," he says, "that these *Treatises of the Law of Nations, of War, and of Peace*, which have never served to any treaty of peace, nor to any declaration of war, nor to assure any man's rights, console people for the evils inflicted on them by policy and force. They give the idea of justice, just as one has the portraits of celebrated persons one cannot see." Elie Luzac shared Barbeyrac's principles. His translation of Wolff's work on *Natural Law* was an important service rendered to a science still in its infancy. His ingenious commentaries on Montesquieu's *Esprit des*

Lois, and his own writings in favour of the liberty of the press, mark him as a man of liberal mind, and as a partizan of progress.

Barbeyrac, Luzac, and the other legists who had taken refuge in Holland, exercised a salutary influence on civil and criminal law in that country. They diffused the writings of Pothier, of d'Aguesseau, so highly appreciated in France by the most eminent thinkers, and whose maxims, too forward for their century, passed into written law only within the last fifty years. The Dutch owed to these men, who formed a school, a more philosophical application of the civil law of the Romans, juridical procedures more conformable to the spirit of the great juriconsults of ancient Rome, an almost complete deliverance from the superannuated forms of German jurisprudence hitherto in use. They also modified criminal law in a more liberal sense. Whilst, even in France, justice still dishonoured itself by the frequent application of torture, in Holland it was no longer used, in the course of the eighteenth century, excepting in extremely rare cases, and only as a supplementary means by which it was endeavoured to obtain the definitive demonstration of guilt already partly proved by evidence. Judges authorised it only in those cases that might entail capital punishment, which the tribunal, fettered by an old but respected law, could not pronounce until a complete avowal had been extorted from the accused. The principles of law popularized by the refugees also softened the mode of capital punishments. That of the wheel disappeared from the province of Holland more than forty years before it was abolished in France; whilst in the province of Groningen, where the French juriconsults did not exercise so decided an influence, it was still inflicted, less than sixty years ago, on persons condemned to death. It was chiefly to the entrance of the refugees into the regencies of the towns that the republic was

indebted for this progress. The regencies were habitually composed of a bailiff or grand officer, of a burgomaster, and of sheriffs, intrusted with the administration of justice. These offices were reached by popular election, and the people generally chose none but persons of the highest distinction. But such was the prestige of the fugitives, that, at the end of the seventeenth century, the Le Plas, the Chatelains, the Caus, were admitted into the regency of Leyden, and Daniel de Dieu was bailiff of Amsterdam. These high positions soon permitted them to exercise a salutary action on the decisions of justice, and indirectly on legislation itself, and this power they turned to the advantage of humanity.

Natural history, medicine, physics, and especially the exact sciences, so generally cultivated in France since the time of Pascal and Descartes, owed to the refugees the strong impulse they received in Holland. A renowned mathematician, James Bernard, born at Nions in Dauphiné, in 1658, and who took refuge first at Geneva, then at Lausanne, finally sought an asylum in the United Provinces, where he was welcomed by the journalist, John Leclerc, his relative, and the companion of his studies. First appointed preacher at Leyden, he soon was called by the university of that town to the chair of Philosophy and Mathematics, which he filled with great distinction until his death in 1718. The exact sciences were really advanced in Holland by the teaching of this eminent man, whose superior merit and powerful influence are fully recognized by Siegenbeek, the Dutch historian of the University of Leyden.

Peter Lyonnet, not less celebrated as a naturalist than as an anatomist and engraver, was superior even to James Bernard in the extent and precision of his acquirements. Born at Maestricht in 1707, of a family of refugees from Lorraine, he was at first destined to holy orders by his father, who was minister of the French church at Heus-

den. His remarkable facility in learning languages familiarized him in a very few years with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Italian, Spanish, German, and English. At the same time, he applied himself with extraordinary success to the exact sciences, to drawing, and to sculpture. On arriving at an age to select his own career, he preferred the study of the law to that of theology, and, after taking his degrees at Utrecht, he obtained from the States-general the situation of deciphering secretary and sworn translator. What leisure his duties left him, he employed in drawing various natural objects, and principally insects. He even formed a collection of coloured drawings, representing all those found in the environs of the Hague. His acquaintance with Boerhaave, Leeuwenhock, and Swammerdam, celebrated naturalists of that day, and his friendship for the Genevese Trembley, who resided at the Hague, and had just published his discoveries on polypi, determined him to devote himself to that special class of studies. His first publication, drawings of insects, with which he enriched his French translation of Lesser's work, appeared to Réaumur worthy of reprinting at Paris. He engraved the last eight plates of the Memoirs which Trembley published in 1744 on fresh-water polypi, and Cuvier speaks of those plates as *specimens of engraving as remarkable for their delicacy as for their exactness*. Soon, applying his talent to perpetuate his own discoveries, he published his fine work on the anatomy of the caterpillar—a work of patient and ingenious observation previously unparalleled in natural history. “The book in which he described it,” says Cuvier, “the plates in which he represented it, were classed, as soon as they appeared, amongst the most astonishing masterpieces of human industry. . . . The author there makes known all the parts of so small an animal, with more detail and exactness, it may be said, than those of man are known. The number of the

muscles alone, all described and represented, is 4041; that of the nerves and tracheal branches infinitely more considerable. Moreover, the viscera with all their details are shown; and all is rendered by such delicate artifices of engraving, by such fine, distinct lines, so appropriate to the tissue of the substances they are intended to represent, that the eye seizes all with more facility than if it contemplated, with the aid of a microscope, the object itself."

To the names of Bernard and Lyonnet are to be added those of the celebrated physician Desaguliers, who travelled for some time in Holland, and there popularized Newton's great discoveries, by giving at Rotterdam and the Hague public lectures, which made a great sensation; of William Loré, a mathematician of the highest class, who enriched with his works the collection of the Academy of Sciences at Paris; of Peter Latané, medical professor, and chief physician to the court of Orange; finally, that of one of the greatest geniuses of modern times, the Dutchman Huygens, whom intolerance restored to his country. This last, whom Colbert, when creating the Academy of Sciences, invited to Paris, there published, in 1673, his *Horloge Oscillante* (Oscillating Clock), which he dedicated to Louis XIV.—a present worthy of the monarch; for, if we except Newton's *Principia*, this work is, perhaps, the finest production of the exact sciences in the seventeenth century. But in 1681 the progress of the persecution decided him to quit France, and no promises could overcome his resolution. The great geometrician took with him to his native country his magnificent discovery of the application of the pendulum to clocks, his analysis of the undulations of light, his improvements in the barometer and air-pump.

Literature was yet more indebted to the refugees than were law and the exact sciences.

At the head of the literary emigrants we find a sceptic

and scoffer, in whom doubt and paradox seem incarnate—a mind in which the impassioned convictions of the martyrs for the Calvinist faith had no place, and who belongs rather to the school of Montaigne and Voltaire. Peter Bayle was born in 1647. He was the son of a Protestant minister in the district of Foix. From his infancy he showed an extreme ardour for learning, and for reasoning on what he learned. Erudition and dialectics early became the two powerful springs of this restless intelligence, which combined with southern vivacity and flexibility that investigating instinct which the Reformation had so strongly roused. At twenty years of age, struck by the arguments of the Catholics on the tradition and authority of the Church, he abjured, at Toulouse, in 1669, the Protestant religion, desiring, he said, to join himself to the trunk of the tree, of which the reformed communions were but lopped boughs. The Jesuits loudly exulted in the conversion of a minister's son, on whom they founded the most brilliant hopes. But their convert soon escaped from them. Shocked by the worship of saints and images, and deeming the dogma of transubstantiation incompatible with the principles of Descartes, he returned to Protestantism, and fled to Geneva to escape the severe penalties the law inflicted on those who relapsed into heresy. He returned to France under another name, and Basnage placed him with a Rouen merchant; then, on Ruvigny's recommendation, he was admitted as tutor into the Béringhen family. After the death of the learned Pithois, he was appointed professor of philosophy at the university of Sedan, where Jurieu, then his friend, afterwards his irreconcilable adversary, was his colleague. In 1681, after the suppression of that Protestant university, he was called, with Jurieu, to Holland, and continued his lectures in the *école illustre*, which the town of Rotterdam had founded to serve them as a place of retreat. Before leaving France, Bayle had already en-

tered upon his true vocation by an original work, his *Lettre sur les Comètes*. The form he gave to his attacks upon the superstitious fears inspired by the appearance of the comet of 1680, led him to sustain a thesis of a nature to rouse public opinion against him. After instituting a comparison of atheists with idolaters and with Christians, he arrives at the conclusion that religious creeds have little influence on the conduct of the majority of men, who govern themselves rather according to their temperaments and to the impressions of the moment; that an atheist may be an honest man; that a society of atheists might exist, and would be preferable to a society of idolaters;—strange assertions, which do not deserve refutation, but through which one discerns an idea worthy of serious examination—that of a morality innate in the human conscience, and independent of all positive religion.

This treatise was not, however, the expression of Bayle's real thought. It was the revocation of the edict of Nantes that determined him fully to reveal his doctrine. Concurrently with the public calamity, there occurred to him a terrible private misfortune. His brother, a Protestant clergyman, died of exhaustion and misery in the horrible dungeons of Château-Trompette. Some converted Protestants having published a panegyric of Louis XIV., under the title, *France, entirely Catholic under the Reign of Louis the Great*, Bayle's indignation burst forth in those letters in which he related the horrors of the persecution, and depicted, in startling and gloomy colours, *what France, entirely Catholic, is under the reign of Louis the Great*. Many vehement protestations issued at that period from Protestant pens; but Bayle's publication seized, with more accuracy than any of the others, the character and scope of Louis XIV.'s edict. In spite of his anger, he struck out lofty views as a politician and a moralist. He was especially happy when, after reproaching the whole of Catholic France with its

active or passive complicity, its contempt of the opinion of other nations, its audacity in representing violence and devastation as prudence and gentleness, he maintained that, far from having procured the victory of Catholicism, it had but prepared that of Deism.

“Deceive not yourselves,” he exclaimed, addressing the persecutors; “your triumphs are those of deism rather than of the true faith. I would that you heard the opinion of those who have no other religion but that of natural equity. They consider your conduct as an irrefutable argument; and when they go farther back, and contemplate the ravages and sanguinary violence that your Catholic religion has perpetrated during six or seven centuries all over the world, they cannot help saying that God is too essentially good to be the author of so pernicious a thing as positive religions; that He has revealed to man natural law alone, but that spirits hostile to our repose have come in the night-time and sown dissension in the field of natural religion, by the establishment of certain special worships, which they well knew would be an eternal seed of war, carnage, and injustice. These blasphemies strike you with horror; but your Church will answer for them before God, since its spirit, its maxims, and its conduct, excite them in the souls of men.”

In conclusion, he adds: “Although, humanly speaking, you deserve no pity, I cannot but compassionate you for being so fearfully out of harmony with the spirit of Christianity. But I have still greater pity for that Christianity which, in the words of the Gospel, you have made to stink in the nostrils of other religions. Nothing can be truer than that the name of Christian has become justly odious to infidels, since they have known what you are worth. You have been for several centuries the most visible section of Christianity; thus it is by you that the whole is judged. But what judgment can be

formed of Christianity, if your conduct be taken as a guide? Must one not believe it to be a religion enamoured of blood and carnage, that would do violence to body and to soul; a religion which, to establish its tyranny over conscience, and to make dissemblers and hypocrites—there, where it has not the skill to persuade—adopts every means—lies, perjury, dragoons, iniquitous judges, quibblers, false witnesses, executioners, inquisitions; and all this, either pretending to believe that it is permitted and legitimate because it is useful to the propagation of the faith, or believing it in reality, either of which cases disgraces the name of Christian?”

After branding the executioners in terms that must satisfy the bitterest resentment, and even cause some regret to the Protestants whom his indiscreet pen too completely avenged, Bayle went a step farther, and preached complete tolerance. His *Commentaire Philosophique sur les Paroles de Jésus-Christ: Compelle intrare*, is a victorious refutation of the theologians who had advocated compulsion as a legitimate means of proselytism. The arguments he uses are of two kinds. He rejects intolerance in a religious point of view, by proving that the literal sense of the passage in question is contrary to the soundest reason no less than to the general spirit of the Gospel; “for nothing,” he says, with great reason, “can be more opposed to that spirit than dungeons, exile, pillage, the galleys, military insolence, executions, and tortures.” He afterwards combats it in a political point of view, by picturing an ideal society, in which power, instead of “delivering up the secular arm to the furious and tumultuous desires of a populace of monks and clerks,” extends equal protection to all religions. This great principle of religious liberty, adopted by the Revolution of 1789, and whose true formula was given by M. Guizot upon the day when he enunciated from the tribune that just and truthful maxim, *The*

State is lay (*L'État est laïque*), was thus proclaimed aloud in Holland by a French refugee. But Bayle manifests his inmost thought especially in a third species of argument, less developed, but much more radical; namely, that the majority of the questions debated by theologians are uncertain and indemonstrable; that all systems are equally obscure; that, consequently, every one should content himself with praying for him he cannot convince, and not seek to oppress him.

If Bayle really sought to establish universal peace, and to support toleration, by exposing the vanity of all creeds and the uncertainty of all dogmas, his intention, enveloped in ambiguous phrases, was not approved during his life by the most eminent of his fellow-exiles. Their aim, on the contrary, was to support, by the most vigorous efforts of intelligence, those dogmas and creeds for which they had suffered, and which found, in one of the men whose special mission it was to defend them, a sceptical and pitiless railer. Old Calvinism, not less exclusive than the religion of Rome, did not deceive itself; it felt itself struck by the same blow that had just been dealt to Catholicism. Saurin undertook to revenge it. Giving all the weight of his convictions, all the authority of his name, to the thesis opposed to that of Bayle, he set his rigorous dogmatism against the exaggerated rationalism of the Rotterdam philosopher; constituted himself, in some sort, his personal antagonist; and applied himself to fortify the Christian faith, which Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and the whole school of the Encyclopedists were soon so rudely to assail. It was rendering a signal service to the cause of orthodox Protestantism, which he supplied with arms against its future enemies. Following Saurin's example, Jurieu refuted Bayle's scepticism, and with his usual violence attacked his former friend's impiety. Himself loudly accused by Bossuet of favouring the Socinians, he seized this opportunity of repelling an imputation so

perilous to his character. Treating the Commentary as the perfidious manifesto of a sect of bad Protestants, who sought to found indifference to religion upon the dogma of universal tolerance, he declared that Bayle's doctrine led directly to deism; that the rights he allowed to individual conscience were exaggerated; and that not only had princes a right to interfere in religious matters, but that it was also their special duty to maintain the purity of the faith by using their authority to repress dissenting sects.

Irritated by the violence of these attacks, Bayle replied passionately and bitterly. The *Avis aux Réfugiés sur leur prochain retour en France*, which appeared in 1690, and which his enemies attributed to him, although he never admitted himself to be its author, was a cutting pamphlet, levelled at the emigrants in Holland, and particularly at Jurieu, who had prophesied that the Protestant cause would triumph in 1689. The anonymous author ironically congratulated the exiles on Louis XIV.'s good intentions towards them, and on their approaching return to their native land, where a good number of Catholics would joyfully welcome them. But he charitably warned them not to set foot in the kingdom without having previously undergone a slight quarantine, to purge them of two maladies contracted during their residence abroad—namely, “the spirit of satire, and a certain republican spirit, which tends to nothing less than to introduce anarchy, that greatest scourge of society, into the world.” The second reproach was entirely aimed at Jurieu, who had written that “kings are made for the people, and not the people for kings.” The reply was prompt; and, to the great scandal of the refugees in Holland, a violent controversy began between the two professors of the *école illustre*. Bayle sustained the strife for three years, but perfidious use was made against him of certain advances to Louis XIV., contained in the famous libel, and of the severe censure he passed on the English Revolution

of 1688. In 1693, the magistrates of Rotterdam, using the complaints of the French consistory as a blind for their political motives, deprived him of his pension, and forbade him giving public, or even private instruction.

If, as Basnage gives us to understand, the *Advice to the Refugees* be really Bayle's work, it was but a petulant whim of the moment. He never became reconciled with the Catholics, but, disgusted for ever with professorial squabbles ("*entre-mangeries professorales*"), he applied himself to unremitting labour at his *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*—the gigantic monument of a rich and varied erudition, in which is found all the science of the seventeenth century—a perfect chaos, in which are mingled all the truths and errors ever current amongst men, but which, notwithstanding the minute precision of the details, and the ease with which the author handles his immense learning, leaves but uncertainty and confusion in the mind.

After philosophy, history was the style of composition most seductive to the refugee writers, for in it they could give vent to that spirit of resistance and liberty which in France they had so long been obliged to restrain. Jacques Basnage is the most celebrated historian amongst them. Familiar from his youth upwards with the best classic authors of antiquity, he was no less versed in profane than in sacred writ. Intrusted by the States-general with the duties of historiographer, with the special commission to write the annals of the republic since the peace of Munster, he accepted the office only on condition that all the archives should be open to him, and that he should be allowed to express his opinions with perfect freedom. His first volume, published in 1719, contains a remarkable exposition of the forms of government that ruled the Seven Provinces at the period of the treaty of Westphalia—a difficult subject, which had not yet been treated. It ends with the peace of Breda, in 1667. The

second includes the negotiations of the triple alliance which arrested Louis XIV. in the midst of his conquests, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the French invasion in 1672, the revolution that overthrew the brothers De Witt and re-established the stadtholdership in favour of the Prince of Orange, and the European war that ensued, and that was terminated by the treaty of Nimeguen. Basnage carried his work down to 1684, and collected materials to follow it down to 1720, when it was interrupted by his death. He has been reproached with doing injustice to the patriotism of John de Witt, by representing him as too ardent a partisan of France against Spain, and as an implacable adversary of England. It is possible that his work may have taken some slight tinge from the revolutionary ideas of 1672, which brought on the bloody catastrophe of the Hague. But the best judges nevertheless recognize every other characteristic of truth in the historical monument he thus consecrated to the country of his adoption. They praise particularly the clearness of the narrative, the depth of the views, and the sagacity with which he follows the progress and traces the origin of events through the complicated and tortuous negotiations of diplomacy.

The *Histoire de la Religion des Eglises réformées*, which appeared at Rotterdam in 1690, is an attempt to refute the *History of the Variations*. Basnage labours hard to oppose the perpetuity of the Protestant faith, which he traces back to apostolical times, to that of the Catholic faith, of which he urges the fluctuations as regards the doctrines of the authority and infallibility of the Pope, the dogmas of justification by works and of Divine grace, and the sacraments. Less logical than Jurieu, he maintains the proposition which we hold inadmissible, of a primitive Christian church, founded solely on Holy Writ, altered, in the course of centuries, by successive human additions, and restored to its first purity by the Reformers.

He does not see that these variations and fluctuations of doctrine, which Bossuet makes so great a basis of reproach, constitute, on the contrary, the true essence of Protestantism, sprung from the principle of free examination, and which can but lose by attempts to deny the consequences of that immortal conquest of the human mind.

The *Histoire des Juifs*—in which the chapter on the Caraites, the Massoreti, and the Samaritans, are remarkable—is also a work of great merit, and, above all, of immense erudition. It was translated into almost all the languages of Europe. Basnage was in correspondence, not only with princes and statesmen of both religions, but with the most illustrious men of learning of France, Italy, Germany, and England. This epistolary intercourse had as much reference to literature as to politics. The illustrious exile inspired equal confidence in Catholics and in Protestants. This confidence was so complete, that a French archbishop, undecided what side to take in the affair of the *Unigenitus* bull, scrupled not to ask his advice. Basnage replied, with perfect moderation, that it became him not to decide on such a question; that if the archbishop recognized the Pope's authority, he was bound to submit and to adhere to the bull; that, in the contrary case, he might reject it, but to beware lest, by a chain of consequences, he should be led further than he wished to go.

By the side of Basnage stand a sacred and a profane historian, Elias Benoît and Francis Michael Janiçon. The first, son of the porter of the Hotel la Tremouille, born at Paris in 1640, for twenty years pastor at Alençon, then minister of the Walloon church of Delft, published a *Histoire des Eglises réformées de France*, intended as a complement to that of Theodore de Bèze, and the *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, which he composed at the request of the Walloon church in Amster-

dam. This last work is a vehement accusation brought against the Catholic clergy, and, at the same time, an unreserved defence of the conduct of the French Protestants, from the reign of Henry IV. to the revocation. Notwithstanding his passionate resentment, Benoît cannot be suspected of bad faith; but he may fairly be reproached with lack of moderation, and with transgressing good taste, by his constantly bitter tone and aggressive complaints.

Janiçon, nephew of a minister at Blois, who afterwards was preacher at Utrecht, at first edited a French newspaper at Amsterdam; but having fallen into disgrace with the government, he accepted the post of ambassador from the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel to the Hague. It was in the latter town that he commenced the great work he had not time to finish, and which appeared in 1729, under the title, *Etat Présent de la République des Provinces-Unies*. The mainsprings of the Dutch government are there described with singular penetration. "Attached," he says, "by religious principles to a State which has become the asylum of an innumerable multitude of Protestants, I did all in my power to become acquainted with the economy that in so short a time bore that republic to the degree of glory at which we now behold it. I remarked in it a great number of republics, governed each by its own laws, adapted to the genius, manners, wants, and commerce of its inhabitants. These several republics, bound together by more general laws, form a very uniform whole out of parts very different in their nature." Janiçon's history, suggested by that of Basnage, served, in its turn, as point of departure for one of the best Dutch writers—the historian Wagenaar.

The refugees rendered a final service in Holland to historical science, by the zeal with which they diffused and rendered popular the works of Rollin, and especially his *Traité des Etudes*, so judiciously appreciated by M. Villemain, who calls it "a monument of reason, of taste,

and one of the finest books in our language, after works of genius.”¹

The refugees did not content themselves with publishing books which diffused the study of law, of the exact sciences, of philosophy and history in Holland ; they also contrived another means of influence, by the publication of periodical papers, the use of which they rendered popular, and by which they acted not only on the Seven Provinces but on all Europe.

It cannot be ascertained with certainty whether the French newspapers, so rigorously watched at Amsterdam in the interval between the treaty of Nimeguen and the year of the revocation, were written by French refugees. But the complaints made by Count d’Avaux, and the severity which State reasons compelled the government to employ, are not to be alleged as inculpatory of the authors of those publications. Little by little the indignation caused by the increasing cruelties practised upon the Protestants in France made the journalists forget the laws intended to repress their excesses. They recommenced their attacks upon Louis XIV., and none thought of calling them to account, even for the most violent of their invectives. The *Haarlem Gazette* was full of narratives of the *dragonnades*—narratives which Count d’Avaux in vain attempted to contradict. Nothing caused greater irritation than the following letter, in which Jacob de Bye, Dutch consul at Nantes, but, unhappily for him, naturalised a Frenchman, himself narrated the tortures he had suffered :—

“ A week ago I informed you of my grievous affliction. It is likely you will learn its continuation with pain, if you still have any charity. . . . Six devils of dragoons fell to my charge, and afterwards fifteen others, who, having shut me up in a room, made me eat and drink with them, sending for all sorts of dainties from

¹ Villemain, *Litterature au 18me Siècle*, vol. i. p. 226. Paris, 1846.

the inns, flooding the floor with the best of wines, burning, in a very short space of time, more than one hundred pounds of candles, and, as soon as night came, beginning to break and burn our furniture. That done, they set me in a chair, saying, with many foul expressions, 'There, dog of a Huguenot, you know that the king orders us to do you all the evil your accursed body is capable of enduring; if you wish to be spared, give us two louis-d'ors a man.' I tried to appease them by a piece of money, but in vain. At last I agreed for a louis-d'or each man, paying it them immediately, whereupon they promised to treat me better. An hour afterwards, one of the worst amongst them got up, saying, 'Dog of a Huguenot, I prefer to return thee thy money, and to torment thee; the king will have thee change,' and he threw the money at my head. They put me in a chair, near a great fire, took off my shoes and stockings, and burned my feet, letting the tallow of the candle drop upon them. And when the pain drove me thence, they tied me to the foot of the bed, where these men, worse than devils, came and drove their heads more than ten times against my stomach with so great violence that I fell, and was taken again to the fire, where they plucked out the hairs from my legs. Day having arrived, they gave me a little respite, still threatening, however, to throw me out of window. I begged them a hundred times to kill me, but they replied, 'We have no orders to kill you, but to torment you until you change. Resist as you will, you must come to that, when we have eaten the very flesh off your bones.' I was taken to the mayor or burgomaster of the town, who told me that if I would not change, the duke had ordered my wife to be sent to a convent, and my children to the hospital, to be for ever separated from me, and that there were fourteen more dragoons ready to fall upon me. You see there was no death to hope for, unless it were a continual death, with-

out dying, after an eternal prison. I was compelled to give way. . . .”¹

We neither confirm nor contest these horrible facts, which were reproduced in all the Dutch newspapers. Louis XIV. himself wrote to Count d’Avaux to deny them, but he promised at the same time *to make a more exact investigation*, and doubtless the information he received was such that he for the future thought it prudent to keep silence concerning the exploits of his booted missionaries.

It might be thought that newspapers established by the refugees would all bear the impress of the religious fury of that period of persecution. This is not the case. The moderate tone of some of these publications is surprising. The *Letters on Matters of the Times* are singularly dispassionate. So calmly and impartially does the author discuss events that occurred to himself, that it seems as if he spoke of things long gone by, and with which he had no concern. One may judge of this from the following passage, in which, after relating how he was set at liberty, he endeavours to arrive at the presumable motives of this measure of unexpected clemency:—

“I have no doubt you will be as surprised at receiving my letter as I was when I learned that I was free. In fact, who could have supposed that, after being so long in prison, and for a cause which has had such fatal consequences, I should suddenly find myself delivered in so unexpected a manner, knowing neither how nor why? It must be owned that, if they had had no other object than to surprise me agreeably, they could not have better succeeded.

“Such things, sir, are doubtless the work of Providence; for, as regards human policy, I know not how to explain them. It is now neither a general rigour,

¹ This letter, dated from Nantes, 11th December 1685, forms part of the Count d’Avaux’s correspondence, which is at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

since I and several others are exempt, nor yet a general lenity, since so many persons still languish under oppression, and in constraint ; so that they desire at the same time two opposite things, which it is very difficult to reconcile with the rules of a uniform conduct. Whatever part the court may have had in it, reason, as well as respect, will have us attribute the chief cause of so variable a proceeding to those ecclesiastical counsels which have been the source of all our misfortunes. We know but too well that those who gave them had in view neither true maxims of State nor those of the Gospel. They wished to convert persons against their will, and to force a whole people to change their creed, as one changes a garment. It was the true way to make involuntary rebels and hypocrites, at the expense of the good of the State, and of the honour of religion. Time has but too completely verified this ; but the same counsels still subsist, although opposed by the true interests fortified by the event. It is that apparently which causes so much variation. It seems as if they desired that forced conversions should become voluntary, or at least that the liberty granted to some should sanctify the constraint of others.”¹

It were difficult, we think, to express more judicious thoughts in language more moderate. The same politeness of form and correctness of appreciation reign in the following passage concerning the variations of the French government’s conduct towards the new converts :—

“ We learn by letters from France that the affair of the new converts is not yet near its end, and that it occupies his Majesty’s council, to advise as to the means of preventing those assemblies still held in so many places to pray to God. They hinder them as much as they can. They imprison, hang, pardon ; but those remedies

¹ *Lettres sur les Matières du Temps.* Amsterdam, published by Pierre Savouret, 1688. Extract from the first letter. We found a copy of this publication, now very scarce, in the Leyden Library.

are powerless against the cause of the evil, that consisting in the repugnance of the heart, which is a strange spring in the matter of religion. If, when proposing to change, they had proposed at the same time some alternative possible to be executed, as to quit the country with one's property within a given time, as was practised in the preceding century, or even to quit it without taking one's property, the king would have been voluntarily obeyed in the one or in the other case, because the mind, finding a choice and an issue, can neither reproach itself, nor excuse itself on the ground of having acted under constraint. But to propose a change of creed without admitting the heart's consent, and closing at the same time all issues, to force it to will that which it wills not, is to attempt as impossible a thing as to try to prevent the smoke rising from a fire before it is extinguished; and the unfortunates they punish on these occasions are punished less for their fault than for that of others—I mean, of those who make them act by constraint.”

The author of the *Lettres sur les Matières du Temps* did not sign his articles. The writers in the *Mercure Historique et Politique*, founded at the period of the Refuge, and which appeared monthly at the Hague, also wrote anonymously. Others were less reserved, as, for instance, Michael Janiçon, who for some time edited a French newspaper at Amsterdam, and afterwards at Utrecht. The periodical sheet entitled, *Nouvelles Extraordinaires de divers Endroits*, was founded by Stephen Luzac, born at Leyden, 1706, of a Bergerac family. It afterwards underwent a transformation, and became the celebrated *Leyden Gazette*, a valuable contribution to the history of the second half of the eighteenth century, a model of style, and at the same time of exactness, veracity, and boldness, which insured it an immense publicity in Europe. Stephen Luzac also took charge of the journal that appeared under the name of Anthony de Lafont,

and whose proprietor he became in 1738. His elder brother, Jean Luzac, printer and bookseller at Leyden, assisted him in the publication of the *Gazette*, which was afterwards continued by distinguished journalists, selected from amongst the refugees, and especially amongst the members of the family of the first founder. The most renowned was Jean Luzac, nephew of Stephen, and son of John, who combined the profession of lawyer with that of writer in the *Gazette*, whose editorship devolved exclusively upon him in 1775. In correspondence with the Emperor Leopold, whose liberal views he loudly approved, with Stanislaus Poniatowsky, King of Poland, with the statesmen Hertzberg and Dohm, with the founders of the independence of the United States of America, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, he gave an encyclopedical interest to his paper, which he edited until 1798, and which was finally suppressed by Napoleon.

Such were the destinies of political journalism in Holland under the influence of the refugees. They also then commenced literary journalism, which owed to them its highest flight.

The *Journal des Savants*, founded at Paris in 1665 by an ecclesiastical counsellor belonging to the Parliament, Denis de Sallo, was the first scientific publication that appeared in Europe. Imitated almost immediately in Italy, Germany, and England, it gave birth to and has survived a multitude of critical reviews. The noble thought of giving competent judges to literary productions, realized first in France under Colbert's auspices, was propagated by the refugees on the free soil of Holland. Bayle struck out this new and fertile path. The wish to put down the ignorant effrontery of Nicholas de Blegny and his *Mercurie Savant*, and the pressing request of Jurieu, who at that time hoped to find in him a zealous defender of his ideas, induced him to publish his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, which appeared in 1684. His

prodigious intellectual activity, his vast knowledge, the originality he knew how to impart to all his works, and his extensive correspondence, insured the success of this enterprise. Certain refugees conceived a hope that he would transform his journal into a warlike engine directed against their enemies. He did not fulfil their desire. He wished the whole republic of letters to profit by the great liberty of the press enjoyed by Holland. But he would not use that liberty otherwise than with moderation. He treated Catholic and Protestant authors with equal impartiality, and spoke of their works with the discretion of a judge inaccessible to party hatred. In France, the philosophical spirit of the time, held in check by the precautions of a jealous police, and still more by the slowness of the censors charged with the examination of new books, had difficulty in satisfying its need of discussion. Minds desirous of independence, but forced to prudence, deemed themselves fortunate to find in Bayle's paper an organ suited to their timidity, and more than one article was sent secretly to him from Paris. One which reached him from Fontenelle, by the hands of Basnage, caused a certain sensation amongst the educated classes. It was a pretended letter from Batavia, in which were related the events that had occurred in the island of Borneo, in consequence of the rivalry of two pretenders to the throne, Mreo and Enègue—transparent anagrams of Rome and Geneva. This bold allegory compromised Fontenelle, whom the refugee journalist had named without thinking of the consequences; and if Voltaire is to be believed, the French academician only escaped the Bastille by writing some verses in laudation of the destruction of heresy.

When, in 1687, weariness and sickness compelled Bayle to give up the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, three papers shared his inheritance, and existed, with various merit and success, until after his death. The

first was the *Bibliothèque Universelle* of John Leclerc, which appeared from 1696 to 1703, and was followed by the *Bibliothèque Choisie* from 1703 to 1713, and by the *Bibliothèque Ancienne et Moderne* from 1713 to 1721. Although this writer, born at Geneva, is not to be considered a refugee, he is, nevertheless, connected with those families who quitted France to escape persecution ; for his ancestor, Nicholas Leclerc, of Beauvais in Picardy, had been carried off, when yet a child, from his father's house, by his mother, a zealous Protestant, who fled with him into Dauphiné, and thence to the city of Calvin. The second was edited, with remarkable critical and analytical talent, by a friend of Bayle, Henry Basnage de Beauval, a brother of Jacques Basnage, who continued the *Nouvelles* under the title of *Histoire des ouvrages des Savants*, a monthly review, which he edited from 1687 to 1709. The third, protected by the title which Bayle's talents had rendered celebrated, was edited by a refugee minister named Bernard, who began its publication in 1699.

