

Forgetting to Remember:
The Creation of Seventeenth-Century French Calvinist Identities under the Edict of Nantes

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Dedication

To my parents,
who never doubted their daughter's pursuits as a History and Medieval and Renaissance
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(and Religious Studies minor).

Abstract

The history of Calvinism plays an important role in any comprehensive history of reformed Christianity. This thesis is interested seventeenth century French Huguenots who lived under the Edict of Nantes, a treaty which ended France's Wars of Religion and allowed Calvinists to live in France's Catholic Kingdom as a religious minority between 1598 and 1685. My research explores a decisive development that quietly shaped French Calvinism during this era: the creation of a new Calvinist identity forged in the unique environment of the Edict of Nantes which sought to reconcile the Huguenots' position as Calvinists pledging loyalty to a Catholic King.

The evidentiary source base for this project draws from three main bodies of work: the correspondence of Huguenot pastor Jean Daillé, the sermons of Jean Daillé, and the acts of the reformed Synods. Daillé's correspondence with Calvinist colleagues is available in a typescript compilation by amateur French historian Jean Luc Tulot based on his visits to the University Library of Geneva where the letters are archived. Tulot's compilation consists of 216 pages of French correspondence. All featured translations in this thesis are mine. Sermons of Jean Daillé published for distribution and available digitally on the ProQuest archive serve as another key primary source for this project. Finally, John Quick's translation of the Acts of the Reformed French Synods, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, constitute a significant portion of this thesis' primary source base.

This thesis argues that the particular environment fostered by the Edict of Nantes compelled the Huguenots to refine both their Calvinist theology and their French identity as a result of their engagement with the Catholic monarch.

Chapter one focuses on the Edict of Nantes' provisions for oubliance, or mandated forgetting, and the way that Jean Daillé replaced memory of the Wars of Religion with new Calvinist memory of Christian suffering which he made central to Huguenot theology as relayed in his sermons. Chapter two examines the Synod of Charenton in 1631 and argues that King Louis XIII and the Huguenots reconstructed the National Synod to serve a political purpose, which is tracked through the reign of Louis XIV in 1660 to demonstrate that the Huguenots attempted to theologically reconcile their Calvinist convictions with their French national identity.

This thesis is the first work chiefly focused on the National Synods under the Edict of Nantes as a tool of negotiation and communication between the King and the Calvinists. My research brings together approaches and perspectives from religious history and political history to reconcile inconsistencies in the status of the French Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes not yet explained by historians.

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There are too many people to acknowledge, and I know that I am sure to miss someone if I start listing off names, so I would like to use this space to thank my wonderful thesis advisor and mentor Dr. Robisheaux. I enrolled in the Medieval and Renaissance Studies Focus cluster my freshman year on a whim. I liked history and it looked interesting. I had no idea that Dr. Robisheaux's class, Renaissance Professionals, would inspire my academic endeavors throughout my Duke career and likely beyond. In addition to my Focus cluster and, of course, this thesis, I am so fortunate to have had the opportunity to take two additional courses with Dr. Robisheaux my sophomore year and to work with him on an independent study my junior year. In fact, it was during his seminar on the Protestant Reformation which he taught in the fall of 2019 that my classmates and I pursued a project on the French Wars of Religion which first piqued my interest in my thesis topic. So, Dr. Robisheaux (or as I refer to you over email, "Hi Professor!"), thank you so much for making these four years at Duke so intellectually rigorous and enjoyable. And, of course, thank you for bearing with my 5 a.m. emails from the Gothic Reading Room.

Table of Contents

Introduction	6
Chapter One: Remembering Identities	17
Chapter Two: Huguenot Identity Under Louis XIII at the National Synod of Charenton, 1631	47
Chapter Three The Synod of Loudun, 1661: Foreshadowing the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.....	84
Conclusion.....	115
Bibliography	117

Introduction

On August 18, 1572, at Paris' Notre Dame Cathedral, the promise of peace throughout the French Kingdom seemed to lie in the landmark royal wedding of Princess Margaret, from the Valois line to Henri King of Navarre from the Bourbon line. This strategic union sought to resolve years of religious wars and trauma, years of familial conflict which bled into national conflict and represented the rift between France's Catholics and Protestants*. The Protestant Reformation divided France throughout the sixteenth century as many common men favored John Calvin's messages about predestination and one's ability to cultivate a personal relationship with God, rejecting the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. This rejection of Roman Catholicism eventually resonated with factions of the French nobility, and even interfered with royal succession when the Catholic Valois family and the Protestant Bourbon family both claimed descent to the French throne. In March of 1562, a series of Protestant uprisings provoked widespread violence throughout France in what is now defined as the French Wars of Religion, an extended period of unrest and consistent tensions between Catholics and Protestants punctuated by multiple massacres and battles. The Wars of Religion persisted until 1598 when the Edict of Nantes officially ended its prolonged period of religious violence.¹

Amidst the coolness of the Parisian evening on August 24, 1572, the pretense of peace seemingly implemented by the royal wedding rapidly unraveled. The marriage between the Henri and Margaret, the sister of French King Charles IX, was favored as an

¹ Diefendorf, Barbara. *The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: A Brief History with Documents*. Bedford St. Martins, 2008. 1-6.

expedient solution because it accomplished two distinct goals: the union would, ideally, heal rifts between Catholics and Protestants and would integrate the Bourbons into French succession with the Valois. Catherine de Medici, King Charles' mother, shattered the wedding's diplomatic potential when she ordered for the assassination of Huguenot leader Admiral Gaspard de Coligny as a part of her efforts to quell the power of France's Calvinists, recently bolstered by the royal wedding. Although Coligny survived this initial assassination attempt, it prompted almost incomprehensible bloodshed throughout all of France. Worried about Huguenot outrage, Medici ordered for the massacre of all of Paris' Huguenots in a panic. King Charles reversed the order within hours, but it was too late; chaotic violence and bloodlust already seized the city. The death toll of the massacre remains debated, with historians estimating between 5,000 and 10,000 casualties, accounting for about half of these deaths in Paris and the remainder throughout the French provinces. Coligny himself was ultimately among the dead. His body was left on the streets, mutilated to death by children.²

As the Seine transformed into a harrowing crimson from the blood of thousands of victims — mostly Huguenot, some Catholic — prospects for reconciliation dwindled. Religion was a purpose for which either side was willing to put everything on the line. And, for twenty more years, they did, until Henri IV of France (formerly King of Navarre), who gained the French throne by succession in 1589, signed the Edict of Nantes in April of 1598, essentially a peace treaty between Huguenots and Catholics. Henri signed the Edict of Nantes as a Catholic ruler, having converted from Calvinism to satisfy Catholics who challenged a Protestant's ability to serve as a French monarch,

² Diefendorf, Barbara. *The Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre: A Brief History with Documents*. Bedford St. Martins, 2008. 3-5.

famously stating, *Paris vaut bien une mess*, “Paris is well worth a mass.”³ The Edict of Nantes does not determine the war’s victors explicitly, but the Catholics emerge with an overwhelming advantage. France’s Catholic establishment remained the dominant power and the seat of the throne. Nevertheless, the Edict carved out a privileged and demarcated place for the Huguenots in France which allowed them to continue the practice of their Calvinist religion, under certain stipulations, contingent upon loyalty to the Catholic monarchy. ⁴

This thesis endeavors to explore the French Catholic monarchy’s political relationship with and the status of the French Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes, specifically under the reigns of King Louis XIII (1610-1643) and King Louis XIV (1643-1715). Through an analysis of the National Synod, I argue that the Huguenots living in France under the Edict of Nantes refined their Calvinist theology in a manner distinct from its purist Genevan origins based on their embrace of their minority status. The different ways that Louis XIII and Louis XIV understood Huguenot French identity and extended it to the French Calvinists compelled the Huguenots to articulate and shape their Calvinist message independent of Catholicism and the Papacy in unique ways compared to contemporary Calvinists abroad, for which they capitalized upon the culture of censorship and surveillance established by the Edict of Nantes. As a result, this thesis will counter the leading historiographical consensus that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was an inevitable outcome due to religious incompatibilities which took place at an abrupt moment, and instead analyzes the decades of calculated religious

³ Geoffrey Treasure, *The Huguenots* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 16.

⁴ Diefendorf, Barbara. *The Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre: A Brief History with Documents*. Bedford St. Martins, 2008.

diplomacy between Calvinists and Catholics which culminated in the Edict of Fontainebleau, the moment of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes under Louis XIV in 1685. Through distinguishing between the Edict and its implementation under Louis XIII and Louis XIV, this thesis deconstructs a monolithic view of the Edict of Nantes.

The Edict of Nantes established the parameters in which Huguenots practiced and refined their Calvinism throughout its duration from 1598 to 1685. Although preferable to the Wars of Religion, the Huguenots remained a marginalized group under the Edict of Nantes. The Edict offers candid insight into the state's vision for Huguenots. While it undoubtedly granted freedoms and rights to Huguenots and was generally beneficial to their cause, the edict did not renounce Catholic state supremacy. It continually reminded subjects that Catholics maintained the ruling hand in regulating the practice of the "so-called Reformed religion," the period term for Calvinism used in the Edict. A crucial component of the edict's compromise was its regulation which consolidated the practice of Calvinism in defined and demarcated locations, both physically and culturally, consequentially isolating it from Catholicism. The Edict's second article established this precedent:

We command that the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic religion shall be reinstated and re-established in all places and parts of this our Kingdom and the lands under our obedience where its exercise has been interrupted, that it may be peaceably and freely exercised without any disturbance or impediment... Also expressly forbidding those of the said so-called Reformed religion from preaching or otherwise exercising that religion in the churches, houses, and habitations of the said ecclesiastics.⁵

⁵ Parsons, Jotham, trans. "The Edict of Nantes with its Secret Articles and Brevets." Huguenot Museum Germany. April 13, 1598.

The Edict of Nantes granted the Calvinists permission to express their faith while protecting Catholics from this expression. Catholics and Calvinists cohabitated in the French Kingdom, but usually not as neighbors, a distinct change which the Edict implemented. The Edict provided for approximately two-hundred Huguenot areas, ranging from cities to small villages.⁶ While they were not mandated to live in these cities – Article Six explicitly permits them to dwell in all cities of the Kingdom -- Huguenots living elsewhere had to participate in Catholic civil institutions, such as the observance of Catholic feast days and Lenten restrictions. Furthermore, as described in Article 13, Huguenots were expressly forbidden to exercise their religion in the Kingdom “except in those places permitted and granted in the present edict.”⁷ The edict’s stipulations for specific Calvinist areas demonstrate that although it protected the Huguenots, its aims end here; neither promotion of Calvinism nor evangelism were supported by the Edict.

Indeed, the Edict of Nantes did not unleash Calvinism to spread uncontrollably through France, but rather, it constrained Calvinism to specific communities which were already stubbornly entrenched in the reformed tradition, where thirty years of war proved that Catholicism could not be easily implemented. While somewhat liberated, Huguenots remained a minority demographic under the Edict of Nantes, accounting for between seven and eight percent of the French population at turn of the seventeenth century.⁸ Henri projected that eradicating Calvinism would not be worth the immense

⁶ F.P van Stam, *The Controversy over the Theology of Saumur, 1635-1650: Disrupting Debates among the Huguenots in Complicated Circumstances* (Amsterdam [etc.]: APA-Holland University Press, 1988), 34.

⁷ Parsons, Jotham, trans. "The Edict of Nantes with its Secret Articles and Brevets." Huguenot Museum Germany. April 13, 1598.

⁸ Philip Benedict, *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600-1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991), 13-14.

casualties and civil unrest which would ensue and used compromise as a mechanism to end the troubles of religious violence which threatened reputation of the monarchy and the French state itself.

A primary impetus for the Edict of Nantes was fatigue from years of wars, incessant killings, and reckless violence which defined an entire French generation. Nevertheless, this motivation does not diminish the significance or genuine intentions of the Edict. Most historiography generally argues and assumes that the Edict emerged out of wartime fatigue as an easy but unsustainable solution for a country which simply wanted ceasefire from perpetual war. Accordingly, the Huguenots living in France under the Edict of Nantes, between 1598 and 1685, are commonly characterized in scholarship as a historical oddity, and their cause is depicted as hopeless. Leading scholar of early modern Europe and French historian Diane Margolf characterizes the Huguenots as a “stubbornly persistent minority” under the Edict of Nantes and describes that their position under the Edict always placed them on the defensive.⁹ She writes that, “Huguenots of seventeenth century France were in a fundamentally untenable position. Despite their protestations of loyalty to the crown, their very identity as Huguenots was incompatible with the officially sanctioned place of Catholicism in French politics, society, and culture.”¹⁰ Scholar of French religion W.J. Stankiewicz, the author of the standard work on the political status of the Huguenots in France under the Edict of Nantes, *Politics & Religion in Seventeenth-Century France*, entirely disregards the long-term efficacy of the Edict of Nantes, arguing that the Edict “was self-defeating, because

⁹ Margolf, Diane C. "Adjudicating Memory: Law and Religious Difference in Early Seventeenth-Century France." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 2 (1996): 418.

¹⁰ Margolf, Diane C. "Adjudicating Memory: Law and Religious Difference in Early Seventeenth-Century France." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 2 (1996): 418.

expediency could not provide a lasting basis for any policy of toleration.”¹¹ He questions the compatibility of one’s allegiance to the French monarch and one’s Calvinist convictions: “Salvation comes only with unquestioning faith, and any laxity delays the march to the goal— the triumph of new dogma.”¹² This brief survey of the limited existing scholarship on this topic demonstrates that the historiography of the Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes largely focuses on their incompatibilities with the French Kingdom, with this realized absurdity of coexistence between Catholics and Calvinists resulting in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes through the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685. This scholarship fails to integrate historical accounts with French Calvinist theology and religious ideology, and therefore loses sight of the theological innovations generated in the particular political environment of the Edict of Nantes which allowed the Huguenots to secure their place in the French Kingdom for almost a century. Accordingly, the predominant perspective loses sight of the Huguenots’ genuine desire and struggle to incorporate themselves into the French fold. In order to fully understand what it meant to be a Huguenot during this period of the Edict of Nantes— that is to say, what it meant to simultaneously be a Calvinist and a subject of the French King— one must appreciate how the unique historical circumstances of this period influenced a particular French Calvinist theology which found religious justifications for the Calvinists’ place in France’s Catholic Kingdom.

The Calvinists defended this theology in dialogue with the crown during the National Synod. The National Synod was the primary mechanism through which the

¹¹ [W.J. Stankiewicz](#). *Politics & Religion in Seventeenth-Century France*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960. 51.

¹² [W.J. Stankiewicz](#). *Politics & Religion in Seventeenth-Century France*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960. 2.

Huguenots and the French Kingdom refined French identity, Huguenot identity, and, most importantly, the intersections of these identities. Pastors served as the Huguenot delegates to the Synods, and in this capacity, they acted as intermediaries between the Huguenot populace and the King. For Huguenots involved in the National Synods, their roles as preachers and as pastors took on a distinctly political flavor. The National Synods offer insight into the formulation of the French Huguenot identity which was articulated to and reinforced among Calvinist laypeople. Rather than a spontaneous synthesis of shared experience which accumulated in an abstract notion of identity, French Calvinist identity during the Edict of Nantes was an intentionally engineered identity negotiated between the Huguenots and the Crown during the Synods. This thesis analyzes two decisive Synods, the National Synod of Charenton, 1631, under Louis XIII and the Synod of Loudon, 1660, under Louis XIV.

My discussion of these two Synods, each at a critically decisive time for the Huguenots, dismantles the monolith of the Huguenot experience under the Edict of Nantes which prevails in historical literature. Not only do these Synods demonstrate the evolution of the Huguenots' status under different rulers, but they are also both accessible through the lens of the main character of this thesis, Jean Daillé, and are thus apt for historical comparison. A prolific Calvinist preacher and theologian, Daillé was a pastor at Charenton, the site of the 1631 Synod and the informal Calvinist capital of France.¹³ Pairing Synodical records with Daillé's private political and theological insights from his correspondence with foreign Calvinists, I determine the intentions of the Calvinists and their understanding of their position within the French Kingdom, as

¹³ David Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-century France* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1970), 11.

well as how they practiced and interpreted their rights, and how those rights were hindered. I will track the development of this refinement of French Calvinist identity through a study of the 1660 National Synod of Loudun, of which Daillé was the moderator. With the exception of one book chapter by Calvinist theologian Theodore van Raalte, the National Synods of the French Reformed churches under the Edict of Nantes have not been the subject of any comprehensive historical literature; even van Raalte's piece approaches the Synods from a theological perspective instead of a historical lens. This thesis makes the original argument that the National Synods under the Edict of Nantes, particularly after 1629, adopted a new purpose as a tool of political negotiation instead of a forum for discussion of Calvinist doctrine.

Chapter One more closely examines the contents of the Edict of Nantes, particularly its provision of *oubliance*, or forgetting of the events of the Wars of Religion. This chapter uses *oubliance* and the way that this stipulation legislates memory to define French identity, an integral term for this thesis given its focus on how one's Calvinist and French affiliations generated a political and religious identity unique to the circumstances of the Edict of Nantes. Through an analysis of Jean Daillé's sermons, Chapter One also seeks to establish the Calvinist theology refined by the Huguenots for the environment of the Edict of Nantes and the ways that the Huguenots generated new memory to construct this theology, which focused on Christian suffering. Chapter Two analyzes the Synod of Charenton, 1631, to assess Huguenot relations with the crown and the state under Louis XIII. This chapter presents the Synod of Charenton as the model of Huguenot cooperation under Louis XIII and a way to demonstrate Louis XIII's willingness to incorporate Huguenots into the French fold. Finally, Chapter Three

uses the Synod of Loudun, 1660, to examine the changes between Louis XIII's Synods and Louis XIV's Synods. The Synod of Loudun is a key event in the chronology of the Edict of Nantes because it foreshadows the revocation of the Edict, officially 1685, but privileges began to be officially revoked in 1660. Chapter Three considers how the Huguenots integrated their Calvinist and their French identities to reconcile Louis XIV's Catholic absolutism with their Calvinist convictions. The Synod of Loudun allows the historian to access the identities claimed by the Huguenots on the eve of the revocation and suggests that Huguenot exile was not as inevitable as some scholarship presumes. This chapter builds upon the norms from the Synod of Charenton discussed and established in Chapter Two to examine the particularities of the relationship between the Huguenots and the Catholic crown Louis XIV and uses this evidence to counter prevalent historical opinions that the Edict of Nantes was a hopeless endeavor.

Beyond this thesis' contributions to the specialties of French history and Calvinist history, I hope that readers will consider how the behavior, decisions, and rhetoric of the individuals and groups studied in this research can offer insight into the state of religious and general tolerance today. In December of 2020, French President Emmanuel Macron began negotiations with the French Council of the Muslim Faith (CFCM) to create a new charter regulating the teaching of Islam in France with the goal of ultimately creating a council to train Muslim leaders in accordance with republican principles.¹⁴ Even today, the relationship between church and state in France, and around the world, is fraught with ideological complexities, and state regulation of

¹⁴ Emmanuelle Bertout, "Religious Freedom Under Attack in France," *The European Consortium for Political Research*, May 20, 2021, <https://theloop.ecpr.eu/religious-freedom-under-attack-in-france/>.

minority religions persists. The seventeenth century is not an obvious place to look for guidance regarding modern conflict, and while certainly not the primary aim of my thesis, I am confident that an appreciation of the Huguenots' circumstances highlighted by my research can offer, if anything, a better understanding of the perpetuity of religious conflict.

**A note on terminology: "Calvinist" refers to a follower of the Protestant reformed tradition founded by John Calvin. All Protestants in France with whom this thesis is concerned are Calvinists. "Huguenot" refers to a French Calvinist. All Huguenots are Calvinists, not all Calvinists are Huguenots.*

CHAPTER ONE

Remembering Identities

I. Liberating Calvinism through Jean Daillé

As a pastor and preacher in the Huguenot stronghold of Charenton just outside of Paris, surveillance shaped John Daillé's career. Charenton emerged as a safe haven for Paris' Huguenots after the implementation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598. Its strategic location on the Marne River southeast of Paris made Charenton easily accessible by boat and it already featured a sizable Huguenot temple with an impressive 4,000-person capacity.¹⁵ With an estimated Huguenot population of 12,000 by 1642,¹⁶ Charenton's Huguenot leadership was responsible for not only a substantial population of believers, but also for the Huguenot populace situated physically closest to the seat of the monarchy and the center of French political power, Paris. This proximity and accessibility primed the Huguenots of Charenton as convenient targets for Parisian surveillance, and the prolific legacy of one of Charenton's leading preachers, Jean Daillé, perpetuates this reputation. Although fellow Huguenots constituted Daillé's primary audiences for his sermons and his preaching, royal observers stationed at Charenton's Huguenot temple and censors overseeing Huguenot print shops invited Catholic royal authorities as a secondary but critical audience. Especially as Huguenots enjoyed their

¹⁵ Henri Dubief, *La France Protestante: Histoire Et Lieux De Mémoire* (Montpellier, France: CMalandil, 1992), 450.

¹⁶ Nicholas Must, "Preaching the Place of Huguenots in France: The Sermons of Jean Daillé and Huguenot Identity under the Edict of Nantes," *Journal of Early Modern Christianity* 2, no. 2 (2015): 222, <https://doi.org/10.1515/jemc-2015-0011>.

protections under the Edict of Nantes to use the printing press more freely to distribute sermons compared to what was possible amidst the turmoil of the Wars of Religion, Catholicism was simultaneously invited into the Huguenot articulation of faith as an observer and prohibited from it as an adversary.¹⁷

Jean Daillé's sermons demonstrate that Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes interpreted both their civil and their religious identities not as inhibited by French hostility, but rather, as a result of this restrictive environment. Preaching in Charenton beginning in 1630, Daillé embraced an initiative to engineer and articulate innovative theology to define Calvinism in a way that pleased Catholics, which shaped Huguenot identity in this particular environment defined by the Edict of Nantes. Although Daillé was still burdened by French surveillance, he did not have to combat the previous generation's wartime afflictions, and hence his environment promoted his theological endeavors. Historian of Early Modern France Nicholas Must argues that Huguenot religious particularism and political loyalism under the Edict of Nantes "did not just coexist with one another but could also be mutually reinforcing,"¹⁸ meaning that being a good French subject was synonymous with being a better Calvinist, suggesting a melding of these two previously opposed identities. This presents a perplexing historical problem: how could the French Calvinists develop a sense of loyalty to the French Catholic monarchy without betraying, and instead bolstering, their faith?

