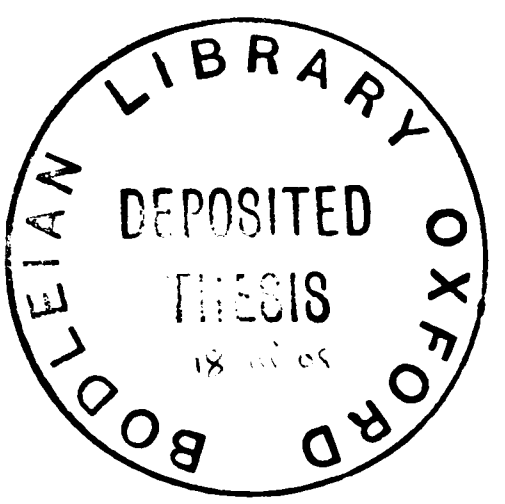
HUGUENOT GENERAL ASSEMBLIES IN FRANCE, 1579-1622

Emma Lorimer

Magdalen College

D. Phil. Trinity Term 2004



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Magdalen College

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A large measure of the durability of the Huguenot movement was derived from their general political assemblies. The assembly held at Montauban in 1579 was the first attended by a deputy north of the Loire; after the final and twenty-second general assembly at La Rochelle in 1622, only localised gatherings were held. This thesis argues that the assemblies were primarily a *corps*: their principal purpose was both to oversee the implementation of the edicts of pacification and to mobilize resources if peace broke down. Essentially based on the available manuscript sources, many of them unexplored, this thesis approaches the general assemblies as an institution. The first two chapters highlight the process of convocation of the general assemblies and the manner in which political representation (both within the assemblies and to the monarchy) took place. The third chapter principally explores the relationship between the general assemblies and the chambers created for Huguenots in the *parlements* from 1576. The assemblies supported these chambers as a means of obtaining implementation of the edicts of pacification. In the fourth chapter, the apparently conflicting attitudes of the general assemblies to property and civil rights are addressed. For instance, while the assemblies regulated the taking of lay and ecclesiastical property, revenue from these sources was often reinvested to support ministers, schools and charitable purposes. The fifth and sixth chapters examine the provisions for war made by the general assemblies and their attempts to ensure the adequate financing of Huguenot troops. The assemblies always stated that they acted in self-defence; a primary concern was the need to ensure the protection of local civilian populations. The monarchy allowed the assemblies to organise levies for the repayment of debts owed to mercenary troops and provided for the maintenance of Huguenot garrison troops from royal revenue. This thesis concludes that while the general assemblies worked as a *corps*, they never received letters of corporation from the monarchy; they remained ad hoc, susceptible to events and to the manipulation of public opinion through well-aimed pamphlet literature.

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A large measure of the durability of the Huguenot movement was derived from their general political assemblies. Provinces north of the Loire were first represented at the general assembly at Montauban in 1579; the last and twenty-second general assembly closed at La Rochelle in 1622.

On 18 January 1620, the deputies at the general assembly at Loudun (1619-20) stated in a letter to the provinces: 'Nous n'avons point d'autre voye publique pour efficacement agir, que celle de nos assemblées'.[1] This thesis argues that the assemblies were primarily a *corps*: their principal purpose was both to oversee the implementation of the edicts of pacification and to mobilize resources if peace broke down. The development of the general assemblies as an institution during the course of this period can only be traced by a general study. The only existing general study on the assemblies, by Léonce Anquez (1859), essentially takes a chronological approach. This thesis approaches the assemblies thematically and draws on previously unexplored manuscript material (notably in the Bibliothèque Mazarine and the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français). Complementary material is provided by contemporaneous pamphlets and tracts, as well as the correspondence, memoirs, and accounts of those who attended the assemblies.

Chapter One addresses the process of convocation for the general assemblies. The majority of them were approved by the monarchy. Surviving manuscript records show that although regulations governed the process of elections to the assemblies, there were conflicting practices between the provinces: in some cases, both the synod and the provincial assembly in a particular province sent deputies to a general assembly. The lack of uniformity in elections led to a disparity in the numbers of deputies representing each province. Furthermore, many deputies were

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[1] Arsenal Ms. 4650, fol. 116 r. Printed version in *Lettres de l'assemblée de Loudun, envoyées aux Provinces* (n.p., 1620). Copy dated 15 January in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7195, fols. 261 r-265 v.

late, or failed to attend altogether. In other cases, deputies were allowed to leave because of illness. Some deputies complained when procedures had not been followed, or sought admission when they had not been able to take part in elections in their provinces. When deputies did attend the general assembly, one of the most frequent complaints involved insufficient commissions. A commission was important because it allowed the deputy to act as a legal representative for a church, town, province, or nobility in a province. Deputies at Huguenot general assemblies were paid by the members of the Huguenot churches that had sent them and there is some evidence that this was a burden for the churches. The three general assemblies held between 1596 and 1597 (at Loudun, Vendôme and Saumur) are of particular interest because for the first time they received subsidies directly from the monarchy to cover their expenses. However, it is unclear why some deputies received pay while others did not. When assessing the composition of the assemblies, it is difficult to assert the predominance of a particular social group, in view of the fluctuating attendance of deputies and petitioners. The locations chosen for the general assemblies provide important contextual information for the practicalities of holding assemblies during a period of civil war. The manner in which deputies travelled to the assemblies, the need to find adequate lodgings and the kind of building chosen for the sessions of the assemblies have never before been considered. The oath of union which deputies attending the general assemblies were required to swear from 1581 played an important role in maintaining cohesion. The oath was enforced by ministers and synods. From 1596, deputies sent by provinces to the general assemblies presented formal ratifications of the union and of the deliberations and resolutions already taken by the assembly. Although there were difficulties, the willingness of deputies to attend the general assemblies shows that they were perceived as an institution to which complaints could be made and through which the concerns of particular provinces or individuals could be effectively represented to the monarchy and its envoys.

Chapter Two addresses political representation in the general assemblies. Between 1579 and 1588 councils planned for the king of Navarre were thought to provide some leadership for the assemblies. Deliberations were moderated by a president acting in lieu of the king of Navarre or the prince of Condé. From 1593, proceedings were led by deputies at the assemblies: one deputy was chosen by his colleagues to act as president, another as deputy to the president and one

or two were chosen as secretaries. Deliberations did not take place by social order, as they did in the Estates General. It cannot therefore be argued that a particular social group was able to influence unduly the formal proceedings of the assembly. The care attached to the drawing up of the *cahiers*, which were framed by the terms of the edicts of pacification, and to record keeping, established the general assemblies as credible interlocutors with the monarchy. Throughout this period, the assemblies sent representatives to present their *cahiers* and other petitions at court. In the period preceding the edict of Nantes, a committee of deputies was charged with discussions with royal representatives. From 1601, two deputies general became the permanent representatives of the Huguenot churches at court. Royal *brevets* allowed the general assemblies to be held for the purpose of choosing candidates for this position. The deputies general attended the royal council and informed Huguenots in the provinces about the progress in addressing matters that concerned them. Many of the Huguenot *commissaires* chosen for the implementation of the edict of Nantes after 1598 had attended the general assemblies, and through them, the interest of the general assemblies in obtaining the implementation of the peace settlements in the localities could be maintained.

Chapter Three primarily addresses the relationship between the general assemblies and the *chambres de l'édit* conceded by the monarchy from 1576. These chambers were attached to each *parlement*, with a varying number of Huguenot judges and officers (up to half), who addressed cases involving Huguenots within the framework of the edicts of pacification. The general assemblies were first of all interested in ensuring that provisions for offices for Huguenots in these chambers were maintained. Huguenot provincial assemblies could exercise a right of nomination to these offices; the general assemblies co-ordinated this and relayed nominations to the monarchy. The role of the assemblies in choosing the location for these chambers also shows their willingness to co-ordinate regional interests. However, the provisions drawn up by the assemblies for the resignation of offices in the chambers (only to those nominated by provincial synods) most likely alienated office-holding families. In the long term, this weakened the position of the general assemblies within the framework of corporative institutions in France. The general assemblies also addressed procedures for civil and criminal trials in other instances of royal jurisdiction (the *prévôts*, *baillis*, *sénéchaux* and *présidiaux*, the *parlements* and the royal council)

in relation to which the *chambres de l'édit* had to operate. The assemblies intervened in some particular cases before the chambers, which reflects a certain confidence about the assemblies' ability to have a say in the judicial process. The assemblies also supported the position of Huguenots who held subordinate offices of justice, as a means of ensuring the equitable implementation of the rulings delivered by the *chambres de l'édit*.

Chapter Four addresses the stance that the general assemblies took with respect to property and civil rights. In common with other parties during the conflicts, the assemblies oversaw the seizure and sale of property, both lay and ecclesiastical. Conversely, they pressed for the implementation of the terms of the edicts of pacification that stipulated the return of property. Loss of property had often occurred as a result of banishment from towns (a punishment in criminal law) and the general assemblies complained about the wider consequences of banishment as well as the loss of property. Some Huguenots legally owned lay Church property and sought compensation from the general assemblies when compelled by the edicts of pacification to return this property. The restitution of ecclesiastical property was accompanied by the restitution of Catholic worship and the general assemblies made detailed complaints about the consequences of this for Huguenot rights of worship. Catholic processions entered Huguenot strongholds, seeking to reclaim Catholic churches there. New places chosen for Huguenot worship were often far from towns, and popular violence often ensued. The case of cemeteries illustrates the manner in which the general assemblies addressed conflicts between ecclesiastical and lay authority over the attribution of church property. The assemblies also complained about forced exhumations and the desecration of Huguenot corpses, which was a common phenomenon that was sanctioned by some bishops. Proceeds from the sale or lease of property, notably ecclesiastical property, were reinvested to support Huguenot ministers and schools. From 1598, the monarchy granted a subsidy for Huguenot ministers and academies; insufficient attention has been paid to the oversight exercised by the general assemblies over the administration of this subsidy. The general assemblies also sought the implementation of the provisions in the edicts protecting the position of Huguenot teachers and the right of parents to educate their children in the religion of their choice. Charity is traditionally thought to be the preserve of synods and deacons, but the general assemblies also reinvested revenue from sequestered property in order to support refugees, the

poor, destitute, and wounded soldiers. Legacies complemented this. The assemblies provided some legal aid and showed an interest in the provision of medicine. The general assemblies also sought to regulate the levying of tolls, the delivery of passports and the taking of prizes as a source of revenue for the party. They initially relied on the framework provided by the admiralty of La Rochelle. This framework was incorporated by the monarchy after 1589. The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in May 1621 is characterised by the assembly assuming many of the jurisdictional functions traditionally attributed to the holder of the admiralty and his officers.

Chapter Five addresses the provisions for war made by the general assemblies. These provisions were always justified by the need for self-defence when no other remedy was available, as well as by the need to defend the edicts of pacification against those who contravened them and misled the king. The general assemblies convened at a time of internal conflict in 1588, 1593-8, 1615-6 and 1620-2, but they confronted general insecurity throughout this period. The assemblies and Huguenot military leaders interacted through councils established in the provinces; in 1588 and 1621, military commanders were also given prominence in the general assemblies. Through the authority of the king of Navarre in 1588 and of the Catholic prince of Condé in 1615, the general assemblies delivered commissions for the levy of troops. The final general assembly at La Rochelle (1620-2) did so on again its own authority in 1621. This was a grave step, worsened by the fact that this assembly chose to adopt a seal in order to authenticate these commissions. Only this general assembly sought to make a direct commitment with mercenary troops. The general assemblies also defended the position of admiral of Guyenne, which could be used to legitimise naval warfare and commandeer ships. In the face of gradual absorption of the admiralties into the admiralty of France, the general assembly at La Rochelle named its own admirals in 1621. Perhaps drawing on the role traditionally played by La Rochelle, this was also the only general assembly that formally sought to establish a navy. The general assemblies were particularly interested in the position of Huguenot governors because fortified towns and castles were often the key to controlling vital routes and to securing particular areas for either party. Many strongholds also played a role from 1570 as *places de sûreté* for Huguenots conceded by the king. The assemblies sought to ensure that the provisions for the nomination of Huguenot governors were implemented

and that their positions were resigned only to Huguenots. The assemblies also defended Huguenot governors who were under attack or who had been forcibly removed. With respect to the conduct of troops, the general assemblies mostly followed established royal ordinances. Pay was regulated with the stated aim of preventing captains and soldiers from taking provisions, utensils and fodder without paying their hosts for them at the established price. The general assemblies also addressed billeting and supplies for troops: their regulations sought to provide a measure of protection and compensation for local inhabitants, in common with royal ordinances. This concern is also seen in the assemblies' measures on the taking of prisoners, ransoms and booty, although there was some ambivalence towards the *Croquant* movement in 1594 and 1595. The provisions made by the assemblies for stores and artillery in towns show the manner in which they sought to keep account of resources at the disposal of Huguenots. Security was ultimately hampered by the inability of the assemblies to obtain adequate funds for the building or repair of fortifications from the churches or from the monarchy (when strongholds were listed in the royal *états*).

Chapter Six addresses how the general assemblies provided for the financing of war. The assemblies drew on the existing structures for the collecting of royal revenue in areas that they controlled (aided by the fact that many Huguenots held offices of finance). Collections in the localities were also organised on the basis of churches and colloquies; this was the case for the repayment of debts owed for the levy of German mercenary troops (principally from the Palatinate). During deliberations on the repayment of these debts, the assemblies' *procès-verbaux* indicate the willingness of deputies to argue and even leave proceedings. Deputies also argued that participation in levies had to be proportional to the number of Huguenots residing in their provinces. These debates show how deputies moved from complaining about their provinces being overtaxed to stressing the need for consent to taxation. Opposition to the redistribution of rebates granted to some provinces entailed that debts could not be promptly repaid. Payment for garrisons in strongholds granted to Huguenots by the monarchy was in principle guaranteed by the royal *états* and the *brevets* of the edict of Nantes. However, shortfalls in royal finances entailed that many, both Catholic and Huguenot, seized the first revenue collected by royal receivers in order to ensure payment of their garrisons. One of the Huguenots charged with overseeing the payment of funds for Huguenot garrisons (and ministers) from royal revenue was the *commis* Jean Pallot.

Suspicions of misappropriation of funds by Pallot, though never entirely proven, were carefully investigated by the general assemblies. Debates over the role and efficiency of the *commis* provide a good example of the growing institutionalisation of the assemblies' activities.

Ultimately, however, the general assemblies never received letters of corporation from the monarchy; they remained ad hoc, susceptible to events and to the manipulation of public opinion through well-aimed pamphlet literature. The manner in which the general assemblies responded to tension under Louis XIII allowed their opponents to represent them as being a state within a state. These responses included a growing refusal to separate before royal answers to the *cahiers* had been received and the decision made by the general assembly at Loudun in 1620 to reconvene within six months if promises made by the crown were not fulfilled. The general assemblies also compromised themselves by opposition to the reappropriation of ecclesiastical property in Béarn (1611, 1617) and by association with the uprising of the prince of Condé in 1615. The decision to take up arms in 1621 was particularly grave. The assumption of authority by the final general assembly at La Rochelle in part triggered the royal campaigns that began a period of internal conflict in the 1620s, only ending with the peace of Alès in 1629.

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List of Abbreviations

Anquez I	Anquez, L., *Histoire des assemblées politiques des réformés de France (1573-1622)* (Paris, Auguste Durand, 1859)
A.R.G.	*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*
Arsenal	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
B.H.R.	Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance
B.N.F. Dupuy	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds Dupuy
B.N.F. fr.	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Fonds français
B.N.F. N.a.f.	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises
Bordier	Bordier, H. (ed.), *La France protestante*, 2nd ed. (6 vols, Paris, Fischbacher, 1877-88)
B.P.F.	Bibliothèque de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français
B.S.H.P.F.	*Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*
C.N.R.S.	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze	Aubert, H. and others (eds.), *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze* [1539-83] (24 vols, Geneva, Droz, 1960-2002)
C.U.P.	Cambridge University Press
Doucet I, Doucet II	Doucet, R., *Les institutions de la France au XVIe siècle* (2 vols, Paris, A. et J. Picard et Cie, 1948)
Haag	Haag, E. and E., *La France protestante ou vie des protestants français [...]* (9 vols, Paris and Geneva, Jöel Cherbuliez, 1846-59)
J.H.I.	*Journal of the History of Ideas*
J.M.H.	*Journal of Modern History*
La Chesnaye-Desbois and Badier	Aubert de La Chesnaye-Desbois, F.-A. and A. Badier, *Dictionnaire de la noblesse [...]*, 3rd ed. (19 vols, Paris, Schlesinger frères, 1863- 1876)
Mazarine	Bibliothèque Mazarine
n. d.	no date

n. p.	no place
P.U.F.	Presses Universitaires de France
T.H.R.	Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance

Note on references

Footnote references for the manuscript copies of documents produced by Huguenot political assemblies refer to the assemblies in abbreviated form. For instance: 'B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[2]: Sainte-Foy 1594', refers to the *procès-verbal* of the general assembly held at Sainte-Foy from 18 to 31 July 1594; 'B.P.F Ms. 710, number 29[1]: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation', to that assembly's regulation; 'B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[3]: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*', to that assembly's *cahier*. Provincial assemblies are specified; for instance: 'B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 95 v: Loudun September 1619 provincial assembly'.

Unless otherwise stated, references for the edicts of pacification refer to the edition by A. Stegmann: *Édits des guerres de religion* (Paris, Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1979). References for the articles agreed at Nérac (1579) appear for instance as Nérac, art. 10 and those settled at Fleix (1580) appear for instance as Fleix, art. 20. An additional article was added at Coutras (1580) and this appears as Coutras, art. 47. For the edict of Nantes, the edition by J. Garrisson (Biarritz, Atlantica, 1997) has been used. This reproduces the version of the edict registered by the Paris *parlement* on 25 February 1599.

All quotations and references follow the spelling, capitalization and punctuation of the original text.

A number of place names could not be identified: in some cases they may be small settlements that no longer exist.

The received version of noble names is used after the full title has been given. For instance, Philippe de Mornay, sieur du Plessis-Marly, appears as du Plessis Mornay and Josias Mercier, sieur des Bordes et de Grigny as des Bordes Mercier.

Note on currency

There were 12 *deniers* in 1 *sou* and 20 *sous* in 1 *livre tournois*, a money of account. *Deniers* (*d*) and *sous* (*s*) were billon coins, as was a *douzain*. A silver *teston* (with the effigy of the king) was worth 10 *sous*. Its production was suspended during the reign of Henri III (1574-89) in favour of the *franc d'argent*, worth 20 *sous*. A gold *écu* was worth between 3 and 5 *livres tournois*. By royal ordinances, the *écu* replaced the *livre tournois* as the standard money of account between 1577 and 1602.

For this period, the general context of inflation and currency debasement must be borne in mind. The latter was aggravated by the illegal minting of coins, particularly by towns under siege.

INTRODUCTION

Sources and Historiography

After the siege of Montpellier in 1622, the Secretary of State Puysieux conveyed to a friend that a few months before his death in 1610, Henri IV had counselled his wife Marie de Medici on the course to follow in the event of her having to form a regency. Puysieux, his father the Chancellor Sillery, and the Secretary of State Villeroy had been present. Henri IV had concluded that Marie de Medici should remember 'qu'apres quarente ans de guerres, de massacres, & de trahisons, les Huguenots s'estoient trouvéz plus fortz & mieux establis qu'à la premiere guerre'.[1]

A large measure of this durability was derived from the assemblies of the deputies of the reformed churches of France, first called 'political' assemblies by royalist texts in the seventeenth century in order to distinguish them from the synods.[2] There is a general consensus today that Huguenot political assemblies arose out of the tradition of local assemblies (for example in Rouergue, Agenais and Quercy) and provincial estates (in Languedoc and Dauphiné).[3] The first political assembly during the period of the civil wars for which records survive was held at Nîmes from 2 to 13 November 1562.[4]

'General' assemblies were attended by deputies from most or all of the provinces of France. Most of the general assemblies were held south of the Loire. The general assembly

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[1] Arsenal Ms. 5427, première partie, pp. 123-4: the text was written after the death of Puysieux.

[2] See B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fols. 3 r-4 v (copies in Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 5-8 and Mazarine Ms. 2604, fols. 3 r-6 r) and B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 25 r-29 r.

[3] M. Greengrass, 'War, Politics and Religion in Languedoc during the Government of Henri de Montmorency-Damville' (1574-1610) (University of Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 1979), p. 149. J. Garrisson-Estèbe, *Protestants du Midi 1559-1598* (Toulouse, Edouard Privat, 1980), p. 336 and *L'Homme protestant* (Paris, Hachette, 1980), pp. 28-9. J. Russell Major, *Representative Government in Early Modern France* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 226, 229-30, 253. B. Cottret, *1598. L'Édit de Nantes. Pour en finir avec les guerres de religion.* (Paris, Librairie Académique Perrin, 1997), p. 74. M. Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause: Protestant Mobilization and Accountability in France (1562-1589)' in P. Benedict, G. Marnef, H. van Nierop and M. Venard (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585. [...]* (Amsterdam, Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999), p. 248. P. Conner, *Huguenot Heartland. Montauban and Southern French Calvinism during the Wars of Religion* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002), p. 164.

[4] 'Collection des procès-verbaux des assemblées politiques des réformés de France pendant le XVI[e] siècle. Assemblée des réformés du Languedoc (2-13 novembre 1562)', ed. J.-B. Loutchitzki, *B.S.H.P.F.*, 22 (1873), pp. 506-16, 546-58.

held at Montauban in 1579 was the first time that provinces north of the Loire were represented;[5] after the peace of Montpellier in October 1622 only localised assemblies were held.[6] During this period, there were twenty-two general assemblies, which spanned the reigns of Henri III (1574-89), Henri IV (1589-1610) and Louis XIII (1610-43). A full chronology of the conflicts, peace treaties and principal events from 1574, and of the general assemblies held during the period 1579-1622 can be found in the Appendix to this thesis.[7]

The general assemblies meticulously kept their own records. These reflect the range of their concerns in helping to implement the edicts of pacification (for which purpose they were sanctioned by the king between 1579 and 1584 and between 1593 and 1620), in choosing representatives to negotiate the edicts (from 1593 to 1598 and in 1616), collecting petitions to be presented in *cahiers* to the monarchy and in organising means of self-defence. Contemporaries printed some of these records, both independently[8] and in the *Mercure françois*. After La Rochelle capitulated to Louis XIII on 29 October 1628, the content of its treasury and charterhouse, which had held the catalogued records of the general assemblies since 1593, was confiscated by Richelieu and transferred to Paris.[9] It is possible that these

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[5] There is evidence that the king of Navarre convoked the 'depputez des esglises reformées et des catholiques associez' to an assembly at Montauban for 1 February 1577, following an order from Henri III. Henri III wanted the assembly to hear his response to the petitions of the Estates General. See *Recueil des lettres missives de Henri IV*, eds. J. Berger de Xivrey and J. Guadet (9 vols., Paris, Imprimerie royale, 1843-1876), I, 124-7: letter from Henri de Navarre to Damville (Agen, 13 January 1577); *ibid.*, pp. 126-8: from Henri de Navarre to the admiral de Villars (Agen, 13 January 1577); *ibid.*, p. 147: discourse to the duke of Montpensier (before 17 September 1577). However, the records for this assembly have not been found. A previous assembly at Montauban is mentioned in B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 11: 13 October 1578 letter of convocation and an assembly convoked at Montauban in 1577 is mentioned in Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 214: La Rochelle 1588. In his thesis on 'War, Politics and Religion in Languedoc during the Government of Henri de Montmorency-Damville (1574-1610)' (University of Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 1979), p. 368, M. Greengrass lists an assembly held at Montauban in March 1577, but does not categorise it as a general assembly.

[6] An assembly held at Nîmes in February 1629 claimed to be a 'general' assembly, but was a more localised gathering. See B.N.F. fr. 20621, fols. 22 r-25 v.

[7] See Appendix, pp. 299-302.

[8] See Bibliography, pp. 306-18.

[9] 'Histoire de La Rochelle par Amos Barbot', ed. D. d'Aussy, *Archives historiques de l'Aunis de la Saintonge*, XIV (1886), 1-2. *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements _ Tome VIII. La Rochelle* (Paris, Librairie Plon, 1889) (Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-arts), pp. ii-iii: the contents of the public library created at La Rochelle in 1604 was also confiscated by Richelieu in 1628.

original copies disappeared in the fires of 1737 and 1870.[10] Some had already been burnt during the siege of La Rochelle.[11]

Today, there are several manuscript sources for the political assemblies. They are all in French, in keeping with the stipulation in the edict of Villers-Cotterêts (1539) that all legal documents should be in the French vernacular as opposed to the traditional Latin. The first of these sources, a series in the Brienne collection in the Bibliothèque nationale, amounts to seven volumes covering the period 1572 to 1629. These copies were established by a 'procès-verbal' of 15 January 1652 by two *conseillers* at the Paris *parlement*, J. Petau and Bisneu.[12] These volumes were first held in the manuscript collection established by Henri-Auguste de Loménie, count of Brienne (1595-1666). Loménie de Brienne, who had succeeded his father in his office as a secretary of state in 1615, was present with Louis XIII at the siege of La Rochelle in 1628.[13] These volumes were then acquired by the royal library when the Brienne collection was transferred there under the auspices of Colbert after 1661.[14]

During the same period, royal notaries made manuscript copies from original copies belonging to private individuals.[15] Some isolated original manuscript copies were also

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[10] 'Actes de l'assemblée générale des églises réformées de France et souveraineté du Béarn (1620-1622)', ed. A. de Barthélemy, *Archives historiques du Poitou*, V (1876), x.

[11] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d' Application de l'Edit de Nantes. Première partie. Règne de Henri IV* (Université de Paris, Faculté de Droit, 1950), p. 32, fn. 57 and J. Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes. Chronique d'une paix attendue* (Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1998), pp. 281-2.

[12] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191-7 (Brienne 220-6). Fol. 1 r of each volume reads: 'Paraphé par Nous cons[eill]ers du Roy en sa cour de Parlement commissaires en cette partie Suivant n[ot]re proces Verbal du quinziesme Janvier mil Six cens cinquante deux J Petau Bisneu'. This collection is hereafter referred to as the 1652 Brienne collection.

[13] See La Chesnaye-Desbois and Badier vol. 12, cols. 275-6 for a short biography of Loménie de Brienne. His great-grandfather, Martial de Loménie, a *secrétaire du roi et des finances* and clerk in the *grand conseil*, was a Huguenot killed during the massacre of Saint-Bartholomew in 1572, after having been cheated out of his land of Versailles by the count of Retz. Martial de Loménie's son Antoine, sieur de La Ville-aux-Clercs (1560-1638), grandfather of Henri-Auguste de Loménie, was at first secretary to the king of Navarre. In 1606, he became *secrétaire d'état*. He converted to Catholicism, probably during this period. See Haag VII, 119-20.

[14] A. Paulin, *Les Manuscrits françois de la bibliothèque du Roi, leur histoire et celle des textes allemands, anglois, hollandois, italiens, espagnols de la même collection. I. Formats in-folio maximo.* (Paris, Techener, 1836), p. 7.

[15] For example, the 'État des deniers [...]' (1576) in B.P.F. Ms. 765^4 is a copy made from an original version on paper 'ia fort usé et percé en quelques endroitz' belonging to 'la dame de flechelle' by the royal notary (called Bourgeois) at Metz, and signed by him on 31 January 1643. The sixth piece in the same volume is also a copy of another original version of the same document, in the possession of a Huguenot minister.

integrated into later compilations.[16] By comparing original copies and later versions, it is possible to see that the latter are faithful to the originals in content, but are generally rewritten to suit contemporary syntax. Another important volume of copies was established by the Protestant Valentin Conrart (1603-75) after his retirement in 1658.[17] The first twelve documents in Conrart's volume are listed as being extracted from the 'Livre de Monsieur de Loménie' and can also be found in the first volume of the 1652 Brienne collection. The Protestant Elie Benoit (1640-1728) explicitly referred to the 'Actes des Assemblées generales' as a source for his *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes* (1693-5). He presented the decisions of the Huguenot political assemblies as documentary evidence to support the Protestant case after the revocation of the edict of Nantes (1685).[18] As the work was published in exile in the United Provinces, it is unclear which version he used, since, as he states in his preface, manuscripts held in the royal library as well as other libraries were not accessible to him.[19] Due to his concern with the edict of Nantes, Benoit concentrated on those assemblies that bore a relation to it, beginning his detailed discussions only with the assembly held at Mantes in 1593-4.[20]

Two further series of manuscript copies in the Bibliothèque Mazarine (thirteen[21] and ten[22] volumes) reproduce most of the documents found in the 1652 Brienne series, but also include a wealth of material from undeclared sources. They cover the period 1562-1629. The two Mazarine series bear the ex-libris, dated 1716, of Dominique-Barnabé Turgot de Saint-Clair (1667-1727), then bishop of Sées in Normandy. A doctor in theology, almoner to the

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[16] For example, original copies of the *procès-verbal* of the general political assembly held at Loudun (1619-20) in Arsenal Ms. 3135 (Recueil Conrart) and B.N.F. fr. 20960.
[17] Arsenal Ms. 5411.
[18] E. Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, Contenant Les choses les plus remarquables qui se sont passées en France avant & après sa publication, à l'occasion de la diversité des Religions [...]* (3 vols., Delft, Adrien Beman, 1693-5) I, 'Préface générale'.
[19] *ibid.*, I, 'Préface générale'. The Calvinist Abraham Tessereau (d. 1689), a *secrétaire du roi* from 1653 to 1673, who had been forced to leave France in 1684, is said to have originated the project. Tessereau's office would have enabled him to collect the necessary documents. See Haag II, 175 and H. Bost, 'Élie Benoist et l'historiographie de l'édit de Nantes', in M. Grandjean and B. Roussel (eds.), *Coexister dans l'intolérance. L'édit de Nantes (1598)* (Geneva, Labor et Fides, 1998), p. 372.
[20] E. Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes,* I, 111. He ignored the general assemblies held at Montauban in 1579 and Saint-Jean-d'Angély in 1582.
[21] Mazarine Mss. 2588-2600.
[22] Mazarine Mss. 2604-2613. These two series contain a good number of copying errors in some texts.

king and *agent général du clergé*, he had been consecrated on 14 December 1710 at the Jesuits' church of Saint-Louis in Paris.[23] In the late eighteenth century, Etienne-Charles Loménie de Brienne (b. 1727), the great-great grandson of Henri –Auguste de Loménie, ordered copies to be made of the original documents relating to the political assemblies and collected these together with the original documents. He was consecrated bishop of Condom on 11 January 1761, archbishop of Toulouse (from 2 February 1763) and abbot of the Mont-Saint-Michel from July 1766.[24] These volumes are now in the Bibliothèque nationale.[25]

In 1852, the newly-created 'Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français' aimed to acquire original or exact copies of the acts of Huguenot political assemblies, in order to supplement the incomplete copies that already existed in Paris.[26] The favourable liberal policies of Louis-Philippe Ier (r. 1830-48) and François Guizot (1787-1874) minister for foreign affairs 1840-7 and *président du conseil* 1847-8, as well as repeated calls in the Protestant press, had created a climate for the foundation of the society. There was a need to sustain this position during the rule of Napoleon III (1852-70). Guizot, a Protestant and also a history professor at the Sorbonne, became honorary president of the society. It was described as a branch of the 'Société de l'Histoire de France' (in partnership with the 'Comité des Documents') of which Guizot had been a founder as minister for education in 1834.[27]

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[23] A. Jean, *Les Evêques et les Archevêques de France depuis 1682 jusqu'à 1801* (Paris, Alphonse Picard, Mamers, G. Fleury & A. Dangin, 1891), pp. 359-60. Turgot de Saint-Clair had also left the running of his seminary to the Alençon Jesuits. He published the Unigenitus bull in 1714. He was also first almoner to the duchess of Berry. Benoit was minister at Alençon before the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685. Did Turgot de Saint-Clair see his collection of manuscripts in the light of the statements made by Benoit in his preface? In his book on *The Making of the French Episcopate 1589-1661* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1996), p. 76, J. Bergin highlighted the popularity of the Jesuit church of Saint-Louis in episcopal consecrations during that period.

[24] La Chesnaye-Desbois and Badier vol. 12 (1868), col. 277. M. Péronnet, 'La "république des Provinces-Unies du Midi": les enjeux de l'historiographie', in A. Blanchard, H. Michel and E. Pélaquier (eds.), *La vie religieuse dans la France méridionale à l'époque moderne. Actes du colloque (1990)* (Montpellier, Université Paul Valéry, 1992), p. 12.

[25] B.N.F. N.a.f. 23488-23494: 'Assemblées générales politiques des protestants français (1577-1625)'.

[26] *B.S.H.P.F.*, 1 (1852), p. 10. An example of this is the *procès-verbal* of the general assembly held at Montauban in July 1579, which was acquired with the Fonds de La Rochelle (B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8). This *procès-verbal* cannot be found in the 1652 Brienne and Turgot collections. Anquez (see below) omitted a discussion of this assembly.

[27] *B.S.H.P.F.*, 1 (1852), p. 14 and fn. 1. H. Zuber, 'La Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français vue à traver les procès-verbaux du comité. I. De 1852 à 1930', *B.S.H.P.F.*, 148 (2002), pp. 663-4, 667.

The ministry of education had already encouraged some research on local Protestant assemblies.[28] However, it was arguably the foundation of the 'Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français' that provided the impetus for the first substantial work devoted to Huguenot political assemblies, Léonce Anquez' *Histoire des assemblées politiques des réformés de France (1573-1622)* (1859).[29] Anquez then wrote *Un nouveau chapitre de l'histoire politique des réformés de France (1621-1626)* published in 1865. He was a history teacher at the Lycée Saint-Louis in Paris and there is no evidence that he was a Protestant. Although Anquez made extensive use of the 1652 Brienne collection of manuscripts, he did not look at the two series of manuscripts in the Mazarine library, nor did he use the volume established by Conrart.[30] Anquez was however the first to exploit these sources since Elie Benoit, whose *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes* (1693-5) he used as a complementary source. For the second of his two works, Anquez largely drew on an account written by a Nîmes lawyer and antiquarian named Anne de Rulman (1582-1632) entitled *Histoire secrète des affaires du temps, depuis le siége de Montpellier jusqu'à l'année présente* (1627) with complementary manuscript material from the Bibliothèque nationale.[31]

Both of Anquez's works are chronological in approach (although the first work provides sections analysing royal concessions to the Huguenots, primarily in the edicts of

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[28] A 'Notice sur les assemblées de protestants qui eurent lieu en France à la suite de la conversion de Henri IV à la religion catholique romaine jusqu'à la promulgation de l'édit de Nantes' (n.p., n.d.) by Alexis de Jussieu does not refer to Anquez, so is likely to have been published beforehand. It focuses on the period 1593-4. Jussieu, who was archivist for the *département* of the Charente, deputy secretary of the departmental Archaeology and History Society and a correspondent for historical research of the ministry of education in Paris, relied on two manuscripts in the departmental archives of the Charente.

[29] L. Anquez, *Histoire des assemblées politiques des réformés de France (1573-1622)* (Paris, Auguste Durand, 1859), p. xii and fn. 2, hereafter cited as Anquez I. Anquez stated that Charles Weiss, then president of the 'Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français' pointed him to many of his sources. A. Chéruel, author of an *Histoire de l'Administration monarchique en France depuis l'avénement de Philippe-Auguste jusqu'à la mort de Louis XIV* (2 vols., Paris, Dezobry, E. Magdeleine et Cie, 1855) had pointed him to the 1652 Brienne collection of manuscripts.

[30] J. Valone, *Huguenot Politics: 1601-1622* (Lewestón, Queenston, Lampeter, The Edwin Mellen Press, 1994), pp. 1-2 mistakenly stated that Anquez had before him all the extant acts of Huguenot political assemblies. In his *Essai sur les Commissions d' Application de l'Edit de Nantes* (1950) (p. 17, fn. 13; cf. pp. 12 and 66) F. Garrisson stated that the *cahiers* of the assemblies and the royal instructions for the negotiations preceding the edict of Nantes had not been fully exploited 'sinon, mais de façon très partielle, par L. Anquez'. Anquez does not give precise manuscript references for his sources on the assemblies. In many instances, he seems to rely on the *Mémoires et correspondance de Duplessis-Mornay [...]* (12 vols, Paris, Strasbourg and London, Treuttel et Würtz, 1824-5).

[31] L. Anquez, *Un nouveau chapitre de l'histoire politique des réformés de France (1621-1626)* (Paris, Auguste Durand, 1865), pp. xvii-xxviii. Cf. Anquez I, xiv, fn. 1.

pacification). In his *Histoire des assemblées politiques* (1859), Anquez did not discuss events from the death of Henri II in 1559, but presented Huguenot political assemblies as a reaction to the massacre of Saint Bartholomew in 1572.[32] He rejected attempts by contemporary historians to seek the roots of their system of representative democracy in the past.[33] Broadly, he maintained that Huguenot political assemblies were simply modelled on Calvinist ecclesiastical assemblies in order to achieve a temporary union that would enable them to acquire freedom of conscience from the monarchy more effectively.[34] In his *Un nouveau chapitre de l'histoire politique des réformés de France* (1865), Anquez appears to have been influenced by the debate initiated by Tocqueville's *L'ancien régime et la révolution* (1856). He argued that the Protestant church was supported not simply by noblemen 'depuis près d'un siècle déjà annulés par la royauté et d'ailleurs condamnés par leur isolement à une irrémédiable faiblesse', but most importantly by large numbers of artisans, bourgeois and peasants. For Anquez, the bourgeoisie, and not the nobility, was the dominant element in Huguenot political assemblies in France.[35] After the edict of Nantes, the bourgeoisie were alone in seeking negotiations by peaceful means, distancing themselves both from the religious inconstancy of the leading nobility and from the danger of mob rule, explaining why the bourgeoisie supported the monarchy.[36] Anquez also appears to have moved beyond his criticism of contemporary historians in 1859 when he argued that the bourgeoisie abandoned the political implementation of the religious principles of the Reformation 'd'après lesquels la réforme, [...], partant du droit individuel, ne pouvait manquer d'aboutir à la démocratie

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[32] Anquez I, xiv, 1.

[33] In 1840, for example, the *Académie royale des sciences morales et politiques* set as a *concours* for 1842 (prolonged to 1844) a comparative essay between the Estates General from 1302 to 1614 and the English parliament in order to determine why the Estates did not become, like the parliament, 'une institution régulière de l'ancienne monarchie.' It aimed to remove the question from partisan disputes comparing the old representative institutions to an aristocratic institution (with Boulainvilliers), a democratic institution (with Mably), an attempt at a republic (with 'quelques publicistes modernes'), or even a sterile constitutional government (with 'l'école anglaise'). (*Mémoires de l'Académie royale des sciences morales et politiques de l'Institut de France* V (1847), pp. 795-7). See also M. Orléa, *La noblesse aux Etats généraux de 1576 et de 1588* (Paris, P.U.F., 1980), pp. 13-14.

[34] Anquez I, 445-6, 448: he pointed out that the political structure was abolished in September 1589 after the accession of Henri de Navarre to the throne.

[35] L. Anquez, *Un nouveau chapitre* (1865), p. ix. However, Anquez's biographical sketches of Rohan (pp. 29-37) and Soubise (pp. 37-9) serve as a recognition of the role individual noblemen could play.