The most literary of the three periodicals was that of Basnage ; the most learned, Leclerc's ; the third, devoid of originality, forms the transition to journals of the same kind which abounded in Holland in the course of the eighteenth century. The only refugee writer who worthily took up the literary mission of Bayle and his immediate successors, was Elias Luzac, whose articles, published in the *Bibliothèque Impartiale* and in the *Bibliothèque des Sciences*, are written with undeniable talent. He even had the honour, in 1766, of deciding, by an eloquent memorial, the rejection of a project of censorship of the press, then under discussion in an assembly of the States of Holland.

In their turn, the Dutch entered the career opened by the refugee writers. Van Effen published the *Journal Littéraire*, the *Courrier Politique et Gallant*, the *Nouveau*

Spectateur Français. Then, addressing himself more particularly to his countrymen, he published in their language, from 1710 to 1748, the *République des Savants*, followed soon afterwards by various periodical writings in the same language and with the same aim.

If we bear in mind that the French Academy was, almost from its origin, an entirely monarchical institution, that its acts were too often sullied by flattery, and that the court of Louis XIV. remained the real centre of the literature of the *grand siècle*, if we remember especially that the French writers were subject to the law of a dominant church, before which the sublimest geniuses still bowed themselves, we shall the more appreciate the truly civilizing influence of the refugees in Holland, and the high importance of the services they rendered to that country, and to the whole of Europe, by creating instruments of publicity independent of a jealous power, by popularizing by their means the liberal principles they professed in politics and in religion, and by thus realizing the great and happy idea of a sort of literary republic.

CHAPTER IV.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES ON THE PROGRESS OF
AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, AND TRADE.

FRENCH AGRICULTURISTS IN THE BARONY OF BREDa, AND IN THE PROVINCE OF FRIESLAND—MANUFACTURING INFLUENCES—COUNT D'AVAUX'S REPORTS—MEASURES TAKEN BY THE CITY OF AMSTERDAM TO ATTRACT FRENCH MANUFACTURERS—PETER BAILLE—MEASURES TAKEN BY OTHER TOWNS—NEW MANUFACTURES AT AMSTERDAM—INCREASE OF ITS PROSPERITY—MANUFACTORIES FOUNDED AT ROTTERDAM—PROGRESS OF MANUFACTURES AT LEYDEN AND HAARLEM—MANUFACTURES IN OTHER TOWNS—IMPROVEMENT IN THE MECHANICAL ARTS—FRENCH PAPER-MILLS—PROGRESS OF PRINTING AND OF THE BOOK TRADE—HUGUETAN—DIMINUTION OF EXPORTS FROM FRANCE TO HOLLAND—INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES ON THE PROGRESS OF COMMERCE.

PROTESTANT France sent to the United Provinces but a small number of agriculturists, poor men, almost all from the south, and who settled partly in the old barony of Breda, partly in Friesland. To the first the Prince of Orange generously distributed lands. The magistrates of Friesland did the same for the others, who got them into fruitful condition, and thus contributed to the public prosperity. The richer agriculturists dispersed themselves through the Seven Provinces, and did not form distinct agricultural colonies. Their descendants are now confounded with the Dutch population; whilst in Friesland, families of French origin are still recognisable, not only by their names, but by their modes of cultivation, and especially by the traditional custom of surrounding their lands with canals, marking the limits.

The commerce and manufactures of the Low Countries

were indebted to the refugees for an immense increase. The principal manufacturers, the merchants, the artisans, preferred retiring into England and Holland, whither it was easier for them to transport the property they had saved, and to turn their industry and capital to account. Most of those who settled in the United Provinces were from Normandy, Brittany, Poitou, and Guienne. They endowed their adopted country with several new manufactures, assisted in the re-establishment of those that were in a declining state, and communicated a vigorous impulse to the national trade.

Count d'Avaux's numerous reports sufficiently show how far the French government concerned itself about the successive disappearance of so many manufacturers and merchants, whose departure impoverished the kingdom and enriched the foreigner. He wrote, on the 11th September 1685, "I am informed that more than sixty French Protestants were embarked at Nantes in a Dutch vessel, after selling their property, and carrying away all the money they could." He had previously informed Louvois of the escape of several manufacturers, and of the establishment at Amsterdam of a manufactory of flowered silk-stuffs, which, he said, succeeded very well. He repeatedly insisted on the disastrous consequences of the flight of so many workmen. The 9th May 1686, he wrote to Seignelay that he could not conceal from him the regret he felt at seeing French manufactures established in Holland. "That of miller's cloths," he said, "for which there was so great a demand all over the world, and which was unknown in Holland, is now carried on at Rotterdam, where there is also established, amongst other hatters, one of the most famous of that trade at Rouen, who, of nineteen workmen he had in that town, has taken twelve with him to Rotterdam; and although he has been there but three months, I know that hats of his make have already been sent to La Rochelle."

The French ambassador deemed this desertion so serious and deplorable a matter, that he himself drew up a memorial to inform the king of the remedy he thought it necessary to apply. There was not, in reality, any more serious loss to be dreaded for the kingdom of France, (after that of the silk and woollen manufactures), than that of the caudebees¹ and beaver hats. Before the revocation, they were exported from Normandy to England, Holland, and Germany. This exportation ceased, little by little, after the year 1685, when manufactures of hats were established in the three countries where French hats had previously been in steady demand.

The republic showed particular favour to these proscribed manufacturers. The city of Amsterdam admitted them into the corporation of trades, without subjecting them to the severe ordeal native workmen had to go through, and readily granted the request made to it in 1682, by a number of manufacturers and artisans. "We offer, gentlemen," said they, "to place in the house you have the goodness to grant us, in the hands of a person chosen by you, eight thousand florins in good merchandise, such as silks estimated by you, and well worth the eight thousand florins, to serve as security for an advance of money you shall make us to have a hundred silk-looms, to be put in that house, and which will cost about six thousand florins." The magistrate of Amsterdam encouraged even private individuals. He purchased a vast edifice situated near the Weteringen gate, and offered it, with the title of *merchant, and director-general of the manufactures*, to Peter Baille, who placed in it one hundred and ten looms for manufacturing silk, wool, and hats, upon the plan of those he had managed at Clermont-Lodève in Languedoc. Some refugees from Nismes having founded, in 1684, a serge manufactory, which

¹ Hats made of lamb-skin, ostrich down, or camel's hair.—See *Savary's Dictionary*.

began to prosper, the city advanced them a sum equal to the value of half the goods they had in store. The same year, a similar favour was granted to one Péreneau, on condition that he should set up fifty looms for the manufacture of articles previously imported from abroad. In 1685, a celebrated manufacturer of lustrings, John Cabrier by name, received all the implements necessary to found a manufactory similar to that he had made prosper at Lyons ; and when he had proved his capacity by a commencement of success, they made him a present of all that had been supplied to him ; bestowing upon him, moreover, a recompense of five thousand florins, and a pension of two hundred and fifty, on condition that he should initiate in his art the Dutch workmen who should be named to him, to the exclusion of those of other countries. James Chamoix, John Pineau, James and Dinant Laures, were also aided in establishing manufactures, which soon contributed to the wealth of the country.

Rotterdam, Leyden, Haarlem, and all the other towns of the province of Holland, followed the example of Amsterdam. Everywhere the magistrates endeavoured to attract French manufacturers and artisans, by declaring that they should not be subjected to a new apprenticeship to the trade they had exercised in their own country, by exempting them from all dependence upon corporations, and, for a certain number of years, from all taxes ; by granting temporary assistance to those whose talents inspired confidence, and enabled the towns to reckon on an early repayment of their advances. In 1685, the burgomasters of Utrecht promised various immunities to the French artisans who should settle in their town. In 1686, Groningen and the Ommelands of Groningen published an edict liberating them, for fourteen years, from almost all public charges. These two provinces also undertook to supply money and materials

to all who would establish manufactories of cloth, and went so far as to assure them that the cavalry and infantry should be clothed exclusively with the produce of their industry. The regency of Bois-le-Duc gave them money, houses, exempted them from having troops quartered upon them, from the military service to which the burghers were subject, and from all taxes for twelve years.

So many privileges stimulated the industry of the refugees. The city of Amsterdam, previously entirely occupied by maritime commerce, received a fresh population, composed of manufacturers and skilful artisans. A host of embroiderers in silk and thread, designers of flowered stuffs and laces, makers of serge and drugget, spinners of gold and silver thread from Lyons, and linen-cloth-makers from Aix in Provence, whom the Dutch magistrates had induced to emigrate by promising them large profits, flocked to Amsterdam. A great number of articles that had previously been purchased in France were now made in Holland by the refugees; serges of various kinds, single and double taffeties of all colours, crapes of wool and silk, fans, caudebecs, embroideries in gold and silver, in thread and in silk, pointlace *à la reine*, of which a manufactory was founded in the Orphan-house, brocades, ribbons, plain and flowered gauzes, beaver hats. When the town received its last addition, by the construction of the streets comprised between the Jews' quarter and the rampart, from the Amstel to the Rapenburg quay, the new houses were occupied in great part by French artisans, and especially by hatters. The name of *Sentier des Chapeliers* (Hatters' Walk), is still retained by a street situated near the Utrecht gate; and not far from the Weesper gate stood one of the finest of those manufactories of caudebecs with which the refugees enriched Holland. "All these manufactures," wrote Scion to the magistrate of Amsterdam, "have been established

in two years' time, and without expense; whereas, with all their endeavours, your predecessors were never able to obtain them, and the greatest ministers of the Most Christian King spent several millions upon them. They fill the city more and more with inhabitants, increase its public revenues, strengthen its walls and its boulevards, multiply arts and manufactures, establish new fashions, circulate money, erect new edifices, make trade flourish, fortify the Protestant religion, bring an abundance of all things, and will soon attract buyers from every country—from Germany, the kingdoms of the North, Spain, the Baltic Sea, the West Indies and American islands, and even from England. They contribute, in short, to render Amsterdam one of the most famous towns in the world, like unto the ancient city of Tyre, which the prophet calls the *perfect in beauty*, and of which he says that she trafficked with all islands and with all nations; that her roads were in the heart of the sea; that all the ships and all the sailors of the ocean entered her port; that she abounded in all manner of merchandise, and that her merchants were all princes."

The manufactories established by the refugees increased the prosperity of Amsterdam with a rapidity that astonished Europe. This may be judged of by the report addressed in 1686 to the Elector of Brandenburg, by his ambassador in Holland. The prodigious success of the French manufactures, that of lustrings—so long deemed impossible to be made elsewhere than at Tours and Lyons—the fall in the price of silken stuffs, which had formerly fetched fifty sous and had fallen to thirty-six, that of beaver hats, which had cost ten crowns, and now cost but six,—such were the benefits this city owed to its generous hospitality, and which Frederick-William's envoy reported to his master.

Rotterdam was also enriched by the establishment of French hat-manufactories. Several of the best hat-makers

of Rouen, Pierre Varin, Louis Thiolet, David Mallet, who before the persecution annually sent thousands of caudebecs to Holland, settled in Rotterdam, and soon began to export considerably. Seconded by Jacques Du Long, Pierre Bourdon, and several other manufacturers, they solicited the suppression of the export duty on hats, and the increase of the import duty. Notwithstanding its repugnance to the protection system, the Dutch government granted this request, to give encouragement to a rising manufacture which promised to be singularly profitable to the country. The export duty, which was of four sous per *livre de gros*, was abolished, and that on the imports increased in the same proportion.¹ Thenceforward, the hatters in France found no advantage in selling their produce in the Seven Provinces. Further to stimulate this new manufacture, henceforward naturalised on Dutch soil, deviation was made from the old rules which forbade hatters to employ more than eight workmen, and the refugees were permitted to take as many as they pleased into their service.

But nowhere did French manufactures flourish more than at Leyden and Haarlem. It is true that those two towns, formerly the most considerable in the province of Holland, already possessed several manufactures resembling those the refugees were about to establish there. Those of cloth and woollen stuffs had flourished there for several centuries, and at Leyden they had particularly increased, when the Prince of Parma's victories caused so large a number of Walloons to flock to that town, that its inhabitants were sometimes collectively designated by that name. But they did not attain their highest point of perfection until after the arrival of the Protestants of France. From that date forward, they produced the finest cloth, the best camlets, and the most esteemed

¹ It was raised from six to ten sous per *livre de gros*. The *livre de gros* was worth six florins (about ten shillings.)

serges in Holland. They acquired a European reputation, and the high wages tempted even the Catholic soldiers of Louis XIV.'s armies, who deserted and went to Leyden in the capacity of workmen.¹

Haarlem, which had likewise received amongst its citizens a large number of artisans from Flanders, also owed the increase and improvement of its manufactures to the French refugees, to whom the beauty of its situation and the salubrity of its climate proved particularly attractive. They introduced the manufacture of plush, particularly of flowered plush, known in the trade by the name of *caffas*. It was a sort of velvet, in great demand in Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, where the Dutch merchants sold it ten or fifteen per cent cheaper than those of France. At Haarlem were imitated the patterns of Tours and Lyons, but the workmen trained by the refugees never attained that exquisite art which annually embellished the velvets of those two towns, and especially those of Lyons, by extreme variety, and by all the graces of taste and novelty. The prodigious extent of Dutch trade in all parts of the world nevertheless gave a reputation to its plushes, flowered silk-stuffs, and stuffs of mingled silk and wool, which insured them everywhere a sale. These products of refugee industry acquired so great a reputation, that instances were known of particular sorts of velvets being manufactured at Milan, sent to Holland, then sent back to Milan, and sold there as Dutch velvet. The Haarlem silk-stuffs long vied with those of Lyons, especially at Paris, notwithstanding the acknowledged superiority of the latter. They were in request in all the north of France by reason of their strength, and because they did not require to be changed every year; for such was the capriciousness of the fashion, that, with respect to this article, it was made to consist in the permanent uni-

¹ See Louvois' Letter to Count d'Avaux, of the 20th January 1686. *Negociations du Comte d'Avaux*, vol. v. p. 231.

formity of the stuff, whilst new patterns were imperatively and continually demanded from the Lyons manufacturers.

Amongst the silk-manufactures with which the refugees enriched Haarlem, those of gauze and thread claim particular notice. They were in remarkably general use at that period. From the higher classes of society it had extended to persons of inferior degree. Those light stuffs composed of silk, or of gold and silver thread, and designated by the name of gauzes, were extremely liked. They were used for ornament as well as for dress, and to cover valuable pieces of furniture. This article, and ordinary silk-stuffs, employed three thousand looms, and maintained about fifteen thousand workmen in ease and plenty.

The introduction of druggets, stockings, caps, and especially of French linens, also conduced to Haarlem's prosperity. That town had twenty manufactories of linen cloths, founded by the refugees, from whom its inhabitants learned to imitate those of France, to fold theirs in the same manner, until the counterfeit was so exact that they were sold as French in the ports of Mexico and Peru. The provinces of Groningen, Friesland, and Over-Yssel owed part of their wealth to this new manufacture. But the Haarlem cloths were those that became especially celebrated for their fineness and whiteness. The manufacturers in that town knew how to give them so fine a lustre that they at last took to purchasing the unbleached linens of Westphalia, the county of Juliers, Flanders, and Brabant, to bleach them, and afterwards sell them as hollands. There was a time when this manufacture was so superior to that of France that the people of Beauvais, Compiègne, Courtrai, endeavoured to imitate it, and passed off their goods as Dutch, under the name of demi-hollands. Besides these linens, which were of fine quality, Haarlem derived from the refugees the manufacture of the Brittany sail-cloths, of which enough was soon made to supply the

whole of the Dutch fleet, besides considerable exportations to England.

The workmen of Utrecht and Amersfoort wound a part of the Italian silks consumed by the Haarlem manufactories. But those two towns had also manufactures of their own. At Utrecht was founded, in 1681, the celebrated Zidjebalen manufactory, which had not its equal in the Seven Provinces. The watered silks there produced were of superior quality, and it gave employment to five hundred workmen, chiefly French, who had helped a Dutchman, James Van Mollen, to create that magnificent establishment. Utrecht soon had also important manufactories of velvet. Founded, or early taken in hand, by refugees, their products had a solidity and lustre which those of Amsterdam did not attain to. The French manufacturers, and especially those of Amiens, who endeavoured to imitate them, were soon unable to dispose of theirs excepting under the name of Utrecht velvets. Even in 1766, when Dutch manufactures were in full decline, the velvets and silks of Utrecht gave employment to ten thousand workmen. The ancient cloth-manufactories of that town, chiefly those of black cloth, were brought to great perfection by the refugees. Most of them passed into their hands, and were indebted to them for a long period of prosperity.

At Amersfoort the refugees made the celebrated French stuffs known by the name of Amersfoort *Marseilles*. At Naerden they founded velvet manufactures, which, in the middle of the eighteenth century, still possessed three hundred looms, each of which sufficed for the support of a family. Zaandam witnessed the erection within its walls, in the interval between 1680 and 1690, of colour and tobacco mills, of manufactories of white-lead and blue starch. At Dordrecht, which served as asylum to a multitude of workmen, the sugar-refineries, the breweries, the manufactures of cloth, of carpets, and of gold and silver thread, became more flourishing than ever they had been.

Its whale-fishery on the Greenland coast received a new impulse and extension. Whilst in 1679 it employed but 126 boats, in 1680 the number was 148 ; in 1681, 172 ; in 1682, 186 ; in 1683, 242 ; in 1684, 246. Subsequently to the year of the revocation, it increased still more rapidly, thanks to the arrival of a crowd of refugees from the French navy and merchant service, who completed the crews of the Dutch ships, and several of whom subsequently filled the post of *Directors of the Greenland Fishery* at Dordrecht.

Thus did almost all the Dutch towns receive from the refugees an increase of wealth, owing to the manufactures these either brought into them or improved. Not only did they create new manufactures, and elevate those they found already established ; they did still more. By their intelligent toil they greatly improved the mechanical arts, the humblest trades. The art of working in gold, silver, jewels, and especially the cutting and polishing of diamonds, were considerably advanced by the innate taste they brought with them from France. They taught the Dutch better processes than they had previously employed for refining sugar, salt, sulphur, rosin, for bleaching wax, making soap, particularly black soap, for dyeing scarlet, for dressing morocco and chamois leather. The making and mending of watches, the armourer's and the locksmith's crafts, were indebted to them for undeniable progress. At Amsterdam, as at Berlin, French locks were soon reputed the best and safest. French shoemakers, tailors, hairdressers, and laceworkers were looked upon almost as artists. Thus by the high finish of their work, the refugee manufacturers and artisans acquired a reputation that kept in the country considerable sums by which France, and especially Paris, had formerly profited ; they won public esteem for manual aptitudes previously despised, and thus raised the condition of the middle-classes, which gained both in prosperity and in respect.

To the many advantages Holland derived from them, must be added the fine paper manufactures they formed in that country, and the immense impulse they gave to printing, bookselling, and generally to all the trades in which paper is essential.

The most ancient paper-mills in the Low Countries were founded in the province of Gelderland, near Beckbergen, and Apeldoorn, by the Frenchman Martin Orges, who settled in that country in 1616. But whatever the whiteness and strength of his paper may have been, the Dutch printers preferred that of France, which they got from Ambert and Angoulême. This was no longer the case in the year succeeding the revocation. One of the first manufactories in the Angoumois, employing no less than five hundred workmen, was conducted by the two brothers Vincent, one of whom resided at Amsterdam, and the other at Angoulême. By the intervention of Count d'Avaux the latter obtained a passport for Holland, whither he had been preceded by most of his workmen. Other manufacturers followed this example, and the French ambassador soon informed his court that their paper-mills succeeded perfectly. The number of these founded in the first years of the Refuge was so considerable, and the throng of workmen from all parts of France so great, that it was found necessary to send many of the latter to England, where most of them found employment in a large manufactory in London, directed by Paul Dupin. Thenceforward, and in spite of the recognised superiority of the paper which bore the mark of the French mills, that of Holland was in demand throughout almost the whole of Europe. The Netherlands merchants long supplied with it the Austrian Low Countries, a part of England, of France, and of Spain, and nearly the whole of Portugal. In Holland it was exclusively used. "I know," wrote Count d'Avaux, in 1688, "that famous printers in this country, who had begun great works with

French paper, and did not believe they could continue them with any other, are having paper made in Holland, where many new paper-mills are established. When once that has got into use, they will no longer go to France for their paper, though they should be on the best terms in the world with our country."

This anticipation was but too soon realized. Not only did the Amsterdam printers make no further use of French paper for works published in Dutch, but they printed for French, English, and German authors a multitude of books of which often not a single copy was sold in the country. So cheap and good was the Dutch paper that authors and printers found their advantage in this. Here, again, was employment for numerous workmen, and an addition to the public prosperity. The manufactories established on the banks of the Zaan vied with the best in France, and long formed one of the most important branches of the national industry. During nearly the whole of the eighteenth century they rivalled those of Germany, founded by other refugees, under the patronage of the Great Elector. Although labour was cheaper in the latter country, paper was dearer at Leipzig than at Amsterdam, where the merchants, being richer, were able to content themselves with smaller profits, and to give longer credit.

From the birth of the republic of the United Provinces, printing and publishing had flourished under the protection of law and liberty in the country of Laurent Coster. Two towns especially, Leyden and Amsterdam, one proud of its academy, the most celebrated in Holland, the other enriched by its immense trade, had reckoned amongst their citizens renowned booksellers and printers. The Elzevirs and the Blaeuws had long held an exalted rank in the book trade, and to them did printing owe the high degree of perfection it attained in Holland. But at the end of the seventeenth century it was on

the decline, and seemed threatened with speedy ruin, when it was revived by the refugees. They it was who gave to the Dutch book-trade that powerful impulse which assured to it the European influence it exercised in the following century. It began by publishing a great number of Protestant works which the severity of the censorship would not have allowed to appear in France. Eminent writers, condemned to silence in their native land, found themselves for the first time free to propagate their ideas. The books, periodicals, and newspapers they published were everywhere eagerly read. They circulated even in France, although their introduction into that country was rigorously prohibited. To deceive the French police they changed the names of the printers, and of the towns in which those works appeared. Thus is it that the books published at Rotterdam by Reinier Leers were put forth under the pseudonyme of Peter Marteau at Cologne ; those of Abraham Wolfgang in Amsterdam, under that of Pierre Leblanc at Villefranche. The same stratagem was employed by the publishers, who took the false names of Jean du Pays, Jacques le Curieux, Jacques Pleinde-Courage, and who passed themselves off as Liege and Cologne booksellers. Thanks to this device, the States-general might promulgate rigorous edicts against the writers who strove to bring Louis XIV. into disesteem : the offenders were sure of impunity. French authors themselves had often recourse to Dutch printers, whether it was that the liberty of the press prevailing in the latter country gave their works greater value in the opinion of the reading public, and a more extended publicity, or that the nature of their writings imperatively enjoined them to seek publishers on an independent territory. Thus did La Fontaine publish his *Contes et Nouvelles* at Amsterdam in 1685 ; the *Histoire naturelle de l'âme*, by Lamettrie, was published at the Hague in 1745 ; his *Politique du medicin de Machiavel* at

Amsterdam in 1746 ; his *Homme-machine* at Leyden in 1748. Prosecuted for this last work, his editor, Stephen Luzac, defended himself in his *Essai sur la liberté de produire ses sentiments*, which appeared *au pays libre, by privilege of all true philosophers*. Rousseau's principal works, the *Contrat social*, the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, issued from the press of Michael Rey, bookseller at Amsterdam ; John Néaulme published the first edition of *Emile* in the same city in 1762.

A great number of important bookselling establishments were founded by the refugees and their descendants. Chalmot, Néaulme, Desbordes, Changnion, the brothers Luzac, Rey, Marchand, were long at the head of the book trade at the Hague, Leyden, and Amsterdam. The first example of a really European bookselling firm was that of the Huguétan family, originally from Lyons. The chief of this house settled at Amsterdam with his three sons, and created the most extensive traffic in books perhaps that ever existed. There was not in all Europe, and especially in Spain, Italy, France, Holland, England, Germany, any city where he had not counting-houses, clerks, and factors. He had depôts at Constantinople, at Smyrna, at Aleppo. Several thousands of persons shared in the profits of this immense commerce, which owed its greatest development to the indefatigable activity and rare sagacity of the youngest of the three brothers, Pierre Huguétan of Montferrat. Most of the works put into circulation by this house were from the press of Bernard Picart, distinguished alike as a printer and as a draughtsman and engraver. Born at Paris in 1672, he left France after the revocation, in company with his father, Stephen Picart, a zealous Protestant, who sacrificed all he possessed to his religious convictions. At first employed to illustrate new books, he acquired a name by his exquisite designs, which bore the stamp of genius, and thus added to the reputation of the

Dutch book-trade, although afterwards he abused his talent, and, by working too hastily, often deteriorated the quality of his productions.

The impulse given to printing and bookselling in Holland increased the intercourse of the republic with the learned classes in France, England, and Germany, and opened new outlets to its trade. At home it diffused knowledge through the inferior ranks of society, which had lived until then in ignorance. Extended education raised the standard of public morality. The material prosperity of the nation also benefited by the same causes. Not only a number of literary men were indebted to them for competency or riches, but numerous correctors of the press, typesetters, binders, designers, engravers, and manufacturers of leather and parchment, had to thank them for their living.

Silks, linen, woollen cloth, hats, paper, books, such are the principal manufactures with which the refugees enriched Holland, and of which France had to deplore the loss or the diminution. According to Macpherson, the total revenue of the latter kingdom was diminished by more than seventy-five millions of pounds sterling during the fifty years from 1683 to 1733. The disastrous wars of the second half of Louis XIV.'s reign were doubtless the most active cause of the dwindling of that monarchy which Richelieu and Mazarin had rendered so powerful, and Colbert so rich and prosperous. But the manufactures the refugees took abroad with them also contributed to that fatal decline. From Macpherson's calculation, it appears that the annual importation into Holland of silks, velvets, woollens, and linens, of French manufacture, underwent a diminution of £600,000; that of hats, of £217,000; that of glass, clocks, watches, and household utensils, of £160,000; lace, gloves, and paper, £260,000; sail-cloth, linen-cloth, and canvass, £165,000; soap, saffron, woad, honey, and spun wool, £300,000. The total

diminution of the imports into Holland from France was £1,702,000; that of goods imported into England was, according to the same writer, £1,880,000. Thus the annual loss that the refugees established in the two countries inflicted on France was not less than £3,582,000 sterling.¹

The prosperity of the manufactures founded in Holland by the refugees naturally influenced that of trade. The persecutions directed against the Protestants in France had dealt a rude blow to the commercial intercourse of the Dutch with that country. A great number of French merchants quitted seaport towns to go and live at Paris or in its neighbourhood, where they, to a certain extent, found an asylum against intolerance. Others had seen their houses sacked by dragoons, their merchandize destroyed or confiscated; and the Dutch, whose debtors they were, had been involved in their misfortune. The consternation was so great on the Amsterdam Exchange, when news came of the revocation, that money was refused to the most solvent houses, merely because they did business with the French merchants. One of the first effects of Louis XIV.'s edict was to secure to Holland the capital, the credit, the commercial spirit and knowledge of the many refugees who there took up their abode. Holland profited especially by the close connection they contrived to keep up with their relatives and friends, and generally with those of the same religion dispersed in Germany, England, and America. The severe austerity of their morals, their habit of toil, the spirit of order that formed the rule of their lives, and the great confidence their religious character inspired, assisted them to build up, little by little, some of those great fortunes that were one day to contribute to the prosperity of the State, and that were formed by the influence of the same causes to which the Dutch themselves, sprung from a

¹ Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. ii., p. 610. London, 1805.

population of poor fishermen, owed their immense wealth. The manufactories established by the proscribed families offered advantageous investments to a great amount of unemployed capital. The export of the produce of those manufactories increased the trade with foreign countries. Thus did the refugees stimulate the commerce of the nation that had welcomed them upon their exit from their native land, and indemnify it many times over for the momentary injury done to it by the barbarous measures of the French government.

CHAPTER V.

THE REFUGEE COLONIES AT THE CAPE AND SURINAM.

CAPE COLONY—FRENCH VALLEY—THE FRENCH HOEK—CULTIVATION OF WHEAT
 —IMPROVEMENT OF THE VINE — CONSTANTIA WINE — EXTINCTION OF THE
 FRENCH LANGUAGE IN CAPE COLONY — PRESENT STATE OF THIS COLONY —
 SURINAM—AERSENS DE SOMMELSDIK — DISTINGUISHED FAMILIES IN THE
 COLONY OF SURINAM.

THE Dutch colonies also received some thousands of emigrants. In 1684 the Assembly of Seventeen, which represented the East India Company of the Low Countries, declared itself ready to afford free passage to the Cape of Good Hope to all those French Protestants who were disposed there to devote themselves to agriculture, or to exercise some trade. It promised to grant to every colonist as much land as he could cultivate, to give him seed to sow, and the necessary farming implements, on condition of being repaid its advances within a fixed period. About eighty families accepted these offers, and embarked under the guidance of a nephew of Admiral Duquesne. The governor of the Cape, Van der Stel, settled them in the district of Drachenstein, where they were soon joined by other French emigrants. Towards the end of the seventeenth century, there were about three thousand of them established at twelve leagues to the north of the Cape, in a fertile valley, which bears, to the present day, the name of *French Valley*. That distant asylum, separated from the sea by a vast tract of sand and heath, is situated at the foot of a mountain which bounds it to the south, and which still bears

the name of *French Mountain*. Northwards it is bounded by a chain of higher mountains, forming part of the Hot-tentot country. In this valley, about fourteen leagues long by three wide, are still easily to be recognized several villages originally constructed by the refugees. The oldest is that of Drachenstein, where the first French church was built,—which was long the only church the exiles had. They repaired thither from considerable distances. The first pastor, Simon, appears to have exercised a happy influence on this rising colony, for his memory is still venerated there; and at no great distance from the humble village whose minister and father he long was, the traveller is shown a mountain that bears his name. Another village is called the *French Hoek* or *French Corner*. A third, that of Charron, bears the name of its founder, and almost all the inhabitants are descended from his family. The members of this French tribe have always had as chief an old man chosen amongst the elders of the community, and without consulting whom no important enterprise is undertaken. This patriarchal government, so conformable to the democratic ideas of the first Calvinists, has been favourable to the village, which is one of the finest and most opulent in all the country. It has not been less useful to the maintenance of pure morality, simple habits, faith and piety, which have remained uncontaminated amongst the descendants of those expatriated families. There is a fourth village, the most considerable of all, that of *La Perle*, whose inhabitants, exclusively devoted to agriculture, are the richest in that old Dutch colony, now belonging to the English.

The emigrants especially applied themselves to the cultivation of wheat. In their houses was found the best bread in the colony; not that their wheat was of a superior quality, but because the French method of preparing it, imported by their ancestors, was handed down unchanged from

father to son. The wilderness they cleared was soon covered with fruit-trees previously unknown to the savage inhabitants of South Africa. In the very earliest days of the Refuge, people spoke of the plantations of the French burgomasters of Drachenstein, Louis Legrand and Abraham Villiers, as amongst the most flourishing in the country. Cape Colony also owed to them, if not the introduction, at least the improvement, of the vine. The wines of Burgundy, Champagne, Frontignac, which they first transplanted into their new country, soon acquired great celebrity. The Desmarets family were the first growers of the famous Constantia wine. Two other families, the Charonnes and the Fontaines, also contributed to the agricultural prosperity of that barbarous region, to which they rendered another service by the eminent functionaries they gave it in the interval between 1714 and 1726.

French Valley has at the present day a population of about 10,000, of which 4000 are free descendants of the refugees, and 6000 former slaves, emancipated by an act of the British Parliament. French has long ceased to be spoken by either race. In 1739, the Dutch government, acting upon that occasion in a narrow-minded manner, unjustly forbade the performance of divine service in French, which had previously been retained in extreme purity. The refugees were obliged to learn Dutch, and, to their great regret, saw the national tongue die out amongst them. When Levailant visited the Cape in 1780, he found but one old man who understood French; but several families, the Malherbes, the Dutoïts, the Rétifs, the Cochers, betrayed their origin by their names. They were easily distinguishable from the Dutch colonists, who were mostly fair, by their dark hair and tawny skins. But if they no longer speak the language of their forefathers, they have not forgotten their rigid principles and fervent piety.