The solution to this problem lies in the Calvinist development of a theology and ideology with particular and distinctive features under the Edict of Nantes, which is

¹⁷ Must, "Preaching the Place of Huguenots in France," 227.

¹⁸ Must, "Preaching the Place of Huguenots in France," 222.

evident in Daillé's sermons. Daillé's sermons reinforce not only Calvinist doctrine, but also encourage his audience to be good French subjects and citizens. Through his sermons, Daillé promoted and refined a Huguenot identity which benefitted from the small and isolated, but still very much established and royally protected, role of Calvinists in the French Kingdom. Jean Daillé's sermons demonstrate that Calvinists under the Edict of Nantes interpreted both their civil and their religious identities not as inhibited by French hostility, but rather, as a result of this restrictive environment. His position as a Protestant preacher writing, delivering, and often publishing sermons in a Catholic country forced Daillé to articulate the Huguenot message independent from Catholicism and the Papacy. In order to achieve this, Daillé championed the familial brethren of the Calvinist confession, and he frequently addressed his audience of Calvinists as though they were his blood-family.

Saint Paul, author of more than half of the New Testament's books, whose ministry and missions established Christianity as a viable influence in the diaspora, is lauded as a foundational figure in most reformed traditions particularly due to his writings on grace and faith.¹⁹ Daillé inspired Huguenots to learn from Paul's afflictions when he equates the French Calvinists' political position to Paul's political fate in Rome, recounted in the Pauline epistles of canon. In a 1648 sermon on Paul's Letter to the Colossians, Daillé stated, "The apostle Paul's affliction is verified, in the afflictions of the faithful, by constant experience; and they ever work together for good, to them that love

¹⁹ Carlos M. N. Eire, *Reformations: The Early Modern World, 1450-1650* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 163. *Of the fourteen New Testament books attributed to Paul, only seven are widely accepted as entirely authentic.*

GOD.”²⁰ Daillé utilizes Paul to demonstrate how Christian affliction promotes group unity, which ultimately strengthens one’s individual faith. He relates this directly to Paul’s persecution in Rome, explaining, “It may be that the enemies of the Apostle hoped that their preaching would irritate Nero and his officers against Christianity, and that, offended at this new increase which this doctrine had received, they would quickly discharge their anger upon a prisoner, who was the principal support of this growing religion.”²¹ Daillé shared with his congregation this anecdote about enemies falsely preaching Christianity to impose affliction upon Paul, which involved spreading the Gospel for nefarious means. This served as a warning against Calvinist disruption to the Catholic French Kingdom, in turn encouraging Huguenots to embrace political loyalty to most fruitfully cultivate their limited, but nevertheless protected, place in the Kingdom instead of using the Gospel for adverse purposes and to spur unrest throughout Catholic France. In recounting this example from Paul, Daillé uses the sermon to help the Calvinists overcome a tumultuous history with the Catholics, shifting focus onto the Calvinists’ own faithful brethren instead of irritating “Nero,” or, in the context of France’s seventeenth century, the King.

Daillé distinguishes between the Huguenots’ temporal, mortal status and their spiritual status, a dichotomy foundational to his theological innovations which he derives from the Huguenot’s French isolation of Calvinism. This critical distinction allows the Huguenots to participate in the French Kingdom. Instead of arguing for the

²⁰ Jean Daillé, "Sermon XXXII," in *Sermons of Mr. John Daille, upon the Epistle of the Apostle St. Paul to the Colossians. Containing an Exposition of the Two Last Chapters, in Eighteen Sermons, 1648* (London: Printed for Tho. Parkhurst, 1671), 7.

²¹ Daillé, "Sermon XXXII," 8.

earthly supremacy of Huguenots or decrying their minority status in France, Daillé, in his sermons, focuses on the ways in which scripture affirms God's election of the marginalized. He carefully refrains from correlating worldly status to divine status, and his ability to separate these spheres supports his justification of Calvinist royal loyalty. In this same collection of 1648 sermons on Colossians, Daillé opens a sermon on Paul's First Letter to the Colossians by inciting the Old Testament, a text historically favored by marginalized Christians, stating, "See what a rich shore of benefits, the tryals of Job and of David have yielded us!... Had it not been for their afflictions, we should not now enjoy after so many Ages, that inestimable treasure of Instructions and Consolations,"²² in reference to the Book of Patience and Divine Hymns. Daillé's citations of two fabled Old Testament figures, Job and David, draws a direct line between their statuses and the status of the Huguenots, which urges Daillé's brethren to embrace their afflictions and worldly suffering in order to eventually produce good. Daillé reaffirms his relatively strong emphasis on the Old Testament in his sermons on the "Articles of our Beliefs," included in the same 1648 collection. In the third sermon in this set, he cites numerous Old Testament passages and pieces of scripture to support Calvinist tenets, including Exodus, Hebrews, Jeremiah, and the Psalms.²³ Consequently, Daillé integrates the French Huguenots into the saga of Biblical history, articulating through his sermons that instead of existing as a religious novelty or a mere offshoot of Luther's reformation, Calvinism exists as the seventeenth century incarnation of God's plan for his elect, a trope only further confirmed by the Huguenots' minority status.

²² Daillé, *Sermons of Mr. John Daillé*, 77.

²³ Daillé, *Sermons of Mr. John Daillé*, 36.

These messages take a sharp departure from Calvinist resistance theory which prevailed as the predominant Huguenot religious ideology throughout the Wars of Religion, suggesting a significant shift in attitude towards Catholics since the implementation of the Edict of Nantes. In the context of the early modern period, resistance theory refers to political ideologies which justified noncompliance with royal authority on account of religious rifts generated by the Protestant Reformation.²⁴ Calvinist resistance theory in France flourished after the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in 1572, the turning point during the Wars of Religion which diminished the hope that Calvinism might prevail over Catholicism in the French Kingdom. Historian Robert Kingdon contextualizes Calvinist resistance theory within the massacre, explaining that "These circumstances forced the Protestants of France to develop a new political theory of resistance. To survive they had to resist the royal government, for it had committed itself to a policy of exterminating Protestants."²⁵ Because the Protestants of France who preceded the Edict of Nantes were not afforded Daillé's rights to practice his religion as enshrined in the edict, the struggle for mere survival demanded political resistance. Under the Edict of Nantes, however, with the threat of imminent extinction extinguished, theological priorities changed. No longer did the preacher have to defend the survival of the Calvinists because their existence was verified and permitted through the Edict of Nantes. Instead, the French Calvinists subject to Edict of Nantes, like Daillé, shifted attention to defending the circumstances of the Huguenots' unusual existence as a minority Protestant group pledging loyalty to a Catholic King. In order to make sense

²⁴ Robert Kingdon, "Calvinism and Resistance Theory, 1550–1580," in *The Cambridge History of Political Thought, 1450 - 1700*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 198.

²⁵ Kingdon, "Calvinism and Resistance Theory," 207.

of this and to find sound theological justifications, Daillé focused on the mechanism of Calvinist continuation under the Edict of Nantes, the Christian brethren.

Daillé again incites Paul to argue for the significance of Christian brethren, using his sermon as a platform to share a scriptural example of minority believers coming together to defend true faith through brethren. In focusing his rhetoric on the family unit, Daillé seeks to enhance the structure of the Calvinist brethren, elevating it from abstract fraternity to a mobilized group. He does not incite French privileges under the crown or even communal rights, but rather, he favors the far less politicized identity of the familial brethren. Daillé discusses Paul's classification of the Colossians as his brethren in a sermon on said epistle early in his career, in 1634, explaining:

The word, *brethren*, that follows, signifieth the holy communion [the Colossians] had with the [Paul], and with all other believers of whatsoever quality, or condition they were: as persons, all begotten of the same father, namely GOD: all born of the same Mother *Jerusalem* from on high; all partaking of the same Divine Nature; all nursed in the same spiritual family; bred up in the same hopes; destined to the same inheritance; consecrated by one and the same Disciple.²⁶

Not only does Daillé offer a salient example of scriptural brethren, but he does so to imply that the Huguenots, including those at Charenton, mirror the situation of the Colossians. To be among the true faithful is not to render oneself submissive to the all-powerful melding of ecclesiastical order and the state that is the Roman Catholic Church, but rather, it is to share in faith with one's brethren.

²⁶ Jean Daillé, *Faith Grounded upon the Holy Scriptures Against the New Methodists / by John Daille ; Printed in French at Paris Anno 1634, and Now Englished by M.M* (London: Printed for Benj. Tooke, 1675), 108.

Daillé argues that the restrictions which the Huguenots face invigorate their faith, for as long as basic civil obedience remains respected, the burden to protect and safeguard Calvinist convictions is placed upon the faithful themselves. Daillé accordingly emphasizes this personal relationship with God which fundamentally distinguishes Protestantism from Catholicism. Daillé urges Huguenots to utilize their brethren to enrich their faith in the absence of formal supportive mechanisms like the state. He therefore constructs a religious ideology that celebrates the Huguenots' minority status which demands closeness, both physical and ideological. This emphasis on the brethren as the body which unites the faithful grows foundational to Daillé's theology. He articulates it as one of his earliest theological innovations in his 1634 sermon "Faith Grounded Upon the Holy Scriptures Against the New Methodists." In this sermon, Daillé responds to the criticisms of another Protestant group from England, the New Methodists, who criticize Huguenot involvement with the Catholic monarchy. He preaches:

For he wills, that all his Faithful love, and serve God with one love and sovereign adoration, and that they have a true Charity towards all men; carefully keeping themselves from violating their dignity, Life, Charity, Estates, or Honor, neither in Deed, Word, nor Thought, every one subjecting themselves to their Order and Laws of their Civil Societies, and to the state of the Country where they live; but that they entertain a particular amity with the rest of the Faithful, cherishing them as their own Brethren, uniting themselves to them, that so there may be but one Body in Religion.²⁷

Daillé emphasizes the importance of Huguenot cooperation with the Edict of Nantes and urges his audience to maintain civil order. He incites universal Christian virtues, namely charity, to support civility among Calvinists and he depicts coexistence between the minority Huguenot groups and the imposing Catholic state as not only good for

²⁷ Daillé, *Faith Grounded Upon the Holy Scriptures Against the New Methodists*, 108.

everyday order, but also good for Calvinism itself. The Huguenots' nature as a small contingency shifts emphasis, in accordance with the evangelized message, from ecclesiastical hierarchy to a love for one's fellow believers, the brethren, which defines Calvinism. Without the security of the state religion, French Calvinists must rely on their fraternal bonds with their brethren to stand as the pillars of their faith. This further demonstrates how being a good French subject and a good Huguenot were mutually reinforcing under the Edict of Nantes.

Part of being a good Huguenot was a certain distance from Catholicism, a distance which Daillé makes conscious efforts to maintain. Daillé reinforces the Huguenots' own roles in their faith's fate when he prioritizes Protestant accountability over animosity towards Catholics. He bemoans the reformed tradition's inability to collaboratively mobilize and admits in a 1648 sermon that, "I say it with regret, it is nothing but our division, my brethren, which has prevented the defeat of the enemy, and the triumph of the Church. If we had all fought together, we should long ago have been conquerors."²⁸ Daillé explains that Protestant fragmentation rendered them failed conquerors compared to the powerful and centralized papacy. He urges his brethren that bolstering one another in the true reformed faith is more effective than attempting conversion of Catholics, which distracts from more pressing priorities in the practice of the reformed religion. Daillé warns against spreading the word of God at its own expense and he urges his audience to abstain from such practices. This not only helped to promote the unity of the brethren, but it would also have been pleasing to the Catholic censors. Deflection from direct confrontation with Catholicism in favor of a

²⁸ Daillé, *Sermons of Mr. John Daillé*, 43.

focus on the Huguenots' independent struggle in Daillé's sermons demonstrates a keen awareness that Calvinists were susceptible to succumb to a fixation on Catholicism, and he best articulates his case against such in the face of hostility from the "New Methodists." In Daillé's sermons on the topic, written early in his career in 1634, he offers the background that some years ago, some doctors published that "[Our faith] could not be proved by the Scriptures; which nevertheless. According to us, is the only thing capable to ground our faith upon."²⁹ This assault shows that the Calvinists, and therefore Daillé's post at Charenton, though protected, remained under ideological scrutiny from all sides.

Daillé's response to the grievances of the "New Methodists" who assail the Calvinists for their failure to repudiate the Roman Catholic Church illustrates why his sermons strategically avoid direct questions of Roman Catholicism and challenges Daillé to explain Calvinism independent of Catholicism. This French Calvinism championed by Daillé promotes a refined Calvinist theology uprooted from any foundations of a spirit of rebellion against Catholicism. Daillé addresses relevant complaints in his sermons, summarizing, "The colour with which they paint so wicked a procedure, is, that our Churches in their confession of Faith, doth not only propose that which we believe, but jointly reflects that which we approve not in the Roman belief."³⁰ The so-called New Methodists oppose the French Calvinists due to their failure to explicitly reject Rome, although to do so would render their identities as Calvinists and as subjects of France's Catholic monarch irreconcilable. Daillé retorts that as long as Huguenots are able to

²⁹ Daillé, *Faith Grounded upon the Holy Scriptures Against the New Methodists*, 2.

³⁰ Daillé, *Faith Grounded upon the Holy Scriptures Against the New Methodists*, 8.

gather without endangering the Calvinist brethren, as permitted under the Edict of Nantes, Catholicism loses its frequent utility among the reformed traditions as a necessary pretext shaping Protestantism. Subsequently, Daillé liberates French Calvinism from its undeniably Catholic origins. He elaborates, “There is then a great difference between those propositions which suposeth and affirmeth the truth, and those which reject the error.”³¹ Indeed, the context of the Edict of Nantes demands that Daillé convey Calvinism outside of Catholicism, which bolsters the independent validity of Daillé’s evangelized message beyond mere rebellion against Rome. Daillé employs a useful rhetorical example to support his general disregard for Popery, explaining, “For as eating good meat is sufficient to preserve the life of man; not is it necessary for him to know Hemlock, Aconite, or Antiomny, or to know poysons, ’tis enough that he is not so unhappy as to eat of them; even so ’tis sufficient for a man that he believe the holy and wholesome truths communicated to us Lord, Jesus.”³² Daillé’s pure Calvinism is not the byproduct of the “poison” of Catholicism; instead, it stems from the wholesome truth. According to this sermon, a true Calvinist should not need to entertain the poison of Catholicism to commit his life to Christ as a Calvinist. Because of Catholic censorship, Daillé would have been unable to reproduce sermons slandering Catholics, although likely the mere threat of Catholic censorship prevented him from making any attempts. This intended hindrance of Catholic oversight, therefore, ultimately worked to the Calvinists’ own advantage when it compels Daillé to defend Calvinism outside of its Catholic pretexts. Daillé shifts Calvinist identity away from one forged in conflict with Catholics to one grounded in suffering in Christ.

³¹ Daillé, *Faith Grounded upon the Holy Scriptures Against the New Methodists*, 10

³² Daillé, *Faith Grounded upon the Holy Scriptures Against the New Methodists*, 9.

II. From Forgetting to Forging Identity

The Huguenots occupied not only the Calvinist sphere, small but protected under the Edict of Nantes, but also the French sphere. Daillé's sermons illuminate how Huguenots capitalized upon their minority status to claim a Calvinist identity untainted by Catholicism. How did these same Huguenots reconcile this pure Calvinist ideology with their submission to and participation in France's Catholic monarchy? For the Huguenots to envision themselves not only as a unified brethren and as a family unit, but also as a French unit, their claim to a French Calvinist identity had to be both distinct and collective. The concept of identity, especially in historical scholarship, is often ambiguous and unhelpful. In order to fully appreciate the identities discussed in this thesis, this section seeks to define and establish identity in Daillé's particular context, a definition which will remain integral to the remainder of this thesis. To establish the unique Huguenot identity experienced, embraced, and refined by the French Calvinists in the seventeenth century under the Edict of Nantes, one must first appreciate the unusual circumstances in which this identity was forged: the circumstances of forgetting.

The Edict of Nantes makes a bold and strategic move in its attempt to erase the traumatic legacy of the Wars of Religion, specifically the memory of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, and thus, in a calculated way, prohibits any citations of the past's devastation for future benefit. This precedent of *oubliance*, or forgetting, is established immediately in Article I of the edict:

First, that the memory of everything which has occurred between one side and the other since the beginning of the month of March 1585 up to our accession to

the crown, and during the other preceding troubles and on account of them, shall remain extinct and dormant as though they had never happened.³³

In enshrining this banishment of a particular memory via edict, the Edict of Nantes introduces a new codification of laws which govern the behavior of Catholics and Huguenots alike. Remembering the war and the fateful history between the Huguenots and Catholics posed a threat to public order and peace, and thus, the ruling Catholics banned its memory. In effect, this intended hindrance encouraged the Huguenots to articulate their ideology independent of Catholicism, which strengthened their Calvinist convictions and explains why the war is rarely mentioned in Huguenot sermons and literature of this period. The Huguenots continued to face subjugation but could not cite their recent persecuted past; the edict attempted to prevent the Huguenots from shaping an identity out of marginalization, but failed to realize that marginalization is inherent in fundamental Calvinist theology.

The Edict of Nantes permitted the practice of Calvinism only under close Catholic scrutiny, a mechanism which enforced *oubliance* and which changed the delivery of the reformed message. Article 17 of the Edict warns against civil disorder and demands that Calvinism is practiced within the restraints of compliance with the state Catholic Church:

We forbid all preachers, readers, and others who speak in public from using any words, discourses, and terms tending to excite the people to sedition; rather we have enjoined and do enjoin them to contain themselves and carry themselves modestly and to say nothing which is not to the edification and instruction of their listeners and for the maintenance of the repose and tranquility which we

³³ "The Edict of Nantes with Its Secret Articles and Brevets," April 13, 1598, <http://www.huguenot-museum-germany.com/huguenots/edicts/01-edict-nantes-1598-english.pdf>.

have established in our said Kingdom, under the penalties provided in preceding edicts.³⁴

As this article expresses, while Huguenots could profess their Calvinist faith without fear of persecution due to the protections of the Edict of Nantes, they still had to do so in the context of Catholicism. Therefore, the boundaries for what was permissible in Huguenot religious expression were determined by the outside and theologically antagonistic influence of Catholicism.

Daillé's sermonary adherence to *oubliance* illustrates how this precedent streamlined his emphasis to favor tropes from early Christianity instead of recent memory, which supports a characterization of Calvinism as the true faith despite affliction. His 1648 sermons on Colossians further equates the status of the Huguenot to the status of Paul and his churches. In recounting the ways in which the tragedy faced by Paul shaped the true faith and religion, Daillé heavily alludes to the situation of his contemporary Calvinists. He insinuates tropes from the persecuted history of the Huguenots without violating *oubliance*, specifically the forgetting of the massacres, as codified in the Edict of Nantes. Daillé writes:

This persecution, which was intended to cover him with shame, overwhelmed him with honour ... Persecution, slavery, and imprisonment had also been as it were the ladders to his prosperity. Since then He has always in the same way used them in the conduct of His people, overthrowing the designs of His enemies, and turning the artifices of their malice, and the excess of their fury, directly contrary to their intentions; multiplying His Church by the deaths and massacres which seemed likely to destroy it; lighting His gospel by those very means which appeared likely to extinguish it; and drawing the brightest glory of His servants from their deepest disgrace.³⁵

³⁴ "The Edict of Nantes with Its Secret Articles and Brevets," April 13, 1598, <http://www.huguenot-museum-germany.com/huguenots/edicts/01-edict-nantes-1598-english.pdf>.

³⁵ Daillé, *Sermons of Mr. John Daille*, 142.

Without explicitly citing the religious violence faced by the Huguenots prior to the Edict of Nantes, Daillé draws a candid parallel between the reception of Paul's ministry and the formerly persecuted Huguenots. He depicts persecution as a ladder to prosperity and brazenly describes massacre as a means to multiply the church, thus offering scriptural evidence that Calvinist's subjugation and history of persecution ultimately brings honor to the faith. Furthermore, Daillé indirectly references Saint Bartholomew's Day without violating oubliance through his direct reference to massacre during the apostolic age. This sermon emphasizes how Paul's ministry and the church multiplied even in the most hostile of environments, suggesting that the true faith defies worldly expectations. The true faith of the seventeenth century, for Daillé and the Huguenots, was Calvinism. Daillé thus equates the French Calvinists' struggle with the original struggle of the church. He demonstrates that France during the Edict of Nantes, where Calvinism can be expressed, albeit highly regulated, serves as the ideal setting for the elect to practice the true faith because it mimics the environment and the circumstances of the earliest Christians.

The edict's provision for oubliance advantaged both the Catholic monarchy and the Huguenot minority following the Edict of Nantes in tangible ways. Oubliance is frequently characterized as a tool of repression in scholarly literature because it served to repress memory.³⁶ Many historians argue that oubliance was an impossible yet symbolic endeavor.³⁷ Topical scholarship often supposes that mandating a national

³⁶ Diane Margolf, "Adjudicating Memory: Law and Religious Difference in Early Seventeenth-Century France.," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 27, no. 2 (1996): 400, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2544141>.