[36] *ibid.*, pp. x-xvii.

libérale'.[37] Anquez specifically discussed the regional political assemblies held at Millau, Anduze, Alès and Castres (1625-6).[38] He was also important in assessing the crucial role of Richelieu's foreign policy in his dealings with the Protestants.[39]

Anquez' two books were followed by the work of the Russian J.-B. Loutchitzki, who developed the opposition between regional political assemblies and the royal government, which was implicit in Anquez's second book, in his master's thesis in Russian on the feudal aristocracy and Calvinists in France, published in Kiev in 1871. Loutchitzki explained in an article in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* (1872) that his thesis was intended as the first volume of a study on the 'feudal reaction' in France during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Part of Loutchitzki's sources, unspecified in this article, came from the Imperial archives in Saint Petersburg.[40] He characterised his subject as 'la dernière lutte' sustained during nearly a century against royal authority by 'les éléments réactionnaires', the communes, provinces and 'la féodalité minée et presque mourante'. He sought to explain the causes that led to the decadence of local independence and prevented 'la réalisation des projets qui tendaient à constituer en France une sorte de république fédérative'. He concluded that 'La réaction échoua dans sa révolte contre la centralisation'[41] because the very success of the nobility led to abuses which brought about a popular reaction.[42] Léonce Anquez responded the following year in a letter to the editor of the *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*, in which he rejected Loutchitzki's thesis and reaffirmed

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[37] L. Anquez, *Un nouveau chapitre* (1865), p. xvi.
[38] *ibid.*, ch. XI.
[39] *ibid.*, pp. 125-9, 193-5, 336.
[40] Commentary and abstract by Loutchitzki in 'Bibliographie. L'aristocratie féodale et les Calvinistes en France. Tome premier par J.-B. Loutchitzki. Kiev, 1871 [...]', *B.S.H.P.F.*, 21 (1872), p. 574. The 'pièces justificatives' for the second volume of Loutchitzki's work, covering the period 1576-96, were published as *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la Reforme et de la Ligue,* (Paris, Sandoz et Fischbacher; Kiev, The University Press, 1875). Cf. O. Poncet, *Pomponne de Bellièvre (1529-1607). Un homme d'état au temps des guerres de religion* (Paris, École des Chartes, 1998), p. 445: some documents were removed from the Bibliothèque nationale in 1791 by the secretary to the Russian embassy in Paris. Others could have been transferred to Saint Petersburg after the occupation of Paris by Russian troops in 1814.
[41] Loutchitzki, 'Bibliographie. L'aristocratie féodale et les Calvinistes en France', p. 575.
[42] *ibid.*, p. 583.

that Huguenot political 'organisation' was no more than a response to unfavourable circumstances.[43]

Following the initial impetus given by Guizot, both the ministry for education[44] and the 'Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français'[45] continued to publish documents relating to Huguenot political assemblies. Regional historical societies such as the 'Société des archives historiques du Poitou' followed suit.[46] Others concentrated on documents relating to more localised events, giving rise to short essays.[47] In an essay entitled *De l'organisation du parti protestant arrêtée à l'Assemblée générale de Millau en décembre 1573* published in 1886, the Calvinist minister Philippe Corbière[48] relied on *Le Manuscrit d'un calviniste de Millau* to explain how the regulation established at Millau in December 1573 functioned in Rouergue. He thought that his findings could be extrapolated to other provinces.[49] Corbière acknowledged the work that Anquez had done to present the records of the political assemblies in a clear and ordered manner, but stated that Anquez began in a sense where he himself ended (in 1573).[50] Corbière argued that Protestants had organised themselves politically for defensive reasons, referring to 'leur droit incontestable de défense

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[43] 'Protestantisme et feodalité au XVI[e] siècle. A Monsieur le Rédacteur du Bulletin.', *B.S.H.P.F.*, 22 (1873), pp. 91-3. The letter was dated 31 January 1873.

[44] *Négociations lettres et pièces relatives à la conférence de Loudun* [1616], ed. L. Bouchitté (Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1872) (Collection des Documents inédits de l'histoire de France), pp. i-ii, iv-v. Bouchitté's compilation was based on two manuscript volumes containing the original correspondence between the royal commissioners at Loudun and Louis XIII, first discovered in the departmental archives of Seine-et-Oise at Versailles. An important complementary source was the relevant volume from the series established by Bishop Turgot (Mazarine Ms. 2609).

[45] In 1873, 1875 and 1877, Loutchitzki published the *procès-verbaux* of Huguenot political assemblies held in Languedoc in 1562, 1563 and 1569 in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*. These and the *procès-verbal* of an assembly held in Languedoc in 1570, published in the *Bulletin* in 1896, form the basis of many later studies. 'Collection des procès-verbaux des assemblées politiques des réformés de France pendant le XVI[e] siècle', *B.S.H.P.F.*, 22 (1873), pp. 506-16, 546-58; 24 (1875), pp. 314-22, 359-67, 402-9; 26 (1877), pp. 351-7, 401-7; 45 (1896), pp. 418-41.

[46] See notably 'Actes de l'assemblée générale des églises réformées de France et souveraineté du Béarn (1620-1622)', ed. A. de Barthélemy, *Archives historiques du Poitou*, V (1876). The manuscript on which he based his edition is B.N.F. fr. 3847. As well as being a member of the 'Société des archives historiques du Poitou', he was a member of the 'Comité des travaux historiques' in Paris.

[47] For example, *Traité de Nîmes de 1578 et conclusions de l'assemblée tenue par les Huguenotz en Allez* [sic.: Alès], *en 1580. [...]*, ed. G. Charvet (Nîmes, Clavel-Ballivet et C[ie], 1881) (Extract from *Mémoires de l'Académie de Nîmes*, 1880). Charvet was a member of the Academy of Nîmes and a correspondent for historical research of the ministry of education. He was also a member of the Archaeology Society of Montpellier and of the Scientific and Literary Society of Alès.

[48] Bordier IV, 678: born in 1807, Corbière was a minister at Montpellier from 1840 and was a prolific author of literary, moral and historical works.

[49] P. Corbière, 'De l'organisation politique du parti protestant en 1573', (n.p., n.d.), p. 50.

[50] *ibid.*, p. 25.

naturelle'.[51] He stated that after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, Protestants were no longer fighting to support the position of their noble leaders, but for their own cause: 'C'est réellement ici l'avènement de la démocratie'.[52] Furthermore, the tercentenary of the edict of Nantes in 1898 prompted the publication of documents and articles by N. Weiss and A. Bernus in the *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* on the role that Huguenot political assemblies played in obtaining the edict. Crucially, these included descriptions of newly-acquired original copies of, amongst other records, the *procès-verbal* of the general assembly held at Saumur in 1595 and the regulation of the general assembly held at Loudun in 1596.[53] Weiss stated that Anquez' *Histoire des assemblées politiques*, which he described as 'assez sommaire', had not explained why, in the period preceding the edict of Nantes, Huguenot deputies were so uncompromising and why Henri IV was so unwilling to renew previous concessions made to them. Weiss hoped that these documents would help to resolve these two questions.[54]

The work of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions during the first half of the twentieth century[55] helped to foster interest in Huguenot political assemblies as representative assemblies and as a *corps*. An article published under its auspices by M. Reulos in 1962 considered both the synods and the political assemblies in this light.[56] The International Commission particularly encourages the development of a comparative perspective: a study published by G. Griffiths in 1968 included

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[51] P. Corbière, 'De l'organisation politique du parti protestant en 1573', pp. 7-8, 10.
[52] *ibid.*, p. 28; cf. p. 19.
[53] 'Autour de l'Edit de Nantes. Lettre inédite d'Odet de La Noue à Henri IV. 26 juin 1596', ed. N. Weiss, *B.S.H.P.F.*, 47 (1898), pp. 102-7; *idem*, 'Autour de l'Édit de Nantes. La rédaction de l'Édit et sa préparation par les députés des églises réformées', *ibid.*, pp. 305-12, which contains the descriptions of the original copies; *idem*, 'Autour de l'Édit de Nantes. Les députés huguenots et Henri IV en mai et juillet 1597', *ibid.*, pp. 472-8. See also A. Bernus, 'Notes sur les signataires du *Règlement* et de l'*Instruction* de l'Assemblée de Châtellerault (20 mars-11 juin 1598)', *ibid.*, pp. 312-24.
[54] 'Lettre inédite d'Odet de La Noue à Henri IV. 26 juin 1596', ed. N. Weiss, *B.S.H.P.F.*, 47 (1898), pp. 102-3.
[55] Studies were first presented to the International Commission in 1937. Their journal, *Parliaments, Estates and Representation- Parlements, États et Représentation* was launched in 1981. See *ibid.*, part 2, pp. 155-70 for a list of studies presented to the Commission between 1937 and 1980.
[56] M. Reulos, 'Synodes, assemblées politiques des réformés français et théories des états', *Anciens pays et assemblées d'états*, XXIV (1962), 97-111.

twelve documents on Huguenot political assemblies from 1562 to 1588 and drew parallels with the Netherlands.[57]

From 1965 to 1972, three theses on Huguenot political assemblies built on these earlier approaches. The first, by J. Valone on 'The Huguenots and the War of Spanish Marriages' (1965) was written in the context of the re-evaluation of the regency of Marie de Medici as a period during which 'the process of centralization' had not been interrupted.[58] Valone used none of the available manuscript sources;[59] moreover, he stated that verbatim transcriptions of the assembly at Nîmes (1615-6) did not exist, while copies of the *procès-verbal* of this assembly can be found both in the 1652 Brienne and in the Mazarine collections of manuscripts.[60] Valone broadly characterised the nobility as the minority and 'activist' element, that was over-represented within the assemblies held between 1611 and 1617, compared to the majority of Protestants in the kingdom who wanted peace and were satisfied with their state under the edict.[61] Like Anquez, he argued that only the bourgeoisie was interested in peace with the crown while leading members of the nobility were beginning to convert to Catholicism. Furthermore, the Protestants who lived north of the Loire in isolated communities surrounded by hostile Catholics could not afford to support the more aggressive attitude of those who lived in areas of Protestant majority in the south.[62]

In the second thesis, entitled 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henry IV, 1589 to 1598' (1969) J. Airo-Farulla concentrated on the identification of groups within the assemblies whose conflicting interests helped to account for the fact that negotiations for the

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[57] *Representative Government in Western Europe in the Sixteenth Century. Commentary and Documents for the Study of Comparative History*, ed. G. Griffiths (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 260.
[58] J. Valone, 'The Huguenots and the War of Spanish Marriages' (University of Michigan Ph. D. thesis, 1965), pp. ii-iii. Valone's *Huguenot Politics: 1601-1622* (Lewestón, Queenston, Lampeter, The Edwin Mellen Press, 1994) is broadly a chronological account.
[59] He relied principally on the volume by Bouchitté published in 1872, the printed *cahier* of the general assembly held at Saumur in 1611 and a printed extract from the *cahier* of the general assembly held at Grenoble in 1615.
[60] J. Valone, 'The Huguenots and the War of Spanish Marriages' (1965), p. 103. Copies can be found in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194 (Brienne 223), fols. 80 r-163 v and Mazarine 2609, fols. 116 r-250 r.
[61] Valone, 'The Huguenots and the War of Spanish Marriages', pp. 48-51: for the nobility and pastors at Saumur (1611); *ibid.*, pp. 71, 79, 106-7: for the minor nobility at Grenoble (1615) who, 'because of their class, tended to see the problems of the Huguenots in military and political terms and to emphasise those terms in their demands'; *ibid.*, p. 177; cf. pp. 2-3, 8: 'the minor nobles, who controlled the Assembly of Grenoble-Nîmes-La Rochelle (1615-7) were fighting the old struggle for power with the crown'.
[62] *ibid.*, p. 179; cf. pp. 106-7.

edict of Nantes were so drawn out.[63] He states that the assemblies of Mantes (1593-4) and Sainte-Foy (1594), dominated by ministers, concentrated on gaining religious concessions. The more militant attitude at Saumur in 1595 could largely be attributed to the presence of a relatively high number of magistrates, who sought greater control in the localities.[64] Airo-Farulla argued that it was only after the inclusion of the leading Huguenot noblemen into its ranks that the general assembly at Châtellerault (1597-8) asserted itself as the representative body of the Huguenot party and conducted the negotiations leading to the edict of Nantes, without further formal consultation with the provinces.[65] Absolutism 'won out' because while the monarchy could offer peace to the masses, the aristocracy could only offer continued civil strife and no program of reform that would benefit 'the lower classes'. As the monarchy consolidated its position, representative institutions, the instrument by which 'the upper classes' could impose some limits upon the powers of the king, were eliminated or harnessed.[66] Airo-Farulla argued that the very preponderance of the nobility entailed that a republic on the Dutch model (where the bourgeois commercial classes dominated) could not have been created. The fears expressed by contemporaries about the creation of such a republic were not therefore entirely justified.[67]

The third thesis, entitled 'Resistance to Absolutism: Huguenot Organization in Languedoc, 1621-1622', appeared in 1972. Here, S. Lowenstein followed A. Lublinskaya's *French absolutism: the crucial phase, 1620-1629* (English translation, 1968) on the necessity for the monarchy to defeat both the nobles and the Protestants in order to implement a program of administrative consolidation.[68] To assess the strength that the royal government

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[63] J. Airo-Farulla, 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henry IV, 1589 to 1598' (Seattle, University of Washington Ph. D. thesis, 1969), p. 129. G. Griffiths was one of the examiners. Airo-Farulla developed his approach in an article on 'Les protestants et l'acquisition des offices à la fin du XVI[e] siècle', *B.S.H.P.F.*, 116 (1970), pp. 509-12. In addition to the relevant volume from the Brienne collection and Dupuy collection in the Bibliothèque nationale, and from the Mazarine library, Airo-Farulla's main source was for his thesis the memoirs of the leading Huguenot nobleman Philippe du Plessis Mornay (1549-1623).

[64] J. Airo-Farulla, 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henry IV, 1589 to 1598' (1969), pp. 131-2.

[65] *ibid.*, pp. 116-7; cf. pp. 84, 91, 134.

[66] *ibid.*, p. 145.

[67] *ibid.*, p. 151. See Conclusion to this thesis, p. 297.

[68] S. Lowenstein, 'Resistance to Absolutism: Huguenot Organization in Languedoc, 1621-1622' (Princeton University Ph. D. thesis, 1972), pp. 6, 12-3, 15-6. A. Lublinskaya, *French Absolutism: the crucial phase,*

really had in the localities, Lowenstein concentrated on the two Protestant synodal provinces of Bas-Languedoc and Cévennes, where in 1621-1622, perhaps one-fifth of all Huguenots in France lived.[69] He pointed out that the war of 1621-1622 itself broke out over a question of centralisation versus local autonomy: the status of Béarn and that of the Protestant-held fortress at Privas in Vivarais. Lowenstein seems to accept the contemporary accusation that Protestants in the South and West sought to create an independent state on the Dutch model.[70] Huguenots used the established royal offices that they held to organise resistance, thereby preventing royal officials from taking legal action.[71] In addition, Huguenots were given *ad hoc* appointments by their leadership, the intention being to return to royal control once a favourable treaty had been reached.[72] Lowenstein saw this organisation based on non-resident officials as a form of Protestant 'centralized absolutism', preventing the Protestant party from splitting into semi-independent localised ruling cliques.[73] The very fact that the rebels had to resort to the same 'bureaucratic' methods as their royalist opponents was an indication that the structures of royal administration could not be dispensed with in the localities.[74]

The work on Huguenot political assemblies until 1970 suggests that historians have divided, if not always clearly, into two camps: those who saw the assemblies as a 'state within a state' and those who thought they developed into a *corps*. Studies of the Huguenot movement more generally over the last thirty years have continued to present a similar difference of opinion.

Those who see the assemblies as a 'state within a state' broadly have three different approaches. The first approach emphasises the influence of Calvinists ministers in Geneva.[75]

1620-1629, transl. Brian Pearce (Cambridge, C.U.P., 1968). Lowenstein's principal sources were in the Hérault, Gard, Nîmes and Montpellier archives.

[69] S. Lowenstein, 'Resistance to Absolutism' (1972), pp. 19-20.

[70] *ibid.*, pp. 16-7.

[71] *ibid.*, pp. 33-4.

[72] *ibid.*, pp. 47, 59.

[73] *ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

[74] *ibid.*, p. 272; cf. pp. 78-81.

[75] In 1688, the bishop Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704) was the first to consider the ideological influence of Calvinist ministers between 1559 and 1565. See his *Histoire des variations des Eglises protestantes. Avertissemens aux Protestants sur les lettres du ministre Jurieu contre l'Histoire des Variations* (4 vols. Paris, Guillaume Desprez and Jean Desessartz, 1730), II, 19, 27-8, 37-8; III, 210-353.

In 1956 and 1967, Robert Kingdon examined the role of the Geneva Company of Pastors in supporting the Huguenots during the conflicts. In his 1956 analysis, Kingdon was strongly influenced by contemporary events in Hungary and the formation of the Warsaw Pact alliance the previous year. For him, the role of Moscow in the Communist revolution was the modern example which best illustrated his model of cities as centres for propagating revolutionary ideas.[76] In the introduction to his edition of Théodore de Bèze's *Du droit des magistrats* (1970), Kingdon asked more widely whether it could be proven that texts of political resistance theory[77] bore a direct influence on Huguenot political assemblies held in Languedoc after 1572. He stated that a full exploration of this link was beyond the scope of his study.[78] In his *Theodore Beza and the quest for peace in France, 1572-1598* (2000) S. Manetsch also saw Geneva as the 'command-center' for 'Calvin's program of reform'.[79] He sought to examine the changing religious attitudes, political strategies, and resistance activities of Beza and his French correspondents between 1572 and 1598.[80] Manetsch affirmed the creation of a 'state within a state' by Huguenot assemblies in southern France in the summer of 1573.[81] He reiterated this with reference to the general assembly held at Sainte-Foy in 1594 (which he calls 'Protestant nobles meeting at Saint Foye [sic.]').[82] In his accounts of Huguenot political assemblies, Manetsch principally relied on Benoit, Anquez and other secondary sources discussed below, notably by Sutherland and Garrisson.[83]

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[76] R. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555-1563* (Geneva, Droz, 1956), pp. 127-9; *idem, Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564-1572* (Geneva, Droz, 1967).

[77] Such as La Boétie's *De la servitude volontaire* (first written in the late 1540s) Hotman's *Franco-gallia* (1573) and Bèze's *Du droit des magistrats* (1574).

[78] *Théodore de Bèze. Du droit des magistrats*, ed. R. Kingdon (Geneva, Droz, 1970), pp. xxxv-xxxvi. J. Airo-Farulla, 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henry IV, 1589 to 1598' (1969), p. 144, had simply affirmed that the creation of the general assemblies was an application of French Calvinist political theory propounded by Hotman (1573) de Bèze (1574) and the author of the *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* (1579). It was the duty of the aristocracy to protect the people from tyranny.

[79] S. Manetsch, *Theodore Beza and the quest for peace in France, 1572-1598* (Leiden, Boston, Köln, Koninklijke Brill NV, 2000), p. 3.

[80] *ibid.*, pp. 2, 6-8.

[81] *ibid.*, p. 55.

[82] *ibid.*, pp. 271-2; cf. p. 291.

[83] Manetsch did however use a manuscript copy of a speech by Henri IV to the deputies of the general assembly at Mantes in December 1593 and a letter from Théodore de Bèze to the general assembly at Châtellerault in November 1598, both in archives in Geneva (*ibid.*, p. 263, fn. 47; pp. 334-5, fn. 87). He also used the memoirs and correspondence of du Plessis Mornay (*ibid.*, p. 199, fn. 20; p. 284, fn. 10 and fn. 11) and other manuscript sources (*ibid.*, p. 263, fn. 47; pp. 334-5, fn. 87).

The second approach within this first interpretation is a retrospective one, which is characterised by the work of N. Sutherland, a historian to whom Manetsch is indebted. In her book *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition* (1980), which covers the period 1521 to 1598, she approached the political assemblies as part of the 'the material necessary to explain the nature and content of each successive "religious" edict, as well as the manner in which, one after the other, they were frustrated'.[84] Sutherland covered the following chronological period in an article on 'The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes 1598-1629' (1987), where she states that 'Reflection upon the edict has led me to feel that its ultimate destruction, when this could safely be undertaken, had always lain within the nature of things'.[85] Throughout these works, her interpretation remained that of considering Huguenot political assemblies as a 'state within a state'.[86] Sutherland relied mostly on memoirs and correspondence, such as those of the well-known Philippe du Plessis Mornay,[87] and on secondary sources, notably Anquez.[88]

The third approach, which presents the idea of a 'state within a state' as a meridional phenomenon, is exemplified by the work of J. Garrisson-Estèbe. In her *Protestants du Midi 1559-1598* (1980) and *Les Protestants au XVIe siècle* (1998) she combined an assessment of the social impact of the Reformation with an examination of Huguenot political assemblies. In both of these works, and in *L'Homme protestant* (1980), she adopted the label of 'Provinces-Unies du Midi' first coined by J. Delumeau in *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme*

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[84] N. Sutherland, *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1980), pp. ix, 287, 300. The final chapter of this book was first published as an article entitled 'The Edict of Nantes and the "protestant State"', *Annali della Fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa*, 2 (1965), pp. 199-236.

[85] N. Sutherland, 'The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes 1598-1629', in I. Scouloudi (ed.), *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800. Contributions to the Historical Conference of the Huguenot Society of London, 24-25 September 1985* (London, Macmillan, 1987), p. 159.

[86] Although this seems to contradict her statement in *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici* (London, The Athlone Press, University of London, 1962), p. 201, that 'From about 1576, the real enemies of the devout and sincerely catholic Henry were not the protestants but the catholics themselves'.

[87] See Haag VII, 512-42: Philippe de Mornay, baron de La Forêt-sur-Sèvre, seigneur du Plessis-Marly (1549-1623).

[88] She does however use the first volume of the 1652 Brienne collection (B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191) as well as other volumes in the Bibliothèque nationale. In her article on 'The Edict of Nantes and the "protestant State"' (1965), she relied heavily on H. Ouvré's 1853 biography of Turenne's secretary, Aubéry du Maurier, instead of the relevant manuscript sources.

(1965).[89] She also characterised the assemblies held between 1 April 1596 and April 1598 that negotiated the edict of Nantes as 'un formidable groupe de pression'.[90] Garrisson's *L'Édit de Nantes. Chronique d'une paix attendue* (1998) is (after a brief reference to the assembly at La Rochelle in 1588)[91] a detailed chronological account of negotiations starting from the assembly at Mantes in 1593 and ending with royal permission to convene a general assembly at Sainte-Foy on 16 October 1601.[92] Throughout, the account characterises the assemblies as a 'state within a state'.[93] As another example of this approach, Kingdon in his book on *Myths about the St Bartholomew's Day massacres 1572-1576* (1988) presented the regulation drawn up at Millau in December 1573 as a type of government independent of Paris, paralleled with modern-day dreams of 'Occitania'.[94]

The second dominant interpretation in recent historiography stresses attempts at conciliation with the monarchy and presents Huguenot political assemblies as constituting a *corps*, rather than a separate state, within the kingdom. This view also developed from the provisions of the edict of Nantes.[95]

A. Herman took a linguistic approach in his thesis on 'The Saumur Assembly of 1611: Huguenot Political Belief and Action in the Age of Marie de Medici' (1984).[96] He considered Huguenot political assemblies primarily from the perspective of written

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[89] J. Delumeau, *Naissance et affirmation de la Réforme* (Paris, P.U.F., 1965), p. 181. J. Garrisson-Estèbe, *Protestants du Midi 1559-1598* (Toulouse, Edouard Privat, 1980), pp. 177-226; *Les Protestants au XVIe siècle* (Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1998), pp. 297-311, 319. In the latter work, she does not discuss the assemblies held between 1575 and 1588. See also *idem*, *L'Homme protestant* (Paris, Hachette, 1980), pp. 26-31 (although she stressed on p. 30 that Huguenot administration relied on the existing framework of royal administration).

[90] *Protestants du Midi*, pp. 194-5, 214; *Les Protestants au XVIe siècle*, pp. 326-8; *L'Homme protestant*, p. 32; *L'édit de Nantes*, ed. J. Garrisson (Biarritz, Atlantic, 1997), p. 12.

[91] J. Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes. Chronique d'une paix attendue* (Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1998), p. 24.

[92] *ibid.*, p. 358.

[93] *ibid.*, pp. 24, 250, 250 fn. 19.

[94] R. Kingdon, *Myths about the St Bartholomew's Day massacres 1572-1576* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1988), p. 189.

[95] This last point is argued by F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application* (1950), p. 24 and R. Mousnier, *Les Institutions de la France sous la Monarchie Absolue 1598-1789* (2 vols., Paris, P.U.F., 1974), I, 300.

[96] A. Herman, 'The Saumur Assembly of 1611: Huguenot Political Belief and Action in the Age of Marie de Medici', (Baltimore, Maryland, The John Hopkins University Ph. D. thesis, 1984), p. 49, fn. 2. Herman relied on the relevant Brienne, Dupuy and Mazarine volumes, accounts printed in the *Mercure françois* (1611) and in Rohan's memoirs. Without explanation, he referred to Anquez as a 'chief contributor' to 'the gloom and obscurity' in this field of study.

interpretations of their position vis-à-vis the king, which he labelled as 'discourse'.[97] In his assessment of Huguenot political discourse, Herman concentrated on the conciliatory writings of Philippe du Plessis Mornay. He argued that Mornay's solution for the unity and preservation of the Huguenot churches was to identify the general well being of the churches with the well being of the state. This transformed the Huguenot political union for self-preservation into a support for monarchical authority.[98] The general 'political' assembly was the means by which political union could be achieved.[99] The idea of a *corps* was applied not only to the assemblies, but also to the community of Huguenots as a whole, who found common identity through the edict of Nantes.[100] Corporative theory therefore made the assemblies 'representative', not functioning independently of royal authority.[101] Herman concluded that when the rivalries of the Protestant high nobility began in 1611, 'the language of affective politics' had finished; Protestants were no longer considered as a *corps* of Protestant defenders of royal authority.[102]

M. Péronnet's article 'La "république des Provinces-Unies du Midi": les enjeux de l'historiographie' (1992) presents a sustained argument in favour of Huguenot political assemblies as a *corps* within the state.[103] The volume *Coexister dans l'intolérance. L'édit de Nantes (1598)* (1998) provides studies of the negotiations the assemblies engaged in the period preceding the edict of Nantes (in the essays by Turchetti, J. Garrisson, Wada, Daussy and Fornerod) as well as chapters on the difficulties of implementing the edict (notably in the

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[97] Herman defined discourse as 'an on-going linguistic exchange between participants in a series of social encounters that require the use of language'.
[98] A. Herman, 'The Saumur Assembly of 1611' (1984), p. 93; cf. pp. 115-6, 124-5.
[99] *ibid.*, pp. 112-3.
[100] *ibid.*, pp. 126-8.
[101] *ibid.*, p. 129.
[102] *ibid.*, pp. 417-8. Herman explored these arguments further in an article on 'Protestant Churches in a Catholic Kingdom: Political Assemblies in the Thought of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXI number 4 (1990), 543-57. He also pursued his linguistic approach in an article on 'The Huguenot Republic and Antirepublicanism in Seventeenth-Century France', *J.H.I.*, 53 (1992), pp. 249-69.
[103] M. Péronnet, 'La "république des Provinces-Unies du Midi": les enjeux de l'historiographie', in A. Blanchard, H. Michel and E. Pélaquier (eds.), *La vie religieuse dans la France méridionale à l'époque moderne. Actes du colloque (1990)* (Montpellier, Université Paul Valéry, 1992), pp. 5-26.

essay by Chevalier).[104] The article by M. Greengrass on 'Financing the Cause: Protestant Mobilization and Accountability in France (1562-1589)' in the collection of essays entitled *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585* (1999) firmly argues, like Péronnet, in favour of the assemblies as a *corps* within the state.[105] Despite this work, in his book on *Montauban and Southern French Calvinism during the Wars of Religion* (2002), P. Conner describes 'present-day historians' as 'obsessed by the idea of a "United Provinces" of the Midi'. He argues this is largely because they have 'accepted and adopted in full the Catholic propaganda of the sixteenth century' and have been over-reliant on the records of the assemblies. Conner focuses on the period between 1573 and 1574.[106]

The aim of this present thesis is to throw further light on the debate over whether the Huguenot general assemblies were a state within a state or a *corps*, by writing for the first time a history of the general assemblies from 1579 to 1622 from their mostly unexplored manuscript records.[107] The development of the general assemblies as an institution during the course of this period can only be traced by a general study. Over the following pages, it will become clear that the assemblies were primarily a *corps*. Their principal purpose was both to oversee the implementation of the edicts of pacification and to mobilize resources if peace broke down.

In the first two chapters, this thesis addresses the process of convocation and elections to the general assemblies, then mechanisms for regulating proceedings, presenting their case to the monarchy and ensuring the implementation of replies to the *cahiers* and of concessions in the edicts. The third chapter addresses the position of the general assemblies with respect to offices of justice, principally in the *chambres de l'édit*, and their interest in ensuring that

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[104] M. Grandjean and B. Roussel (eds.), *Coexister dans l'intolérance. L'édit de Nantes (1598)* (Geneva, Labor et Fides, 1998). This collection of essays was also published in *B.S.H.P.F.*, 144 number 1-2 (1998).
[105] M. Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause: Protestant Mobilization and Accountability in France (1562-1589)' in P. Benedict, G. Marnef, H. van Nierop and M. Venard (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585. [...]* (1999), pp. 233-54. For more on this article, see Chapters Four and Six. The article by J. M. Constant, 'The Protestant Nobility in France during the Wars of Religion: A Leaven of Innovation in a Traditional World' in the same volume (*ibid.*, pp. 69-82) however follows the opposite view in presenting the assemblies as a state within the state.
[106] P. Conner, *Huguenot Heartland. Montauban and Southern French Calvinism during the Wars of Religion* (2002), pp. 134-7, 140-1, 147-9, 155, 165-6.
[107] Due to lack of time, this thesis has not made a detailed study of ambassadorial reports.

Huguenots were given a fair hearing within the framework of royal justice. Chapter Four examines how the general assemblies were able to balance the seizure of property (lay and ecclesiastical) with a concern for the consequences of loss of property, for residency rights and rights of worship. The final two chapters address the provisions made by the general assemblies for war: firstly their measures for levying and organising troops (and for ensuring some protection for local populations) and secondly their means of financing war. Throughout this thesis, the measures taken by some general assemblies are discussed in greater detail: the decisions taken at Loudun in 1596 and the debates at Montauban in 1579 and 1584 on the levy of funds to pay mercenary troops are examples of this.

As well as manuscript material in the Bibliothèque nationale, this thesis is based on the two manuscript series in the Bibliothèque Mazarine, unexplored notably by Anquez and J. Garrisson. Where possible, original versions have been used in preference to seventeenth or eighteenth-century copies, because they provide valuable visual evidence on how the general assemblies sought to record their proceedings.[108] Extensive use has therefore been made of manuscript material in the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français. For local and provincial assemblies, as well as the provincial councils that elected deputies to the general assemblies, only partial and scattered records survive. Complementary material is provided by contemporaneous pamphlets and tracts, as well as the correspondence, memoirs, and accounts of those who attended the assemblies. Although the ninth and final volume of the Haag brothers' biographical dictionary *La France protestante* was published in 1859,[109] in the same year during which Anquez' *Histoire des assemblées politiques* appeared, Anquez does not refer to the dictionary as a source. The Haag brothers' work and its second edition by Bordier[110] help to identify some of the numerous names that appear in the records of Huguenot political assemblies. Recent historiography (for instance on warfare or printing in

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[108] See Chapter Two, pp. 68, 69-71.

[109] E. and E. Haag, *La France protestante ou vie des protestants français [...]* (9 vols., Paris and Geneva, Jöel Cherbuliez, 1846-59).

[110] H. Bordier (ed.), *La France protestante*, 2nd ed. (6 vols, Paris, Fischbacher, 1877-88). These six volumes however end with the name 'Gasparin': the second edition was never completed.

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) is clearly important in helping to contextualize the activities of the general assemblies.[111]

In examining how the general assemblies were able to operate as a *corps* within the existing framework of royal administration, this thesis also aims to reflect more broadly on the development of representative assemblies during a context of civil war.

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[111] All sources are detailed in the Bibliography, pp. 303-36.

CHAPTER ONE

Convocation of the General Assemblies

What was the purpose of convoking general assemblies? How, in the context of civil war, was this achieved and how did the general assemblies seek to maintain solidarity? This chapter argues that difficulties in the process of convocation and elections to the general assemblies (only previously studied by Wada for the region of Saintonge, Aunis and Angoumois)[1] lie at the heart of an explanation of the manner in which they functioned. An examination of the choice of location for the assemblies helps to highlight the difficulties in convening these and gives an indication of the practical obstacles faced by their deputies. The oaths that deputies were required to swear in order to gain admittance to an assembly underpin the assemblies' efforts to maintain cohesion. Did the formulation of these oaths evolve over time? The manner in which the assemblies sought to implement the oaths in the localities can be seen as a measure of the effectiveness of their organisation.

I. Approval by the monarchy

The general assemblies held between 1579 and 1584 were convoked by the king of Navarre and sanctioned by Henri III as a means of implementing the peace settlements of Nérac in February 1579, Fleix in November 1580 and Coutras in December 1580.[2] These peace settlements complemented the edict of pacification of 1577. Although Henri III was unable to prevent these general assemblies, he also gave them his open approval. Sutherland has shown that because of the extent to which the royal administration in Guyenne had

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[1] M. Wada, 'La représentation des régions à l'assemblée générale protestante au 16e siècle: le cas de la province Saintonge-Aunis-Angoumois', in M. Grandjean and B. Roussel (eds.), *Coexister dans l'intolérance. L'édit de Nantes (1598)* (Geneva, Labor et Fides, 1998), pp. 187-206.

[2] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 11: 13 October 1578 letter of convocation. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 2 v, arts. 24-25; fol. 6 r-v, arts. 56-9: Montauban 1581. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 22, 24 August 1584. Anquez I, 30, 33, 35-7. *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XXI, 242-3, number 1447: Henri de Navarre to Théodore de Bèze (November 1580/ 1581); XXII, 29, number 1460: Henri de Navarre to Théodore de Bèze (1 February 1581).

broken down, there was no foundation upon which to implement the settlement of Fleix.[3] Recently, Conner and Greengrass have demonstrated that the monarchy co-opted Huguenot elites (primarily royal office holders) in the implementation of peace in the localities.[4] Christin showed more widely how in the second half of the sixteenth century, religious pacifications stressed the restoration of order within collective entities and were founded on a contractual basis, with mutual guarantees.[5]

General assemblies held between 1593 and 1601 were sanctioned by Henri IV. The first of these assemblies was convened by the king at Mantes from 8 November (and not 8 October as Anquez states) 1593 to 23 January 1594 as a consequence of his second conversion to Catholicism on 25 July 1593.[6] Huguenots sought wider guarantees than those granted by the edict of Poitiers (1577) which had been reinstated by the king in 1591 (although not implemented by the *parlements*). These assemblies benefited from Henri IV's need to temporise as he was faced with conflict with both the Catholic League and Spanish troops until 1598.

The edict of Nantes in 1598 forbade all political assemblies that were not held with the king's permission.[7] The edict, dated 30 April 1598, is constituted of ninety-two general articles, fifty-six particular articles and two *brevets* (dated 3 and 30 April 1598). In contrast to the principal part of the edict (which was registered by the Paris *parlement* on 25 February 1599), the two *brevets* depended only on the will of the king to guarantee their

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[3] N. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici* (London, The Athlone Press, University of London, 1962), p. 225; cf. pp. 207, 213.

[4] P. Conner, 'Peace in the provinces. Peace-making in the Protestant South during the Later Wars of Religion', in K. Cameron, M. Greengrass and P. Roberts (eds.), *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France. Papers from the Exeter Conference, April 1999* (Bern, Oxford, Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 183-7. M. Greengrass, 'Epilogue: The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early-Modern France'in *ibid.*, pp. 314-5.

[5] O. Christin, *La paix de religion: l'autonomisation de la raison politique au XVIe siècle* (Paris, Seuil, 1997), pp. 36-41. Particularly in France, royal authority was presented as the key to ensuring the implementation of these measures and to the restoration of public order.

[6] See Mazarine Ms. 2593, fols. 273 r-v, 276 r-v, 278 r- 279 v, 280 v-281 v, arts. viii, x, xxi, xxviii, xxx-xxxii, xxxvi-xxxviii. Anquez I, 58.

[7] Edict of Nantes, arts. 77, 82.

implementation.[8] The edict of Nantes reiterated and developed much of the content of previous edicts of pacification, notably the edict of Poitiers of 1577.

After 1601, the king allowed the general assemblies to convene in order to elect representatives at court who would supervise the implementation of the edict of Nantes. These representatives at court were called deputies general; their role will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.[9] The king also allowed provincial assemblies for the purpose of electing deputies to the general assemblies and for collecting petitions from the provinces. Royal permission to hold the assemblies was formally given in *brevets*, which the deputies general were charged with requesting.

Not all general assemblies were sanctioned by the monarchy. In 1588, during the eighth civil war, the king of Navarre convoked a general assembly at La Rochelle as a means of organising self-defence.[10] The general assemblies at Nîmes in 1615 and La Rochelle in 1616 were sanctioned after they had opened.[11] Deputies at the general assembly at Loudun (1619-20) separated on condition that they would reassemble in six months if royal promises laid down in a text dated 6 March 1620 were not implemented. These promises related to the governorship of Lectoure (the Huguenot governor had converted to Catholicism in 1616), the reception of two Huguenot *conseillers* at the Paris *parlement*, a *brevet* for the continuation of the *places de sûreté* for four years and the hearing of deputies from Béarn within seven months.[12] The next and final general assembly at La Rochelle convened in 1620 without a royal *brevet* when these six months had passed without fruition.

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[8] See *L'édit de Nantes*, ed. J. Garrisson (Biarritz, Atlantic, 1997), pp. 13-5.
[9] See Chapter Two, pp. 96-100.
[10] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 199: La Rochelle 1588. *Agrippa d'Aubigné. Histoire universelle*, ed. A. Thierry (Geneva, Droz, 1997), VII, 294 and Anquez I, 38: state that the general assembly had been convoked because of the Estates General at Blois (16 October 1588-15/6 January 1589), but the *procès-verbal* makes no mention of the Estates, perhaps as they were dominated by sympathisers of the League.
[11] Anquez I, 271. On petition from Condé, the countess of Soissons, and other members of the nobility attending the peace conference at Loudun (B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fols. 176 r-177 r; copy in Mazarine Ms. 2609, fols. 248 v-250 r), the general assembly at La Rochelle (held there from 3 March 1616) was able to obtain a *brevet* (3 May 1616) allowing it to remain until 15 June 1616, while waiting for the registration of the edict for peace and implementation of previous concessions. See B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fols. 264 r-v. *Négociations lettres et pièces relatives à la conférence de Loudun*, ed. L. Bouchitté (Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1872), pp. 673-4, number ccclxxxi.
[12] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 343-4, art. 3: instructions for the deputies in the general assembly at Loudun in 1620 on return to their provinces. The assembly's stance was broadly supported in B.N.F. fr. 20960,

II. Nomination of deputies

i. Regulations

Existing historiography focuses on the regulations produced by general assemblies as a means of determining the manner in which they functioned, thereby presenting an image of a fixed, solid framework that ignores the problems that occurred in practice. Regulations not only detailed the manner in which elections to the general assemblies, provincial assemblies and provincial councils were to be carried out, but also the number of deputies that could be elected and the frequency with which assemblies were to be held. This section first provides an outline of these regulations, before assessing how deputies deviated from them in practice.

The only common factor for assemblies held between 1579 and 1588 was the role the king of Navarre played in writing letters of convocation in order to organise elections.[13] Only the general assembly at La Rochelle 1588 briefly mentioned plans to convene a general assembly every two years; national synods would be convoked at the same time.[14] Generally, political assemblies maintained the importance of implementing the Ecclesiastical discipline and to this end, encouraged the holding of provincial and national synods, which could not be held regularly because of the ongoing conflicts.[15] For the general assembly in 1588, rivers (the Garonne, Loire and Charente) were mainly used to delimit provinces.[16] The manner in which these provinces were delimited changed over time, most likely because of changing church membership in some areas.[17] Provinces are also delimited differently from the lists of provinces at the head of the *procès-verbaux* for example in elections for members of the

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fols. 140 r-141 r, 142 r-143 r: memoranda sent by Bouillon and La Trémoille (20 February 1620). The matter is also discussed in *Lettre escrite par l'assemblee de Loudun a Monsieur de Chastillon. De Loudun ce 26. Mars 1620.* (n.p., 1620); *Lettre escrite a Monsieur le Duc de L'Esdiguieres par Messieurs de l'Assemblee. De Loudun ce* 26. *Mars* 1620. (n.p., 1620). Anquez I, 321-5.

[13] The form of these letters of convocation (stating the purpose of the assembly, when and where it would meet, the number of deputies to be elected and in what manner) broadly followed that of the letters for the Estates General. See J. Russell Major, *The Deputies to the Estates General in Renaissance France* (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1960), p. 5.

[14] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 202: La Rochelle 1588.

[15] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 1584 (24 August). Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 201-2: La Rochelle 1588. Mazarine Ms. 2607, pp. 460, 481: Châtellerault 1597-8. B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608.

[16] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 197-9, 252.