The traveller who crosses their hospitable threshold invariably finds upon the table one of those great folio Bibles which the French Protestants were wont to hand down from father to son, as a sacred patrimony and inestimable treasure. The date of birth and the names of all the members of the family are invariably inscribed in it. Sometimes, too, one finds pious books in their houses, such as the Psalms put into verse by Clement Marot. An affecting custom has been preserved amongst these simple and austere men. Night and morning the members of each family assemble for prayer. There are no formalities or pompous ceremonies; they content themselves with praying with all their hearts, and with reading the Bible. With the exception of the missionary chapel at La Perle, and of the little church at Charron, they have but a single temple for all the population of the valley. But every Sunday, at sunrise, the farmers set out in their rustic vehicles, covered with hides or with coarse cloth, to attend divine service, and at night they return peaceably to their homes. Such is their only relaxation from their toil. Gambling is unknown amongst them, and the refined corruption of European civilisation has not reached them. Entirely isolated from the rest of the world, making but rare visits even to Cape Town, they know little of even the greatest revolutions that have convulsed modern society. In 1828, they were still ignorant of the existence of religious liberty in France; and when the evangelical missionaries announced to them this great blessing, which to them was marvellous, the old men shed tears, and long refused to believe that their brethren could be so favourably treated in a country where their ancestors had so cruelly suffered. Unacquainted with the literary progress of the land of their origin, the useful arts and practical instruction are all they care for and cultivate. They seek to diffuse them amongst their former slaves, whom they have always treated with kindness,

and they willingly devote much time and pains to the propagation of the gospel amongst the idolatrous races that surround them.

A second colony of refugees, less numerous than that at the Cape, was founded at Surinam, a few years before the revocation. The first Dutch establishments in Guiana, formed by bold adventurers from Zealand, had been ceded by the States of that province to the West India Company, which, to attract colonists thither, gave a third to the city of Amsterdam, and another third to Aersens, lord of Sommelsdik. An ancestor of this latter, Francis van Aersens, had long been ambassador of the republic to Henry IV. and to Louis XIII., and the friendships he had formed with several Protestant families of illustrious birth had been religiously kept up by his descendants. The lord of Sommelsdik had himself married a noble French lady. Proprietor of a part of Guiana which as yet was wholly uncultivated, he took thither several hundred refugees, who embarked under the direction of a commissary of the burgomasters of Amsterdam, named Sautin. Amongst them were numerous artisans, carpenters, masons, coopers, blacksmiths, farriers, and a certain number of agriculturists, to whom he distributed lands. Soon a French church was built in the little town of Paramaribo, and the refugee minister Dalbus was chosen to direct this infant community. In 1686, a Dutch ship, the *Prophet Samuel*, took out more emigrants, and, some years afterwards, the French colony received a last accession of numbers by the arrival of several families, of which the most distinguished were those of Rayneval, Vernesobre, and La Sablonnière. Two governors of Surinam, Nepveu and Lucas Coudrie, were afterwards taken from amongst these voluntary exiles, several of whom acquired great fortunes. Commerce, manufactures, and especially agriculture, received from them a vigorous impulse. In 1683 there were but

about fifty sugar-plantations in Dutch Guiana. In 1686 there were a hundred and thirty. The district cleared by the refugees still bears the name of *Providence*, given to it by those sincere believers.

The propagation of Christianity amongst the savage tribes of that country was in great part the work of Dalbus, Fauvarque, and the other French pastors of Surinam. In 1697, Pierre Saurin quitted his peaceable retreat at Bois-le-Duc to devote himself entirely to the conversion of the Indians. He sojourned long in the countries dependent on the West India Company, learned the language of the aborigines, taught them the Gospel, and saw his efforts crowned by the most brilliant success. The synod of the Walloon churches of the Low Countries assigned, in 1700, a special fund in aid of these missionaries of civilisation in the forests of Guiana. By an odd caprice of fate, the refugees thus contributed to spread the Christian religion in that part of America, and, as a natural consequence, there to confirm the Dutch rule.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF THE
REFUGEES IN HOLLAND.

SERVICES RENDERED BY THE DESCENDANTS OF THE REFUGEES IN THE ARMY AND IN DIPLOMACY—LOUIS GASPARD LUZAC—DECLINE OF MANUFACTURES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—PRESENT STATE OF THE LEYDEN MANUFACTURES—GROWING PROSPERITY OF TRADE—POPULARITY OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE—FUSION OF THE DESCENDANTS OF THE REFUGEES WITH THE DUTCH—WORKS PUBLISHED IN DUTCH—TRANSLATION OF FRENCH NAMES—PROGRESSIVE DIMINUTION OF THE NUMBER OF FRENCH CHURCHES—PRESENT STATE OF THE CHURCHES FOUNDED AT THE PERIOD OF THE EMIGRATION.

THE influence exercised in Holland by the refugees was not limited to the first years of the emigration ; it lasted during the whole of the eighteenth century, and may easily be traced down to the present day.

The descendants of the brave officers who had so stoutly supported the cause of William of Orange, and had shed their blood upon so many battle-fields in Ireland, Flanders, France, and Spain, made it a point of honour to follow the profession of their ancestors. True to the glorious traditions of that French nobility from which many of them had sprung, those who settled in the Seven Provinces continued to defend with their swords the republic that had adopted them. The families of Mauregnault and Collot d'Escury have given to the Dutch artillery a great number of its best officers. That of the Baron d'Yvoi has produced engineers who inherited at once the name and the talents of their celebrated forefather. The Dompierres de Jonquières have almost all achieved distinction in the army. The de Larreys, allied

with the Jonquières, have, like them, adhered to the military service. One of the last of this family was aide-de-camp to King William I. That of Guillot has produced skilful naval officers. In our own day the kingdom of Holland has found resolute and devoted defenders in several Dutchmen, whose names sufficiently attest their French origin: General Guicherit; Paul Delprat, lieutenant-colonel of engineers, and commandant of the military academy of Breda; Huet, who fell, when still young, in the struggle brought on by the insurrection of Belgium in 1830; Munier, who signalized his courage at the siege of Antwerp, where he served as captain of engineers; General Baron Chassé, who defended the citadel of that town against Marshal Gérard.

Others served the State as ministers and diplomatists. Lestevenon was ambassador at the court of Louis XV. Cerisier was repeatedly employed as a negotiator. Delprat, father of Paul Delprat, was secretary-general to the ministry of foreign affairs under King Louis, brother of Napoleon. On the restoration of the house of Orange in 1814, William I. made him private secretary to the same ministry, raised him to the rank of commander of the Order of the Lion of the Netherlands, and the Prince of Orange moreover intrusted him with the religious education of his three sons, the princes William, Henry, and Alexander. At a more recent date, Blussé, Collet d'Escury, and Louis Gaspard Luzac were members of the States-general. The first two of these exercised but a limited influence. The third, named deputy in 1827, was long the chief of the Liberal opposition. A loyal and sincere man, he combated the encroachments of royalty, forcibly opposed the project of reconquering Belgium attributed to the reigning dynasty, and steadily refused all the honours and dignities offered him. Raised to power by the revolution of 1848, which brought about in Holland the momentary triumph of his party, he was

one of the framers of the constitution by which that kingdom is still governed.¹ But the state of his health, and perhaps the impossibility of putting in practice the principles he professed in opposition, have since induced him to abandon politics, and he now lives in retirement at Leyden.

With respect to manufactures, the influence of the refugees was less durable than their brilliant commencement gave grounds to hope. The manufactures of silks, linens, hats, paper, they had created, began to languish during the first half of the eighteenth century, and gradually disappeared from the republic. Those, on the contrary, which they had not been the first to establish, but had merely improved and brought to perfection, such as the cloths and woollen stuffs of Leyden, the tanneries and sugar-refineries, bore up against foreign opposition, and preserve to this day traces of the improvement introduced into them at that period. The new manufactures could sustain themselves only if protected by high tariffs; for the increasing dearness of labour necessarily compelled the manufacturers to sell their products at higher prices than those of France and Germany. But the nature of Dutch trade was completely opposed to any attempts at a prohibitive system. The government could not adopt the same regulations which in France protected young manufactures. It could not, in imitation of the English Parliament, forbid the importation of French taffeties, nor levy exorbitant duties on other silks imported from France. The abundance of money, with which extensive banking operations and the trade with the Indies had glutted the home circulation, and the taxes on the things most necessary to life, did not permit it to seek the preservation of other manufactures than those essential to the supply of the navy, or that were supported by the home consumption. Thus,

¹ Written in 1852.

although the French manufacturers were invited to the country, the privileges at first granted them were withdrawn in a few years, in order not to injure the natives. A single exception was made in favour of the hatters, but it was not long sufficient. As to the free importation of raw silks, of hemp, of cambric linens to be bleached at Haarlem, of wool, and generally of all the substances used in the manufacture of cloth, it had been granted long before the time of the Refuge, and the manufactures established by the French exiles received no special encouragement from it. Thus left to themselves, they could not fail gradually to decline. Even the silk-manufactures really flourished only until the end of the war of the Spanish Succession. Peace restored, the French silks, less costly and of more elegant make, soon resumed their former superiority in the Dutch market. The velvets of Utrecht were at last manufactured at Amiens. Whilst France waged with the United Provinces a tariff war which injured Dutch manufactures, the Dutch merchants persisted in demanding the maintenance of free trade, and in energetically opposing the system of reprisals which the interests of the new manufactures demanded. They purchased foreign goods indifferently, whatever their origin, so long as they could realize a profit by their sale. Thus did Holland almost cease, in the second half of the eighteenth century, to be a manufacturing country. Even the Leyden manufactures are at the present day nearly extinct—that town, once so industrious, possessing but two of any importance, one of woollens, directed by Paul Durieu, the other of stuffs made of goat's hair, known by the name of *polémities* (from the name of the manufacturer, La Pole), in which the Dutch drive a great trade with the recently opened ports of the Chinese empire.

But if the refugee manufacturers did not maintain the promise of their commencement, upon the other hand, the exiles had a large share in the immense extension given to

Dutch trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Boissevains, the Bienfaits, the Chemets, the Feyssets, are now reckoned amongst the most renowned merchants and financiers in the country. The house of Cromelin, founded at Amsterdam at the beginning of the emigration, maintains, after the lapse of one hundred and fifty years, its original reputation, and its books, still kept in the French language, testify to the respect of the descendants of the French exile for the traditions of their family. The great banking and commercial houses of Labouchère and Van Overzee (a translation of the French name of Outremer) at Rotterdam, those of Conderc and Véreul at Amsterdam,¹ also date from the early days of the Refuge, and have maintained themselves for several centuries amongst the most eminent in Europe.

The language and literature of France preserved, during the whole of the eighteenth century, the marked preponderance they had acquired in Holland at the period of the Refuge. The young people flocked to hear the preachers at the Walloon churches. French gained ground even amongst the lower classes, still coarse and rude, but eager to instruct and improve themselves. It was learned at schools and by domestic use; in many families it was habitually spoken; letters were usually written in it, and many Dutchmen would have been greatly puzzled to write a letter in their native tongue. Even at the present day ladies of a certain age write but unwillingly in the national language. In Brandenburg the refugees formed themselves into bodies, and founded colonies distinct from the rest of the people; in the Low Countries they scattered themselves everywhere. Their descendants were to be met with in the largest towns, as in the humblest villages. They lived confounded with the nation that had welcomed their ancestors, and this

¹ The family of Conderc has been for several years extinct. That old commercial house is now directed by M. Pierre Labouchère.

happy fusion contributed to render their language popular, and to spread a taste for their literature. English, Spanish, and Italian, which had been cultivated in Holland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were sacrificed to French. Dutch itself was neglected to such an extent that Bayle omitted in his Dictionary the most eminent Dutch writers, because their works were composed in a language reputed almost barbarous. In the eighteenth century the native poets were silent, or confined themselves to imitations or translations of the masterpieces of the French theatre. Racine especially, for whom the refugees professed the liveliest admiration, became the object of public enthusiasm. The most renowned Dutch poet of that day, Nomsz, translated *Athalie*, *Phèdre*, *Iphigénie*, and Corneille's and Voltaire's best plays. They were performed with immense success in every town in Holland, and the principal theatres have since continued to give them. In our days the plays of Jouy, Ducis, Casimir Delavigne, Scribe, have also obtained permanent success, and it is only since the appearance of the dramas of the romantic school that the influence of the French stage has declined in the Low Countries. Neither Victor Hugo nor Alexandre Dumas have hitherto been honoured as were their predecessors.

A particular circumstance powerfully contributed to this long reign of the French language, and to this love for its literature. Up to the end of the eighteenth century the descendants of the refugees at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden, the Hague, remained united amongst themselves by those bonds of sympathy which their ancestors had naturally formed in the land of their exile. Their intercourse was frequent and intimate. Habitually they intermarried, and, although long familiar with Dutch, they used French for conversation and correspondence. But an ultimate and complete fusion of the refugees with the natives was inevitable. Saurin already foresaw it

when he said, in his fine discourse on love of country, addressing himself to the chiefs of the State assembled round his pulpit in the French temple at the Hague: "One of the greatest consolations of those fugitive bands is, that you do not disdain to abolish all distinctions between them and those who have had the happiness to be born under your government; it is that you do not require that there should be two people amongst you, it is that you have the condescension to consider us as if we owed you our existence, even as some amongst us owe you their means of support, and as all are indebted to you for liberty and repose." Long in process of preparation, the definitive blending of the two races took place at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. For the first time descendants of French families then published works in Dutch. It was in this language that Elias Luzac wrote his *Treatise on the Wealth of Holland*, published at Leyden in 1780. In our day Collot d'Escury wrote, in the same tongue, his book entitled *The Glory of Holland in Arts and in Sciences*, which appeared at the Hague in 1824. The extinction of some of the principal families of the Refuge, the alliances others contracted with Dutch families, and especially daily intercourse, hastened the final result. If the French language is still preserved in Holland by a few thousand descendants of the refugees, it is for the most part merely as a medium of study, of which all cultivated minds recognize the necessity.

Two facts correspond with this successive transformation, and visibly mark its progress. In Holland, as in Germany and England, a great number of refugees, wholly abjuring their nationality, changed their French names into Dutch ones, the translation of those their ancestors had transmitted to them. The Leblancs called themselves De Witt; the Dujardins, Tuyn or Van den Bogaard; the Deschamps, Van de Velde; the Dubois,

Van den Bosch; the Lacroix, Van der Cruijse or Kruijs; the Chevaliers, Ruijter; the Duprés, Van der Weyden; the Sauvages, De Wilde; the Delcours or Delacours, Van den Hove; the Corneilles, Kraaij; the Duchatels, Van der Kastele or Van der Burg; the Lesages, Wijs; the Legrands, De Groot; the Demoulins, Van der Meulen or Vermeulen; the Dumonts, Van den Berg; the Duponts, Verbrugge. After the change of names came the progressive disappearance of the churches founded at the period of the Refuge. Of the sixty-two French churches existing in the Seven Provinces in 1688, about twelve were suppressed in the first half of the eighteenth century. In 1773, they were reduced to forty-nine; in 1793 to thirty-two, having forty-eight pastors. Under the reign of King Louis, several were abolished by his order, "*on account of their alleged uselessness, and of their being prejudicial to the use of the national tongue.*" No greater favour was shown to the French churches when Holland was annexed to the French Empire; and the same tendency to their suppression reappeared under the government of the House of Orange, restored in 1815. King William I. closed several in 1816, or, according to the official expression, declared them united to the Flemish churches. The decree of 1817 left but twenty-one—those of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leyden, Utrecht, Haarlem, Middelburg, Groningen, Dordrecht, Leeuwarde, Delft, Nimeguen, Arnheim, Bois-le-Duc, Breda, Zieriksee, Flushing, Zwolle, Schiedam, Deventer, and Zutphen, to which was afterwards added a new church founded at Maestricht. Five disappeared during the ten following years—that of Zutphen in 1821, Deventer in 1822, Flushing in 1823, those of Schiedam and Zieriksee in 1827. An ordinance published in 1843 decreed the gradual abolition of eleven out of the seventeen churches that still existed, and guaranteed the continuation of government aid only to those of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, the Hague, Leyden,

Utrecht, and Groningen. But the duration of these churches, now the last relics of the French emigration into Holland, finds, perhaps, a surer guarantee in the lively feeling of nationality still preserved by a certain number of families, whom study, and, in some cases, long visits to France, familiarize with the language of their ancestors, and who, whilst admitting themselves to be Dutch at heart, and bound to their present country by all the ties of affection, take pride in their origin as in a patent of nobility.

BOOK SIXTH.

BOOK SIXTH.

THE REFUGEES IN SWITZERLAND.

CHAPTER I.

CONCERNING THE SETTLEMENT OF THE REFUGEES IN SWITZERLAND.

THE REFUGEES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—A FRENCH CHURCH FOUNDED AT BASLE—COUNT DE LA SUSE AT BERNE—INCREASE OF GENEVA—D'AUBIGNÉ—THE DUKE OF ROHAN.

RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES IN SWITZERLAND—INTERCOURSE OF THE EVANGELICAL CANTONS WITH ENGLAND AND HOLLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY—ATTEMPTS AT INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF THE PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE—DIET OF AARAU (1684).

THE FUGITIVES FROM GEX AND FROM LA BROUSSE (1685)—GREMA—JACQUES FLOURNOY'S JOURNAL—REGISTERS OF THE COUNCIL OF GENEVA—EMIGRATION IN 1687 AND 1688—THE REFUGEES AT ZURICH AND AT BERNE—THE REFUGEES IN THE PAYS DE VAUD—MISSION OF BERNARD AND OF THE MARQUIS DE MIREMONT—MEASURES TAKEN IN THEIR FAVOUR BY THE SENATE OF BERNE—ASSISTANCE GRANTED TO THE POOR BY THE EVANGELICAL CANTONS—INTERVENTION OF D'HERWART AND WALKENAER.

LOUIS XIV.'S POLICY—THE FRENCH MINISTER AT GENEVA—REPRISALS OF THE SIEUR DE PASSY—THREATENING LETTERS FROM LOUIS XIV.—ORDER TO THE REFUGEES TO QUIT GENEVA—MEASURES TAKEN FOR SECURITY BY THE REPUBLIC OF GENEVA—BARON D'YVOI—ALLIANCE OF GENEVA WITH BERNE AND ZURICH (1686)—SECRET PROTECTION OF THE REFUGEES—LOUIS XIV.'S PROCEEDINGS TOWARDS BERNE AND ZURICH—IRRITATION OF THOSE TWO TOWNS AGAINST FRANCE.

NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS IN SWITZERLAND—THE EMIGRANTS IN THE CANTON OF BERNE—ORGANIZATION OF THE FOUR COLONIES OF LAUSANNE, NYON, VEVAÏ, AND BERNE—COLONY OF ZURICH—NUMBER OF THE REFUGEES AT BASLE, SCHAFFHAUSEN, AND ST GALL—AT GENEVA—CIVIC RIGHTS—THE REFUGEES FROM ORANGE (1703).

WHILST Luther gave the signal of religious reform in Germany, other theologians, such as Zuinglius at Zurich, Ecolampadius at Basle, Farel, Theodore de Bèze and Calvin at Geneva, raised a part of Switzerland against

the Pope's authority. After a bloody war, the new doctrines finally triumphed in the cantons of Berne, Zurich, Basle, Schaffhausen, and in the little republic of Geneva, which proclaimed its independence in 1535. The primitive cantons Schwitz, Uri, Unterwalden, and their allies in Zug and Lucerne, remained steadfast to Rome. But the two parties were of unequal strength. By the conquest of the country of Vaud from the Dukes of Savoy, Berne soon became the richest and most powerful state of the confederation. It was to the prudent and measured conduct of the governments of Berne and Zurich that Switzerland owed the maintenance of a neutrality favourable to the development of its prosperity, in the midst of the troubles that agitated its neighbours. Those two states constantly maintained a purely defensive system as the guiding principle of the federal policy, and their influence remained preponderant in the foreign relations of the Helvetian league, in spite of the jealousy of the other cantons. Thus was it that they frequently afforded refuge to the persecuted Protestants of France, Germany, and Italy, who there found an asylum no less safe than in England and Holland. The city of Basle, which community of religion strictly united to Berne and Zurich, witnessed the formation within its walls of a French church, founded by fugitives from the massacre of St Bartholomew. This church, the most ancient founded in Switzerland by French Protestants, owed its origin to the presence and solicitations of two noble exiles, Francis de Châtillon and Charles d'Andelot, sons of Admiral Coligny, who had left their native country on learning the massacre at Paris. The French portion of the canton of Berne also received a multitude of families that abandoned their country in the reigns of Charles IX. and Henry III., and during the troubles which agitated that of Louis XIII. One of the most illustrious, that of Augustine Constant de Rebecque, a gentleman of Artois,

who had saved the life of Henry of Navarre at the fight of Coutras, went to Lausanne. A celebrated engineer, Count de la Suse, recommended to the magistrates of Berne by Agrippa d'Aubigné, settled in that town, whose ramparts he built, and there founded a French church, which he provided with its first pastor in 1623. But to no place did more refugees flock than to Geneva. It was not unnatural that French Protestants, flying from a country where they no longer possessed either religious liberty or personal safety, should prefer, as place of exile, an adjacent city which spoke their language, and in which was paramount their most illustrious doctor, the oracle and chief of their party. Calvin, with the inflexible rigour of his doctrines, his indefatigable activity, his vivid and seductive eloquence, and the authority his austere life gave him, exercised irresistible influence at Geneva. That vigorous intelligence, served by a dauntless will, had created a Protestant Rome, a citadel for the reformed religion, a sure refuge from persecution. Continually exposed to the plots of its former bishops, and to the snares of the Dukes of Savoy, Geneva identified Protestantism with liberty. She felt the necessity of strongly attaching herself to the new religion, the sole guarantee of her political independence. She was exalted in her Protestantism, she had solemnly adopted the Reformation as the sole basis of the public and private life of the city, from which she had excluded all practice of the religion of Rome. She eagerly received amongst her citizens the numerous French driven into exile in the sixteenth century. Their adoption insured the victory of the Calvinists over the *Libertines*, gave to the city a new element of strength against the aggressions of its formidable neighbour, and especially added to the prestige of the young republic, which was proud to reckon amongst its citizens such men as Germain Colladon, who afterwards drew up the civil edicts, as Normandie, Budé, Candolle, Trembley, Sarrasin.

Many of these noble exiles at once assumed a legitimate influence in the city that adopted them, and figured in its councils. The valiant and satirical Agrippa d'Aubigné joined them there, after Henry IV.'s death. On beholding the supreme power in the hands of a woman at which public rumour pointed as an accomplice of her husband's murderer, on witnessing the adoption of a policy insulting to the memory of the deceased monarch, and disturbances again breaking out on all sides, the old noble resolved to quit his native land for ever. He passed the last ten years of his life at the Château of Crest, on Genevese territory, which he purchased, and where he died in 1630. So close at that period were the connection and community of interests between that republic and the Protestant party in France, that, a report having spread in 1610 that a fresh attack was planned by the Duke of Savoy, Geneva not only received assistance in money for her fortifications, but several gentlemen of the most distinguished families hastened in person to her defence—amongst them the young Duke of Soubise, younger brother of the Duke of Rohan, the young de Béthune and Desmarets, nephews of Sully, and the Sieur de Vandamme, the Duke of Bouillon's engineer, sent by that prince to repair her menaced ramparts. "Your affairs are not so private to yourselves," wrote Henry of Rohan to the Syndics, "that the greater part of France should not take part in them, and that all right-thinking persons should not make common cause with the interests of your church."

After the capture of La Rochelle and the pacification of Alais, whilst Soubise went to England, and died there in obscurity in 1640, his elder brother sought an asylum, first at Venice, then at Geneva. Bound by the convention of 1579, the Genevese dared not at first allow an enemy of the French crown to reside amongst them, and to purchase the sovereignty of the lands of Céligny. For a

môment Louis XIII. seemed to restore him to favour. The Grisons, allies of France, being disturbed in their possession of the Valteline by the vicinity of Spanish troops, who endeavoured to stir up revolt, he intrusted their defence to the valour and approved skill of the former chief of the Huguenots. The Grisons chose him for their general ; the king confirmed him in that dignity by letters-patent, and moreover invested him with the office of ambassador-extraordinary to the Helvetic body. In 1635 he did more ; he bade him conquer the Valteline, and gave him command of an army of fifteen thousand men, with which the general, so recently in disgrace, beat the Imperialists in the valley of Luvino, at the foot of Mount Casanna, repulsed the Spaniards, and succeeded in breaking up all communication between Lombardy and Austria. Recalled to Paris in 1637, he mistrusted the intentions of the court, and under pretext of his health he went to Geneva in company with Prioleau, La Baume, Drusis, La Blacquière, and several other gentlemen attached to his fortunes. This time he was received with the honours due to his rank and birth ; he dwelt there a year, and wrote his memoirs of the war in the Valteline. He superintended the execution of the works advised by Vandamme, completed the plan of defence drawn out by that skilful engineer, and thus put Geneva in safety from a surprise. A memorial that still subsists of his amusements in that city, is the alley of the Mall at Plainpalais, the trees in which he planted, after having established the game whose name it has preserved. But Louis XIII.'s jealous government, always fearing the Huguenots might take up arms again, beheld with uneasiness the abode of their last chief so near to the French frontier. In 1638 the duke received direct orders from the king to enter France. He preferred seeking an asylum on a battle-field, and, following the instinct of his whole life, he wrote to Henry IV.'s son for permission to fight under the banner of the Duke of

Weimar, who then gloriously maintained against the Emperor the combined interests of France and of the Protestant States of Germany. Without waiting for a reply, he left Geneva, went to meet the enemy in the Breisgau, and was mortally wounded at the battle of Rheinfeld. The circumstances of his heroic end merit record here. A writer of the seventeenth century, Fauvelet Dutocq, relates them in the following terms in his *History of the Duke de Rohan*, published in 1667: "The Duke of Weimar besieged Rheinfeld. Rohan represented to him that he had not enough troops to remain in the intrenchments, where he would be attacked by the besieged and by the imperial army at one time, and that he must go and meet the enemy. The advice was followed on the 28th February 1638. Rohan placed himself at the head of the regiment of Nassau, which was the most advanced. He performed singular exploits, and at last broke the wing opposed to him, notwithstanding its obstinate resistance. Recognized as a personage of distinction, the enemy's chief efforts were directed against him; his equerry fell dead at his side; the officers surrounding him were almost all killed or disabled. He himself was so forward in the mêlée that his coat was burnt, his cuirass pierced in several places, and he was wounded by two musket-shots, one in the foot, the other in the shoulder. His horse having fallen when pursuing the enemy, those he had just vanquished made him prisoner, set him on the crupper of another horse, and made him share their flight. But the major of the regiment of Nassau overtook them, and delivered the duke."

Rohan survived for nearly six weeks. His wounds did not at first seem dangerous. The council of Geneva having sent to congratulate him on his brilliant feat of arms, received from him this fine reply: "I deem myself very fortunate to have been in a place where the

arms of my lord the king acquired so much glory. And although I held no command, I do not consider the occasion to have been the less honourable. When one cannot take the rudder, he must haul at the ropes, and it matters not in what rank he serves, so long as the cause be good. As for my wounds, they are trifling, and the remedy you apply is greater than the hurt." These lines, dated from Laufenburg, were the last testimony of friendship Geneva received from this hero's hand. Conveyed to the Abbey of Koenigsfeld, in Aargau, he died in consequence of the extraction of one of the balls. Louis XIII. did not deem himself bound to pay honours to the memory of the brave man who had not waited his orders to die fighting for France. But his religion had given him a second country, which fulfilled that last sad duty. From the abbey where he expired, his corpse was conveyed with great pomp to Geneva, and there interred in the church of St Peter's, after receiving, during its slow and solemn progress, marks of respect wherever it passed.

Thus was accomplished the last will of the Duke of Rohan, for he had expressed the wish that his mortal remains might be for ever preserved in the city he had always loved. At the present day, in the ancient church of St Peter's, is seen a mausoleum representing a warrior of the sixteenth century, seated, in an attitude of command, under a dome of black marble, with an epitaph relating to his exploits. Calvin's rigid city, which never granted monuments to the dead, which did not even erect one to its Reformer, raised this memorial of Rohan in the most majestic of its temples.

When the position of the Protestants had been regularly defined in France by the edict of Nantes, and definitively fixed in Germany by the treaty of Westphalia, the number of refugees diminished at Geneva, as well as at Basle, Schaffhausen, Berne, and Zurich. But Switzerland remained divided into two federations, always ready

to fly to arms, and so much the more hostile to each other that, having no longer to dread foreign aggression, they had no common interest that might make them forget their dissensions. When, in 1655, a French army combined with that of the Duke of Savoy to exterminate the unfortunate Vaudois even in the deepest of their mountain fastnesses, the Swiss Protestants were stirred to action, and, supported by Holland and England, interceded in their favour. Cromwell demanded and obtained from Mazarin the recall of the French troops, and Lord Morland, his ambassador, imperiously signified to Charles Emanuel, that he must spare his Protestant subjects and restore to them the free exercise of their religion. The intervention of the Protector saved Geneva, and preserved the country of Vaud to the Bernese; for France, who sought to open herself a passage into Italy, wanted to get from the Duke of Savoy the valleys of Piedmont in exchange for Geneva and Vaud, which she undertook to conquer for him. The Catholic cantons, seeing their confederates contract alliances with England and Holland, drew closer the bonds that united them to the Prince-Bishop of Bâle, to the house of Savoy, and to France, from which they received a gift of three hundred and fifty thousand livres, and the renewal of the pensions thitherto paid to their principal families. When Holland, threatened by Louis XIV. in 1672, asked aid from Protestant Switzerland, the Bernese, fearing the great king's anger, feigned to reject the urgent application of the Prince of Orange's ambassador, but they secretly permitted him to raise a regiment of twenty-four hundred men, whilst they put obstacles in the way of the enlistments for France. The unjust aggression of the French monarch rendered the cause of Holland popular throughout the whole of Protestant Switzerland, and the clergy denounced from the pulpit those who should serve the persecuting prince. Schaffhausen and Zurich also refused

to allow levies of troops for France, saying that the war with Holland was directed against the Protestants.

The renewal of the persecutions, presaging the approaching revocation of the edict of Nantes, and the increasing numbers of new refugees who sought shelter in Switzerland, touched all hearts with compassion for the victims, with indignation against their persecutors. In 1672, the conference of the deputies of the evangelical cantons, held at Baden, ordered public prayer for the Protestants of France, and also for those of Holland. In 1681 the Bernese government again directed all ministers to entreat God in favour of their oppressed brethren. In 1682 and in 1683, the magistrates several times deliberated as to the fitness of addressing remonstrances to Louis XIV., but they feared to irritate him, and contented themselves with sending a clergyman to France to report to them the real condition of the Protestants of that kingdom. In 1684 the diet of Aarau, at which were present the representatives of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen, received the affecting complaints of the preachers, who had quitted their native land after the demolition of their temples. These victims of fanaticism went to implore the Protestant cantons to intercede with the king, as if the remonstrances of so feeble a neighbour could have modified the will of the most powerful and absolute of European sovereigns. They resolved, notwithstanding the formidable prestige of Louis XIV.'s name, at least to receive the fugitives, and rather to enter into a defensive and offensive alliance with William of Orange, than ever to refuse to protect their proscribed brethren.

The inhabitants of Gex and La Bresse, almost all Protestants for more than a century, were the first who resorted to the Genevese territory at the period of the great emigration. Stripped successively of almost all their rights—in contemptuous violation of the treaty by which they had been annexed to France—beholding the

public exercise of their religion interdicted throughout their whole country, and fearing to experience still crueller treatment, they took sudden alarm at the approach of the dragoons charged to prepare them for conversion, abandoned their dwellings, and arrived in a crowd at Geneva, on the morning of the 21st September 1685, bringing with them, in carts, the most valuable portion of their goods and furniture. A few days afterwards, two young men secretly returned to the village of Feigères, and set fire to their house, which was consumed with three others. But soon a troop of horsemen occupied the bailiwick, and took possession of the houses of those whom they styled criminal deserters. Amongst the fugitives was Grema, a man of great capacity and surprising activity, who, by his marriage with Françoise Fatio, became allied with one of the first families in Geneva. But having no hope of reconstructing in that town the fortune he had sacrificed to his religion, he went to Brandenburg, was appointed councillor of embassy, and was sent back to Switzerland with the mission of transferring to the States of the Elector the excess of emigrants. These entered Switzerland in too great numbers permanently to abide there. In a few weeks they thronged in, not only from Gex and La Bresse, but from Dauphiné and Languedoc, then successively from all the provinces of France. Writers of that day inform us that already, in 1685, hundreds arrived there daily. Under date of that year, we read in Jacques Flournoy's manuscript collection that "a great number of these poor people continue daily to arrive, and several thousands have already passed in. Amongst others, many French ministers; and although they stop but a few days, more than fifty have been seen there at one time. The French purse is exhausted. On the 9th November, two hundred and twenty-eight, entirely from Gex, received assistance. Up to the 15th November, a thousand from that same country had been thus aided."