³⁷ See: Diane Margolf, "Adjudicating Memory: Law and Religious Difference in Early Seventeenth-Century France," David Garrioch, *The Huguenots of Paris and the Coming of Religious Freedom*, W.J. Stankiewicz, *Politics & Religion in Seventeenth-Century France*.

forgetting of religious and political trauma, deeply personal for almost all French people regardless of religion, was an unachievable and unrealized feat which contributed to the brevity of the Edict of Nantes. Despite its peculiarities and its struggle to defy the intrinsic human tendency to remember, oubliance gave the Edict of Nantes authority. It marked the implementation of the edict as a distinct a new phase in French history because it provided for a historical rarity, a blank slate beginning. As analyzed by Diane Margolf, the uses of memory were problematic in France during this period, and the edict regulated resemblances between the immediate past and the present.³⁸ The act of requiring forgetting via edict is an aggressive and assertive demand which benefits the monarchy during the transition from war to peace and the maintenance of peace thereafter. When authority controls memory, it is empowered to influence the people to whom that memory previously belonged. For the Edict of Nantes, the figure of authority overseeing oubliance was the French monarch; first Henri IV, then Louis XIII, then Louis XIV. Diane Margolf argues that memory is an important factor in shaping collective identity. According to this framework, the King could use oubliance, the manipulation of memory, to shape French identity and strengthen the monarchical state. The Huguenots' embrace of oubliance empowered the King and benefitted both parties. The Huguenots earned amnesty and secured their place in the Kingdom while the Catholic King solidified and strengthened his authority.

Memory is the foundation of identity, so when oubliance erased critical memories, it demanded the replacement of identities carved out of religious violence with new identities, which Daillé finds in early Christian plight. Scholar John Gillis

³⁸ Margolf, "Adjudicating Memory," 399.

offers a useful sociological and historical framework for studying the relationship between memory and identity in his book *The Problem of Identity and Memory*. Gillis explains that “Identity depends on the idea of memory, and vice versa.”³⁹ According to this framework, if an identity is forged without memory, as it is under the precedent of oubliance, people must coalesce around something else to materialize their new identity. Daillé’s messages about Paul and early Christian persecutions as articulated in his sermons creates and emphasizes a new memory around which the French Calvinists coalesce to form a new identity under the edict. This new memory recalls the plight of early Christians instead of the recent Wars of Religion. Although memories of Paul’s churches were certainly not experienced by any of his contemporaries, Daillé encourages Huguenots to share in this memory because he locates their experience in the experience of the early Christians. He shifts this new remembering to a central position in his theology which focuses on Christian suffering and reaffirms Calvinist convictions. Gillis’ framework is again useful: “The core meaning of any individual or group identity, namely, a sense of sameness over time and space, is sustained by remembering; and what is remembered is defined by the assumed identity.”⁴⁰ Following this scheme, if the Wars of Religion are no longer remembered, they cease to be defined and cannot dictate the basis of a group’s identity. In choosing to remember instead the afflictions of Paul and the early Christians, Daillé both strengthens the shared identity of the Huguenots and integrates them into a longer Christian chronology as a group who shares sameness with these early Christians over time and space.

³⁹John R. Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), 3.

⁴⁰ Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, 3.

The crown's interpretations of oubliance establish its policy towards Huguenots. Gillis accounts for the malleability of memory which allows it to be reconstructed and obscured as it is under oubliance, explaining, "Memories and identities are not fixed things, but representations or constructions of reality, subjective rather than objective phenomena."⁴¹ Oubliance functions upon this assumption that memory is subjective and therefore can be used as a tool of manipulation. Furthermore, Gillis underscores the power dynamics which underly memory, writing, "Memories help us make sense of the world we live in; and "memory work" is, like any other kind of physical or mental labor, embedded in complex class, gender, and power relations that determine what is remembered (or forgotten), by whom, and for what end."⁴² Therefore, because the King is the source of ultimate state authority, he is positioned to determine not only what is forgotten, but also why and how it is forgotten, to enforce oubliance. As the following two chapters will demonstrate, different monarchs, specifically Louis XIII and Louis XIV, understand and execute this role in distinct manners which change the crown's relationship with and therefore the status of the Huguenot minority. Forgetting creates a void which is apt to be filled. How those Kings fill this void determines their interpretation and implementation of the edict.

Oubliance is a collective endeavor. It calls upon the entire nation of France to embark upon a historical blank slate and to fill that slate with new memories to reconstruct a collective identity. Before the Edict of Nantes, identity was located chiefly in religious convictions, and the turmoil of war was a barren breeding ground for shared identity between Catholics and Calvinists given that both sides' aim was domination and

⁴¹ Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, 3.

⁴² Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, 3.

annihilation of the other. Therefore, to unite French Calvinists and Catholics under one monarchy and to ease divisions, a mechanism other than memory of the wars was necessary. Oubliance serves this function. Forgetting can help construct national identity, which Gillis' framework addresses when he writes, "National memory is shared by people who have never seen or heard of one another, yet who regard themselves as having a common history. They are bound together as much by forgetting as by remembering"⁴³ This follows from a process which historian Benedict Anderson describes as "collective amnesia," during which concerted forgetting is prerequisite for the creation of new collective memories on a national level.⁴⁴

III. French National Identity

The French identity discussed in this thesis is a national identity. But what is meant by national in the context of the seventeenth century? Historians of the early modern period favor the term "national-consciousness" over "nationalist" due to the latter's twentieth century and contemporary connotations.⁴⁵ Diane Margolf wrestles with this struggle and isolates a challenge which this thesis also faces. She explains, "The development of national identity is so obviously harder to trace or even locate in a time period when so much of the apparatus of the modern nation-state was still inchoate, and in areas where so many local, regional and other particularities existed."⁴⁶ National identity requires a nation; for the purposes of this thesis, any discussion of national identity refers to French identity, but the definition of France is not necessarily

⁴³ Gillis, *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, 7.

⁴⁴ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 6th ed. (London: Verso, 1990), 5.

⁴⁵ Margolf, "Adjudicating Memory," 415.

⁴⁶ Margolf, "Adjudicating Memory," 416.

straightforward. The Edict of Nantes' France was France during the Ancien Régime, translated to "old rule." The Ancien Régime refers to the political and civil organization which governed the Kingdom of France from the late Middle Ages, around 1500, until the French Revolution in 1789. Right before the imposition of the Edict of Nantes, in 1589, the monarch of France shifted from the Valois dynasty, who ruled since the Middle Ages, to the Bourbon dynasty. The Valois struggled to centralize power and to establish new legislative acts or to successfully state build, particularly during the Wars of Religion. Accordingly, the Bourbons attempted to do what the Valois could not and focused on power consolidation and state centralization. These new aims strived to correct the errors of the Valois and were made feasible by the peacetime of the Edict of Nantes.⁴⁷

Geographically, the Kingdom of France during the Ancien Régime looked similar to the sovereign territory of France today, although significant territorial expansion occurred throughout the regime, with the most aggressive expansion led by Louis XIV, including, notably, the acquisition of the Westphalian Cities through the Peace of Westphalia.⁴⁸ Prior to the Bourbons, centralization was not a royal priority, as French people associated more closely with their provinces than with the Kingdom for two primary reasons. First, the power of the monarch was always limited given the crown's failure to centralize under the Valois, and second, identity was naturally more fragmented as everyday people cared more about their imminent community than a monarch they would never meet.⁴⁹ The Bourbon's agenda of centralization weakened

⁴⁷ Geoffrey Treasure, *The Huguenots* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 22.

⁴⁸ Pierre Goubert and Daniel Roche, *Les Français Et L'Ancien Régime*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1991), 42.

⁴⁹ Stankiewicz, *Politics and Religion*, 76.

provincial powers and therefore the monarch's political presence in individual cities and towns increased.⁵⁰

Another vital geographic change which defined France during the seventeenth century concerns Paris, the location most significant to this thesis. According to historian of seventeenth-century France David Maland, Lyon rivaled Paris throughout the sixteenth century, but “as a result of the Bourbon monarchs who made Paris the permanent centre both of their court and of their administration, provincial life was denuded of talent and the capital became the glittering source of patronage. French culture in the seventeenth century, therefore, was virtually the product of one city.”⁵¹ This consolidation, physically concentrated around Paris, which foreshadowed the Edict of Nantes, further illuminates the brokenness of the French Kingdom as emphasized by Douglas Johnson when he writes, “No doubt that the Wars of Religion are not just a civil war, but they represent “a Kingdom that is broken.”⁵² While the Kingdom was not completely healed by the Edict of Nantes, and divisions persisted, “the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV established securely the power of the crown and led to the creation of a centralized administration.”⁵³ Given Charenton's location next to Paris and its practical function as the Huguenots' own Paris, its pastors, including Daillé, were ideally located to enable mutual interactions with the monarchy.

In this context of national identity, “national” also refers to the individuals who share the collective memory, or, under oubliance, lack thereof, of the Wars of Religion.

⁵⁰ Goubert and Roche, *Les Français Et L'Ancien Régime*, 110.

⁵¹ David Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-century France* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1970), 11.

⁵² Douglas Johnson, "The Making of the French Nation," in *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, ed. Mikuláš Teich and Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 43.

⁵³ Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-century France*, 10.

As Douglas Johnson writes, “These wars were marked by endless cabals and intrigues, individual and family ambitions, national negotiations and foreign interventions, all of which affected both personal and collective religious ambitions.”⁵⁴ When the Edict of Nantes was declared, it sympathized with the exhaustion from incessant religious conflict which seized France for more than three decades. Sir Walter Raleigh, an English statesman writing about France’s religious conflict, remarked that “There are no such things as Wars of Religion, only civil wars,”⁵⁵ emphasizing that the Wars of Religion were as much a state affair as a religious affair. When French Calvinists were challenged to construct a new national identity apt for France’s postwar environment protected by the Edict of Nantes, they did so against a political backdrop unfamiliar to foreign Calvinists.

IV. Genevan Origins

Geographically isolated, French Calvinists curated a different approach to state ideology compared to Genevan purists. While clearly never a realized goal, Calvin himself advocated for a worldwide theocracy, and his Genevan religious state served as the model which he hoped would eventually dominate. Calvin’s understanding of the state was complementary to his conception of the church. He saw these two institutions as inseparable and mutually reinforcing, while still distinct.⁵⁶ According to sociologist David Fasenfest’s analysis of Calvin’s political systems, “Calvinist theocracy constitutes a total social system or society, incorporating its intertwined theocratic economic,

⁵⁴ Johnson, "The Making of the French Nation" 43.

⁵⁵ Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-century France*

⁵⁶ William Naphy, "Calvin's Church in Geneva: Constructed or Gathered? Local or Foreign? French or Swiss?," in *Calvin and His Influence: 1509-2009*, ed. Irena Backus and Philip Benedict (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 103.

political, civic, and cultural systems, including a state-church, as its integral elements or subsystems.”⁵⁷ Another sociologist, David Zaret, identifies the Calvinist desire for a “godly” society as bleeding into a desire for “godly politics,” which constitutes Calvin’s theocratic design.⁵⁸ Historians debate whether Calvin’s Geneva can be classified as a proper theocracy because, seemingly paradoxically, Calvin’s theology calls for the separation of church and state. The French Calvinists later cite this theology to justify their submission to the Catholic monarchy, skewing Calvin’s original doctrinal intentions.

How can a theocracy champion the separation of church and state? To wrestle with this apparent contradiction, one must first reject any modern notion of the separation of church and state. For Calvin, church and state coexist as different but interdependent entities. Separation of church and state serves not to liberate one from the other, but rather to inspire both realms to function most effectively. Seeking to avoid the types of abuses which the Roman Catholic Church perpetrated through the political arm of the state, Calvin believed that the church could best fulfill its roles— to spread the word, administer sacraments, and regulate morality — if it was not burdened with duties concerning civil society — convicting criminals, collecting taxes, and keeping everyday order — which he assigned to the state.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Calvin’s humanist background emboldened him to champion Christian liberty. Calvin rejected the notion that any man could be compelled by law to believe in God, which he argued was antithetical to a

⁵⁷David Fasenfest, "Political System Of Calvinist Theocracy," in *The Destiny of Modern Societies: The Calvinist Predestination of a New Society*, by Milan Zafirovski (Chicago, Ill.: Haymarket Books, 2011), 193.

⁵⁸Fasenfest, "Political System Of Calvinist Theocracy," 194.

⁵⁹ Naphy, "Calvin's Church in Geneva," 107.

genuine expression of Christian conviction.⁶⁰ In his *Institutes*, Calvin writes that true freedom is to obey without compulsion. Theologian William Edgar explains that, according to Calvin, “The conscience must obey the law not by constraint but because now that we are free from its yoke, we readily embrace its teachings.”⁶¹ Calvin believes that men are subject to “twofold government,” one spiritual, one political, and he maintains that “we are not less subject to the government, though it be ruled by magistrates, than to the church.”⁶² Hence, Calvin reinforces Paul’s emphasis on submission to government authority as a tenet of both his theology and his political ideology.

This political theology was apt for Calvin’s Republic of Geneva, a necessary pretext which highlights the sharp departure from Genevan norms which the French Calvinists ultimately pursue. The city of Geneva became the Republic of Geneva in 1541 when John Calvin’s *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*, essentially the constitution of the reformed church which also organized the political organization of Geneva, were ratified.⁶³ Calvin’s *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* created two bodies: the company of pastors and the Consistory.⁶⁴ Although scholarly debate about the technical theocratic nature of Calvin’s Republic of Geneva persists, consensus nevertheless maintains that Calvin’s vision for religious life governed Genevan civic life, as exemplified by the signature

⁶⁰ William Edgar, "Calvin's View of Christian Freedom," Westminster Theological Seminary, last modified July 20, 2016, accessed April 19, 2022, <https://faculty.wts.edu/posts/calvins-view-of-christian-freedom/>.

⁶¹ Edgar, "Calvin's View of Christian Freedom," Westminster Theological Seminary.

⁶² Edgar, "Calvin's View of Christian Freedom," Westminster Theological Seminary,

⁶³ Robert Linder, "Ecclesiastical Ordinances," *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Bible and Theology*, <https://www.biblia.work/dictionaries/ecclesiasticalordinances/>.

⁶⁴ "The Ecclesiastical Ordinances," Musée Protestant, accessed April 19, 2022, <https://museeprotestant.org/en/notice/the-ecclesiastical-ordinances-1541/>.

Calvinist institution of the Consistory, which integrated civic life and the church.⁶⁵ Consistories maintained their status as seats of political authority which oversaw the intersection of religious and civic matters until French annexation of Geneva in 1798. The Consistory consisted predominantly of laypeople and some pastors, although specific doctrinal issues and the appointment of new pastors were matters processed through the Company of Pastors.⁶⁶ Essentially a “quasi-tribunal”⁶⁷ or a church court, the Consistory met every Thursday at noon to oversee public morality and the application of Christian doctrine in everyday Genevan life.⁶⁸ As historian of Calvinism Jeffrey Watt explains, “Although Calvin was leading a religious movement, most of the issues heard by the Consistory were not directly related to religious beliefs and practices.”⁶⁹ Indeed, the purpose of the Consistory was, according to Calvin, to regulate Christian morality and to punish flagrant sin.⁷⁰ Professor of ecclesiastical history Bruce Gordon explains that the Consistory was organized “in such a way that the ministers have no civil jurisdiction nor use anything but the spiritual sword of the Word of God as St Paul commands them.”⁷¹ Nonetheless, because the line between church and state was so frayed in Calvin’s Geneva (church attendance at Calvinist sermons was required), the Consistory frequently dabbled in seemingly extraneous affairs, although it still lacked the authority to impose criminal punishment. Jeffery Watt notes that the Consistory in Geneva “summoned a not insignificant number of men and women specifically for

⁶⁵ Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 261.

⁶⁶ Jeffrey R. Watt, *The Consistory and Social Discipline in Calvin's Geneva* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2020), 4.

⁶⁷ Watt, *The Consistory and Social Discipline*, 15.

⁶⁸ Scott M. Manetsch, *Calvin's Company of Pastors: Pastoral Care and the Emerging Reformed Church, 1536-1609* (Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 2013), 29.

⁶⁹ Watt, *The Consistory and Social Discipline*, 40.

⁷⁰ Manetsch, *Calvin's Company of Pastors*, 30.

⁷¹ Bruce Gordon, *Calvin* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2011), 69.

religious noncompliance.”⁷² Calvin designed the Consistory as a source of pastoral counsel which would offer Genevans “medicine to bring sinners back to our Lord,”⁷³ meaning that in the Republic of Geneva, in practice, Calvinism was mandatory. The Consistory of Geneva was the most robust, active, and powerful consistory, although consistories existed throughout Switzerland in both urban and rural areas and remained the organizational backbone of Calvinism.⁷⁴

V. Breaking from Geneva: The French National Synod

An integral distinction between Calvin’s Geneva and Calvinist France is that the organizational backbone of Calvinism in France was the National Synod rather than the consistory. Calvin himself was uninterested in Synods and did not incorporate them into Geneva, further demonstrating the divergent path of French Calvinism due to its unique circumstances and challenging the model of Genevan domination.⁷⁵ Like in Geneva, French reformed churches still organized into consistories, but in the French context, the consistory functioned as a local mechanism of church organization rather than a decision-making body, a role which the National Synod served.⁷⁶ The word Synod has been used throughout Christian history to describe church councils by both Catholics and reformed traditions, but in different settings, the term takes on different highly specific meanings. This thesis is concerned with the Synods of the French reformed churches, of which there were two types: provincial and national. The national Synod,

⁷² Watt, *The Consistory and Social Discipline*, 40.

⁷³ Manetsch, *Calvin's Company of Pastors*, 29.

⁷⁴ Watt, *The Consistory and Social Discipline*, 4.

⁷⁵ Raymond Mentzer, "Synod in the Reformed Tradition," in *Synod and Synodality: Theology, History, Canon Law and Ecumenism in New Contact : International Colloquium Bruges 2003*, ed. Alberto Melloni and Silvia Scatena (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005), 173.

⁷⁶ Mentzer, "Synod in the Reformed Tradition," 173.

which encompassed all the reformed churches of France and, during the Edict of Nantes, also involved the monarchy, was distinct from Calvin's organizational structure but still adapted many of its fundamental ideas.

The French reformed Synods of the seventeenth century are peculiar among many Christian Synods because of the political utility which they served. While most Christian Synods function to settle issues among members of the same religious group, the French national Synods during the Edict of Nantes adopted an additional and unofficial role to foster discussion and negotiations between the French Calvinists and the Catholic King. Furthermore, the French reliance on the Synod as a mechanism of church organization and change markedly distinguishes the organizational structure of the French Calvinists from their Genevan counterparts as a unique French innovation. Leading Huguenot scholar Phillip Benedict describes the French reformed Synodical system as "the most critical independent initiative of the French churches."⁷⁷ Despite this acknowledgement of the importance of the French reformed Synod, it is yet to receive proportionate scholarly attention. Theodore G. Van Raalte himself, the author of the most detailed and perhaps the only piece of scholarship dedicated entirely to French reformed Synods in the seventeenth century, a chapter in *The Theology of the French Reformed Churches*, even mentions that while the seventeenth century French Reformed Synods played an key historical role, "much work remains to be done on them, especially in English-speaking scholarship."⁷⁸ As a theologian, Van Raalte's chapter offers critical insight into

⁷⁷ Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2002), 135.

⁷⁸Theodore Van Raalte, "The French Reformed Synods of the Seventeenth Century," in *The Theology of the French Reformed Churches: From Henri IV to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, ed. Martin I. Klauber (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2014), 1.

the national Synods, but it focuses on their religious function rather than their role in a broader history of the French Calvinists and their political function.

Aside from Van Raalte's chapter, scholarship on the French Synodical system is limited, and literature focusing on the seventeenth-century Synodical system is even more scant. Glenn Sunshine's book *Reforming French Protestantism* analyzes the sixteenth century Huguenot Synods and thus offers valuable information regarding the Synods' origins and the structure of early Synods,⁷⁹ but his analysis ends before the Edict of Nantes and therefore does not cover the fundamental changes the edict inspired in France's Synodical system. Most of this scholarship focuses on the hierarchical nature of the national Synod and attempts to reconcile how the French reformed tradition could claim an antihierarchical identity while empowering the national Synod to make decisions for individual churches.⁸⁰ This is the topic of Van Raalte's own chapter. The primary source literature available for a study of the French reformed Synods, and the literature which serves as the basis of this thesis, is limited. As a part of Synodical procedure, the acts of the Synods were recorded in manuscripts, although the original copies are mostly lost. Two editions of these manuscripts were published by seventeenth century authors and survive today, one in French by Jean Aymon and an English edition by John Quick. Although in English, scholars favor Quick's translation, the evidentiary source base of my research, as more detailed and precise than Aymon's edition.

⁷⁹ See: Glenn S. Sunshine, *Reforming French Protestantism: The Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1557-1572* (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State University Press, 2003)

⁸⁰ See: Mentzer, "Synod in the Reformed Tradition," 173, Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, 136, Kingdon, "The Political Resistance of the Calvinists in France and the Low Countries," *Church History* 27:3 (September 1958), 221.

The National Synods were the highest organizational structure of French reformed church polity, the first levels of which were churches and consistories. In this context, church refers to a particular community of people overseen by a particular pastor and consistories define the grouping of churches in one area which elected lay elders to oversee local, day-to-day Huguenot civil affairs.⁸¹ Provincial Synods, meetings of deputies from the same region as chosen by consistories, constituted the next level of organization. Provincial Synods typically selected two pastors and two elders to attend national Synods. This amounted to between fifty and sixty Huguenot representatives, or deputies, present at each national Synod, and from this group, one deputy was voted as the Synodical moderator. After the implementation of the Edict of Nantes, another participant joined the ranks of the national Synod: the King. The edict mandated royal permission for Huguenots to hold national Synods, and furthermore, the King was present at all national Synods through a representative, a royal commissioner who was typically a Calvinist himself. This commissioner, who engaged in discussion with the moderator who represented the body of Calvinist deputies, represented the interests of the crown and spoke on behalf of the monarchy. The presence of the King through the royal commissioner changed the underlying goals of the Huguenot deputies from internal progress to external defense.

During the Edict of Nantes, five Synods were held under Henri, eight under Louis XIII, and only two under Louis XIV. Van Raalte accounts for this discrepancy: "With each successive monarch the difficulties for the churches increased."⁸² Most scholars, including Van Raalte, do not endeavor to explore the function of the King's permission

⁸¹ Van Raalte, "The French Reformed Synods of the Seventeenth Century," 5.

⁸² Van Raalte, "The French Reformed Synods of the Seventeenth Century," 7.

and Synodical presence after the edict beyond a its role as a formality and a mechanism of surveillance. This thesis argues that beginning with the Synod of Charenton in 1631 following a distinctive change in Huguenot liberties due to the Treaty of Alais, the national Synods change their basic function from forums for Huguenot issues to forums of discussion between the French Calvinists with the Catholic monarchy. During these Synods, the Huguenots defended both their theology and their French identity. They used the national Synods to negotiate with the crown to reconcile these two identities.