[17] See Chapter Two, p. 53.

councils planned for the king of Navarre,[18] and when apportioning sums to be levied by provinces for a specific purpose.[19]

The general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594 was the first during the period 1579-1622 to draw up a formal regulation outlining the manner in which deputies to the general assemblies would henceforth be elected. Anquez, F. Garrisson and J. Garrisson-Estèbe have noted the extensive nature of this regulation, which was amended in 1596 and confirmed in 1597.[20] The 1594 regulation stated that the general assembly would convene once or twice a year, with ten deputies, each elected by a provincial assembly.[21] This was not a right that was in any way 'won', transforming the 'political assembly' into a 'national representative body', as Valone argued in his 1965 thesis,[22] but a decision made by the assembly because of the importance of the negotiations for the forthcoming edict. For the same reason, the general assembly decided to double the number of deputies from ten to twenty.[23] A common feature of regulations between 1594 and 1598 (schematized in Figure 1 below) is that they planned for the re-election of only part of the deputies, while the rest remained in order to receive replies from deputies sent to court. Although this aspect of the regulation was never put into practice, it has led to suggestions that a permanent general council was intended.[24] The decision by the general assembly held at Loudun in 1596 that it was legitimate to hold an assembly, even if no permission could be obtained from the king (although this was preferable), can be seen as a reflection of this attempt at continuity.[25] As the proposals put

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[18] See Chapter Two, pp. 55-6.
[19] See Chapter Six, pp. 256-64.
[20] Anquez I, 62. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d' Application de l'Edit de Nantes. Première partie. Règne de Henri IV* (Université de Paris, Faculté de Droit, 1950), p. 22, fn. 28. J. Garrisson-Estèbe, *Protestants du Midi 1559-1598* (1980), p. 194. *L'édit de Nantes*, ed. J. Garrisson (Biarritz, Atlantic, 1997), p. 11. For Anquez I, 67-8, it was also a transposition into the political order of the representative system that existed in the ecclesiastical order.
[21] B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], arts. 1, 17: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation.
[22] J. Valone, 'The Huguenots and the War of Spanish Marriages' (University of Michigan, 1965), p. 18.
[23] B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], art. 2 and additional art. 4: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation.
[24] A. de Jussieu, 'Notice sur les assemblées de protestants qui eurent lieu en France à la suite de la conversion de Henri IV à la religion catholique romaine jusqu'à la promulgation de l'édit de Nantes' (n.p., n.d., p. 278). C. Benoist, *Condition juridique des protestants sous le régime de l'édit de Nantes et après sa révocation.* (Paris, Arthur Rousseau, 1900), p. 98.
[25] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 268-9, art. 16: Loudun 1596.

forward by the king's deputies were still deemed insufficient,[26] the following general assembly at Saumur in 1597 decided that while ten deputies would carry memoranda to the provinces, those remaining would continue negotiations, and would come to a decision at Châtellerault, where they would convene on 1 May.[27] The general assembly at Châtellerault then decided (11 June 1598) in accordance with the second *brevet* of the edict of Nantes (30 April 1598) that the names of three people in each of the ten provinces would be presented to the king. One would be chosen from each province to sit at the next general assembly at Saumur.[28]

The eight general assemblies held between 1601 and 1620 were allowed by the royal *brevets*, as described above. The procedure for elections from the consistories to the provincial assemblies described in the regulation established at Saumur in 1611 (and outlined in Figure 3 below) paralleled the procedure followed when rural communities were summoned to the *bailliage* assemblies that preceded the Estates General.[29] A *cahier* presented to Louis XIII by Chauffepié, minister at Niort and a deputy for Poitou at the general assembly at Grenoble and Nîmes (1615-6),[30] unsuccessfully asked to be allowed to hold general assemblies every two years without having to ask for further permission.[31] The

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[26] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 518-9, arts. 353, 357 (1 April).

[27] *ibid.*, p. 521, art. 364 (3 April): signed the regulation drawn up at Loudun on 22 and 24 June 1596 (art. 132) for deputies to carry them to the provinces. Regulation in B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35; copy in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fols. 221 r- 225 r.

[28] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 38: 'Instruction de ce que l'Assemblee a trouvé estre expedient pour faciliter l'execution de l'Edict accordé par le Roy à ceux de la Religion de ce Royaume'. Anquez I, 172 states this took place on 5 June. The assembly (8, 11 June) decided that seven deputies would remain until new deputies had convened. Proceedings for the period after 11 June do not survive (confirmed by J. Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes*, p. 352).

[29] For the latter, see J. Russell Major, *The Deputies to the Estates General in Renaissance France* (1960), pp. 10-1.

[30] His name often appears as 'Chaussepied' in the manuscripts. Jean Chauffepié had also been a deputy for Poitou at Châtellerault in 1605 and at Jargeau in 1608. Haag, III, 419-420: He was one of those most in favour of an alliance with Condé and the princes. Chauffepié was amongst the deputies sent to the conference for peace at Loudun in 1616. In 1620, he was a deputy at the national synod of Alès; at the general assembly at La Rochelle (1620-2) he represented Jean de Baudéan, count of Parabère. See Chapter Two, p. 67, fn. 88 for Parabère's biography.

[31] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 20 r-v, art. 7.

town of La Rochelle wrote letters of convocation for the final general assembly that convened there in 1620 without a royal *brevet* when royal promises were not implemented.[32]

An important change made at the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594 was the decision to establish councils in each of the ten provinces. The members of these councils would be elected by deputies at the provincial assemblies.[33] The provincial councils were intended to sit permanently. Moreover, the regulation (20 March 1598) established by the general assembly at Châtellerault for better implementation of the forthcoming edict of Nantes sought the establishment of a permanent *conseil général*, that would be distinct from the general assembly, with members elected by the provincial councils. The general council could convoke the general assembly or notables in each province when need be.[34] There is no evidence that this council existed,[35] although both Bouillon[36] and La Trémoille[37] also proposed a permanent council of deputies that would help to ensure implementation of the edict of Nantes.[38] In an article on 'The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes 1598-1629' (1987) Sutherland argued that the deputies at Sainte-Foy in 1601 'reconstituted their illegal political

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[32] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7197, fols. 1 r-2 r (copy in B.N.F. fr. 23490, fols. 1 r-2 r): letter from the town of La Rochelle for the convocation of the assembly there for 25 November 1620 (14 October 1620). Copy addressed to the council for Basse-Guyenne.

[33] B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], arts. 3, 9, 10, 13, 16: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. See Figure 1.

[34] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 34.

[35] As R. Mousnier, *Les Institutions de la France sous la Monarchie Absolue 1598-1789* (2 vols., Paris, P.U.F., 1974), I, 305, argued that it did.

[36] Haag VI, 384-98: Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, viscount of Turenne, Castillon and Lanquais, count of Monfort and Négrepelisse (1555-1623) became duke of Bouillon when he married Charlotte de La Marck (heir to Sedan, Raucourt and Jametz) in 1591. Henri IV named him *maréchal de France* in 1592 (this was registered by the Paris *parlement* in 1594). Charlotte de La Marck died in 1594, and in 1595 Bouillon married Elizabeth of Nassau. Their son Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, viscount of Turenne (1611-75) was one of the leading French commanders during the Thirty Years War.

[37] Haag VI, 414-8: Claude de La Trémoille (1566-1604) duke of Thouars, prince of Talmont, *conseiller du roi* and captain of one hundred men of arms. He served with the Catholics under the duke of Montpensier until 1585, then joined the prince of Condé, who became his brother-in-law. La Trémoille commanded a *corps* of light cavalry at Coutras in 1587 then attended the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588. He also fought for Henri IV at Ivry (1590), the siege of Rouen (1592) and Fontaine-Française (1595). In 1595, the king elevated his duchy to a *duché-pairie*, although the letters patent for this were only registered in 1599. La Trémoille swore the oath of union at Saumur in 1595 and Loudun in 1596. He also attended the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1597-8, and acted as its president from June to November 1597. After the edict of Nantes, Henri IV sent La Trémoille to Portugal in order to distance him from the court.

[38] Memorandum by Bouillon in B.P.F. Ms. 708, fols. 62 v-63 v. Memorandum by La Trémoille in *ibid.*, fols. 59 v-61 r; fol. 60 v: 'estant impossible, de conserver un party entierement separé de l'Estat, qu'avec une forme de gouvernement'. These memoranda are discussed in J. Garrisson, 'Les grands du parti protestant et l'édit de Nantes', in M. Grandjean and B. Roussel (eds.), *Coexister dans l'intolérance. L'édit de Nantes (1598)* (1998), pp. 175-86.

organisation, skilfully blending it with legal ecclesiastical bodies', which were allowed by the edict of Nantes.[39] The edict of Nantes in fact banned only those assemblies held without royal permission. The royal *brevets* allowing the assemblies to take place made no mention of the provincial councils, and Sutherland's statement is only relevant to them. Figure 2 shows that the regulation for provincial councils drawn up in 1601, which linked the councils with the provincial and national synods, was moreover planned only 'Cas advenant que si Lon refusast L'assemblée generalle' in order to maintain the union between the churches. Provinces would maintain this regulation 'au plus que faire se pourra'. The regulation of 29 August 1611 renewed provisions for the establishment of provincial councils, suggesting that the general assemblies had trouble in maintaining them in the provinces. A declaration by Louis XIII dated 24 April 1612 and registered at the Paris *parlement* on 25 May, which granted a general pardon for those who had committed the fault of convoking and attending 'extraordinary assemblies', prohibited by article 82 of the edict of Nantes, actually refers to provincial councils. This would indicate that measures for the establishment of these councils in the 1611 regulation were followed in some provinces.[40] The *cahier* presented to Louis XIII at Poitiers in 1616 again requested the re-establishment of the councils.[41] The regulation drawn up by the final general assembly at La Rochelle on 10 May 1621 stated that provincial councils would be maintained where possible.[42]

As Figure 3 shows, the 1611 regulation stated that members of neighbouring provincial councils could meet together in order to establish means of defending a province that had come under attack.[43] Richelieu noted this regulation as 'très propre a produire les

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[39] N. Sutherland, 'The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes 1598-1629' in I. Scouloudi (ed.), *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800 [...]* (1987), p. 163. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 33.

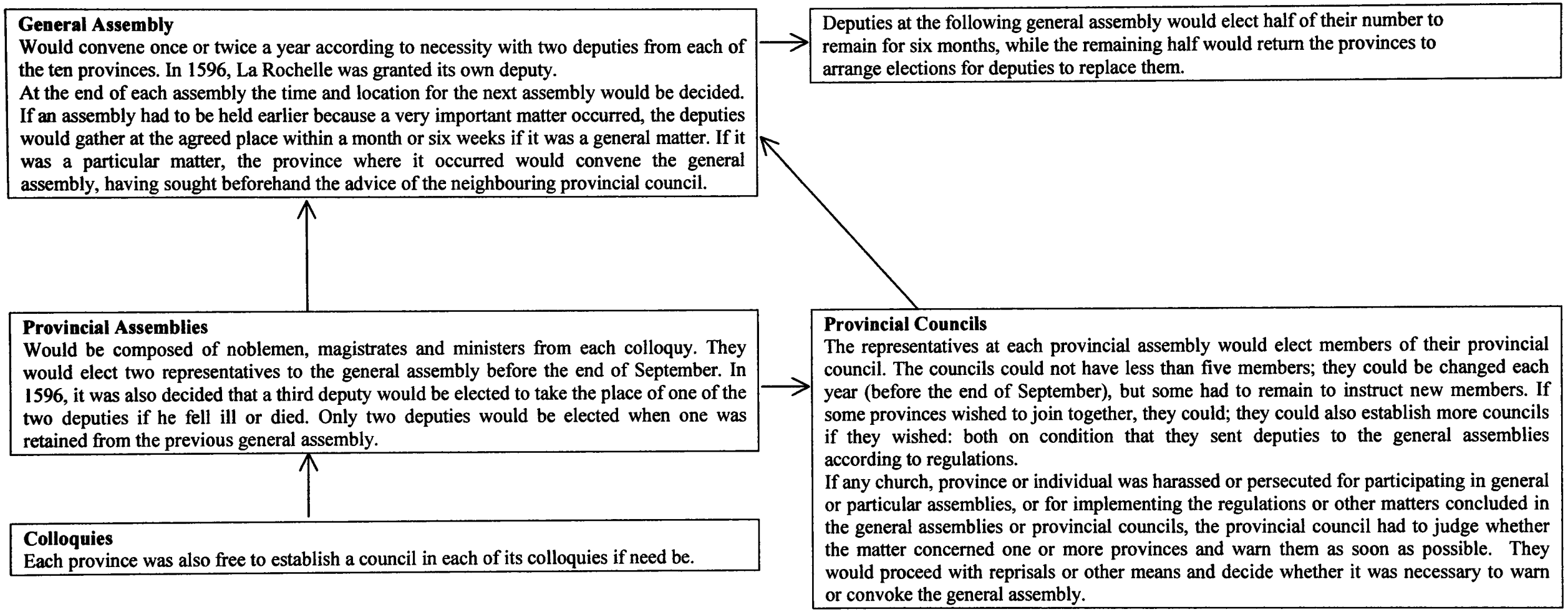
[40] *Declaration du roy sur les assemblées d'aucuns de ses Subjets de la Religion pretenduë reformée, confirmative de l'Edict de Nantes, & Articles particuliers. [...]* (Paris, A. Estienne, 1644). See Anquez I, 254-5, 400-1.

[41] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 18 r, art. 2.

[42] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 42 v, art. 1; copy from fol. 42 v in Arsenal Ms. 5414, pp. 543-51, dated 10 May 1621.

[43] Figure 2 shows that a similar proposal had first been put forward in 1596.

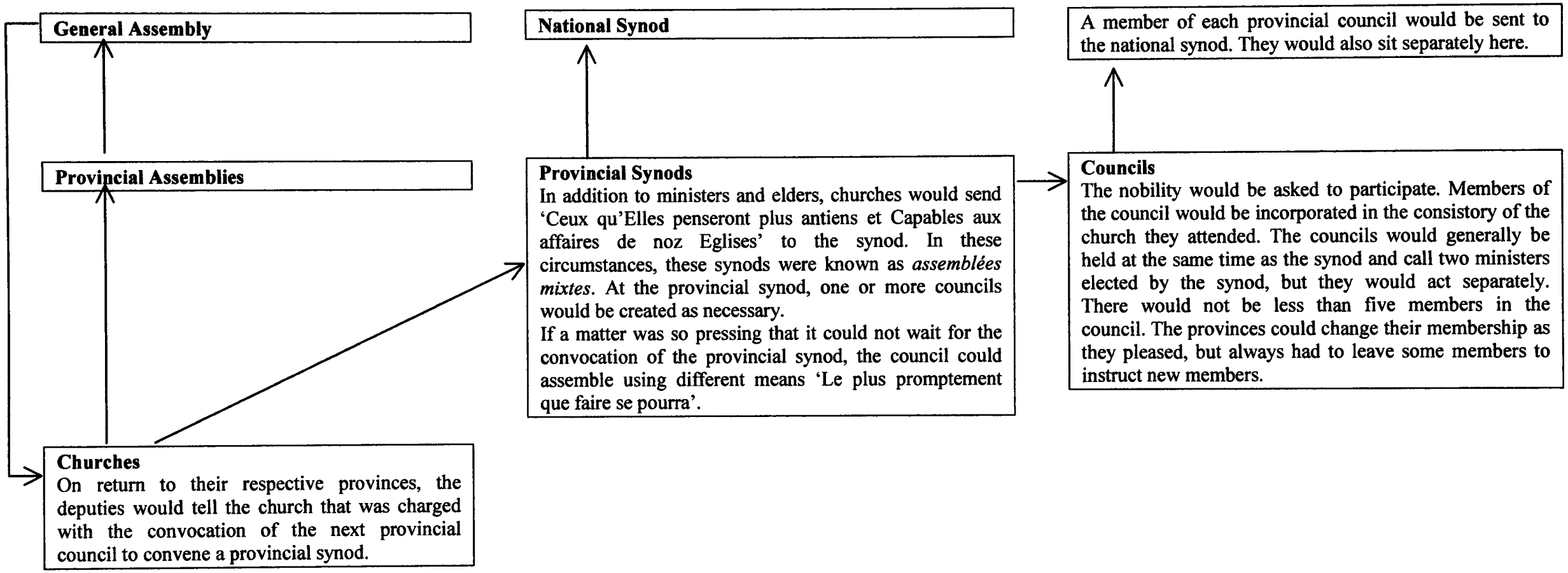
Figure 1. Regulations 1594-8



Sources: B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[1]: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation.
B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xliii: Saumur 1595.
B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35: Loudun 22 and 24 June 1596 regulation (confirmed on 3 April 1597).
Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 488, art. 231: Vendôme 1596-7.

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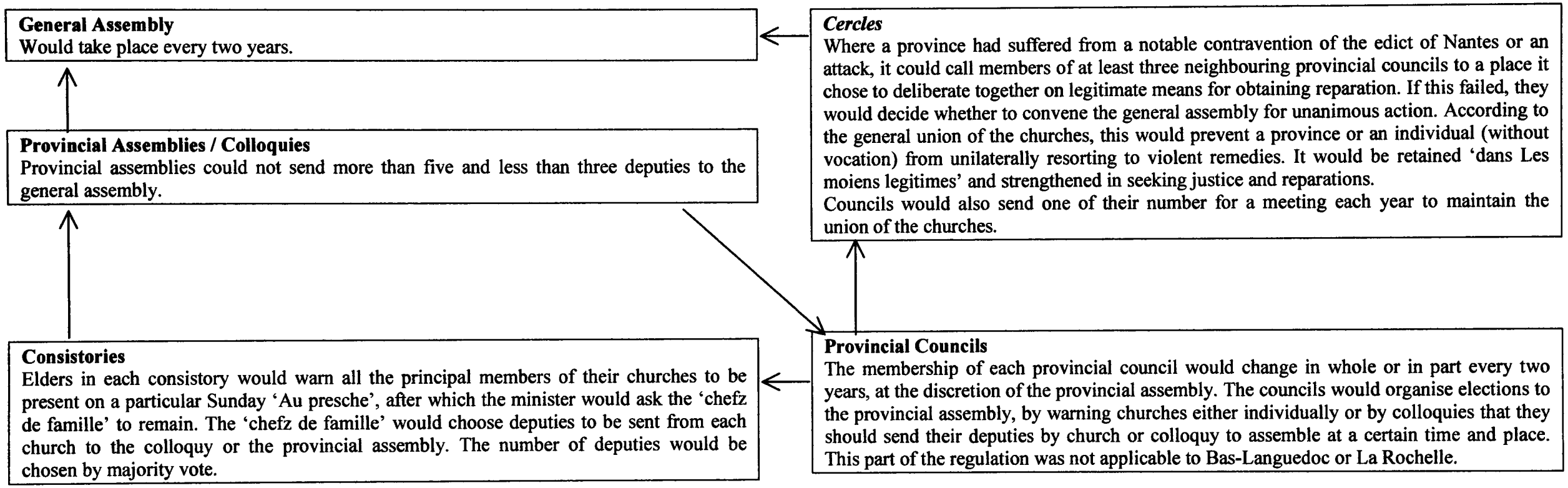
Figure 2. Regulation for Provincial Councils, 1601



Source: Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 738-40.

If the king did grant a general assembly, this regulation would however be followed for the 'liaison' between the general assembly and the provincial councils.

Figure 3. Regulations 1611-20



Sources: B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 291 r-297 r: Saumur 29 August 1611 regulation. Printed version in *Veritable Discours De ce qui s'est passé en l'Assemblée politique des Eglises Réformées de France, tenuë à Saumur par la permission du Roy, l'an 1611.[...]* (n.p., 1646), pp. 67-80. Cf. B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 206 v: Saumur 1611.
B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 171 r-v: union between Huguenots and Condé (27 November 1615).
Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 609-20: Loudun 10 April 1620 regulation. Copies in B.N.F. fr. 20960, fols. 130 r-134 v; B.N.F. N.a.f. 7195, fols. 359 r-368 v; B.P.F. Ms. Bourgogne number 436.
Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 343-4, arts. 1, 2, 4: Loudun 1620 instructions for deputies on return to their provinces.
Anquez I, 248 fn. 1.

plus grands troubles dans l'Etat'.[44] These meetings, known as *cercle* assemblies, occurred first in late 1612 and early 1613 (when Henri de Rohan[45] lost the *gouvernement* of Saint-Jean-d'Angély).[46] Two other *cercles* assemblies met at La Rochelle in 1616-7 when the town felt threatened by the duke of Epernon, governor of Saintonge, Aunis and Angoumois. Anquez states that the second of these assemblies, held in April-June 1617, was a general assembly, for which no records survive.[47] The deputies for La Rochelle who were at this second assembly unsuccessfully sought an audience at court. In their letter to La Rochelle reporting their actions at court, they refer to the assembly as a *cercle* assembly. Their reported approval of the murder of the royal favourite Concino Concini (24 April 1617) reads like a desperate attempt to ingratiate themselves with the king, and is the only instance of a formal approval of political murder to be found in the records of Huguenot political assemblies.[48] Other meetings of the *cercles* will be discussed in Chapter Four.[49]

ii. Conflicting bases for elections

In spite of the clear framework provided by the regulations, the discussion below demonstrates that there was in fact no uniform basis for elections.

A letter of convocation signed by the king of Navarre (13 October 1578) states that by virtue of royal letters patent allowing Huguenots to carry out levies to pay their German mercenaries, he had ordered an assembly of the reformed and Catholic churches[50] of the 'pais

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[44] Quoted by Anquez I, x, 250. J. Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior: the Life and Times of Henri de Rohan, 1579-1638* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), p. 37: calls this 'a new constitution for the party modeled on the quasi-republican organization which the Edict of Nantes had suppressed a decade before'.

[45] Haag VIII, 474-99: Henri de Rohan (1579-1638), prince of Léon, count of Porhoët and from 1603 a duke and peer of France. He was noted at the general assembly at Saumur in 1611, mustered some troops in 1615 in support of Condé and in 1619 in support of the queen mother, and was regarded as the de facto Huguenot military leader from 1621.

[46] Anquez I, 255-61.

[47] *ibid.*, 293-8.

[48] Mazarine Ms. 2600, fols. 4v-5 r: letter from Delisleau, Chalmot, Goyer and des Harques to La Rochelle (Paris, 6 April 1617).

[49] See Chapter Four, pp. 168-9.

[50] It is therefore possible that some of the deputies in 1579 were Catholics. In *L'Homme protestant* (Paris, Hachette, 1980), p. 31, J. Garrisson-Estèbe pointed out that from 1575, Henri de Navarre also rallied Catholics to his cause by relying on old ties between his family and lesser nobility and bourgeois in the Midi. In 1880, G. Charvet published a treaty of pacification between Huguenots and Catholics of the comtat Venaissin, signed at Nîmes in 1578, in order to to illustrate how Huguenots and Catholics at a local level could ignore the wider conflict. See *Traité de Nîmes de 1578 et*

des La[nd]es' to be held at Clairac in his *gouvernement* of Guyenne,[51] in order to choose deputies for an assembly to be held at Montauban from 1 November.[52] Navarre was also apparently exercising the right to convene assemblies on his lands. [53] A reply sent by the consistory at La Rochelle (Wednesday 25 January 1581) to a letter of convocation sent by the king of Navarre on 10 January (in conjunction with the provinces of Poitou, Saintonge and Angoumois) shows that consistories also served as the basis for the election of deputies to these assemblies.[54] Anquez stated that all of the deputies to the general assembly at Montauban in 1581 and part of the deputies at Saint-Jean-d'Angély (1582) were nominated by synods, but offered no evidence to support this.[55]

Rather than directly electing its own deputies, the assembly convened at Clairac in 1578 was asked to draw up a list of deputies. From these, the king of Navarre selected one deputy for the nobility (the sieur Dusac, *conseiller* and *gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi de Navarre*) and one for the third estate (the sieur d'Escorbiac,[56] *conseiller* and *maître des requêtes ordinaire de l'hôtel du roi de Navarre*). The king of Navarre also chose an

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conclusions de l'assemblée tenue par les Huguenotz en Allez [sic.: Alès], *en 1580. [...]*, ed. G. Charvet (Nîmes, Clavel-Ballivet et Cie, 1881), pp. 19-21, 26-7.

[51] Clairac, on the Lot river, was the former seat of an abbey where almost all the inhabitants were Huguenot. It was repeatedly sacked during the Wars of Religion. See H. Dubief, and J. Poujol (eds.), *La France protestante. Histoire et lieux de mémoire*, 2nd ed. (Paris, Les éditions de Paris Max Chaleil, 1996), p. 363.

[52] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 11. The letter states that the levy was decided by a previous assembly at Montauban. See Introduction, p. v, fn. 5 for evidence of an assembly held at Montauban in 1577.

[53] In an essay in 1886 the Calvinist minister Philippe Corbière argued that while the king convoked the Estates General, the 'dignitaire le plus élévé de la province' convoked particular assemblies of the estates (to be distinguished from estates in the *pays d'états*). In many provinces assemblies could therefore be convoked to serve opposite parties; sometimes both parties sat together. See P. Corbière, 'De l'organisation politique du parti protestant en 1573', (n.p., n.d.), pp. 10-2, 37-8. However, Russell Major pointed out (*Deputies to the Estates General*, p. 123) that the great majority of nobles with fiefs in Languedoc and Guyenne were excluded from the electoral assemblies for the Estates General. Gatherings such as the one planned at Clairac might therefore have also represented an attempt to affirm a right to participate in an electoral process.

[54] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 12: for an assembly that would also include the provinces of Languedoc, Provence and Dauphiné, and 'others with the prince of Condé'.

[55] Anquez I, 30, 34. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 1 v, art. 9: Montauban 3 May 1581: only shows that the sieur de La Tour, a minister at Rouen, was elected as a deputy for Ile-de-France, Picardy and Normandy with a commission from the provincial synods of these provinces.

[56] Guichard de Scorbiac (1527-1608), an *avocat* at Montauban (c. 1562), *maître des requêtes* for the king of Navarre (1577) and counsellor in the *chambre de l'édit* at Castres (1574-6, 1579-85 and 1595-1602). He was a deputy to the Estates General at Meaux (1560) before his conversion in Easter 1561. He was also the first consul of Montauban in 1563 and 1573, and a deputy to the political assemblies at Millau and Nîmes in 1574. See S. Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc au temps de l'édit de Nantes. La chambre de l'édit de Castres (1579-1679)* (Paris, Ecole des Chartes, 1998), pp. 389-90.

assistant for each (respectively, *maître* Jullien Malet, *auditeur* in the *chambre des comptes* at Nérac, the centre of the principality and duchy of Albret, and *maître* Pierre Causse).[57] By contrast, the reply sent by the consistory at La Rochelle in January 1581 stated that it had elected its own deputies, the sieurs François de Ferrières[58] and Guillaume Becquel, both of them elders of their church, without intervention from the king of Navarre.[59] Between 1581 and 1588, some deputies directly represented individual members of the nobility, others the nobility of particular provinces, indicating that they could have been elected by assemblies of the nobility.[60] This was still the case after 1588.[61]

There were still conflicts in the basis of elections after the regulation of the general assembly at Sainte-Foy (1594) set out a general procedure. As shown in Figure 1, this regulation decided that elections to the general assemblies would take place by the votes of representatives from each colloquy in each provincial assembly.[62] This decision could have been made in the light of provincial synods wrongfully electing deputies in parallel to provincial assemblies to this general assembly. For example, the sieurs d'Aubigné[63] and Esnard, minister at Fontenay-le-Comte,[64] were elected with a procuration for Haut- and Bas-

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[57] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 11: letter dated 13 October 1578.

[58] Haag V, 100: possibly François de Ferrières, who was wounded and taken prisoner at Dreux, and then fought at Jarnac and Moncontour. In 1586, the king of Navarre gave him a company of one hundred harquebusiers. In 1588, Henri III confiscated all his property, which was only returned to him in 1595. In 1595, he attended the general assembly at Saumur.

[59] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 12. Cf. M. Wada, 'La représentation des régions à l'assemblée générale protestante au 16e siècle', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance.* (1998), p. 197.

[60] Examples can be found in B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 1 v, art. 11: Montauban 4 May 1581. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 24 August 1584. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 252: La Rochelle 1588.

[61] See A. de Jussieu, 'Notice sur les assemblées de protestants qui eurent lieu en France à la suite de la conversion de Henri IV [...]'. Jussieu showed that the nobility of Saintonge and Angoumois, sanctioned by the king, had elected three representatives on 7 and 15 August 1593 respectively in order to present their remonstrances to the king and his council. Jussieu conjectured that they were sent to the general assembly at Mantes (1593-4) for which he had no records. At Sainte-Foy in 1594, the deputy for the county of Foix was asked to warn the nobility and *sénéchal* in the county to send deputies to future assemblies (B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^{2}).

[62] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^{1}, art. 17: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. See Figure 1.

[63] Haag I, 157-90: Théodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné (1550-1630) also attended the general assemblies at Loudun, Vendôme, Saumur and Châtellerault (1596-8) and participated in the negotiations with the royal *commissaires* for the edict of Nantes. After 1600 d'Aubigné was vice admiral for the coasts of Poitou and Saintonge. He was present at Saumur in 1611 and Nîmes in 1615, where he swore the oath of union, as did his son, the baron de Surineau, who was acting as his lieutenant. He left for exile in Geneva in 1620. The Haag brothers do not mention that he was present in 1594.

[64] Spelt 'Hesnard' here and in most manuscripts. Louis Esnard had already been a deputy for Poitou at Montauban in 1581 and at Mantes in 1593, where he was elected president of the assembly. See Haag,

Poitou; the sieur de Chambaran, deputy for the region of Châtellerault, was joined to them. However, the sieurs de la Cheuratière and Loiseau were also sent by the provincial synod of Poitou both to the general assembly and to the national synod. D'Aubigné, Esnard and de Chambaran recognised that the provincial synod of Poitou had decided to write letters to the general assembly seeking the admission of de la Cheuratière and Loiseau 'si lad[ite] assemblée le pouvoit porter'. The assembly resolved that de la Cheuratière and Loiseau would act as deputies for Brittany, since provinces were limited to two deputies each and a concession had already been made for de Chambaran.[65] By contrast, at the general assembly at Loudun in 1596, the sieurs de Beaumont and de La Motte, deputies for Normandy, presented letters from the synod held at Caen the previous March, by which the synod revoked them as deputies. The assembly decided that this revocation was null and carried out 'par personnes qui n'avoit [sic.] tel pouvoir'. The assembly then wrote to the synod of Normandy, stating 'Labus et faute qu'ils Commettent'. It also decided to complain to the national synod in order to correct this fault.[66] As shown above, de la Cheuratière and Loiseau were also sent as deputies to the national synod; the general assembly at Loudun allowed leave for 'Ceux de ceste Compagnie qui sont Depputez pour Le Synode National L'assignation duquel escheoit ce Jourdhuy a Saumur', on condition that they returned on the fifteenth of the same month. The magistrate Pierre de Vulson[67] was asked to confer with members of the synod on articles sent by the assembly.[68] This last example shows that general assemblies had in fact established links with the synods before this was formalised in the regulation of 1601. However, the general assembly at Vendôme decided to write to the

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IV, 550-2. He was also a deputy for Poitou at Montauban in 1584 and at Loudun in 1596, a fact that the Haag brothers do not mention.

[65] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[2]: Sainte-Foy 1594. A similar concession was made for the colloquy of Aunis. For a detailed assessment of the manner in which La Rochelle gained its increasing predominance over Aunis, Angoumois and Saintonge, see M. Wada, 'La représentation des régions à l'assemblée générale protestante au 16[e] siècle', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance. L'édit de Nantes (1598)* (1998), pp. 195-6, 198-200, 201-2.

[66] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 276-7, art. 43; p. 283, art. 66: Loudun 1596.

[67] Haag IX, 535-6: Pierre de Vulson, an elder of the Huguenot church in Grenoble, was a deputy at the general assemblies of Saumur (1595), Loudun (1596), Saumur (1611) and Grenoble (1615). He was also a deputy at the national synod of 1596 and named a *conseiller* in the Grenoble *parlement* from 1598. In 1616, the general assembly at La Rochelle named him as a *commissaire* for the implementation of the peace.

[68] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 295, arts. 112-3.

church at Jargeau that it could not allow the sieur Dorival to go to their synod, perhaps because it was a provincial and not a national synod.[69]

Between 1601 and 1608 there were still conflicting elections between provincial synods, colloquies and provincial assemblies, despite the *brevets* stating that provincial assemblies were charged with electing deputies to the general assemblies. At the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605, the sieur Ressent, deputy for the colloquy of Mérindol in Provence, and minister in the town (who later abjured)[70] was accepted by the assembly (and swore the oath), despite opposition from the assembly held at Manosque, which had named the sieur Codur, minister for the church at Riez,[71] to sit in the assembly. Codur had arrived before Ressent. The reformed churches of Provence were instructed to deliberate together in order to send only one deputation in the future with memoranda 'en bonne forme et suffisante'.[72] Provence again could not agree on its deputation to the general assembly held at Jargeau in 1608; the province was warned to agree in future on pain of exclusion from the general assemblies. The sieur de Beauchamps and sieur Huron, a minister of the church of Manosque,[73] were named, but it is the sieur Toussaint, also a minister, who was accepted by the assembly.[74]

On 3 June 1611, the general assembly at Saumur heard the sieur de la Buissonnière, minister of the church at Alençon, who was sent as a deputy by the synod of Normandy. He relayed the complaint made by some in the generality of Normandy that the assemblies of the

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[69] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 490, art. 239: Vendôme 21 December 1596.
[70] Ressent was also a deputy for Provence at the general assembly at Saumur in 1611. For his abjuration, see A. d'Aubigné, 'Sa vie à ses enfants', in *Œuvres complètes de Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné. [...]*, eds. E. Réaume, F. de Caussade and A. Legouëz (6 vols, Paris, Alphonse Lemerre, 1873-92), I, 85.
[71] Haag III, 506-8: Philippe Codurc or Codur (died c. 1660), had previously been a minister at Manosque. After 1605, he was a professor of Hebrew at Montpellier and Nîmes. He was removed from the ministry by the national synod at Charenton in 1623 for unclear reasons and sent as a minister to Dauphiné. For a long time, he refused to obey this order. The national synod at Charenton in 1644 forbade him to minister and teach theology. He converted to Catholicism in 1645, was named *conseiller du roi* in 1646 and went on to publish several works of biblical commentary and exegesis. The Haag brothers do not discuss the fact that another Codur is mentioned in the 1581 *procès-verbal* and oath (in Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 128).
[72] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 749: Châtellerault 1605.
[73] Haag, VI, 17-18. Pierre Huron was also a deputy for Provence at the general assemblies at Grenoble and Nîmes in 1615, La Rochelle in 1616, and at several national synods. He was also a citizen of Geneva.
[74] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608.

province had been convoked by *bailliages* and not by colloquies. The deputies for the province presented a contrary point of view. The assembly decided to address the matter when drawing up the regulation on provincial assemblies.[75] This indicates that the regulations drawn up by the general assemblies were not a framework imposed from above, but directly reflected specific complaints made by deputies from the provinces.

The general lack of uniformity in elections encouraged a disparity in the numbers of deputies representing each province. Geographical proximity to the location of the general assembly also led to a higher number of deputies being sent. For example, the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 saw particularly large deputations, with the three provinces closest to the town sending eight deputies each.[76] This assembly's regulation stating that provincial assemblies could only send between three and five deputies to the general assembly can be seen as an attempt to even out these disparities. Despite this, at Grenoble in 1615, Haut-Languedoc still had seven deputies, while Poitou and Burgundy had six each; Béarn only had two deputies. At Loudun in 1619, Normandy, Vivarais and Basse-Guyenne had six deputies each. Russell Major showed that royal orders in 1576, 1588 and 1614 limiting the *bailliage* assemblies to one deputy from each order to be sent to the Estates General were similarly disregarded.[77]

iii. Failure to attend

Lateness or refusals to attend were more frequent, if not perennial problems. When the general assembly opened at Montauban in 1579 none of the deputies chosen by Navarre in 1578 were present, although both of those chosen for the third estate were from Montauban and could therefore have easily attended. Moreover, of the twenty-seven deputies who attended, only fifteen were present on the first day. The last to arrive were the deputies for Castres and Albigeois (the sieurs du Causse and Arnaud du Marssau) and for Lauragais and Haut-Languedoc (the sieur de Brassac and *maître* Pierre de Roux, first consul and *avocat*

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[75] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 206 v: Saumur 1611.
[76] The three provinces were Anjou, Touraine, Maine, Loudunnais, Vendômois and Bas-Perche counting as one province, Poitou as the second, and Saintonge, Aunis and Angoumois as the third. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 749: at Châtellerault in 1605, Poitou had the largest deputation, with 11.
[77] J. Russell Major, *The Deputies to the Estates General*, p. 5.

at Puylaurens). They arrived as much as twenty days late and only four days before the closure of the assembly on 27 July. In contrast, the deputy from Brittany (represented for the first time at a general assembly with others north of the Loire) was present on the first day.[78] Equally, when the deputies at Montauban in 1581 presented their commissions on the first of May, 'Sire francois de ferriere bourgeois' was present as a deputy for La Rochelle, but he was accompanied by the sieur du Mont, a minister in the town, who had not been named in the reply from La Rochelle to the letter of convocation sent by the king of Navarre.[79]

No reason was given in either of these cases, but the danger from armed bands on the roads, more pressing personal matters or problems with the authority of the king of Navarre,[80] could all have been causes. Lateness could also have been due to poor communications. At the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588, the deputies for the town of Pons and province of Saintonge north of the Charente explained that they had not come earlier than the ninth of December (twenty-five days after the start of the assembly and only nine days before its end) 'pour n'avoir eu avis que depuis peu de Jours de la tenue d'Icelle'.[81]

Throughout this period, illness frequently prevented deputies from attending general assemblies on the first day.[82] As for the Estates General, this might have been genuine, or simply an excuse to avoid attendance.[83] There were also more serious problems. In his essay in *The European Crisis of the 1590s* (1985) P. Benedict highlighted the fact that from 1580 to 1586, the plague returned 'with a vengeance' and affected localities scattered throughout northern France. The *pays nantais* was one of those areas most severely hit and Anjou was

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[78] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 1579.
[79] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 1 r, art. 6: Montauban 1581.
[80] See Chapter Two, p. 55.
[81] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 252. M. Wada, 'La représentation des régions', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance.* (1998), pp. 192-3, suggests that Pons belatedly sent its own deputies in order to counter the assembly's decisions on courts of justice in the area. See Chapter Three, p. 131.
[82] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 1584: this was the case for one of the deputies for Bas-Languedoc and the dioceses of Montpellier, Nîmes and Uzès.
[83] See J. Russell Major, *Deputies to the Estates General*, pp. 144-6, who also notes the hardship of travel and the uncomfortable quarters in which some deputies were forced to reside as contributive factors in several deaths.

seriously affected.[84] This is reflected in the elections to the Huguenot general assemblies: at Montauban on 21 August 1584, the minister Cayet[85] presented memoranda from Touraine, Anjou and Maine to the assembly, 'attandu que po[u]r La Contagion De La peste Ilz ne se sont peu assembler po[u]r Deleguer depputtes'. On 24 August, two deputies for the generality of Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Perche and Vendômois nevertheless arrived.[86]

Problems in 1594 included the absence of deputies from Dauphiné and Burgundy; Dauphiné excused itself, but Burgundy did not.[87] The general assemblies used correspondence to upbraid recalcitrant provinces. Following a complaint against the churches of Haut-Rouergue that had not heeded the warnings of the national synod at Montauban to send deputies to ecclesiastical and political assemblies, it was decided that the assembly would write to these churches that if they continued to disregard 'les liens de Lunion des Eglises reformées de ce Royaume on les abandonnera en leur necessité [co]mme deschues de leur debvoir'.[88] In 1596, the general assembly at Loudun wrote a stern letter to the province of Basse-Guyenne asking it to ensure that its deputy attended the assembly before 20 May 1596, and stating that this lack of unity was construed as a fault. The assembly also wrote to La Force,[89] Favas[90] and Lusignan,[91] all of them nobles from Basse-Guyenne, to ensure that

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[84] P. Benedict, 'Civil War and Natural Disaster in Northern France', in P. Clark (ed.), *The European Crisis of the 1590s. Essays in Comparative History.* (London, Boston, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1985), p. 88.