The French purse, instituted in 1545 by David de Busanton, who bequeathed half his fortune to the hospital, and the other half to the French Protestant refugees and their descendants, had been continually added to, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, by the generosity of a crowd of donors, eager thus to show their gratitude for the benefits they had received. Geneva was therefore able to succour the fugitive Protestants, whose number incessantly increased, but most of whom only passed through the town on their way to the various cantons, or to Holland, Brandenburg, and England. It was especially in 1687 that the flood of emigration rolled towards the city of Calvin. We may judge of its magnitude by this passage from Flournoy, dated the 25th May of that year :—

“ Every day there arrive a surprising number of French, quitting the kingdom for their religion. It has been observed, that scarcely any week passes without three hundred of them arriving, and that has gone on since the end of winter. Some days there come in as many as a hundred and twenty in several troops. Most of them are young artisans. There are also persons of quality.” . . . And further on he adds : “ During all this time, there passes through Geneva a surprising number of poor refugee French, who come in by the new gate and go out by the lake. Most are from Dauphiné. There enter as many as three hundred and fifty in a day ; the 16th, 17th, and 18th August, eight hundred were counted. The French purse is quite empty. Two years ago, its capital was more than 8000 crowns ; but there is no longer anything in it, notwithstanding the very considerable gifts it has received. On the 15th August, 1500 francs were distributed. Throughout the whole of this year, 500 crowns a-month have been given out. Every refugee, of whatsoever age or sex, receives half-a-crown. The council gives 500 crowns to the purse, the country

churches as much ; the hospital contributes the same amount, and, moreover, takes charge of all the sick. The Italian purse has also given 500 crowns. The public provides the boat to convey the refugees into Switzerland, which will cost about 1000 crowns a-year. Days have been known when seven hundred or eight hundred refugees came in. It is said that, in the five weeks ending the 1st September, nearly eight thousand arrived ; so that, although they daily take their departure by the lake, there are usually more than three thousand in Geneva.” . . .

The official registers of the council confirm and complete Flournoy's testimony. Here are the most significant passages relating to that year :—

4th March 1687.—In the public squares groups of these strangers are seen. *M. le Résident* has expressed himself surprised.

24th May.—The resident's almoner said the other day, that twelve hundred or thirteen hundred persons had passed from the country of Gex into this town.

31st August.—The list of the refugees who came in yesterday amounts to about eight hundred persons. . . . It has been under deliberation how to act to make them pass on. Orders are given that the hospital should prepare barns in which to bestow those who come in, and accommodate them in the best manner possible.

26th September.—Last week came in eleven hundred and fifty refugees, and about a hundred and fifty more returning from Switzerland.

31st October.—The syndic of La Garde reports, that there came hither last week refugees to the number of about eight hundred and fifty.

On the 24th November, a solemn fast was held, and, to prevent crowding and confusion in the temples, the council ordered that there should be a sermon at the temple of the auditory for the refugees alone. That day

all the garrison was under arms for the guard and safety of the city, and soldiers were placed at the doors of the auditory, to let none but the French exiles enter. The vast hall could not contain them, and yet all the other temples were extraordinarily full. The influx was so great at that particular moment, that there were more refugee than Genevese families in the populous quarter of St Gervase, although more than twenty-eight thousand men had already traversed the town on their way to more distant asylums. When the French prisons were opened, in the months of March and April 1688, and a multitude of captives were released, several arrived at Geneva, escorted to the frontier by archers, who read to them, on leaving them, their sentence of perpetual banishment from the kingdom. Many Protestants of illustrious birth thus emerged from the dungeons of Grenoble, Lyons, Dijon, Chalons, Valence, Castres. Their expenses on the road were paid, and at the frontier a few pistoles were handed to them—a miserable compensation, indeed, for the confiscation of their property. From time to time, too, voluntary refugees still crossed the frontier. On the 18th April 1688, the people crowded, with indications of the warmest sympathy, around a captain accompanied by a lieutenant and by forty-two soldiers. Almost all from Puylaurens, they had marched to Lyons, and thence had succeeded in reaching the Genevese territory.

The stream of emigrants was not less considerable at Basle, Schaffhausen, Zurich, Berne, and Lausanne. “The fugitives continue to crowd to Zurich,” wrote the ambassador of France two months after the revocation. “I met a number of them on the road from Basle to Soleure.” To please Louis XIV., he added, “A little time will diminish the zeal of these charitable hosts, by reason of the expense, which increases in proportion with their eagerness to give an asylum to those who ask it.”—“It is but the *canaille*,” he says in another place; “all the persons of any con-

sideration do but pass here on their way to Germany."

The following month he informed the court that the clerk of the treasurer, who took from Neuchâtel to Soleure the funds destined for the use of the embassy, had found the roads full of French subjects making for Berne and Zurich. A third despatch informed Louis XIV. that carts laden with fugitives were daily seen to pass through the streets of Basle.

A great number of these exiles preferred to go to Vaud, a province contiguous to France, and French by its language, either to take up their abode there definitively, or with a view to be near their own country, from which they did not think themselves for ever banished. In a single day, more than two thousand were counted in the town of Lausanne alone. All were anxious to help them. Councillors, citizens, strangers, all warmly welcomed them to their houses. But every day other fugitives came in, often ill, and wholly destitute. The funds allowed by the town-council, and augmented by the charity of the citizens, were soon exhausted. To aid the unfortunates, an appeal was made to the religious zeal of the Vaudois. The pastors preached in their behalf; subscriptions were got up; the former residence of the bishop was converted into an asylum for those who had not found shelter in private houses; wood for firing and two hundred livres' worth of bread were distributed to them daily; boxes were placed every Friday at the doors of the churches of St Francis and of the city, to receive the compassionate contributions of the faithful. A general assembly of the refugees was convoked at Lausanne, to deliberate on means of providing for the increasing wants of so many thousands of exiles. It adopted the proposal of the pastor Barbeyrac, and sent a deputation to Germany and Holland to ask assistance. In 1688, Bernard, ex-pastor of Manosque in Provence, and the Marquis de

Miremont, a Languedocian gentleman, were intrusted with this mission. They fully succeeded. The money they brought back was distributed amongst the poorest, most of whom departed for Prussia, and for the other Protestant States of Northern Germany, where they received waste lands to clear, and houses in which they carried on lucrative trades and professions. Those who remained were placed under the protection of the government of the canton of Berne, to which the Pays de Vaud belonged.

The German subjects of this canton, even those inhabiting the capital, did not always afford the refugees that generous hospitality of which the people of Vaud set them an affecting example. The government was obliged to publish a proclamation to recommend them to public benevolence. "*Messieurs de Berne*," wrote Tambonneau, "have issued a mandate, which is not quite an express order, but a very pressing exhortation to the bailiwicks of their State, to oblige all their peasants not only to contribute by alms to the subsistence of the refugees, but even to take them into their houses, nourish them, and give them every aid in their power." The members of the two councils received a special invitation to succour the most necessitous, in order to stimulate public charity. Nevertheless, in most of the German parishes they continued to find but cold treatment. At Berne itself, where the magistrates distributed billets to them on their arrival, the guardians of the gates were obliged to accompany them, halbert in hand, to procure their admission into the houses where a lodging was temporarily assigned to them. But the government evinced a noble solicitude in its care of the poorest amongst them. It distributed two batzen a-day to men above fifteen years of age, six kreutzers to women and children, one batz to infants under five years of age. It, moreover, supplied them with food, and paid their expenses at all the inns, with the exception of the

two best. The evangelical cantons got up a fund to facilitate the departure of those that Switzerland was unable to maintain. Between November 1683 and February 1688, 15,591 persons, entirely destitute, were thus sent from Schaffhausen to Germany, at the cost of the Protestant League. The refugees, however, continued to flock to Berne, not only from the west, but also from the north. Those who had been sent to Germany returned into Switzerland on the approach of Louis XIV.'s armies, when war again broke out between France and a European coalition. The Bernese government was obliged to apply to the Austrian ambassador, who consented to deliver passports to facilitate the passage of these unfortunates through the provinces of the Empire to the frontiers of Brandenburg and Holland. In 1689, it had recourse to a cruel measure to rid the canton of a burthen too heavy to be borne. It ordered all those who had no resources of their own to quit the country, declaring it would keep none but the aged and infirm. But this order was never enforced. D'Herwart and Walkenaer, the ambassadors of England and Holland, interceded in behalf of the refugees, declaring that their governments would take charge of all the needy amongst them beyond the number of four thousand. The five cantons undertook to support the others; only a few were sent away, their travelling expenses were paid, and Berne apologised to the Protestant powers, in order not to be taxed with indifference in a matter so interesting to the reformed church. In 1698, Puisieulx, the new ambassador from France, and the Austrian ambassador, rid the canton of the pauper emigrants who still remained. They supplied with passports several hundreds of fugitives, especially those whom the Duke of Savoy drove out of Piedmont at the time of the treaty of Ryswick, when he desired to seal by an act of intolerance his reconciliation with Louis XIV. These victims of a double persecution em-

barked on the Rhine, and descended that river until its waters washed the hospitable banks of Hesse and the Palatinate, whose sovereigns willingly received them. Berne, at the end of the seventeenth century, thus found itself completely relieved; for, with the exception of a few old people sustained by alms, it had kept none but men capable of being useful to their new country.

The French government, which condemned its Protestant subjects to the galleys when they attempted to escape from their persecutors, beheld with uneasiness and vexation the shelter afforded by Switzerland to the fugitives. From Geneva and Lausanne they could easily correspond with the new converts of the provinces of Burgundy, Dauphiné, and Languedoc, incite them to quit the country, and facilitate their escape. Louis XIV. did not allow them quietly to enjoy the hospitality afforded them. The monarch's inflexible rigour followed them chiefly upon the Genevese territory, where they excited such ardent sympathy. That nook of land, French, and of the reformed faith, whose independence was but feebly guaranteed by treaties, had been compelled, in 1679, to receive a French resident, M. de Chauvigny, charged to overlook the little republic, and impose upon it the Great King's haughty will. When, in 1685, the people of Gex entered Geneva in crowds, flying from the troops sent to convert them, the Sieur de Passy, governor of that bailiwick, complained to the first syndic of the asylum given to rebels. Without even referring the matter to his government, he took upon himself to make reprisals by prohibiting the export of corn and other productions which Geneva drew from that part of the French territory. He included in this prohibition even the produce of lands belonging to Genevese. The remonstrances made to him proved useless. A deputation sent to Dijon, to solicit the intervention of Harlay, the intendant of Burgundy, had no better success. The intendant contented himself with declaring that he

would inform the court of the grievances of the Genevese, and that he would await its orders. It was the new French resident Dupré who communicated Louis XIV.'s reply to the magistrates of the town. This was haughty and menacing.

“ Being informed that there are many of my subjects of the so-called reformed religion, who, in spite of my general prohibition to them to quit my dominions without my permission, retire to Geneva, and are there received by the magistrates, I write you this letter to tell you that my intention is, that you should insist with those governing in the said town instantly to compel those of my subjects who have gone thither during the last year to quit it and return to their homes. . . . And you will declare to the said magistrates that I cannot suffer them to continue to give shelter to any of my subjects who hereafter may leave my kingdom without my permission. You will not fail to let me know the resolution they shall have come to upon your application, in order that I may so shape mine, according as they show deference to what I desire of them.”

Such a declaration did not permit the magistrates of Geneva to hesitate as to the line of conduct to be adopted with regard to the refugees. Notwithstanding their compassion for the fate of those unfortunate persons, they caused to be published, with sound of trumpet, not only in the town, but also in the country around, a formal order to all the French who had come to Geneva within the year, immediately to quit the town and territory of that republic. This compliance pleased the French resident, but he soon perceived that the order given was evaded. The king, little satisfied with the measures taken by the Genevese government, wrote a still haughtier letter.

“ My intention,” said he to his envoy, “ is, that you should declare a second time to the magistrates that, if they do not immediately oblige all those of my subjects

of the pretended reformed religion, who, since the commencement of this year, have retired to their town, to return immediately to the places where they previously dwelt, . . . I shall be likely to take resolutions which will make them repent of having displeased me, and of having given me such just cause to be dissatisfied with their conduct."

The king added that he approved the Sicur de Passy's enactment forbidding corn, and other produce belonging to Genevese, from going out of the district of Gex. This language, and the coercive measures accompanying it, would doubtless have frightened a more powerful state than the city of Calvin. The little republic was in consternation. It reiterated its orders to the refugees to quit the town and territory, and especially the district of Peney, which had served as asylum to many of those from Gex. It commanded the inhabitants, under pain of corporal punishment, at once to send away all the king's subjects they had concealed in their dwellings. It had the boats, by which many of the emigrants had escaped from the kingdom, removed from the Rhone. Those ministers accused of keeping up seditious communications with Louis XIV.'s subjects were expelled. Then only the resident received advices from Colbert de Croissy that the king had ordered Passy to discontinue his commercial restrictions, and to resume friendly intercourse with the republic.

The magistrates of Geneva, wounded in their dearest affections, informed those of Berne and Zurich of the humiliation they had just endured. They summoned labourers from German Switzerland to work at the fortifications, and especially to construct the walls that were to unite the four new bastions whose plan had been drawn up by Baron d'Yvoi. They wrote to the Prince of Orange to beg him to lend them that skilful engineer, who had just entered the Dutch service. Informed of the dangers

threatening the cradle of French Protestantism, d'Yvoi had already, of his own accord, sent to offer his advice. He did more : he went himself, in 1686, accompanied by his young son, by Captain Mallet, Lieutenant Cassin, and by a refugee captain from Orange. Great joy was it to all the Genevese when they saw him slowly traversing the streets in a carriage drawn by six horses, the magistrates going in solemn procession to meet him, at risk of displeasing the resident, whose presence should have restrained such heartfelt demonstrations. After d'Yvoi's departure they wrote again to the Stadtholder to ask for Goulon. But this time William would not part with a man whose experience was so necessary to the success of his approaching expedition. "The Prince of Orange," the celebrated engineer wrote to them, "has not thought proper to grant me leave of absence in a conjuncture like the present, when everything seems preparing for some great movement." But as he could not go in person, he sent for a plan of Geneva, and of the mountains commanding the place, promising to return it with his observations. At the same time recourse was had to loans ; to increase of taxation, which the people bore without a murmur ; to voluntary subscriptions, which reached the sum of 90,000 crowns. All the citizens were armed with muskets of uniform calibre, and invited to share in the defence of their native town. The companies of the garrison were augmented each by ten men taken from the burgher companies, who mounted guard with the others by day and by night. On the approach of the French troops sent to assist the Duke of Savoy against his subjects in the valleys of Lucerne, the alarm spread to the Protestant cantons. Nothing was talked of but the design attributed to the King of France of reinstalling by force the bishops of Basle, Geneva, and Lausanne. It was supposed he would begin with Geneva, and there violently re-establish the Roman Catholic religion. Berne and Zurich testified

the utmost uneasiness, and debated whether they should not send a garrison to the town thus threatened. The king wrote on this head to his ambassador in Switzerland:—

“ The people of Geneva will have no need of the assistance of their neighbours, so long as they conduct themselves as prudently as they have done since I declared to them that I could not permit them to give shelter to my subjects.”

These arrogant words tranquillised nobody. In 1686 the deputies from the cantons of Berne, Zurich, Basle, and Schaffhausen assembled in conference at Zurich, declared to the Genevese envoys, Pictet and de la Rive, that they were disposed to risk everything in the sacred cause of religion. They undertook, in case of attack, to go to the relief of the town with an army of thirty thousand men, capable of opposing the thirty thousand soldiers the French government had concentrated in Dauphiné. Meanwhile they proposed to send an auxiliary corps of five hundred men, who, with drums beating and colours displayed, should take possession of the posts assigned them. This premature demonstration was declined, but a treaty of alliance was concluded, and Geneva, placed under the protection of Protestant Switzerland, could thenceforward obey the inspiration of Christian charity, and relieve its persecuted brethren. The magistrates neglected no precaution essential to its defence. They agreed with the bailiff of Nyon upon signals to be established, in case of alarm, to let the Bernese know that they should immediately send off the promised succours.

Thenceforward the Genevese government followed, with respect to the refugees, a line of conduct which showed at once its deep sympathy with them, and its fear of too openly provoking Louis XIV.'s resentment. Whilst renewing the former prohibition to the French king's fugitive subjects to stop in the town, whilst occa-

sionally sending agents from house to house, to compel them to depart, it always showed itself extremely indulgent to those citizens who disregarded its orders, and persisted in harbouring the exiles. In vain did the French resident express his surprise at the numbers of those foreigners seen in the public squares, in despite of the edicts publicly posted up by order of the authorities. In vain did Colbert de Croissy send him orders to warn the authorities that they would incur the king's utmost anger if they persisted in keeping the subjects from the country of Gex, under pretence that they were servants. The magistrates replied evasively, one day promising to conform to Louis XIV.'s will, *as far as it could be done*, upon the morrow exculpating themselves by saying, that at all times the bailiwick of Gex had supplied their city with valets and maid-servants, and that it would be difficult to get others from Savoy, where the priests forbade the people to go and dwell in the Calvinist city. Indignant at such bad faith, the king lost patience, and one day exclaimed, "I must take a final resolution with respect to those Genevese." But he never executed his threats. The European war, then imminent, made it indispensable for him to keep on terms with Switzerland, whose neutrality covered the frontier of an important part of his States. When he received intelligence that the Elector of Brandenburg had sent an agent named Duroy to Geneva, commissioned to tempt the French Protestants to emigrate to Northern Germany, and to supply them with money, he satisfied himself with requiring his expulsion. Subsequently, when the Prince of Orange notified to the republic his accession to the throne of England, the magistrates did not fear to offer him their public congratulations. In order, however, to avoid a complete rupture with their powerful neighbour, they refused to receive d'Herwart Desmarets, appointed by the new king to the post of British resident in their city.

The comparatively powerful cantons of Berne and Zurich had not to endure from France the imperative injunctions that had terrified Geneva. Notwithstanding their proud and almost hostile attitude, not a word of menace was addressed to them with respect to the refugees. When a poor soldier from the canton of Zurich, mutilated in the service of France, had been turned out of the *Invalides*, because he did not profess the established religion, all his countrymen resented his affront, and immediately declared they would give asylum to three thousand Huguenots. The insult offered to the regiment of Erlach, which was compelled to attend mass, and all other ceremonies of the Catholic Church, equally irritated the Bernese government. In 1686, five officers from Huningen having ventured to violate the neutral territory of Switzerland, in pursuit of twelve of their soldiers, whom they accused of desertion, the *avoyer* of Erlach had them arrested in the streets of Berne, and sent them back disarmed to the town where they were in garrison. The arms were restored to the French ambassador, with the warning, that if the transgression were repeated, it would be at the cost of the lives of the transgressors. The people of Berne had been on the point of massacring them. Louis XIV. exacted no reparation for this offence. The Bernese news-writers broke out into bitter invectives against the persecuting king, and irritated Tambonneau by their increasing insolence. He was expressly ordered to despise such attacks, and not to make remonstrances which could not be followed up. Some thousands of refugees having entered the bailiwicks common to both religions, and which went by the name of *free provinces*, and the Pope's nuncio having claimed the intervention of the French ambassador to prevent an establishment so contrary to Catholic interests, the king answered his representative, that he did not wish him to make useless declarations. When the cantons of Schwitz, Uri, Unter-

walden, Zug, Lucerne, alarmed at seeing so great a number of Protestants settle in their neighbourhood, resolved not to tolerate them in places where they had any jurisdiction, he contented himself with writing to Tambonneau to give his entire approbation to that line of policy. His ambassador repeatedly protested to the magistrates of Berne and Zurich the peaceable nature of his intentions with respect to the Genevese. He made no complaint of the alliance contracted with Geneva by the two cantons. When the Stadtholder of Holland, become King of England, sent Sir ——— Coxe to Switzerland to propose to the evangelical cantons to join the European league against France, his threats prevented Basle from acceding to the treaty; but Berne and Zurich, and with them Schaffhausen and St Gall, fearlessly signed it, and permitted levies of troops for the coalition, whilst still maintaining their diplomatic relations and some semblance of amity with Louis XIV. The single canton of Berne supplied the allies with two thousand soldiers. For more than one hundred and fifty years this State negotiated in vain with the other cantons, to obtain the incorporation of the Pays de Vaud in the Helvetic Confederation, and thus to place its conquest under the common safeguard. In 1690 it at last succeeded, and the numerous refugees established in that province, thenceforward assured of the armed protection of the whole of Switzerland, found themselves in complete safety from the vengeance of their former sovereign.

It is hardly possible to fix the number of the refugees who only passed through Switzerland on their way to other countries. As to those who settled definitively at Geneva, Berne, Zurich, Neuchâtel, Basle, Schaffhausen, and St Gall, they amounted in all to about twenty thousand men. Exact data are wanting with respect to Neuchâtel, Basle, Schaffhausen, and St Gall, where they arrived in an isolated manner, did not form themselves

into distinct colonies, and soon blended with the indigenous population. But there exist documents, enabling us to ascertain pretty exactly the amount of the emigration to Geneva, Zurich, Lausanne, Berne, and the other towns dependent on this canton.

Berne, the richest and most extensive of the Swiss States, received the largest number of refugees. An enumeration of them, ordered in 1696, shows that they had settled there to the number of 6104 persons, 4000 of whom had taken up their abode in the Pays de Vaud. There were 1117 at Berne, 1505 at Lausanne, 775 at Nyon, 696 at Vevay, 214 at Yverdon, 231 at Aigle, 716 at Morges, 275 at Moudon. The others were distributed amongst the towns of Morat, Avenche, Payerne, Eschallens, Grandson, Romain-Mottier, Aarau. 4000 supported themselves, and were no burthen upon the parishes. The other 2000 lived by public or private charity. The first were merchants, manufacturers, artisans, labourers, valets, and maid-servants; the others were ministers, a few gentlemen, aged persons, widows, children, sick, men incapable of following an occupation. Some months later, the arrival of the French expelled from Piedmont, several hundreds of whom joined the Bernese colonies, whilst others went to settle in Germany, raised the whole number remaining in the canton to 6454.

From the first, the refugees established in Berne annually sent two members to the diets formed by the deputies of Berne, Zurich, Basle, and Schaffhausen. These assemblies voted the sums that were divided amongst them. But when the first flood of the emigration was passed, and a great number of French had quitted the canton for Germany and the Low Countries, this increase of population was regularly organised. In the first place, the poor were provided for by the insti-

tution of a *chamber of the refugees*, composed of six members, and of a senator, who presided over them. The whole body of the refugees was divided into four corporations, which gave them civic rights: that of Lausanne, that of Nyon, which was afterwards united with Lausanne, that of Vevay, subsequently blended with the native *bourgeoisie*, and that of Berne, which consisted exclusively of the refugees settled in that capital. These corporations, which formed so many little private societies, had, like all the other Bernese parishes, to support their poor. To this end they disposed of funds proceeding from legacies and pious donations, from collections in the churches, and from an annual sum allowed by the Chamber of the Refugees. By the medium of committees freely elected in general assemblies, they exercised a tutelary superintendence over those depending on them. These committees were entitled *directions*, or *councils of bourgeoisie*. The corporation of Lausanne was the first to name a *direction*, charged to watch over its interests. In a general assembly held at the end of September 1687, the exiles established in that hospitable town, elected a committee, which was first called the *Company deputed for the affairs of the French, refugees at Lausanne for the sake of the holy Gospel*. The pastors Barbeyrac, de Méjane, and Julien, and the laymen de St Hilaire, de Viguelles, and Clary, were elected members of the company, whose mission was "to visit and console the sick, watch over morals, censure those who occasioned scandal, and terminate disputes."

The corporation of Berne was not organised until two years later. The 21st February 1689, the heads of families assembled in the French temple, and chose, by a majority of voices, as inspectors and overlookers of the colony, the pastors John Modeux of Marsillargues, in Languedoc; Isaac Bermont of Vernoux, in Vivarais; John Thiers of Orpierre, in Dauphiné; and the laymen

John Scipio Peyrol, and Laurence Domerc, lawyers of Montpellier; Peter Mesmyn of Paris; Bartholomew Montillon of Annonay, in the Vivarais; and Peter du Simitière of Montpellier. These elections were approved by the Chamber of the Refugees, which named, as president of the direction, Moses Hollard, minister of the French church at Berne, and one of the most distinguished members of the body of pastors. The duties of this committee were the same as those of the direction of Lausanne. The members were charged "to assemble to watch over the conduct of the refugees; to remedy any irregularity or irreverence that might be committed; to censure and exhort as might be required." But, as not all the native provinces of the emigrants were represented, and complaints having been made to the magistrates on that account, the Chamber of the Refugees decided in 1695 that the direction should remain composed of eight members, but that two should be chosen amongst the Protestants of Languedoc, two from those of Dauphiné, one from Paris, and one from the Vivarais.

Within less than a month after the revocation, Zurich had received three thousand fugitives. But in the following years, and especially in 1687, fresh emigrants came in crowds. When, in 1693, the five evangelical cantons divided amongst themselves the burthen of 4560 needy refugees, Zurich received 998, Berne 2000, Basle 640, Schaffhausen 589, St Gall 333. The French Protestants who settled at Zurich there formed a corporation, directed by a consistory, of which the pastor Reboulet, previously minister at Tournon, was long one of the most eminent members.

The Genevese population comprised three distinct classes—citizens, inhabitants, foreigners. The small extent of the town and country, and still more the fear of offending Louis XIV., prevented the magistrates from granting civic rights to many of the fugitives. That

favour, profusely bestowed in the previous century, was granted, after the revocation, only to men whose fortune or personal distinction promised the republic an increase of power or lustre : to Jacques Eynard de la Baume, of a noble family of Dauphiné, a branch of which had taken refuge in England, and who was named in 1704 member of the Council of Two Hundred ; to Claude Claparède of Montpellier, second consul of Nismes since the year 1672, and who quitted France in 1685, taking with him 80,000 livres in money and bills of exchange ; to Lecointe, a rich merchant from Elbeuf ; to the Navilles and the Boissiers of Anduze ; to the Counts Sellon, from Nismes ; to the Vasserots, from the valley of Queyras ; to the Audéouds of St Bonnet, in Dauphiné ; to Henry, Marquis Duquesne, son of the admiral, and to his two sons, in consideration, say the registers of the council, of his great qualities, and especially of his piety and probity ; to Joussaud, a gentleman of Castres ; to Abauzit of Uzès ; to Francis Samuel Say of Nismes, minister in London ; to Galissard de Marignac of Alais ; to Fuzier Cayla of Rouergue ; to Perdriau of La Rochelle ; to Sacirène, a skilful silk-manufacturer from Uzès ; to Anthony Aubert, a merchant draper of Cret in Dauphiné. They even feared to admit the refugees to that residence, which gave to those who obtained it, and to their descendants, a right of permanent abode, and of assistance if needful, although they made them promise, in the act of reception, never to avail themselves of that right. The inhabitants formed an intermediate category between the citizens and the foreigners. They were a body of candidates for civic rights, that great object of ambition in Genevese society. Not only did the magistrates refuse to the greater part of the refugees that right which they ardently coveted, but they even avoided giving them billets in the town, for fear, says the register of 1st August 1668, “ that our tolerance and facility in

receiving refugees should evidently appear." During the last fifteen years of the seventeenth century, the number of those admitted to right of habitation did not exceed seven hundred and fifty-four. About half the new inhabitants were originally from Dauphiné, rather more than a quarter from Languedoc, and almost all the others from the county of Gex. But it would be very erroneous to take these statistics as basis for an estimate of the refugee element in the Genevese population; for, although the town never showed itself so sparing of favours to the Protestants who went thither from France, never did it receive so many refugees as at that period. From a census taken in 1693, it appeared that, out of an urban population of 16,111 souls, 3300 were refugees.

The general or partial persecutions which were renewed in France in the course of the eighteenth century, and which entirely ceased only in the reign of Louis XVI., sent fresh fugitives to Geneva and the evangelical cantons. Most of them joined the old colonies formed after the revocation. It is not possible exactly to ascertain their numbers, although at certain periods the refugee bands were sufficiently considerable to attract attention. When, in 1703, Count de Grignan took military possession of the principality of Orange, to which the king maintained the rights of the Prince of Conti, the Protestant ministers received passports for Geneva, and all the inhabitants who refused to embrace the Catholic religion were authorised to quit their native land. Berne, Zurich, and Basle took charge of a thousand of these emigrants; the others found an asylum in Brandenburg.

As to the Vaudois refugees from the valleys of Lucerne, of whom five thousand flocked into Switzerland in 1686, the diet of Aarau divided them amongst the five evangelical cantons. Out of every hundred Berne received forty-four, Zurich thirty, Basle twelve, Schaffhausen nine;

St Gall five. Glarus and Appenzell also took charge of a small number of the poorest amongst them. But these emigrants were but temporary visitors to Switzerland. Most of them returned to their country, with arms in their hands, in 1689, led by the celebrated Arnaud, at once their colonel and their pastor; or settled in the dominions of the Great Elector.

CHAPTER II.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES ON AGRICULTURE,
MANUFACTURES, AND TRADE.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIONS INTRODUCED INTO VAUD—MODEL GARDENS—CULTIVATION OF THE MULBERRY-TREE IN THE CANTON OF BERNE—MANUFACTURES AT LAUSANNE—END OF THE HAWKER'S TRADE IN VAUD—SILK MANUFACTURES AT BERNE—MANUFACTURES AT ZURICH—TRADE OF NEUCHATEL—PROGRESS OF MANUFACTURES AT GENEVA—WATCHMAKING—CONTRABAND TRADE.

THE activity of the refugees, who had to begin the world again, excited the liveliest emulation on the part of the Swiss, and led to the most surprising and to the happiest results. Agriculture, in the first place, was indebted for great progress to the intelligence of those peasants of Languedoc and Dauphiné who had quitted their cottages to seek religious liberty on a foreign soil. They greatly improved the cultivation of the vine and of the mulberry-tree, especially in Vaud. Before their coming, most of the vegetables cultivated in southern France were unknown in this province. Nowhere were kitchen-gardens to be seen. The daily food of the inhabitants was coarse and monotonous. The refugees completely transformed the fields allotted to them. A great number of renowned gardeners, and amongst them the Combernous, the Dumas, the Moulins, settled in the fertile district of Cour, not far from Lausanne. There they introduced a multitude of new vegetables and fruits, and formed model-gardens, which the Vaudois soon imitated. The guardians of the charity schools took advantage of the opportunity, and apprenticed several lads to these skil-

ful agriculturists. Gradually kitchen-gardens and nursery grounds became numerous on the shores of Lake Lemán, and supplied not only the neighbourhood of Lausanne, but the whole of Vaud, and even the adjacent cantons of German Switzerland, with vegetables and fruit trees. As lately as 1761 gardens were hardly known in the villages remote from the capital of that smiling country. To-day it everywhere has a fairy-like aspect, that strikes the traveller with astonishment and admiration.

Berne and Zurich also received a certain number of agriculturists, who taught the natives the superior modes of cultivation in use in France. The cultivation of the mulberry-tree was especially followed up in the environs of Berne by Brutel de la Rivière of Montpellier, to whom the authorities assigned a vast and fertile field, in which he established a magnificent plantation of young mulberry-trees he had brought from Languedoc.

In the course of a few years the refugees assisted greatly in the development of manufactures and trade in almost all the towns where they settled. At Lausanne they established printing-houses, potteries, tanneries, manufactures of hats, cotton stuffs, stockings. Previously the wants of the Pays de Vaud were supplied entirely by pedlars, and the most necessary articles of consumption came from Basle, Zurich, and Geneva. Not only did the refugees introduce new manufactures, which enhanced the prosperity of Lausanne, but they were the first to open shops, and so to substitute regular trade for the occasional traffic to which that province had previously been restricted.

At Berne they created manufactures of silks and woollens, cloth, striped and variegated stockings. The establishments of Dautun and Junquières soon sent out the most elegant silks. Two families of artisans, who had worked at the Gobelins, took to Berne the art of

embroidering carpets. In the town-hall is still preserved a rich table-cover, which adorns the council-board, and for which one thousand crowns were paid to two sisters who had embroidered it with the most exquisite art. Time has respected the magnificent designs, and even the brilliant colours, of this masterpiece of refugee industry. The government soon understood what immense advantages the country might derive from the new manufactures, and favoured them by every means. In 1686 it lent a considerable sum to some emigrants from Valence, to help them to found a cloth-manufactory. That same year a vast building, situated near the French church, was granted by the magistrates for the use of various manufacturers, and all who proposed to exercise some useful craft received encouragement.

At Zurich, as at Berne, the manufactures founded by the refugees were protected in every way by the government. Rich private persons advanced them sums on guarantees given by the State.

At Neuchâtel, where the emigrants were less numerous, they chiefly devoted themselves to commerce. There settled James Pourtalez, from the Vigan, who enriched himself by trade, and whose descendants now possess one of the largest fortunes in Europe.