The following two chapters each analyze a national Synod under a different monarch – the Synod of Charenton, 1631, under Louis XIII and the Synod of Loudun, 1660, under Louis XIV – to analyze the ways that the King's presence at the national Synod compelled the Huguenots to use the Synod as a forum to harmonize their seemingly incompatible Calvinist religion with loyalty to the Catholic crown, a dominant theme of both Synods. Furthermore, this thesis follows Jean Daillé though both of these Synods, each of which he was engaged with in a different manner, to track how he, as a Calvinist pastor, articulated his theology and ideology in response to issues raised at the Synods. Daillé was not a deputy at the 1631 Synod of Charenton, but he served as the pastor in Charenton during this period and was therefore immersed in the Synod's environment and privy to its proceedings, which he wrote about in correspondence with colleagues. Finally, later in his career, Daillé served as the moderator at the Synod of Loudun, the final national Synod before the expulsion of the Huguenots from France.

CHAPTER TWO

Huguenot Identity Under Louis XIII at the National Synod of Charenton, 1631

I. The Siege of La Rochelle and the New Edict

The Edict of Nantes faced a critical trial after the death of its author Henri IV, an event which raised and underscored concerns within the Huguenot community. Under Henri IV, the Huguenots claimed expanded rights and military presence which were officially reduced by 1629, only two years prior to the Synod of Charenton in 1631, the focus of this chapter. Though a Catholic monarch after his conversion, Henri, as a former Calvinist, generally earned the favor of the French Huguenots who respected him as an ally who ended the terror of the wars of religion. Calvinist theologian F.P. van Stam identifies the death of Henri as a political turning point for the Huguenots, an event which “shook the confidence of many Huguenots in their government.”⁸³ Upon the assassination of Henri in 1610, his wife Marie de’Medici assumed a new role as Regent. In this capacity, she served as the acting monarch until her eight-year-old son, King Louis XIII, was old enough to execute his monarchical duties. The queen publicly confirmed her late husband’s policy of religious tolerance and upheld the Edict of Nantes, although her regency, which lasted until 1617, was marred by political instability. This turmoil culminated in her son, Louis XIII’s, banishment of his own

⁸³ F.P van Stam, *The Controversy over the Theology of Saumur, 1635-1650: Disrupting Debates among the Huguenots in Complicated Circumstances* (Amsterdam [etc.]: APA-Holland University Press, 1988), 5.

mother to Brussels after he assumed power.⁸⁴ Van Stam argues that this period of monarchical unrest made the Huguenots feel “hard pressed,” and spurred divisiveness and instability.⁸⁵ This Huguenot instability was further provoked by widespread Protestant concerns throughout Europe regarding the expansion and success of Catholicism as Catholic armies gained an upper hand during the Thirty Years War in the 1620’s and 1630’s. Protestants struggled to understand how God would allow Catholicism to succeed if their reformed faith was indeed the “true faith.”⁸⁶

During this period, the Huguenots split into two ideological camps: political and militant. Political Huguenots, who claimed more clergy and nobility, included “those who wished to be loyal subjects to the King and who sought, by peaceful, political means, to preserve their freedom to practice the Reformed faith.”⁸⁷ The second camp, the “militant camp,” pursued an aggressive and confrontational strategy in its relationship to the French authorities. The militant camp was prepared to take up arms to protect Huguenot rights, namely, the right to reside in France and to practice the reformed religion. They dismissed the political Huguenots’ diplomatic efforts towards reconciliation and negotiation as ineffective and weak.⁸⁸ The Edict of Nantes’ stipulations which allowed the Huguenots to organize standing armies and militias as a security measure bolstered the militant camp.⁸⁹ Many Huguenot towns still featured

⁸⁴ W. J. Stankiewicz, *Politics and Religion in Seventeenth-century France: A Study of Political Ideas from the Monarchomachs to Bayle, as Reflected in the Toleration Controversy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1960), 62.

⁸⁵ van Stam, *The Controversy over the Theology of Saumur*, 5.

⁸⁶ van Stam, *The Controversy over the Theology of Saumur*, 5.

⁸⁷ van Stam, *The Controversy over the Theology of Saumur*, 6.

⁸⁸ van Stam, *The Controversy over the Theology of Saumur*, 7.

⁸⁹ van Stam, *The Controversy over the Theology of Saumur*, 6.

active military fortifications; Article 88 of the Edict of Nantes even granted permission to the Huguenots to rebuild fortifications which were destroyed during the Wars of Religion.⁹⁰ Despite the closure of the war initiated by the Edict of Nantes, a militarized environment persisted in France.

This split in the Huguenot movement dissolved in 1629 after the Siege of La Rochelle and the resulting Peace of Alais, events which distinguish the early years of the Edict of Nantes from its long-term implementation until its revocation. After 1629 the fundamental principles of the Edict of Nantes persisted, but Huguenots experienced the edict very differently. When Henri first issued the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenots were permitted to maintain two-hundred cities with military fortifications and to conduct worship in over one thousand locations.⁹¹ Van Stam argues that the decree granted “a clear measure of legal security,” security tangibly insured by the Huguenots’ continued military presence.⁹² King Louis and his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, sought to dampen the Huguenots’ military prowess through laws which ordered the destruction of private fortresses, a policy Huguenots saw as a conniving loophole given that the Edict technically protected only fortresses on public property.⁹³ As Richelieu reflected during this lead-up to the Huguenot rebellions of 1625 and 1627, “So as long as [the Huguenots] have a foothold in France, the King will not be master in his own house.”⁹⁴ The King’s grasp on his own house was challenged by a series of Huguenot uprisings during the

⁹⁰ "The Edict of Nantes with Its Secret Articles and Brevets," April 13, 1598, <http://www.huguenot-museum-germany.com/huguenots/edicts/01-edict-nantes-1598-english.pdf>.

⁹¹ van Stam, *The Controversy over the Theology of Saumur*, 5.

⁹² van Stam, *The Controversy over the Theology of Saumur*, 5.

⁹³ David Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-century France* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1970), 72.

⁹⁴ Richelieu to M Le Commandeur, February 27, 1627 in his *Lettres* (Avenel edition) II, 391.

1620's which culminated in the Siege of La Rochelle, a violent expression of Huguenot resistance of Louis XIII's centralization efforts.

The Siege of La Rochelle permanently stripped the Huguenots of this distinct legal security. Louis sought control of the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle, the largest and most profitable Huguenot stronghold in all of France, with an impressive population of 27,000. As a strategic port location, La Rochelle would be a great economic asset to the King, although it was inaccessible to him because it was protected by the Edict of Nantes as a Huguenot stronghold.⁹⁵ Louis acted upon these frustrations when he attempted to strip La Rochelle of its status as a Huguenot stronghold and to claim it as a Catholic area. A Huguenot revolt against Louis ensued, lasting from September 1627 to October 1628. After the population of La Rochelle dwindled to merely 5,000 in this short fifteen-month period, the Huguenots' dire conditions and decimation finally necessitated surrender to Louis.⁹⁶ The Huguenots of La Rochelle were reduced to eighteen percent of their original population due to war casualties, disease, and primarily, starvation due to the inability to transport food into La Rochelle or for safe evacuation. While some less severe rebellions occurred after La Rochelle into 1629, by this point, according to David Maland, "the contest was over."⁹⁷

The Peace of Alais, also known as the Treaty of Alais and the Grace of Alais, legally enshrined this more enduring peace at the cost of the Huguenots' political presence. While it did not supersede the Edict of Nantes or render it invalid, the Peace

⁹⁵ Pierre Deyon and Solange Deyon, *Henri de Rohan: Huguenot de plume et d'épée, 1579-1638* (Paris: Perrin, 2000), 110.

⁹⁶Deyon and Deyon, *Henri de Rohan*, 114-121.

⁹⁷ Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-century France*, 72.

of Alais overturned and adjusted some of the edict's articles enough to substantially change the nature of its implementation. As Maland explains, the Peace of Alais allowed the Huguenots to enjoy religious and civic liberties but abolished the military power which made them "a privileged and dangerous state within the State." He continues that "Thereafter, Huguenots as a group never again disturbed the peace of France."⁹⁸ The Peace of Alais, negotiated by Cardinal Richelieu on behalf of Louis XIII, upheld the fundamental framework of the Edict of Nantes and, in the spirit of the edict, did not directly infringe upon Huguenot religious practices. The treaty allowed the Protestants to continue to practice their reformed religion within the Edict of Nantes' framework, but it disenfranchised the Huguenots from the political realm. Huguenot involvement in the political sphere was practically eliminated and, furthermore, Huguenots dismantled their standing armies as a condition of their surrender.⁹⁹ Because the Huguenots were no longer able to coalesce as a political entity and act as a state within a state, the Peace of Alais redefined Huguenot identity. As leading Huguenot scholar Phillip Benedict summarizes, "Protestantism disappeared from the stage of politics, and the French protestants were left to enjoy their liberty of conscience."¹⁰⁰ Emboldened by their ideological triumph over the militant Huguenots, political Huguenots embarked to define this new collective Huguenot identity demanded by the Peace of Alais, a French identity which was neither Catholic nor political. Huguenot leaders capitalized upon the National Synod as the ideal platform to execute this refinement of identity.

⁹⁸ Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-century France*, 75-76.

⁹⁹ Maland, *Culture and Society in Seventeenth-century France*, 76.

¹⁰⁰ Maria Cristina Pitassi, Daniela Solfaroli Camillocci, and Arthur Huiban, eds., *Crossing Traditions: Essays on the Reformation and Intellectual History: In Honour of Irena Backus* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 4.

The Peace of Alais marked victory not only for the crown, but also for the political Huguenots, and implemented critical changes for both entities. Following the Peace of Alais, Huguenot grievances were addressed in an unarmed arena. Furthermore, because the Huguenots were almost entirely disenfranchised from politics, they settled most issues as internal matters. The Peace of Alais, per its explicit intentions, changed the lives and the political status of the Huguenots. In effect, it also changed the monarchy in the way that it reengineered the relationship between the Huguenots and the Catholic crown. Historian of early modern France Geoffrey Treasure characterizes the Peace of Alais not as a peace, but rather, as a royal pardon, which offers a fitting framework.¹⁰¹ He explains that the treaty confirmed the fundamentals of the Edict of Nantes while slashing “extra provisions,” namely, those which had guaranteed the Huguenots’ political and military rights.¹⁰² Furthermore, the Peace of Alais was not merely symbolic; it carried physical repercussions experienced by Huguenots across the Kingdom, and literally changed the Huguenot landscape when all remaining Huguenot fortifications and most cities’ walls were torn down. According to Treasure, “Walls defined a city and the rights of its inhabitants. Where Huguenots controlled a city the walls had represented security and freedom. Their destruction was a wound to their pride and self-confidence — as it was meant to be.”¹⁰³ With the Huguenots deprived of their walls, both literal and metaphorical, Louis and the crown were far more easily able to permeate Huguenot life. Likewise, the Huguenots were challenged to reconstruct a framework to uphold their unity, integrity, people, and faith.

¹⁰¹ Geoffrey Treasure, *The Huguenots* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013), 271.

¹⁰² Treasure, *The Huguenots*, 271.

¹⁰³ Treasure, *The Huguenots*, 271.

The sentiments expressed by Charenton's pastor Jean Daillé, in the camp of the political Huguenots, during the Siege of La Rochelle confirms his convictions and suggests that the siege was received among intellectuals and pastors like Daillé as an unfortunate distraction. While there are few remaining manuscripts of Daillé's correspondence from 1628, his surviving pieces' lack of discourse on the Siege of La Rochelle offer poignant insights in a "political" Huguenot's understanding of the situation. In two letters to prominent theologian and frequent correspondent of Daillé, Andre Rivet, dated March 12 and August 8 of 1628, prior to the end of the Siege in October later that same year, Daillé does not mention the Siege. His refrain stands out as the situation at La Rochelle was surely the most urgent and most serious issue for the Huguenots at the time. Instead Daillé wrote about less controversial subjects like the logistics of the printing and publication of a book (*Memoirs of the late Monsieur du Plessis*) as well as questions about and updates regarding the status of Rivet's family and private life. Not once did he mention of La Rochelle. Instead, Daillé alluded to the turmoil of the Siege in vague metaphorical terms like *temps is embrouillés* (times so confusing) and *un très dangereux pachant* (a very dangerous thing). Referring to the "dangerous thing," Daillé writes, in August 1629, "We are always experiencing this very dangerous thing, and our advice, which would hold back the arms of those who provoke us and divert their efforts elsewhere, does not change them."¹⁰⁴ He implies frustration with and disapproval of the militant Huguenots' tactics, and further suggests that efforts to divert the militant camp away from violence failed. When the Peace of Alais

¹⁰⁴ Jean Daillé to André Rivet, August 8, 1628.

effectively eliminated the militant Huguenots, the political Huguenots were left to generate new civic identities and to reconstruct their relationship to the crown.

II. Synods after Alais: The Synod of Charenton

This breakdown of the barrier between the Huguenots and the monarchy after the Peace of Alais, as well as the rise of the political Huguenots, coincided with the National Synod of Charenton in 1631, which lasted from September 1st to October 10th of that same year. The Synod's deputies elected Jean Mestrezat, the pastor of the Church of Charenton, as moderator. The National Synod provided an official forum for the Huguenots to discuss their new identities after Alais in the presence of the monarchy. The location of this Synod in Charenton was no accident. Given Charenton's function as the "Protestant Paris," Louis XIII's selection of Charenton, functionally the capital of Calvinist France, as the site of the first National Synod after the Peace of Alais demonstrates his lofty expectations. Treasure writes that "Calvin insisted that each church should have an equal footing. Yet it was inevitable that Charenton should have weight and influence."¹⁰⁵ The Synod of Charenton sought to emulate the influence and power which Charenton symbolized in the Huguenot world.

Although the Synod's opening articles concern procedural formality more than substantive content, their precise language already distinguishes the Synod of Charenton, 1631, the first of the National Synods after the Peace of Alais, from its predecessors. The second article of the Synodical acts explains that "His Majesty being very willing to gratify those his Subjects aforesaid, and to give them some Marks of his Royal Favour" accepted the Huguenot petition for a National Synod, as none had been

¹⁰⁵ Treasure, *The Huguenots*, 291.

held since the Synod of Castres in 1626 despite the upheaval in the Huguenot world.¹⁰⁶ Permission was granted on the 29th of January for the Synod to be held on the first day of September.¹⁰⁷ Because the National Synod demanded that upwards of fifty pastors arrange to travel to the host location, such advance timing was a practical necessity. Louis chose Lord Augustus Galland, Councillor of the King, to represent the monarchy at the Synod. Article two of the Synodical acts decrees that Lord Galland “shall assist personally in the said Synod as his Majesty's Commissioner,”¹⁰⁸ a task which is distinct from the role which Lord Galland assumed the last time he was the commissioner to a National Synod, the first National Synod of Charenton in 1623, where he was instead, by royal authority, “to be present in all [the Synod’s] Sessions, as shall be afterwards Declared.”¹⁰⁹ The shift of Galland’s role from mere presence to personal assistance as declared in the opening articles foreshadows the increased monarchical involvement via the commissioner in the Synod of Charenton, 1631, compared to the Synods before the Peace of Alais.

As the first Synod after the Siege of La Rochelle and the Peace of Alais, The Synod of Charenton in 1631 begins a definitive trend towards the Synod’s adoption of a new purpose which featured increased royal involvement. Stripped of their political status, the Huguenots looked to pastors and religious leaders to maintain unity in the years following the Peace of Alais. Though the walls of the Huguenot strongholds may have been torn down, Huguenots were still delegated to their own spaces and sub-societies,

¹⁰⁶ John Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata* (London: Parkhurst and Robertson, 1692), 258.

¹⁰⁷ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 258.

¹⁰⁸ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 258.

¹⁰⁹ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 75.

which demanded both religious and civil organization. Huguenots used the National Synod as a tool to promote unity in the absence of political influence. As established in the previous chapter, the National Synod served as a mechanism to remediate issues among Huguenots. Deprived of many political privileges and burdened by censorship and surveillance, the Huguenots utilized the National Synod as a platform to establish their standing within the French Kingdom, as well as to settle internal issues, although oftentimes this distinction was blurred. Furthermore, the Huguenots were not the sole party using the National Synod for this purpose; Louis himself saw utility in it, suggesting that after La Rochelle, the National Synod was no longer a platform only used internally by the Huguenots. The monarch's role transformed from a role characterized by surveillance to a role which demanded engagement.

The National Synod of Charenton marked the King's transformation from a passive observer to an active participant in the Synod, fundamentally changing its utility. When the Huguenots approached the Synod of Charenton in 1631, they did so with shattered military ambitions. Their priority was synthesis with the crown in the wake of La Rochelle's trauma, and the monarch participated in the Huguenots' efforts to incorporate themselves into the French fold during this National Synod. Both the King and the Huguenots used the National Synod of Charenton to navigate the role of the Huguenots in the French Kingdom after the Peace of Alais and to determine the nature of the Huguenots' French identity without their political and military powers. The creation of a unified and concrete Huguenot identity offered advantages to both the Huguenots and to the King. Given that the Peace of Alais left the Huguenots to enjoy their liberty of conscience, they used this liberty to generate a new identity, and liberty of conscience grew central to the Synod of Charenton's deliberations.

III. Opening Articles

The requirement for royal permission to call for a National Synod required by the Edict of Nantes transformed the event of the National Synod from a religious affair to a political event, and the King's heightened participation following the Treaty of Alais emphasized this utility. Calvinist theologian Theodore van Raalte writes that the seventeenth century Huguenots "did not consider their consciences to be bound by God to hold National Synods in the same way that they felt duty bound to maintain consistories and local churches."¹¹⁰ Thus, mechanisms to settle religious matters, namely the consistory, did not necessitate direct royal (and therefore Catholic) interference. Because the National Synod was less of a religious obligation than these other institutions, the King's participation did not scandalize the reformed faith, suggesting that the Huguenots also approached the Synod as a civil event rather than a sacred one. Even when participants settled matters of doctrinal disagreement, they did so through the lens of civil unity.

The opening articles of the Synod of Charenton illuminate the fundamental structure of the institution of the National Synod. A Synod was not called to address specific grievances and instead dealt with sundry topics, thus it functioned more as a general forum than a meeting on a specific topic. The opening article of the Synod of Charenton, presented in-person in Charenton by King Louis XIII's commissioner, Lord Galland, explains, "We having given leave unto our Subjects professing the pret.

¹¹⁰ Theodore Van Raalte, "The French Reformed Synods of the Seventeenth Century," in *The Theology of the French Reformed Churches: From Henri IV to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, ed. Martin I. Klauber (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2014), 10.

Reformed Religion, to hold a National Synod of *Charenton*, near our City of *Paris*,... to consult about Matters concerning their Religion.”¹¹¹ Indeed, there was not one isolated controversy which inspired the Synod; rather, it was natural that every few years, topics of contention would arise regarding the profession of the “Reformed Religion,” referring to French Calvinism. Subsequently, every few years, the Huguenots petitioned the King for a National Synod. Although the King had the ultimate authority to decide whether a Synod could meet, the calling of a Synod was always a joint venture between the King and the Huguenots; the King could not call for a Synod unless the Huguenots first petitioned for one.

Louis’ own interests to convene the Synod of Charenton suggest that he capitalized upon these meetings of Huguenots to reinforce and regulate state matters. King Louis XIII desires to hold the Synod of Charenton “Whereas in divers Years last past, the Orders given by him, and accepted of by his said Subjects, have been differently interpreted; His Majesty desireth by reviving them, to take away for the future all Grounds of Misconstruction and Misunderstanding.”¹¹² This allusion to the Peace of Alais demonstrates that a primary purpose of the Synod of Charenton was to correct the misinterpretation and appropriation, from the monarch’s perspective, of the Edict of Nantes and the Huguenots’ privileges. These opening articles illuminate how the Edict of Nantes was treated both as a concrete mandate and as an evolving decree, per the changes to Huguenot life after La Rochelle. When the King explicitly stated his own intention to use the Synod to discuss misunderstanding, he reinforced that the Synod would not be an internal Huguenot affair as its previous iterations were.

¹¹¹ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 261.

¹¹² Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 261.

The Synod of Charenton sees King Louis begin to use the National Synod as a means to incentivize and demand loyalty from Huguenots. The opening articles never specifically refer to the Peace of Alais by name, but La Rochelle and its ramifications are implicit in their language. The King's commissioner announced the crown's expectations for Huguenot behavior, that the Huguenots

Continued within the Bounds of Duty abstained from all bitter Reflections against the Government, and Repose of the Publick, and from all Intelligences and Correspondencies, either with Natives or Foreigners, and were sorely addicted to the Service of his Majesty, they should experience the Kindnesses of a good Father, and of a good King in his Majesty, and enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion, and the Liberty of calling and holding their Synods Provincial and National.¹¹³

This served as a reminder that the Huguenots' good behavior, particularly cooperation with political authority, was rewarded by the "kindness of a good Father, and of a good King," including a good King who permits National Synods. Therefore, the King's ability to call or to prevent Synods incentivized loyalty to the crown, and so as long as the Huguenots remained loyal according to his standards, the King vowed that he would permit Synods generously. This loyalty also secured the Huguenots' abilities to reap the full benefits of the free exercise of their religion under the Edict of Nantes.

These opening articles show how King Louis XIII envisioned his role in the National Synods as an active role and how he strategized to reward compliance with future Synods. Furthermore, they summarize the King's vision for the Huguenots during this post-Alais phase of the Edict of Nantes, an important aspect of which was the regulation of the Huguenots' communication, particularly with foreigners, showing the King's attention to keep Huguenot populations small and restricted. Alas, the King's

¹¹³ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 262.

desire merely to hold the Synod to prompt discussion demonstrates how the Synod was no longer a purely internal affair and suggests that Louis still made good faith efforts to incorporate the Huguenots into his Kingdom according to his vision of the Edict of Nantes, although in a more regulated way than his father, Henri, who permitted the Huguenots to remain militarized and therefore function as a state within a state.