[85] Haag III, 293-9: Pierre Cayet (1525-1610) studied philosophy in Paris under the Huguenot Ramus, then became a doctor in canon law. He became a tutor to Henri de Navarre in 1562. In 1584, he was chosen as minister for the king of Navarre's sister, Catherine de Bourbon; in 1593, she took him with her to Paris. After Cayet's conversion to Catholicism in November 1595, the king named him professor of oriental languages and royal chronologist. He also received a pension from the clergy and was congratulated by Pope Clement VIII. Cayet was then ordained a priest and became a doctor in theology at Paris in 1600. After his conversion, he mainly wrote works on religious polemic, with the exception of his *Chronologie septénaire* (Paris, 1607) and his *Chronologie novénaire* (3 vols., Paris, 1608). He signed his works Pierre Victor Palma Cayet ou P.V. Cayet de La Palme.

[86] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 1584.

[87] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^2: Sainte-Foy 1594.

[88] *ibid.*, 'Faitz particuliers', number 4.

[89] See Haag III, 253-64: Jacques-Nompar de Caumont (1558-1652), sieur de La Force (and duke from 1635), was named governor of Basse-Guyenne by Henri de Navarre after the battle of Coutras in 1587. He attended the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588. He participated in all of Henri IV's major campaigns, including the siege of La Fère in 1596 and the recapture of Amiens in 1597. In 1593 Henri IV named him governor of Béarn and viceroy of Navarre. La Force attended the Assembly of Notables at Rouen in 1596 and sent his representative to the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1597-8. In 1599, he was chosen as a *commissaire* for implementing the edict of Nantes in Béarn and Guyenne. He attended the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 and levied troops at the request of the assembly at Grenoble in 1615. Following renewed conflict in 1621, La Force defended Montauban against the

the deputy was sent.[92] On 1 June 1596, the sieur de Saint Hillaire, minister at Nérac, presented letters from the consuls and churches of Sainte-Foy and Clairac, as well as memoranda from Puymirol, Châtillon and other churches in Basse-Guyenne:

> 'Lesquelz Leuz A esté advisé de Louyr sur Le Contenu en Iceux Et a quoy ll a tenu Que luy qui estoit Depputé en L'assemblee derniere a Saumur n'a mis ordre et faict dilligence Que Les Depputez de sa Province se soient Renduz en ce Lieu au Jour assigné'.[93]

The sieur du Puy de Cases[94] presented himself and was admitted as deputy for Basse-Guyenne at the following general assembly at Vendôme on 3 December 1596.[95] In view of existing difficulties, the regulation drawn up in 1596 stated that provincial assemblies would elect a third deputy 'pour tenir la place des premiers, en cas de maladie ou decés d'iceux':

> 'Lesquels eleus accepteront lad.[ite] charge, jureront de l'accomplir de tout leur pouvoir: Et disposeront de telle sorte leurs affaires, quils se puissent trouver au lieu et jour assigné. Que sil survenoit en quelques unes des provinces, quelque si grand inconvenient, lequel on n'eust peu prævoir; au moien duquel il fust impossible, aus [sic.] deputés d'icelles de sy trouver: et ausd.[ites] provinces, ou conseils d'icelles, d'en deputer d'autres: tant lesd.[its] deputés, provinçes que conseils, en donneront avis, a l'assemblée par homme exprés; affin qu'on n'attende aprés eux'.[96]

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besieging royal army (August-November 1621). He received favourable terms in the peace of Montpellier in 1622, notably the *bâton* of *maréchal de France* and 20, 000 *écus*.

[90] Haag V, 82-3: Jean de Favas or Fabas (d. 1614) declared himself a Huguenot in 1576. He attended the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588. In 1597, he attended a provincial assembly at Sainte-Foy, which named him a member of the provincial council. In recognition of his services, Favas had been named *gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi, maréchal de camp*, captain of fifty men of arms, and governor of Condomois and Albret. In 1605, Henri IV conferred the status of viscounty on his land at Castets.

[91] Haag VII, 149-50: François de Lusignan had attended the general assembly at Montauban in 1579. From 1580, he fought under the command of the king of Navarre, notably at Coutras (1587). He was a deputy for Basse-Guyenne at the general assemblies at Jargeau (1608), Saumur (1611) and at Grenoble, Nîmes and La Rochelle (1615-6). Although he fought on behalf of the general assembly at La Rochelle (1620-2), he sought to return his *gouvernement* of Puymirol to the monarchy. He was eventually guaranteed the *gouvernement* of Clairac by the king and was given an indemnity of 50, 000 *livres* for the loss of Puymirol.

[92] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 283-4, art. 67: Loudun 1596.

[93] *ibid.*, p. 294, art. 110.

[94] Haag IV, 453: Jean, baron de Cases, written as 'Cazes' in the *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Vendôme. The Haag brothers simply state that he was a deputy for Basse-Guyenne at several synods and political assemblies and was governor of Castillon in 1616.

[95] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 486, art. 221: Vendôme 1596-7.

[96] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. v: Loudun 22 and 24 June 1596 regulation (confirmed on 3 April 1597).

How did the general assemblies proceed when deputies failed to attend or were late? As has been shown, the regulation drawn up at Sainte-Foy in 1594 decided to double the number of deputies to twenty in view of negotiations with the monarchy. At the general assembly held at Saumur in 1595 however, there were only sixteen deputies representing provinces (and many were late). The deputies finally decided 'veu la tardivité des deputez desd[ites] provinces', that as there were enough present according to the regulation of Sainte-Foy, they would proceed with deliberations without those missing.[97] Picardy, Champagne, Sedan and the *pays messin* resolved their lack of a deputy by giving de Montigny, a minister in Paris[98] already present as a deputy for Ile-de-France, a commission to appear as their deputy.[99] The deputy for Bas-Languedoc and Vivarais (Antoine Chalas)[100] and the deputy for Haut-Languedoc and Haute-Guyenne (Pechdoye) arrived on the last day of the assembly, but were still able to sign the *procès-verbal* as well as the *cahier*.[101] At Saumur on 7 April 1597, La Primaudaye[102] refused to act as the deputy for Anjou and Touraine, as that province had intended. The provincial council was given a procuration (*pouvoir*) to name another instead of La Primaudaye to be at the following general assembly at Châtellerault with Odet de La Noue[103] and N. de Clairville,[104] who were maintained as representatives of their province.[105]

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[97] The regulation of Sainte-Foy (1594) stated that 'La plus grande partie representera tout le corps de lad[ite] assemblée' (B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], art. 6). In 1595 and 1596, a minimum of six provinces had to be represented for matters to be discussed and concluded. If there were less than six, they had to wait for eight days before setting a new date at an assembly at the same place. See B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xxviii: Saumur 1595 and B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. vii: Loudun 22 and 24 June 1596 regulation (confirmed on 3 April 1597).

[98] Haag VI, 420-1: François Laubéran de Montigny (d. 1619) was a deputy at Mantes in 1593. As a minister in Paris, he was also a deputy at the national synods at Saumur in 1596 and Montpellier in 1598, where he was elected vice-president. In 1597, he was also acting as chaplain to Catherine de Bourbon. In 1601, he was a deputy at the general assembly at Sainte-Foy. In March 1605, he was president of the synod of Ile-de-France, and in 1607, he attended the national synod at La Rochelle. From 1603, he owned the land at Ablon, the place of worship for Huguenots in Paris from 1600 to 1606. He wrote an *Avertissement aux fidèles* against Cayet, and he signed with others the *Défense de la confession des églises réformées de France*.

[99] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xxvii. Stated in letters received by the assembly on the third of March 1595.

[100] Haag III, 313-314: a renowned *avocat*, who was elected first consul of Nîmes in 1596. He was also a deputy at the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594, a fact not mentioned by the Haag brothers. His son Jean Chalas is discussed in Chapter Two, pp. 69, 70, 73, 92, 96.

[101] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. lxxxix.

[102] Haag VI, 327: Jacques de La Primaudaye (from a prominent Protestant family in Anjou) was sent after this assembly with La Noue to present the assembly's petitions to Henri IV at Lyon.

[103] Haag VI, 296-303: Odet de La Noue, seigneur de Téligny (d. 1618) was the eldest son of François de La Noue (1531-91). He played a leading role in the siege of Paris. La Noue was a deputy at the general assemblies at Sainte-Foy in 1594, Saumur in 1595 and Loudun in 1596; he acted as president

This election by provincial council did not follow the regulation drawn up in 1594 (and confirmed in 1597), which stipulated that provincial assemblies elected deputies to the general assemblies.[106] The general assembly that opened at Saumur in 1599 only had five deputies on the opening day.[107] Anquez argues that it is impossible to establish when the general assembly at Jargeau in 1608 opened, since Sully stated in a letter that by 3 October, there had been no deliberations due to the absence of deputies.[108] The assembly's *procès-verbal* in fact shows that Sully having arrived in Jargeau on 1 October (when the royal *brevet* stated the assembly should open), he was greeted 'A L'issue du presche' by 'la plus grand part des deputés de la presente assemblée'. Deliberations apparently began immediately after this.[109] It is more likely that the *procès-verbal* is correct, as the assemblies' regulations traditionally allowed deliberations to proceed without all deputies being present.

Lateness and refusal to attend equally plagued the provincial councils, first established in the 1594 regulation. The deputies for Bas- and Haut-Languedoc, those for Haute-Guyenne and 'plusieurs autres Depputez' complained to the general assembly at Loudun in 1596 about the 'froideur et mespris' of several governors,[110] gentlemen,

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for the latter two assemblies. He was also present at Saumur in 1599, but afterwards went to serve in Holland under Prince Maurice. He was chosen as a deputy general in 1605. In February 1611, he went to help Geneva, under threat from Savoy, and in the same year, was a *commissaire* for the implementation of the edict in Brittany. He was a deputy at the Estates General in 1614. In 1617, he acted as an extraordinary envoy to The Hague. His corpse was exhumed from his grave in the family chapel in 1625 by order of the bishop of Chartres. By 1618, Odet de La Noue was *conseiller du roi*, the king's *chambellan ordinaire*, captain of fifty men, and royal *maréchal de camp*. He wrote two works on moral and Christian philosophy (1588 and 1594).

[104] Haag III, 468: N. de Clairville (d. 1608), a minister at Loudun in 1577, was a deputy at the general assembly at Montauban in 1581. The king of Navarre named him *conseiller* and *maître des requêtes*. He was also a deputy at Saumur in 1595 and Loudun in 1596. At Châtellerault in 1597-8, he was chosen as a negotiator with the court. He was buried in Loudun; his grave was later desecrated.

[105] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 519-20, art. 358; p. 525, art. 378 (7 April): Saumur 1597.

[106] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 612, art. 16: the regulation drawn up at Loudun on 10 April 1620 affirmed that provincial councils were not entitled to send deputies to general assemblies. The regulation would also be followed by Béarn (*ibid.*, p. 620, art. 43).

[107] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7192, fol. 243 r: Saumur 1599-1601.

[108] Anquez I, 223. Haag II, 240-54: Maximilien de Béthune (1559-1641), marquis de Rosny and duke of Sully from 1606.

[109] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608.

[110] Doucet I, 229-44: provincial governors were usually called *lieutenants du roi*, town governors *gouverneurs* and governors of castles *capitaines*. Provincial governors were assisted by councils, and published ordinances, named governors of strongholds, renewed municipalities, created jurisdictions, intervened in trials and in the dealings between municipalities and royal officers; they seized royal and ecclesiastical revenue, and decided on expenditure. Lieutenants (from 1579) and *commissaires royaux* were created by the monarchy in an attempt to limit their authority.

magistrates and others who refused to attend the provincial councils and assemblies and sign the *cahiers* 'Et ne se veulent unir suivant Les Reglemens de Mantes S.[ain]te Foy & Saumur'. The assembly decided to write 'en L'Authorité de ceste Compagnie Ensemble aux Provinces desquelles Les Depputez defaillent'. The general assembly sent three deputies to Haut- and Bas-Vivarais and one deputy to the colloquies of Albigeois and Rouergue. If their deputies refused to attend their provincial councils, they would be declared deserters from the union, and the next national synod would be asked to censure them.[111] The sieurs de Rioux[112] and Constantin, deputies for Saintonge, also asked the general assembly to write letters to their province 'ou plusieurs sont extremement Refroidis et ne se veullent unir ny Ranger au Conseil des Provinces'. This was agreed.[113] Perhaps as a consequence of these difficulties, the general assembly sought to organise the convocation of the Poitou, Saintonge, Aunis and Angoumois council through Esnard (the deputy representing Poitou) and Tixier (representing Haut-Languedoc and Haute-Guyenne) and arrange that it come to Loudun.[114] On 2 December 1596, the general assembly at Vendôme approved the election of the members of the provincial council for Poitou by the provincial assembly at Saint-Maixent.[115] On 25 March 1597, the general assembly at Saumur admitted the sieur de La Planche Bouliers, a member of the provincial council for Poitou.[116] Although his purpose in attending the assembly is not made clear in the *procès-verbal*, his presence does suggest that the previous general assemblies were successful in developing links with this provincial council. The examples above all show that the support of the general assemblies was important in maintaining functioning provincial councils.

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[111] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 270-1, art. 23: Loudun 4 April 1596.
[112] Haag II, 121-2: the son of Jules de Beaumont, baron de Rioux, who had converted with his wife c. 1559, and according to de Thou was killed at Jarnac in 1569. His son acted as president of the general assembly at Loudun (1596) while La Noue was away. Rioux was also a deputy at Vendôme and Saumur and was charged with several negotiations. He was again a deputy at Châtellerault in 1605, Jargeau in 1608 and Saumur in 1611.
[113] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 281, art. 58: Loudun 1596.
[114] *ibid.*, p. 277, art. 46 (10 April); p. 285, arts. 73-6 (26-9 April); p. 286, arts. 80, 82, 85 (10 May); pp. 288-9, art. 87. On 18 June, forty-three noblemen from a provincial assembly held at Thouars attended the general assembly (*ibid.*, pp. 286-7, arts. 83, 89; pp. 297-8, art. 121).
[115] *ibid.*, p. 486, art. 220: Vendôme 1596-7.
[116] *ibid.*, p. 515, art. 343: Saumur 1597.

iv. Commissions

When deputies did attend the general assembly, one of the most frequent complaints involved insufficient commissions. A commission was important because it allowed the deputy to act as a legal representative for a collectivity, whether a church, town, province, or nobility of a province.[117] At Montauban on 1 May 1581, the sieur des Apas presented himself as a deputy for the church of La Réole, on the Garonne river, 'sans pouvoir ne puissance' because the church had been scattered during the conflicts. It was decided that he would speak to the assembly when all had gathered. Pending this he could confer with the other deputies on matters concerning the assembly and propose his church's complaints about infringements to the edict of Poitiers (1577) and subsequent peace settlements in 1579-80, because there were witnesses to his fidelity, zeal and integrity.[118] On 6 May 1581, the sieurs de Sarrasin from Sancerre and Pierre d'Artigelois, a deacon in the church of Issoudun, arrived as deputies for the *pays* and duchy of Berry and Livernois. They only held letters addressed to the king of Navarre, 'Esquelles Ilz ne sont nommez neanmoins faisans Icelles mention de Lenvoy des porteurs pour assister En la p[rése]nte assemblee'. As some of the assembled deputies gave witness to Sarrasin's and d'Artigelois' zeal, fidelity and integrity, it was decided by 'la plus saine opinion q[ui]lz auront seance Et voix deliberative', on condition that they signed and submitted to the assembly's deliberations and swore the oath of union between the churches of the kingdom.[119] By contrast, it was also decided that because the deputies for the town of Issoire did not have a sufficient commission, they could only propose their grievances to be inserted into the general *cahier*.[120] It was decided that no deputy would be accepted to the general assembly without an authentic commission and

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[117] According to Russell Major (*The Deputies to the Estates General*, pp. 6-7) the use of proctors (based on Roman law) had become widespread in Europe during the thirteenth century. During the period of the Wars of Religion, clerks at the Estates General most often accepted deputies with insufficient powers. Those whose right to participate was questioned found themselves in this position because they had been elected by subordinate jurisdictions, chosen by irregular procedures, or were unable to produce the proper papers.

[118] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 1 r, art. 3: Montauban 1581.

[119] *ibid.*, fol. 2 r, art. 18.

[120] *ibid.*, fol. 2 r, art. 17.

references.[121] On Tuesday 9 May, with the king of Navarre and his cousin the prince of Condé[122] present, a list of deputies by order of arrival was drawn up to establish those who were present with a sufficient commission and those who were 'defaillans'.[123] At Montauban in 1584, it was resolved that no deputy would normally be accepted by a general assembly if he held a commission from only one church.[124] At La Rochelle in 1588, the assembly decided that only deputies elected by the *corps* of a province (nobility, communities and *corps de villes*), or a *sénéchaussée*, *bailliage*, or *gouvernement* that stood for a 'lieu de bailliage', would be accepted, with a maximum of two deputies for each. The deputy from the principality of Orange (the sieur de Lambert) was refused participation in the assembly because his commission was deemed insufficient, as was that of the deputy from Bergerac.[125] However, an adequate commission did not guarantee admission. Deputies for the provinces 'd'outre la riviére de Loire' complained that their delegation had been chosen 'en l'absence d'une bonne partie de la noblesse desd.[ites] Provinces', which had now arrived in La Rochelle. There, they gathered with the king of Navarre's permission 'pour délibérer de nouveau sur le fait de lad.[ite] Legation', and chose the sieur de La Motte, 'comme ils ont fait apparoir par l'acte de lad.[ite] nomination & procuration sur ce fait qu'ils ont remis, dont a esté fait lecture'. The assembly decided that as the first delegation had already been approved and that the assembly had begun to proceed with them, no more could be joined to them, as four deputies were sufficient for these provinces. It was also important to avoid setting a

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[121] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 2 r, art. 19.
[122] Haag II, 462-74: Henri de Bourbon (1552-88), prince of Condé, duke of Enghien, peer of France, count of Anisy and Valéry, lord of La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, and governor of Picardie.
[123] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 2 v, art. 23.
[124] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 24 August 1584.
[125] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 199, 252: La Rochelle 1588. Cf. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fols. 1v –2 r, art. 15; fol. 8 r-v, arts. 75-6: by contrast, on 5 May 1581, the sieur de Colombier, a minister in the principality of Orange, was accepted as deputy for the principality of Orange and the *comtat venaissin*, following an agreement of union sanctioned by the prince of Orange. This also contrasts with a negative response in 1596.

precedent for future assemblies.[126] The assembly also decided that the *corps de ville* and *gouvernement* of La Rochelle would together have only two deputies in future.[127]

In keeping with the importance of negotiations with the monarchy, the general assembly at Saumur in 1595 decided that Huguenot notaries would now draw up the commissions of its deputies.[128] In those provinces where there were no Huguenot notaries, the provincial synod or other assembly would draw up commissions for its deputies. In both cases, the commissions would be countersigned by the governors, gentlemen and notables of the provinces.[129] This was reiterated by the regulation drawn up at Loudun in 1596; commissions had to include 'clause expresse de ratifier et avoir agreable; ce qui sera conclud et arresté en l'assemblée ou ils sont deputés'. The deputy for the town of La Rochelle could have 'son pouvoir selon leur façon accoustumée'.[130] Of the twenty-five deputies who represented provinces at Loudun in 1596, five were admitted without a 'voix deliberative', allowing them only to present letters and memoranda and be 'heard' by the assembly.[131] Those deputies who were given a 'voix deliberative' in fact presented a wide variety of documents to certify their election. The deputy for La Rochelle (the sieur Rochelle) came with a procuration from the town's mayor, *échevins* and peers, dated 15 September 1596, signed 'Thevenin', countersigned by 'Nicolas Greffier' and sealed with the town's coat of arms.[132] Only seven deputies bore commissions that the *procès-verbal* states were drawn up by royal notaries.[133] Five deputies came with a procuration signed by provincial

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[126] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 203-4: La Rochelle 17 November 1588 (three days after the opening of the assembly).

[127] *ibid.*, p. 198. The *corps de la ville* presented three deputies and the churches of the town and *gouvernement* two deputies. The king of Navare ordered, 'de lavis des Assistans', 'qu'ils ne feroyent qu'un Corps, & communiqueroyent par assemblée leurs cahiers'. See also M. Wada, 'La représentation des régions', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, p. 197.

[128] This could already have been the case in 1593: see A. de Jussieu, 'Notice sur les assemblées de protestants [...]' (n.p., n.d.). See Chapter Three, pp. 157-8 for the general assemblies defending the position of Huguenot notaries.

[129] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xvi: Saumur 1595.

[130] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. vi: Loudun 22 and 24 June 1596 regulation (confirmed 3 April 1597).

[131] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 270, art. 22 (3 April); *ibid.*, pp. 309-10, art. 161 (26 July); *ibid.*, p. 318, art. 188 (24 September). In the last two cases, a 'voix délibérative' was not sought.

[132] *ibid.*, pp. 265-6, art. 4.

[133] *ibid.*, p. 266, art. 6: the baron de Fons and sieur Brunier, deputies for Bas-Languedoc and Bas-Gévaudan (there was also an attestation from the royal judge at Sommières, named Calvet); *ibid.*, p.

assemblies.[134] On 11 April, the sieur Dorival[135] was admitted with letters from the colloquy of Berry meeting at Sancerre, dated 4 April 1596. His province was nevertheless warned to follow the regulations 'et de donner les pouvoirs plus expres'.[136] On 22 July, Dorival was able to gain admittance for the baron de Blet:[137]

> 'Attendu qu'il est seul de sa Province En Laquelle Ledict Sieur de Belet [sic.] peut beaucoup Luy ayder a faire effectuer Les Resolutions de la Compagnie Et que mesmes L'Intention de sa province estoit de le dépputer sil eust esté au pays Lors que Ledict S[ieu]r Dorival fut nommé'.[138]

On 17 April, the deputy for Ile-de-France, Jean Bedé, sieur de La Gormandière, an *avocat* in the Paris *parlement* and an elder of the church at Paris, was accepted simply with 'Lettres d'Envoy' dated April 1596.[139] On 26 April, the sieur des Fontaines[140] presented letters dated

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267, art. 9: the sieurs de Vulson and Chamier, deputies for Dauphiné and Provence; *ibid.*, p. 280, art. 53 (16 April): de Rioux and Constantin, deputies for Saintonge; *ibid.*, p. 283, art. 65 (22 April): the sieur de Landebec, deputy for the churches of Brittany.

[134] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 266, art. 5: the sieurs de Beaumont Douville and de La Motte Grimoult for Normandy and Brittany; *ibid.*, p. 266, art. 7: the sieur Esnard for Poitou; *ibid.*, pp. 266-7, art. 8: the sieur Tixier for Haut-Languedoc and Haute-Guyenne; *ibid.*, pp. 318-9, art. 191: on 28 September, the sieur Esnard presented 'un nouveau pouvoir' (dated 19 September) from the provincial assembly at Saint Maixent 'Par Lequel Le Sieur de Verac est adjoinct pour se trouver en ceste Assemblée'. The assembly allowed Esnard to be replaced by Vérac; Esnard swore that he would return to the assembly when asked to do so. On 7 October, eleven days before the end of the assembly, Vérac was admitted as a deputy (*ibid.*, p. 319, art. 193).

[135] Haag IV, 303-4: Adam Dorival (or d'Orival, d'Aurival), sieur de Péroseau, minister at Sancerre (died c. 1612). In 1594, he was vice-president of the provincial synod at Jargeau and attended the national synod at Saumur in 1596. In 1597-8, he was a deputy at the general assembly at Châtellerault and at the national synod at Montpellier. He was president of the provincial synod of Berry five times between 1601 and 1607. He was furthermore a deputy at the general assemblies at Châtellerault in 1605 and Jargeau in 1608, and also at the provincial synods at Sancerre in 1610 and Blois in 1611.

[136] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 278, art. 48.

[137] Haag IX, 98-104: Daniel de Saint-Quentin, baron de Blet, de Bançay, des Brosses et de Brizay (1560-1640), *gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi*. He participated in all the negotiations that preceded the edict of Nantes. In 1607, he represented Berry at the national synod at La Rochelle. In 1608, he was a deputy for Anjou at the general assembly at Jargeau, where he was named as a candidate for the role of deputy general. Anjou also sent him to the general assemblies at Saumur in 1611 and Grenoble in 1615; he acted as president at the latter assembly.

[138] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 308, art. 146.

[139] *ibid.*, p. 281, art. 55. Haag II, 153-4: Jean Bedé de La Gormandière was born in Anjou c. 1550 and was a deputy for Ile-de-France at the general assemblies at Loudun, Vendôme, Saumur, and Châtellerault (1596-8) and again at Châtellerault (1605) and Jargeau (1608). In the latter two assemblies he also represented Picardy, Champagne, Brie and the Chartres region. See Chapter Two, pp. 68-9 for his position as a secretary at Jargeau in 1608.

[140] Haag VIII, 283: possibly François de Polignac, sieur des Fontaines. The Polignac family was part of the Saintonge nobility. See Chapter Two, p. 72, Chapter Three, pp. 112-3, 151-2 and Chapter Six, p. 280.

19 April 1595 from an assembly held in Poitou.[141] Des Fontaines, and La Noue and Clairville for Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Bas-Perche, Vendômois and Loudunnais, were retained from the general assembly at Saumur (1595) (according to article lxv of its *procès-verbal*), explaining the date on des Fontaines' letters.[142] On 28 September, the sieur de La Vallière 'cy devant Depputé par La Province de Poictou en La presente assemblée' was admitted without having to show any document.[143] The fact that all these deputies were admitted illustrates the flexibility with which the general assemblies preceding the edict of Nantes approached the matter of commissions.

The general assembly at Châtellerault in 1598 drew up a standardised commission for provincial assemblies to give to their representatives at the general assembly,[144] but vagaries in the manner that commissions were drawn up continued after this date. It was decided at the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1601 that deputies that had brought commissions signed only by the moderators and secretaries of their provincial synods would be accepted. Provinces were warned to conform to the model established by the general assembly at Châtellerault as much as possible in the future.[145] At Saumur in 1611, the deputies for Poitou were told to ensure that their commissions were henceforth signed 'par d'aultres q[ue] par ceux qui sont eulx mesmes depputéz [et] desnomméz par les[dits] pouvoirs'.[146]

v. Attendance and pay

Many must have left during the course of deliberations of the general assemblies, because in 1596 it was decided that the clause '& de ne partir d'icy sans Congé de La Compagnie' would be added to the oath sworn by deputies in order to gain admittance. It was also decided that for that assembly, none would be allowed to return home before its end.[147]

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[141] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 284-5, art. 72.
[142] *ibid.*, p. 265, art. 3 (for La Noue and Clairville).
[143] *ibid.*, p. 318, art. 190.
[144] Anquez I, 172, 509 (Appendix VII).
[145] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601.
[146] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 202 r: Saumur 1611. The assembly's regulation stated that none could be admitted to provincial assemblies 'sinon quil y ayt voca[ti]on ou soit employé en lettres d'envoy' (B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 292 r).
[147] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 268, art. 14; p. 283, art. 64: Loudun 1596.

Deputies were formally granted leave from the general assemblies to return home to address personal matters or for other undisclosed reasons, but only on condition that they promised to return within a given time. For example, at Saumur in 1611, the sieur de Blet was given leave 'a cause de son Indisposi[ti]on' on condition that he returned when his health allowed it.[148] At Loudun on 7 October 1619, monsieur Gravier left for Tours 'afin de pourvoir a sa santé', following leave from the assembly.[149] At La Rochelle on 20 April 1616, the sieur Faucher asked the assembly leave to return to Nîmes, where he was professor of theology.[150] He feared that the 'escolliers' were wasting their time, but the assembly decided not to grant him leave before the return of its deputies to the conference for peace at Loudun.[151]

Adequate pay was an incentive to attend. It was rare for a deputy to the Estates General in France to serve without pay, which was furnished from taxes on his locality. Russell Major argued that because of the manner in which they were paid, French deputies never came to think of themselves as representing the nation as a whole, as their English counterparts did.[152]

Deputies at Huguenot general assemblies were paid by the members of the Huguenot churches that had sent them, and there is some evidence that this was a burden for the churches. Deputies at Montauban in 1584 asked the king of Navarre:

> 'quil soict son bon plaisir Conciderant La Longue distan[ce] et sejour desd[its] Deputtes et les grandz frais que les egl[is]es quy Les ont Commis et delegues sont Co[n]strainctes supporter volloir fere Accelerer Les affa[ir]es de Lad[ite] assemblee aultant et [sy] diligem[ment] que fere se porra'.[153]

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[148] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 214 r: Saumur 1611. This includes other examples.
[149] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 831, 833-4: Loudun 1619-20. This includes other examples.
[150] Haag V, 77: Jean Faucher (or Faulchier), also a minister at Nîmes, was a deputy for Bas-Languedoc at the assembly at Sommières in 1611, then at the general assembly at Grenoble in 1615. He was a minister and professor at Nîmes until 1628.
[151] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 901: La Rochelle 1616.
[152] J. Russell Major, *The Deputies to the Estates General*, pp. 155-6. See *ibid.*, pp. 148-55 for details on how these taxes were levied. In 1588 and 1614, the king set the amounts to be paid to the deputies. When the towns sent deputies to a national assembly, they mostly paid the entire costs of the deputation. In the period following 1550 those who were sent individual summons also received financial compensation for their services.
[153] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 1584.

The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594 stated that each province would pay its deputies to the general assemblies and that each would arrange collections in the manner that it thought best.[154] Provincial synods provided some funds for deputies. Although it was decided at the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594 that de la Cheuratière and Loiseau would act as deputies for Brittany, they could still have 'ce qui leur a este accorde par le Synode p[ro]vincial de Poitou pour le voyage tant du Synode national que de la presente assemblée'.[155] The synods were also asked to address difficulties with pay, perhaps because they co-ordinated collections from churches in the localities. The deputies for Gascony and Agenais presented a complaint in 1594 that some churches such as those of Tournon and Montflanquin '[et] aultres circonvoisines' had refused to pay their part of the costs incurred by the sieurs de Feydeau and Chauveton as deputies to the general assembly at Mantes (1593-4). The general assembly decided that 'led[it] afaire [sic.] a este mal renvoye par le synode provincial de Touraine a ceste [com]pagnie'; the general assembly placed the decision with the national synod at Montauban.[156]

From 1594, provinces were expected to pay the deputies they sent to provincial councils and provincial assemblies.[157]

The three general assemblies held between 1596 and 1597 (at Loudun, Vendôme and Saumur) are of particular interest because for the first time they received subsidies directly from the monarchy to cover their expenses.[158] The same deputies attended these assemblies; the sums that they received can therefore be compared over time. These grants were made in spite of the difficult stance that these general assemblies took in seeking a final settlement to the conflicts (notably by refusing to separate in May 1596 and refusing military support to

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[154] B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], art. 14: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation.
[155] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[2]: Sainte-Foy 1594
[156] *ibid.*, 'Faitz particuliers', number 2: Sainte-Foy 1594.
[157] B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], arts. 3, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. 17: Loudun 22 and 24 June 1596 regulation (confirmed on 3 April 1597). B.P.F. Ms. 526, fols. 96 v- 97 r: Loudun September 1619 provincial assembly: there was some debate about whether six deputies who attended as members of the provincial council should be paid by the province or by their churches. The assembly decided in favour of the latter.
[158] A proposal for subsidies had initially been made by the monarchy to the general assembly at Mantes in 21 January 1594 (B.P.F. Ms. 710).

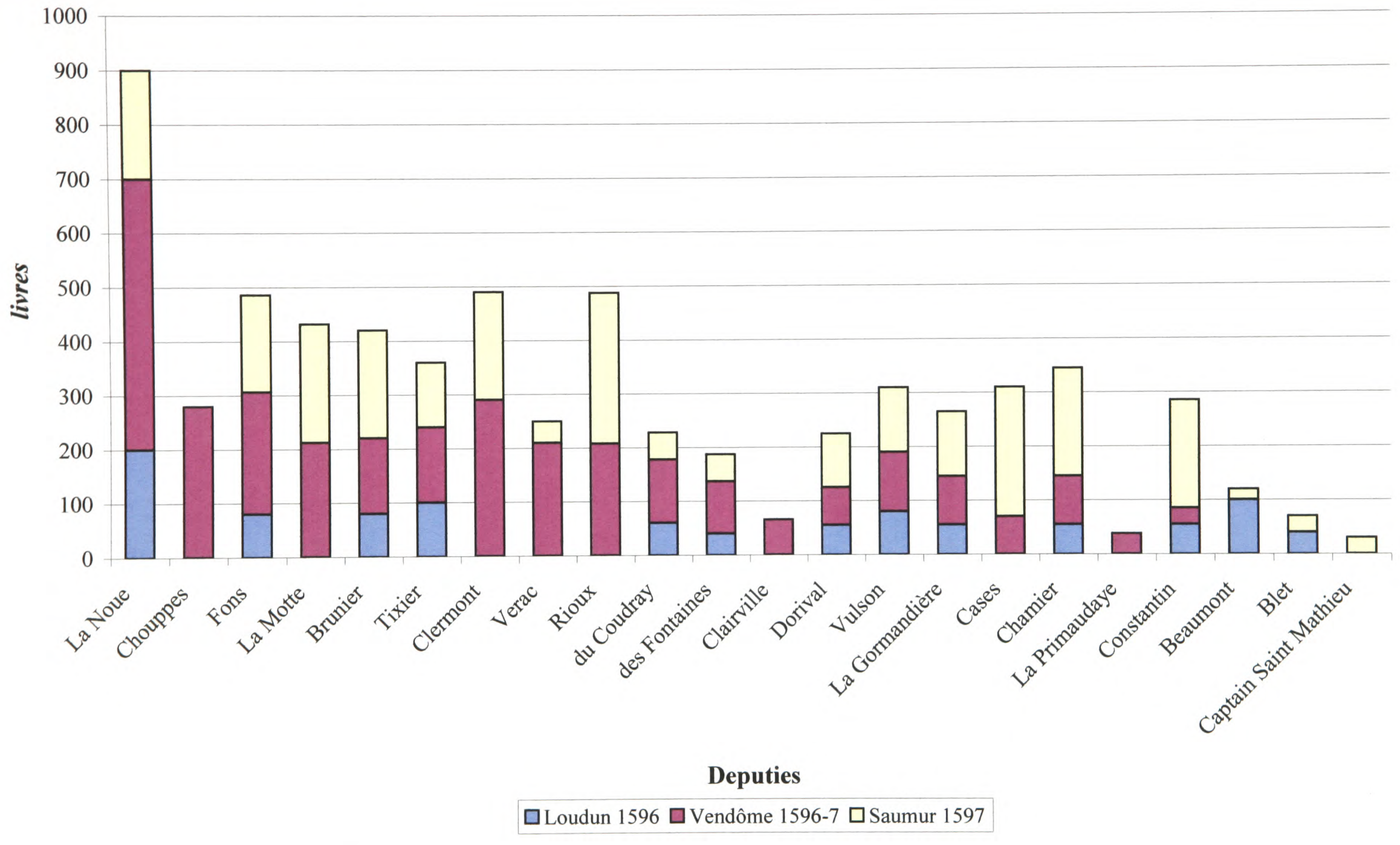
Henri IV for retaking La Fère and Amiens from Spanish troops).[159] These payments, made before the edict of Nantes, suggest that the monarchy adopted a similar policy of financial inducements (although on a far smaller scale) as it did with the Catholic League in seeking the pacification of the kingdom. Sums were first requested at Loudun in 1596 on the basis that the assembly had resided a long time by royal will.[160] The second royal instruction to de Vic and Calignon (11 September 1596), sent as the king's *commissaires* to the assembly, stated that if the assembly decided to remain together, that each province should limit itself to one deputy 'pour en esviter la despence'.[161]

The subsidies came in the form of a written order to be drawn from the nearest royal receiver's office. The general assembly at Loudun obtained 1, 000 *livres* from the monarchy.[162] While 260 *livres* were given to three deputies (Vulson, Tixier and Brunier) for separate journeys,[163] the remaining 740 *livres* were distributed by the assembly amongst the deputies who remained during the journey of de Rioux and La Motte to court.[164] At Vendôme (1596-7) the general assembly obtained 3, 000 *livres* from the king.[165] The general assembly at Saumur in 1597 obtained 2, 000 *livres* from the king to pay its deputies. The sum was paid when the sieur Bailly, *receveur général* of Poitou, to whom the written order was addressed, arrived in the town. Bailly had said that the written order had to be presented to the *bureau des trésoriers* at Poitiers to be of use. Fons, Vulson and La Gormandière distributed the sum to the deputies.[166] Chart 1 shows the sums paid to deputies at these three assemblies. The total sums for Vendôme and Saumur in fact amount to 3, 005 *livres* and 2, 600 *livres* respectively. The total for Vendôme includes 20 *livres* paid to 'Le Receveur', which is not represented in the chart.

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[159] See Chapter Five, pp. 208-9.
[160] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 311, art. 164: Loudun 1596.
[161] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fol. 236 r.
[162] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 311, art. 164 (26 July); p. 312, art. 170: Loudun 1596.
[163] *ibid.*, p. 312, art. 171; pp. 322-3, art 210.
[164] *ibid.*, p. 322, art. 209: Loudun 16 October 1596. Chosen on 26 July, Rioux and La Motte made their report on 23 September (*ibid.*, p. 311, art. 164; p. 317, art. 186).
[165] *ibid.*, p. 492, art. 251: Vendôme 1596-7. Cf. B.P.F. Ms. 789, first booklet, number 21: letter from Huguenot deputies at the assembly of notables at Rouen to the general assembly at Vendôme (15 November 1596).
[166] *ibid.*, p. 508, art. 316; p. 511, art. 330 (20 March); p. 512, art. 332; pp. 513-4, art. 337 (21 March); pp. 520-1, art. 363; p. 522, art. 368 (4 April): Saumur 1597.

Chart 1. Payments to Deputies at the General Assemblies, 1596-7



Source: Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 312, art. 171; p. 322, art. 209; p. 492, art. 250; p. 522, art. 368.

While the monarchy granted the subsidies, it was the deputies at the general assemblies who decided to whom the payments should be made. Those who were paid more, such as La Noue, Clermont[167] and de Rioux, held leading positions in these assemblies. Odet de La Noue was president of the general assembly at Loudun. On 29 April 1596, he requested leave for seven or eight days to go to Tours on health grounds 'ne pouvant Commodement faire en ceste ville ce qui est necessaire Joinct qu'il n'y a aucunes affaires pressées' and was replaced as president by the sieur de Rioux during his absence.[168] On 15 October (three days before the end of the assembly), Clermont was named as president.[169] The general assembly at Vendôme opened on 23 November 1596 under Clermont's presidency; he was paid 290 *livres* here and 200 *livres* at Saumur, where he was still president. This general assembly granted leave to the sieur du Coudray,[170] who was chosen as secretary at Loudun in 1596 (and paid 118 *livres*), to address matters that had arisen in his home, on condition that he returned 'Le plus promptement que faire se pourra'. Chamier[171] was named as secretary pending his return (and paid 90 *livres*). Du Coudray returned almost two months later, when the general assembly was sitting at Saumur. The general assembly asked Chamier to continue

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[167] Haag III, 496-9: Georges II de Clermont d'Amboise, marquis de Gallerande. Clermont fought at Saint-Denis, Jarnac, Moncontour, Arnay-le-Duc, Coutras (where he was *grand-maître de l'artillerie*), Arques and Ivry and was created *maréchal de camp* in 1591. He continued to serve until the peace of Vervins in 1598. He was for a while governor of Castres. He acted as president at Loudun, Vendôme and Saumur (1596-7). He also opened the general assembly at Châtellerault on 16 June 1597; four days later La Trémoille became president. His son Henri de Clermont d'Amboise, marquis de Gallerande, was deputy general after 1626.

[168] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 267, art. 12; p. 286, arts. 78, 81: Loudun 1596. *ibid.*, p. 520, art. 360: Saumur 1597: La Noue was allowed to return home on condition that he came back when asked. De Rioux was only paid at the subsequent assemblies.

[169] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 322, art. 208. Clermont did not represent a province, but he was given a *voix délibérative*: see *ibid.*, p. 288, art. 86 (12 May); p. 291, art. 99; p. 305, art. 143.

[170] Haag VIII, 457-8: Jean Rochelle, sieur du Coudray (or des Coudrais), *échevin* of La Rochelle. He acted as a deputy for La Rochelle at Saint-Jean-d'Angély in 1582, Loudun in 1596 and Châtellerault in 1597-8 (where he again acted as secretary). The assembly chose him with de Cazes to remain at court to supervise the registration of the edict of Nantes. In 1599, Henri IV sent him to La Rochelle to ensure the registration of the edict. In 1600, he was received as a member of the Paris *chambre de l'édit*. In 1612, he failed to prevent the *cercle* assembly convoked by Rohan at La Rochelle, as the regent had charged him.