It was especially at Geneva that manufactures took a remarkable start at the end of the seventeenth century. In the few years preceding and following the revocation, the council had to promulgate regulations for the workers in silk, morocco and shamoy leather, the makers of taffeties, of laces, needles, &c. In the year 1685 there were at Geneva, of goldsmiths and jewellers, eighty masters and two hundred workmen. The book trade also employed a great number of workmen. The silk manufactures, which dated as far back as Henry IV.'s reign, were in full prosperity and progress. In 1688 a rich Nismois, Jacques Felix, re-formed at Geneva a great

manufactory of silk and woollen stockings which he had possessed in France. He had managed to have eight looms carted into Switzerland, and with these he began his labours. His brother Louis was authorized to found a manufactory of taffety and ribbons. Braid and lace making alone employed two thousand hands. A refugee named Thélusson took most of these into his service, and introduced at Geneva a new manufactory of laces, made with several shuttles. Generally speaking, the artisans proceeding from northern France, especially from Paris, Dijon, Macon, were goldsmiths, jewellers, or refiners; those from the south were almost all makers of velvets, cloths, and silks. All those who had a special aptitude, and who were judged capable of exercising some handicraft, or of working at some manufacture, were retained at any price. Amongst the various manufacturers who thronged to Geneva were a considerable number of watchmakers, whose art soon prospered greatly in that town, and in all the surrounding country. In 1685 there were but one hundred master clockmakers and three hundred journeymen within the Genevese territory. They produced five thousand watches per year. A hundred years later the same manufacture occupied, in the town alone, six thousand workmen, annually turning out fifty thousand watches. Since then it has still further increased. During the whole of the eighteenth century Geneva exported its watch-work into the adjacent countries. If the Parisian watchmakers had the advantage in the excellent quality of their productions, those of Geneva had over them the advantage of cheapness.

The contraband trade established by the refugees was another loss for France. Their correspondents at Lyons, and in the chief towns of Dauphiné, sent them numerous articles of daily consumption. These they sold in Switzerland and the adjoining countries. The Genevese were the intermediate agents in this traffic.

Profiting by their knowledge of the country, they had the goods conveyed by circuitous paths over the Jura Mountains, and thus avoided the Valence custom-house. In the space of two years, the three brothers, John, James, and Louis Mallet thus succeeded in taking out of the kingdom manufactured articles to the amount of more than a million of livres, which the refugees sold with a profit at the free fairs of Soleure and the other cantons. "Every day," wrote Tambonneau, "they tell my wife, when they have not got linen, cloth, silks, laces, and other things of that sort she desires, that she has but to say what she wants, and they will order them from their correspondents." As they contented themselves with smaller profits than the native peddlars, they excited much jealousy. The French government had also a strong interest in suppressing a clandestine trade which diminished the public revenue. "You have done well," wrote Louis XIV. to his ambassador, "to inform me of the frauds committed by the French refugees in Switzerland, and of the facilities given them by the inhabitants of Geneva, and I will examine what means may be employed to prevent the continuance of these."

CHAPTER III.

THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES.

DOUBLE CHARACTER OF THIS INFLUENCE—SERVICES RENDERED BY HENRY DUQUESNE TO THE CANTON OF BERNE—PARTICIPATION OF THE REFUGEES IN COLONEL ARNAUD'S EXPEDITION (1689)—THE MARQUIS OF MIREMONT'S PROJECT—CONDUCT OF THE REFUGEES DURING THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION—CAVALIER—COLONEL DE PORTES—COMPLAINTS OF THE MARQUIS DE PUISIEUX—THE BANNERET BLANCHET DE LUTRY—COMPLAINTS OF FRENCH RESIDENTS AT GENEVA—INTERCOURSE OF THE REFUGEES WITH THE CAMISARDS—LETTERS FROM BAVILLE—FLOTTARD—CONDUCT OF THE REFUGEES IN THE QUESTION OF THE SUCCESSION OF NEUCHÂTEL (1707)—SERVICES RENDERED TO THE EVANGELICAL CANTONS IN THE WAR OF THE TOCKENBURG (1712)—BATTLE OF WILLMERGEN—OTHER SERVICES RENDERED TO BERNE DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE political part played by the refugees in Switzerland was twofold. On the one hand, they rendered real service to the States that received them, by fighting valiantly under their banners. On the other, by their hatred of Louis XIV., and by the efforts of several amongst them again to excite civil war in France, they more than once occasioned serious complications which were near plunging the Protestant cantons into open war with the great king.

At the head of the political emigrants stands Henry, Marquis Duquesne, son of the celebrated admiral who had vanquished De Ruyter and raised the French navy for an instant above those of Holland and England. At first he took refuge in Holland, but when he had abandoned his project for colonizing one of the Mascarenhas islands, he retired into Vaud, and became Baron d'Aubonne. When, in 1689, differences occurred between the canton of Berne and the Duke of Savoy, he accepted the com-

mission of organizing a flotilla on Lake Lemán. He had a harbour made at Morges, to shelter the vessels intended to protect the coasts of Vaud against the attacks of the Savoyards. Several war-galleys were equipped under his directions. They were each seventy feet long, had twelve oars, twenty-four rowers, three cannons of various calibre, and six double arquebusses ranged in battery. Each had a crew armed with muskets, axes, and boarding-pikes, and could take on board four hundred infantry. This little squadron required to be completed by lighter vessels. Duquesne had all the skiffs, brigantines, and fishing-boats registered. Boatmen and fishermen, withdrawn from the ranks of the militia, were inscribed as sailors on the muster-rolls of the flotilla.

This fugitive, who thus contributed to the defence of his adopted country, had secretly carried off from Paris the heart of his father, whose memory Louis XIV. refused to honour by a public monument. The body of that great man had been refused to his son, who had prepared it a burial-place in a foreign land. He had the following words engraved on the mausoleum he erected to him in the church of Aubonne:—*This tomb awaits Duquesne's remains. You, who pass by, question the court, the army, the church, and even Europe, Asia, Africa, and the two oceans; ask them why a superb mausoleum has been raised to the valiant Ruyter, and not to his conqueror, Duquesne? . . . I see that, out of respect for the Great King, you dare not speak.*

When, in 1689, Colonel Arnaud traversed the snows of Mount-Cenis, leading back the exiled Vaudois to the valleys in which their ancestors had dwelt, the French refugees desired to take part in his enterprise, and to fight against a prince who was Louis XIV.'s ally. A distinguished officer named Bourgeois, who resided at Yverdon, took command of a band of volunteers which was to follow the main body, and to support it against Catinat's army of

twenty thousand men. He divided his soldiers into nineteen companies, thirteen of them composed almost entirely of refugees from Languedoc and Dauphiné, and selected for his lieutenant a French officer named Couteau. The ill success of this expedition, which was repulsed by Counts de Bernex and de Montbrison, whilst Arnaud triumphed at Sallabertran, Bourgeois' condemnation to death by the Bernese government, which desired to avoid a rupture with France, and Couteau's flight to England, did not discourage the refugees. Not only did they continue to favour the Vaudois against the Duke of Savoy, but they persisted in their applications to England and Holland, soliciting the support of those two powers in an enterprise which had for its object the raising of the Protestants of Languedoc and the Cevennes. The Marquis of Miremont, who was to command the expedition, applied to Marshal Schomberg, and submitted to him a plan of campaign. He reckoned on the discontent of the Protestants of the South, and supposed they would fly to arms as soon as they saw hopes of assistance. The absence of the troops, which were occupied on all the frontiers, leaving the provinces where Protestants abounded entirely unoccupied, seemed to him to afford a favourable opportunity. Two thousand picked men, commanded by the best officers, were to enter Dauphiné from Geneva, Nyon, and Coppet, and present themselves in the midst of the secret assemblies of their brethren, warned beforehand, and united in arms under pretext of defending their ministers. Care was to be taken not to irritate the Catholics ; attempts were even to be made to get them to join the Protestants, by reminding them of the grievances common to both parties : the splendour of the nobility tarnished, the authority of the parliaments humbled, the States-general suppressed. The insurrectionary column would proclaim everywhere upon its passage the abolition of stamps, of imposts, of the billeting of troops in the

houses of civilians, and would do its utmost to stimulate the rural population to destroy and burn the custom-houses, so as to compromise them, and retain them under the banner of revolt by the fear of punishment.

The junction of the Duke of Savoy with the alliance against Louis XIV., and the events of the general war, caused a modification of the plan of attack, and the expedition of the refugees into the south of France was adjourned. Many of them enrolled themselves in the Swiss regiments that fought in Piedmont and Holland, and unhesitatingly took part with the European coalition against their former country. Others secretly returned to the most agitated districts of Languedoc, there to foment insurrection.

During the war of the Spanish Succession, a young Cévenol, who had gone into voluntary exile, and had for some time earned a living by working as a journeyman baker at Geneva and Lausanne, suddenly experienced that irresistible desire to revisit his country, which is so natural to the mountaineer. He quitted the land that had afforded him an asylum, and, following secret paths across the Jura, he reached Upper Languedoc, at the very moment when Bâville's cruelties, and the Abbé du Chayla's excess of zeal caused the revolt of the Camisards to break out. He forthwith joined his brethren, astonished them by his courage and audacity, became one of their chiefs, and commanded their forces in the plain, whilst Roland commanded in the mountains. This general, of twenty-one years of age, was Cavalier. Seduced by Marshal Villars' promises, he laid down his arms; but, treated with contempt by Louis XIV., who saw him for a moment at Versailles, he escaped from France and went back to Switzerland, where he was joined by his principal lieutenants, and by a great number of his brothers in arms. At Lausanne he endeavoured to organize a regiment of volunteers for the service of the Duke of Savoy, intended

to penetrate into Languedoc, and protect the landing of an army by the Dutch fleet. At the same time Count de Briançon, the Duke of Savoy's envoy, pressed England and Holland to contribute by subsidies to a levy of fifteen thousand men, which another refugee, the Marquis de Miremont, proposed to make in Switzerland, where there was, he said, "a number of foreigners, idle, and very needy, and consequently ready enough to turn soldiers, in order to earn their bread." The Marquis announced nothing less than the project of reviving the revolt of the Cévenols, and of carrying his arms into the heart of France. Colonel de Portes was recruiting in the Pays de Vaud a regiment paid by William III., when the ambassador of France, the Marquis de Puisieux, informed of all these proceedings, complained to the Council of Berne, and transmitted a note to the diet assembled at Baden. But the expressions in the note were singularly softened down, and in no way resembled the imperious demands of Louis XIV.'s representatives during the first portion of his reign, so long glorious. The victories of Marlborough and Eugene had destroyed nearly all the prestige of the great King's name. The diet came to no decision with regard to the ambassador's note, but contented itself with transmitting it to the cantons. The Council of Berne feigned to send away the principal chiefs of the refugees, but most of them remained hidden in the Pays de Vaud. Cavalier went to Holland with his best officers, and took service in the Anglo-Dutch army that fought in Spain.¹ Of the other Cévenols, some enlisted in Colonel Portes' regiment, which behaved gloriously under Prince Eugene, in Piedmont, Lombardy, Dauphiné, and Provence; whilst others, following the example of their fellow-Protestants, long settled in Switzerland, also established themselves in that country, and

¹ For the part taken by Cavalier in the battle of Almanza, and for particulars concerning the latter years of his life, see our chapter upon England.

applied themselves to mercantile, manufacturing, and agricultural pursuits.

The presence of so large a number of refugees, and of recruiting officers from Savoy, Holland, and England, continued to keep up a great effervescence amongst the inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud. As long as the war of the Spanish Succession lasted, four companies, composed especially of Cévenols, made rapid incursions into the country of Gex, whence they returned laden with spoil. Bands of adventurers, under pretence of taking part in the struggle, more than once seized convoys of money which certain Geneva bankers sent monthly, across Mount St Bernard, to the Duke of Vendôme's army in Italy. The banneret Blanchet de Lutry, under pretext of recovering the confiscated fortune of his wife, a French lady of high birth and origin, whom he had saved from the *dragonnades*, thought himself justified in seizing a sum of three hundred and fifty-two thousand livres, intended for the French troops in Piedmont. Although he was arrested upon the application of the French ambassador, and condemned to lose his head, daring partisans did not cease to infest the roads, and to harass isolated detachments of Louis XIV.'s armies. In 1705, a band composed of men from the Pays de Vaud, and of refugees, carried off another convoy of twenty-one thousand *louis-d'or*, between Versoix and Coppet, on French territory.

The people of Geneva and Vaud shared all the resentful feelings of the exiles, and rejoiced, like them, in Louis XIV.'s reverses. When the army commanded by Marshal Tessé, and after him by Lafeuillade, invaded Savoy, they encouraged the soldiers to desert, and did so with great success. The French resident at Geneva, de la Closure, made bitter complaints to the magistrates of that town, who promised to give up the deserters; but the indignant citizens opposed their so doing. They hid the French soldiers in their houses, bought their arms,

and sent them to the Camisards. After the battle of Hochstett, when Louis XIV.'s armies entirely evacuated Germany, and the allies prepared to cross the French frontier, La Closure had more than once to endure the annoyance of hearing the noisy demonstrations of the mob, which testified its joy by ironical serenades given under the windows of his hotel. The king treated these insults with contempt, but hostilities were near breaking out when he received positive proof of communications between the refugees at Geneva and the insurgents of the Cevennes. They were supplied to him by the terrible intendant of Languedoc, Lamoignon de Bâville. "I had not fallen in with any Geneva trader until within the last few days," he wrote to the French resident, charged to communicate his letter to the council. "I have discovered that a certain Maillé, a rich burgher of Anduze, has given money to the Camisards, of which I have convicted him. He at last confessed everything, and said that the money came from Régis, a refugee at Geneva, who had remitted it to his father, Régis of Anduze, whom I have had arrested. This Régis has also avowed all, and I shall have him tried to-morrow with Maillé. I beg you to inform me if his son does much business. He is a very unfortunate man, thus to cause his father's death."

Two days later he again wrote: "Maillé and Régis were tried yesterday, condemned, and hung. Maillé, after long hesitation, declared that it was Régis who remitted to him the money, which amounted to 1200 livres. I have followed up the matter, and discovered that Régis had drawn bills of exchange on Galdi, at Lyons. . . . The father of Régis was an old man of sixty-eight, much esteemed in the Cevennes as a man of ability, capable of guiding others. . . . His unfortunate son must deeply regret thus to have caused his destruction. . . . Would it not be just that *Messieurs* of Geneva should deliver him up to the king's judgment, or at least expel

him from their town? . . . He has caused the death of two hundred persons, who have been burnt, broken on the wheel, or hung. I did not tell you that the rascal wrote a letter to Villas, which has been read by all the chiefs of the party, in which he told them that they must begin by assassinating me, or by carrying me off, and that the same should be done, if possible, to the Duke of Berwick. All the criminals declared this, either under torture or before death."

The executioner of the southern Protestants, who thus threw upon another man the odious responsibility of his own crimes, also demanded the extradition of a most dangerous refugee, the Languedocian Flottard, a bold and enterprising man, who, after having quitted his country for religion's sake, had received an officer's commission in the English army at the same time as Cavalier, in whose adventures he had shared. Sent to Switzerland to recruit for the coalition, he was suspected by Bâville of holding the thread of all the intrigues got up to maintain the war in the Cevennes. The council, pressed by La Closure, ordered his arrest, but left him time to escape to Lausanne, where his quality of British officer, and the intervention of the English envoy, protected him from further pursuit.

The question of Neuchâtel again revived the old animosity of the refugees to Louis XIV., and its solution was partly their work.

Had William III. of England been still alive when the question of the succession to the counties of Neuchâtel and Valengin arose, he would have endeavoured to form them into a fourteenth canton, and to incorporate it in the Helvetic federation, to insure to the Protestant party the majority in the general diets, and so to diminish the influence of France and of the Catholic cantons devoted to that power. To accomplish such an end he would have abandoned his personal pretensions to that State, to

which he would have procured entire independence. His death caused the rights of the house of Nassau to pass to that of Brandenburg, which proceeded to enforce them in 1707, after the decease of Mary of Orleans, Duchess of Nemours. When the Prince of Conti, the Prince of Savoy-Carignan, and several great families in France and Germany, put forward pretensions to the same inheritance, the religious hatred of the Protestant Swiss towards the house of Bourbon, their sympathy for the emigrants, who testified the utmost alarm, and the energetic attitude of Berne, which immediately took Neuchâtel under its special protection, at once destroyed the chances of the Prince of Conti, whom Louis XIV. supported with his influence. A regularly-convoked assembly declared the sovereignty to have devolved on Frederick I., King of Prussia, and that in spite of the threats of the French ambassador, who had repaired in person to Neuchâtel. The scene which occurred in that town was, according to Lamberty's expression, *more angry than thunder* (*plus grondante que la tonnerre*). The French envoy declared to the Neuchâtelese that their ruin was at hand, that the king his master would visit their misconduct even upon their posterity, and that there would not be a corner in the world where they could put themselves out of reach of his anger. When Louis XIV., deeply hurt by the preference shown to Frederick, assembled troops at Huningen and Besançon, the Bernese prepared for vigorous resistance, and Neuchâtel raised ten companies of one hundred and ten men each, composed of Swiss volunteers and refugees. The Protestant cantons, excepting Basle—which, lying under the cannon of Huningen, was terrified by the threat of immediate bombardment—armed their militia. The allied powers promised their support. The English ambassador, Stanian, wrote to the States of Neuchâtel and Valengin: "If France dares make such menaces, at a time like this, when she would not venture to touch the

smallest of your farms, for fear of adding to the enemies already attacking her new forces, which would overwhelm her entirely, . . . what have you not to expect from her despotism, if you do not take sure measures to guarantee yourselves from the attempts you have to apprehend from her, when she shall be rid of the present war? The violation of all your privileges, a slavery resembling that which all the other French endure, and which, for men of spirit, is harder to bear than death itself, the overthrow of our holy religion, and a *dragonnade* like that which already has been practised in France against the faith of the most solemn treaties: those are the evils France reserves for you, if you suffer yourselves to be allured by her threats and the seductions of the French pretenders to enter the snare into which they strive to lead you." An attack was daily expected from the French army, whose soldiers exhausted every invective against the race of peasants who dared resist the Great King. The militia of Berne and Neuchâtel, excited by their chiefs, by the refugees, by the ministers of religion, who represented the King of Prussia as the defender of the Gospel, and Louis XIV. as an instrument of the Jesuits, ardently desired a meeting with the enemy. "How I should like to see Neuchâtel attacked!" wrote the Vaudois general de St Saphorin, in a somewhat boasting tone; "we would invade Franche-Comté." At war with the whole of Europe, and fearing to expose a province as yet not thoroughly French, and which mourned the loss of its ancient privileges, the king was obliged to leave the affront unavenged, and to abandon his pretensions. He recognized the neutrality of Neuchâtel, admitting, by the treaties of Baden and Rastadt, the King of Prussia's sovereignty over that little State. This pacific solution, arrived at after the haughtiest menaces on the part of Louis XIV., raised Berne in public estimation, and excited the utmost enthusiasm in the evangelical cantons,

which considered that they had thus revenged the refugees on their cruel persecutors. The principality of Neuchâtel was thenceforward administered by governors, almost all of whom the King of Prussia, with a well-calculated policy, chose from amongst the emigrant nobility.

The Marquis of Puisieux, ill pleased with the part he had been made to play in this affair, asked and obtained his recall. The Count de Luc, who succeeded him, undertook to compensate the rebuff France had undergone, by stirring up the old enmity between Catholics and Protestants. Reckoning on Louis XIV.'s support, the Abbot of St Gall deemed himself strong enough to deprive his reformed subjects in the Tockenbourg of the liberties they had thitherto enjoyed, and which dated from the time of the Counts, their former sovereigns. This immediately produced a great fermentation in the evangelical cantons. From the pulpits of Berne, Zurich, Geneva, Neuchâtel, Lausanne, prayers were offered up for the people of the Tockenbourg, thenceforward exposed to the unjust persecutions endured by the Calvinists in France ever since the revocation. When excess of oppression brought on the revolt of 1712, Berne and Zurich hastened to make common cause with the rebels, whilst the five Catholic cantons declared themselves for the Abbot of St Gall. In this new conflict, which replunged Switzerland into civil war, the refugees took arms, and nobly repaid with their blood the hospitality they had received. They fought in the ranks of the Bernese army with that cool resolution they had so often displayed upon other battle-fields, and their heroic devotedness contributed to the happy issue of the battle of Willmergen, which compelled the five cantons to sign the peace of Aarau. Thus did they once more aid in the triumph of the religious principle for which they had suffered. The Abbot of St Gall lost his rights over the Tockenbourg, and Berne and Zurich, by acquiring the

sovereignty of an unbroken line of territory from the lake of Geneva to that of Constance, insured the communications between the Protestant cantons, and ever after easily kept in check the Catholic cantons, separated from each other, and weakened by their losses.

When the infante Don Philip, at the head of a Spanish army, made his way, in 1742, from Italy into Savoy, capturing Chambéry, and Switzerland, alarmed at his vicinity, ordered preparations to be made for the protection of its neutrality, the refugees unanimously offered their services, and the infante was compelled to abandon his project of traversing the territory of the confederation. During the seditious movements at Berne in 1749, the council's first recourse was to the emigrants, who formed the colony of that city, and who at once took arms for the maintenance of public tranquillity. They were divided, on that occasion, into three companies of twenty-six men each. When troubles broke out at Neuchâtel in 1768, they showed the same ardour in the performance of their civic duties; and in our own day, their descendants have never ceased to show themselves, whether as officers or as soldiers, worthy of the example of patriotic disinterestedness and brilliant courage set them by their ancestors.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES ON LITERATURE
AND ART.

REFINEMENT OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN FRENCH SWITZERLAND—PROGRESS OF URBANITY IN MANNERS—PROPAGATION AT LAUSANNE OF THE DOCTRINE OF FREE EXAMINATION — BARBEYRAC — THE PAINTER JOHN PETITOT — ANTHONY ARLAUD—TROUILLON THE PHYSICIAN — THE TWO LE SAGES — ABAUZIT—LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEE CLERGY — THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE PROTESTANTS OF THE SOUTH—MARTYRDOM OF BROUSSON — PEYROL — ANTHONY COURT — REORGANISATION OF THE CHURCHES IN FRANCE — COURT'S INTERCOURSE WITH THE REGENT — HIS RETIREMENT TO LAUSANNE (1729)—ORIGIN OF THE SEMINARY OF LAUSANNE — TACIT PROTECTION BY BERNE—COURT DE GÉBELIN — PAUL RABAUT—RABAUT ST ETIENNE.

THE presence of the refugees did not contribute merely to the military defence of Protestant Switzerland, and to the progress of agriculture, manufactures, and trade ; it further produced, within a few years, a remarkable change in the habits and even in the language of most of the towns in Vaud and Geneva. The rude uncouth French spoken in these countries became purified by intercourse with these men, who took with them into their new country the classical masterpieces of the literature of the great century, the greatly improved language that prevailed in the kingdom of Louis XIV. In the year 1703, the public officers of Geneva received orders to draw up in good French those acts and publications which had previously been in a style full of expressions borrowed from the patois of the country. At Lausanne, also, the more correct and cultivated language spoken by the refugees obtained the preference over the Swiss French,

and all the country of Vaud experienced the same favourable influence.

The noble families amongst the refugees introduced everywhere that urbanity and elegance of manners which distinguished French society in the seventeenth century, and which foreigners were pleased to recognize in the following century, in the society of Geneva and Lausanne. Even at Berne, where the German language and habits exclusively prevailed, not only did the expatriated French introduce their refinements of speech and their exquisite politeness into the higher circles, but they even resuscitated some of the ancient usages of French gallantry—those celebrated *Cours d'Amour* of the age of chivalry which the France of Louis XIV. had herself forgotten. Party interest was not, therefore, the sole motive of their good reception in those three towns. The Swiss welcomed them, not only as persecuted brothers in the faith, or as skilful agriculturists and celebrated manufacturers, but also as men belonging to that great nation which gave the tone to all Europe, as amiable and polite men, knowing how to talk, to write, even to argue, agreeably and wittily. One may judge of the particular character of the refugees of that period, by the narrative of a *Voyage en Suisse*, written by two of them, Reboulet and Labrune. It contains a series of letters, in which the nature of the country and anecdotes of society, manners, and history, occupy much more space than political considerations or religious polemics. The tourists quit Geneva and embark upon the lake. “Our friends,” they say, “procured for us a frigate, in which we were as well as could possibly be. The day was fine, and our company was so well chosen that nothing could be more agreeable than the conversation we had upon an infinity of subjects. Our boatmen alone were ill pleased with the calm : they were obliged to row, but it was only for four hours ; for we stopped at Nyon, whence we did not set out again until the next day.”

They stopped at Rolle, "an amiable village, superior to many towns: its situation is something enchanting. One sees none but well-made persons there." At Morges, where they disembarked to go by coach to Lausanne, they are delighted with the manner in which they are received by the bailiff. "One finds few better made persons than that nobleman, or who have a better turn of wit and polite manners." At Lausanne they visit the cathedral: "You have heard of this church; nothing more magnificent can be seen. . . . We got weary of counting the number of columns. . . . The temple of St Francis is delicately pretty." At Morat the reminiscences of the defeat of Charles the Bold, and the famous ossuary, fix their attention. At Berne they visit "all the learned people and qualified persons, and everybody was eager to show them politeness." Thus did the two friends visit Baden, Zurich, Neuchâtel, everywhere finding the best of welcome, responding to this hospitality in the most cordial tone, not speaking too much of their dear churches, making inquiries about sermons and theology, for they were ministers, but not less ready to carry on a conversation upon any other topic. It is, therefore, certain that the clerical refugees, as well as the laymen, contributed their quota to those elegant meetings of which the intercourse of good society then consisted. To the somewhat unpolished men of learning of the sixteenth century there had succeeded in France a generation equally well-informed, and whose manners were more prepossessing and in better taste. In its turn French Switzerland became impregnated with this new spirit, which the refugees were the first to take thither, and whose traditions have been perpetuated to our own day.

When the feeble tie that united the Protestant churches was broken by the irresistible action of free examination, upsetting the barriers raised by the first reformers against

future reformers—when Calvin's Christian Institutes, the Confession of Augsburg, the Helvetic Confession, the Decisions of the Synods, and sometimes even the text of Holy Writ, were subjected to the control of reason, French Switzerland preferred to attach itself to the doctrines of the old school at Saumur; to Cappel, who applied the rules of historical and grammatical criticism to the Bible; to La Place, who explained original sin by the hereditary corruption of generations; to Amyrault, who sought between the mysterious dogmas of grace and predestination a middle path which might satisfy both faith and reason. A great number of refugees showed themselves favourable to this new tendency, notwithstanding the reproach of libertinism and Socinianism addressed to them by their adversaries. When the Senate of Berne, alarmed by these inevitable dissensions in the bosom of Reform, wished to impose on all its subjects an *oath of conformity*, one of the most distinguished emigrants, the celebrated Barbeyrac, a former rector of the academy at Lausanne, who had quitted that town to fill the chair of professor of law at Groningen, publicly declared himself in favour of the great principle of religious liberty. In 1718 he wrote to his friend Sinner, ex-bailiff of Lausanne:—

“ Their excellencies should observe that everywhere, in England, Holland, Germany, governing powers and private persons assume more and more of a tolerant spirit, or rather of the spirit of Christianity, which ecclesiastics would stifle in order themselves to reign over consciences. . . . Men's minds have begun to be enlightened, and their tempers to be softened, in Switzerland as elsewhere; and to attempt to restore constraint would be to risk some great revolution, or at least to make many hypocrites and perjured. I shudder to think of the disastrous consequences of a sovereign decree which should give the upper hand to ecclesiastical mischief-makers. By trying to establish perfect uniformity of faith, dissenters

will be multiplied. . . . The best means to pursue, to reconcile men's minds, is to leave to all a fair liberty to follow the dictates of his conscience ; it is a right, as well as a general obligation upon all men. . . . I conjure you, sir, by all that is sacred, by the interest of your country, by your own glory, and still more by your solid and enlightened piety, to be pleased to exert all your influence to maintain the rights of tolerance and of Christian liberty. . . .”

The Senate of Berne persisted in its system of Protestant orthodoxy, but the rigorous measures to which it thought itself justified in having recourse against its adversaries were insufficient to destroy, in the Pays de Vaud, the liberal and truly rational spirit that Barbeyrac, and several of his companions in exile, had there originated, and had afterwards so energetically defended.

If French Switzerland was indebted to the refugees for superior polish, more elegant manners, and the inestimable benefit of a first assertion of the principle of religious liberty, it had no less to congratulate itself on their happy influence upon arts, sciences, and literature.

The Genevese painter John Petitot had passed his youth in England. After Charles I.'s death he went to France, and was lodged at the Louvre by Louis XIV., who commissioned him to paint his portrait and that of the queen. Petitot had carried enamel painting to such a degree of perfection that the celebrated Vandyk condescended to finish several works of which he had left but rough beginnings. Assisted by a learned chemist, he had found the secret of a colour of marvellous brilliancy. After the revocation he was shut up in the Fort l'Evêque for having refused to abjure his faith. He was then seventy-eight years old. When released he returned to Geneva, and died at Vevay in 1691, after having taken back to his native country the treasures of experience he had acquired abroad.

Another Genevese painter, born in 1668, James Anthony Arlaud, also returned to his native town, after passing a part of his life in France, and acquired a reputation merited by the exquisite beauty of his colouring. The Duke of Orleans, afterwards Regent, said of Arlaud's miniatures, "Painters in this style have hitherto produced nothing but images; Arlaud has taught them to paint portraits."

Medical science was greatly advanced in Switzerland by the refugee Trouillon, whom St Simon classes amongst the most skilful physicians of his time. When the Prince of Conti, hardly forty-five years old, felt himself about to die, he obtained permission from the government to summon him from his exile to Paris. But the learned refugee arrived too late to save him.

The refugee Le Sage, born at Conches in Burgundy, in 1676, and who died at Geneva in 1759, inspired his numerous disciples with a taste for philosophy, and published several works esteemed by his cotemporaries. His son, born at Geneva in 1724, and admitted a burgess in 1770, distinguished himself by his successful investigations in several branches of the exact sciences. He became corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences at Paris, and that of Rouen awarded him a prize for his memoir on chemical affinities.

Another emigrant, whose antique character excited the admiration even of Rousseau and Voltaire, Abauzit of Uzès, astonished his adopted country by the depth and universality of his genius. Descended, it was said, from an Arab physician of the middle ages, he was torn, after the revocation, and whilst still a child, from his mother, who was a Protestant, and was placed at a Catholic school. She managed, however, to get him away from it, and sent him to Geneva. The persecutors in Languedoc punished her by throwing her into a dungeon; but the sudden sinking of her health procured her liberty, and she

joined her son in the land of exile, where, as long as they were together, she never ceased to set him an example of the purest life, and to repeat to him that happiness consists neither in wealth nor in pleasures, but is the certain result of a knowledge of the truth, and of the practice of virtue. His studies finished, Abauzit, in 1696, went to travel in Holland. That free country, which had afforded an asylum to so many French exiles, had singular attraction for him. He abode there long in the society of Bayle, Basnage, and Jurieu. In London he saw St Evremond, that refugee philosopher whose house was always open to the eminent men of the religious emigration; and Newton, who appreciated him so highly that he sent him his *Commercium epistolicum*, with these words, "You are very worthy to decide between Leibnitz and myself." King William made him brilliant offers to keep him in England, but his mother recalled him to Geneva, and he soon returned thither.

M. Villemain has characterized with exquisite tact this rather strange thinker, whom Rousseau compared to Socrates, but who had the defect of communicating his science and wisdom only to a small number of persons admitted into his intimate confidence. "Those early persecutions," he says, "must have inspired the young man with the spirit of tolerance and liberty, at the same time that a great variety of study favoured in him freedom of thought. But he did not the less preserve his religious principles. He assisted in the French translation of the Gospel published at Geneva; and during the whole course of his long life he never ceased to busy himself with theology and sacred criticism. There is nothing sceptical in any of his writings. They are more charitable than dogmatic, but their language is often that of an earnest persuasiveness, very far removed from anti-Christian controversy. Voltaire has somewhere called him the *Chief of the Arians of Geneva*; and he does, in fact, appear to incline to the

Unitarian sentiment; but with what reserve, and what religious gravity! His two works, *On the Knowledge of Christ*, and *On the Honour that is due to Him*, inspired those fine passages which, in the profession of faith of the *Savoyard Vicar*, so greatly shocked Voltaire, as an inconsequence, and a disavowal of incredulity.

“Admirable,” he adds, “in the modesty and simplicity of his manners, and possessing his soul in peace until the age of eighty-eight years, Abauzit was, at Geneva, the true and silent model of that philosophic Christianity whose incomparable orator Rousseau at times became.”

It is especially in Abauzit's letters to Mairan that we can appreciate the rare penetration of his mind. Let it suffice, in order to mark its depth, to call to memory that he busied himself, with S'Gravesende, in the solution of various mathematical and physical problems; that he detected a fault committed by Newton in his *Principia*, when there were perhaps not thirty persons in all Europe capable of understanding them, and that Newton corrected the error in the second edition of his work; that he was one of the first to adopt the new ideas, and to proclaim the marvellous discoveries, of that bold innovator, because he was a sufficiently great geometrician to seize their truth and guess their extent.