The principle of oubliance, enshrined in the Edict of Nantes and examined in the previous chapter, was essential to the convening of Synods and the cooperation which they required between the Catholic King and his Calvinist subjects. Instead of serving as a tool of oppression, oubliance, the prohibition of any discussion pertaining to the horrors of the religious violence which preceded the Edict of Nantes, streamlined the Synods' focus on matters of the present and on future progress without getting entrenched in contentious recent history and the consequences of this history. The opening articles of the Synod make a clear appeal to oubliance, stating, "That the King having buried in the Grave of Oblivion all former Actions, which had fallen out in the last Troubles to the great Affliction of the Kingdom."¹¹⁴ Here, oubliance is applied not only to the 16th century wars of religion, but also to La Rochelle and the Huguenot revolts which preceded the Peace of Alais. Furthermore, the King referred to all former Huguenot troubles as afflictions of the *Kingdom*, demonstrating his intentions to use the Synods to advance the Kingdom as a whole. This corresponds with a broader sentiment underlying the Synod, that the King seeks collaboration with the Huguenots to work through the obstacles of a formation of a novel French Kingdom, one no longer defined by the afflictions of "all former Actions," but rather, with those actions buried in

¹¹⁴ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 262.

the “Grave of Oblivion,” a Kingdom defined by the cooperation between the Huguenots and the King. Oubliance is critical to this cooperative and collaborative Synod, and both entities — the Huguenots and the monarchy — benefitted from it.

The National Synods were forums for Huguenots to deliver official statements regarding their interests, intentions, and beliefs to the King. In this way, one primary role of the Synod was the dissipation of rumors and hearsay regarding Huguenot theology and Huguenot practices. Despite the increase in autonomy and privileges extended to Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes, anti-Calvinist sentiment among Catholics still ran rampant throughout France. This skepticism was further fueled by the isolation of Huguenots into demarcated Huguenot strongholds throughout the country, as mandated in the Edict of Nantes.¹¹⁵ In the Huguenots’ opening statement for the Synod, they expressed, “Oftentimes our Adversaries have most licentiously perverted the most innocent Expressions of our Faith, to render us more odious and criminal.” Through the Synods, the Huguenots were offered the opportunity to defend themselves from these perverse accusations and to present Huguenot beliefs to the Kingdom as a united coalition. This further supports the argument that the Synod was no longer chiefly internal, as the Huguenots it as a platform to defend themselves to and appease an important outsider, the King. The National Synod of Charenton is evidence that Huguenot defense via the Synod could prove highly effective. The remainder of this chapter examines specific grievances discussed during the Synod of Charenton to demonstrate its efficacy, particularly concerning royal relations. I consider the way that

¹¹⁵ "The Edict of Nantes with Its Secret Articles and Brevets," April 13, 1598, <http://www.huguenot-museum-germany.com/huguenots/edicts/01-edict-nantes-1598-english.pdf>.

the Synod's content is underpinned by the contest over French identity, particularly as these Huguenots carve out their new identity founded not upon political status but rather upon freedom of conscience.

IV. The Foreigner Question: Deliberations on Monsieur Beraud

The National Synod of Charenton shows how the National Synod became a valuable tool of communication and negotiation between the Huguenots and the King particularly following the Peace of Alais. No longer a mere surveyor of the Synod, the King's active participation invited the Huguenots to use the forum of the Synod to strategically ask for pertinent policy changes. This is exemplified by the case of Monsieur Beraud, a Calvinist preacher who was initially outcast and disavowed by the King during the Synod of Charenton, but re-instated during the same Synod after the Huguenots deliver an explanation and apology. The situation of Monsieur Beraud offers insight into broader questions of foreign influence, intrinsically tied to identity, which are prominent throughout the Synod. The Synod's tackling of cases like that of Monsieur Beraud make questions of French identity central. These questions were also relevant to the King, whose desire to be involved in the Synod was palpable given his desires to regulate and maintain the Huguenots' understanding of their place in the Kingdom and of their French identity after the Peace of Alais.

This King's concerns regarding the dangers posed by Beraud demonstrate how the crown used the National Synod, formerly an arena reserved for discussion among Huguenots, to maintain authority over this minority and foster peace. Delivering the King's grievances to the Huguenots, Lord Galland, in his speech to the Synod recorded in Article 27, explained:

Monsieur *Beraud*, Minister of *Montauban* ... did not only intermeddle with State, but military Affairs, and was so bold as to maintain by a Book, which he read unto his Auditory, That Ministers have a Call to bear Arms, and to shed Blood; which is a Doctrine quite contrary to the Word of God, the Decrees of Councils, and the Laws of the Kingdom ... 'tis much to be feared that he will continue to poison [his auditory] by such or the like Instructions, which are foreign and contrary to the publick Peace and Tranquillity. And therefore the said Manuscript is judged unworthy of publick View, as being cross to the Word of God: And his Majesty hath ordered its Suppression, forbidding all Printers and Booksellers either to print or sell it, and commandeth all the Members of this present National Synod, to censure and condemn both it and its Author.¹¹⁶

As reinforced in this article, Monsieur Beraud broke with the guidelines imposed by previous National Synods and attempted to “intermeddle with State-Matters” when he used his position as a minister to incite sentiments of violence among his audience. Galland characterized Beraud as a militant Huguenot due to his call to arms and incitement of bloodshed. With La Rochelle in recent memory and the militant Huguenots effectively eliminated by the Peace of Alais, to provoke and encourage such violence was incompatible with the decrees of the councils (ie., the Peace of Alais) and the laws of the Kingdom. Consequently, the King condemned Beraud as a threat to public peace and tranquility. He expressed particular concern regarding Beraud’s book which encouraged Christians to take up arms. Beraud failed to ever materialize a revolt and likely lacked the momentum to do so, but even the mention of violence in a sermon setting was unacceptable. Lord Galland, on behalf of the King, notably decried that Christian violence is a “Doctrine quite contrary to the Word of God.” The King’s primary concern, however, was not that Beraud’s preaching content threatened Huguenot theological doctrine. Rather, the King assailed Beraud because he threatened the Kingdom by countering its laws and councils. This speaks to the main goal of the

¹¹⁶ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 272.

National Synod, to settle incoherencies between the Huguenots and the Kingdom in an effort to best integrate the Huguenots into the Kingdom as true French subjects.

Despite the condemnation of Monsieur Beraud at the opening of the Synod, his ultimate Synodical was more promising. Lord Galland relayed that Monsieur Beraud, upon hearing about his inclusion in the Synod, petitioned the Synod for his restoration conditional upon his future pastoral work aligning with the King's intentions.¹¹⁷

Responding to Beraud's petition, the Lord Commissioner wrote to Beraud to inform him "That his Actions and Writings had formerly given unto his Majesty very many and just Reasons of being dissatisfied with him, and great occasion of Scandal and Complaint against those of the Reformed Religion."¹¹⁸ Importantly, the King does not reject his original claims regarding the scandal perpetrated by Beraud, and even expresses some sympathy that Beraud's trespasses unfairly mar the reputation of the Reformed Religion. After he reaffirmed the King's original grievance, Lord Galland announced:

But his Majesty having a favourable Respect unto the Petition of the Synod, had, of his special Grace, restored him unto his Church, and permitted him to assist the remainder of its Sessions, as a Member of it in this Synod, because he hoped that he would, as he now commanded him to, govern himself in all his Actions and Writings, with a Moderation well-befitting his Profession.¹¹⁹

The re-instatement of Beraud and success of his petition modeled the ideal use of the National Synod for negotiation purposes. While the National Synods may seem like it served to control the Huguenots, the case of Beraud illustrates that far from a facade for collaboration, the Synod indeed offered both the French Calvinists and the Catholic Kingdom an open forum to negotiate and resolve issues, the results of which did not

¹¹⁷ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 271.

¹¹⁸ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 271.

¹¹⁹ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 271.

necessarily favor the Catholics. Although the case of Beraud was an affair which concerned a Huguenot and his ability to preach to other Huguenots, it crossed into the political realm when the King initially used his power to condemn Beraud on behalf of the crown, showing how the King could intervene in a seemingly exclusively Huguenot affair.

While the King was the ultimate authority figure of the Synod — and, for that matter, over all Frenchmen regardless of religion — he not infrequently distributed his power to the benefit of the Huguenots during the Synods. Because the Huguenots were French, albeit a peculiar sort of French, the King allotted them the same level of consideration as was his duty to any of his subjects. For Louis XIII, the Huguenots were less of a burden than they were a curious challenge. How could he include these Calvinists in the French fold? What did it mean to be French but not to be Catholic? He worked out these questions at the Synod and considered the opinions of the Calvinists as they collaborated with the Kingdom to carve out a new French identity. Additionally, because the Synods allowed for organized and productive communication between Huguenots and the crown, Louis understood the advantages which he gained by calling them and therefore approached the Synods with an eye towards progress and opportunity.

Monsieur Beraud's scenario underscores the efficacy of the National Synods and demonstrates that the Synod was favored as a way to achieve tangible results by the Huguenots as well as by Louis XIII. Far from a mundane administrative matter, the National Synod offered concrete courses of action to address Huguenot complaints. The Huguenots participated in the Synod as genuine recipients of French freedom and liberty, a central characteristic of the new French identity crafted during the National

Synods after the Peace of Alais. While the institution of the National Synod was long revered by the Huguenots, the King's activity in the National Synod was new during Charenton. Louis' concession to the Huguenots in the form of his reversal of Beraud's condemnation indicates his desire to maintain civility throughout the Kingdom and to appease the Huguenots. In order to maintain control over the Calvinists of France as his royal subjects, it was integral that Louis emphasized his potential as an auspicious King to whom the Huguenots would enjoy being subjects, thus, he had a vested interest in incorporating the Huguenots into the Kingdom.

V. Foreign Fears

One pronounced way that Louis XIII sought to preserve French identity among Huguenots during the Synod of Charenton was through his reaffirmation of the qualifications prerequisite for attaining a French Calvinist pastoral position in good standing. The King complained that the Calvinist consistories throughout France were increasing the appointment of foreign ministers, primarily from Switzerland and the Netherlands, which violated a royal ordinance mandating that all pastoral offices were held by Frenchmen. The Synod reads:

By those aforesaid Orders, and agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom, it was decreed and enacted, That no Strangers should be admitted into the Pastoral Office in any of the Churches which are reserved for natural French-men and Ancients of the Kingdom, in bar of whom, and to whose Prejudice divers Strangers have been received. Wherefore his said Majesty renewing his Ordinance.¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 261.

This ordinance may read as limiting at first, and in some ways, it certainly was. By outlawing foreign pastors, the ministerial and preaching capacities of the Huguenots were significantly reduced. Although the French Calvinists took comfort in their minority status, as argued in the previous chapter, they nonetheless still needed enough pastors for the French flock, and loose application of this foreigner ordinance meant an influx of pastors from Calvinist strongholds abroad — like Geneva and the Hague — which is recorded in Daillé's own correspondence around the same time as the Synod.¹²¹ Despite the restrictions imposed by this Ordinance, its imposition was not motivated by the King's desire to abridge the Calvinists or to prevent Calvinist expansion; the Edict of Nantes already laid the groundwork for the Calvinists' limitations. Rather, the King's enforcement of this ban on foreign pastors reaffirmed the special French privileges extended to the Huguenots as a part of their French status, which granted them protection under the Edict of Nantes to which other Calvinists were not inherently privileged. The Edict of Nantes was a document for the French, not for the Calvinists. Although the Huguenots genuinely, in the eyes of the King, possessed these special French privileges, they did not have the authority to transfer these French privileges to those who were not French. This limitation was integral for the King's maintenance of royal control over his subjects, Catholic and Huguenot alike, as well as to the King's commitment to centralization. Although early modern political centralization is typically understood in territorial terms, in order to focus on a centralized monarchy and a centralized France, it was vital that the King enforced a limited definition of this France and that he encouraged the continuation of a collective identity which incorporated

¹²¹ See: Daillé to Rivet, April 25, 1631 and Daillé to Madame de la Tabière, January 28, 1630.

citizens regardless of Christian conviction. If the regulation of French privileges and the subsequent limitations on who could participate in French Calvinist activities among the Huguenots was not a concern for the King, he would have little political incentive to instate his prohibition of foreign pastors. Rather than attempting to control a religious identity, although that is a consequence of the King's decree, Louis' ultimate goal and concern was to preserve a cultural identity: a French identity.

VI. Liberty of Conscience

A uniquely French conception of liberty — *liberté de conscience*, or liberty of conscience — was central to this French identity which the King shaped through his participation in the National Synods. During the Synod of Charenton, the Huguenots used French liberty to wager advantages from the Kingdom. Louis XIII, hoping to remain consistent with and to fulfill the promise of French liberty extended through the Edict of Nantes and to all French people, gladly granted freedoms to the Huguenots. In order to examine the role which French liberty played in the Synod of Charenton, I will first offer a brief overview of the meaning of this term and its complex origins.

Liberty of conscience is difficult to define because it has no one definition. As Elsa Jones argues in her research on toleration in sixteenth century of France, liberty of conscience “is simply not defined, and it is used in different ways by the monarchy, the monarchy's critics, Protestants, Catholics, nobles, and non-nobles.”¹²² While early reformers, including Luther and Calvin, wrote on liberty and conscience, French

¹²² Elsa Jones, "Liberty of Conscience and the Boundaries of the Polity" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1984),

theologian Joseph LeCler, in an article analyzing the origins of the term “liberty of conscience,” concludes that it was not widely used until around 1560’s.¹²³ Even in its early use, liberty of conscience carried an array of connotations and interpretations. In some contexts, such as the writings of Calvin, liberty of conscience suggested the integrity of individual rights, but in other contexts, particularly when used by political authority and outside of a spiritual realm, liberty of conscience suggested communal unity, according to Olivier Christin’s survey of the notion of freedom of conscience in early modern France.¹²⁴ This distinction between individual and group liberty of conscience “separated the freedom of an individual’s conscience from the right of a church to assemble for worship,” according to Jones.¹²⁵ Calvin’s understandings of conscience, from his *Institutes*, concerns a spiritual conscience which cannot be compelled by the worldly sphere. In contrast, within the political sphere, the monarchy’s understanding of liberty of conscience describes a liberty “in relation to other people.”¹²⁶

This analysis inspires more questions than answers. Preeminent scholar of Huguenot history Phillip Benedict concedes that on the concept of French liberty of conscience, “no comprehensive effort has yet been made to survey the entire discussion.”¹²⁷ Despite its frustrating ambiguity, liberty of conscience served as a critical concept for the Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes, particularly after the Peace of Alais, given that, as previously discussed in this chapter, when the Huguenots were

¹²³ Joseph LeCler, “Liberté de Conscience. Origine et sens divers de l’expression,” 374.

¹²⁴ Olivier Christin, in *La paix de religion, L’autonomisation de la raison politique au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1997), 38-9.

¹²⁵ Jones, “Liberty of Conscience and the Boundaries of the Polity,” 29.

¹²⁶ Jones, “Liberty of Conscience and the Boundaries of the Polity,” 55.

¹²⁷ Philip Benedict, “Un roi, une loi, deux fois: Parameters for the History of Catholic- Protestant Co-existence in France, 1555-1685),” in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, edited by Ole Peter Grell and Bob Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1996), 72.

excluded from the political realm following the Peace of Alais, they were still left to enjoy their liberty of conscience. The Edict of Nantes' first article, which summarized general motivations for the Edict, appealed to liberty of conscience, specifying that the Huguenots had the right to the "practice of their above-mentioned religion, liberty of conscience, and the safety of their persons and property."¹²⁸ This particular type of liberty of conscience cannot be concretely defined, but given that it was a liberty of conscience confined to a civic, rather than a spiritual, realm, it subscribed more to the collective freedom definition of liberty of conscience.

The Huguenots' references to liberty of conscience during the Synod of Charenton suggests a melding of their political and their religious claims to this freedom. Liberty of conscience was central to the Synod of Charenton when the Huguenots complained that the Kingdom's commissioners and officers— meaning the on-the-ground surveillers in Huguenot strongholds — unjustly punished Protestant preachers and restricted the content of their sermons. Their claim to liberty of conscience constitutes the basis of this complaint. The grievance reads:

Many Ministers ... are troubled, not for uttering any undutiful or disrespectful Words, but for Preaching (though with the greatest Moderation, and according to that Liberty of Conscience which is our Priviledg and Property) conformable to our Confession of Faith, and the Discipline of our Churches; your Majesty is therefore most humbly intreated, that all Prosecutions commenc'd against them may cease, as having none other Foundation, than the groundless Passions of the Commissioners and Officers.¹²⁹

In this grievance, the Huguenots highlight an inconsistency between the French privileges granted to them through the Edict of Nantes and the application of these

¹²⁸ "The Edict of Nantes with Its Secret Articles and Brevets," April 13, 1598, <http://www.huguenot-museum-germany.com/huguenots/edicts/01-edict-nantes-1598-english.pdf>.

¹²⁹ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 258.

privileges. They reminded the King that liberty of conscience was their privilege which protected them from prosecution as long as their preaching remained within the limits prescribed by the Edict (i.e.. that it did not violate oubliance). For these Huguenots, the ability to practice their religion as permitted by the Edict of Nantes was a defining feature of the liberty of conscience which they claimed as loyal subjects of the French King. The liberty of conscience referred to in this grievance is an overlap between Calvinist religious liberty of conscience and French political liberty of conscience. The Huguenots cited the liberty of conscience extended to them by the state through the Edict of Nantes to support their right to preach according to their Calvinist liberty of conscience which compelled them to seek true and pure religious expression.

As demonstrated by this demand from the Synod of Charenton, the Huguenots' claim to French liberty of conscience was an essential aspect of their identity which they vehemently defended. Participation in this liberty as a Huguenot necessitated strong senses both of one's French heritage and one's Calvinism due to the way that these realms overlapped. Claiming both French and Calvinist identities at the same time, thus, was central to the enjoyment of liberty of conscience, in the term's many senses. The significance of liberty of conscience in these contexts cannot be understated: it is this very liberty which is later revoked during the Edict of Fontinableu which renders these two identities incompatible and prompts the exile of Huguenots into the Calvinist diaspora.

French liberty was simultaneously a right possessed by all Frenchmen and a limited right regulated by the King. It was not unbridled liberty, and although theoretically protected from infringement, its ambiguity still left much to interpretation. The moderator of the Synod of Charenton stated that a broad goal of the Huguenots

during the Synod is to settle matters so that the King “would be pleased to leave the Churches in their ancient State of Liberty.”¹³⁰ Accordingly, the Huguenots correlated their religious origins with French liberty, insinuating that it was French liberty itself, granted by the King, which allowed the churches to exist in “their ancient State of Liberty.” The moderator continued, “This Synod doth yield an intire Obedience to the King's Will, and the Order prescribed by his Majesty, whereof the Churches hope to reap the Fruits promised them, in their Establishment and better Subsistence for the future, and approbation of their Innocency,”¹³¹ suggesting that for the Huguenots, being in the King’s good graces was advantageous to the church because it secured the Calvinists the liberty necessary to thrive. Instead of framing the King as an oppressor, he is characterized as an agent who supported the Huguenots and ensured that they “reap the Fruits promised to them,” especially when those fruits are threatened by commissioners and officers.

The Huguenots were beneficiaries of French liberty but they were not the engineers of this liberty. This sentiment was expressed in the King’s opening of the Synod, which reinforces that the Huguenots earn their rights through loyalty and obedience to the King who described himself as a “good father.”¹³² As long as the Huguenots cooperated with the King, they would experience the King’s grace, their ability to freely worship as Calvinists, and their liberty.¹³³ The ramifications of this, furthermore, mean that the King retained the power to revoke any of these privileges, similar to how he revoked the Huguenots’ military privileges after La Rochelle. [*While*

¹³⁰ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 263

¹³¹ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 263

¹³² Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 261.

¹³³ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 262.

Louis XIII used this implicit threat of revocation as a strategy to ensure Huguenot loyalty and civility and did not act upon it, his predecessor, Louis XIV, as discussed in the next chapter, does not share these attitudes. — location change]This sentiment borrows from language about restricting involvement in state affairs from the seventeenth article of the Edict of Nantes:

We forbid all preachers, readers, and others who speak in public from using any words, discourses, and terms tending to excite the people to sedition; rather we have enjoined and do enjoin them to contain themselves and carry themselves modestly and to say nothing which is not to the edification and instruction of their listeners and for the maintenance of the repose and tranquility which we have established in our said Kingdom, under the penalties provided in preceding edicts.

As this article specifies, Huguenots were permitted to live in France, even to be French, as long as their Calvinist convictions did not amount to trouble for the state. The National Synod was the realm which allows this compromise to be realized, and Louis XIII was happy to fulfill his role in this.

VII. Daillé's Correspondence

Jean Daillé's private correspondence contextualizes Huguenot engagement with the King regarding topics of French identity and liberty of conscience during the Synod at Charenton. Letters between Huguenot theologians not intended for an outside audience offer an additional perspective to the Huguenots' carefully crafted Synodical communication. Daillé's surviving correspondence from the 1630's illuminates the way that Huguenots considered the issues brought up at the Synod within their own circles and corroborates the Synodical sources. The following letters are translated from a French manuscript compiled by amateur historian Jean Luc Tulot from the archival records of the letters held at the Public University Library of Geneva, available digitally

only through Tulot's compilation. This section focuses on Daillé's correspondence with André Rivet, a French Huguenot theologian who renounces his French citizenship in favor of residency in the Netherlands and a professorship at the University of Leiden. The very fact that Daillé was in contact with foreign Huguenots is significant and speaks to his efforts to identify with the broader European Calvinist community.