[171] Haag III, 317-21: Daniel Chamier (1565-1621). While serving as minister for Montélimar, he was sent by Dauphiné to the national synod at Saumur in 1596. He also attended the general assembly at Châtellerault, and was noted for his firmness in the negotiations that preceded the edict of Nantes. He was president of the national synod at Gap in 1603 and attended the national synod at La Rochelle in 1607. Chamier was deputy to the president of the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 and president of the national synod at Privas in 1612. He then became a minister and professor at Montauban. He was

as secretary.[172] On 5 April 1597, Chamier was sent as a deputy to his province and du Coudray resumed the post of secretary.[173] Du Coudray and Chamier were respectively paid 50 and 200 *livres* at this assembly, showing that some adjustment was made to reflect the length of time spent serving as the assembly's secretary. It is likely that Rioux, Fons and La Motte, Tixier (an *avocat*) and Brunier also received their payments because of their role in negotiations with the monarchy.[174]

Other deputies were present at these assemblies, but were not paid. For example, at Loudun in 1596, this was the case for La Motte, deputy for Normandy and Brittany; Esnard and Vérac,[175] deputies for Poitou; de Rioux, the second deputy for Saintonge; du Coudray, deputy for La Rochelle; Clairville, the second deputy for Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Bas-Perche, Vendômois and Loudunnais and the sieur de Landebec, deputy for Brittany. Chouppes[176] and La Primaudaye, who did not represent a province, were also unpaid.[177] At least six other deputies (five representing provinces, and one, the baron de Courtomer, who came with *lettres avec créance* from Clermont) were not paid. Conversely, at Saumur in 1597, Fontaines and Saint Mathieu were paid (50 and 30 *livres* respectively) although they did not represent provinces. Fontaines (who came on 3 April, about half way through the assembly) might have benefited from his presentation by du Plessis Mornay and the fact that

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one of those sent as a deputy of the French churches to the synod at Dordrecht (1618-9). Chamier was killed during the siege of Montauban by royal troops.

[172] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 493, art. 259: Vendôme 31 January 1597; *ibid.*, pp. 516-7, art. 349: Saumur 28 March 1597.

[173] *ibid.*, pp. 524-5, art. 376: Saumur 1597.

[174] La Motte was paid at Saumur despite being given leave on 2 April 1597 for one month (Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 520, art. 360). For Fons' role at court, see *ibid.*, p. 501, art. 284 (5 March); p. 508, art. 314 (17 March).

[175] Haag IX, 79-80: Joachim de Saint-George, sieur de Vérac (who had fought at Moncontour and Arnay-le Duc and became governor of Brouage in 1574) or his son. Joachim's brother Philippe was amongst the noblemen who swore the oath at Loudun in 1596. They were from an old and powerful Poitou family.

[176] Haag III, 455-7: Pierre de Chouppes (d. 1603) a gentleman from Poitou, fought in all the conflicts between 1568 and 1587. In 1588, he accompanied the king of Navarre to the general assembly at La Rochelle. In 1590, he was named governor of Loudun. He was a deputy at Mantes in 1593, and was one of those charged with presenting the *cahier* to the king. He was a deputy for Anjou at Sainte-Foy in 1594 and was sent with Tixier as a deputy to court. Chouppes in fact attended the general assembly at Loudun as a governor; he signed the oath of union, and was one of those chosen as a deputy to go to court. Chouppes also attended the general assemblies at Vendôme and Saumur in 1596-7, and was a deputy at Sainte-Foy in 1601.

[177] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 267, art. 11; pp. 279-80, art. 52: Loudun 13 April 1596: La Primaudaye asked leave for personal matters; he was asked to return as soon as possible and in any case for Vulson's return from court.

he was sent by the sieur de La Mouche, governor of Vitré and Courlay, important strongholds in Brittany.[178] Saint Mathieu (who came to the assembly a day after its opening on 5 March) could have been paid in recognition of his loss some days previously of the stronghold of Montcenis in Burgundy 'laquelle il avoit en garde y ayant recueilly une Eglise'.[179] In making these last two payments, the general assembly at Saumur could also have been indicating its support more generally for strongholds held by Huguenots in provinces that did not have large Huguenot communities.

At Châtellerault in 1598, the general assembly warned provinces to make early provisions for their deputies, as royal funds could not always be forthcoming.[180] Anquez states that from 29 December 1599, the general assembly at Saumur used the right granted in article 43 of the particular articles of the edict of Nantes in order to levy 1, 379 *écus* from the churches to cover its expenses.[181] However, this point does not appear in the assembly's *procès-verbal* under this date.[182] The king in fact provided funds to cover the assembly's expenses. These funds were to be collected in three instalments from local receivers (and in January 1601 from a *lettre de change* given to a merchant). Payments for the general assembly amounted to I, 935 *écus* for 1599, 3, 000 *écus* for the first seven months of 1600 and another 3, 000 *écus* for the final five months of 1600 and first two months of 1601. The sums distributed by the general assembly to its deputies amounted to less (respectively, 1, 789 *écus* 8 *sous* for ten deputies; 2, 757 *écus* 42 *sous* for seven deputies; 2, 974 *écus* 14 *sous* for seven deputies). The difference between the two (413 *écus* 36 *sous*) was used to pay for a voyage to court deputies had to make (120 *écus*) and for other extraordinary expenses.[183] On the last day of the assembly (31 May 1601) an account was drawn up of the extraordinary costs incurred by the assembly from 28 January 1601 until its closing day. These costs

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[178] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 521, art. 367: Saumur 1597.
[179] *ibid.*, p. 504, art. 293. The assembly decided that it would raise the matter with the royal *commissaires* and press for the inclusion of an article on the restitution of the stronghold and compensation for the captain 'dans Les Articles du Traicté'.
[180] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 38: instruction for implementation of the edict of Nantes (11 June 1598).
[181] Anquez I, 195.
[182] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7192, fol. 248 r: Saumur 1599-1601.
[183] *ibid.*, fols. 257 r (9 March 1600), 258 r, 300 v (28 July 1600), 301 r-v (1 August 1600), 302 r-v, 314 r- 316 v (25-6 January 1601).

amounted to 199 *écus* 41 *sous*. The remaining sum of 293 *écus* 36 *sous* was distributed amongst the five deputies who were present to help cover the cost of their return journeys. This amounted to 18 *écus* 47 *sous* each.[184]

Between 1601 and 1608, deputies were paid from levies in the provinces and from contributions that governors were particularly encouraged to make. A suggestion that deputies should also be paid from sums remaining in the funds that the king granted in 1598 for the support of Huguenot ministers was rejected by the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605.[185]

At Saumur in 1611 and Grenoble in 1615, the royal *commissaires* were instructed to give assurances that the deputies general would be given the expenses for the general assemblies once the deputies had separated.[186] Sums were raised in the localities to cover the costs of deputations sent to the king and to the prince of Condé.[187] The doorkeeper at the general assembly at Nîmes was paid 200 *livres*.[188] However, royal payment was not forthcoming. The minister Pierre Huron, who was a deputy for Provence at La Rochelle in 1616 and helped to negotiate the peace, consequently failed to obtain reimbursement for his expenses from the consistories of his province. He finally left his church in 1620 and retired to Dauphiné, in contravention of the Ecclesiastical discipline.[189] Despite such examples, there is no direct evidence in the general assembly records to suggest that problems with pay reduced the demand for a general assembly, as was the case for the Estates General.[190] The monarchy did in fact provide the very large sum of about 50, 000 *livres* for the expenses of the general assembly at Loudun in 1619-20.[191] The final general assembly at La Rochelle in

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[184] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7192, fols. 336 v-337 r.
[185] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601. Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 763-4: Châtellerault 1605. B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608.
[186] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 261 r-v: instruction for Bullion (3 August 1611). B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 92 r: memorandum given to Frère (20 September 1615).
[187] Anquez I, 274, fn. 1.
[188] Mazarine Ms. 2609, fol. 233 r: Nîmes 1615.
[189] Haag VI, 17-18. Anquez I, 281.
[190] Russell Major, *Deputies to the Estates General*, pp. 154, 156, 157.
[191] B.N.F. fr. 20960, fols. 95 v, 97 r: Loudun 1619-20. By comparison, Anquez I, 281, stated that leading noblemen alleged that at the conference of Loudun (1616), the monarchy had refused to give the vast sum of 50, 000 *écus* to cover the costs of the general assemblies at Grenoble, Nîmes and La Rochelle. Anquez does not give his source for this figure.

part relied on contributions from its deputies, for instance to cover the costs of deputies' journeys.[192] Before separating on 13 November 1622, this final general assembly withdrew the allowance for those deputies who had been granted permission to leave La Rochelle but had failed to return to the assembly.[193]

vi. Numbers and social representation

An increase in the numbers of deputies has been correlated with greater bargaining power.[194] An estimate of the numbers of deputies who attended general assemblies must take into account the problems with attendance highlighted above. Anquez, for example, does not take into account those who were late in 1584 (they arrived mostly on 24 August) perhaps because he relied on the memoirs of du Plessis Mornay rather than the *procès-verbal* of the assembly as a source: he therefore underestimates the number of deputies who attended by fifteen.[195] Many were also present without being deputies elected by a town or province: for example, petitioners attended and it is not clear in the *procès-verbaux* when they left. Some also followed deputies to the assemblies, such as the sieur de La Martinière, a gentleman in attendance to the sieur de Saint-Etienne, who was deputy for Brittany at Montauban in 1579.[196] Before 1601, the general assembly with the largest number of deputies was held at Montauban in 1584: fifty-five deputies represented provinces and in addition, twenty noblemen and petitioners attended. After 1601, the largest assembly was held at Saumur in 1611, with ninety-one deputies representing provinces and at least ten present in addition.

The letters of convocation and regulations generally state that those most able for the task would be chosen to sit in general assemblies. This was not a radical measure presented

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[192] See for example B.N.F. fr. 15826, fol. 6 r: La Rochelle 1620-2.
[193] Anquez I, 390.
[194] *ibid.*, 73-4.
[195] *ibid.*, 36.
[196] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8. On the first day of the assembly (3 July) La Martinière was chosen to carry a letter to the king of Navarre informing him that the deputies had arrived. Haag VI, 225-7: Gilles de La Lande, sieur de Saint-Etienne, one of the most renowned Protestant leaders in Poitou. He was governor of Fontenay after 1574, commander at Montaigu in 1580 and defended Talmont against Joyeuse in 1587. He was governor of Talmont, as lieutenant to La Trémoille, when he swore the oath of union at the general assembly at Loudun in 1596. The Haag brothers conclude that Saint-Etienne must have died by the following year.

by the bourgeoisie that ignored existing social divisions, as Anquez argued;[197] as Russell Major showed, letters of convocation to the Estates General were formulated in the same way.[198]

The regulation drawn up at Sainte-Foy in 1594 stated that the general assembly would consist of four gentlemen, two ministers, and four from the third estate, The proportions were however doubled in view of negotiations with the monarchy.[199] Nothing in the regulation confirms Benoit's view in his *Histoire de l'édit de Nantes* (1693-5) that the decision to include representatives from each of the three 'estates' in 1594 was consciously modelled on the Estates General of the kingdom.[200] The general assembly at Saumur in 1595 in fact questioned whether it would not be more expedient to allow provinces to choose the quality of their deputies.[201] The regulation drawn up by the general assembly in 1611 does not specify how many of each order should be sent.[202] The same is true of regulations drawn up for provincial assemblies in 1611 and 1620, including provisions for royal officers and magistrates who were elected to sit with their order.[203] Similar regulations were drawn up for provincial councils.[204]

It is difficult to assert the predominance of a particular social group in view of the fluctuating attendance at the general assemblies shown above. Furthermore, as will be shown in Chapter Two, deliberations and voting procedures in the general assemblies did not take place by social order, as was the case in the Estates General.[205] Identification of individuals is moreover difficult because many of the deputies have no entry in E. and E. Haag's

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[197] Anquez I, 445.

[198] See J. Russell Major, *The Deputies to the Estates General*, pp. 132, 135. Women, minors, Protestants and nonresidents were usually excluded from consideration. The clergy and nobility chose only men from their respective orders.

[199] B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], art. 4 and additional art. 4: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. Each province would send in turn a deputy from each of the three orders.

[200] E. Benoit, *Histoire de l'édit de Nantes, [...]* (1693-5), I, 127-8. Cf. J. Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes* (1998), p. 251.

[201] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. li: Saumur 1595.

[202] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 292 r: Saumur 29 August 1611 regulation.

[203] *ibid.*, fols. 291 v-292 r: Saumur 29 August 1611 regulation. Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 609-10, arts. 5-9, 13: 10 April 1620 regulation.

[204] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[1], arts. 8, 12: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 291 r: Saumur 29 August 1611 regulation.

[205] See Chapter Two, pp. 60-1.

biographical dictionary *La France protestante*.[206] Ministers and magistrates could also be noble and it is doubtful whether a single stance can be attributed globally to a 'homogeneous' social group or even to those who held the same 'functional role in society'.[207]

Historiography has nevertheless focused on the role of the nobility in Huguenot political assemblies. While an increasingly stronger proportion of those who attended the general assemblies between 1581 and 1588 were noblemen, according to J. Garrisson,[208] many of these attended as followers of the king of Navarre.[209] Part of the reason for the attendance of these noblemen might have been the need to ensure their support in their regions.[210] J. Garrisson also noted that the (temporary) influx of noble deputies was particularly noticeable at the general assembly at Loudun in 1596, where she argued that the nobility acted in a manner akin to the 'inferior magistrates' described by Théodore de Bèze.[211] As has been shown in the Introduction, Valone and Airo-Farulla have notably linked the presence of a greater number of noblemen to an increased belligerence on the part of the general assemblies.[212]

However, it was most often the case that the assemblies had to write to members of the nobility to ensure their support and adherence to the union of the churches.[213] It was thought that the nobility and other notables would give greater authority to an assembly. Although La Trémoille, passing through Saumur on 25 February 1595, offered his services to

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[206] E. and E. Haag, *La France protestante ou vie des protestants français [...]* (9 vols., Paris and Geneva, Jöel Cherbuliez, 1846-59).
[207] J. Airo-Farulla, 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henry IV, 1589 to 1598' (Seattle, University of Washington Ph. D. thesis, 1969), p. 129.
[208] J. Garrisson-Estèbe, *Protestants du Midi 1559-1598* (1980), pp. 193, 205. J. Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes.* (1998), pp. 24, 251.
[209] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 185-6: Saint-Jean-d'Angély 1582. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 1584. Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 251-2: La Rochelle 1588.
[210] M. Wada, 'La représentation des régions', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, p. 191.
[211] J. Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes* (1998), pp. 250-2; *Les Protestants au XVIe siècle*, p. 326. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 23. N. Sutherland, 'The Edict of Nantes and the "protestant State"' (1965), p. 212.
[212] J. Valone, 'The Huguenots and the War of Spanish Marriages' (University of Michigan, 1965), pp. 48-51, 71, 79, 106-7, 177; cf. pp. 2-3, 8. J. Airo-Farulla, 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henry IV, 1589 to 1598' (1969), pp. 116-7; cf. pp. 84, 91, 134; p. 145.
[213] See for instance B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], additional art. 3: Sainte-Foy 1594. B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. li: Saumur 1595. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 288, art. 86: Loudun 1596. *ibid.*, pp. 489-90, arts. 233, 240-1: Vendôme 1596-7. B.P.F. Ms. 753[1], number 11 (copy in B.P.F. Ms. 789, second booklet, number 16): letter from the general assembly to du Plessis Mornay at Nérac (15 October 1601).

the general assembly held there, then wanted to leave, article twelve of the regulation of Sainte-Foy (1594) was invoked to persuade him to remain. Du Plessis Mornay attended on 21 March following a request from the assembly.[214] The nobility also played a useful role in representing territories under the protection of the king of France, such as the town and archbishopric of Avignon, the principality of Orange, the marquisate of Saluzzo and the territory of Metz, when no deputies represented these areas.[215] The general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605 asked churches to send as many noblemen as possible to provincial assemblies.[216] Ultimately, the nobility appears to have in fact undermined the general assemblies after 1611. The presence of leading members of the sword nobility at Saumur in 1611 fomented rivalries and factions that will be discussed in Chapter Two.[217] Perhaps as a result of this dissension, from 1615, leading noblemen sent deputies on their behalf with a commission (countersigned by their secretaries and sealed with their arms) to swear, sign and consent to the assemblies' resolutions on their behalf (including the oath of union) and implement them. The noblemen then had to ratify their deputies's actions and countersign the oath.[218] It can be argued that it was in fact the increasing distance of leading members of the sword nobility from the general assemblies that eventually weakened the assemblies. The general assembly at Loudun (1619-20) decided that deputies from the *grands* would now be heard by order of arrival. The assembly would write only to the *grands* who had sent deputies to the assembly in order to ask them to submit to its resolutions and to send signed instructions to their deputies with a commission to sign the oath of union on their behalf.[219]

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[214] B.P.F. Ms. 710, arts. xx, lxxxvi: Saumur 1595.

[215] See for example B.P.F. Ms. 710, arts. ix, lxxxi: Saumur 1595. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 282, art. 60; p. 284, art. 70: Loudun 1596 (also includes the Alpine valleys controlled by Lesdiguières).

[216] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 759: Châtellerault 1605.

[217] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 200 v, 217 v: Saumur 1611. Anquez I, 229-30. See Chapter Two, pp. 58-9.

[218] See for example Mazarine Ms. 2597: 'Procuration de Mons.[ieu]r de Bouillon passée a Monsieur de la forest' (Sedan, 23 August 1615); B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 164 r: 'Instructions pour monsieur de Loudrieres envoié par devers messieurs de Rohan, Soubize, De la Trimouille, Sully, Chastillon, Parabere, et de Plessis' (Nîmes, 24 August 1615). For a list of those who acted on behalf of the *grands*, see Anquez I, 265, fn. 4.

[219] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 823: Loudun 1619-20. See for example B.N.F. N.a.f. 7195, fol. 187 r-v: 'Pouvoir de Mons.[ieu]r le Duc de Sully [...] Au s.[ieu]r de Roquetaillade' (castle at Montrond, 6 November 1619); Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 830-1: Loudun 1619-20: authorisation from the duke of Rohan to the sieur de Laudebaudière. For a full list of those who acted on behalf of the *grands*, see Anquez I, 317. Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 821-22, 829: the assembly also received letters of support from

At La Rochelle in 1620, only La Trémoille, Rohan, La Force and Châtillon[220] sent representatives. Bouillon, Sully and Lesdiguières[221] refused to do so.[222]

Historiography has not focused as much on the debate over the presence of ministers in the general assemblies. Anquez claimed that ministers attended general assemblies for the first time at Mantes in 1593,[223] but they were in fact present at previous general assemblies, notably at La Rochelle in 1588, where they made clear their opposition to alliances between Henri de Navarre and Catholics, as Anquez himself showed.[224] Airo-Farulla stated that the assemblies of Mantes (1593-4) and Sainte-Foy (1594) concentrated on gaining religious concessions because they were dominated by ministers. The president and his deputy at Mantes were ministers (respectively, Esnard, one of the deputies for Poitou,[225] and Béraud, a deputy for Haute-Guyenne).[226] The same two deputies then reversed their roles at Sainte-Foy in 1594. Airo-Farulla argued that there was 'no list of delegates for Ste Foy, but [...] pastors,

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Châtillon, Rohan, La Trémoille (he came to the assembly on the last day), Sully, Lesdiguières, du Plessis, de Salles (governor of Navarrenx), and Bouillon, presented by their respective deputies. There were also letters from Soubise. The viscount of Turenne came at the instigation of his mother.

[220] Haag III, 409-11: Gaspard de Coligny, count of Châtillon (1584-1646). He attended the general assembly at Saumur in 1611, and sent a representative to Grenoble in 1615. He was ambivalent towards the uprising led by Condé. In 1616, the queen mother allowed Châtillon to buy the *gouvernement* of Aigues-Mortes and named him *maréchal-de-camp*. Louis XIII sent him a *brevet* of *maréchal de France* in June 1620. He was disavowed by the general assembly and an assembly at Nîmes in 1621. In February 1622, the king gave him the *bâton* of *maréchal de France*, and in 1643, he conferred the status of *duché-pairie* on his lands at Châtillon.

[221] Haag II, 370-85: François de Bonne, seigneur de Lesdiguières (1543-1626) had fought on the Huguenot side in Dauphiné from the first war of religion. He became governor of Grenoble in 1591, a *conseiller d'état* in 1593/4, lieutenant general of Provence in 1595 and lieutenant general in Dauphiné c. 1597. He was a *commissaire* for the implementation of the edict of Nantes in Dauphiné. Lesdiguières signed the oath of union at Châtellerault in 1605. Henri IV named him *maréchal de France* and *conseiller d'honneur* in the Paris *parlement*. He was made a duke and peer after the death of Henri IV in 1610, but the letters of provision for this were not registered before 1620. He consistently urged conciliation with the monarchy after 1611. Under the influence of his second wife, Lesdiguières converted to Catholicism in 1622. Following this he became *connétable de France*.

[222] For a list of those who acted on behalf of the *grands*, see Anquez I, 332. See also Chapter Five, pp. 210-11.

[223] Anquez I, 57

[224] Anquez I, 50-1. They were present from at least 1581, when eight deputies were listed as ministers and one was listed as a deacon. At the following general assembly at Montauban in 1584, eleven deputies were listed as ministers.

[225] Haag, IV, 550-2: Louis Esnard was a minister at Fontenay. He was also a deputy for Poitou at the general assembly at Montauban in 1581 and a deputy at Loudun in 1596.

[226] Haag II, 182-7: Michel Béraud (died c. 1626) was a minister at Réalmont and a deputy for Haut-Languedoc at the national synod at Sainte-Foy in 1578. He was a deputy at the general assemblies at Sainte-Foy in 1594 and 1601 (where he was chosen as deputy to the president). He was present at Châtellerault in 1605. He was president of the national synods at Montauban in 1594, at Montpellier in 1596 and at La Rochelle in 1607, and attended the national synod at Gap in 1603. Béraud was then

as a group, were able to secure separate representation in future assemblies'.[227] In fact, the copy of the *procès-verbal* in the library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français does contain a list of deputies,[228] and the participation of ministers was questioned at following assemblies. Only three (Clairville, Montigny and Mâchefer) of the sixteen present at Saumur in 1595 were listed as ministers, rather than four as the regulation of 1594 stated. Questions about the presence of ministers were referred to the following general assembly at Loudun.[229] The nobility and third estate again debated their presence at Saumur in 1611. The duke of Bouillon notably objected to ministers constituting a separate order in elections (he did not say why), although he accepted that they could be elected according to ability and in order to carry out prayers.[230] The duke of Rohan was opposed to the participation of ministers in the assemblies.[231] Despite such objections, nineteen deputies at this general assembly were listed as ministers.[232] Although the national synods in 1612 and 1617 were not favourable to the presence of ministers in political assemblies,[233] eighteen deputies were listed as ministers (Dauphiné and Burgundy had two each) at the general assemblies at Grenoble and Nîmes in 1615.[234]

The role of magistrates, notably as secretaries of the general assemblies, will be discussed in Chapters Two and Three.[235]

This section has examined some of the difficulties in the process of elections to the general assemblies and in assessing numbers and composition once the deputies had arrived. Despite the apparent unwilligness of some deputies to attend, the fact that deputies were often members of the same families and that sons sometimes followed their fathers in representing

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professor of theology at Saumur and at Montauban. His son Pierre, a minister at Pamiers, was a deputy for Haut-Languedoc at Grenoble and Nîmes in 1615.

[227] J. Airo-Farulla, 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henry IV, [...]' (1969), p. 131.

[228] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[2]: Sainte-Foy 1594.

[229] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. li: Saumur 1595. J. Garrisson, *L'édit de Nantes* (1998), p. 134.

[230] B.N.F. Na.f. 7193, fol. 297 r: Saumur 29 August 1611 regulation.

[231] *Veritable Discours De ce qui s'est passé en l'Assemblée politique des Eglises Reformées de France, tenuë à Saumur par la permission du Roy, l'an 1611. Servant de supplement aux Memoires du Duc de Rohan* (1646), pp. 60-1.

[232] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 199 r-200 v.

[233] Anquez I, 246, fn. 2.

[234] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fols. 1 r-3 r: Grenoble and Nîmes 1615 list of deputies.

[235] See Chapter Two, pp. 68-9 and for example Chapter Three, pp. 111, 116.

particular provinces suggests that some deputies were able to build a common pool of experience of the assemblies. In turn, this must have helped them to develop coherent regulations.[236]

III. Location of the assemblies

The locations chosen for the general assemblies provide important contextual information for the practicalities of holding assemblies during a period of civil war. The manner in which deputies travelled to the assemblies, the need to find adequate lodgings and the kind of building chosen for the sessions of the assemblies have never before been considered.

Much has been made of the so-called 'Huguenot crescent', an area with a greater concentration of reformed churches broadly from Normandy, through Poitou and Touraine, La Rochelle and Languedoc to Lyon and Dauphiné.[237] Although at first glance, the locations for general assemblies do mostly fall within this crescent, some of the general assemblies found themselves in areas of open hostility. For instance, at Sainte-Foy in July 1594, the general assembly initially met with hostility from the *procureur du roi* and consuls, who only relented when told that it was a continuation of the assembly held at Mantes to negotiate peace.[238] The general assembly at Loudun in 1596 received notification 'du danger des chemins et troupes ennemies pres de ces quartiers', hindering the ability of the deputies to communicate with other provinces.[239] This assembly's regulation stated that general assemblies would gather, when need be, 'en lieu seur et commode'.[240]

Between 1593 and 1601, negotiations with the monarchy mostly dictated the location of the general assemblies. Mantes was an appropriate location in 1593 because Henri IV was

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[236] Examples of members of the same families who attended the general assemblies can be found throughout this thesis. By contrast, the Estates General during this period lacked a group of deputies who had experience of working together (Russell Major, *Deputies to the Estates General*, pp. 140-1).
[237] See notably the map in S. Mours, *Les Eglises Réformées en France* (Paris-Strasbourg, 1958), p. 51, reproduced in J. Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, p. 14.
[238] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[2]. Sainte-Foy-la-Grande, near Libourne on the Dordogne.
[239] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 289-90, art. 92: Loudun 22 May 1596.
[240] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. 1: Loudun 1596 regulation (confirmed April 1597). Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 523, art. 373: Saumur 1597: still referred to the proximity of enemy troops around Loudun.

moving up the Seine valley in the course of his campaign to reclaim Paris.[241] The six general assemblies from 1595 to 1601 were all held around the Loire valley. Three of these assemblies, in 1595, 1597 and 1599-1601 were held in Saumur, where du Plessis Mornay was governor, and which was close to provinces with a high number of Huguenots, such as Poitou and Touraine.[242] The general assembly moved from Loudun to Vendôme from 23 November 1596 to 7 February 1597 at the suggestion of the king, in order to obtain a more rapid answer in negotiations; the town was part of the royal domain and had been retaken from the League in 1589.[243] As Vendôme was 'inconvenient', the assembly decided on 7 February to return to Saumur, where it was decided deputies would convene by 17 February.[244] From 1601, the *brevets* arguably allowed the king a greater say in the location of Huguenot general assemblies. Châtellerault was chosen by the king in 1605 because it was in the *gouvernement* of Poitou, held by the marquis of Rosny, who became duke of Sully in 1606.[245] In 1608, the king chose Jargeau, near Orléans and on the left bank of the Loire, as the location for the general assembly, because it was near the duchy of Sully.[246] Similarly, Louis XIII stated he chose Grenoble in 1615 because he could rely on the loyalty of Lesdiguières, who was royal lieutenant general in Dauphiné (he had also been made a duke and peer in 1611).[247] The deputies general and representatives from the provinces had first refused Grenoble, but accepted this location when the king offered Jargeau as an alternative. Louis XIII wrote for example to the Huguenot Marc-Antoine Marreau de Boisguérin, governor of the castle of Loudun from 1589 and of the town from 1603, pointing out that he had offered Jargeau in

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[241] B.P.F. Ms. 710: Mantes 1593-4. A copy of this assembly's *procès-verbal* can be found in Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 133-56. Some of the assembly's deputies (not all, as Anquez I, 59 stated) sat at Meulan from 23 to 24 December 1593.

[242] Du Plessis Mornay was governor of Saumur from 1589 until 1621. A good rider could take less than three hours between Saumur and Loudun, while the journey to Châtellerault could be completed within a day (H. Daussy, 'Au cœur des négociations pour l'édit de Nantes: le rôle de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, pp. 208-9). Cf. Anquez I, 182-3 and A. Herman, 'Protestant Churches in a Catholic Kingdom: Political Assemblies in the Thought of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXI, number 4 (1990), 544, 554, although Herman states that the general assembly in 1599 was held at 'Ste. Foy'.

[243] B.N.F. 7191, fols. 235 r- 237 v: second instruction to Vic and Calignon (11 September 1596).

[244] The general assembly at Saumur in fact opened on 5 March.

[245] Anquez I, 223.

[246] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5.

[247] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fols. 70 r-v, 75 v-76 r (copy in Mazarine Ms. 2609, fols. 84 r-91 r): instruction for Lesdiguières, Créqui and Frère to act as the king's representatives at Grenoble (16 July 1615).

part because he thought Lesdiguières would be at court and because of troop movements in Savoy and Piedmont.[248]

Many of the towns chosen were also *places de sûreté*, although this is not mentioned as a factor in the records. Two of the better-known *places de sûreté* are Montauban, the location for general assemblies in 1579, 1581 and 1584, and La Rochelle, the former capital of Aunis, where general assemblies were held in 1588, 1616 and 1620-2. Both of these towns were *places de sûreté* from the peace of Saint-Germain in August 1570. Moreover, Saumur (a *place de sûreté* since 1589, heavily fortified by du Plessis Mornay), Jargeau, Loudun, and Châtellerault were all listed in the royal *états* of 14 May 1598, 8 March 1603 and 17 March 1611 for the payment of Huguenot garrisons.[249] In the *état* of 14 May 1598, Saumur is listed as having a garrison of three hundred and sixty-four, Jargeau one hundred and eighty, Loudun forty and Châtellerault one hundred and ninety-seven.[250] For Loudun and Châtellerault, measures had already been taken to increase their garrisons at Loudun in 1596.[251] Although actual numbers were probably less and payment was not always forthcoming, the presence of garrison troops that were in principle favourable to the cause could have been a factor in choosing a town in which to hold a general assembly.[252] Mantes had a garrison and was included in the particular *états*.[253] Vendôme was heavily fortified; this in itself could have been a factor in the deputies accepting this as a location.[254]

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[248] 'Lettres adressées de 1585 à 1625 à Marc-Antoine Marreau de Boisguérin gouverneur de Loudun', eds. G. de La Marque and E. de Barthélemy, *Archives historiques du Poitou*, XIV (1883), pp. 305-9, number 92: Louis XIII to Boisguérin (15 April 1615). See also *ibid.*, p. 311, number 96: Louis XIII to Boisguérin (18 June 1615); pp. 311-2, number 97: M. de Sceaux to Boisguérin (18 June 1615). Haag VII, 283: Marc-Antoine Marreau, sieur de Boisguérin, *conseiller et maître d'hôtel ordinaire du roi*, (from 1617). Boisguérin was also listed in the *petits états* for royal pensions in 1610 and 1616 (see Mazarine Ms. 2596 and Mazarine Ms. 2598).

[249] Arsenal Ms. 6594, fols. 45 r-46 r (copy in Mazarine Ms. 2595, fols. 104 r-106 r): 14 May 1598 *état*. Mazarine Ms. 2595, fol. 456 r-460 r: 8 March 1603 *état*. Mazarine Ms. 2596: 17 March 1611 *état*. These *états* included the generalities of Tours, Orléans, Poitiers, Bourges, Limoges, Lyon, Bordeaux, Montpellier and Toulouse. See Chapter Six, p. 277.

[250] Arsenal Ms. 6594, fol. 45 r: 14 May 1598 *état*.

[251] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 298-9, art. 124; pp. 310-1, art. 163; p. 319, art. 192: Loudun 1596. Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 523-4, art. 373: Saumur 1597.

[252] See Chapter Five, pp. 222-30, 233-6, 241-8 for attempts by the general assemblies to regulate garrison troops, and stores, artillery and fortifications for strongholds controlled by Huguenots.

[253] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 209 v: Saumur 1611.

[254] The general assembly at Saumur 1611 requested the inclusion of Vendôme in the royal *états*, as it had been excluded as a *place de sûreté* by the *brevet* of 30 April 1598 (B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 209 v).

Places de sûreté or fortified towns were often well situated on rivers or at the confluence of two rivers;[255] some deputies could presumably have chosen to arrive by boat. Grenoble, Nîmes, Montauban, Vendôme, Loudun and Mantes were of Celtic or Roman origin, indicating that they also lay on well-established trade or communication routes. Saumur was developed around a ford on the Loire already used by the Romans; work was set under way for a bridge there in the early seventeenth century.[256] Saumur, Montauban, Saint-Jean-d'Angély and Vendôme furthermore developed around abbeys. The Benedictine abbeys at Saint-Jean-d'Angély and Vendôme (founded in the ninth and eleventh centuries respectively) were also important pilgrimage centres. Moreover, Grenoble, Nîmes and Montauban were also the seats of bishoprics. The above indicates that had it not been for the danger from armed bands and for the conflicts more generally, the deputies should have had little difficulty in reaching the location of the general assemblies within a reasonable time. The general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 exhorted generals, governors, captains and other commanders to provide an escort for ministers and elders travelling to synods and assemblies, but it is not clear if this ever became a general measure.[257] The royal letters patent sanctioning the general assembly at Saumur in 1595 stated that the deputies had to be able to travel to the assembly free from interference or harm.[258]

Some deputies travelled to the general assemblies in stages, stopping over at Huguenot *places de sûreté*, as two letters to Marc-Antoine Marreau de Boisguérin show. In the first letter, dated 15 May 1611, Sully stated that he would break his journey at Loudun before travelling on to Saumur for the general assembly. He was sending M. de Denonville ahead of him to make arrangements for his lodgings 'et advertir mes amis, dont je vous

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[255] This is the case for Montauban, Loudun, Châtellerault, Vendôme, Saumur, Grenoble and Nîmes. This point is also highlighted in F. de Dainville, 'Cartes des places protestantes en 1620, dessinées à la fin du règne de Louis XIII', *Journal des savants*, (1968-9), p. 224.

[256] D. Buisseret, *Sully and the growth of centralized government in France 1598-1610* (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968), p. 116. H. Daussy, 'Au cœur des négociations pour l'édit de Nantes: le rôle de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, p. 209. This was the only crossing place granted to Huguenots by Henri III in the truce of 3 April 1589.

[257] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 202: La Rochelle 1588. Deputies to the Estates General during this period faced the same problems: some were kidnapped and ransomed. In view of these difficulties, they were sometimes provided with armed guards in their travels. (Russell Major, *Deputies to the Estates General*, pp. 143-4).

[258] B.P.F. Ms. 710: the letters patent appear on the first two pages of the assembly's *procès-verbal*.

estime des meilleurs'. In the second letter, dated 20 May 1611, M. de Boulaye wrote that he had resolved 'd'aller au devant de monsieur de Sully avec quelque nombre de mes amys', with whom he would meet at Loudun, having learnt that Sully would stop there. He asked Boisguérin to use his authority in helping the bearer of the letter to find lodgings for them.[259]

Lodging could be a problem, as well as an excuse to change the location of a general assembly.[260] In 1611, Huguenots were able to obtain a second royal *brevet* moving the location of the general assembly from Châtellerault to Saumur, where du Plessis Mornay was still governor, using difficulty of lodging as justification.[261] Difficulty of lodging was again cited in 1615, when the deputies obtained a fifth royal *brevet* moving the location of the general assembly from Jargeau to Grenoble.[262] Louis XIII also wrote to Boisguérin to point out that Jargeau had been thought adequate for assemblies in the past (in terms of lodgings, accessibility and proximity to the court).[263] Outbreaks of the plague were also a factor to be taken into consideration. In 1605, the deputies general had encouraged the provinces to ask for another town instead of Châtellerault, partly because there had been an outbreak of the plague there the previous summer.[264]

The records of the general assemblies only briefly indicate the kind of building in which the deputies sat. At Montauban in 1579, it was decided on 7 July that the house of 'monsieur Pages'[265] would serve as the location for the general *cahier* (as drawn up so far) to

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[259] 'Lettres adressées de 1585 à 1625 à Marc-Antoine Marreau de Boisguérin gouverneur de Loudun', eds. G. de La Marque and E. de Barthélemy, *Archives historiques du Poitou*, XIV (1883), 264-5, numbers 50-1. Philippe Eschalard, seigneur de la Boulaye (d. 1616), was governor of Fontenay-le Comte and *lieutenant des gendarmes de la reine.*

[260] See Russell Major, *Deputies to the Estates General*, pp. 144-5 on problems of lodging and food supplies at the Estates General (compounded by the fact that payment was usually given to deputies after the Estates General).

[261] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 201 v: Saumur 1611. Anquez I, 228: states that the court agreed to this change as it could not be sure of Sully, who was governor of Châtellerault. Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior*, p. 33, states that the general assembly was transferred to Saumur at the request of Bouillon for the same reason.

[262] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fols. 10 r-11 r (copy in Mazarine Ms. 2609, fols. 6 v-7 r). For the speech of the deputies general to the king and queen mother, making the request, see Arsenal Ms. 5427, première partie, pp. 117-9.

[263] 'Lettres adressées de 1585 à 1625 à Marc-Antoine Marreau de Boisguérin gouverneur de Loudun', *Archives historiques du Poitou*, XIV (1883), 305-9, number 92: Louis XIII to Boisguérin (15 April 1615).

[264] Anquez I, 216.

[265] According to Haag VIII, 63-5, Hérail de Pagès, who was from one of the oldest families in Languedoc, governor of Lunel from 1579 and *gentilhomme de la chambre* for the king of Navarre

be read and examined 'en la presence de toute la compagnye'. The choice of buildings for general assemblies between 1579 and 1588 also identified the assemblies both with municipal authority and with the established framework of royal justice. General deliberations from 13 July 1579 took place in the *parquet et auditoire royal*, presumably of the *sénéchaussée* tribunal.[266] At Montauban in 1581, the assembly was first held at the home of the sieur Astier, then from 5 May in the *maison consulaire*; it moved on 8 May to the royal castle and consistory after the arrival of Navarre and Condé the previous day.[267] The general assembly at Montauban in 1584 was held in the *auditoire du siège de la sénéchaussée*.[268] At La Rochelle in 1588, the general assembly sat in the *salle de l'échevinage* in the *maison de ville*, with the military colours taken 'en divers exploits' hanging above them. It is likely that the colours were placed there at the instigation of the king of Navarre, as he pointed to them as evidence for the assembled deputies that he had not spared himself in defending the interests of the *parti*.[269] The choice of buildings for assemblies between 1595 and 1597 associated the assemblies with the nobility and royal governors. The general assembly at Saumur in 1595 opened in the *logis* of the sieur de Champnoir.[270] The general assembly at Loudun met on 1 April 1596 in the *logis* of the sieur de Chouppes, royal governor and lieutenant for the town of Loudun and the duchy of Loudunnais, who was a deputy at the assembly.[271] The following general assembly at Vendôme first assembled in November 1596 in the lodgings of monsieur de Clermont, elected president of the assembly by its deputies. Then, on 4 December the assembly was offered the *salle du logis* of the Benedictine abbey de

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from January 1580. The Haag brothers state he was a deputy for Bas-Languedoc at this general assembly, although he is not listed in the assembly's *procès-verbal*. However, the procuration for the two deputies for Bas-Languedoc was 'Tant pour Eux q[ue] pour le sieur de porquaires Estant pres du roy de navarre' (B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 1 v, art. 11, 4 May; fol. 2 v, art. 23, 9 May). Christophe de Pagès, sieur de Porquaires (d. 1585), was Herail de Pagès' brother and like him fought in the conflicts from the first civil war.

[266] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8. For the *baillis* and *sénéchaux*, see Chapter Three, p. 137.

[267] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 1 r, arts. 1-2; fol. 2 r, art. 18; fol. 2 v, art. 22. Presumably, the consistory met in the castle.

[268] *ibid.*, number 15.

[269] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 199. The actual *hôtel de ville* at La Rochelle was built from 1595 to 1607.

[270] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. i.

[271] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 265, art. 1.

la Sainte-Trinité by the governor of Vendôme (monsieur de Vignolles) and moved there.[272] There were never more than twenty-seven people attending this general assembly; they would therefore have been able to sit in both these premises without crowding.