The extraordinary impression he produced on his fellow-citizens may be estimated from the following appreciation of him by his cotemporary Senebier: “It would be doing injustice,” he says, “to Abauzit to measure him solely by what has been published in his posthumous works. He did not intend any of them to see the light. He even made such little account of them that he never asked the return of any he lent, and that he often burnt them when he came across them. Those only who personally knew Abauzit can form an idea of his great merit. They alone can have remarked the precision and justice of his ideas, the extent of his views, and the solidity of

his judgment. Abauzit knew several languages perfectly ; he had dived deep into ancient and modern history ; he was one of the most scrupulous of geographers ; he had corrected all the maps in his atlas, and the celebrated Pocock thought that Abauzit had travelled, like himself, in Egypt, by reason of the exact account he gave him of that distant country. He had carried the study of geometry, and even of the most abstruse branches of mathematics, equally far. He had a very ample acquaintance with physics, and was thoroughly versed in the science of medals and manuscripts. All these different sciences were so arranged in his mind that he could bring together, at an instant's notice, all that was known of most interest in each or any of them. Here is a remarkable example of this : Rousseau was working at his *Musical Dictionary* ; he had been particularly occupied with the music of the ancients, and had just made researches, which he deemed complete, upon that subject. He spoke of it to Abauzit, who gave him a faithful and luminous account of all that he had learned by long and obstinate labour, and even disclosed to him many things of which he was still ignorant. Rousseau supposed that Abauzit had, at that moment, his attention directed to the music of the ancients ; but this man, who knew so many things, and who had never forgotten anything, confessed to him, with great simplicity, that it was thirty years since he had studied the subject.

“It was impossible to know Abauzit without being penetrated with respect for his universal and modest science, and doubtless it was the great impression this made upon Rousseau that induced the latter to address to him the only eulogium he ever pronounced on a living man, and which was at once the finest and the best-deserved of all eulogiums.”¹

¹ Jean Senebier, *Histoire littéraire de Genève*, vol. iii., p. 63 sq. Geneva, 1786.

We have still to note the influence, at once literary and religious, exercised by the numerous ministers who settled at Geneva, Lausanne, and in the other towns of French Switzerland. The action of these martyrs for the faith more than once extended beyond the narrow limits of the country that served them as an asylum. It often reached the adjacent provinces of France, and was felt even by the whole body of the Protestants in the south of that kingdom, so that this little nook of land became a real obstacle to the definitive establishment of the odious regime introduced by the act of revocation. During the last hundred and fifty years three classes of fugitives have succeeded each other in the Pays de Vaud and contiguous cantons—the religious refugees under Louis XIV., the literary refugees under Louis XV., the political refugees of our own time. All strove in turn to exercise, by their writings and by their acts, influence on the country that had rejected them from her bosom. The part played by the first named is the only one that comes within the scope of the history we are endeavouring to sketch.

By the end of the year 1685, more than two hundred pastors had retired into Switzerland. In Lausanne alone there were more than eighty. But from their places of exile they ceased not to correspond with their former flocks. Often they returned secretly into France, to confirm them in their attachment to the reformed faith. They preached to the assemblies in the desert, administered sacraments, performed marriages, at the risk of encountering death in the midst of the faithful people to whom they took the word of life. Claude Brousson having thus furtively entered Nismes in 1698, was taken, condemned conformably with the edicts, and hung. His colleague, Peyrol, was preaching at Geneva when this fatal news reached him. He announced it to his congregation, and accused himself of weakness in having abandoned a

post in keeping which Brousson had found martyrdom. His emotion was so great, his grief so intense, that when he left the pulpit he took to his bed, from which he never again rose. But after a time the Protestants scattered through Languedoc and the neighbouring provinces were more rarely visited by their former pastors. They continued, however, to assemble in the midst of forests and mountains, in immense caverns, far from inhabited places, and most frequently under cover of night. The silence, the mystery, the torches whose flickering light projected from afar the shadows of the faithful, the plaintive and lugubrious chants, interrupted only by the solemn reading of the Bible, or by the shouts of the sentinels at the approach of the soldiery, filled all hearts with religious awe. Soon the imagination of those ardent people, excited beyond measure, passed from exultation to delirium. Visionaries, who believed themselves inspired by God, and endowed with the faculty of foreseeing the future, and doubtless also impostors, who played the part of enthusiasts, appeared in those nocturnal assemblies, alternately preaching and prophesying, and sometimes making sinister invocations to revolt. Louis XIV.'s armies had suppressed the Camisard insurrection, but a gloomy fanaticism had seized upon men's minds, and there would perhaps have been an end to the purity of Protestant doctrines in the Cevennes, had not a young man, walking in the footsteps of the Apostles, measured, with a sure and steady eye, the extent of the peril, and resolved to devote his whole life to combat and destroy it. The glorious task was entirely self-imposed; it was accomplished with the support of the pastors resident at Geneva and Lausanne.

Anthony Court was born in 1696, at Villeneuve, in Vivarais. By nature he was admirably endowed. Strong, straightforward sense, a remarkable facility of elocution, dauntless courage, combined with rare judgment, extra-

ordinary vigour, and the power of supporting the severest mental and bodily fatigue, great amenity of manners, unbounded devotion to the religion of his forefathers—such were the qualities which, standing him in stead of study, and of all the other educational resources that had been denied him, qualified him to work upon the misguided congregations of the South, and to deserve the title of restorer of Protestantism in France.

His first efforts were directed against the sect of the *Inspirés*, who dishonoured the reformed religion, and who would ultimately have been its ruin, had they not been promptly repressed. From the age of seventeen he traversed the Vivarais, where those fanatics were most numerous, and, braving the reproach that he was *making war upon God*, he courageously struggled against their dangerous doctrines. But the efforts of one man would have been insufficient to reorganize the Protestant church in France. When he was twenty-seven years old, he secretly convoked an assembly of men chosen amongst the most enlightened and resolute of the party. They met, nine in number, in a desert place, upon the 21st August 1715. At Court's invitation, and following the example of the old consistories, they elected a moderator, who performed the offices of president and secretary. The title was conferred upon him by a majority of votes. The synods had been for thirty years suppressed. This assembly revived them. It prescribed, as a rule of belief, the confession of faith of the reformed churches of France, again put ecclesiastical discipline in force, organized consistories in Protestant villages, and forbade the preachings of the *Inspirés*. Thus, at the very moment when Louis XIV. was in the agonies of death, amidst the splendours of Versailles, Protestantism, which he thought entirely overthrown, arose from its ruins, in the mountains of the Vivarais, through the instrument-

ality of a nameless youth, and of a few illiterate and obscure men.

There was then in France but one regularly consecrated Protestant minister. His name was Roger, and he had been ordained in Wurtemberg. Court and his fellow-labourers at Nismes, Corteis and Maroger, were but aspirants to the priesthood, and consequently could neither administer sacraments nor perform marriages. The eldest of them, Pierre Corteis, went to Zurich, there underwent the imposition of hands prescribed by the ecclesiastical laws, and, on his return to France, he in his turn ordained Anthony Court, in a Synod held in 1718. From that day forward the young pastor devoted himself unreservedly to his high mission. But he had need of auxiliaries, and it was not easy to find them in a career at whose termination the wheel and the gallows were seen. Court did not hesitate to seek them himself. He traversed the southern provinces, and when he met with young men in whom he recognized sufficient aptitude to learn, sufficient courage to brave death, he induced them to quit plough and workshop, himself became their teacher, and infused into them the ardent conviction with which he himself was fired. Soon the assemblies in the desert became more frequent and regular. There the gospel was read, psalms were sung, prayers recited, the sacraments were administered, and mutual exhortations to brave martyrdom were interchanged. Compelled to hide in the most impenetrable forests of the Cevennes, and often to sleep in caves in the rocks, Court was many times exposed to fall into the hands of the soldiers sent in his pursuit. On one occasion it was only by a sort of miracle that he escaped from the town of Alais. The commandant of the place, informed of his arrival there, put the garrison under arms, set guards at the gates, and ordered every house to be searched. Court's fate seemed sealed. For a whole day and night, he remained hidden in a dung-heap,

covered with planks, where none thought of seeking him. At last, compelled by hunger to quit his retreat, he assumed so quiet and confident an air that he had the good fortune to pass the sentinels unrecognised. By an odd coincidence, at the very moment that the authorities thus pursued him as a criminal, he rendered them an inestimable service, by preventing a revolt which might have seriously compromised the tranquillity of the kingdom.

Cardinal Alberoni sought to form a party in favour of Philip V. Reckoning on the Protestants, whose misfortunes he knew, he sent emissaries to promise them his support if they took up arms. The Regent, informed of these manœuvres, had recourse to Basnage, with whom he was in correspondence, and, by the advice of that illustrious refugee, he sent a gentleman to Court, to beg him to employ his influence to keep the Protestants quiet. He soon learned, to his infinite satisfaction, that the pastor of the desert had anticipated his wishes, that part of the Spanish agents had already been dismissed, that strenuous efforts were making to counteract the solicitations of the others, and that Court unceasingly, at the peril of his life, strove to instil peaceable sentiments into that small number of fanatical persons whom thirty years of ignorance, and the prolonged application of a barbarous legislation, might lead astray. Touched by conduct so different from what he had expected, the Regent offered the young man a considerable pension, with leave to sell his property and quit the kingdom. Court refused ; for he would not voluntarily agree to the exile to which these favours would have condemned him.

What he then would not agree to upon advantageous terms, he was obliged to submit to ten years later, when the penal laws, revived at the majority of Louis XV., pressed with equal force upon him and upon his family,

for whom there was no more happiness in their native land. He proposed, moreover, to seek in foreign countries fresh and powerful support for his oppressed brethren. In 1729 he went to Lausanne, whither his wife had preceded him, and where he was received with the most flattering distinction. That hospitable town granted him a pension and all the rights of citizenship, and in Switzerland, then crowded with refugees, he enjoyed for the first time a repose unknown to him since his infancy. But, from the depths of his retreat, he ceased not to turn his eyes towards his oppressed brethren, and to keep up an active correspondence with them, to guide them by his advice, and to exhort them to patience and resignation. Religious dissensions having broken out in Languedoc, he returned thither in 1744, and suddenly appeared in the midst of the divided churches, to whom he brought peace. At his venerated voice, animosity subsided, and the calm which had ceased for eleven years, was re-established in a day. When, before returning to Lausanne, he convoked, at a solitary spot near Nismes, an assembly of the faithful, nearly ten thousand souls were there. He addressed them with an energy of eloquence which he had not previously displayed in a like degree in any of his speeches, reminded them of the duties they had to fulfil as Christians, as brethren, as subjects; exhorted them to peace and concord; then bade them a last adieu, and, amidst general emotion, departed for ever.

The chief object of Court's long residence at Lausanne, was the foundation of an establishment which should supply pastors to the French churches. He strove to interest in this work the religious zeal and the charity of the Protestants of Switzerland, Holland, England, and Germany. He drew up memorials, undertook journeys, and associated himself, in a great part of his proceedings, with Duplan, a gentleman of Alais, who travelled all over Europe, making collections for *the faithful under the cross*.

The same hands that opened asylums abroad for indigent refugees, and transmitted pious alms to the Protestants condemned to the galleys, also extended their benevolence to the object for which these two voluntary exiles implored it. The Archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, the Walloon churches in Holland, the churches in Brandenburg, the government of Berne, and the Protestants of southern France, organised subscriptions to pay the charges of young Frenchmen, who were to study in Switzerland, take holy orders, and then return to their own country, where martyrdom almost invariably awaited them. The seminary of Lausanne opened in 1729, and was at first under the direction of Court, who had been secretly invested with the title of deputy-general of the churches, revived in his favour, after having been borne for the last time by the Marquis de Ruvigny. The government of Berne, not to offend the King of France by openly favouring an establishment that might displease him, only tacitly protected it. The mystery, however, with which it was intentionally surrounded, was not so impenetrable as to escape the knowledge of the French ambassador. But, doubtless, the court of Versailles, convinced of the impossibility of extirpating Protestantism from the kingdom, was not much displeased to see its ministers reared in a country exempt from fanaticism, French in its language and political sympathies, and in which they could not contract feelings of hatred to their native land.

During the remainder of his laborious and truly apostolical life, which was still prolonged for upwards of thirty years, Court ceased not to give all his care to that great religious institution which, in the space of eighty years, supplied France with more than seven hundred preachers. Professor George Polier of Bottens powerfully seconded him, and aided in the definitive organisation of that *school of pastors of the desert*, whose internal

regulations, and their conditions of duration, were never completely known to the French government. In 1787, at the moment when Abbé Bonnaud composed his discourse, addressed to Louis XVI., to turn him from the project of granting civil rights to Protestants, the Bishop of Lausanne and Friburg wrote to the king's ministers, who had asked him for exact information: "This seminary is in all points distinct from the Swiss academy. It contains from twenty to twenty-four French Protestants, who are to do duty in the churches of their country. They remain here three years, go through a course of moral philosophy, theology, Scriptural instruction, under professors distinct from those of the academy, and who do not bear the title. Some are privately ordained by these masters; others, after having been examined, and having obtained an act of capacity, return home, and are ordained by the synod of their province. A committee of seven or eight persons, lay and ecclesiastic, of the most distinguished in Lausanne, places them in various boarding-houses, and allows them about forty French livres a-month. They do not say whence they draw these funds, but observe profound secrecy. . . ."

The Bishop of Friburg was then, like everybody else, ignorant of the fact that the donors had committed the administration of the fund to a private committee, holding its sittings at Geneva, and which, to deceive the vigilance of the French resident, concealed the true object of its financial operations, and employed such minute precautions that, even if its papers had been seized, they would have told the French government nothing. He knew not that, completely to secure the mystery, the committee regularly destroyed these papers at the end of a certain number of years,—thus avoiding the possibility of one day compromising the Protestants of France, who kept up with it a correspondence prohibited by the laws of the kingdom, and the Genevese ministers, who were dis-

obeying their magistrates by maintaining intercourse with the pastors of the desert.

It was thus that was founded and maintained that nursery of young ministers which replaced the destroyed schools of Saumur and Sedan. Originally formed with the object of insuring religious instruction to the Protestant population of the South, it subsisted until the day when the creation, by Napoleon, of the faculty of theology of Montauban, brought its mission to a natural end, by permitting it to abdicate in favour of the establishments founded in France by sovereign authority.¹

Amongst the pupils of the Lausanne seminary, Court de Gébelin, Paul Rabaut, and Rabaut Saint-Etienne, celebrated for various reasons, but whose efforts always converged to one common aim—the liberation of the Protestants of France—merit special mention in this work. The first was a son of Anthony Court. Born at Lausanne, he studied in that town amidst the descendants of the refugees, and was early ordained a minister of the church. After his father's death, in 1760, he left the Pays de Vaud, and went to France to visit the Churches of the Desert. To avoid recognition and arrest, he called himself Gébelin, a name formerly adopted by his father, and by which were addressed, to deceive the police, letters sent to him from the interior of the kingdom. At Uzès, his mother's native place, he saw the fields and the humble dwelling from which she had been compelled precipitately to fly, and which had passed into the hands of strangers. But he beheld them without envy, and, when means of

¹ With respect to Anthony Court, and to the Seminary of Lausanne, we have consulted two unpublished letters from M. de Végobre, jun., whose father had been the intimate confidant of the restorer of the Churches. They were communicated to us by M. Coquerel, jun., to whom they belong. M. Munier Romilly, and M. Cellérier, of Geneva, have also supplied us with valuable information. Amongst printed works, we have had recourse to the *Histoire des Eglises du Désert*, by M. Charles Coquerel, vol. i. *passim*; to the *Notice historique sur l'Eglise réformée de Nîmes*, by Borrel, p. 29-33 (Nîmes, 1837); to several dissertations of the *Monde Primitif*, by Court de Gébelin, principally to that entitled, *De nos premières études*, in the first volume.

recovering them were pointed out to him, he refused to avail himself of them, for he could not make up his mind to dispossess the persons who had enjoyed them for so many years. His first publication was that of two important works whose materials his father had prepared: *Le Français Patriote et Impartial*, and the *Histoire de la Guerre des Camisards*. Then he went to Paris, and after ten years of the most laborious and persevering study, he produced his treatise on the *Monde Primitif*, which procured him two prizes from the French Academy, and the place of royal censor, from which his religion might have been expected to exclude him. Thenceforward he profited by the high consideration he enjoyed to plead with those in power the cause of his oppressed brethren. One day he dared present to the Duke de la Vrillière a memorial in favour of some prisoners for religion's sake. "Do you know," the minister said to him, in a menacing tone, "that I will have you hung?"—"I know, Monseigneur," he fearlessly replied, "that you have the power, but I also know that you are too just to exercise it, and I hope you will deign to listen to me." The astonished minister received the memorial, and ever afterwards showed himself a partizan of tolerance. Previously to this incident he had published, in his *Toulousaines*, details previously unknown relating to the trial of Calas; and he it was, perhaps, who first drew Voltaire's attention to that tragical event. At the same time he denounced to public indignation the execution of the pastor Rochette, a former pupil of the Lausanne seminary, and that of three other martyrs to the Protestant faith, the brothers Grenier, glass-makers, condemned to death for having gone out armed upon a day of popular effervescence. Appointed agent and deputy of the churches at Paris, and representative of the committee of direction of the Lausanne seminary, he became in some sort the director of a ministry of the reformed religion. But he had

not the happiness of seeing his efforts crowned by complete success. He died in 1784, three years before the celebrated ordinance of Louis XVI., which restored civil rights to the Protestants, and of which he had, more than any other man, prepared the promulgation by the popularity of his writings, and by the personal esteem with which he had inspired the most eminent members of the society of Paris.

Paul Rabaut, and his son, Rabaut Saint-Etienne, were brought up, like Court de Gébelin, in exile, amidst the sons and grandsons of the Protestants expatriated in 1685; but, more fortunate than he, they lived to see better days dawn upon their country.

In 1736, Anthony Court, during one of his expeditions in France, put up in the house of a cloth-merchant at Bédarieux. He observed in his host's son a remarkable disposition for the study of the sciences, and at the same time a deep and ardent sense of religion. Animated by a lively hope, he proposed to him to embrace the ecclesiastical career, and to follow him to Lausanne. The young man joyfully consented, and was ordained in 1739. This was Paul Rabaut. On his return to France he was attached to the church of Nismes, and such was the influence of his pious eloquence, and of his conciliatory character, that Protestants and Catholics treated him with like respect. The bishop of Nismes, Beccelièvre, who had not the oratorical talent of Fléchier, but who had inherited the episcopal virtues, the tolerance and charity, of his illustrious predecessor, conceived a sincere esteem for Rabaut, and, for the first time in France, a Catholic bishop and a Protestant minister were seen to act in concert, and to endeavour to bring about union amongst the inhabitants of a town greatly divided by religious dissensions.

Like Court de Gébelin, Rabaut proposed to himself to strive, by all legal means, for the emancipation of his

brother Protestants. He wrote a memorial in their behalf, and undertook to have it placed before the eyes of Louis XV. The enterprise was both difficult and dangerous. Accompanied by a devoted friend, he went to Uchaud, there to await the passage of the Marquis de Paulmi, who was on his way to Montpellier. On his arrival he approached his carriage, alone, with a modest but firm countenance; he declared his name, his quality, the object of his message, and presented the document. Moved by this act of heroic confidence, the general, whose powers were almost unlimited, and who, by a single gesture, might have sent him to the gallows without any formality of justice, took off his hat, received the memorial, and promised to put it in the king's hands. He kept his word, and from that day forward the persecution of the Protestants lost much of its severity in the province of Languedoc.

But in thus contributing to improve the condition of others, Rabaut made his own much worse. The governor of the province, irritated at the step he had taken, set a price upon his head. Tracked on all sides, the courageous minister retired at night into the caves of the mountains, or into the lone sheepfolds, which are numerous in the uncultivated *garrigues* of the environs of Nismes. At last, in 1762, he obtained a sort of tacit tolerance from the Prince of Beauveau. The Protestants of Nismes then chose for their winter meetings a vast amphitheatre situated on the road to Alais, on the banks of the torrent of Cadereau, and which they called the Hermitage. There, upon seats constructed with loose stones, assembled, every Sunday, six or eight thousand persons, eager to hear the inspired words of their pastor. In summer they transferred their meetings to an old quarry, named Lecque, surrounded on all sides by immense rocks, and to be reached only by two narrow paths. The burning beams of the sun were excluded from it, and the faithful found

themselves sheltered from heat and rain. It was in this sombre cavern that, for more than twenty years, Rabaut's voice resounded, preserving faith and hope in his hearers' hearts. Three ministers, animated by a like zeal, and ready to brave the same dangers, seconded him in his difficult mission ; these were Paul Vincent, Puget, Encontre, and, later, his own son, Rabaut Saint-Etienne.

John-Paul Rabaut, called Saint-Etienne, born during the religious proscription of 1742, and victim of the terrorist proscription in 1793, studied at Lausanne under Court de Gébelin, who had not then quitted that peaceable retreat to go and gather, in a vaster field, the glory he was to owe to his immense learning. A community of faith and misfortune formed, between master and pupil, the basis of a strict friendship which nothing ever troubled. His studies at an end, Saint-Etienne embraced his father's perilous profession, and returned amongst his brethren to share their fate, and to confront the religious persecution which was sometimes slackened but ever renewed. Scarcely had he entered France when he learned the execution of Rochette, condemned to death by the parliament of Toulouse for having preached in the assemblies in the desert ; but, far from being intimidated, he went to exercise the functions of his dangerous ministry within the jurisdiction of the same tribunal. Tolerance, submission to the laws, love of the reigning sovereign, resignation and oblivion of injuries—such were the subjects that his masculine eloquence was employed to develop to his congregation. Following his father's example, he laboured to calm down hatred, and to maintain peace in those regions so often ravaged by religious wars. Not only did he preach tolerance, but he defended it in a celebrated work entitled *Le Vieux Cévenol*. Collecting in an historical framework all the laws promulgated against the Protestants since Louis XIV.'s time, he composed a sort of romance, in which the misfortunes of his brothers in the

faith, under the sway of that barbarous legislation, were ingeniously described in a narrative of the life of Ambrose Borély, an imaginary exile whom the author made to die in London, at the age of one hundred and three years. Free from the sectarian exclusiveness of a fraction of his party, he gave, when the diocese of Nismes lost its bishop Becdelièvre, expression to the public grief, by composing the funeral eulogy of that venerable man. Count Boissy d'Anglas, then residing in that city, sent the paper to La Harpe, with whom he was intimate. The celebrated critic replied: "You have sent me an excellent piece of writing; here is true eloquence, that of the soul and of feeling. One sees that all that flows from the author's pen is inspired by the virtues he celebrates. I beg you to thank your worthy friend."

For a long time a generous project had occupied the mind of the pastor of Nismes; it was to obtain from the government the grant of civil rights for the Protestants. Encouraged by La Fayette, who, passing through Languedoc after his glorious campaign in America, had promised him his powerful intervention, he went to Paris, and, supported by the man who was then called the citizen of two worlds, and who was surrounded by all the prestige of his rising popularity, and warmly backed by Malesherbes and by the Marquis de Breteuil, he obtained from the king the celebrated edict of 1787—the first reparation of Louis XIV.'s great error. Paul Rabaut still lived, without a place of safety where to rest his head. The old pastor of the desert could at last return to Nismes, and build a house in a street which was, and still is, called *la Rue de Monsieur Paul*.

When Louis XVI. convoked the States-general in 1789, Rabaut Saint-Etienne was named the first of the eight deputies of the Tiers Etat which the district of Toulouse was to elect. On the 15th March 1790, he was proclaimed President of the National Assembly.

When announcing this news to his father, he ended his letter with these words, *The President of the National Assembly is at your feet.* He was one of the first to demand the establishment of juries, a regulated liberty for the press, and, above all, liberty of worship and of conscience, the immediate consequence of the edict which the Protestants owed to the happy commencement made by the monarch. After the revolution of the 10th August, he was soon involved in the ruin of the Girondins, and was sent to the scaffold on the 5th December 1793. Paul Rabaut was incarcerated in the citadel of Nismes, and was not released until after the 9th Thermidor. The constitution of the year III. having definitively established religious liberty, he celebrated its inauguration by a solemn discourse, in which he evoked the old and painful memories of the past, and moved to tears the numerous congregation assembled to hear him. It was the last time the noble old man appeared in the pulpit. He died a few days afterwards, at the age of eighty years.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE DESCENDANTS OF THE
REFUGEES IN SWITZERLAND.

PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, AND TRADE—GENEVA WATCHES—REFUGEES DISTINGUISHED IN POLITICS—THE ODIER FAMILY—BENJAMIN CONSTANT—REFUGEES DISTINGUISHED IN LITERATURE, ARTS, AND SCIENCES—JAMES PRADIER—SPIRIT OF PROSELYTISM—SEVERITY OF MORALS—SPIRIT OF CHARITY—PIOUS LEGACIES—ASSISTANCE SENT TO THE PROTESTANTS AT THE GALLEYS—CALANDRIN—LETTER FROM PONTCHARTRAIN—END OF THE SEMINARY OF LAUSANNE—CONFISCATION OF THE GENEVA PURSE—AMALGAMATION OF THE COLONY OF BERNE WITH THE PARISH OF LA NEUVEVILLE.

THUS, as regarded religion, literature, and politics, as well as agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the refugees exercised a favourable influence on the destinies of Protestant Switzerland, and even reacted, to a certain extent, on those of their former country. The salutary action of those distinguished men and their descendants continued during the whole of the eighteenth century, and has not ceased even in our own day. The progress of agriculture in the Pays de Vaud is in great part their work. The flourishing state of the country around Lausanne sufficiently proves the superiority of the modes of cultivation they introduced into that country, already so favoured by nature. The manufactures they took with them became for French Switzerland, and for the canton of Berne, a source of wealth which has never since run dry. The fine silk-manufactures with which they endowed their new country have never ceased to improve in their hands, and to afford employment to a multitude of native and French workmen. In the artisan class at

Berne are still easily recognized the families that came from Languedoc and Dauphiné, and found their support in the manufactures established after the revocation. The principal manufacture for which Geneva is indebted to them was further developed during the first period of the Revolution of 1789. When the ancient corporation of the watchmakers of Paris had been mortally injured by the precipitate suppression of the severe but useful statutes of communities, several of the first manufacturers left France, taking with them their capital and the special skill they had attained, and joined in Switzerland the descendants of the refugees for religion's sake. From that date, Geneva became the centre of the greatest manufacture of watches existing in Europe. It not only rivalled France, but France became its tributary, for the greatest part of the watches sold in that country were taken thither by Genevese makers. The same state of things still exists; it is still French Switzerland, and especially Geneva, which supplies France with watches of all kinds. The French watchmakers, particularly those of Paris, manufacture comparatively few. Swiss trade, too, still shows signs of the impulse it received from the intelligent activity of the refugees. The Pourtalès, the Coulons, the Terris, have founded at Neuchâtel houses which vie with the first in Europe. At Geneva, the celebrated banker, John Gabriel Eynard, who is descended from a family of Dauphiné, has twice devoted a part of his immense fortune to the service of Greece, which owes him almost its existence.

In our own times, several descendants of refugees have followed, with high distinction, the political and military careers. Philip-Martha Claparède, whose father died at Geneva in 1737, after having been for some time councillor of the first King of Prussia, was captain in the French service, and received, as reward for his gallantry, the decoration of the order of Military Merit. General

Rath, sprung from a Genevese family originally from Nismes, fought under the Emperor of Russia's banner, distinguished himself in the campaign of 1812, and was named commandant of Zamosk. Gouzy, formerly captain of Bernese artillery, is now (1851) first secretary of the section of the French chancery. James Fazy, who for several years maintained himself at the head of the government of Geneva, is descended from a calico-manufacturer, who obtained burgher's rights in 1735, and whose father, Anthony Fazy, was a refugee from the valley of Queyras, near Briançon. The family of Anthony Odier, who fled from Pont-en-Royans, in Dauphiné, to escape persecution, and established himself at Geneva in 1717, has given to the country of its forefathers two men who have not been uninfluential on its later destinies. The grandson of Anthony returned to France at the end of the eighteenth century, was deputy for Paris under the restoration, and peer of the realm in the reign of Louis Philippe. Another member of the same family, Roman Odier, was deputy for the Yonne. Both formed part of the liberal opposition under Charles X., and signed the address of the 221. Finally, one of our first political writers, and most brilliant parliamentary orators, Benjamin Constant de Rebecque, born at Lausanne in 1767, was also of an emigrant family. His father, who was in correspondence with Voltaire, was colonel of a Swiss regiment in the Dutch service. Having gone to France in 1795, young Benjamin Constant joined the moderate republican party, and became the friend of Chénier, Louvet, and Daunou. Controversial writings and articles in newspapers, and a representation made at the bar of the Council of Five Hundred in favour of the descendants of the refugees, added to his rising reputation. As member of the *tribunat* he took part in that generous but inopportune opposition, which the country, wearied by discord, did not understand, and which irritated a power

strong enough to dare everything. Sharing the fate of the élite of that body, and soon compelled to quit France, he retired to Weimar, returned to France on the fall of the Empire, and ranged himself amongst the chiefs of that liberal party which desired, whilst maintaining the throne of the Bourbons, and repudiating the crimes of the Reign of Terror, to insure to the country the immortal conquests of the Revolution. Elected deputy by the department of the Sarthe, he never ceased, as orator, writer, journalist, to plead the cause of liberty, and to struggle against the retrograde tendencies which impelled the Restoration to its ruin. Re-elected at Paris in 1824, at Strasburg in 1827 (notwithstanding the electioneering frauds employed to prevent his return), he opposed the Angoulême expedition to Spain, the law of tendency, and several other government measures. When the July ordinances appeared he was at his country house, ill, and suffering from a painful operation. It was in this state that he received a note from La Fayette : " A terrible game is playing here ; our heads are the stake ; bring yours ! " Forgetting his ill health, he instantly obeyed the summons, and shared in the peril and in the victory. The revolution accomplished, he formed part of the majority which awarded the crown to the lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and was himself appointed president of the council of state. He survived but for a few days the triumph of his principles. He died in December of that memorable year which, it was then thought, was to close for ever the era of revolutions by the happy alliance of order and liberty.

Literature and the arts and sciences are also indebted to the descendants of the French Protestants who retired into Switzerland after the revocation. Benjamin Constant was not only a politician of high and noble standing, he was also a distinguished writer. His work on *Religion, considérée dans sa Source, ses Formes,*

et ses Developpements, is remarkable for sagacity, erudition, and for a lucidity which reminds us of that of Voltaire. Benjamin Constant did not shine by the novelty of his ideas ; but no one made a more judicious choice of those of others, or rendered science more accessible to ordinary intelligence. If representative government was so long popular in France, he is certainly one of those to whom belongs the honour of having taught it to his fellow-citizens. Necker's daughter, the illustrious Madame de Staël, who was Constant's patroness at the commencement of his career, and who shared his exile at Weimar, was descended by her mother's side from an emigrant French lady, who had married a pastor of the Pays de Vaud. Mallet, the learned Genevese, who passed a part of his life in Denmark, and afterwards returned to his native city, where he was appointed professor of history, and where he died at the commencement of the present century, belonged, through his mother, whose maiden name was Masson, to a family from Champagne, settled at Geneva for two generations. In this same city, Peter Odier, great-grandson of the refugee Anthony, is now reckoned amongst the most eminent jurisconsults. Two men of acknowledged merit in scientific studies, John de Charpentier, the naturalist, and a chemist still young, but already celebrated, are descended, like Mallet and Odier, from emigrant families. The first-named, whose ancestors had settled in Germany, but who himself is resident in the canton of Vaud, is the author of a remarkable memoir on the *Formation des Glaciers*, and of an *Essai sur la Constitution Géographique des Pyrénées*, for which a prize was given by the Institute. The second, a great-grandson of Gallissard de Marignac, a refugee from Alais, has been attached as chemist to the manufactory at Sèvres, and has since been named professor of chemistry at the Academy of Geneva, of which place his family have for more than a century been citizens.

The arts also have recently received a certain lustre from the descendants of the fugitives. Lugardon, the historical painter, belongs to the colony of Berne. The painter Lafon is also descended from a French exile who settled in that city. The illustrious statuary, James Pradier, born at Geneva in 1792, and deceased at Paris in 1852, was descended from a family of like origin. His ancestors in the direct line fled to Switzerland after the revocation. Pradier, who belonged to the Institute since 1827, is the author of the charming group of the three graces, to be seen in one of the saloons at Versailles, of the Phidias and Prometheus in the garden of the Tuileries, of the bas-reliefs in the old chamber of deputies, of the four admirable *Fames* of the triumphal arch *de l'Etoile*, a work of genius which alone would suffice for the reputation of a great artist—of the two muses of the *Fontaine Molière*, and of a host of other works, as glorious for France, where he rose to eminence, as for the country of his birth, where his ancestors had found so generous a welcome. In conclusion, let us mention the fine museum at Geneva, which owes its existence to the liberality of General Rath, and to which public gratitude has given its founder's name.