Daillé was not a delegate to the Synod at Charenton, but given that it took place in his hometown, where he served as pastor, and he was close associates with many attendees, he still offers insight into the climate surrounding the Synod, as recorded in his correspondence with André Rivet. The Synod was of particular interest to Rivet because his brother Guillaume Rivet, the pastor at Taillebourg, a Huguenot community in southwestern France, attended the Synod as a deputy. Daillé, on September 5, 1631, wrote to Rivet:

Our National Synod began in Charenton from Monday, the first of the current, comprised of very well chosen people, and who make us hope for a good outcome. Your brother is there for his Province ... We praise God for his conduct in these terms, hoping that it will greatly serve the glory of his name; and humbly thank you for the patience, affection, dexterity and industry you made there, begging you to continue until this good character has his contentment ... Believe me, sir, that it is a soul as sweet, honest, and virtuous as you have.¹³⁴

Daillé's concern that the Synod comprised of well chosen people "who make us hope for a good outcome" is in part a nicety given that Rivet's brother was among these well chosen people, but this comment further indicates that Daillé saw genuine potential in the National Synod as a forum for the Huguenots to win favor with the crown. For Huguenot leaders like Daillé, the National Synod was a decisive event as opposed to a

¹³⁴ Daillé to Rivet, September 5, 1631.

ceremonial occasion. Daillé's comment that "We praise God for his conduct in these terms," referring to Guillaume Rivet's involvement in the Synod, and "hoping that it will greatly serve the glory of his name," suggests that Daillé, and likely many of his contemporaries, understood National Synods as opportunities for the French Calvinists to serve God's glory and to honor their duties to the Lord, as opposed to disdaining it as a realm which diminished Calvinist doctrine by conceding to Catholicism.

The primary subject of conversation between Daillé and Rivet was the Arminian conflict, which reveals concerns among the Huguenot intellectual community beyond what the National Synod covered. Arminianism was a Calvinist offshoot which challenged Calvin's doctrine of election and therefore predestination, often recognized as the defining theological hallmark of Calvinism. Because of disagreements regarding predestination — the Arminians believed that God desired to save everyone but individuals could exercise free will reject God's grace — Arminians did not adhere to the five points of Calvinism, the faith's fundamental doctrine.¹³⁵ There were some Arminians in France, former Calvinists who adopted these nuanced views but still considered themselves Calvinists. These Arminians attended church with other Calvinists and participated in society as ordinary Huguenots. In his correspondence, Daillé worked through questions regarding the Arminians' compatibility with mainstream Calvinism. Rivet was an ideal correspondent for this subject because as he

¹³⁵ F.P van Stam, *The Controversy over the Theology of Saumur, 1635-1650: Disrupting Debates among the Huguenots in Complicated Circumstances* (Amsterdam [etc.]: APA-Holland University Press, 1988), 43-46.

was a professor at the University of Leiden, where the late Jacobus Arminius, the founder of Arminianism, was formerly a professor.¹³⁶

The Huguenots participated in the Synod of Charenton as a united coalition, but Daillé's correspondence suggests that many fractures existed among this group. At the Synod, the Huguenots coordinated their beliefs to have the strongest effect on the King. Synod records do not express disagreement or fragmentation among the Calvinists, further supporting a challenge to the prevailing scholarly characterization of the Synod as an internal affair. Even when the Synod denounced and confronted the actions of Huguenots, such as Beraud, these figures were treated as individual exceptions who diverged from consensus. When the Huguenots disagreed with the King during the Synod, they only offer a singular, unified opposing view. Daillé's correspondence, however, suggests a much less uniformed French Calvinist landscape due to the Arminian conflict.

In his letter to Rivet from Paris dated March 12, 1628, Daillé grieves Huguenot infighting. He remarked, "It makes me all the more deplorable that in the midst of so much from the ailments which you had on the outside, the disease of division begins again from within."¹³⁷ This "disease of division" is starkly absent in the Synod records. While the Synod only offers a window into the French aspect of the Calvinists, the French Calvinists themselves had a duty not only to their Kingdom, but also to the broader international Calvinist community, which put them into conversation with foreign Calvinists and uncovered many disputes that the Calvinists hoped to keep private within Calvinist circles, disputes which were irrelevant to a Synod centered

¹³⁶ van Stam, *The Controversy over the Theology of Saumur*, 67.

¹³⁷ Daillé to Rivet, March 12, 1628.

around engagement with the Catholic monarch. Additionally, given the King's attention to the consolidation of French identity, emphasized by his refusal to allow Huguenots to admit foreign pastors during the Synod of Charenton, to bring up these foreign issues during the Synod would not bode well for the Calvinists. Despite the absence of these topics in the Synodical arena, Daillé's letters show that he remained acutely aware of the status of Huguenots throughout Europe, which in turn influenced his theology, his writing, and of course, his preaching. Daillé explained to Rivet that, "I have communicated to my very honored colleagues what you wrote to me about the dispute which is formed on the way in which we would have to receive in our Churches the Arminians from among the people,"¹³⁸ revealing that Daillé's conversations with Rivet were not intended exclusively for these two parties and that Daillé served as a main point of communication for his French Huguenot colleagues.

In his March 1628 letter to Rivet, Daillé attempted to balance the necessity of togetherness with the integrity of Calvinist doctrine. Daillé updated Rivet on his consultations with his French colleagues, specifically regarding their opinions on the Arminian question. He wrote:

[Our opinion] is that they can be received without a exact and scrupulous abjuration of the five articles contested between them and us and tolerate them with their particular feelings while waiting for God to fully reveal the truth to then, about everything not here question only of private persons and without any charge in the Church. ... The worst Arminian opinions do not shock the fundamentals of faith that in their consequences ignored by the people and certainly by most of those who have had the same feelings as they did in the main. As long as this tolerance is lawful, it is at this time and in these places the necessary for the great utilities that will come back to you and the great evils of which you will guarantee yourself by this way others almost inevitable...[I ask that] we may one day see this pernicious schism affection all parties of our bodies happily united together.¹³⁹

¹³⁸ Daillé to Rivet, March 12, 1628.

¹³⁹ Daillé to Rivet, March 12, 1628.

Here, Daillé worked through admitting the Arminian sect to mainstream Calvinism without discounting the imperative five articles which underpin Calvinist doctrine. His conflict, that he could not tolerate false beliefs but he also did not want to further spur division, is palpable. If Daillé's motivations and considerations were purely theological, it would be easy to bar the Arminians from the Calvinist brethren and to deny any concessions. However, the trouble which this conflict weights on Daillé and his deep considerations of it suggest that Daillé had additional motivations, namely the unity of Huguenots as a force in France. While Daillé's goal was not to evangelize the masses towards Calvinism, it was still integral to his cause that all Calvinists were united, which would help strengthen their positions during the National Synod and quelled trouble with the Kingdom. The security of the Calvinists in France was a key concern here.

The case of Monsieur de Saumaise, recounted in Daillé's correspondence beginning on October 31, 1629, demonstrates the extent to which Daillé sought to preserve tranquility among the Calvinists in the Kingdom by avoiding controversies likely to anger the King, hurt the Huguenots' status and progress, and marring the Calvinist's reputation. Daillé was intimately involved in a project to appoint Saumaise, a French Huguenot, as a professor of Divinity at the Calvinist University in Leiden, in the Netherlands. Daillé recounted that Monsieur Saumaise was at Dijon, where he had family, but his stay extended far past his welcome pending his arrival in Leiden. He expressed frustration that Saumaise had not yet ventured to Leiden to begin his professorship, and that he instead spent his tenure in Dijon dabbling in state and political affairs, even having obtained an adviser in Dijon's parliament. Daillé explains:

Because we fear that this stay which he makes in Dijon one does not face any great effort to stop him there at all by giving him an office of adviser in this Parliament there, where he has all his kinship; which will not be able to truth of making him quit the profession of Religion, given the constancy and courage that we have always noticed in him, but so well maybe to make us his pen useless, which would be ours. This is a very great loss to the Church of God.¹⁴⁰

Daillé's anxiety that Saumaise's preoccupation with political matters would render his "pen useless" and adversely affect the Calvinist church threatened both Calvinist theological integrity and the Calvinist's political standing in the Kingdom. The fact that Daillé was so thoroughly involved with the plan to appoint Saumaise as a professor in Leiden, outside of France, indicates that Daillé was still concerned with Calvinism broadly, and that he simultaneously claimed a French identity and a distinct Calvinist identity.

One of the most influential decisions from the Synod of Charenton concerned the Lutheran question, a topic which Daillé is similarly concerned about in his private correspondence. Chapter XXII of the minutes from the National Synod of Charenton records the "Act in favour of the Lutheran Brethren,"¹⁴¹ which debates whether the French Calvinists could admit Lutherans into their churches. This issue arose because there was a minority Protestant confession in France which adhered to the Lutheran confession of faith enshrined in the Augsburg Confession, referred to during the Synod as the Augustane Confession, instead of Calvinist doctrine. These Lutherans sought representation among the French Calvinists, including participation at the National Synods. The idea that there could be multiple reformed groups alarmed the King; he did

¹⁴⁰ Daillé to Rivet, October 31, 1629.

¹⁴¹ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 297.

not want to multiply the minority. The exact topic for discussion is “Whether the Faithful of the *Augustane* Confession might be permitted to contract Marriages in our Churches, and to present Children in our Churches unto Baptism, without a precedaneous abjuration of those Opinions held by them, contrary to the Belief of our Churches?”¹⁴² “Augustane confession” denotes Augsburg, the birthplace of Lutheranism. By categorizing the Lutherans as the Augustane confession, the Synod implicitly emphasized their foreign status. The Synod concluded that because there were enough similarities between these reformed sects, the Lutherans could be admitted into Calvinist churches as long as they vowed not to challenge the French consistories on conflicting beliefs. The official decision reads:

This Synod declareth, That inasmuch as the Churches of the Confession of *Ausbourg* do agree with the other Reformed Churches, in the principal and fundamental Points of the True Religion, and that there is neither Superstition nor Idolatry in their Worship, the Faithful of the said Confession, who with a Spirit of Love and Peaceableness do join themselves to the Communion of our Churches in this Kingdom, may be, without any abjuration at all made by them, admitted unto the Lord's Table with us; and as Sureties may present Children unto Baptism, they promising the Consistory, that they will never solicit them, either directly or indirectly, to transgress the Doctrine believed and professed in our Churches, but will be content to instruct and educate them in those Points and Articles which are in common between us and them, and wherein both the Lutherans and we are unanimously agreed.¹⁴³

This melding of a Lutheran identity into the Calvinist brethren signifies the malleability of French Calvinism due to its status as a minority religious group in a Catholic Kingdom. Whereas John Calvin and more orthodox Calvinists would have been scandalized by the prospect of Lutherans and Calvinists participating in the same

¹⁴² Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 297.

¹⁴³ Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 297.

brethren despite their theological disagreements, the Calvinist leaders of France's seventeenth century prioritized unity and the ability to mobilize over intra-protestant conflict.

Daillé's correspondence offers another perspective into the Lutheran question. Daillé drew from his involvement in the Arminian conflict as a model for approaching the Lutheran question, expressing, in both scenarios, a willingness to incorporate reformed belief that was not strictly Calvinist into the French Calvinist fold. Daillé directly referenced Calvinist cooperation with Lutherans as decided upon at the Synod at Charenton in his correspondence with Rivet on November 24, 1633, writing:

It is true that I bury there our differences with the Lutherans below the opinion of many, on all of those whom passion has excited, but not as I see, below the truth. God knows that I write down what I have always wanted; & I think him very humbly for what he inclined to our last National Synod ... unanimously confronting the design of those who work for mutual tolerance.¹⁴⁴

Daillé even insinuated that the negotiations at the National Synod of Charenton, which resulted in mutual tolerance between Lutherans and Calvinists, but also more broadly, between Protestants and Catholics, represented God working through the Synod. He used the success of this tolerance and its divine origins to justify his stance on the Arminian question, that the Calvinists should include those from the Arminian wing into the Calvinist brethren without condoning their heretical views on the five articles. In the same letter, Daillé continues:

I can see the consequence that the Arminians draw from it and do not ignore that we could to observe various considerable things on the comparison of their party with that of the Lutherans.... The five points debated in our Churches are not of such importance that they must banish them from our communion, in case

¹⁴⁴ Daillé to Rivet, November 24, 1633.

they see live with modesty and suitable charity, and cannot think that the Synods of Alais and Charenton, by rejecting their doctrine, take away this freedom.¹⁴⁵

Daillé's private correspondence acknowledged the weight that the decisions of the National Synods placed on his proceedings regarding the Arminian conflict. It is remarkable that, as a Calvinist preacher, he would even speculate about the importance of the five points, allowing the Synods to take precedence. Daillé also made an appeal to freedom, remarking that Arminians were still entitled to their freedom despite their rejection of the Calvinist view of predestination. This demonstrates the importance which Daillé assigns to French freedom.

VIII. Conclusion

Under Louis XIII, prompted by a need for discussion and practical political organization after the Peace of Alais, the Huguenots surrendered their National Synod to a new purpose, a purpose of political utility and civil negotiation. This marked the King's increased involvement in Huguenot affairs and active participation in the Synod. This new synodical structure inspired the Huguenots to use their rights still enshrined in the Edict of Nantes, namely liberty of conscience, to defend their interests and to refine their identity not just as Calvinists, but as French Calvinists. In these pursuits, both Louis XIII and the Huguenots find utility in the National Synod. Central to the Huguenots' presence at the Synod was an emphasis on unity and agreement, which is both challenged, for example, when he discussed the Arminian conflict, and confirmed, for example, through his approach to the Lutheran question, by Daillé's personal correspondence, never before featured in a scholarly volume.

¹⁴⁵ Daillé to Rivet, November 24, 1633.

CHAPTER THREE

The Synod of Loudun, 1661: Foreshadowing the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes

Scholarship on the French Reformed churches under the Edict of Nantes largely focuses on the incompatibilities between the Huguenots and the French Kingdom, with this realized absurdity of coexistence between Catholics and Calvinists resulting in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes through the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685.¹⁴⁶ The dominant narrative explains that the Calvinists were ultimately expelled from France when Louis XIV determined that there was no place for them within the absolutist Catholic monarchy. Despite their best efforts at integration, the King still perceived the Huguenots as a burden that weakened the monarchy's unity. This chapter explores Huguenot efforts to create French and Calvinist identities on the eve of the Edict's revocation and considers the ways that these identities, although ultimately a failed experiment, grew so definitively French that they challenged the King to an informal ultimatum, to which he responded with revocation and expulsion.

Scholars remain inconclusive as to why Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes. His decision aligns with trends towards hostility against Huguenots between 1660 and 1685, but the decisiveness of the revocation still seems impulsive. To appreciate the climate in which Louis XIV issued the revocation, I will first establish the ways in which the status

¹⁴⁶ See David Garrioch, *The Huguenots of Paris and the Coming of Religious Freedom: 1685 - 1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017) and Carter Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012)

of the Calvinists differed towards the Edict's final years under Louis XIV compared to their status under Louis XIII. Calvinism in France was not a monolith under the Edict of Nantes, and the Huguenots' vision of their place within the French Kingdom, a vision which evolved alongside the Edict, can be traced through the National Synod. This chapter examines the National Synod of Loudun, 1660, the penultimate National Synod before the revocation of the Edict, to understand the ways in which the Calvinists carved out places for themselves as French subjects under the Edict of Nantes and how their embrace of their French identity ultimately challenged the Louis XIV to the point of revocation. We are reunited with a familiar character later in his career, the preeminent pastor and theologian from Charenton Jean Daillé, who served as the moderator of the Synod of Loudun. Daillé's concern for theology and political affairs as expressed during this Synod foreshadows the erosion of Huguenot liberties and shows how the fully matured French-Calvinist identity changed Calvinist belief and practice in France in a distinct manner compared to the trajectories of contemporary foreign Calvinists.

His aggressive agenda of Louis XIV's absolutism defines Louis XIV's reign, and he cites the divine right of Kings as justification for his intense absolute reign, believing that he derived his mandate and authority from God. Accordingly, Louis believed that he was God's earthly representative and answered only to God, therefore he claimed a privileged royal relationship with and closeness to God.¹⁴⁷ The Huguenots synthesized absolutist trends with Calvinist theology to find a religious basis for Louis' divine right and therefore for their participation in it as true Frenchmen. The National Synod of

¹⁴⁷ William Farr Church, *The Impact of Absolutism in France: National Experience under Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV* (New York: Wiley, 1969), 54.

Loudun, 1661, offers a window into the Huguenots' efforts to serve Louis as loyal subjects while staying within the confines of their faith. During The Synod of Loudun in 1660, the Huguenots attempted to claim, build, and protect their place within an absolute Catholic monarchy. Represented at the Synod by Daillé, the Huguenots of France endeavored to cultivate a religious and a political identity which fit them into an absolutist scheme. Still technically a forum reserved for religious discussion, Daillé used his platform during the Synod of Loudun to explain to the monarchy the Calvinist theological convictions which temporarily secured their place within the French system. This melding of Calvinism with French absolutism reveals a unique theology and culture, and therefore identity, shared among the French Huguenots.

I. **Louis XIV and the Emergence of Absolutism**

When Louis XIII died of illness in May of 1642, the line of succession fell upon his four-year-old son, Louis XIV. As Louis XIV was too young to execute monarchical duties, his mother and the late wife of Louis XIII, Queen Anne, stood in for her young son as Regent. In this capacity, Anne relied heavily upon her chief minister, Cardinal Mazarin, with whom she actively collaborated to rule the Kingdom.¹⁴⁸ Although chief minister of France was an informal title, chief ministers were a valued monarchical instrument in the tradition of the Ancien Régime. While not mandated, it was expected that Kings would rule in conjunction with a chief minister. Typically skilled in diplomacy, chief ministers brought an advantageous political background to the ruling hand of the monarch which who often lacked this experience.¹⁴⁹ Together, Queen Anne and Cardinal Mazarin secured several pivotal advantages for France during Anne's

¹⁴⁸ Philip Mansel, *King of the World: The Life of Louis XIV* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 314-317.

¹⁴⁹ Mansel, *King of the World: The Life of Louis XIV*, 364.

tenure as Regent. Their legacy is marked by the successful negotiation of the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War which had ravaged Europe. Not without turmoil, Anne and Mazarin were embroiled in the aristocratic revolt known as the Fronde Rebellion, a series of French civil wars between 1648 and 1653 which would ultimately embolden Louis XIV to pursue strict policies of absolutism.¹⁵⁰

Louis XIV was coronated at the age of fifteen on June 7, 1654, to rule over a French Kingdom freshly reinvigorated by the suppression of the Fronde one year earlier. During her regency, Anne preferred the throne to other political arms of the Kingdom and unabashedly ruled without the parlements.¹⁵¹ Anne's habitual issue of decrees without the Parlement of Paris undermined their traditional rights to limit the King's power, which particularly angered nobles and the legal aristocracy. In response to Anne and Mazarin's brazen agenda of monarchical consolidation, the Parlement of Paris acted without the Regent's approval, beginning the Fronde rebellion. Tensions broke into violence in 1648 and rebellions persisted throughout the Kingdom until 1653.¹⁵² At one point, threatened by military siege of Paris, Anne, Mazarin, and Louis XIV briefly even fled the capital. Mazarin ultimately secured victory for the monarchy in February of 1653 after forcing many nobles into exile. This provoked fragmentation among the Fronde, and the remaining nobility feared that their ideas were being appropriated for the worse after the small-scale Ormée revolution in Bordeaux.¹⁵³ During this incident, ordinary men capitalized upon the chaos and rhetoric of the times to form their own

¹⁵⁰ Garrioch, *The Huguenots of Paris and the Coming of Religious Freedom*, 25.

¹⁵¹ Ragnhild M. Hatton, *Louis XIV and Absolutism* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State U.P., 1976), 143-149.

¹⁵² Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "the Fronde." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, February 5, 2014. <https://www.britannica.com/event/The-Fronde>.

¹⁵³ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "the Fronde." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, February 5, 2014. <https://www.britannica.com/event/The-Fronde>.

government which disregarded the authority of not only the monarchy, but also of parlement. The Ormée revolution outraged the nobility leading the Fronde, and they finally agreed to end the rebellions and to restore authority back to the throne.¹⁵⁴ The end of the Fronde secured another triumph for Mazarin due to the success of his long-term strategy to reveal the parlements' and nobility's selfish interests and inept leadership in order to delegitimize these institutions. After the Fronde, the nobility was no longer taken seriously as a counterbalance to the King.¹⁵⁵

Despite the unrest and devastation of the Fronde, the monarchy's victory ideally positioned Louis XIV to assume power as a truly absolute monarch, fulfilling Anne's vision for her son. Louis reigned for seventy-two years, the longest of any sovereign monarch in history.¹⁵⁶ He was traumatized by his experience with the Fronde and, haunted by the memory of fleeing Paris with his mother, Louis was paranoid about threats to royal authority and order.¹⁵⁷ When Mazarin died in 1661, Louis shocked France when he did not appoint a replacement chief minister, beginning his personal rule, a manifestation of extreme political consolidation.¹⁵⁸ Influenced by his coming of age during the Fronde, Louis' reign is defined by his struggle towards perfect absolutism and, therefore, towards unification and consolidation in his Kingdom. This is perhaps best encapsulated by his selection of the Palace of Versailles as the new location for the royal court, an enduring symbol of absolute power centralized in the monarch.¹⁵⁹ Louis'

¹⁵⁴ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "the Fronde." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, February 5, 2014. <https://www.britannica.com/event/The-Fronde>.

¹⁵⁵ Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. "the Fronde." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, February 5, 2014. <https://www.britannica.com/event/The-Fronde>.

¹⁵⁶ William Farr Church, *The Impact of Absolutism in France: National Experience under Richelieu, Mazarin, and Louis XIV* (New York: Wiley, 1969), 7.

¹⁵⁷ Church, *The Impact of Absolutism in France*, 15-17

¹⁵⁸ Church, *The Impact of Absolutism in France*, 41.