There is little documentary evidence to suggest the manner in which the deputies sat. As far as is known, there is not even a postfacto engraving, like that in J. Aymon's edition of the proceedings of the national synods (1710).[273] When the royal envoy Pomponne de Bellièvre arrived at the general assembly at Montauban on 18 May 1581, the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé and the deputies greeted him 'honnorablement'. Then 'Estans Lesdicts sieurs montes au hault du siege se tenans debout Et teste descouverte', Bellièvre stated that Henri III had sent him to convey his resolve to maintain the edict of pacification.[274] Anquez states that the president, deputy and one or two secretaries elected by general assemblies between 1593 and 1622 together formed a 'bureau', and seems to suggest that this took a concrete form, where royal *commissaires* for example deposited letters, but he does not present any evidence for this statement.[275] On the opening day of the general assembly at Saumur on 5 March 1597, the *procès-verbal* states that the deputies assembled 'en La Salle preparée pour cest effect', without any further detail explaining what these preparations entailed.[276]

IV. Swearing of the oaths

From 1581, deputies at the general assemblies could not be admitted without swearing the oath of union, founded on the Ecclesiastical discipline and Confession of faith

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[272] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 485, 487, arts. 214 and 224. Vignolles came to the assembly on 10 December and was granted a *voix délibérative* (*ibid*, p. 487, art. 228).
[273] *Tous les Synodes Nationaux des églises réformées de France auxquels on a joint des mandemens roiaux, et plusieurs lettres politiques, Sur ces Matieres Synodales, [...]*, ed. J. Aymon (2 vols., The Hague, Charles Delo, 1710)
[274] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 6 r, art. 58. See also *ibid.*, fol. 8 v, art. 78, for the address to the assembly by the duke of Anjou's envoy.
[275] Anquez I, 65, 234; cf. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 22. See Chapter Two, p. 60 fn. 48.
[276] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 501, art. 283: Saumur 1597.

(drawn up by the first national synod in 1559).[277] From Loudun in 1596, deputies representing provinces also presented formal ratifications of the oath of union and of the deliberations and resolutions already taken by the assembly. A precedent for these oaths can be seen in those sworn by associations of the nobility and those sworn for the implementation of the edicts of pacification. Oaths were similarly sworn by the Catholic League.[278] As shown above, provinces that failed to send deputies to the general assemblies, provincial assemblies and councils were reprimanded by letter for failing to maintain the union with the other Huguenot churches.

Sutherland concedes that the oath sworn in May 1581 was 'unobjectionable', and part of 'occasional' attempts to justify their existence by 'some formal deference to the authority of the king'.[279] Sutherland fails to state that after 1581 the oath always contained a variation on the statement that it was sworn and signed by all:

> 'Soubz la Treshumble subiection au Roy Que nous Recognoissons nous avoyr este donne du Ciel pour nostre Souverain Seigneur et soubz lobeissance de ses Edicts et ordonnances Le Souverain empire de Dieu demeurant tousiours en son entier'.[280]

The 1581 oath contained a simple mistake in the text, which would have been important if it had served as something akin to a verbal contract in Roman law. The oath stated that the deputies swore:

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[277] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 2 v, art. 23: Montauban 6 May 1581. At Montauban on 13 July 1579, the general assembly decided that letters would be sent to Languedoc, Dauphiné and Provence (whose deputies were late) 'Afin de les exhorter dentretenir une bonne [et] parfaicte unyon Intelligence [et] correspondance Avec toutes les autres Eglises Et quilz ayent a se trouver aud[ites] assemblees generalles le plus songneusement [sic.] quilz pourront doresnavant', but there is no mention of a formal oath of union (B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8).

[278] See *Reglement faict par Monseigneur le Duc de Mayenne Pair & Lieutenant general de l'Estat Royal & Couronne de France, & le Conseil general de l'union des Catholiques estably à Paris, [...].* (Paris, Frederic Morel, 1589), pp. 3-10, arts i-ix; pp. 11-2, art. xi: all those who entered 'la saincte union des Catholiques', were required to swear the oath in the form registered in the Paris *parlement*; an oath to obey magistrates would be added to this. Registers, signed documents and attestations of those who had sworn the oath would be sent to the general council. The oath had to be sworn within fifteen days and the penalty for failing to do this was seizure of property. If any who had sworn the oath attacked towns and people who were part of the union, they would be regarded as 'traistres, perfides & ennemis de Dieu & de l'Estat'. If apprehended, they would be rigorously punished 'sans espera[n]ce de pouvoir jamais rentrer en ladite union des Catholiques'.

[279] N. Sutherland, 'The Edict of Nantes and the "protestant State"', *Annali della fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa* 2 (1965), p. 201.

[280] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 28: Mantes 1593 oath.

> 'de ne faire ni entreprendre chose aucune au préjudice de l'Union du bien universel, repos, & tranquillité desd.[ites] Églises sans le Commandement dud.[it] S.[ieu]r Roy de Navarre avec le Conseil & avis desd.[ites] Églises, [...]'. [281]

This was corrected at Saint-Jean-d'Angély in 1582 to:

> 'de ne faire ni entreprendre chose aucune pour les affaires & commune conservation desd.[ites] Eglises, sans le Commandem.[en]t du Roy de Navarre, avec le Conseil & avis desd.[ites] Eglises, [...]'. [282]

The oath sworn at Montauban on 7 September 1584 was confirmed at La Rochelle in 1588. The oaths sworn in 1581, 1582 and 1584 were not included in these assemblies' *procès-verbaux*; the 1588 oath was.[283]

The oath sworn at Mantes on 9 December 1593 mentioned the need for self-defence in the light of concerted action by the League 'a la ruine de Lestat de ce Royaulme et extermination desdites eglises'. It also included an oath not to reveal the deliberations of the assembly, a decision that was perhaps made because of a sense of vulnerability caused by the League.[284] The general assembly at Saumur in 1595 pointed out that some in preceding assemblies had revealed 'jusques aux plus secretz affaires qui si estoient traites au grand preiudice du general de toutes les eglises'. The decision was made that the president, his deputy and the secretary would henceforth swear the oath to the assembly. Each member of the assembly would in turn swear the oath to them; all would sign the oath.[285] The oath at

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[281] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 128-9: Montauban 1581 oath (contains signatures). Copies of the 1581 oath can also be found in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fols. 90 r-91 r, in Anquez I, 452-3 and in 'Traité entre Henri de Bourbon Roi de Navarre et les chefs des Eglises Réformées Assemblées à Montauban en 1581', ed. M. Méras, *B.S.H.P.F.*, 103 (1958), pp. 53-6. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fols. 8 v-9 r, art. 81; cf. fol. 1 v, art. 10: Montauban 1581.

[282] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 194-5: Saint-Jean-d'Angély 1582. Anquez I, 34-5 presents this as a modification rather than a mistake.

[283] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 259: La Rochelle 1588.

[284] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 28. Anquez I, 59, fn. 2: states that the text of the oath is not in the assembly's *procès-verbal*, but makes no reference to any separate text of the oath.

[285] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xiii: Saumur 1595. Anquez I, 59, 66. J. Garrisson, *L'édit de Nantes* (1998), p. 135.

Loudun in 1596 followed that sworn at Mantes in 1593 although, as has been shown above, a clause was added stating that no deputy could leave the assembly without prior permission.[286]

At the general assembly held at Jargeau from 1 October 1608, the union was sworn in the manner drawn up at Châtellerault in 1605, which included an oath of fidelity to the Dauphin.[287]

Three oaths were sworn at Saumur on 28 May 1611, with an added statement of subjection and fidelity to the regent and to the royal line. The first was the oath for general union (including an element of self-defence under the authority of the king and renewing previous 'traictéz de L'union' signed under royal protection). The second oath concerned the specific duties of the deputies (implementation of the oath in the provinces, observation of the decisions of the general assembly). The third oath contained a promise not to canvass for nominations for the deputy generalship or accept such canvassing, on pain of exclusion from the general and provincial assemblies.[288] At Grenoble in 1615 a clause was added to the second oath stating that deputies swore to submit themselves to decisions taken 'par la pluralité des voix'.[289] The three oaths sworn at the general assembly at Loudun on 28 September 1619 were the same as in 1611 (amended in 1615), but without reference to the regent, and with the added clause 'Sans preiudice des loix reglemens Coustumes & Libertez de la Souveraineté de Bearn'.[290]

In his book on *Natural Rights Theories* (1979), Tuck showed how training in law schools explained the reluctance of Calvinists to talk about the law of nature as a basis for Calvinist resistance theory. It also explained the development of the role of the lesser magistrates as the only people entitled to resist a prince. It was 'a fundamental principle of Roman law that unilateral action to enforce a right entailed its loss: a plaintiff had to work

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[286] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 267-8, arts. 13-4; p. 283, art. 64: Loudun 1596. Governors were also required to swear the oath. See Anquez I, 70, 456 (Appendix IV).
[287] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 743-6: Châtellerault 1605 oath of union and oath of deputies. These are reproduced in Anquez I, 510-2 (Appendix IX). The first oath includes a promise to help those persecuted because of participation in assemblies and councils and implementation of their resolutions. This is also found in in B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 204 v: Saumur 28 May 1611 second oath.
[288] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 203 r-205 r: Saumur 1611.
[289] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 779: Grenoble 1615.
[290] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 818-21: Loudun 1619-20.

through a judge'.[291] The oaths sworn in the general assemblies in fact combined both natural law and the role of magistrates: on Sunday 18 December 1588, Navarre recognised his legitimate vocation for the protection of the reformed religion and conservation of the state 'tant par le temoignage Interieur de l'esprit de Dieu, que par l'unanime consentement & Eslection desd.[ites] Eglises & par la Loy naturelle de ce Royaume'.[292] The 1595 oath was 'fondée sur la raison et l'équité'.[293] The regulation signed at Loudun on 22 and 24 June 1596 (confirmed at Saumur on 3 April 1597) stated that those who acted unilaterally in petitions and other matters would be disavowed and considered as deserters of the union.[294] The aim of the oath was also to prevent unilateral negotiations.

In 1581, it was decided that each deputy would retain a copy of the oath signed by all the deputies.[295] In 1588, all deputies signed the original copy of the oath, which remained at La Rochelle.[296] An original copy of the 1593 oath at Mantes, now held in the library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français in Paris, is a particularly good example showing the signatures of the deputies.[297] The oath sworn at Saumur in 1595 is contained in the text of the *procès-verbal*, but it is only signed by eighteen of the twenty-one who attended. If deputies who arrived later did not sign, this casts doubt on J. Garrisson's assertion that by requiring all the nobility to sign, this assembly imposed itself as a suzerain authority.[298] On the contrary, it reveals a certain degree of flexibility and adaptibility to the limitations of practical circumstances.

The general assemblies took care to ensure the dissemination of the text of the oath. At Montauban in 1581, it was decided that the oath of union (24 May) would also be sent to the next national synod and particularly to the viscount of Rohan[299] and the count of Laval,[300]

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[291] R. Tuck, *Natural Rights Theories: Their Origin and Development* (Cambridge, C.U.P, 1979), p. 42.
[292] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 258-61: La Rochelle 1588 council regulation. Copy of oath in B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 17 and in Anquez I, 453-4 (Appendix II).
[293] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xiv: Saumur 1595.
[294] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. xxiiii. See above, pp. 8 a and 8 c, Figures 1 and 3.
[295] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 129: Montauban 1581 oath.
[296] *ibid.*, p. 261: La Rochelle 1588 council regulation.
[297] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 28.
[298] J. Garrisson, *L'édit de Nantes* (1998), p. 136.
[299] Haag VIII, 471: René II de Rohan (1550-86), sieur de Pontivy, and sieur de Frontenay and viscount of Rohan in 1574-5. Rohan was a skilled military commander, noted from 1569. He was at La

and others as seen fit.[301] On 14 July 1579, the general assembly at Montauban had sought to resolve differences between Rohan and Laval 'po[u]r empescher quaucun desordre nadvienne au preJudice du general des Eglises'.[302] The oath could have been sent to them in 1581 to concretize this.[303] The reconciling of differences between members of the sword nobility was seen as particularly important to the churches in general; the general assemblies continued to have an interest in this throughout this period.[304] Provincial councils from 1594 were also charged with resolving trials, quarrels, animosity and other conflicts between people of all kinds in order to maintain union.[305] At La Rochelle in 1588, it was decided that each deputy would ensure the swearing of the oath and regulations by provincial assemblies, communities and *corps* of the towns, and other subordinate officers in his respective province. Each would then return these documents 'le plustost que f[air]e. ce pourra' to be added to the *procès-verbal* 'aux fins de perpetuelle mémoire & d'y avoir recours quand besoin sera'.[306] At the same time, regulations from 1594 required governors and 'tous les particuliers' to promise to submit to the decisions of the provincial councils.[307] In the face of the need to ensure attendance at provincial councils, the general assembly at Loudun in 1596 decided that ministers and consistories would be asked to ensure observation of the general union:

Rochelle with Jeanne de Navarre, who named him her lieutenant general and her general in Angoumois and Saintonge, pending the recovery of François de La Noue. In 1575, La Noue left him as commander in Aunis. Rohan entered the council of the king of Navarre c. 1577 and later joined Condé on campaign. His eldest son was Henri de Rohan. See above, p. 9, fn. 45.

[300] Haag III, 417: Guy-Paul de Châtillon (1555-86), count of Laval, was the eldest son of François de Châtillon, seigneur d'Andelot (1521-69), and therefore nephew of the admiral Coligny. He escaped to Switzerland in 1572, returned to France in 1576. In 1584, he presented the *cahier* of the general assembly at Montauban to the king. With his two brothers, he fought in Condé's campaigns in 1585.

[301] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fols. 8 v-9 r, art. 81; cf. fol. 1 v, art. 10: Montauban 1581.

[302] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 1579.

[303] Rohan and Laval could also have been singled out because in December 1576, Henri III had sought to justify to them his decision at the Estates General not to implement the 1576 edict of pacification. He had concluded with a request that Rohan take part in his association. See Mazarine Ms. 2592.

[304] For instance a reconciliation between Boisguérin and Pierre de Chouppes was discussed in a letter to Boisguérin (4 January 1595) from the king (*Archives historiques du Poitou*, XIV [1883], 234, number 20) at Saumur in 1597 (Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 515, art. 344) and at Châtellerault in 1597-8 (Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 553).

[305] B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], art. 15: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. 18: Loudun regulation 22 and 14 June 1596 (confirmed on 3 April 1597). B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 296 r: Saumur 29 August 1611 regulation. Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 614-6, 618, arts. 26, 28-9, 35: Loudun 10 April 1620 regulation.

[306] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 261.

[307] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. xix: Loudun 1596 regulation (confirmed April 1597). Council members would also swear an oath 'de sacquiter fidellem[ent] de leurs charges'.

> '& de faire entendre a tous Les particuliers L'utilité que reçoivent Les Eglises par Le moyen des Assemblees g[é]n[ér]alles & de Lordre qui a esté estably pour La Conservation d'Icelles Lequel ilz ne peuvent mespriser sans encourir le blasme de Schismatiques et deserteurs de L'union qui est entre Les vrays Chrestiens de La Religion Reformée'.[308]

At Jargeau in 1608, an extract of the oath was given to each deputy to be approved by the provinces.[309] The regulation of 10 April 1620 stated that provincial assemblies and councils were expected to swear the oath of union and observation of the regulations of the general assembly.[310]

Although the oath of union was important in maintaining cohesion under obedience to the king, it could also be used to paper over division. On return to their provinces, deputies at the general assembly at Loudun (1619-20) were instructed:

> 'En la lecture des actes de la p[rese]nte assemblee feront entendre aux provinces les motifs des principaux d'iceux sans au[cun]ement f[air]e recit de la diversité des opinions et au[tr]es particula[rités] de laditte assemblee dont la cognoissance ne pourroit servir a instruire lesdittes provinces qui ont besoing plus que jamais de demeurer unies pour leur bien et conserva[ti]on soubs lauthorité de sa M[ajes]te'.[311]

Huguenot general assemblies were perhaps unusual in the extent to which they regulated the process of elections for their deputies. They could have been aware of how the lack of detailed and enforced regulations for elections to the Estates General created disputes for those assemblies.[312] The reluctance or inability of deputies to attend shows that the importance of the regulations should be qualified in the light of practical difficulties faced by the assemblies. Many of the difficulties shared by deputies in travelling to the assemblies and finding adequate lodgings were shared by deputies to the Estates General during the same period. Pay provided an incentive to attend, but it is unclear why some deputies, particularly

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[308] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 271, art. 23: Loudun 4 April 1596.
[309] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5.
[310] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 616, arts. 26, 30; pp. 619-20, arts. 42, 44: Loudun 10 April 1620 regulation. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 344, art. 6: instructions for the deputies in the general assembly on return to their provinces (April 1620).
[311] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 344, art. 5.
[312] J. Russell Major, *Deputies to the Estates General*, p. 157.

at the general assemblies between 1596 and 1597, did not receive any payment to cover their expenses. With the use of correspondence and requirements to swear the oath of union, the general assemblies were also able to coerce provinces to send deputies. Many deputies were quite willing to attend the assemblies: they complained when procedures had not been followed, or sought admission when they had not been able to take part in elections in their provinces, as the sieur de Dorival did for the baron de Blet in 1596. This would indicate that the general assemblies were perceived as an institution to which complaints could be made and through which the concerns of particular provinces or individuals could be effectively represented to the monarchy and its envoys.

CHAPTER TWO

Political Representation in the General Assemblies

The records of the general assemblies present them as the 'assemblées générales des églises réformées de France': the assemblies sought to represent the concerns of the churches and to win concessions from the monarchy on their behalf. In 1562 there were approximately 2 million Huguenots in France, or about ten percent of the population.[1] In the year before the edict of Nantes, some royal *conseillers* questioned the need for a new edict of pacification in part by pointing to the decrease in overall Huguenot numbers between 1577 and 1597.[2] There is general agreement that there were about 1. 25 million Huguenots in France in 1598, or about seven percent of the total population. In 1620, their number is thought to have increased to 1. 6 million, before starting to decline.[3]

What mechanisms did the general assemblies employ to represent the concerns of the Huguenot population in France to the monarchy? This chapter addresses, firstly, the choice of leadership for the general assemblies and secondly, the manner in which deliberations and voting procedures were regulated. Thirdly, how did the general assemblies draw up the *cahiers* that they presented to the monarchy? The general assemblies also used correspondence effectively to relay concerns between the provinces, the general assemblies and the deputies general. The practice of record keeping provided a legal basis to the documents produced by the assemblies. Fourthly, how did deputies for the general assemblies interact with representatives from the monarchy sent to negotiate with them? Fifthly, attempts by the assemblies to establish a permanent representation at court were also clearly important.

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[1] J. Garrisson-Estèbe, *Protestants du Midi 1559-1598* (Toulouse, Edouard Privat, 1980), p. 64.

[2] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fols. 244 r-245 r, arts. 8, 10: third instruction to de Vic and de Calignon sent to the general assembly at Vendôme (Rouen, 18 January 1597). Almost ninety years later, Louis XIV revoked the edict of Nantes having stated that the small numbers of Huguenots in France no longer justified these concessions.

[3] 'Un dénombrement des réformés de France en 1598', *B.S.H.P.F.*, 1 (1852), pp. 123-4. N. Weiss, 'De la conversion de la noblesse protestante au XVIIe siècle', *B.S.H.P.F.*, 2 (1853), p. 123. J. Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior: the Life and Times of Henri de Rohan, 1579-1638* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), p. 29. J. Russell Major, *Representative Government in Early Modern France* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1980), p. 452. See also the figures given in J. Garrisson, *Les Protestants au XVIe siècle* (Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1988), p. 340.

The general assemblies and the deputies general ensured that the monarchy delivered a written response to the *cahiers*, which could serve as a basis for implementation of royal concessions in the localities. Finally, after 1598, the assemblies also oversaw the work of the royal *commissaires* sent to the provinces for the implementation of royal edicts and concessions.

I. Leadership

Between 1579 and 1588, the effective leadership of the general assemblies was held by the king of Navarre and in his absence, the prince of Condé. They were assisted by the noblemen who attended the general assemblies with them. At Montauban in 1581 and Saint-Jean-d'Angély in June 1582, one of these noblemen, the sieur de Clervant,[4] was specifically elected as president for when Navarre and Condé were absent.[5]

In addition, the deputies at general assemblies between 1579 and 1588 drew up plans to establish a council for Henri de Navarre. A comparable proposal for a council for the Estates of Holland in July 1572 was presented by H. G. Koenigsberger as a 'revolutionary development for which the only precedent was the Swiss Cantons'.[6] The very fact that there were repeated plans for this new council for the king of Navarre shows that if there were 'revolutionary' intentions, they were only implemented with great difficulty. The king of Navarre was bound to consult this new council in all important matters (justice, 'police', finance and war) and in the nomination of officers such as governors. Council members (the plans mentioned four, six or ten members) were also charged with helping to implement the regulations of the general assemblies. The council was also seen as a means of relaying

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[4] Haag IX, 483-7: Claude-Antoine de Vienne, baron de Clervant (d. 1588), *conseiller* and grand chamberlain to the king of Navarre. His father was *premier conseiller* to Charles V; one of his ancestors was a king of Burgundy. He had been in conflict with the authorities from 1558 for holding *prêches* on his lands in Metz. He fought in the second and third wars, but was forced into exile in Geneva (where he held bourgeoisie rights from 1566) in 1572. He helped to ratify the 1575 and 1587 agreements for mercenary troops from the Palatinate, but suffered defeats at Dormans and Aneau. In 1585, Navarre had named him his *surintendant des finances* with Ségur and du Plessis Mornay. One of Clervant's daughters, Nicole (d. 1623) married Jacques Jaucourt, sieur de Villarnoul.

[5] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 2 r, art. 16. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 186: Saint-Jean-d'Angély 1582.

[6] H. Koenigsberger, 'Why did the States General of the Netherlands become revolutionary in the Sixteenth Century?', *Parliaments, Estates and Representation*, vol. 2 part 2 (Dec. 1982), pp. 107, 108.

matters concerning the churches in the provinces to the king of Navarre. The councillors were intended to remain sitting with the king of Navarre throughout the year. They would be paid 1, 000 *livres* in 1579; in 1588 the figure was 2, 400 *livres*.[7] In 1588 the council would also have a chancellor named by Navarre on a yearly basis, and a clerk and *procureur général* chosen by the deputies. The council would meet at least on Mondays, Thursdays and Saturdays in the lodgings of the king of Navarre.[8]

The council plans made in 1588 were seen as particularly significant because following the death of Henri III's brother the duke of Anjou in 1584, the king of Navarre had become heir to the crown of France. Anquez, Valone and Sutherland all argued that the plans in 1588 were motivated by a distrust of Henri de Navarre, who had already twice abjured his faith and was seen as too close to the king of France.[9] However, the fact that the 1588 council regulation was drawn up by leading members of the nobility in the king of Navarre's entourage[10] would support J. Garrisson's statement that the changes instituted in 1588 in fact bolstered the position of Henri de Navarre as heir to the throne.[11]

While provinces selected council members to represent their interests, the king of Navarre could also appoint individuals to whom the churches had no objection.[12] In 1582, it was proposed that some provinces would chose council members through regional

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[7] For the funds from which these wages would be paid, see Chapter Six, p. 268. By comparison, the *conseillers d'état* received on average 2, 000 *livres*, but this varied between individuals. See Doucet I, 139.

[8] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 8 and 17 July 1579. Mazarine Ms. 2593, fols. 179 r-180 r, 183 v: Montauban 1585 regulation. Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 218-20, 261: La Rochelle 1588 council regulation. The sieur de Roux was chosen for the post of *procureur général*, having unsuccessfully tried to excuse himself from the office (*ibid.*, pp. 220-1). B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fols. 163 r-164 r (copy in Mazarine Ms. 2604, fols. 210 r-211 v): letter from the king of Navarre to the churches in Dauphiné (December 1588).

[9] Anquez I, 31-2, 39, 50. J. Valone, *Huguenot Politics: 1601-1622* (Leweston, Queenston, Lampeter, The Edwin Mellen Press, 1994), p. 16. N. Sutherland, 'The Edict of Nantes and the "protestant State"', *Annali della fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa*, 2 (1965), pp. 203-5.

[10] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 216-7: La Rochelle 1588. Turenne, du Plessis Mornay, de Feydeau, de Calignon and de Gasques were amongst these noblemen.

[11] J. Garrisson, *Les Protestants au XVIe siècle* (1998), p. 319. *idem*, *L'Édit de Nantes. Chronique d'une paix attendue* (Paris, Arthème Fayard, 1998), p. 24. In a well-known letter to his mistress Mme de Grammont, the king of Navarre did however proclaim that he would become mad if another assembly were held. See Anquez I, 50-1.

[12] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 8 and 17 July 1579. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 5 v, arts. 54-5: Montauban 1581. Mazarine Ms. 2593, fols. 179 v-180 r: Montauban 1585 regulation. Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 218-9: La Rochelle 1588 council regulation.

assemblies. Elections to these assemblies would be organised by Châtillon[13] for Languedoc, and by Condé and Rohan[14] for central and western provinces. For the other provinces, the regulation drawn up at Montauban in 1581 would be followed (with division by nobility, *corps des villes* and consistories). Although Châtillon, Condé and Rohan could have influenced the constitution of the regional assemblies in favour of the king of Navarre, it is not clear who would have ultimately made the selection from those chosen by the provinces.[15] A significant change made at the instigation of the king of Navarre in 1588 was that some of the council members could be Catholics,[16] although the king of Navarre was forced to defend his associations with Catholic noblemen to the ministers and elders who were present.[17] In his association with Catholics, the king of Navarre can indeed be seen as bolstering his position as heir to the throne. Ties were also strengthened with the kingdom of Navarre: the sieurs de la Marcillière and Dupain, both of them secretaries of state and councillors of Navarre, asked to participate in the new council planned by the assembly.[18] Equally, Philippe du Plessis Mornay, who was chosen as a member of the council in 1588, was already a member of the council of the kingdom of Navarre.[19] However, without any records to show how the proceedings of the 1588 council took place, it is impossible to argue definitely whether the

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[13] Haag III, 405-9: François de Coligny, count of Châtillon (1555-91) managed to escape the massacres in 1572 and returned to France in 1575. After the peace settlement at Nérac in 1579, he acted as a *commissaire* for its implementation. He attended the general assembly at Montauban in 1579. In 1586, the king of Navarre named him governor for Rouergue and in 1587, Châtillon met the army of German mercenaries entering France on his behalf. In 1589, Châtillon was named colonel general of the king of Navarre's infantry and was given a company of thirty lancers by Henri III. Châtillon served Henri IV in his military campaigns from 1589. In December 1589, he was named admiral of Guyenne and in October 1590, appointed to the royal councils. He died while on campaign against the Catholic League in Berry in 1591.

[14] See Chapter One, p. 49, fn. 299 for his biography.

[15] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 189-90: Saint-Jean-d'Angély 1582.

[16] *ibid.*, p. 219: La Rochelle 1588. This general assembly also decided that the Catholic Henri de Montmorency (1534-1614), royal governor of Languedoc from 1563 and duke of Montmorency from 1579, who had taken up arms against the king of France in 1585, would be asked to accept a council. The same would be asked of lieutenant generals in each province, generals in each generality and governors of towns, their councils being subordinate to the council of the king of Navarre (*ibid.*, pp. 215-6).

[17] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 16 [a], points A 10, R 10.

[18] Marcillière and Dupain would be paid up to 500 *écus* (about 1, 500 *livres*) each (Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 257-8).

[19] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 249: La Rochelle 1588 council regulation: Du Plessis Mornay would be paid up to 1, 600 *écus* (4, 800 *livres*) to verify written orders and provisions from the 100, 000 *écus* granted by the assembly to the king of Navarre. Cf. P. du Plessis Mornay, *Mémoires et correspondance [...]* (12 vols, Paris, Strasbourg and London, Treuttel et Würtz, 1824-5), I, 167-8.

representatives of the general assembly or members of the king of Navarre's entourage were predominant in this new council.

From 1593 to 1622, the general assemblies elected a president, deputy and one or two secretaries from their own number to lead proceedings (the president is often referred to as the moderator). The regulation first drawn up at Loudun in 1596 stated that general assemblies and provincial councils could exercise their discretion on whether to defer 'l'honneur de præsider' to any duke, governor or lieutenant general who would present himself.[20] In 1601, 1605 and 1608, it was decided that none could preside in assemblies if not elected by majority vote (by province).[21] This measure might have been introduced to exclude royal *commissaires* from this role.[22] At Loudun in 1619, the president, deputy and two secretaries were elected by majority vote, with deputies voting individually rather than by province.[23] At the final general assembly at La Rochelle (1620-2) the president, his deputy and secretaries were newly elected every month, and could only be re-elected one month later.[24] The duke of Bouillon (Turenne),[25] chosen as overall commander by the regulation of 10 May 1621, would act as president in the general assembly when present.[26] From 1611, regulations stated that presidents of provincial assemblies and councils would be chosen from the nobility by majority vote.[27]

Sutherland argued that:

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[20] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. 14: Loudun 22 and 24 June 1596 regulation (confirmed on 3 April 1597). Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 305, art. 143: Loudun 8 July 1596: the presidency of the assembly was deferred to La Trémoille, who was admitted to the assembly with a *voix délibérative*, along with Clermont, du Plessis Mornay and Pierrefitte after they had sworn and signed the oath.

[21] B.P.F. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 749: Châtellerault 1605. B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608.

[22] Anquez I, 219-20. According to Agrippa d'Aubigné, he was sent by the 1605 assembly to tell Sully '(qui pretendoit presider)' to abstain from the assembly unless he wished to speak on behalf of the king. A. d'Aubigné, 'Sa vie à ses enfants', in *Œuvres complètes [...]*, eds. E. Réaume, F. de Caussade and A. Legouëz (6 vols., Paris, Alphonse Lemerre, 1873-92), I, 77-8. For the royal *commissaires*, see below, pp. 76, 81-2.

[23] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 816-7.

[24] Anquez I, 332.

[25] See Chapter One, p. 7, fn. 36 for his biography.

[26] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 43 v, art. 9. See Chapter Five, pp. 210-11.

[27] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 292 r: Saumur 29 August 1611 regulation. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 611, art. 14: Loudun 10 April 1620 regulation. B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 43 v, art. 9: La Rochelle 10 May 1621 regulation: the generals chosen for each province would act as presidents of provincial councils when they attended.

> 'the protestant organisation [...] offered a solution from their own point of view, to the problem of the nobility, by creating a need for their social, political and military leadership. This was what gave the religious movement its revolutionary character'.[28]

However, there was little that was revolutionary about this leadership: rather, it ensured that the general assemblies were prey to faction fighting, which the monarchy could turn to its advantage. Open disagreements erupted over the presidency of the general assembly at Saumur in 1611. The duke of Bouillon was encouraged in his bid for the presidency by the monarchy, which offered him the governorship of Poitou, then held by the duke of Sully. The duke of Rohan[29] was a rival candidate, but du Plessis Mornay was elected as a conciliator.[30] These divisions are only mentioned in correspondence and memoirs, and not in the *procès-verbal* of the assembly.[31] Herman highlighted the clash between Bouillon and Sully at Saumur in 1611 as the beginning of rivalries between the Protestant high nobility, exposing Protestant unity as a myth.[32] However, Chapter One showed that the general assemblies had worked to reconcile leading members of the nobility throughout this period.[33] The national synod at Privas (July-August 1612), which worked to reconcile Bouillon, Lesdiguières and Châtillon[34] (and the deputies general), was in fact presided over by the minister Daniel Chamier,[35] who

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[28] N. Sutherland, 'The Edict of Nantes and the "protestant State"', *Annali della fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa*, 2 (1965), p. 201.
[29] See Chapter One, p. 9, fn. 45 for his biography.
[30] Anquez I, 229-32, 250-1. Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior*, pp. 31-9. D. Buisseret, *Sully and the growth of centralized government in France 1598-1610* (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968), p. 180.
[31] The duke of Rohan and Agrippa d'Aubigné both opposed the duke of Bouillon, while Lesdiguières supported him. See H. de Rohan, *Veritable Discours De ce qui s'est passé en l'Assemblée politique des Eglises Reformées de France, tenuë à Saumur par la permission du Roy, l'an 1611.* (1646), pp. 22-4, 60-1. A. d'Aubigné, 'Sa vie à ses enfants', in *Œuvres complètes* (1873-92), I, 85. *Actes et correspondance du connétable de Lesdiguières publiés sur les manuscrits originaux*, eds. comte de Douglas and J. Roman (3 vols., Grenoble, Edouard Allier, 1878-84), II, 12-3, number xii: Lesdiguières to Bouillon (18 July 1611); 13-4, number xiii: Lesdiguières to Bouillon (19 August 1611); 14-6, number xiv: the general assembly to Lesdiguières (21 August 1611); 16, number xv and 17-8, number xvi: Lesdiguières to the general assembly (27 August 1611); 18-9, number xvii (28 August) and 19-20, number xviii (6 September): Lesdiguières to du Plessis Mornay; 21, number xix: Lesdiguières to La Force (6 September); 22-3, number xx: Lesdiguières to Bouillon (6 September).
[32] A. Herman, 'The Saumur Assembly of 1611: Huguenot Political Belief and Action in the Age of Marie de Medici' (Baltimore, Maryland, The John Hopkins University Ph. D. thesis 1984), pp. 128-31, 417-8.
[33] See Chapter One, p. 50.
[34] See Chapter One, p. 37, fn. 220 for his biography.
[35] See Chapter One, p. 29, fn. 171 for his biography.

had seconded the assembly's president at Saumur in 1611.[36] A reconciliation between Bouillon and Sully was still sought in 1617.[37] Divisions were undoubtedly exacerbated by cases of attempted bribery of the nobility at the general assemblies (for instance financial reward in return for pliability to the monarchy's wishes) and cases of spying, which are attested particularly from 1611.[38]

II. Deliberations and voting procedures

The fact that these divisions are not mentioned in the *procès-verbaux* of the general assemblies would suggest that the leadership of the assemblies was effective in maintaining order at least during the proceedings. Objections did not however go unrecorded: as will be shown in Chapter Six, there were vigorous debates, and in some cases deputies did walk out of the proceedings.[39] In his *Histoire des assemblées politiques* (1859), Anquez did not address the process of deliberations within the assemblies, but focused on the decisions that were reached.

The assemblies appear to have been characterised by long sessions that began early in the morning. At Montauban in 1579, general deliberations from 13 July took place every day in the *parquet royal* from 7 a.m. and from 1 p.m.[40] The *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Montauban in April and May 1581 show that initial sessions in Astier's home took place

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[36] B.N.F. Dupuy 213, fol. 156 r-v: 'Lettre de Messieurs le duc de Bouillon & Mareschal de Lesdiguieres aux Eglises [pretendues] reformees de france' (8 July 1612). Mazarine Ms. 2597: 'Promesse aux Esglises de Messieurs de Bouillon et de Lesdiguieres Mil six cens douze' (15 August 1612). B.N.F. Dupuy 213, fol. 157 r: 'Declaration de M[essieu]rs de Bouillo[n], de Lesdiguieres [et] Chastillo[n] de ne se souvenir des [Injures] passees, et de ne favoriser ceux qui voudront troubler Lunion et la Conformité des doctrines et discipline receue es Eglises p[ré]t.[endues] ref.[ormées]' (17 August 1612). P. du Plessis Mornay, *Mémoires et correspondance [...]* (1824-5), XII, 509, number ccl: 'Acte de Reunion. D'entre MM. Desdiguieres [sic.], de Rohan et Duplessis'.

[37] B.P.F. Ms. 446[1], fols. 19 v-20 r: 'Extraict des actes tenus en lassamblee mixte de la province de la haulte Guienne [et] hault languedoc' (Figeac, 20-1 February 1617; copy dated 28 February).

[38] Examples can be found in H. de Rohan, *Veritable Discours De ce qui s'est passé en l'Assemblée politique des Eglises Reformées de France, tenuë à Saumur [...]* (1646), pp. 65-6. A. d'Aubigné, 'Sa vie à ses enfants' in *Œuvres complètes*, I, 70-1, 74-6, 84-6. *Agrippa d'Aubigné. Histoire universelle*, ed. A. Thierry (Geneva, Droz, 1997), VII, 297. Anquez I, 230, 250-1. J. Valone, 'The Huguenots and the War of Spanish Marriages' (1965), p. 167, fn. 1.

[39] See Chapter Six, p. 261.

[40] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 1579. See Chapter One, pp. 43-5 for the buildings in which the assemblies sat.

between 6 a.m. and 2 p.m.[41] There is also some evidence that, as for the Estates General,[42] deputies met for discussions outside the context of the assemblies' daily sessions.[43] The deputies at La Rochelle in 1588 attended sermons every Sunday morning.[44] These sermons were an opportunity to meet other delegates: at Jargeau on 1 October 1608 for example, Sully, who acted as royal *commissaire*, was greeted by the majority of deputies 'A l'issue du presche'.[45] Religious concern is also reflected in the proceedings of the assemblies: the phrase 'Ayans Invoque le nom de dieu' or 'apres Linvoca[ti]on du nom de Dieu' appears for the first time at Montauban in 1579.[46] The general assemblies in 1588 and 1597 called for a public fast: these are two rare instances where the assemblies sought to influence religious practice, rather than simply ensuring that there were adequate provisions for religious worship.[47]

Although the *procès-verbaux* do record debates in the general assemblies (usually in the form of a statement or complaint by an individual or by deputies representing a province, followed by a response), they do not generally record how a decision was reached and often just state 'il a esté conclu que'.[48] In contrast to the Estates General after 1560,[49] there is no evidence that the social orders in Huguenot political assemblies deliberated and voted separately; it cannot therefore be argued that a particular order voted for a particular measure.

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[41] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 1 r, art. 1.

[42] J. Russell Major, *The Deputies to the Estates General in Renaissance France* (Madison, The University of Wisconsin Press, 1960), p. 146.

[43] For example, in the margin of a letter dated 29 December 1620, the minister Pierre Péris (Haag VIII, 189) wrote to the minister Pierre Ferry: 'Nous avons icy monsieur de La Closse, pasteur et depputé de la France [Ile-de-France] en l'assemblée. Il m'a parlé de vous et dit que, si vous eussiez voulu, seriez logé en leur synode; et si seriez bien en cette province: car il y a nombre d'églises vacantes'. See 'Lettres de Pierre Péris ministre de Pons et d'Aytré à Pierre Ferry, ministre de Tonnay-Charente (1619-1625)', ed. P. d'Estrée, *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XVI (1888), 326.

[44] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 258.

[45] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608.

[46] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 1579.

[47] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 261: La Rochelle 1588. *ibid.*, p. 524, art. 375: Saumur 1597. The measures taken by the general assemblies to safeguard places for religious worship are discussed in Chapter Four, pp. 172-4.

[48] See d'Aubigné, 'Sa vie à ses enfants', in *Œuvres complètes*, I, 77, for an example of decision-making on a matter concerning Orange at Châtellerault in 1605. The assembly decided rather than deliberating, it would be better for one person to resolve this on paper. D'Aubigné was chosen and asked for three days to resolve this, but apparently took less than a day; he was blamed for his apparent lack of work. He placed his paper 'sur la table', he was called back after half an hour', and 'aprés la censure, trouva qu'on luy avoit troublé une silabe seulement, & a tousjours estimé cest escrit le plus heureux de tous les siens'.

[49] J. Russell Major, *The Deputies to the Estates General* (1960), pp. 129-131.

Most decisions were taken by majority vote ('pluralité des voix').[50] It is not clear how voting in the general assemblies took place (whether by voice or by secret ballot). In order to even out the disparities in the numbers of deputies representing different provinces, one vote was often given to each province. This was the case at La Rochelle in 1588,[51] and Sainte-Foy in 1601.[52] The general assembly at Loudun in 1596 decided that in important matters where a majority opinion was called into question, those admitted later to the assemblies were required to agree with the existing deputies for their respective provinces.[53] The regulation of 29 August 1611 stated that deliberations and voicing of opinions (*opiner*) in provincial assemblies would take place by head, unless a church requested voting by churches, or in places where elections took place by colloquies.[54] It is possible that voting procedures in provincial assemblies influenced those chosen for general assemblies. In April 1620, deputies returning to their provinces after the closure of the general assembly at Loudun were charged with asking their provincial assemblies to decide on the manner in which votes would henceforth take place in the general assemblies. The deputies of the provincial assemblies would present their response to the next general assembly.[55] On 31 December 1620, the general assembly at La Rochelle consequently resolved that deliberations and votes in the general assembly would now take place by head rather than by province.[56]

The general assemblies repeatedly sought to ensure that deputies were given clear instructions and memoranda by the churches that had sent them and that their commissions

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[50] Christin pointed out that in most French texts during this period 'pluralité' refers to the modern majority. See O. Christin, 'La question du vote majoritaire à l'époque de l'édit de Nantes', in L. Huber, J.-D. Candaux and C. Chalamet (eds.), *L'Edit de Nantes revisité. Actes de la journée d'études de Waldegg (30 oct. 1998)* (Geneva, Droz, 2000), pp. 41-2.