An ardent spirit of religious proselytism never ceased to animate the greater part of the refugees and of their descendants. When, in 1707, the Genevese William Franconis furnished the first funds for the establishment of a chamber of proselytes, with the view of opposing a barrier to the propaganda of Rome, and of supporting the Catholics who desired to embrace the reformed religion, the company of pastors delegated for the election of the members of the committee chose, for the very first, two French exiles, the Marquis Duquesne and the Marquis d'Arzilliers. A second chamber of proselytes was founded at Berne by the intervention of the emigrants settled in that canton.

These deeply-rooted convictions, still further fortified by the sufferings of exile, contributed to maintain amongst the refugees the pure and austere morals that distinguished their ancestors, at a time when these had not yet been driven from their native land. Union reigned in the interior of families. The pastors severely repressed the least act, the least word, contrary to the laws of the most rigid propriety. In 1689 the direction of the colony of Berne summoned before it the chiefs of manufactories, to exhort them to prevent their workmen from swearing and singing indecent songs. Luxury was rigorously prohibited. The style of dress was of a simplicity that contrasted with the magnificence the rich then gladly displayed in their apparel. One day, the direction of Berne gravely deliberated on the too worldly attire of the women. They were forbidden to wear the head-dresses called *fontanges* and other head-dresses *several stories high*, to repair, it was said, the bad example they had given. Public opinion unsparingly blamed the pastors themselves, for having gone in their robes to the burial of Marquis Duquesne without previous authorisation from the council. The inspectors of the colonies desired that the exiles, by the most irreproachable conduct, might form an élite society to serve as a model to the rest of the nation. In 1689, those of Berne ordered the persons within their jurisdiction not to quit their houses after supper. It was recommending them to lead a regular and pious life, in conformity with that of the first Christians. On the Sunday, all work was suspended. In 1695, the direction of Berne, by a decree at which we ought not to smile, forbade the *French barbers and hairdressers* to shave upon those days consecrated to prayer and repose.

The exiles, whose life had been one long period of devotion to their faith, transmitted to their children sentiments of sympathy with the persecuted, of charity to the poor, which were never belied, and of which his-

tory affords affecting examples. At Lausanne is still cherished the memory of an old pastor of Saintes, named Merlat, who never gave a repast to his friends without exactly calculating its cost, and allotting the same sum to the poor of his quarter. It was not until after his death that the examination of his papers revealed his beneficence. At Berne, the secretary of the Direction of the French colony, James Mourgues, whose name well deserves rescue from oblivion, devoted his whole life to relieving the misfortunes of his companions in exile, and died, a victim to his zeal, at the age of thirty-nine years. Sent to Aarau in 1699, to fulfil a highly important mission to the diet of the evangelical cantons, he hesitated not, with a self-devotion bordering on heroism, to set out upon his journey in the depth of winter, and died, soon after his return, from the effects of cold and fatigue. Besombes, Cabrid, and Couderc, his colleagues, the Marquis d'Arzilliers, the Marquis Duquesne, Peyrol, Parlier, the Sieur de Saligné, were never weary, during the last fifteen years of the seventeenth century, of going from town to town, from province to province, neglecting their own affairs for those of their brethren, getting up subscriptions for them, and pleading their cause with the cantonal authorities and the evangelical diets. A great number of refugees, some of whom had themselves received assistance in the day of their distress, having attained to competency or to fortune, in their turn enriched with their gifts the purse of Geneva, the French hospital of Berne, and the Directions of the colonies. Amongst these pious benefactors may be cited Stephen Ronjat, who bequeathed in 1740 to the Geneva purse the sum of 70,000 florins, equal to £6000 sterling; Anthony de Posseu of Nismes, who, during his own lifetime, placed in the hands of the Protestant cantons the sum of 30,000 livres, on condition that three-fourths of the interest should be divided amongst the emigrants and their descendants, especially

amongst those originally from Nismes ; David Perrin, who died in London in 1748, and who, leaving half his fortune to the French churches of that city, disposed of the rest in favour of the exiles resident at Berne, Coire, and Zurich, "very humbly supplicating," said he in his will, "the venerable magistrates of those three towns to accept this little mark of my gratitude and just restitution for the numerous charitable favours my family and I received from them, after our great misfortunes in France, towards the end of the last century;" the merchant Rouvier, who bequeathed 10,000 louis-d'ors to the direction of the Bernese colony ; de Wattenwyl, son of the *haut commandant* of Berne, and of a French mother whose maiden name was Morlot, who distributed the greater part of his fortune amongst those three hundred refugees whom the Direction of that city judged most worthy of being assisted ; Négret, who left 3000 livres to the indigent French of the same canton ; Lord Galloway, who long maintained at his charges more than forty refugees at Vevay. The French colonies in Switzerland more than once extended their benevolence to the Vaudois of the valleys of Piedmont. After the peace of Ryswick, they helped them to rebuild their ruined temples. The purse of Geneva did not content itself with affording succour to its own poor. It often sent considerable sums to the needy French of the colonies of Erlangen, Cassel, Cologne. A part of its funds was devoted to the relief of those French Protestants who had been condemned to the galleys for religion's sake. The refugees of Berne, Zurich, Lausanne, Basle, Schaffhausen, deprived themselves of the very necessaries of life to aid those martyrs of the faith. In the book of deliberations of the inspectors of the colony of Berne is to be read, under date of the 4th March 1695 : "1000 livres *tournois* are to be sent to the galley-slaves in France. A collection is to be made amongst the refugees in Berne. Letters are to be

written to all places where there are French refugees, to inform them of the sufferings of those blessed galley-slaves (*bienheureux forçats*), and to exhort them to be liberal in their favour." Under date of the 1st April following, "Reboulet, minister of Zurich, sends a hundred crowns for our poor brethren at the galleys." He announces a collection in the town. Under date of the 13th May, "The churches of Morges, Lausanne, Vevay, Nyon, send money for the galley-slaves."

The churches of Hameln, Hanover, Zell, Magdeburg, Bremen, those of England and Holland, were in correspondence with the French colonies in Switzerland, and supported by their intermediation those victims of fanaticism, whom they called, in affecting phrase, their *poor brothers in the galleys*. These funds, centralised in the hands of the direction of Berne, were habitually transmitted to Genevese ministers, who had agents in the southern provinces of France, and were in the galleys themselves. For many years, a certain Calandrin thus transmitted considerable sums to the galley-slaves at Marseilles. But a seizure made from some Geneva traders put the French government on the scent of this intercourse, of which, until then, it had in vain endeavoured to discover the secret. Bitter complaints were forthwith addressed to the republic. The minister Pontchartrain himself wrote to the Resident of France, on the 10th September 1704 :—

"It has been discovered, by the evidence of several Protestant galley-slaves, that the Sieur Calandrin, minister at Geneva, is in continual intercourse with them, and that he writes to them very often to exhort them to persist in their disobedience, to prevent those amongst them whom they call feeble from returning to their duty, and to offer considerable pensions to some of those who have abjured to induce them to retract. He sends them assistance in money, which is distributed every day, according to the

classes into which they are all divided, and he promises them more considerable remittances. The King has commanded me to inform you of this, and to write to you that his intention is that you should complain to the senate of this proceeding, which tends to maintain his subjects in disobedience and disorder, and demand that such precise orders may be given to this minister, and to all the others, that none of them may persist in their evil meddling. You will be pleased to inform me of the success of your representations."

Once more the feeble Genevese government was fain to obey the Great King's injunction. But his prohibition could not chill the ardent sympathy of the refugees with their suffering brethren, too often exposed to rigours that were spared to real criminals. The intercourse, interrupted for a moment, was quickly renewed, and a benevolent fund, secretly established at Marseilles, was the channel by which these unfortunates received the assistance sent to them from abroad. It was not until later, when the persecutions began to slacken, that a part of the funds intended for them was applied to the seminary of Lausanne.

When the proclamation of liberty of worship, and the regular organisation of the reformed churches in France, put an end to the existence of this religious institution, the various foundations that had maintained it ceased to have a precise object. Accordingly, from the year 1795, England sent no more money to the Genevese committee which directed its administration. The Geneva purse itself now no longer exists. By virtue of a decree of the revolutionary government, instituted in 1846, it was united to the hospital, and its funds, which still amounted to nearly a million of francs, diverted from their primitive destination, have since been employed to assist indiscriminately all the citizens of the canton, those of Genevese as well as of French origin, and Catholics as well

as Protestants. The radical revolution accomplished in that little state has effaced every vestige of the benefits the refugees had received from the old republic, and which constituted an envied privilege in favour of their descendants.

At Lausanne, as at Geneva, the two classes of population, daily more closely blended by intermarriages and by the community of language and religion, have long been entirely confounded with each other. Nevertheless, the old corporation, generally designated by the name of the French Purse, still possesses rich revenues which belong to the descendants of the refugees.

In German Switzerland, at Berne, at Basle, at Zurich, the emigrants gradually adopted, in the course of the eighteenth century, the language and usages of the people amongst whom they dwelt. A tolerably large number gradually went to rejoin their brethren settled in the Pays de Vaud, which bore a strong resemblance to their former country. Nevertheless the colony of Berne has lasted until our day, but since 1850 it is joined to the parish of La Neuveville. The contract of *embourgeoisement*, of which the original act is deposited in the State archives of the canton, states that the *commune bourgeoise* of La Neuveville receives into its corporation all the persons belonging to the parish of the French colony of Berne ; that this reception extends not only to persons actually living, but to their descendants ; that, in return, the parish of the French colony gives up, as price of its *embourgeoisement*, to that of La Neuveville, all the fortune it possesses, that is to say, 94,683 Swiss francs. This act, ratified by the great council of Berne in 1851, has henceforward force of law, and regulates for ever the political and civil rights of the offshoots of the Bernese colony, whose importance has greatly declined. The last census, taken in 1845, showed only fourteen families remaining, consisting of eighty-six persons.

These were all that remained of more than two hundred families, of which the colony consisted during the first twenty-five years of its existence. The others are either extinct or have joined the communes of French Switzerland, or are wholly confounded with the Bernese. The fourteen families are those of Courant, Leyris, Ferrier, George, Gouzy, Guiron, Lugardon, Nogaret, Olivier, Pagès, Pécholier, Rieux, Vieux, Volpillière. Almost all of them still reside in the town where their ancestors established themselves, and have preserved the use of the French language as a distinctive sign of their origin. Some have recently returned to France, and inhabit Paris, still preserving their rights as members of the *commune* of La Neuveville.

BOOK SEVENTH.

BOOK SEVENTH.

OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFUGEES IN DENMARK,
SWEDEN, AND RUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE REFUGEES IN DENMARK.

MEMORIAL OF THE BISHOP OF ZEALAND AGAINST THE REFUGEES—CHRISTIAN V.'S
EDICT IN 1681—QUEEN CHARLOTTE-AMELIA—SECOND EDICT OF 1685—
COLONY OF COPENHAGEN—COLONY OF ALTONA—COLONIES OF FREDERICIA
AND GLUCKSTADT.

THE MILITARY REFUGEES—LOUIS XIV.'S ORDINANCE—COUNT DE ROYE—RE-
FUGEE SAILORS—PROGRESS OF AGRICULTURE IN DENMARK—INTRODUCTION
OF THE CULTIVATION OF TOBACCO—RURAL ECONOMY OF THE PLANTERS OF
FREDERICIA—PROGRESS OF NAVIGATION AND TRADE—NEW MANUFACTURES
—LITERARY INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES—LA PLACETTE—MALLET—
MORALITY OF THE REFUGEES—EXAMPLES OF CHARITY—PRESENT STATE OF
THE COLONY OF FREDERICIA—PRESENT STATE OF THE COLONIES OF
COPENHAGEN AND ALTONA.

DENMARK, Sweden, and Russia were countries too distant and too poor to attract a large number of refugees. The difference of religion must also have contributed to make the Calvinists of France prefer countries where they were certain of greater advantages and a better welcome. The Confession of Augsburg, adopted in Denmark in 1530, prevailed there at the end of the seventeenth century to the exclusion of any other creed; and the revolution of 1660, by concentrating all the power in the hands of the monarch, imposed upon him the obligation to change nothing in the religion of the state. Lutheran orthodoxy then repelled Calvin's doctrine as a dangerous heresy.

When the emigrants went to Brandenburg it was discussed whether they should not be induced to enter Denmark with a view to the prosperity of its manufactures. Bagger, bishop of Zealand, addressed a memorial to King Christian V., designed to alarm him concerning the dangers to which he would expose himself by granting free entrance into the kingdom to those foreigners. "When God shall see fit," he said to that prince, "to raise up this poor country, and to strengthen its columns, I am persuaded he will inspire your majesty with other measures than the mixture of religions." The court preacher was equally narrow-minded and exclusive in his views. In his sermons he maintained that the power of kings is of divine origin, and recognises no other superior but God in the spiritual as in the temporal order; that, consequently, it is their interest to maintain the Lutheran religion, which is easily reconciled with absolute government, and to oppose the introduction of Calvinism, founded on a contrary principle. The treaty of alliance signed by France and Denmark in 1682, and the monthly subsidy of 50,000 francs paid by Louis XIV. to Christian V., must also have added to the coldness towards the refugees with which such efforts were made to inspire the latter prince. Nevertheless, in 1681, upon intelligence of the first *dragonnades*, and of the abduction of children, the Danish monarch was moved, and published a declaration by which he bound himself to protect those fugitives who should seek an asylum in his States, and to permit them to build temples, with the promise that they should never be disturbed in the exercise of their religion. He, moreover, promised to exempt artisans from payment of entrance duty on their furniture, and on the implements of their craft, and to liberate them for eight years from all taxes, provided they took the oath of allegiance, and brought up their children in the Lutheran faith. In 1685 they were released from this last obligation, thanks to the intercession of Charlotte-

Amelia, wife of Christian V. This queen, who was distinguished for the greatest virtues, and whose name is still venerated in Denmark, was daughter of William VI., landgrave of Hesse, who belonged to the Calvinist sect, and niece of the princess of Tarentum, who herself had suffered in France for the Protestant cause. She kept up a close correspondence with her uncle, the Great Elector, who, full of zeal for the refugees, communicated the warm sympathy he felt for them to all the princes of his own religion; so that, in spite of the opposition of the Lutheran clergy, and the hostility of a part of the population, the fugitives were favourably received. In 1685 the king, at the reiterated request of the queen, and the urgent entreaty of the elector, issued a new edict in their favour. He bound himself to receive all who should choose to settle in his dominions. He promised to persons of quality and nobles the same distinctions to which they had a right in France; and to military men the same rank they had held in the French army. Young gentlemen were to be placed in his regiments of guards. Persons desirous of founding manufactories were to have houses given, and advances made to them, and were to enjoy certain privileges and immunities. This edict gave a fresh impulse to the immigration into Denmark. Several of the most remarkable of the refugees had already gone thither before the revocation; and one of them, the Count de Roze, had become marshal of the Danish troops. A crowd of others soon followed. The commercial intercourse that kingdom maintained with France would doubtless have disposed several houses of Bordeaux, La Rochelle, and Nantes to transfer themselves to Copenhagen, if the spirit of intolerance had not counteracted, by artful delays, the wise measures of the court. These families, enriched by trade, which Denmark should have been overjoyed to acquire as subjects, transferred to England and Holland the elements of prosperity which had for a moment been

promised to the former country. Nevertheless, the number of refugees was still sufficiently considerable to form a congregation at Copenhagen, whose first pastor was Ménard, son of the former preacher at Charenton, who had settled at the Hague, and whom the Prince of Orange had attached to his person. The States-general of Holland granted a subsidy of a thousand florins to aid them in constructing a temple. The queen herself laid its first stone in 1688, and moreover created a fund the revenue from which was to be applied to the maintenance of the pastors. To give more lustre to this first French colony, she undertook to attract thither one of the most celebrated orators of the Calvinist church, Du Bosc, former pastor of Caen. The Count de Roye and the Marquis de Laforest offered him, in the queen's name, great advantages for himself and his family if he would settle at Copenhagen. He preferred accepting the ministry of the French church at Rotterdam, whither the greater part of his flock had retired. The queen then got Frederick-William to send Laplacette, of Pontac in Béarn, who at first had settled at Berlin, and had been received there with a distinction proportioned to his merit, to the capital of Denmark, and she had him appointed minister of the church whose founder she was. In 1699 she called thither Theodore Blanc, who for six years had fulfilled the functions of pastor to one of the French churches in London. But she was not always powerful enough to defend this feeble community against the persevering enmity of the bishop of Zealand and of the court preacher. An edict, published in 1690, and obtained by those two zealots, ordered children born of mixed marriages to be brought up in the established religion of the state, and forbade the ringing of bells to summon the Calvinists to divine worship.

A second French colony was founded at Altona. Already, in 1582, that town had served as place of retreat to a crowd of Walloons whom the Duke of Alba's cruelties

had driven from the Low Countries. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Count Ernest de Schaumburg, sovereign of a part of the duchy of Holstein, allowed them to build a temple, which was completed in 1603, and in which they were authorized freely to exercise the Calvinist religion. This congregation, composed of Dutch, Germans, and French Walloons, was ministered to at first by pastors who preached alternately in the three languages. But the French group having been reinforced in 1686 by refugees from France, a separation was the result, and two congregations were formed, one French, the other German-Dutch. The first comprised not only the French domiciled at Altona, but those who, for commercial reasons, had settled at Hamburg, and who, unable there to obtain from magistrates or clergy liberty of public worship, connected themselves with the church of the neighbouring town. Amongst the pastors who led this double flock the most celebrated was Isaac de Beausobre, who afterwards went to Berlin.

The colonies of Copenhagen and Altona were not the only ones formed under the protection of the Court of Denmark. Two others established themselves, but rather later, at Fredericia and Gluckstadt.

The town of Fredericia, situated in Jutland, on the shore of the Little Belt, was founded by King Frederick III., who built it in 1650, on the site afterwards called the *Field of the Reformed*. Destroyed in 1657 by the Swedish general Wrangel, it was reconstructed by the same prince on a new plan, at some distance from the former place. He intended it as a fortress to cover Jutland and Funen, and at the same time as a commercial town which might serve as entrepôt to the Baltic trade. In 1720, Frederick IV. called thither some forty French families, refugees in Brandenburg, and distributed amongst them the half of those lands which the natives left waste for want of hands to till them. Twenty of these families dispersed themselves

through Zealand. The others remained at Fredericia, and received as their share the *Field of the Reformed* (a name it then received), which was still covered with the ruins of the houses burned by the Swedes; another field, at a greater elevation, called the Seeberg; and some pieces of land designated by the name of *Kampen*, signifying *enclosures*. The King allowed them to form a community distinct from the rest of the inhabitants, and promised to pay their minister for ten years. He authorised them to elect a judge to terminate their differences, and exempted them for twenty years from all taxes. Finally, he recommended them to the special protection of the magistrates and military commandant of the city.

The French emigration into Denmark was chiefly military and agricultural. A certain number of Huguenot officers took service in the Danish army. On the 12th May 1689, Louis XIV. ordered that those of his subjects who had quitted France after the revocation, and had entered the army of the King of Denmark, should in future enjoy half the revenue of the property they had left in the kingdom, on condition of their transmitting, half-yearly, a formal certificate from the French ambassador at Copenhagen, attesting that they were serving under the Danish colours. This ordinance, published on the Northern frontiers, had for its object to withdraw from England and Holland the refugees who had retired into those two countries before the expedition of the Prince of Orange. The King supposed that they would feel repugnant to serve against their former country, and endeavoured to open to them a new asylum in the pay of a sovereign who was at least neutral. But this tardy measure was without effect. Few refugees were tempted to quit the active service of William III., for that of a pacific Prince who could offer them neither glory nor riches. Either before or after this ordinance, however, the Danish army received into its ranks many French

officers of distinction. The most celebrated, Frederick Charles de la Rochefoucault, Count de Roye and de Rouci, a former lieutenant-general of the armies of Louis XIV., was named Grand Marshal, and commander-in-chief of all the Danish troops. He left France before the revocation, with the King's special authorization, and was joined in Denmark by the Countess de Roye, whom the court of France dared not retain, but who was allowed to take with her only her two eldest daughters, one of whom afterwards married in England the Earl of Strafford. The two younger ones, and two sons under age, were taken from her to be placed under the care of their uncle, Count de Duras, and their conversion was the inevitable consequence of the education given to the children of Protestants brought up at a distance from their families. The Marquis of Laforest, an ex-colonel, was appointed captain of a company of life-guards; and, powerfully supported by his new sovereign, he obtained the entire restitution of his property in France. He was a friend of Marshal Schomberg, and for a moment Christian V. had the idea of sending him to serve in the army of William III., whose triumph he foresaw; but he abstained, for fear of losing the pension he owed to the far-sighted policy of Louis XIV. "Your Majesty," wrote the French ambassador, "may judge, by the conduct of this court, and must be fully persuaded, that it will always be on the side of the strongest." John Louis de Jaucourt, lord of Bussières, after having first fought under the flag of Orange, and covered himself with glory at the battle of Nerwinden, entered the king of Denmark's service, and died a colonel at Copenhagen. Peter de Montargues passed from the ranks of the Prussian army into those of the Danish army, and died a major-general at Oldenburg in 1768. "There are here several poor French officers," wrote the French ambassador at Copenhagen in 1687, "who would perhaps be tempted, if they were assisted to

pay their debts, and provided with means to return to France." These were the brothers de la Barre, who had accompanied the Count de Roye, and who were nephews of Madame de Régnier, lady of honour to the Queen of Denmark, who left France before the revocation, by particular favour due to the intercession of the Marquis de Ruvigny; Susannet, nephew of the academician Dangeau, and previously captain of dragoons in the regiment of Tessé, afterwards captain in Christian V.'s regiment of guards; La Sarrie, captain of cavalry; de Cheusses, Le Baux, and several others. Notwithstanding the endeavours of Louis XIV.'s representative, in 1693, these men were still numerous enough to obtain that a French almoner should be attached to the Danish army, and the synod of the Low Countries, assembled at Breda, to whom they applied, sent them Daniel Brunier.

With the Protestant officers who retired into Denmark, must be included a certain number of sailors, who at first had taken refuge in Holland, and whom the Count de Roye, by means of a secret agent at Haarlem, induced to join the Danish fleet. They were for the most part skilful seamen, from whom great services must have been expected, for brilliant recompenses were offered them.

The refugees powerfully contributed to the progress of agriculture in the Danish monarchy. Some settled in Iceland, and there introduced the cultivation of hemp and flax. The others, fixed in the Danish peninsula, in the islands of the Baltic, and in Holstein, introduced the superior processes of French agriculture, and originated several new objects of cultivation—the most important being tobacco, which they had already acclimatised in Brandenburg, and whose use was becoming more and more general in the north of Europe. Great quantities of this plant were annually exported from the Prussian States into Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Silesia, Bohemia, and even into Holland, when, in 1720, King Frederick

IV. succeeded, by great promises, in drawing into his kingdom a certain number of those skilful cultivators, and in establishing a colony of them at Fredericia. By a special privilege he freed their tobacco for twenty years from all the imposts to which other goods were subjected on their entrance into the towns of Denmark and Norway. Exposed to all the variations of such a trade, often impeded in their sales by the jealousy of the Danes, sometimes even attacked in their property by cunning and intrigue, the little colony of Fredericia did not disappoint the expectations of its royal founder. In spite of obstacles it never ceased to prosper and multiply, so much so, that at the end of the eighteenth century it formed a society of more than a hundred families, composed of five hundred or six hundred persons, who commanded public esteem by their industry and activity. To them the town of Fredericia owed the flourishing condition it soon attained. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century, its prosperity was unmistakable. It sufficed to compare the magnificent spectacle presented by its highly cultivated plains with the fields surrounding other Danish towns which also owed their subsistence to agriculture. The difference was striking. To the refugees belonged the entire glory of having brought about this happy change, for, before their arrival, no part of the kingdom presented so unprosperous an appearance; and after their establishment, nowhere did the earth produce finer and more abundant crops than at Fredericia.

The rural economy of the French planters, imitated since then in several provinces of the Danish monarchy, consisted in keeping the land always clean, and thus preparing it to receive the different seeds; in varying the crops from one year to another, so as to avoid exhausting the land, and to turn it to the best advantage; and, finally, in periodically manuring it. This method combined precious advantages. The cultivation of tobacco, subse-

quently combined with that of potatoes, cleansed the soil, and made it capable of giving magnificent crops of wheat. Thus purified, the land produced grain of superior quality. The colonists' method was not only advantageous, but indispensable. The argillaceous lands of that part of Jutland required great labour to get them into heart. More than one agriculturist who tried to abandon the system, saw himself compelled to revert to it in a few years' time. The refugees, not possessing enough land to occupy them all the year, found a new resource in plantations on joint account. The neighbouring landholders made over to them annually a certain portion of their fields to cultivate, and especially to grow tobacco in. The French colonists found the plants and the labour, and, when the tobacco was sold, the two parties divided the produce equally. This arrangement was profitable to both. The cultivation of the tobacco improved the land, prepared it to receive wheat, and moreover procured the proprietor an immediate profit. The planter, for his part, received a fair remuneration for his exertions. Thus did the French colony cultivate from two to three hundred *tonnes* of land in the district of Fredericia, and, by its system of alternate culture, transform them into an immense garden. It further supplied the large estates in the neighbourhood with labourers, mowers, reapers, and gardeners, at once faithful and skilful, and all the more useful and necessary that, since the partition of the common lands amongst the inhabitants of the villages, workmen of that class had become more scarce and in greater request.

To the tobacco and potatoes which the refugees introduced at Fredericia, and to the wheat whose cultivation they improved, must be added cabbages, turnips, and several other vegetables previously unknown in Denmark, and whose exportation soon produced considerable sums. These various products annually loaded many vessels.

Fresh activity was thus given to Danish navigation, for the merchants of Fredericia found themselves in possession of a branch of commerce which was for them an inexhaustible source of wealth. They obtained for the colonists' wheat one-third more than for the wheats of the other provinces. Tobacco alone annually brought in from fifteen to twenty thousand rix-dollars, and thirty to thirty-five thousand during the American War. In exchange they purchased the various articles the inhabitants required for their own consumption. Thanks to the refugees, Fredericia, which, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, was but a poor sort of borough, was less than a hundred years later amongst the most opulent towns in Jutland.

Thus did the agricultural colony of Fredericia contribute to the progress of Danish commerce. The national manufactures were also indebted to it for a favourable impulse. The refugees supplied the country with farriers, coopers, glaziers, and especially with cloth and tobacco manufacturers. Persecution had driven from France one of the most skilful glass-makers of the time, John Henry de Moor, doubtless a member of one of those Dutch families which Colbert had brought into the kingdom to stimulate that description of manufacture. He established himself at Copenhagen, and took his workmen with him, thus first introducing into Denmark a branch of manufactures previously unknown in the country. When the Marquis of Bonrepaus succeeded, in 1686, in sending back to France the workmen of a refugee who had established a linen-manufactory at Ipswich, that refugee left England for Denmark, taking his looms with him.

The literary influence of the refugees in Denmark was naturally very restricted. A small number in the midst of a people whose genius was radically different from theirs, they could not exercise over the Danes that civilizing ascendancy they elsewhere exerted with such happy

results. They gave to Denmark two writers who were not without influence on the public mind. These were Laplacette and Mallet. The first, who has been surnamed the Nicole of the Protestants, was one of the most renowned pastors at Béarn, when he was compelled to quit the kingdom in 1685. He went to Berlin, was thence called to Copenhagen by the queen, and passed twenty-five years in the midst of the French colony of that city. Then, seeking a place of repose for his old age, he went to Holland, and ended his life in the society of the refugees at Utrecht in 1718, aged eighty years.

Laplacette's numerous works were all composed in exile. Like Nicole, a Christian moralist, he undertook for those of his religion what the Port-Royal writer had done, in his *Essays*, for those of his creed. No one professed a more sincere admiration for that skilful controversialist, the most formidable, perhaps, after Arnauld, of the rude champions Jansenism sent to the encounter of Reform. He endeavoured, however, to recommence the work accomplished with so much success by him he had taken as his model. The motives he alleges in justification of his attempts give a good idea of the nature of his mental character.—

“I admit,” he says of Nicole's *Essays*, “that it is an excellent work, by whose reading much profit is to be gained. But I do not think it should prevent us from working on our part in the cause of Christian morality. First, that morality is of so vast an extent that neither the work of which I speak, nor many such works, suffice to exhaust it. It is a fount of instruction which never dries up. Moreover, the instructions of this author, usually turning on the hypotheses of the religion he professes, are often useless, and always suspicious to Protestants, who fear, in reading them, to take dangerous errors for salutary truths. Besides which, the author takes such high flights that many readers are unable to follow him. He

even propounds certain exaggerated maxims, which cast doubt upon the truth of others more solid. Thus this book, however complete it may appear, is no hinderance to the production of another, which may not be finer or better written—for that were difficult—but at least more useful to Protestants, more conformable to their hypotheses, more within the reach of all kinds of readers, more suited, in a word, to instruct in the obligations of Christianity and their true extent.”

But, with the exception of the analogous aim proposed, the two moralist writers resemble each other little, and Nicole's superiority is immense. Far away from France, then almost the only centre of literary movement, placed in the midst of a little society of refugees strongly attached to their religion, but occupied, before all things, with the care of securing for themselves subsistence, Laplacette was fain to confine himself to being useful, to convince, and to edify. He succeeded in expounding just ideas with remarkable lucidity, and it has with reason been said that Christian morality is, in his books, the best classified of sciences. But neither poetry, eloquence, nor warmth are there to be found. It is true that they are neither cold nor dry, but everywhere exhibit the marks of a calm, serene, and profoundly Christian mind.

Laplacette had retained a very decided taste for beauties of style and thought. But in this respect he was restricted to the recollections of his youth. He quotes in his works Godeau, Brébeuf, La Bruyère, but he says nothing of Boileau or Racine, so familiar to most of the refugees established in Holland. The parts he praises in the works that please him, are those that really deserve eulogium, as for instance, those fine lines by Brébeuf, imitated from Lucan, and relating to the invention of writing:—

“ C'est de lui que nous vint cet art ingénieux
De peindre la parole et de parler aux yeux,
Et, par les traits divers de figures tracées,
Donner de la couleur et du corps aux pensées.”

He is also very fond of this quatrain by Godeau, and he gives his reason for liking it :—

“ La vie est proche de la mort,
Lorsqu'on l'en croit plus éloignée :
C'est une toile d'araignée
Qui se file avec peine and se rompt sans effort.”

“ When I first read these four lines,” he says, “ I was charmed with them, and I still am so each time that they recur to my mind. But what constitutes the beauty of this thought? Its expression is beautiful, noble, and natural; but even in these respects it has nothing extraordinary. What then is the quality that pleases? It is, to my thinking, the exactness of its truth, the justness of the metaphor, and its utility, that renders it so worthy to be meditated upon; it is, in short, a something touching which one cannot but feel, and which one feels with pleasure, so that one is glad to give one's attention to it.” These words are certainly judicious; but nothing encouraged the exiled writer to give to his own style that poetical turn which he so much admired in others.

By the side of Laplacette is to be placed a man of more elevated genius, but whose life, divided between Geneva and Copenhagen, reflected no less lustre on his native city than on his adopted country. Mallet, the Genevese, who belonged, through his mother, to a refugee family from Champagne, went in 1752 to the capital of Denmark, to occupy the chair of royal professor of French literature, founded two years previously for La Baumelle, and vacant in consequence of the latter's return to France. The charm of his conversation and the gaiety of his wit caused him to be sought after by the most eminent men. He enjoyed the favour of the court and of the ministers. Even those who by their rank might deem themselves his superiors paid homage to the distinction of his manners, to the nobility of his thoughts and words, to the dignity and elevation of his character. At Copenhagen he was

the representative of that French urbanity which the refugees propagated wherever they went. But there were very few Danes who understood French sufficiently well to profit by lessons of poetry and eloquence given in that language, and the professor often found himself without pupils. He resolved to take advantage of his leisure to write the history of Denmark. The history of that country was then nearly unknown in France, and had never been written except in an inexact and incomplete manner. Learned Danes had laboured to collect materials and traditions. Applying themselves especially to rescue from oblivion the poetry and marvellous legends of the Icelanders, they had got together valuable documents, of which nobody, up to that time, had made efficient use. German literature was then in its earliest infancy, and French was considered the only polished language, as it was the only one extensively used—the only one which it was then supposed would one day become universal amongst highly civilised nations. Mallet's oratorical talent, the exquisite purity of his diction, his narrative skill, finally, the taste he showed for the study of Scandinavian antiquities, determined Count Bernstorff, his first patron, and Count de Moltke, grand-marshal of the palace, to propose to him to write the history of the country in which he had settled, and to encourage him to the undertaking by promising him the aid of the government in all the researches necessary to the execution of such a work. Mallet accepted the task, and ardently applied himself to the study of the Scandinavian tongues. He made himself familiarly acquainted with the people of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, with their mythology, poetry, manners, customs, and soon he found himself in a position to fill up the rich framework he had traced out for himself. He began by clearly displaying the share of the Scandinavian element in the civilisation of the French, English, Spaniards, Italians, and generally of all the races

formed by the mixture of the degenerate descendants of the Romans with the vigorous children of the north.