¹⁵⁹ "Louis XIV," Palace of Versailles, <https://en.chateauversailles.fr/discover/history/great-characters/louis-xiv>.

chosen emblem was the sun, which earned him a fitting name as *le Roi Soleil*, the Sun King. His moniker alluded to Apollo, the classical god of the sun and of peace, a goal aligned with Louis' commitment to unity. Louis also used his emblem to reinforce his divine right, as the sun was widely understood as the heavenly body which gave birth to all things. Less glamorous, the sun symbolized regularity, suggesting Louis' unflinching commitment to France. And, of course, the sun's omnipresence embodied Louis' vision of his role to mimic God's omnipresence as his worldly representative.¹⁶⁰

Louis' unforgiving absolutism meant that he did not share his predecessor's sympathy for the Huguenot cause, a sentiment which culminated in the Edict of Fontainebleau, the reversal of the Edict of Nantes which exiled the Huguenots out of France in 1685. Notorious for his statement "I am the state,"¹⁶¹ Louis used his supreme and unrestricted authority to subvert the Huguenots despite their attempts to participate in Louis' absolutist France. Though ultimately written out of the French absolutist state by the Edict of Fontainebleau, the Huguenots still participated in Louis XIV's absolutism and claim to the divine right of Kings prior to the revocation of their French citizenship, from the beginning of Louis XIV's reign in 1654 until 1685. Huguenot cooperation, let alone participation, in Louis' divine right to rule may appear hypocritical. How could Protestants buy into a Catholic King's claim that he was privileged by God to reign over them? An easy solution is that the Huguenots outwardly conformed to Louis' absolutism as a survival strategy and to maintain civil order. Scholarship from the perspective of religious history largely focuses on the Huguenots'

¹⁶⁰ "Louis XIV," Palace of Versailles, <https://en.chateauversailles.fr/discover/history/great-characters/louis-xiv>.

¹⁶¹ Hatton, *Louis XIV and Absolutism*, 3.

downfall under Louis XIV and the ways that he subverted the French Calvinists and undermined the Edict of Nantes. Scholarship which approaches the Huguenot expulsion from a focus on Louis XIV generally discusses the event as an inevitable and natural result of their incompatibility with his absolutist aims of French unity, although it does not account for the more than thirty year gap between Louis' coronation and the revocation. This chapter brings together these two academic perspectives to demonstrate that the Huguenots' status under Louis XIV up until the revocation was far more complex than either sphere of scholarship claims.

II. **The Edict of Nantes Under Louis XIV**

The Synod of Loudun illuminates the extent to which the Calvinist church was dependent upon the state in the later years of the Edict of Nantes, a trend which began with increased royal activity in Huguenot affairs after the Peace of Alais and continued to escalate. In order to understand this relationship between church and state, one must first reject any modern conceptions of separation of church and state, a concept with origins in the Enlightenment period and therefore are not applicable to the Huguenots in 1660. Under the Edict of Nantes, the Calvinist minority was not merely tolerant towards the Catholic state out of necessity. Rather, they embraced the Catholic state and subscribed to the notion that church could not exist without state. The contemporary idea of secularism was not widespread in Europe at this time and Calvinists did not think of themselves as a religious group operating in a so-called secular state, although the King still never endorsed Calvinist doctrine. Louis XIV reaffirmed this distinction at the Synod of Loudun through the Lord Commissioner, his representative, who asserted, "You may be maintained in all Liberty, and enabled to deliberate and decree in those Points of Doctrin and Disciplin relating to your religion; although his Majesty to not in

the least wise approve of it.”¹⁶² Liberty, that is, French liberty as granted to French Calvinists under the Edict of Nantes, superseded confessional divides, suggesting the championing of a French identity over a French-Catholic or French-Calvinist identity. Nevertheless, to think about the state was to think about the church, as there was no church without state under an absolutist rule. The Lord Commissioner reminds the Synod, “His Majesty, who, as supreme Lord, hath a Right and Jurisdiction over all Persons and Actions, and to ordain even in and about matters concerning the Church, which was always consider’d as a Part of the state.”¹⁶³ Alas, the for Calvinists under the Edict of Nantes’ circumstances, the possibility of operating a church outside of the state was inconceivable. Hence, the Huguenots innovated to maintain a church considered a part of a somewhat hostile state.

While life for Huguenots in France protected by the Edict of Nantes was generally more challenging than life was for their Catholic counterparts, and isolated acts of violence against Huguenots persisted,¹⁶⁴ the threat of Catholic hostility towards Huguenots was regulated by the stipulations of the Edict, particularly the promises of French liberty, “liberty of conscience,”¹⁶⁵ owed to the French Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes. Although Huguenot military advantage was diminished by the Peace of Alais in 1629, the Huguenots’ fundamental French rights remained protected by the Edict of

¹⁶² Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 506.

¹⁶³ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 506.

¹⁶⁴ Carbonnier-Burkard, Marianne. "Chapter Six: The Edict of Nantes 'à la Rigueur' (1661–1685)." In *The Theology of the French Reformed Churches: From Henri IV to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, edited by Martin I. Klauber, 362–80. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Reformation Heritage Books., 2014.

¹⁶⁵ Parsons, Jotham, trans. "The Edict of Nantes with its Secret Articles and Brevets." Huguenot Museum Germany. Last modified apr 13, 1598. <http://www.huguenot-museum-germany.com/huguenots/edicts/01-edict-nantes-1598-english.pdf>.

Nantes, reaffirmed by Anne at the beginning of her regency in 1643.¹⁶⁶ Without an independent military presence, the Huguenots were full, loyal subjects of the King, a development thirty years in the making by the time of the Synod of Loudun. During the Synod, Daillé confirmed this Huguenot conviction: “We have no ground nor cause to complain of Oppression and Persecution.”¹⁶⁷ The Huguenots avoided systematic oppression during the full enforcement of the Edict of Nantes because the promises of French liberty endowed to the Huguenots in the Edict kept the hostility of the still-Catholic state in check. Because the Huguenots enjoyed the same liberty of conscience as French Catholics and were considered as a part of the French brethren by the King, they effectively cited these liberties to diminish the threat of hostilities, a frequent tactic employed during the Synod of Loudun.

III. **Royal Loyalty and Theological Justifications**

The Huguenots’ reverence for the King was palpable throughout the Synod, a reverence which extended past cordial respect into divine territory. A proponent of the divine right of Kings, Louis XIV derived his mandate from God, a concept to which his Huguenot subjects subscribed. How could Huguenots assign a Catholic King divinity? The proceedings of the Synod suggest another reality than facetious loyalty, that the Huguenots genuinely respected the King’s divinity and even tied this respect into their confession. The King, speaking through the Lord Commissioner, was not shy about his expectations:

There is nothing more expedient, or advantageous to you, than an entire Submission unto his Majesty’s Commands, and next and immediately after God, that you should depend upon the King’s Sovereignty; for on one hand, you have

¹⁶⁶ Kleinman, Ruth. "Changing Interpretations of the Edict of Nantes: The Administrative Aspect, 1643-1661." *French Historical Studies*. Duke University Press 10, no. 4 (Fall 1978): 541-71.

¹⁶⁷ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 516.

his Majesty's Power and Good Will; and on the other, you have your Duty and Profit inseparably joined together.¹⁶⁸

The King urged his Huguenot subjects to respect him second to God, and suggested that a melding of the Huguenots' "Duty and Profit" to God with its inseparable sibling, "his Majesty's power and good will," would work to the Huguenot's optimal benefit. In exchange for honoring the King's sovereignty and absolutism, "he will carry a Fatherly Affection towards his Subjects of the Reformed Religion, and continue unto them the effects of his wonted kindnesses, and that he will maintain, and use inviolably to be maintained, his Edicts of Pacification, believeth, that you will preserve that respect and Duty, whereunto you are obliged."¹⁶⁹ This placed the Huguenots in a precarious situation, as in order to reap the benefits of the Edict, they were required to respect the King's role as a divinely blessed father. This Huguenot acceptance of the King as a common father secured the Huguenot's place under absolutist rule for nearly three decades. Just as a good, divine father would not betray his offspring, Calvinist and Catholic subjects alike, the offspring must respect their father obediently, a task to which the Huguenots are particularly obliged given the King's closeness to God. The Lord Commissioner ended his opening speech with an appeal to this obligation, writing, "The publick Tranquility, of whose Preservation his Majesty is so careful, he declareth, that being the common Father of his People, he neither can nor ought to suffer his Edits to be violated."¹⁷⁰ The Huguenots were to find theological justification for their seemingly peculiar acceptance of the King as their father, a justification necessary in

¹⁶⁸ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 506.

¹⁶⁹ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 506.

¹⁷⁰ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 508.

order to fully reap the benefits bestowed upon them by the Edict of Nantes. Daillé worked out this tricky theology in his role as moderator for the Synod of Loudun.

Daillé's theology refined and expressed during the Synod of Loudun builds from his earlier convictions about the spiritual advantages of the marginalized Huguenots. Chapter one considers the theological justifications for the Calvinists' embrace of their minority status under the Edict of Nantes and the ways in which this status resonated with Old Testament tropes about the elect as a marginalized group. Similar theological justifications were implicit in the Synod of Loudun, 1660. Daillé was explicit in his use of the Synod as a platform to reinforce Huguenot obedience to the King. In his opening letter to the Synod of Loudun, to assert Huguenot loyalty to the King, Daillé confirmed the Calvinist "belief of the Sovereign Authority of Kings over all Persons whatsoever, without Exception, in their Dominions, and of that all Honor, Service, and Obedience."¹⁷¹ In true Protestant fashion, Daillé demonstrated his genuine loyalty, far from rhetorical facade, by explaining how submission to the King was derived from the only source of truth per Protestant tenet of *sola scriptura*: scripture alone. Daillé wrote, "This Doctrine the Holy Apostle learnt us, to be subjects unto Kings, this Doctrin we received from the Primitive Christians, that the King is next and under God, and that there is no middle power intervening between God's and his."¹⁷² "This Doctrin" referred to Paul's lessons from Romans 13, unsurprising given Paul's significant role in the reformed tradition and its theologies. In Romans 13:1, Paul instructs, "Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which

¹⁷¹ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 511.

¹⁷² Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 506.

God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God.”¹⁷³

Therefore, to interpret scripture literally and to live out scriptural truth was to follow Daillé in respecting the governing authorities, in this case King Louis XIV, on account of the fact that God established his power. According to this scheme, to be a loyal French subject immersed the believer in Paul’s obedience and therefore bolstered one’s Calvinist faith, thus carving out a unique incorporation of political and religious identities which existed symbiotically.

The synthesis of one’s Calvinist faith and one’s French status was developed out of an inseparable relationship between the two for Huguenots under the Edict of Nantes. Daillé correlated the Calvinist ability to fulfill basic reformed theological beliefs with the liberty bestowed upon the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes. He writes:

And as his Majesty hath hitherto been pleased to favour us with our Liberty of serving God according to that Light we have received, and in the Purity of the Gospel; and whereas my Lord Commissioner hath now declared to us his Majesty’s good Pleasure to uphold us favourably in this Liberty under the Protection of his Edicts.¹⁷⁴

In this response to the Lord Commissioner during the Synod of Loudun, Daillé derived the Huguenots’ ability to execute the basic tenets of their faith from the liberty endowed to them by the King and by the Edict of Nantes. The language of the “liberty of serving God” was not a typical Calvinist trope, so it is noteworthy that Daillé interjected political language into the religious sphere. He inseparably intertwined French liberty with Calvinism by making the Huguenots’ French liberty predicate to their ability to act upon their received light and to practice a faith grounded in the purity of the Gospel. Accordingly, not only do the Huguenots derive their faith from the King, but

¹⁷³ *New Revised Standard Version*, Romans 13.

¹⁷⁴ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 519.

furthermore, they were incentivized to demonstrate their loyalty to the King to protect their faith. Just as the Edict of Nantes originally served to incorporate Calvinists into the French fold, French Calvinism, refined after six decades, relied on the Edict and the Calvinist place in the French fold to establish its faith.

The Huguenots strengthened their French identity and their loyalty to the King by practicing a pure and reformed Christianity. Daillé insisted upon the importance of the French aspect of Huguenot identity, writing, “As we be natural born French-men, so have we the Interests and Glory of France lying at our Hearts; and as we are Christians, so we know our selves inviolably obliged to the Observation of that Apostolical precept, *To Fear God and Honour the King.*”¹⁷⁵ Here, Daillé dissects the Huguenot identity, on the one hand demonstrating that the Huguenots’ status as natural-born Frenchmen instilled in them the same sense of duty to France as inherited by any French Catholic, and on the other hand explaining that the Huguenots’ commitment to their Calvinist confession instructed them to glorify the King. By emphasizing the Calvinist commitment to higher authority, Daillé endeavored to exemplify the ways in which Calvinism was not only compatible with French citizenship, but was also conducive to it. He goes so far as to argue that to be a Huguenot was not only to be a Frenchman, but that to be a Huguenot was to be a model Frenchman, measured by obedience to and respect for the absolute monarch. Daillé summarized, “By the Grace of God we do make profession of Christianity, and of a purer Reformed Religion, so also do we hope that

¹⁷⁵ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 517.

God will enable us by his Grace to excel all other his Majesties Subjects in a most perfect Loyalty and Obedience.”¹⁷⁶

IV. Foreign Relations

The uniqueness of the French Calvinist identity and its peculiar loyalty to the monarch is reaffirmed by the Synod of Loudun’s proceedings concerning the French Calvinists’ communications and relations with foreign Calvinists. While protected by the Edict of Nantes, Catholic skepticism about the Huguenots persisted, with most concerns relating to the Huguenots’ potential to threaten public order and to attempt to set up an autonomous government within the Kingdom, a concern specifically spurred by the status of foreign Calvinists.¹⁷⁷ As the French Calvinists formed their identity around Louis XIV’s absolutism, Dutch Calvinists similarly formed their faith confession around the republican structure of the Dutch United Provinces, putting these two geographic confessions at odds, as republicanism is considered the antithesis of absolutism among scholars of the early modern period.¹⁷⁸ French hostility towards republicanism finds its roots outside of the Huguenot cause, as the mere notion that instead of concentrating power in a monarch divinely blessed to govern, per the absolutist system, the power of governance would be decentralized and diluted, and without a single monarch, was scandalous, and critics of republicanism argued that the republican government was rendered vulnerable to control by a conniving few.¹⁷⁹ Accordingly, because republicanism was most prevalent in Calvinist strongholds, such as the Dutch United

¹⁷⁶Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 517.

¹⁷⁷ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 519.

¹⁷⁸ Herman, Arthur. "The Huguenot Republic and Antirepublicanism in Seventeenth-Century France." *Journal of the History of Ideas*. University of Pennsylvania Press 53, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 1992): 249-69. p. 250.

¹⁷⁹ Arthur, "The Huguenot Republic and Antirepublicanism in Seventeenth-Century France," *Journal of the History of Ideas*. University of Pennsylvania Press 53, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 1992): 249-69. p. 249.

Provinces, the Huguenots were a vulnerable target for Louis' anti-republicanism, and the perception of the Huguenots as a threat to French civil and religious order prevailed, with skepticism perpetuated due to the Huguenot's relative everyday civil autonomy.¹⁸⁰

Use of the National Synod as a platform for the King to express concerns about the Huguenots' relationship with foreign Calvinists was not a novel innovation in 1660; in the 1631 Synod of Charenton, discussed in the previous chapter, Daillé's concerns about the exile of foreign pastors as expressed in his private correspondence were debated. Concerns about foreign Calvinists were considered once again during the Synod of Loudun, when the King insists upon his ban against foreign Calvinist ministers joining the Huguenots as pastors. The Lord Commissioner, on behalf of the King, instructed, "He forbids your reception of Foreigners into the Ministry and Pastoral Office among you, or their Admission into your Synod, or that you so much as speak of their Matters and Restoration, who have been dispossessed and ejected out of their Churches by vertue of the Decrees of Parliament."¹⁸¹ This moratorium on foreign pastors was not a new, but the stipulation that mere discussion of exiled French Huguenots was suppressed was. Although in many ways this limited the Huguenots' freedoms, it also simultaneously demonstrates the crown's distinction between being a Calvinist and being a Huguenot, that is, a French Calvinist.

The King's demands during the Synod of Loudun placed harsh and unforeseen restrictions on the Huguenots in an attempt to entirely divorce French Calvinism from the broader sphere of European Calvinism. Foreign Calvinists were never welcomed in

¹⁸⁰ Herman, Arthur. "The Huguenot Republic and Antirepublicanism in Seventeenth-Century France." *Journal of the History of Ideas*. University of Pennsylvania Press 53, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 1992): 249-69. p. 262.

¹⁸¹ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 508.

France under the Edict of Nantes, and various National Synods prior to the Synod of Loudun sought to regulate the presence and influence of foreign Calvinists within the Kingdom, but the Synod of Loudun takes this regulation one step further in a new demand from the King regarding the education of Calvinist pastors. In a plea which foreshadows the looming degradation of the Huguenot's status under the Edict of Nantes, the Lord Commissioner states:

And to prevent that Aversion for Monarchy, which is contracted by them who follow their Studies in Foreign States and Commonwealths, such as *Geneva*, *Switzerland*, *England* and *Holland*, there shall be a Canon expressly made to this purpose, and shall be accordingly observed That such Person as have studied in any of those Foreign Universities, and offer themselves to be ordained, or to be admitted Pastors of any Church, shall not at all be admitted. And if you shall make such non as this, his Majesty assureth you, that you will not only do a thing which will be very pleasing to him, but which also shall redound, very much unto your Advantage.¹⁸²

This request to ban French pastors educated abroad shows the King's regulatory approach to the Huguenot pulpit and attempts to disenfranchise French Calvinism from its Genevan roots. While this policy undeniably suppressed the Calvinist cause, it also reveals the monarchy's vision for an acceptable French Calvinism, a Calvinism grounded in an entirely French identity and isolated from the threat of Geneva's republican politics.

The Huguenots, represented by Daillé, attempted to justify the employment of pastors educated abroad in Huguenot temples by appealing to both concrete rights and more abstract notions of French liberty as promised by the Edict of Nantes, an approach which Louis XIII would have been more receptive to than Louis XIV. Daillé responded to the King's request, first explaining that Louis XIV's demands defy the precedent set

¹⁸² Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 538.

by previous Kings, stating, “Several Persons now present, who can very well remember, that the Kings, his Majesty's Predecessors, did permit our Churches to hold up a Correspondence with our Neighbours in matters concerning our Religion and Discipline.”¹⁸³ This appeal to the precedents set by previous Synods suggests that by the reign of Louis XIV, although they were not written into the Edict of Nantes as formal rights, the Huguenots keenly used Synodical decisions to defend their liberties as Louis attempted to impose restrictions. Daillé offers insight into the Huguenot perspective on the relationship between French Calvinists and foreign Calvinists, writing:

And however the People of *Geneva, Switzerland, Germany*, and of other Countries, do live under a Form of Civil Government quite different from ours; yet because those Nations be Friends, and in League with *France*; and principally because our Religion is animated universally by the same Spirit, and that it inspireth all its Professors with an inviolable Respect and Obedience for the Higher Powers, of what kind or nature soever they be, in any State, the Kings, his Majesty's Predecessors, had never any reason to complain, that this Correspondency was in any wise prejudicial to their Authority. So that if it should please his Majesty, our Sovereign Lord to give us once again the same Liberty, he might be fully assured as ever of our inviolable Fidelity.¹⁸⁴

In this petition, Daillé acknowledged that the Calvinists of France, Geneva, Switzerland, Germany, and elsewhere shared a common “spirit,” but he insisted that Calvinism was also tailored to a brethren’s geographical location and therefore their government. If Calvinism took on a certain regionality in its various thresholds, Daillé argued, then French Protestantism, shaped around the French monarchy, was a distinct confession compared to republican Calvinism in Geneva, for example. Notably, Daillé only characterized this French Calvinism as sharing the same spirit as foreign manifestations

¹⁸³ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 556.

¹⁸⁴ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 556.

of Calvinism, far from a characterization of the French Calvinists as the progeny of Geneva.

Daillé's argument that Calvinism inherently inspired respect for higher authority and therefore molds theology to locality not only emphasizes the importance of civil governance to the Calvinist faith, but furthermore, supports a relatively novel historiography of Calvinism which de-emphasizes Genevan influence and understands Calvinism as a faith of many decentralizes churches as opposed to a central, Genevan church. Glenn Sunshine, a scholar of 16th century Calvinism, argues for a new, nuanced model of the rise of Calvinism to replace the prevailing model of Genevan domination. He offers a framework for his new model:

The French Reformed churches were influenced by a much wider range of ecclesiastical models and displayed a much greater degree of originality in synthesizing these traditions than has often been recognized. This suggests that even in Calvin's native country and during his lifetime there was hardly a monolithic "Calvinism" marching in lockstep with Geneva: the Reformed world, even the Calvinist world, was far more open to other influences and innovations than is generally recognized.¹⁸⁵

The case of the French Huguenots in the seventeenth century represents the realization of Sunshine's malleable, multidimensional Calvinism. The French Calvinists did not think of themselves as an offshoot or a fringe component of the Genevan confession. Rather, the Huguenot's uniquely French Calvinism allowed them to develop a theology compatible with the absolute monarchy under which they lived. When Daillé challenged the King's demands regarding the Huguenots' isolation from foreign Calvinists, he

¹⁸⁵ Glenn S. Sunshine, *Reforming French Protestantism: The Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1557– 1572* (Kirksville, Mo.: Truman State, 2003), pp. 10-11.

incited the French liberty entrusted to the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes, and explained how this liberty, now engrained in French Calvinism, should be preserved to ensure loyalty and fidelity to the King.

When Daillé addressed the request that French-born men educated outside of the Kingdom should be banned from Huguenot pastorship, he appealed to this distinction between French Calvinism and foreign Calvinism, emphasizing the autonomy of the French brethren. Daillé integrated monarchial loyalty into his explanations of French Calvinist faith in this context, explaining how Calvinism inspired submission to government authority. He responded to the King, writing, “Although some of them have been Educated in Commonwealths, their Religion learns them to subject themselves with all Reverence to the Superior Powers under all Forms of Government whatsoever, and that Protection which they have from this Kingdom doth incline their Affections upon Principles of Gratitude and Interest unto a Monarchical Government.”¹⁸⁶

According to this scheme of Calvinism, a pastor’s experience studying abroad posed no threat to the French Calvinism in which he remained entrenched. This structure also distinguishes the French Calvinists from their Genevan counterparts and emphasizes Sunshine’s model which favors a plurality of Calvinist churches over a single, central Calvinist church. Daillé adds that if this petition to allow pastors educated in foreign regions were accepted, the King “would have full, and clear, and sufficient Proof of their Loyalty in his Service,”¹⁸⁷ again reminding the Lord Commissioner that the Huguenots themselves value monarchial loyalty among pastors.