[51] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 220: La Rochelle 1588.

[52] Anquez I, 208.

[53] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 291, art. 98: Loudun 27 May 1596. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. xv: Loudun 22 and 24 June 1596 regulation (confirmed on 3 April 1597).

[54] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 291 v-292 r. This was reiterated in the regulation drawn up by the general assembly at Loudun in April 1620 (Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 610, art. 10). B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 41 v-42 v: according to a royalist text, Paris, Picardy, Beauce, Champagne, Bretagne, Orléans, Berry, Haut- and Bas-Vivarais with Vellay, Haut- and Bas-Quercy were divided into churches. The larger provinces of Provence, Haut- and Bas-Poitou; Saintonge, Aunis and Angoulême; Basse-Guyenne, Bas- and Haut-Languedoc, Haute-Bourgogne, Dauphiné, Anjou and Normandy were divided into colloquies. There were 480 churches in all.

[55] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 345, arts. 7, 8: instructions for the deputies on return to their respective provinces (April 1620).

[56] B.N.F. fr. 15826, fol. 7 v: La Rochelle 1620-2.

contained a promise to ratify the resolutions of the assemblies.[57] The general assembly at Saumur on 27 May 1611 censured Bas-Languedoc 'po.[ur] les desfectuositez qui se sont trouvez au pouvoir rep[rése]nté [par] ses desputéz qui ne porte puissance d'agreer qu'avecq Restrinction [sic.] expresse resferee à leurs memoires'. The general assembly questioned the manner in which the commission had been drawn up: it was only signed by Pierre de Boucaud (president at the *cour des aides* at Montpellier)[58] and was dated before the end of the provincial assembly. The province's memoranda were not drawn up or signed by that assembly.[59] One reason for opposition to this commission could have been that it contravened the oath to implement all decisions reached in the general assemblies and to submit to its resolutions, conclusions and regulations. The oath also required deputies to be free from private passions and to 'proposer [et] donner tous advis en Ceste assemblée Lesquelles nous Jugeons en noz Consciences estre conformes a la raison et equité [et] non au[tr]ement'.[60] From 1615, the second oath taken by deputies bound them to implement all that was decided in the general assemblies by majority vote.[61] Deputies returning to their provinces in 1620 were charged by the general assembly at Loudun with asking their provincial assemblies to decide on the extent to which provincial instructions should be followed. Could provinces oblige their deputies to the general assembly to swear by oath to precisely follow their 'advis', even if they heard contrary reasons or something new happened? Should provinces on the other hand let their deputies 'en la liberté dopiner suivant le sentim[en]t de leurs consciences apres avoir dit ladvis de leurs provinces et les raisons diceluy'?[62] The general assembly at La Rochelle decided on 31 December 1620, according to 'la pluralité des advis des Provinces'

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[57] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 519, art. 357: Saumur 1597. B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 743: Châtellerault 1605.

[58] Pierre de Boucaud (1560-1628/32), seigneur de Teyran, Jacou, Viviers, Le Puech, La Serpent and other places. See S. Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc au temps de l'édit de Nantes. La chambre de l'édit de Castres (1579-1679)* (Paris, Ecole des Chartes, 1998), p. 369. Boucaud was *procureur général* at the Montpellier *cour des aides* (1586-96), deputy to the *avocat général* at the *chambre mi-partie* at Castres (1595-1605) and first president of the Montpellier *cour des aides* (1605- c. 1628). He was a deputy at the general assembly at Mantes in 1593-4. See below, p. 73, fn. 131.

[59] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 202 r-v: Saumur 1611. The deputies were admitted for this time, on condition that they adhered to all the resolutions of the company and promised that their province ratified these. They did so. For commissions, see Chapter One, pp. 21-5.

[60] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 204 r-v: Saumur 28 May 1611 second oath.

[61] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 820: Loudun 28 September 1619. See Chapter One, p. 48.

[62] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 345, arts. 7, 9.

that deputies could not speak contrary to ('opiner contre') their memoranda and instructions.[63] By comparison, a deputy at the Estates General was free to consent to decisions opposed by his constituents, but desired by a majority of the Estates General. He could always be disavowed on his return but as a leader of his locality, a deputy could exercise considerable influence on the thinking of those who had sent him. [64]

III. *Cahiers*, correspondence and record keeping

Herman has shown how in his writings, du Plessis Mornay argued that the preparation of *cahiers* and the presentation of grievances were the assemblies' main tasks, both before and after 1598, when supervising the edict of Nantes' implementation,[65] yet no study has focused on how this took place and what difficulties were involved in this.

In a study on the growth of record keeping in England, M. T. Clanchy argued that the meaning of the word 'record' shifted between 1066 and 1307 from denoting the oral testimony of living witnesses to the authority of a written document.[66] Both oral testimony and written documents were important to the general assemblies for the inclusion of complaints in their *cahiers*. The *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Montauban in 1579 stated that each deputy would read to the assembly all the contraventions to the edict of 1577 in their provinces, in order to draw up a general *cahier* of these complaints.[67] By contrast, the 1594 general assembly decided that each deputy would collect the documents that supported the petitions in the *cahier* and other complaints, for an inventory of these documents to be drawn up in Paris by the sieurs de La Faye[68] and Montigny.[69] De La Faye and Montigny were

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[63] B.N.F. fr. 15826, fol. 7 v: La Rochelle 1620-2.
[64] J. Russell Major, *The Deputies to the Estates General*, pp. 7-9.
[65] A. Herman, 'Protestant Churches in a Catholic Kingdom: Political Assemblies in the Thought of Philippe Duplessis-Mornay', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXI, number 4 (1990), 553.
[66] Quoted by K. Neuschel, *Word of Honor. Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 112.
[67] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8. As he was unaware that an assembly had been held at Montauban in 1579, Valone (*Huguenot politics*, p. 15) thought that 'the first reference to a general *cahier* of complaints, drawn up from provincial *cahiers*', only came at Montauban in 1581.
[68] Haag VI, 188: Antoine de La Faye, sieur de La Maisonneuve et de Gournay (d. 1609), minister for the king of Navarre, and probably for this reason chosen as president of the national synod at Figeac in 1579. After Catherine de Bourbon's marriage, La Faye stayed with the church in Paris. In 1601, he was a deputy for Ile-de-France at the national synod at Jargeau.
[69] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^2. For Montigny's biography, see Chapter One, p. 18, fn. 98.

not deputies at this general assembly, but they were both ministers for the church in Paris and after 1593 almoners to the king's sister Catherine de Bourbon. It is possible that they were chosen because representatives from the assembly or the provinces sent to court could then easily consult their inventory of supporting documents. As in the Estates General, the general assemblies elected a committee of three to nine deputies from its ranks for reviewing memoranda from the provinces and actually drawing up the *cahiers*.[70] At Montauban on 7 July 1579, it was decided that the house of monsieur Pagès[71] would serve as the location for the general *cahier* as drawn up so far to be read and examined every day from 2 p.m. 'en la presence de toute la compagnye'.[72] At Loudun on 28 April 1596, the general assembly ordered that the *cahiers* of Mantes (1593-4), Sainte Foy (1594) and Saumur (1595) would be reviewed to decide which matters would be included in a general *cahier* to be presented to the king 'Si tant est que Sa Majesté vueille Conferer & oüyr noz Justes demandes'.[73] Although the *cahiers* were initially drawn up in manuscript form, some of them (notably in 1611, 1615 and 1620) were printed, thereby achieving wider circulation.[74] P. Roberts' statement in her article on 'Huguenot petitioning' (2002) that the impact of Huguenot petitions was limited by their appearance in manuscript form (as they were part of a judicial process, not a means of courting popularity) should therefore be qualified in this light.[75]

As has been noted in the previous chapter, individual petitioners attended the assemblies in addition to deputies representing towns and provinces.[76] In some cases (such as

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[70] J. Russell Major, *The Deputies to the Estates General*, p. 12. Deputies for the committees in the Huguenot general assemblies were chosen from the nobility, magistrates and ministers, but there was no regulation for this, nor is there a discernible pattern in the choices made.
[71] For Pagès' biography, see Chapter One, p. 43, fn. 265.
[72] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 1579.
[73] Arsenal Ms. 541, p. 281, art. 57; cf. p. 269, art. 18 (2 April); p. 282, arts. 59, 60; p. 284, art. 71: Loudun 1596.
[74] See for instance the *Cayer de ceux de l'assemblee de Saumur* (n. p., 1611). *Extraict du cahier de l'Assemblée des Eglises Reformées de France, tenant par la permission du Roy en sa ville de Grenoble, presenté à sa Majesté à Tours, par les Deputez de ladiee* [sic.] *Assemblée le 28. Aoust, 1615* (n.p., n.d.). *Le Caier de l'Assemblee Generale de Loudun, presenté au Roy par Messieurs les Deputez.* (n.p., 1620).
[75] P. Roberts, 'Huguenot petitioning during the wars of religion', in R. Mentzer and A. Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559-1685* (Cambridge, C.U.P., 2002), p. 66. Even when documents produced by the general assemblies did remain in manuscript form, their content was known and reproduced in anti-Huguenot pamphlets, as will be shown in the Conclusion, p. 295.
[76] See Chapter One, p. 33.

the lack of payment of specific garrisons), the general assembly decided measures for action.[77] In other cases, the assembly decided to include individual petitions either under headings in the general *cahiers* concerning matters that were relevant to the churches in general, or as specific instances in the particular *cahiers*.[78]

With regards to the deputies representing provinces, difficulties occurred when they arrived late at the general assembly, after the bulk of a *cahier* had been drawn up. The general assembly held at Montauban in 1579 serves as a good example of this. On 13 July 1579, ten days after the opening of the assembly, the 'Cayer general recueilly de tous les Cayers particuliers' was given to the prince of Condé in order to be represented to the king of Navarre. The prince later stated that he had seen the principal article of the *cahier* and that he would make a report to the king of Navarre. On the same day, the *procès-verbal* of the assembly noted that Languedoc, Dauphiné and Provence had sent no deputies or memoranda. The assembly decided 'que si quelqung scait aucune doleances pour lesd[ites] provinces elles seront Inserees au Cayer general Et que ce pendant Il leur sera escript nestre si negligens a ladvenir'. The sieur de Calignon,[79] deputy for the churches of Dauphiné and Provence, arrived a week later, 'Lequel ouy a este arresté que les plainctes par luy deduictes seront Inserees au cayer general'. On 16 July 1579, the 'company' had agreed to insert into the *cahier general* the 'plainctes [et] doleances' shown by the sieur de la Vallée, deputy for the town of

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[77] See for instance Chapter Six, p. 272.

[78] Examples of these will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters.

[79] Haag II, 98-104: Soffrey de Calignon (1550-1606) studied law at Padua and obtained a doctorate in law from the university of Valence. After a period with Marguerite de France in Turin, he became secretary to the king of Navarre. He was named counsellor in the *chambre mi-partie* for Grenoble established by the 1576 edict of pacification (although he was only received in 1581 and sat for just eight months). He was also apparently elected as a deputy for Dauphiné to the Estates General at Blois in 1578. In 1580, the king of Navarre granted Calignon a *brevet* of *maître des requêtes de son hôtel*. He helped to implement the peace settlement of Fleix in Dauphiné. He was a deputy at the general assembly at Montauban in 1581. In 1582, he entered the king of Navarre's *conseil secret*. Calignon was also a deputy for Dauphiné at La Rochelle in 1588. He then succeeded Michel Hurault de L'Hospital as chancellor of Navarre. He was possibly a deputy for Dauphiné at Mantes in 1593. In 1596, Calignon acted as Henri IV's *commissaire* to the general assembly at Loudun; the part he played in the negotiations leading to the edict of Nantes earned him a *brevet* for a pension of 2, 000 *livres* and a place in the *conseil des finances*. He accompanied Henri IV on his campaign against Savoy and was charged with welcoming Marie de Médici at Marseilles. On his return to Paris, he obtained the transfer of the Protestant temple from Ablon to Charenton, where a sermon was first delivered in 1606.

Puymirol. It was decided that he would present the remainder to the king of Navarre.[80] The four deputies for Castres, Albigeois, Lauragais and Haut-Languedoc arrived on 23 July, four days before the closure of the assembly. When they had been heard, it was decided that the general *cahier* (and instructions for the deputy who would reside at court) would be shown to determine if their 'Remonstrances [et] plainctes' could be inserted. The outcome is not stated in the *procès-verbal*. Deputies from a particular province could also sponsor the memoranda of a province that had no representatives at a general assembly. At Loudun on 20 April 1596, Daniel Chamier, who was already a deputy for Dauphiné and Provence, presented a procuration from the churches in the marquisate of Saluzzo and the valleys around Barcelonnette, asking that they be included in the assembly's *cahier*. The assembly decided that the marquisate would be included; as the valleys were held by Lesdiguières, the assembly would ask him to defend churches there.[81] At Saumur on 14 June 1611, the assembly heard the sieur de Sainte-Agnès, deputy from the church of Issoire in Basse-Auvergne,[82] and read letters from this church, as well as those of the sieurs de La Roche-Curton and de Chavagnac.[83] The assembly then charged the six deputies for Bas-Languedoc with receiving their memorandum and ensuring that their 'plaintes [et] demandes' were inserted in the 'Cahier des affaires particullieres'.[84]

This last example illustrates the fact that deputies to the general assemblies often brought letters from churches in their province, as well as petitions collected in *cahiers*. The general assemblies wrote letters to the provinces. As has been shown above and in the previous chapter, the assemblies wrote for instance in order to reproach the provinces for

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[80] A letter would also be sent on behalf of the assembly to the town's inhabitants.
[81] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 282, art. 60. See Chapter One, p. 36.
[82] Haag IV, 449: Jean III Du Prat, sieur de Sainte-Agnès (or Saint-Agne) (d. 1617). His father Jean II, who had gained wealth through commerce, and was an elder of the church of Issoire, was hanged in 1577 following the siege and sacking of Issoire by troops led by the duke of Anjou. Jean III was a deputy for the churches of Auvergne at the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605.
[83] Haag III, 433: possibly Josué de Chavagnac (d. 1652), son of Christophe de Chavagnac, who was one of the leading noblemen in Auvergne. In 1615, Josué de Chavagnac was a deputy for Auvergne at the general assembly at Grenoble. In 1622, he was serving under the *maréchal* de Châtillon, as lieutenant in his company of *gendarmes*.
[84] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 212 r.

failing to send deputies.[85] Following a request from several deputies, the general assembly at Loudun in 1596 also allowed deputies who thought it necessary to write to their provinces about 'Les affaires qui se resoudent [...] s'ils ont des Chiffres et personnes Confidentes et douez des parties Requises pour tenir L'affaire Secrette et disposer La province a ce qui sera deliberé en ceste Compagnie'.[86] These precautions were necessary, as the general assembly later received notification 'du danger des chemins et troupes ennemies pres de ces quartiers'. It decided that instead of sending the sieur de La Motte to La Trémoille[87] and Parabère,[88] outlining its intentions, the assembly would write 'par un Laquais que Le Sieur de Choupes s'est faict fort de faire passer surement'.[89] This illustrates the difficulties often faced by general assemblies in communicating with provinces and with leading noblemen.

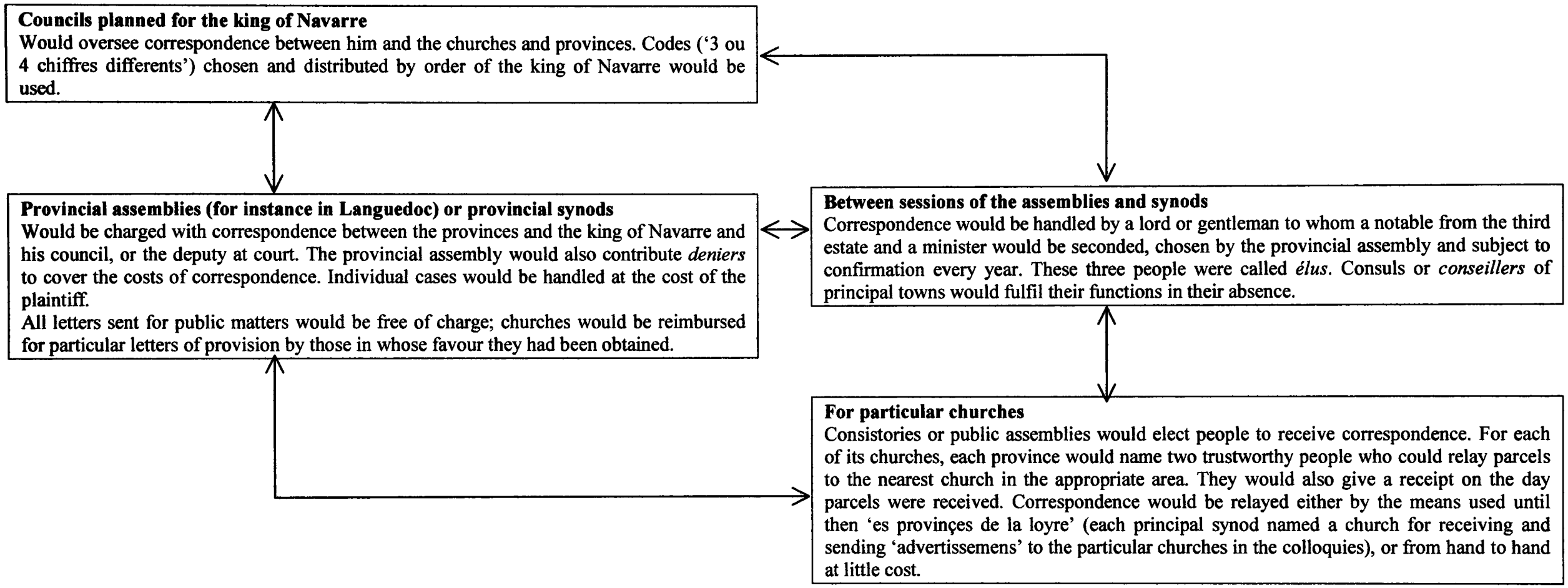
In order to help overcome these and other difficulties, the general assemblies established detailed procedures for the sending and reception of correspondence. These are illustrated in Figures 4 and 5. M. Greengrass argued that for the movement as a whole, cohesion and effectiveness were maintained by informal networks of communication, which 'in turn lifted the horizons of the movement beyond local and regional concerns'.[90]

The clerks and secretaries that were planned for the king of Navarre's council were charged with drawing up its correspondence, safeguards, passports and other documents it issued.[91] General assemblies also elected secretaries from amongst their own deputies. *Maître*

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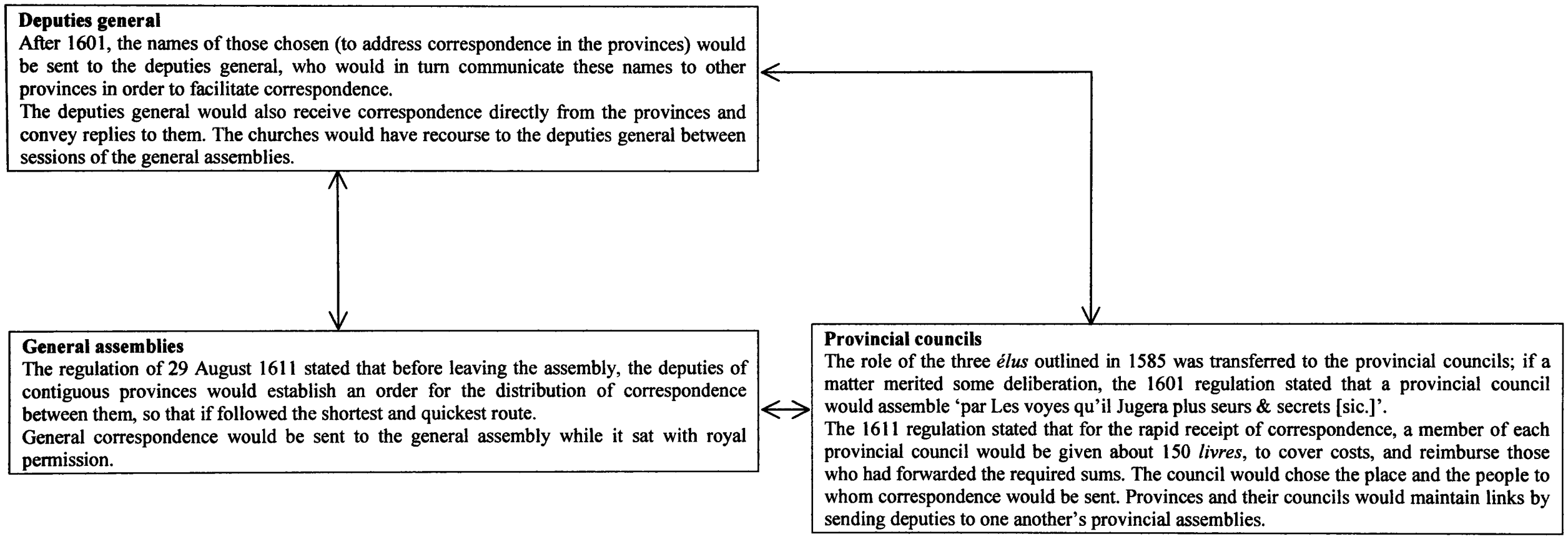
[85] See Chapter One, pp. 16-7, 19-20.
[86] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 276, art. 42: Loudun 9 April 1596.
[87] See Chapter One, p. 7, fn. 37 for his biography.
[88] Haag II, 20-2: Jean de Baudéan, count of Parabère, was from a high-ranking family from Bigorre (and held several other titles). He joined the king of Navarre c. 1578. In 1587, he was one of the three infantry commanders of the Huguenot right flank at Coutras. In 1588, he was named governor of the castle at Niort after helping to take the town. In 1589, he was one of those charged with the guard of the cardinal of Bourbon. Parabère played a major part in conflicts against the League. In 1596, he swore the oath of union at Loudun as governor of Niort. He also attended the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1597. Although his conciliatory stance at Saumur in 1611 won him an increase in his royal pension, he signed the oath of union at Nîmes in 1615. In 1620, he sent representatives to the general assembly at La Rochelle, but in March 1621 disapproved of its resistance to royal orders. He died in 1631 or 1632, having been named chavalier du Saint-Esprit, a distinction limited to Catholics.
[89] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 289-90, art. 92 (22 May): Loudun 1596. See Chapter One, p. 30, fn. 176 for the sieur de Chouppes' biography.
[90] M. Greengrass, 'Informal networks in sixteenth-century French Protestantism', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, pp. 95, 97.
[91] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 234, 257-8: La Rochelle 1588: the secretary and clerk of Navarre's council would be paid 500 *écus* (1, 500 *livres*) per year.

Figure 4. Procedures for Correspondence, 1579-88



Sources: B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 5 v, art. 55: Montauban 1581.
B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 4 September 1584.
Mazarine Ms. 2593, fols. 179 v-183 v: Montauban 1585 regulation.
Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 220: La Rochelle 1588.

Figure 5. Procedures for Correspondence, 1594-1620



Sources: B.P.F Ms. 710,. number 29[1], art. 15: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation.
B.P.F Ms. 710,. number 35, arts. 18, 23: Loudun 22 and 24 June 1596 regulation (confirmed on 3 April 1597).
Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 727: Sainte-Foy 1601 regulation for deputies general.
Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 740: Sainte-Foy 1601 regulation for the councils.
B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 291 r, 292 v-293 r, 296 v: Saumur 29 August 1611 regulation.
Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 613-4, 619, arts. 21-5, 37: Loudun 10 April 1620 regulation.

Pierre de Roux, *avocat* at Puylaurens, was elected as a secretary three times, for the general assemblies held in 1581, 1584 and 1588. In 1581, de Roux was a deputy for Lauragais and Haut-Languedoc together with the sieur de Vignes, an *avocat* in the *parlement* at Toulouse. De Vignes was chosen to assist de Roux as secretary for this assembly.[92] At Montauban in 1584, de Roux, a deputy for Haut-Languedoc, and a sieur Floret, a minister and deputy for Champagne, were named as secretaries by the general assembly, while the king of Navarre named the secretaries du Pan and Masellières in parallel.[93] The two original copies of the *procès-verbaux* of 1581 and 1584 held in the library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français are quite different in appearance. In the 1581 copy, signed by de Roux (whose task it was to draw up copies of the original version of the *procès-verbal*) articles are numbered and the writing is smaller and neater, with the impression that de Roux tried to fit in as much as he could on a page. In the 1584 copy, signed by Floret and de Roux, the writing is larger, more spaced out and more scrawled: it is likely to have been the work of Floret. In 1588, de Roux, again a deputy for Haut-Languedoc, drew up the original documents, while secretaries to the king of Navarre established some of the copies.[94] Like de Roux, a high proportion (about two-thirds) of secretaries at the general assemblies between 1593 and 1620 were practising lawyers and magistrates.[95] About a third were acting *avocats* in the *parlements*. Jean Bedé de La Gormandière,[96] secretary at Jargeau in 1608, and Boisseul,[97] one of the two secretaries at Grenoble in 1615, were *avocats* in the Paris *parlement*. Arnaud de Gachon, one of the two secretaries at Sainte-Foy in 1601,[98] and Etienne Maniald, the other

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[92] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, art. 16: Montauban 5 May 1581. De Roux, who was also a deputy for the same region at Montauban in 1579 (and was one of those who arrived four days before the end of the assembly), was then listed as first consul of Puylaurens (*ibid.*, number 8: Montauban 1579).

[93] *ibid.*, number 15: Montauban 1584.

[94] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 261: La Rochelle 1588 council regulation: (copy of a) copy drawn up by Arthuyel, secretary of the king of Navarre, from an original by de Roux.

[95] Although the regulation drawn up at Sainte-Foy in 1594 stated that secretaries would be changed every year (B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[1], art. 7), Chapter One, pp. 29-30 showed that this did not take place in practice.

[96] See Chapter One, pp. 24, 28 and Chapter Four, p. 170.

[97] Haag II, 353 : he was a deputy for Saintonge, Aunis and Angoumois at Saumur in 1611 and Grenoble in 1615.

[98] Haag V, 193: Arnaud de Gachon (or Gaschon), sieur de La Mothe, was a deputy for Basse-Guyenne at Sainte-Foy in 1601. He was sent to the king at Lyon to convey complaints about the Bordeaux

secretary at Grenoble in 1615, were *avocats* in the *parlement* at Bordeaux.[99] Many secretaries of Huguenot general assemblies were also authors or collectors of manuscripts. For example, Bedé de La Gormandière later wrote anti-Jesuit, Gallican tracts (in keeping with contemporary tendencies of the Paris *parlement*). Jean Chalas, one of the two secretaries at Loudun in 1619-20, a deputy for Bas-Languedoc and a doctor in law from Nîmes, owned a substantial library and collected manuscripts. These included a more complete copy of the letters of Petrarch than in previous editions, which contributed to a publication by Samuel Crispin at Lyon in 1601.[100] Many of the secretaries were put forward by the assemblies as candidates to be deputy general; at least three of them (des Bordes Mercier in 1601 and 1603,[101] Chalas in 1620 and Maniald in 1616 and 1622) were then chosen to serve as deputy general.[102] The general assemblies also drew up provisions for the secretaries of provincial councils after 1594.[103]

Signatures were an essential element of record keeping (and were probably a counterpart to the oath of union, which was itself signed).[104] At Montauban on 17 July 1579, it was decided that all the deputies would sign the 'Cayer general des plainctes [et] remonstrances'.[105] Figure 6 shows that the regulation drawn up at Sainte-Foy on 31 July 1594 was signed by all the assembly's deputies. The regulation stated that the president and

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parlement's opposition to the establishment of its *chambre mi-partie*. In 1602 he obtained an office of *conseiller* in the *parlement*, resigned by Etienne Trelier. His son Pierre succeeded him in 1618.

[99] Haag, VII, 206-7: Maniald was also an elder of the church at Bordeaux and a deputy at several political assemblies and national synods from 1605. In 1615-6, he was a *conseiller du roi* and lieutenant-general at Castelmoron and a deputy for Basse-Guyenne at Grenoble, Nîmes and La Rochelle.

[100] Haag III, 313-4. Chalas was first consul of Nîmes in 1612.

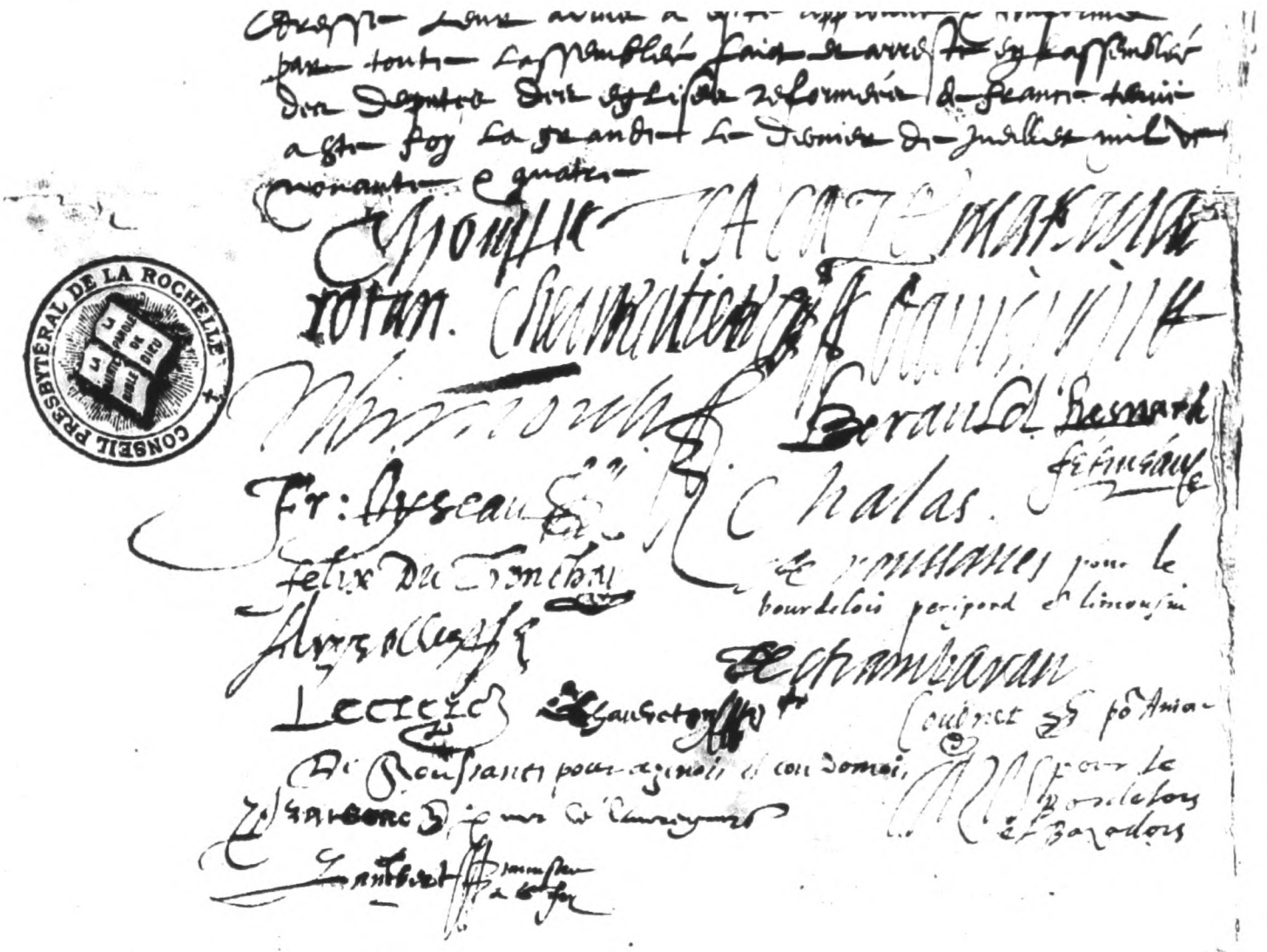
[101] Haag III, 371-2: Josias Mercier, sieur des Bordes et de Grigny (d. 1626). The castle at Grigny served as the place of worship for Huguenots in Paris between 1599 and 1601. In 1601, he was a deputy for Ile-de-France at the general assembly at Sainte-Foy, where he was chosen as secretary and named deputy general. He probably became a *conseiller d'état* during this time. He was a candidate for the deputy generalship at Châtellerault in 1605 and was secretary at Saumur in 1611. He played a prominent role at Grenoble in 1615. Of his printed works, Haag list four editions of classical Greek and Latin texts between 1595 and 1625 and an *Eloge de Pierre Pithou*. The Bibliothèque nationale also holds a copy of the Ecclesiastical discipline written in his hand.

[102] Maniald was also proposed by the general assemblies in 1608 and 1611. Bedé de La Gormandière was proposed in 1608, Boisseul in 1611 and Maleray in 1619-20.

[103] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art 11: Loudun 22 and 24 June 1596 regulation (confirmed 3 April 1597): secretaries for provincial councils did not however have to be members of the council. If they were not members, they could not have a vote, but would swear the oath of fidelity to the council. The secretaries could be confirmed or changed each year.

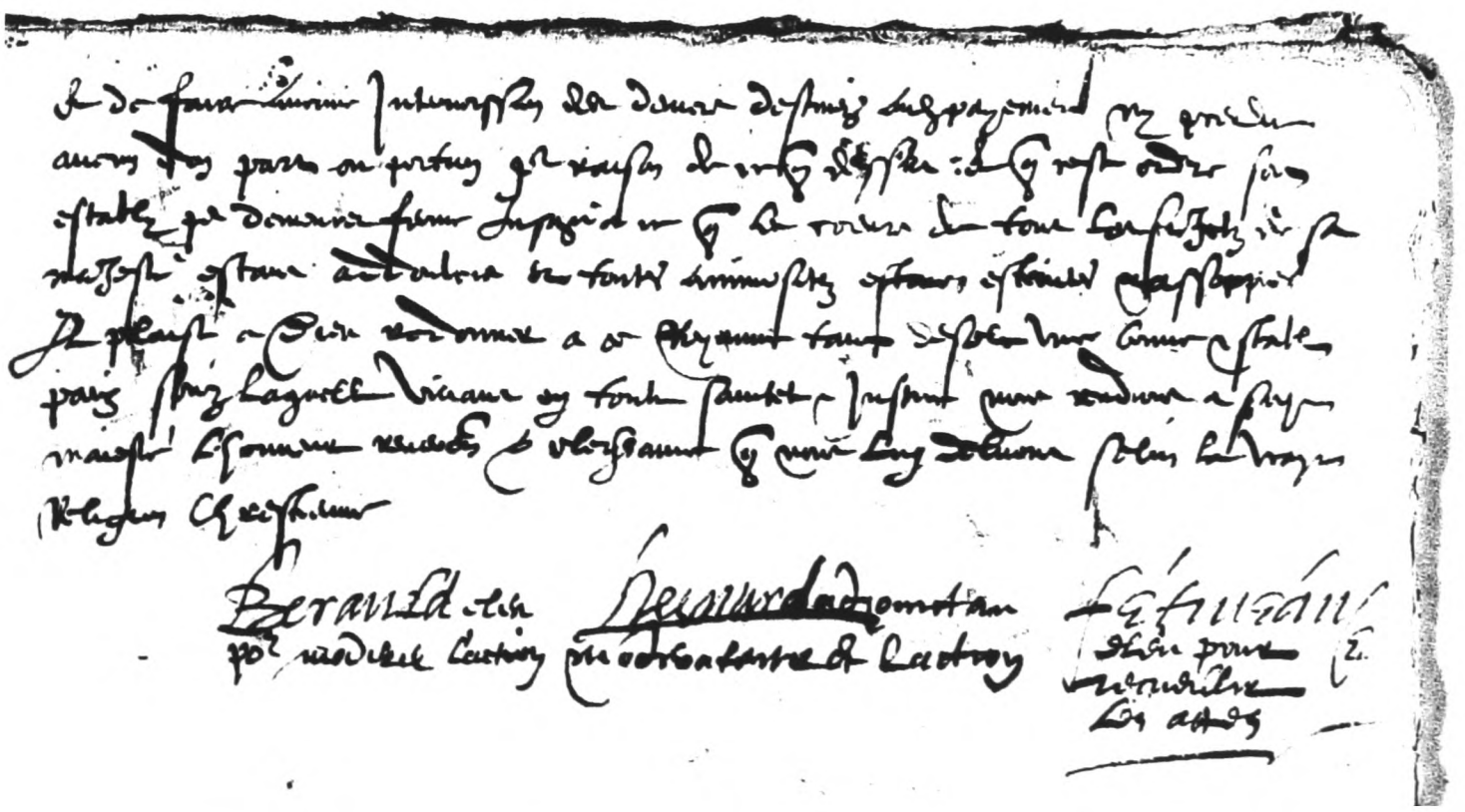
[104] See Chapter One, p. 49

Figure 6. Signature of the 1594 Regulation



Source: B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[1]: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation

Figure 7. Signature of the 1594 *cahier*



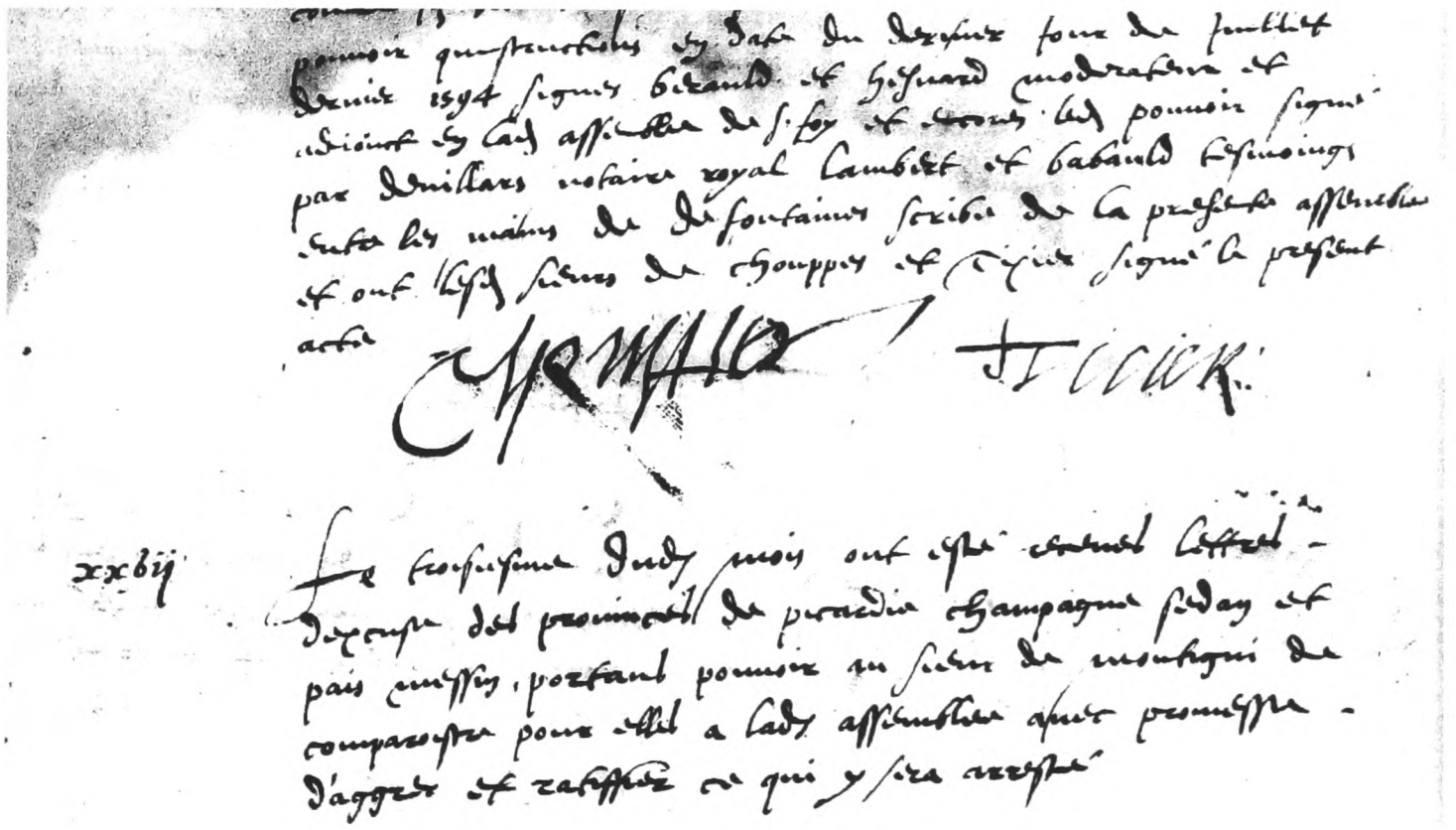
Source: B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[3]: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*

secretary would sign the *procès-verbal* and missives of the general assembly.[106] The *procès-verbal* was indeed signed by them; it also bears the signature of the deputy to the president.[107] Figure 7 shows that the 1594 *cahier* was signed in the same way as the *procès-verbal*.[108] Chouppes and Tixier were sent as deputies to court by the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594.[109] Following an examination of their negotiations by the following general assembly at Saumur in 1595, and their rendering of an account, they were asked to countersign an act acknowledging that they had fulfilled their duties. As Figure 8 shows, this act was part of the *procès-verbal*; sufficient space was left before the next article in order to allow Chouppes and Tixier to sign.[110] For J. Garrisson, the need for a rendering of accounts indicated both the measure of distrust exercised by the assembly vis-à-vis the corrupting milieu of the court and the 'unprecedented' degree of control exercised by the assembly over its deputies.[111] However, if Chouppes and Tixier are seen as the legal representatives of the assembly as a whole, it was natural for the general assembly at Saumur to ensure that they had fulfilled their mandate. Moreover, as demonstrated in Chapter One[112] with respect to the oath, this general assembly showed a degree of flexibility in its requirement of signatures. Of the twenty-one who attended, eight (de Barbezières, Chouppes, Tixier, Brelière, La Trémoille, de Beaurepaire,[113] and du Plessis Mornay) signed the oath,[114] but did not sign the *procès-verbal*, whereas four of the signatures at the end of the *procès-verbal* (Boisbreton, Mâchefer, Chalas

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[105] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 1579.
[106] *ibid.*, number 29^1, art. 7: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation.
[107] *ibid.*, number 29^2: Sainte-Foy 1594. This practice was confirmed in *ibid.*, number 35, art. 8: Loudun 1596 regulation (confirmed April 1597). The 1596 regulation also stated that the president and secretary of provincial councils would sign the acts and missives of the councils (*ibid.*, number 35, art. 12; reiterated in Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 739: 1601 regulation for councils).
[108] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*.
[109] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^2: Sainte-Foy 1594: the following general assembly was convoked at Saumur for 1 December 1595 to coincide with their return.
[110] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xxvi: Saumur 1595. Chouppes and Tixier were also given a copy of the article to be used when need be.
[111] J. Garrisson, *L'édit de Nantes* (1998), p. 136.
[112] Chapter One, p. 49.
[113] Haag II, 122-3: Maurice de Beaurepaire, seigneur de Pierrefitte. He was named governor of Saint-Maixent by the king of Navarre in 1589. He was acting as governor of Saumur in 1597, while du Plessis Mornay was absent, when he was asked to take part in the general assembly held there, then at Châtellerault. He again attended the assembly at Saumur in 1599-1601. During this period, Pierrefitte was named gouvernor of Châtillon-en-Vendelais, a *place de sûreté*.
[114] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xiiii: Saumur 1595.