“All these nations,” says Sismondi, in his admirable notice of the life and writings of Mallet, “have combined the two inheritances of the North and the South ; but, to separate what belongs to each, the study of the northern nations in their original state, the study of their manners and laws, of their religion, and of the liberty of Scandinavia, became of the highest importance, not only for the Scandinavians, but for all Europeans. The introduction to the history of Denmark was written in a manner worthy of so elevated an aim. The arrival in Scandinavia of Odin, the conqueror and legislator of the North, the gloomy and severe but highly poetical religion he gave to the people he governed—the new kind of heroism with which he inspired his warriors, that impetuous passion he knew how to impart to them, not for liberty, or for power or wealth, or for voluptuous enjoyments, but for the dangers by whose encounter all those things are acquired or defended ; that passion for the means rather than for the end, a character found in modern valour, and which we perhaps owe to the Scandinavians ; the liberty of the North, the poetry of the North, hazardous enterprises, maritime expeditions, the discovery and conquest of unknown shores, which constituted the exploits of these same men, the manners and customs which rendered them capable of all these things,—that is what composed the first part of the introduction to the History of Denmark.

“A second part of this work—not less important or less celebrated—was the translation, accompanied by a commentary, of the poems that best depicted the religion and manners of the northern nations. The most renowned of these poems is the Edda. . . . It had already appeared in 1665. . . . But this book, which supplies the key to the whole mythology of the North, was hardly known in the rest of Europe before Mallet’s trans-

lation. Since then the curiosity thus awakened has more actively applied itself to the same study ; the religion of the Scandinavians has been developed and exposed more clearly ; it has become, to a certain point, familiar to men of letters. But to Mallet must be ascribed even the progress made since his time. It was he who, by shedding interest upon a previously arid subject, gave the impulse to the researches of his successors."

We have thought it right to quote the whole of this passage from Sismondi, which presents the singular spectacle of the descendant of a French Protestant family teaching to Europe, from his abode in Denmark, the mythology, the poetry, and the history of those northern nations, whose influence she for more than a thousand years had experienced, without taking account of this powerful element of her civilisation. Mallet's other works, his history of the Swiss, his history of the houses of Brunswick and of Hesse, his essay on the Hanseatic League, his journey in Norway, further added to his reputation. On his return to Geneva, after eight years' residence in Copenhagen, he was named corresponding member of the Academy of Inscriptions. He passed the rest of his life in his native town, where he died in 1807, enjoying the respect of his fellow-citizens, and the universal esteem of the learned men of Europe.

The French refugees in Denmark set an example, during the whole of the eighteenth century, and up to our own times, of the most rigid propriety of manners, of the most irreproachable morality, of the most touching charity. Huguetan, Count of Guldensteen, who died at Copenhagen in 1749, in his eighty-sixth year, was all his life the benefactor of the poor. He supported by his bounty the first colonists of Fredericia, contributed to the construction of the temple inaugurated in 1736, and left a rich fund for the maintenance of the pastors. His son,

who was privy-councillor of King Christian VII., Francis Bretonville, Moses Hollard, Suzanne Latour, Suzanne Mariot, also disposed of portions of their fortunes in favour of their exiled brethren. All the emigrants were remarkable for their love of labour and their frugal manner of life. Vegetables, milk, bread, often composed the sole sustenance of a whole family. Nothing less than these habits of order and this rigorous economy would have enabled them to live at first, and afterwards gradually to rise to that degree of ease and comfort which rewarded their exertions.

Of the four colonies they founded, the most recent, that of Fredericia, is also the one that has best sustained itself down to the present time. Several causes have contributed to produce this result. In the first place, the colonists married amongst themselves—not that a narrow party-feeling disinclined them to ally themselves with Danish families, but because they preferred uniting themselves with persons whose state and condition offered them surer guarantees of happiness. Their attachment for the body to which they belonged, and a fear that a difference of religion, small though it might be, might become a cause of domestic dissension, dictated to them this rule of conduct—to which another and yet stronger motive, that of interest, impelled them to adhere. In the terms of the privileges conceded by Frederick IV., the lands had been given, not to *individuals*, but to *families*, and these privileges applied only to families both of whose chiefs were Calvinists. We must add that the colony of Fredericia has ever done its utmost to keep its young men at home. Whilst elsewhere they were seen to quit the paternal roof, and go abroad to improve themselves in their professions—often bringing back to their native land morals depraved and bodies enervated by debauchery, at Fredericia they lived under the eye of their families, remote from all example of corruption; and their

simple and austere habits assured the fecundity of marriages in contracting which inclination was far more considered than interest. The young girls, on their part, were stimulated to strict virtue by the hope of speedy establishment, and rarely departed from the right path, knowing that by misconduct they would forfeit all chance of marriage in the colony. Exempt from that licentiousness which vitiates both mind and body—exempt from the luxury which creates new wants, and often prevents a man from thinking of choosing a wife—the colonists married young, and thus insured themselves a healthy and numerous posterity. Their undeviating confidence in Divine Providence made them consider large families a source of riches. Sure of their subsistence, free from all uneasiness about the future, the more arms they had to help them the more works they undertook—works which contributed to their wellbeing, and enabled them to support in society a rank proportionate to their modest desires.

To such causes did the colony of Fredericia owe its long prosperity, and the preservation of its primitive character. It has remained a French community in the midst of a foreign nation, and to this day its church service is performed in the language of its first founders. There is a French church also at Copenhagen; but it has been supported until the present time only in consequence of the presence of the French Protestant families, whom various business has at all times taken to the capital of Denmark. Mixed marriages have accelerated the somewhat rapid decline of this colony. Children born of French fathers and Danish mothers were almost always brought up in the Lutheran religion, according to the law of the kingdom. Thus, the Calvinists' temple soon became almost deserted, as the families composing the congregation dwindled in number. The Altona colony was split in two, in 1761, by the withdrawal of the French

refugee families of Hamburg, who at last were authorised to attend the service of their church in the chapel, and under the protection, of the Dutch consul. The colony of Altona, although greatly diminished by this defection, subsisted until 1831. Its remnant then joined the German-Dutch community, which takes the title of the Reformed Evangelical Church. Nevertheless, a French sermon is still preached once a-month at Altona, understood but by a few old men in the scanty congregation.

CHAPTER II.

THE REFUGEES IN SWEDEN.

INTERVENTION OF CHARLES XI. IN FAVOUR OF THE LUTHERANS OF ALSACE
—PROTECTION AFFORDED TO THE REFUGEES AT STOCKHOLM—LUTHERAN
INTOLERANCE—NEW REFUGEES UNDER CHARLES XII.

SWEDEN received but a very small number of fugitives. Upon the news of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the Swedish monarch, Charles XI., contented himself with interceding with the cabinet of Versailles in favour of the Lutherans of Alsatia, to whom Louis XIV.'s ministers were preparing to send dragoons. His ambassador in France, Count Lilieroot, invoked the treaty of Westphalia, of which the King of Sweden was one of the guaranteeing powers, and which assured to the Alsatian Protestants the free exercise of their religion. This representation, founded on the conditions stipulated in 1648, and which then formed the bases of European international law, and perhaps also the imminence of the war that broke out in 1688, made the Great King abandon his project of forcibly converting a province he had recently acquired, and which it was his interest to spare and conciliate. It was not until the reign of Louis XV. that Alsatia underwent the visit of the booted missionaries, from which, in all France, the town of Strasburg was alone exempted.

Some refugees, natives of Paris, saved a part of their fortune by intrusting it to the Swedish ambassador, and especially to the Sieur Palmeguiste, secretary of Count

Lilieroot, who returned to them, on their arrival in Holland, the sums they had left in his hands. King Charles XI. permitted a subscription to be raised in Stockholm for the benefit of the poor emigrants. He granted privileges, and even distributed money to the manufacturers and traders who established themselves in his dominions. He authorized them freely to practise their religion in two churches in his capital. But the order to have their children baptized by Lutheran ministers spread discouragement amongst them, and prevented many others from seeking an asylum in a country where tolerance was so limited. Nevertheless, in 1698, under the reign of Charles XII., some hundreds of expatriated Frenchmen, who had been unable to find a subsistence in Holland, settled in the German provinces of the Swedish monarchy, where lands were allotted to them at the request of the States-general of Holland.

CHAPTER III.

THE REFUGEES IN RUSSIA.

LETTER FROM FREDERICK-WILLIAM TO THE GRAND DUKES OF MUSCOVY—
REFUGEE COLONY AT MOSCOW—LETTER FROM FREDERICK III.—UKASE OF
1688 IN FAVOUR OF THE REFUGEES—LEFORT'S REGIMENT—REFUGEE COLONY
AT ST PETERSBURG—ITS CONNECTION WITH GENEVA.

RUSSIA showed the refugees better hospitality than Sweden. The Elector Frederick-William had written in their favour to young Peter, and to his brother Ivan V., and had brought them to share the ardent zeal and lively compassion he himself felt for those unfortunates. The following letter, which he received from his ambassador at Stockholm, shows us what a generous reception he had prepared for them in the country that a great man's genius was soon to extricate from the barbarism in which it was plunged, and to raise to the rank of preponderant power in the North.

“Count Gustave de la Gardie has received letters from Moscow, informing him that there have there established themselves a prodigious number of French of the reformed religion, that the Czars have received them perfectly well, have granted them the free exercise of their religion, and many privileges and franchises. A strange metamorphosis, Monseigneur, that France, formerly so polite, and so full of humanity, should have become barbarous to such a degree that the most faithful subjects of its king are compelled to seek asylum in Muscovy, and that they there find the repose and safety denied to them in their own country.”

After Frederick-William's death, his son, Frederick

III., sent John Reyer Chapliez to Moscow, to notify to the court of Russia his accession to the throne, and, at the same time, to solicit free entrance into all parts of the empire for those French Calvinists whom circumstances might induce to seek shelter there. He thus showed himself his father's worthy successor, and proved, like him, that policy was not the sole motive of his conduct towards the refugees. His demand was immediately granted. An imperial ukase, published in 1688; and bearing the signatures of Peter and of Ivan, opened all the provinces of Russia to the fugitive Protestants, guaranteed to military men employment in the national army, with pay proportionate to their rank, and with permission freely to quit the service should they at any future time desire to return to their own country.¹ Perhaps Lefort, the Genevese, who was then endeavouring to initiate Peter in the sciences and civilisation of Europe, had something to do with this measure, which was at once humane and skilful. According to Voltaire, one-third part of the regiment he formed, and which was of twelve thousand soldiers, was composed of French emigrants.² Exaggerated as this fact, attested by Peter the Great's historian, may appear, it nevertheless proves that a tolerably large number of fugitives settled in Russia, and that they were not without influence on the creation of that disciplined and obedient army which enabled the Czar to accomplish his projects of reform.

The new capital of the empire, constructed by Peter the Great, beheld the formation within its walls of a

¹ Charles Ancillon gives the text of the *privilege* or *passport* which the Elector Frederick III. obtained from the Grand-dukes of Muscovy in favour of the refugees.—See his *History of the Establishment of the French Refugees in Brandenburg*, p. 382-388. Berlin, 1690.

² Voltaire, *Life of Peter the Great*, chap. vi. It is on the authority of a manuscript of Lefort's that Voltaire affirms the third of this regiment to have been composed of refugees.

French community which long kept up a close connection with Geneva. In 1720, the pastors and elders addressed themselves to the council of that city, to beg it to authorize a subscription for the building of a temple. "The zeal and charity," they wrote, "which your Excellencies have upon all occasions shown to relieve the members of those churches that have been overthrown, to support those that were tottering, and to found new ones in places where the Gospel had not yet been announced, make us hope that this infant church, of which we have the honour to be the pastors and elders, will also receive from your good liberality the aid of which it has need in its very difficult commencement; and in order to give to your Excellencies a just idea of our situation and of our wants, we have the honour to inform them, that our assembly is composed of English, Dutch, French refugees, Swiss and Genevese, many of whom are of rank, and have held honourable employments at this court."¹ The temple was built, and the ministers who went to preach the Gospel to the refugees settled at St Petersburg were usually appointed by Geneva. In another letter, written to the council in 1725, and which bears the signatures of Dupré, Coulon, Lefort, and Pelloutier, that French colony expressed a wish to be considered as a daughter of the Genevese republic.

A certain number of refugees penetrated farther into the interior of Russia, and formed a little colony, at once agricultural and commercial, on the banks of the Volga. Their descendants continue to form, according to the testimony of a modern traveller, a distinct community, whose members go, every year, from the village they inhabit, near the great river, to the fair of Makarieff, there to traffic with the Hindoos. According to this writer, they

¹ This letter, dated from St Petersburg, 25th April 1720, is to be found in the archives of Geneva, No. 4324.

have preserved, in the heart of the Russian empire, the complete costume of Louis XIV.'s reign, not excepting the large-skirted coat and the voluminous peruke ; and they still express themselves in the classic language of the cotemporaries of Corneille and Racine. ¹

¹ *Journey in some Parts of Europe*, by Count Lagarde, p. 347. London, 1825. The author of this work was for some time at Moscow in 1812.

CONCLUSION.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE REFUGEES IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES—CONSEQUENCES TO FRANCE OF THE EDICT OF REVOCATION—WEAKENING OF THE KINGDOM—PERSISTANCE OF THE REFORMED PARTY—PROGRESS OF SCEPTICISM—CONDILLAC AND MABLY—REPARATIVE MEASURES—EDICT OF 1787—LAWS OF THE 21ST AND 23D AUGUST 1789—LAW OF THE 15TH DECEMBER 1790.

OF the great religious emigration from France, there now remain but a small number of churches, scattered far and wide, and still speaking the language of their founders. Most of the exiled families have long since disappeared. Those that still subsist will end by blending, in their turn, with the foreign races that surround them, and whose incessant action insensibly alters their national language, and transforms even their names, as if to efface their last regrets with this last indication of their origin. Doubtless, before the end of the century, they will no longer retain the slightest recollection of the native land their ancestors so long mourned. When we contemplate this inevitable dissolution of their scattered communities, we may regret that there was not found, in the first instance, some one chief, of a family sufficiently illustrious, and of authority sufficiently great, to rally all the exiles under one banner. Realising Coligny's idea, he might have led them to America, and there have founded a vast colony. He would have found to his hand all the elements of a numerous society, full of energy, and giving great hopes for the future: generals, soldiers, sailors, preachers, men of learning, manufacturers, artisans, traders,

labourers, and even capital to facilitate their first establishment. What more was needed to make a Protestant France flourish in the New World, and to lay, perhaps, the foundations of a powerful empire ?

Providence decided otherwise. The fugitives, dispersed over the whole world, unconsciously became the agents of His mysterious will. They were destined, especially in America, to temper Puritan fanaticism, to foster the germ and to favour the triumph of that spirit of independence, regulated by law, of which the United States to-day present to us the magnificent example; in Europe, to develop for Prussia, to increase for Holland and England, the elements of power and prosperity contained in those three countries, whose present greatness is, in some respects, and to a certain extent, their work. Have they not contributed, in the most critical circumstances, to defend them by arms, and to help them to repel foreign invasion ? Have they not aided, in some degree, to maintain them in the political path that has so long preserved them from despotism, that preserves them from the dangers of anarchy, and that, by preventing them from being disturbed by revolutions, which succeed each other at regular intervals, assures them the inestimable benefit of institutions at once stable and liberal ? Have they not enriched them by improving their manufactures, by the introduction of new ones, by stimulating their commercial activity, by teaching them the superior processes of French agriculture ? Have they not, by propagating the language and literature of France, raised the standard of intellectual cultivation, and, consequently, of public morality ? Have they not, by their own writings, spread the love of literature, of science, and of art ? Finally, have they not set the example of urbanity in social relations, of politeness in language, of austerity in morals, of the most inexhaustible charity towards the suffering and the indigent ?

What the foreigner gained France lost. The kingdom that Henry IV., Richelieu, and Mazarin transmitted to Louis XIV., covered with glory, powerful by its arms, preponderant abroad, tranquil and contented at home, he transmitted to his successor humbled, enfeebled, dissatisfied, prepared to undergo the reaction of the Regency, and of the whole of the eighteenth century, and thus placed upon the fatal slope leading to the Revolution of 1789. To the formidable encroachments of a prince ruled, during the latter part of his reign, by a narrow and exclusive spirit in religious matters, and in his policy by views that were rather dynastic than national, Protestantism opposed an insurmountable barrier in England and Holland, united under one chief, who led the whole of Europe against isolated France. The signal of coalitions—since so often re-formed—was given for the first time in 1689, and also for the first time France was vanquished; for the treaty of Ryswick was in fact a defeat. Not only did the King of France acknowledge William III., but his intendants officially recorded the diminution of the population and the impoverishment of the kingdom—inevitable results of the emigration and of the consequent decline in agriculture, manufactures, and trade. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the safety of France was compromised in a military sense. Early in the struggle which followed the acceptance of the will of Charles II., Marshal Villars had to be sent for from Germany to combat the insurgents of the Cevennes; and no sooner had that skilful commander quitted the army than the Allies won the victory of Hochstedt, the first of our great disasters in the War of the Succession. During the reign of Louis XV., whenever the allied powers threatened our frontier, the government was obliged to purchase the fidelity of the Protestants on the border provinces, by promises constantly renewed and never fulfilled. But was even the religious result, pursued at the cost of so many

sacrifices, ultimately obtained? At the period of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the population of France was about twenty millions, and included one million of Protestants. At the present day, from fifteen to eighteen hundred thousand Protestants live scattered amongst thirty-five million Catholics. The proportion between the two religions has not varied. Enforced during a whole century, Louis XIV.'s cruel laws, farther aggravated by the decree of 1724, proved powerless against the religious convictions they were intended to annihilate. The hopes of the promoters of the edict of revocation have been totally disappointed.

One of the most deplorable results of Louis XIV.'s error, was the awakening of fanaticism in the south. Religious passions, which, since the pacification of Alais, had almost completely slumbered, revived in all France, and especially in Languedoc. The faggots were fired for the Camisards; and, following Innocent III.'s example, Pope Clement IX. adopted a terrible measure: he preached a crusade against the heretics of the Cevennes, whom he designated, in his blind ignorance and passionate faith, as issue of the execrable race of the Albigenes. In a bull promulgated at Rome the 1st May 1703, and which was sent to all the bishops in Languedoc, who published it with a charge addressed to the clergy of their dioceses, he promised a general and complete remission of their sins to all who should enlist under the holy banner of the church, and contribute to the extirpation of the rebels. These incitements, which reminded men of a terrible epoch in the annals of the south, produced no immediate effect. Almost the entire effective population of the province was enrolled in the royal armies, or in the insurgent bands. The measure of calamity was already full, and none could add to it; but long after the termination of this fratricide struggle, religious hatreds were hereditarily transmitted in families; and the mas-

sacres of which, in the cotemporary period, Nismes has several times been the theatre, sufficiently prove that even yet they are not extinguished.

It is a well-known historical law that every excess, in one sense, provokes sooner or later a reaction in an opposite direction. The ultra-Catholic party had had recourse to the temporal arm to vanquish their enemies. They had smitten, in the persons of the Calvinists, the right of free examination. They had exulted over the apparent return to Rome of thousands of men whom they called new converts. Pursuing their fatal career, they had destroyed Port-Royal, and condemned to silence perhaps the only men whose elevated principles might one day have reconciled the two creeds, and re-established religious unity. It was infidelity, and not the Church of Rome, that profited by this double victory. As Bayle had predicted, sceptics and scoffers gathered all its fruits. The eighteenth century beheld the growth of a generation which rejected Christianity because it hated intolerance, and recognized no authority but that of reason. Protestants whom dragoons had dragged to the altar revenged themselves thus, perhaps, for their compelled submission. Strange to say, the two brothers Condillae and Mably, who so powerfully contributed to shake a despotic church and monarchy, were grandsons of a gentleman of Dauphiné, converted by the soldiers of St Ruth. Reviving philosophical and social theories, which the seventeenth century had left in the shade, and placing, the first, intelligence in matter, the second, all sovereignty in the people, they sapped the bases of religion and royalty. These principles, popularised by Diderot and Rousseau, triumphed upon the day appointed by Divine wrath. The throne was overturned, the altar broken, and society disappeared in a frightful tempest. Who shall say that the Revolution of 1789 might not have taken another course, and have remained pure of the greater part of the crimes and

excesses that sullied it, had France possessed the numerous descendants of that race—somewhat rigid, but religious, moral, intelligent, full of energy and loyalty—which one of her kings had so imprudently expelled from her bosom? Is it not infinitely probable that those men, devoted to social law, as they were devoted to that of the gospel, would resolutely have supported the middle classes against the abettors of anarchy, and have formed with them an invincible rampart against the passions of a mob misled by hatred, blinded by ignorance, greedy of a chimerical equality, in love with a liberty so soon sacrificed to a transitory glory? Perhaps, thanks to their assistance, France would then have found the definitive form of her government and political institutions, distant alike from an exaggerated democracy and an unbridled despotism.

Whilst Louis XV.'s kingdom presented the painful spectacle of an absolutism sinking under the load of its own errors, and that of an official church whose prestige daily diminished, but whose deceitful veil still hid from many eyes the superstitious devotion of some, the doubt and indifference of others, the true spirit of Christianity, which does not suffer itself to be imprisoned in any of the human forms of that divine religion, animated a few chosen men, who prepared a better future for French society. It manifested itself, especially by a marked tendency to repair the faults committed, to proclaim tolerance and fraternity. In 1754, we find Turgot placing the following beautiful words in the prince's mouth: "Although you be in error, I will not the less treat you as my children. Submit to the laws; continue to be useful to the State, and you shall receive from me the same protection as my other subjects." A minister of Louis XVI., the baron de Breteuil, had drawn up by the academician Rulhières, the *Eclaircissements historiques sur les causes de la révocation de l'édit de Nantes*, and presented in his own name a memorial to the king, on the necessity of

restoring civil rights to the Protestants. General La Fayette pleaded their cause ; and the noble and venerable Lamoignon de Malesherbes, who was descended from the ferocious Lamoignon de Bâville, composed two works in their favour. " I must surely," he said, " strive to do them some good ; my ancestor did them so much harm."

In 1787, the edict of tolerance was at last signed. " After the example of our predecessors," said the king in the preamble to this gracious ordinance, " we will always favour, with all our power, the means of instruction and persuasion which shall tend to connect all our subjects by the common profession of the ancient faith of our kingdom, and we will proscribe, with the severest care, all violent means, which are as contrary to the principles of reason and humanity as to the true spirit of Christianity. But, until the day arrives when Divine Providence shall bless our efforts, and bring about this happy revolution, justice and the interests of our kingdom do not permit us longer to exclude from civil rights those of our subjects, or of the strangers settled in our empire, who do not profess the Catholic religion. A sufficiently long experience has proved that those rigorous means are inadequate to convert them. We must, therefore, no longer permit our laws uselessly to punish them for the misfortune of their birth, by depriving them of rights which nature incessantly claims for them."

The edict of 1787 certainly did not meet all the wants and wishes of the Protestants. A remnant of servitude continued to weigh upon them. They could hold no judicial appointment. The career of instruction was closed to them. They were not recognised as forming a distinct community, and were prohibited from making collective requests. In fact, they obtained but the right of living in France without being molested on account of their religion, permission to contract legal marriages before the officers of justice, authorisation to have births attested

before the local magistrate, and an ordinance for their burials. But these concessions, apparently so small, were practically much more extensive. Protestant France understood this, and received the edict with gratitude and joy. The religious assemblies of the Protestants were re-established. At Nismes, those of the reformed religion crowded to the royal judges to have their marriages registered and their children legitimized. They firmly believed in their early and complete emancipation. It was admirable to observe that this people, excluded for more than a century from all employments, impeded in all professions, hunted like wolves in the forests and mountains, without schools, without any family recognised by law, without any certain inheritance, had lost nothing of its ancient energy. By its enlightenment, its morality, its civic virtues, it was worthy of the great reparation reserved for it by the Revolution. The 21st August 1789, the Constituent Assembly overthrew the barriers that had previously prevented the admission of Protestants to government employment. It solemnly declared that, "All citizens, being equal in the eye of the law, are equally admissible to all dignities, places, and public employments, according to their capacity, and without other distinctions than those of their virtues and talents." Two days later, at the sitting of the 23d August, the Assembly proclaimed the great principle of complete religious liberty, by decreeing that, "No one is to be interfered with for his opinions, even his religious opinions, provided their manifestation does not disturb the public order established by law."

The tardy justice of the sovereign people revenged the descendants of the refugees themselves for the persecutions endured by their ancestors. By laws which remained in force to the end of Louis XVI.'s reign, and which were but slightly tempered by the edict of 1787, fugitive Protestants lost their quality of Frenchmen. They incurred civil death, their goods were confiscated, and they became

complete aliens. This legislation, no longer conformable to the spirit of the times, was abrogated by the law of the 15th December 1790, the 22d article of which is thus expressed: "All persons who, born in foreign countries, descend, in whatsoever degree, from a Frenchman or Frenchwoman, expatriated for religious causes, are declared natives of France, and shall enjoy the rights attached to that quality, if they return to France, reside there, and take the oath of citizenship."

In the idea of the National Assembly, the refugees had never abdicated their nationality, because they had been forced to expatriate themselves, and could not be held legitimately despoiled of their rights by edicts contrary to justice and humanity. The report made upon this question to the assembled deputies of France ran thus: "When tyrannical laws have outraged man's first rights, the liberty of opinion and the right to emigrate—when an absolute prince has his frontiers guarded by troops like the gates of a prison, or sends to serve upon the galleys, with vile malefactors, those men whose faith is different from his—then, assuredly, natural law resumes its empire over political law; the citizens dispersed in a foreign land do not for an instant cease, in the eyes of the law, to belong to the country they have quitted. This maxim of equity did honour to Roman legislation, and must immortalize ours."

By giving the sanction of positive law to natural law, the Assembly prevented all disputes, not only with regard to the residence, but also to the acts of the refugees during their long exile. It extended even to the descendants of women the great benefit which was to seal the reconciliation of liberated France with the victims of a despotism then happily destroyed. Finding nothing wherewith to reproach the men, neither would it reproach the women with the marriages they might have contracted with foreigners, and, in this particular case, it decided that

they preserved and transmitted their nationality to their descendants. Thus did the Assembly completely place on the same footing all the scions of refugee families with citizens born on French ground of ancestors who had never left it since 1685, the sole condition being that they should in future fulfil the obligations imposed on all Frenchmen.

Regenerated France had a last duty to fulfil towards her proscribed children. Iniquitous decrees had confiscated the property of the refugees. A part of that property had been sold or gifted away, a part had been administered by intendants for account of the State. The theorists of absolute monarchy maintained the principle that society, when it put an end to the community of all the property and wealth included in its territory, divided them amongst its members, and gave to these the permission to increase and improve them, only upon condition that they should continue to be citizens—still reserving to itself the suzerainty, so to speak, so that a fugitive cannot take away with him, or preserve in his flight, his private fortune, just as a vassal forfeits his fief when he is no longer in a condition to fulfil the duties of his vassalage. The Constituent Assembly did not accept or adhere to these maxims, worthy of the Pharaohs of Egypt. It would not allow property to be considered as a concession from society, and it strengthened its foundations, which had been shaken by unbridled power, at the same time that it accomplished an act of undoubted justice towards the descendants of the banished Protestants. The law of the 15th December 1790 respected, it is true, acts irrevocably accomplished, declaring, in its twelfth article, that property sold could not be claimed by the heirs of the ancient possessors; but it ordered that all the property still in the hands of government should be restored to the families who could prove their title to it. All gifts and concessions of Protestant property, gratuitously made to others than relatives of the fugitives, were annulled, no appeal to prescriptive right being admitted, either from the

givers or the receivers. But the successors of these latter were permitted to oppose prescription to the claims of the legitimate heirs, if they could prove an uninterrupted possession for a period of thirty years. This happily conciliated the old and the new rights, and gave to the descendants of the refugees the only restitution that was possible without an utter subversion of society.

The gates of France have now for sixty years been thrown open to the posterity of the Protestant exiles. Several have returned to the country of their ancestors, attracted thither by a secret and irresistible feeling, painfully repressed in their hearts during the long duration of the persecution. The Odiers, the La Bouchères, the Pradiers, the Constants, the Delprats, the Bitaubés, the Pourtalès, have restored to France distinguished members of their families. The greater number of the descendants of the fugitives still dwell in strange lands, but they remember, with legitimate pride, the act of reparation which recognizes their imperishable right to the title of French citizens.

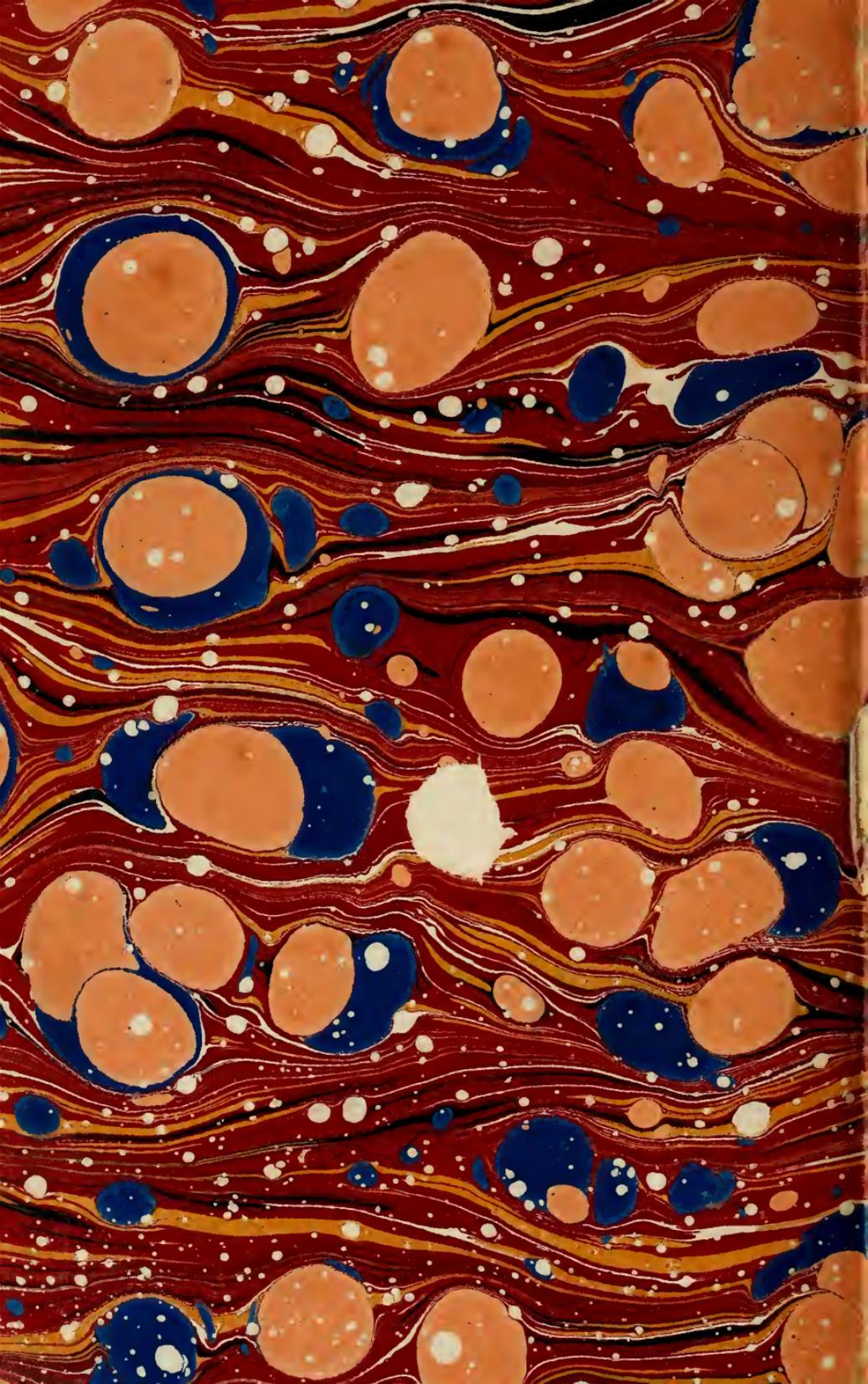
For our part, by writing the history of these martyrs of their faith, we believe that, besides performing a pious duty, we have filled up a void in our national history. The annals of France were not to remain for ever closed to the destinies—often glorious, always honourable—of the scattered refugees. We have studied the vicissitudes of their various fortunes, sought out the traces of their sufferings and triumphs, displayed and proved their salutary influence in the most diverse countries ; and, if it has not been granted to us to erect to them a durable monument, we at least shall have contributed to rescue from oblivion great and noble recollections that deserve to live in the memory of man, and of which France herself has reason to be proud.

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