V. **Public Tranquility**

¹⁸⁶ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 571.

¹⁸⁷ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*,

The motivations for these royal demands which isolate the French Calvinists from Geneva stem from concerns about public tranquility, another matter thoroughly discussed at the Synod of Loudun. The King was aware that the best way to persuade the Huguenot populace was to somehow infiltrate the pulpit, hence his concern regarding the presence of foreign-influenced pastors with suspect loyalty and the potential to rouse trouble and disturb the King's duty to preserve public peace and tranquility throughout the Kingdom. While the proceedings of the National Synod took place behind closed doors, the broader event of a National Synod called for the participation of all of the faithful residing in its host location. Sermons to the local brethren ceremonially opened and closed the Synodical proceedings, and usually called for prayers from the local population for the Synod but covered sundry relevant topics.¹⁸⁸ The proceedings of Loudun suggest that the substance of these sermons were not entirely generated by individual pastors or even by the Huguenots; the King himself used these sermons to promote his vision of unity in the Kingdom. In the Lord Commissioner's letter to the Synod, he writes that :

His Majesty enjoyneth all Pastors and Ministers to preach the Commandments of God, and that Obedience which People owe unto their King; and that it is utterly unlawful for them to revolt, or take up Arms against their Sovereign upon any cause or occasion whatsoever, upon which Subject there shall be one Sermon at least made and preached in my Hearing in one of the Sessions of this Synod.¹⁸⁹

The King's mandate about the content preached through Calvinist sermons demonstrates the limits of French Calvinist freedom and the sly but definitive way that monarchical civil ideas were integrated into sermons and therefore the divine messages

¹⁸⁸ Mentzer, Raymond A. "Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety among French Reformed Protestants." *Church History* 76, no. 2 (2007): 330–62. doi:10.1017/S0009640700101945. pp. 340.

¹⁸⁹ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, p. 508.

of faith heard by all men and women of a local confession. Furthermore, the King's specific instructions that pastors preach the Commandments of God thinned the line between the reformed and the ecclesiastical religions and shows how a Catholic King found basic but common religious ground with his Huguenot subjects.

Essential to the maintenance of this common religious ground was the indoctrination of royal loyalty among the Huguenots, a loyalty which was threatened by the King's status as a Catholic and the Calvinist's fundamental disagreements with Catholic dogma. While the Huguenots embraced their minority status in France and integrated it with their theologies of marginalization and election, they did not wane in their disapproval of the notorious "papists." Concerned that scorn towards Catholics and Catholicism in general would stir up sedition and royal disloyalty among the Huguenots, the King prescribed additional regulations on the lexicon of the Calvinist sermon. The Lord Commissioner relayed the message:

And you be also farther forbidden, from ever using hereafter in your Pulpit-Discourses these Words, *Scourges*, *Persecution*, or other such like Expressions, which are apt to stir up the Minds of his Majesty's Subjects unto Sedition, and to alienate their Affections from his Majesty, who is most desirous to maintain and preserve them in Tranquility.¹⁹⁰

The Lord Commissioner continued to describe efforts which should be taken against the "Disorders," and he reaffirmed the necessity of approval from two Ministers of the Kingdom prerequisite for the publication and sale of all Protestant books.¹⁹¹ This censorship, both of books and of sermons, illustrates the King's motivations for collaboration with preachers and for these grievances. As the intermediaries between the King and the Huguenot populace, the Calvinist preacher was the ideal medium

¹⁹⁰ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 507.

¹⁹¹ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 508.

through which the King could express a message in a convenient manner, through a sermon, to a large audience. Accordingly, the King's request that words like "scourges" and "persecution" were banned from the pulpit represent an aspect of his greater strategies of governance. Louis XIV aimed to preserve public order and tranquility in the Kingdom by maintaining the peace and preventing thoughts of sedition in the minds of his subjects, which bred disloyalty. The Lord Commissioner also suggested the necessity of calming a populace with seditious tendencies which he writes, "Whereas 'tis usual for these Synodical Assemblies to complain of their Grievances, the King commands me to tell you, that he hath far greater cause to complain of the Infractions and Transgressions of his Edicts, committed by his Subjects of the Pr. Reformed Religion in contempt of them,"¹⁹² thus asserting that the King earned his right to make these requests because the Huguenots violated the Edict much more egregiously than the Catholic King and were responsible for stirring up the public.

VI. Huguenot Demands

The scope of this chapter thus far focuses on the ways that the Calvinists refined their practices, and therefore their identities, to fit themselves into Louis XIV's monarchy. What the Huguenots were *not* willing to compromise, however, also constituted a central aspect of their identity. Although the Huguenots offered some considerable concessions to Louis XIV and demonstrated an earnest willingness to implement a multitude of changes to please the King and to become better subjects, they considered some topics uncompromisable, and on these, they remained absolutely

¹⁹² Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 508.

steadfast. Two topics stand out from the National Synod of Loudun which the Calvinists refuse to concede or adjust: additional censorship and fasting regulations.

As much as the Huguenots strove to define Calvinism without inciting Catholicism, they refused to accept the King's request during the Synod that Huguenots further censor their sermons, already relatively purged of all direct references to Catholics, of certain words including "antichrist" and "idolatry" which implicate Catholicism.¹⁹³ In a speech from the Lord Commissioner on behalf of King Louis XIV during the Synod of Loudun, he stated this request, that "[all ministers] be all expressly forbidden in their Sermons or Books, to mention the Word *Antichrist*, when as they speak of the Pope, nor to style the Catholicks *Idolater*, nor to treat the Catholick Religion with any scandalous or injurious Term, such as the *Abuse* and *Deceits of Satan*, and other such like."¹⁹⁴ This reminder the Huguenots that although they were permitted under the Edict of Nantes to distinguish themselves from Catholicism, they still could not scandalize the Catholics, and the King specified instructions for such. This further reinforces the fragmentation of identity which was necessary to incorporate the Calvinists and the Catholics into the same Kingdom under the same monarch. While civil hostilities between the Calvinists and Catholics were tempered and both entities coexisted in the same monarchy during the Edict of Nantes, theological and religious hostilities persisted. For the Huguenots, it was possible to tolerate Catholics themselves while slandering specific aspects of their religious convictions, such as characterizing the Pope as an idolater. Nevertheless, such rhetoric would have been highly offensive to a Catholic listener.

¹⁹³ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 510.

¹⁹⁴ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 507.

Responding to this request, Daillé reaffirmed the Huguenot's usage of the words "antichrist," "idolatry," and "deceits of Satan," explaining that these words declare "the Grounds and Reasons of our Separation from the Romish Church, and Doctrins which our Fathers maintained in the worst of Times, and which we are fully resolved as they, through the Aids of Divine Grace, never to abandon, but to keep faithfully and inviolably to the last Gasp."¹⁹⁵ Although Daillé made a concerted effort to define Calvinism outside of Catholicism, he insisted during the Synod of Loudun that some aspects of the Huguenot lexicon were permanent. Furthermore, Daillé argued that these words no longer posed a danger as they did in earlier times of hostilities and the Edict's infancy. He acknowledged that the Edict of Nantes prohibited the "Usage of any injurious reproachful Terms, which might in the least exasperate Men's Spirits,"¹⁹⁶ but he urged the commissioner that the standards for categorizing terms as injurious and reproachful should be less strict. He wrote that "the Times in which we now live being more calm and peaceable through the Grace of God, and the Goodness of our King, his Majesty may be fully assured, that on this Account he shall always find us yielding a most perfect Obedience, a most exemplary Moderation."¹⁹⁷ Here, Daillé asserted that the Huguenots would continue to use the words with which the King takes issue, but that due to the calmness and peace of the current times, a peace which he accredits to both God and the King, these words would not stir rebellious sentiments or trouble, particularly because the Huguenots vowed to yield obedience and use this rhetoric in Moderation, therefore, only when necessary (i.e., sermons will not brutally scathe

¹⁹⁵Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 507.

¹⁹⁶ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 54.

¹⁹⁷ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 500.

Catholics). Daillé added a short but significant statement to conclude his assertion above which criticized the Catholics for a double standard, suggesting that while the Huguenots fulfilled their duty to yield obedience to the King and to preserve tranquility throughout the Kingdom, the Catholics were not meeting this same standard. He comments “It were to be wished that the Preachers in the Romish Communion were as circumspect; then should we not be so much torn in pieces as we are continually by them both in Print and Pulpit,” suggesting that one factor compelling the Huguenots to use the words disapproved of by the King is that they are endlessly attacked by the Catholics, in “Print and Pulpit.”¹⁹⁸ This also serves as a reminder that the Huguenots remained a minority.

VII. **The National Fasts**

The King’s prohibition of National Fasts through the Synod of Loudun was devastating for the Huguenots, and they vehemently petitioned and resisted it through this Synod. National Fasts were events related to National Synods and were used as a way for Huguenots throughout the Kingdom to prepare for and pray for the Synod. Huguenots mourned the King’s ban of fasts for all future National Synods because they believed that this policy infringed upon an essential form of the Calvinist expression of faith and therefore infringed upon the Huguenots’ rights to practice their faith as enshrined in the fundamental nature of the Edict of Nantes. Raymond Mentzer offers a detailed framework for understanding the act, and therefore the significance, of national fasting among Huguenots, a significance echoed when Daillé employs several defenses of the fast throughout the Synod of Loudun. Mentzer explains that fasting is an

¹⁹⁸ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 513.

important but largely unexplored aspect of devotional life in reformed communities.¹⁹⁹

The National Fast was an event which centered around the body and therefore concerned itself with some of the most personal and intimate differences between Catholicism and the reformed religions.²⁰⁰

The Huguenot's National Fast was an event with Old Testament origins and a defining component of the National Synods. Biblical fasting traces back to ancient Jews and early Christians, two groups with whom the Huguenots associated. Mentzer details the details of the actual event of the National Fast. He describes the fasts as a "collective, well-regulated liturgical rite."²⁰¹ During the fasts, all members of a given Huguenot congregation convened at their place of worship between seven and eight o'clock in the morning. They typically stayed until evening, though fasts occasionally ran longer. During the actual event, the Huguenots sang psalms and listened to sermons while abstaining from food and drink. The fast, particularly in this context, was a strictly Protestant fast. While certainly not an innovation of the reformation, the fast adopted a more symbolic and spiritual utility among the reformed, whereas the Catholic fast served a physical purpose. Fasting is an inherently corporeal act, one of physical sacrifice and suffering.

The Huguenot and Catholic attitudes around the eucharist exemplify this difference and offer a lens to understand the role of the fast in the Calvinist world and its departure from the Catholic fast. To talk about the fast in a Christian context necessitates a discussion of the eucharist. Following from God's constant close presence

¹⁹⁹ Raymond Mentzer, "Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety among French Reformed Protestants." *Church History* 76, no. 2 (2007): 330–62, 331.

²⁰⁰ Mentzer, "Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety," 339.

²⁰¹ Mentzer, "Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety," 332.

in Medieval Christianity, Catholics were incentivized to physically prepare their bodies to receive Him.²⁰² Furthermore, this reception – the eucharist – merged two bodies according to the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, the notion that bread transforms into the true body of Christ during holy communion. Therefore, the Catholic fast before mass, which always included communion in the Catholic tradition, was a prerequisite for the cleansing of the body necessary to receive the body of Christ.²⁰³

The Huguenots' favor of Calvin's concept of "sacred transcendence" meant that their doctrines around the eucharist and around fasting were fundamentally different compared to the Catholics. Calvin championed "sacred transcendence," an alternative to the constant close presence of Christ in Medieval Christianity which was embodied, in the true sense of the word, by the eucharist.²⁰⁴ From Calvin's perspective, because of God's great dominion over the world, fasting was an activity which could benefit an individual in appropriate circumstances, but it was not mandatory for receiving God's grace in the same way that Catholic fasting physically prepared the body for the reception of Christ via the eucharist. This corresponds with the fundamental Protestant *sola* of grace through faith alone, which rejects the notion that worldly ceremony could merit God's grace. Whereas Catholic mass was defined by the eucharist, and therefore centered the ceremony of communion, the Huguenots celebrated the eucharist only four times annually; their principal form of worship instead was the liturgy and the sermon service.²⁰⁵ This shows how Calvinism was far less of a corporeal tradition than Catholicism. Daillé himself writes on the topic of the fast, criticizing the Catholic belief

²⁰² Mentzer, "Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety," 339.

²⁰³ Mentzer, "Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety," 339.

²⁰⁴ Mentzer, "Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety," 334.

²⁰⁵ Mentzer, "Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety," 340.

that fasting earned divine grace and suggesting that Christians instead should engage in fasting to acquit themselves before God and to experience the humiliation merited by their sins.²⁰⁶

If fasting was not a physical requirement for the Calvinists, what, then, was its role? Mentzer analyzes that because Calvinist motivations for fasting were purely intellectual – fasting served no corporeal utility – its importance lies in its influence on and role in shaping social, disciplinary, and penitential dynamics.²⁰⁷ Accordingly, a key purpose of the Huguenot fast was the way that it united a church community around the event of the fast and therefore it helped define church membership and to call together the “body of believers.”²⁰⁸ In comparison, the Catholic fast was largely an individual and personal endeavor. Calvin himself wrote about the necessary occasions for communal fasts in his *Institutes*, concluding that fasts should be called whenever “any difficult matter of great importance is to be discussed,” offering the examples of choosing a minister and controversy over religion.²⁰⁹ The National Synod was inherently an event engineered to discuss matters of great importance, and therefore, it was apt to occasion a national fast.

The Huguenots expanded Calvin’s initial vision for fasting in directions which he did not anticipate due to their French influences. Namely, the Huguenots’ innovated fasts to address topics in the political sphere in order to show loyalty to the crown following the Edict of Nantes.²¹⁰ For example, many reformed churches organized fasts

²⁰⁶ Mentzer, “Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety,” 338.

²⁰⁷ Mentzer, “Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety,” 339.

²⁰⁸ Mentzer, “Fasting, Piety, and Political Anxiety,” 240.

²⁰⁹ Institutes ean Calvin and Ford Lewis Battles, eds., *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001). EBook. 54.

²¹⁰ Mentzer 342

in 1652 to grieve the Fronde. Mentzer concludes that the seventeenth century Huguenots “employed the ritual to demonstrate loyalty to the Catholic crown as well as to solidify the community when threatened by political and religious opponents.”²¹¹ As an event centered around the Calvinist brethren, their convening in one location to celebrate a shared experience, Mentzer argues that Huguenot collective fasts, including the National Fasts, were vital elements of French Reformed identity. National Fasts could be called for by both Provincial and National Synods. Although Provincial Synods could only oblige fasts within their provincial jurisdiction, they could call for and organize nationwide fasts nevertheless. Mentzer notes that under the Edict of Nantes, “The provincial and national Synods were increasingly the institutional vehicles for declaring fasts that, in turn, encompassed a substantial number of churches.”²¹² Moreover, as the National Synods grew more sporadic, Provincial Synods under Louis XIV maneuvered to arrange countrywide fasts when “circumstances warranted and the national Synod was unlikely to assemble.”²¹³ Thus, national fasts unaccompanied by national Synods were used to compensate for the Louis XIV’s infrequent granting of national Synods. Louis was suspect of this strategy and sought to eliminate this loophole during the Synod of Loudun.

The Huguenots internalized the practice of fasting, which melded worship of God with loyalty to the crown, and therefore abolishing the fast was a grave affront. Mentzer concludes that “Members of the Reformed community appear to have internalized the fast,”²¹⁴ meaning that it took on a unique purpose and meaning in France. This

²¹¹ Mentzer 337

²¹² Mentzer 349

²¹³ Mentzer 349

²¹⁴ Mentzer 335

internalization and embedding of the fast into the French Calvinist tradition was challenged during the Synod of Loudun, demonstrating Louis XIV's skepticism and desire for consolidated control. Therefore, it is understandable that the Huguenots were devastated when the King prohibited them from holding national fasts. An aspect of this devastation concerned the fast's utility to promote loyalty to the state and to urge Huguenots to coalesce around both their Calvinist and their French identities. Without the fast, French identity was rendered more vulnerable and weakened. Mentzer celebrates the way that the French internalized the fast to serve civil purposes, but it is this very unique nature of the French Calvinist fasts which rendered them a target of Louis XIV. The Lord Commissioner announces the King's verdict on the national fasts during a speech to the Synod's assembly, recorded in chapter three of the records:

I am, according to [the King's] Orders given me, *in the first place* to forbid you, that you do not on any account whatsoever treat in this Synod of any Secular or State-matters, or of Justice directly or indirectly, but only of Church Discipline and of Reformation of Manners. And to this purpose, that no Assembly be hold, Little or Great, by Day or by Night, but in my Presence ... and that no General Fasts shall be proclaimed by the Provincial Synods.²¹⁵

The King feared that fasts were *too* political. Because the Huguenots were not supposed to meddle in state matters even indirectly during the National Synods, they subsequently could not call a General Fast in the Provincial Synods throughout France. The King further expressed concerns about the Huguenots' convening without the surveillance of the King, which the National Fast – a political event disguised as a religious one – enabled. In this capacity, the crown was an active participant in the Synod, to the extent that the King reminded the Huguenots that no assemblies were to be held without him, using his active participation for subjugation.

²¹⁵ Synod 507

The Huguenots cited their rights as French citizens and under the Edict of Nantes to oppose this new policy. In his response to the Lord Commissioner's speech and statements regarding the prohibition of National Fasts, Daillé appealed:

As for the Proclaiming of General Fasts by the Provincial Synods, it being expresly Ordained by our Canons, that the Province whose right it is to call the National Synod, may publish a General Fast, if there be a necessity for it, and the King having permitted us the Exercise of our Discipline, and the putting of our Canons in Execution: This Assembly hopeth that his Majesty's Equity and Goodness will not deprive us of the Power and Liberty to implement them into act and practice.²¹⁶

Here, Daillé importantly cited the Huguenots' right to call general fasts, which he characterized as an essential part of the exercise of the reformed discipline which is protected by the monarch. Daillé argued that Huguenot liberty empowered them to call fasts, therefore to seize this power would violate the liberty owed to the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes. Hence, Daillé expressed a desire for power and liberty to be tangible, such as through the calling of Synodical fasts. Daillé further appealed to the crown, explaining that the fasts benefit the Kingdom: "we do then wrestle with our God for the prosperity of the whole Nation, and for the Preservation of his Majesty's own Person."²¹⁷ To impede upon the fasts was, truly, to impede upon the Huguenots' ability to be good French subjects. This paradoxically also confirmed the King's suspicions about the political nature of the act of Calvinist fasts.

VIII. **Conclusion**

The Synod of Loudun demonstrated an early attempt to quell the anxieties of Louis XIV regarding the inclusion of Huguenots in his absolutist kingdom. By the point of the Synod of Loudun in 1661, the Huguenots were so deeply committed to

²¹⁶ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 512.

²¹⁷ Quick, John, trans. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*, 512.

their French national identity that to lose it would be incomprehensible. In response to Louis' mistrust of the Huguenots, leaders like Daillé struggled to incorporate the French Calvinists into a Catholic absolutist monarchy, and in his endeavors Daillé borrowed from his early theology refined during the Synod of Charenton in 1631 on Christian marginalization and struggle to construct a scheme in which a Calvinist's faith is strengthened and confirmed by the affliction of absolutism. Nonetheless, as demonstrated by the Huguenots' defense of national fasts, their theology was not instantly responsive to royal preference, and the Huguenots maintained certain ideologies and traditions, which they unabashedly defended by citing their rights guaranteed in the Edict of Nantes.

Conclusion

In 1685, Louis XIV's Edict of Fontainebleau revoked the Edict of Nantes. As Catholics demolished Huguenot churches throughout the French Kingdom and reclaimed former Huguenot strongholds, Huguenots faced a stark ultimatum: conversion or exile. Thousands of Huguenots sought asylum abroad, including in the British colonies in North America. The immediate nature of the revocation meant that after 1685, France's Huguenots scattered into a broad diaspora throughout Europe and the Americas, and their meticulously curated collective identity under the Edict of Nantes was lost.²¹⁸ Historians are habitually excited by times of great upheaval and conflict. Accordingly, scholarship on the Huguenots largely focuses on the Wars of Religion and the Calvinists' struggles following the Edict of Fontainebleau.

This thesis studies the almost one century in between these two traumatic events, the implementation and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a period of much quieter conflict. Although the Edict of Nantes granted the French Calvinists rights within the Catholic Kingdom, its peace was neither guaranteed nor easily maintained. This thesis studies the way that Huguenots innovated to refine their theology around the political restrictions of the Edict, namely its provision of *oubliance*, which demanded erasure of the memory of the Wars of Religion. Through the sermons of pastor Jean Daillé, I argue that the French Calvinists created new memories of Christian suffering which they emphasized as central to their theology. This thesis' first chapter considers the meaning of identity and the ways that Calvinists like Daillé generated collective memory to

²¹⁸ Owen Stanwood, *The Global Refuge: Huguenots in an Age of Empire* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019), 12.

inspire shared identities which were simultaneously French and Calvinist. Chapter Two analyzes the intersection of these identities and considers how the French Calvinists and Louis XIII changed the function of the National Synod during the National Synod of Charenton in 1631 to serve a political utility. The acts of the National Synod of Charenton show Louis XIII's willingness to incorporate the Huguenots into the French Kingdom, and although he expressed more hesitancy than Henri, his reign was far more cooperative than Louis XIV's. Finally, this thesis tackles the paradox of Calvinist participation in a Catholic absolutist monarchy. Following the theological innovations and refinements of Jean Daillé throughout his career, Chapter Three argues that Daillé advanced his theology of Christian marginalization to construct a scheme in which pledging loyalty to the King strengthened one's Calvinist convictions, which he articulates during the Synod of Loudun in 1660. While Daillé failed in securing the Huguenot's a permanent place in Louis XIV's Kingdom, he did introduce new theological considerations into Calvinist practice. Furthermore, Daillé's engagement with the monarchy towards the end of the Edict of Nantes' implementation demonstrates the Huguenots' attachment to their French identity. When the Edict was revoked in 1685, the Huguenots were forced not only to relocate, but also to reevaluate their identities and religious doctrines which had become so intrinsically intertwined with France's political environment under the Edict of Nantes.

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