Figure 8. Act Signed by the Deputies Sent to Court, 1595



Source: B.P.F. Ms. 710: Saumur 1595

and Pechdoye) do not appear after the oath.[115] These signatures are illustrated in Figures 9 and 10. The signatures in Figure 10 do not reveal splotches of ink, the lines do not rise at odd angles and they do not show the disregard for the physical unit of the page that Neuschel argues can all be seen in the signatures of many noblemen.[116] The less regular appearance of the signatures in Figure 9 can be explained by the fact that signatures were added as deputies arrived. The clarity of signatures further indicates a high degree of literacy amongst the deputies at the general assemblies. From the general assembly at Saumur in 1595, and not from 1597 as Airo-Farulla argued in his thesis (1969), it was decided that remonstrances presented to the king would be countersigned by Huguenot *grands*, principal governors, noblemen 'et autres plus notables faisant profession de la religion, tant pour montrer leur union et concorde qu'affin que leurs requestes aient plus de poids'.[117]

Between 1579 and 1588, when all but one of the general assemblies were held in Montauban, the original *procès-verbaux* of the assemblies were left with notables of the town, who would then draw up extracts or copies signed by themselves when requested by deputies. In 1579, the original *procès-verbal* remained with the sieur Calvet, a *conseiller* in the *sénéchaussée* of Montauban, and one of the two deputies for Haut-and Bas-Quercy in the assembly.[118] In its Fonds de La Rochelle, the library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français holds an original copy ('Extr[ait] de son original') of the 1579 *procès-verbal* drawn up by Calvet. Towards the end of the document, the letters are smaller, not so round, written with a thinner nib and more difficult to read. There is also a gap of four days between the last dated entry on 23 July (when the last four deputies arrived) and the closure of the *procès-verbal* on 27 July 1579.[119] No reason is given for this, but it illustrates the fact that

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[115] B.P.F. Ms. 710: Saumur 1595: signatures to the *procès-verbal.*

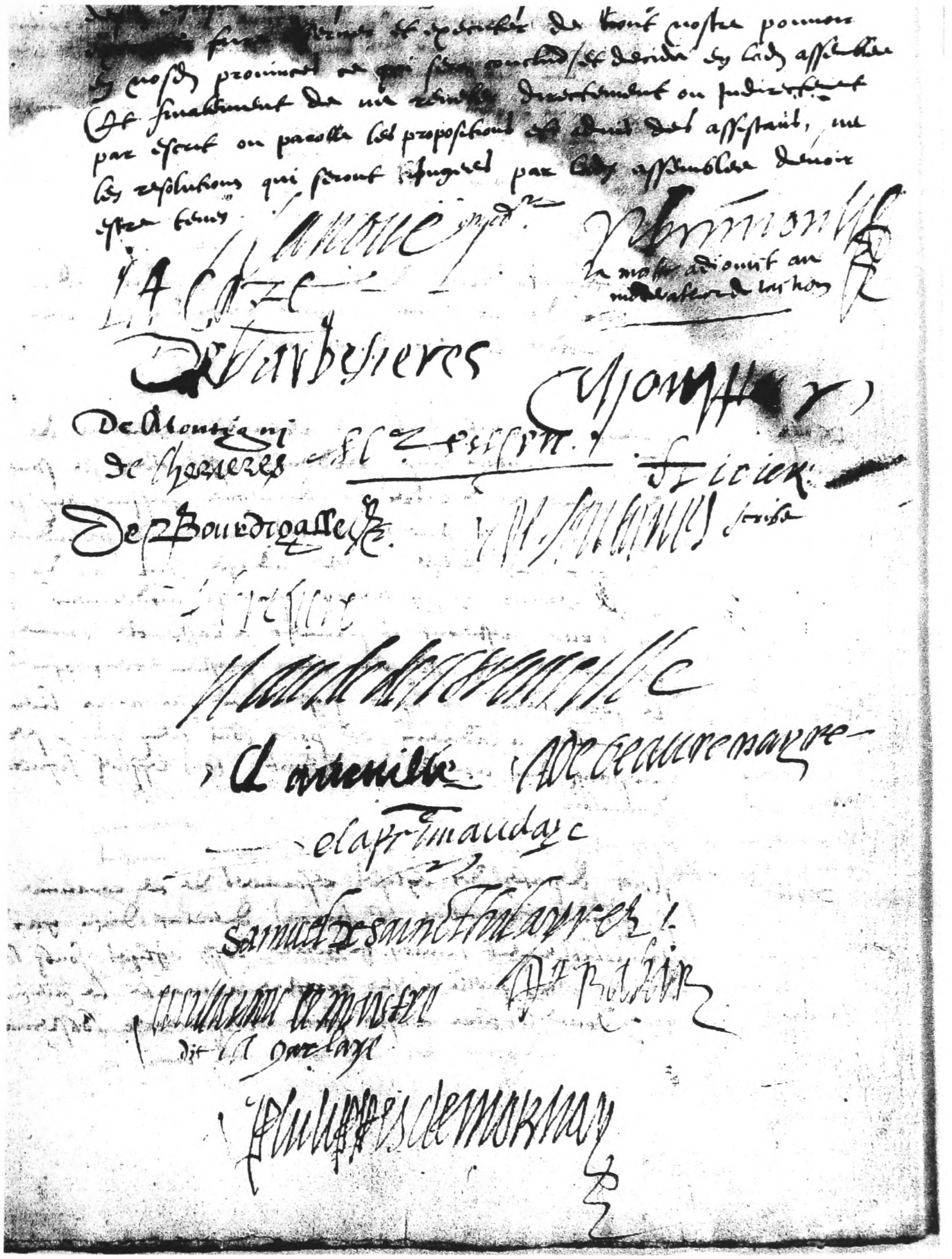
[116] K. Neuschel, *Word of Honor* (1989), pp. 108-9. In the 1594 regulation, there is just an attempt to fit in all the signatures in the limited space left on the page.

[117] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xxxii: Saumur 1595. J. Airo-Farulla, 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henry IV, 1589 to 1598' (Seattle, University of Washington, 1969), pp. 116-7. J. Garrisson, *L'édit de Nantes* (1998), pp. 134-5.

[118] Haag III, 105: the Haag brothers just state that 'un Calvet' was a deputy for Quercy at this assembly. As shown in Chapter One, p. 23, fn. 133, a royal judge named Calvet provided an attestation to be attached to the procuration for the two deputies for Bas-Languedoc and Bas-Gévaudan who were sent to the general assembly at Loudun in 1596.

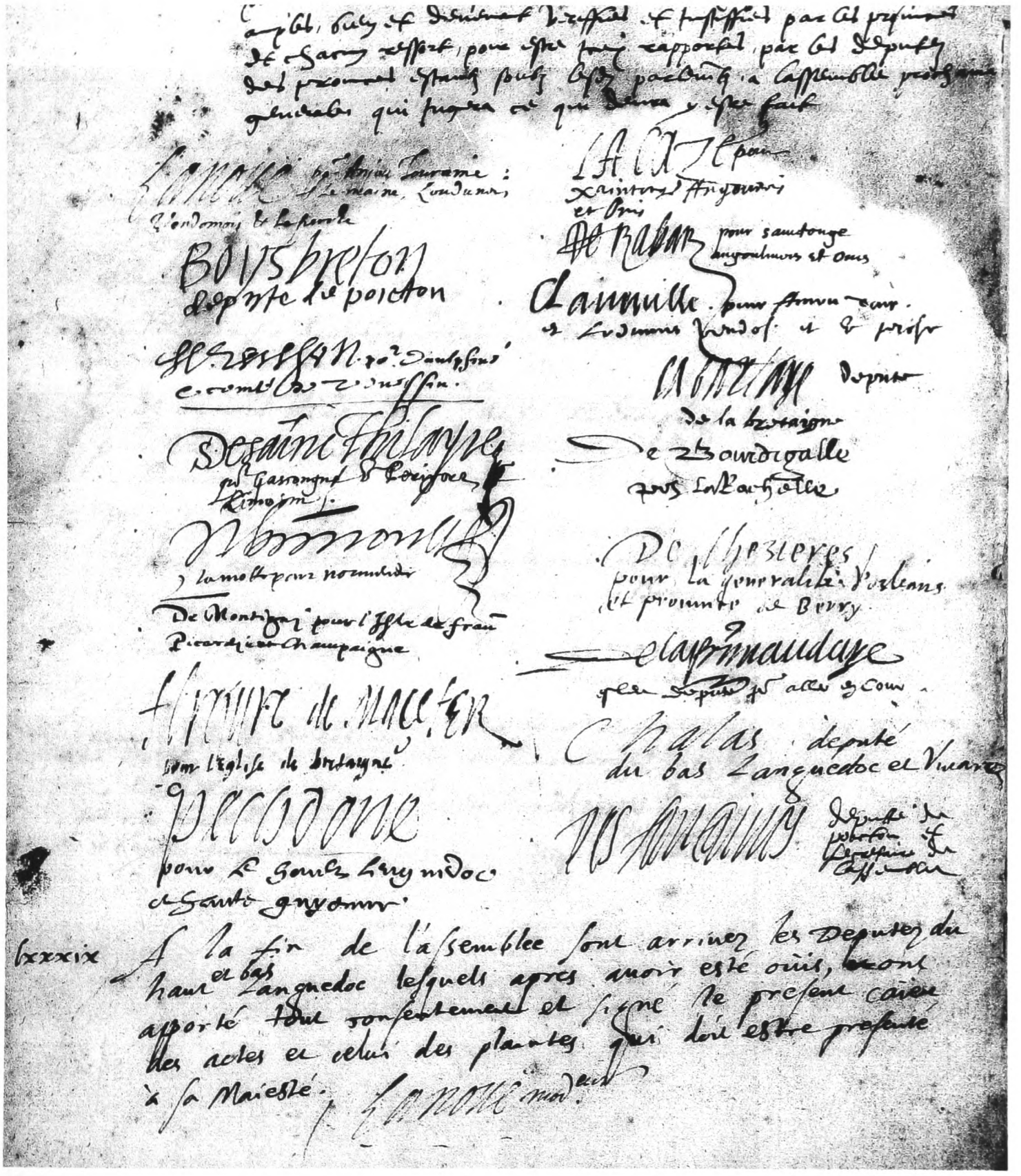
[119] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8.

Figure 9. Signature of the 1595 Oath



Source: B.P.F. Ms. 710: Saumur 1595

Figure 10. Signature of the 1595 *procès-verbal*



Source: B.P.F. Ms. 710: Saumur 1595

the *procès-verbaux* do not represent a full account of all that took place at a general assembly. In 1581 and 1585, the *procès-verbal* and regulation remained with the sieur de Constans, doctor in law and *avocat* at Montauban, and a deputy for Bas-Quercy and Montauban.[120] In 1584, the acts remained with monsieur de Vaurs, a consul of Montauban and one of the deputies for Bas-Quercy and Bas-Rouergue.[121]

From 1593, the original *procès-verbaux* and other documents relating to the assemblies (including *brevets*, commissions and correspondence, and in 1622 the seal of the general assembly[122]) were taken to the town archives and treasury at La Rochelle. However, between 1594 and 1598, documents were kept with the general assemblies in view of the negotiations for the edict of Nantes. In 1594, the secretary of the general assembly was required to inventory these documents and pass them to his successor.[123] The 1596 regulation (confirmed in 1597) modified this by stating that all inventoried documents would be given to the deputy of the province where the following general assembly would be held. This deputy was charged with presenting the documents to the assembly according to the inventory.[124] Perhaps as part of its effort to establish a legal basis for the commissions of deputies (discussed in Chapter One),[125] the general assembly at Saumur in 1595 decided that these commissions would also remain with the assembly's secretary, the sieur des Fontaines.[126] He could draw up attested copies of them, signed by notaries, the assembly's president and its

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[120] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 1 r, art. 2; fol. 2 r, art. 16: Montauban 1 and 5 May 1581. Haag IV, 25: the Haag brothers state that there were many Constans in Quercy and Albigeois. They simply mention this Constans at Montauban 1581. Another *avocat* named Constans was a deputy at the general assembly at Nîmes in 1615, although his relationship to the first Constans is unknown.

[121] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15.

[122] The seal was used for military commissions delivered by the general assembly at La Rochelle (1620-2): see Chapter Five, p. 214. For the 'grand sceau du Conseil general de l'Union', which replaced the great seal used by the Chancellor and Keeper of the seals, see *Reglement faict par Monseigneur le Duc de Mayenne Pair & Lieutenant general de l'Estat Royal & Couronne de France, & le Conseil general de l'union des Catholiques [...].* (Paris, Frederic Morel, 1589), pp. 21-2, arts. xxv, xxvi.

[123] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[1], art. 7: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation.

[124] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, arts. 8, 25: Loudun 1596 regulation (confirmed in April 1597). The secretaries and clerks of provincial councils would leave their inventoried acts with their successors (see *ibid.*, art 11 and Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 740: Sainte-Foy 1601 regulation for councils).

[125] Chapter One, pp. 21-5.

[126] For des Fontaines, see Chapter One, p. 24, fn. 140, Chapter Three, p. 112-3, 151-2 and Chapter Six, p. 280.

secretary when required.[127] In 1598 and 1601 inventories of the documents to be sent to La Rochelle were included at the end of the *procès-verbaux*. The general assembly charged the deputy or deputies who would take the documents to La Rochelle with asking for a receipt. The clerk of the consuls of La Rochelle would then draw up extracts (free of charge) from documents deposited in the town.[128] However, in a recommendation 'sur la pacifica[ti]on des troubles' presented at Bordeaux in 1620, Maniald advocated that the original of the *brevet* should be given to the deputy general Chalas to send copies to the provinces. He could send the original to be kept in the town archives of La Rochelle, as had been done for the other *brevets*, only when the town had returned to royal obeissance.[129] The attention paid by general assemblies to the *cahiers*, correspondence and records reflects the importance of documentary evidence for supporting both their petitions and negotiations with the monarchy and its representatives.

IV. Framework for negotiations with the monarchy

Throughout this period, the general assemblies chose some of their deputies to carry their *cahiers* and memoranda to court. During the 1580s, they were accompanied by representatives of the king of Navarre.[130] At Mantes in 1593, the general assembly selected six deputies to go to Vernon to discuss the *cahier* with members of the council of state chosen by the king.[131] Deputies sent to court generally remained there for a short period of time, extending up to three months (in 1594 and 1596). They were paid through collections

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[127] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xv: Saumur 1595.

[128] B.P.F. Ms. 710: Mantes 1593-4. Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 689-94, arts. 918-9: Châtellerault 9 June 1598. Mazarine Ms. 2606, fols. 246 r-249 v: Saumur 1599-1601. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 768: Châtellerault 1605. B.N.F. fr. 3847, fol. 260 r: La Rochelle 1620-2. Mazarine Ms. 2613, fol. 228 r-v: La Rochelle 11 November 1622. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 32, fn. 57. J. Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes.* (1998), p. 11, fn. 1 and pp. 281-2. In 1598, the first document listed in the inventory was an original parchment copy of the edict of Nantes as drawn up at Nantes, that was held by the secretary of the assembly.

[129] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7197, fols. 5 v-6 r.

[130] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: on 17 July 1579, the general assembly decided that the *cahier* would be given to Navarre to send a copy of it to the king of France. *ibid.*, number 13, fol. 5 r, art. 48 (15 May); fol. 8 r, arts. 74-5 (22 May): Montauban 1581: all the deputies sent to court were to act by authority of the king of Navarre. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 7 September 1584.

[131] B.P.F. Ms. 710: Mantes 20, 24 December 1593: de Montlouet, de Pujolz, Rotan, Montigny, Boucaud and La Motte, to meet the *conseillers d'état* Bellièvre, Descars, Schomberg, Pontcarré and Chandon, with the *secrétaire d'état* Forget.

organised by the general assemblies.[132] The *compte-rendu* that Chouppes and Tixier had to give at Saumur in 1595 included an explanation of why it was necessary to remain at court longer than their commission (*pouvoir*) stated, although this explanation was given orally and is not actually included in the *procès-verbal*.[133] This general assembly elected Odet de La Noue and La Primaudaye[134] to arrive at court on 1 June, and remain there for only two months. They would be paid 600 *écus* from levies by churches in the provinces, as decided at Sainte-Foy.[135] However, at Loudun in 1596, La Noue and La Primaudaye complained that they had stayed at court at Lyon for three months instead of two. They had received less than half the sum promised by the previous general assembly (they had only received 236 *écus* 40 *sous*). Bas-Languedoc had paid the largest proportion with 100 *écus*. The assembly granted a further 300 *livres*.[136] Payments for La Noue and La Primaudaye were still outstanding at the following general assembly at Saumur on 15 March 1597.[137]

At the same time, the monarchy sent its own representatives to the general assemblies. The *surintendant des finances* and member of the *conseil privé* Pomponne de Bellièvre (1529-1607) went to the general assemblies at Montauban in 1581 and 1584 in order to help implement the peace of Fleix (26 Novembre 1580), which he had helped to negotiate and had signed. Bellièvre went to the general assembly at Montauban in 1581 on 18 and 20 May (the assembly closed on 24 May). It was decided that the chancellor of Navarre Louis du Faur (who was a signatory to the secret articles of the 1577 edict of pacification),[138] Languilier and Clervant, assisted by deputies with specific claims, would negotiate lack of

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[132] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[2]: Sainte-Foy 1594: Chouppes and Tixier would be given 500 *écus*, half paid by the churches between the Dronne river and the Lyonnais, the remaining half paid by churches between the Dronne and Dauphiné, including this latter province. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 275, art. 35; pp. 278-81, arts. 50, 54, 56: Loudun 1596: 150 *écus* would be given to Vulson for his journey to court.
[133] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xxvi: Saumur 1595.
[134] For La Primaudaye and La Noue, see Chapter One, p. 18, fns. 102 and 103 respectively.
[135] B.P.F. Ms. 710, arts. lxvii-lxix, lxxi: Saumur 1595.
[136] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 302, art. 133: Loudun 22 and 23 June 1596.
[137] *ibid.*, p. 507, art. 312: Saumur 1597.
[138] Haag IV, 372: Louis du Faur, seigneur de Grateins, counsellor in the *grand conseil*, was received as a clerical counsellor in the Paris *parlement* in August 1555. According to the Haag brothers, he in fact became chancellor of the queen of Navarre. Louis du Faur's niece was married to Michel Hurault de L'Hôpital, chancellor of Navarre.

implementation and contraventions to the peace with Bellièvre.[139] The duke of Anjou also sent the sieur de la Boissière to convey 'le singulier desir q[ui]l a au bien Et repos de ce royaulme'.[140] An instruction from Condé to the provincial assembly of Languedoc that convened after the general assembly had finished (October 1581) cautioned its deputies in their forthcoming negotiations with Bellièvre. They should only negotiate by authority of the king of Navarre; Condé's secretary du Four would assist in all meetings.[141] In 1584, an *intendant de justice*, Geoffroy Camus, sieur de Pontcarré, succeeded Bellièvre in negotiations for the return of the *places de sûreté*, according to the edict of pacification.[142]

Negotiations between 1593 and 1598 were characterised by the Huguenots seeking better terms than those granted in 1577 and 1579-80.[143] The context of these negotiations has already been addressed elsewhere, most recently in the book by H. Daussy on *Le combat politique de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay* (2002). These general assemblies took a hard line in seeking a final settlement to the conflicts (notably by refusing to separate in May 1596 and refusing military support in retaking La Fère in May 1596 and Amiens from Spanish troops in March and July 1597). Part of the reason for this hard line was that Henri IV's succession of treaties with the League placed limitations on the rights granted to Huguenots in 1577-80.[144] As a response to this, the general assemblies between 1594 and 1597 also corresponded with

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[139] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 6 r-v, arts. 56-9, 62: Montauban 1581. Anquez I, 31. O. Poncet, *Pomponne de Bellièvre (1529-1607). Un homme d'état au temps des guerres de religion* (Paris, École des Chartes, 1998), p. 89.

[140] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 8 v, arts. 77-9: Montauban 23 May 1581.

[141] Mazarine Ms. 2593, fols. 80 r-82 v.

[142] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 1584: Bellièvre attended this assembly on 24 August (3 days after the opening of the assembly), and not on 28 August as Poncet wrote. See Poncet, *Pomponne de Bellièvre (1529-1607)*, p. 92.

[143] For example: B.P.F. Ms. 710: Mantes 23 December 1593 and 21 January 1594; cf. B.P.F. Ms. 1063 for a fuller version of the speech by the deputy Feydeau at Mantes on 12 December 1593, which precedes the two *cahiers*. Copy of king's answer also in Mazarine Ms. 2593, fols. 269 r-270 v. Arsenal Ms. 5411 pp. 274-5, arts. 33-4: Loudun 9 April 1596. Mazarine Ms. 2594, fol. 9 r-v: petition to the king (10 May 1596). B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fols. 228 r-230 r, 232 v-233 r (copy in Mazarine Ms. 2594, fols. 26 r-35 v): first royal instruction to de Vic and Calignon sent to Loudun (Amiens, 9 July 1596).

[144] Anquez I, 72-3, 75, 78. N. Sutherland, 'The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes 1598-1629' in I. Scouloudi (ed.), *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800. [...]* (1987), p. 160. M. Turchetti, 'L'arrière-plan politique de l'édit de Nantes, avec un aperçu de l'anonyme *De la concorde de l'Estat. Par l'observation des Edicts de Pacification* (1599)' in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, pp. 93-114. H. Daussy, 'Au cœur des négociations pour l'édit de Nantes: le rôle de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay', in *ibid.*, pp. 219-24. N. Fornerod, 'L'édit de Nantes et le problème de la coexistence confessionnelle dans la pensée de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay', in *ibid.*, pp. 225-52. H.

Elizabeth I, Prince Maurice of Nassau, Oldenbarneveldt and the Estates of the Low Countries, in the hope that this would help to obtain favourable terms during negotiations for the forthcoming edict. Their responses were however non-committal.[145] In part as a result of the general assembly's pressure, royal representatives with the title of *commissaires* were sent for the first time to the general assembly at Loudun in July 1596. As has been shown above, this general assembly decided on 28 April to review the *cahiers* of Mantes (1593-4), Sainte-Foy (1594) and Saumur (1595). Article numbers in the *procès-verbaux* of the general assemblies at Loudun, Vendôme, Saumur and Châtellerault also follow on consecutively from one assembly to the next, beginning with number one at Loudun in 1596, and ending with number nine hundred and forty-four at Châtellerault on 11 June 1598.[146] On 25 November 1596, the general assembly at Vendôme received a letter from its deputies at court (dated 15 November) stating that negotiations with the *connétable*, chancellor, Bellièvre, Sillery, Forget and Emeri de Vic had begun.[147] All of the above supports the proposition that negotiations for the edict of Nantes proper began in 1596, as Anquez, F. Garrisson and J. Garrisson-Estèbe stated,[148] and not at the general assembly at Châtellerault, as Herman and Turchetti suggested,[149] although a case can be made for preparations for negotiations from 1593.[150]

With respect to contacts between the general assemblies and royal representatives during this period, two points are important. Firstly, discussions were always led by a

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Daussy, *Les Huguenots et le roi. Le combat politique de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1572-1600)* (Geneva, Droz, 2002), pp. 526-64.

[145] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[1], additional art. 2: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. For the letters, see B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fols. 328 r-330 r; Mazarine Ms. 2607, pp. 306-7, arts. v.[c] xxxiiii, v.[c] xlvi, pp. 310, 327, 334, 336, 338, 340, p. 358, art. art. vi.[c] xvi: Châtellerault August 1597. Cf. Anquez I, 75-7; F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 18, fn. 20.

[146] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 703, art. 944: Châtellerault 1597-8.

[147] *ibid.*, p. 485, art. 217: Vendôme 1596-7.

[148] Anquez I, 71. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Applications*, p. 17. J. Garrisson-Estèbe, *Protestants du Midi* (1980), pp. 194-5. *L'édit de Nantes*, ed. J. Garrisson (Biarritz, Atlantic, 1997), p. 13.

[149] A. Herman, 'Protestant Churches in a Catholic Kingdom', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXI, number 4 (1990), 548. M. Turchetti, 'L'arrière-plan politique de l'édit de Nantes' in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, p. 106.

[150] A. de Jussieu, 'Notice sur les assemblées de protestants qui eurent lieu en France à la suite de la conversion de Henri IV à la religion catholique romaine Jusqu'à la Promulgation de l'Édit de Nantes' (n.p., n.d.), p. 279. H. Daussy, 'Au cœur des négociations pour l'édit de Nantes', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, p. 207: states that the Huguenots requested a new edict from the general assembly at Saumur in 1595.

committee of deputies;[151] conflicting interest groups within the assemblies could not therefore directly influence proceedings, as Airo-Farulla argued in his 1969 thesis,[152] although individual deputies such as Agrippa d'Aubigné could apparently become the focus of resentment from the court.[153] Negotiations between the king's deputies de Vic and Calignon and the general assembly at Vendôme were held from 3 to 7 February 1597.[154] The general assembly at Saumur named de Rioux, de la Motte, Vulson and Brunier[155] to negotiate with the king's deputies Gaspard de Schomberg,[156] de Thou, de Vic and Calignon when they arrived on 18 March 1597.[157] As the proposals put forward by the king's deputies were still deemed insufficient,[158] the assembly decided from 1 to 3 April that while ten deputies would carry memoranda to the provinces, those remaining would continue negotiations, and would come to a decision at Châtellerault.[159] The assembly later concluded that negotiations could not continue without deputies making concessions for which they did not have a commission. The provinces would be warned of this so that deputies came to Châtellerault adequately prepared.[160] In their letters to the assembly, both Bouillon and Lesdiguières had advocated a continuation of the assembly as a means of implementing the concessions granted to Huguenots.[161] In a letter to de Thou and Calignon (22 February 1598) the king expressed his displeasure about the prolongation of the general assembly at Châtellerault.[162] Nevertheless, the edict signed at Nantes was finalised with representatives from this general assembly.

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[151] A point acknowledged by F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Applications*, p. 17.
[152] J. Airo-Farulla, 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henri IV' (1969), p. 129.
[153] D'Aubigné, 'Sa vie à ses enfants', in *Œuvres complètes*, I, 70-1.
[154] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 494-6, arts. 265-74: Vendôme 1596-7.
[155] For Rioux, see Chapter One, p. 20, fn. 112; for Vulson see Chapter One, p. 12, fn. 67.
[156] The count of Schomberg (c. 1540-99) was a German Lutheran naturalised in 1570, probably a Catholic by 1589. He helped in negotiations with German princes and levies of German troops. He replaced the *surintendant des finances* François d'O at the latter's death and was a *conseiller d'état*, a captain of fifty men of arms, as well as *sénéchal* and governor of Haute- and Basse-Marche.
[157] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 508, art. 318; p. 513, art. 336: Saumur 1597. La Trémoille also served as an intermediary between the assembly and the royal deputies (*ibid.*, p. 512, arts. 331 and 333).
[158] *ibid.*, pp. 518-9, arts. 353, 357 (1 April).
[159] *ibid.*, pp. 519-21, arts. 358, 362, 364.
[160] *ibid.*, p. 528, art. 386.
[161] *ibid.*, pp. 502-3, art. 288; pp. 512-3, art. 334. Anquez I, 169-70, only credits Lesdiguières with this idea. The duke of Bouillon advocated that 'tous Les plus grands du party' (such as Lesdiguières and La Force, to whom he had spoken) should come to the general assembly to draw out negotiations with the king's deputies (Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 502, art. 287).
[162] Mazarine Ms. 2607, pp. 561-4.

assembly. These representatives also countersigned the edict: Jacques de Constans, governor of the islands and of the castle at Marans,[163] Jean du Puy, sieur de Cases, *gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre*,[164] Nicolas Grimoult, sieur de La Motte, *lieutenant général* in the *bailliage* of Alençon,[165] and Daniel Chamier, minister at Montélimar.[166] The Paris *parlement* registered the edict with modifications in February 1599.

The second point to be made with respect to these negotiations is that although the general assemblies corresponded with Huguenot *conseillers*, *secrétaires d'état* and noblemen at court who had previously participated in general assemblies,[167] they rejected the participation of Huguenots acting on behalf of the monarchy in these negotiations. At Loudun in 1596, the general assembly decided in its article 144 that Huguenot noblemen in the royal council and all others professing the same faith would be:

> 'exhortez de se ranger avec le general des Eglises Et se joindre a Leurs demandes Et de ne servir plus de moyenneurs ou Juges demeurans audict Conseil quand il est question des affaires qui touchent Le general desdictes Eglises ny de prendre ou accepter La charge de venir traicter et Conferer avec elles desd[ites] Affaires de La part du Roy et Messieurs du Conseil Ce qui a esté Jugé trés-prejudiciable'.

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[163] Haag IV, 27-9: present him as Augustin de Constant, the son of Antoine, seigneur de Rebecque in Artois who bore allegiance to Charles V. In 1584, Constant, Laval and du Plessis Mornay were charged by the general assembly at Montauban with taking its *cahier* to court. Constant fought at Coutras (1587) and was given the *gouvernement* of Marans in recompense, but he was disgraced following the king's conversion to Catholicism in 1593. In 1596, Constant signed the oath of union at the general assembly at Vendôme. In 1597, he attended the general assembly at Saumur, and was charged with presenting remonstrances at court. He left France after 1607 for exile first in Sedan then Geneva.

[164] See Chapter One, p. 17, fn. 94 for his biography.

[165] Haag V, 368: Nicolas Grimoult, sieur de La Motte, was *lieutenant-général civil et criminel* in the *bailliage* of Alençon. He had been a deputy for Normandy at the general assemblies at Sainte-Foy (1594), Saumur (1595), where he acted as vice-president, and Loudun (1596). He also acted as deputy for Picardy, Champagne and Ile-de-France in 1594 (a fact not mentioned by the Haag brothers) and would be deputy for Normandy at Saumur in 1611. La Motte regained his offices of lieutenant general by particular article 52 of the edict of Nantes, following a petition to this effect from the general assemblies at Vendôme (Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 505, art. 299) and Saumur in 1597 (Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 501, art. 299).

[166] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Applications*, p. 11, fn. 1. Anquez I, 79. Three of the general assembly's representatives returned to their colleagues at Châtellerault on 3 June 1598 with copies of the four parts of the edict. See J. Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes.* (1998), pp. 280-2, 305-6.

[167] Such as Calignon, Loménie and du Plessis Mornay. The general assemblies also sought rights of worship at court. See B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: instructions for deputies sent to Rouen (15 October 1596) and Mazarine Ms. 2594, fol. 101 r, art. 59: Vendôme 1596-7.

When they did want to act in this capacity, it was decided that they would not be admitted and the king would be asked to send other representatives.[168] The use of the word 'moyenneurs' in line two of the passage above is significant. It was probably used by Calvin for the first time in 1549; the term then gained wide currency to denote those who sought the reunification of the two religions in the period preceding the colloquy of Poissy (September-October 1561).[169] The use of this term in a political context suggests that the general assembly felt that Huguenots had been compromised by attending the royal council and perhaps that they could not be counted on to defend unambiguously Huguenot concerns. Indeed, the 1596 general assembly also complained about the 'Mauvaise affection du Conseil du Roy'.[170] Huguenots who served as *conseillers d'état*[171] during this period included du Plessis Mornay, Rosny (duke of Sully in 1606), Philippe Canaye, sieur de Fresnes,[172] Soffrey de Calignon and the duke of Bouillon. Nicolas Harlay, sieur de Sancy, converted in 1597.[173] Huguenots in the council were too few in number and attended infrequently. By 1597, they were only represented by Rosny, although he came to dominate the council as it focused increasingly on financial administration. After the fall of Paris in March 1594, five members of the council of the Catholic League became *conseillers d'état*; they were joined in 1599 by the president

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[168] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 305-6, art. 144; p. 307, art. 149: Loudun 1596.

[169] A. Jouanna, J. Boucher, D. Biloghi and G. Le Thiec, *Histoire et dictionnaire des guerres de religion* (Paris, Robert Laffont, 1998), pp. 82-91.

[170] Arsenal Ms. 5411: pp. 272-3, art. 30: Loudun 1596.

[171] Doucet I, 135-6, 139: the *conseillers d'état* held commissions by letters patent (renewed by a *brevet*) and were received on oath. They included princes of royal blood and peers, leading crown officers and royal dignitaries such as *maréchaux*, governors, *baillis* and *sénéchaux*, presidents of sovereign courts, treasurers and *généraux des finances*, *chevaliers de l'Ordre*, or high-ranking clergymen.

[172] Haag III, 181-3: Henri III appointed Canaye (1551-1610) as *conseiller* in the *grand conseil* in 1581; he had difficulty in being received and the same year he entered the service of the king of Navarre. Canaye became a *conseiller d'état* in 1589, and a *secrétaire des commandements et finances* for Henri IV. He was a deputy for Haute-Guyenne at the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1597. He was president of the *chambre de l'édit* at Castres until 1600, when he resigned the office to Jacques des Vignolles. Following his conversion to Catholicism, Canaye served as ambassador in Venice from May 1601 to June 1604.

[173] Haag V, 431-3: Nicolas de Harlay, seigneur de Sancy et de Grosbois, baron de Maule (1546-1629). Harlay had abjured once before in 1572 to escape the massacres. He was a member of the royal council as a *maître des requêtes* under Henri III and raised troops in Geneva and Berne on his behalf. Sancy then raised 1, 200 *reîtres* in Germany on behalf of Henri IV. In 1594, he followed the king to the siege of Laon and later in the same year, he entered the council of finance. In 1596, he was named *colonel-général des Suisses*; he led the Swiss troops at the siege of Amiens and he followed the king on his military expedition to Savoy in 1600. He retired from public affairs in 1605.

Jeannin who became a leading figure in all the royal councils.[174] It is likely that the presence of these Leaguer councillors and the diminishing influence of Huguenot councillors motivated the stance taken by the general assembly at Loudun in 1596.

The same stance was maintained on 3 December 1596 by the general assembly at Vendôme.[175] As shown above, Calignon nevertheless continued to act as a royal negotiator after this date. On 10 December, Clermont[176] brought more letters from the deputies at court. The general assembly decided to convey its disapproval of the deputies' acceptance of an offer to participate in the Assembly of the Notables at Rouen (4 November 1596-26 January 1597) 'Et que si tant est qu'ilz y ayent esté Qu'ils Recerchent [sic.] honneste excuse pour s'en abstenir'.[177] There is no accurate list of those who were convoked to the Assembly of the Notables, but the presence of members of the League such as the dukes of Mayenne, of Nevers and the *maréchal* de La Châtre, as well as the archbishop of Rouen and *maréchal* d'Ornano, might again have influenced the general assembly's decision. It is likely the king had sought the presence here of the sieur de La Force (recently appointed governor of Béarn and Navarre) only as a means of presenting himself as favourable to the Huguenot position, in order to further the ongoing negotiations.[178] The general assembly might also have been reacting against any perceived authoritarianism. During the Assembly of the Notables, Rosny's view of an authoritarian government centered on Paris and relying on the nobility predominated over Bellièvre's view of a more moderate monarchy, relying on the *parlements*

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[174] N. Valois, *Le conseil du roi aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles. Nouvelles recherches suivies d'arrêts et de procès-verbaux du conseil* (Paris, Alphonse Picard, 1888), pp. 221-9.
[175] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 486, art. 222: Vendôme 1596-7.
[176] See Chapter One, p. 29, fn. 167 for his biography.
[177] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 487, art. 229: Vendôme 1596-7. B.P.F. Ms. 789, first booklet, number 21: letter from Huguenot deputies at Rouen to the general assembly at Vendôme (15 November 1596). Mazarine Ms. 2594, fols. 108 r-127 r: rejoinder of deputies at Vendôme to the replies to their *cahier* presented at Rouen.
[178] J. Russell Major, 'Bellièvre, Sully, and the Assembly of Notables of 1596', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 64 part 2 (1974), pp. 13-4, 19-20. The petition presented by Huguenots to the Assembly of Notables had no effect on its final conclusions (*ibid.*, p. 22). For a summary on the Assembly of the Notables at Rouen, which primarily discussed the monarchy's fiscal proposals, see also Doucet I, 331-3. For La Force, see Chapter One, p. 16, fn. 89.

and the provinces.[179] The deputies nevertheless returned from court with letters from Henri IV, the king's sister Catherine de Bourbon, Rohan,[180] Montlouet[181] and Sancy, along with the king's replies to their petitions.[182]

From 1605 to 1620, the king was represented in the general assemblies by royal *commissaires*. The measure was first proposed in a royal memorandum of 28 October 1604;[183] Huguenots strongly opposed this as an unprecedented measure that no other assembly in the kingdom was forced to bear.[184] Charlotte Arbaleste, wife of du Plessis Mornay, argued in her memoirs that many believed Huguenots to be subject to pressure from the monarchy because of the exile of the duke of Bouillon and the death of Claude de La Trémoille in 1604.[185] Anquez and Sutherland are divided over the general influence of the rebellious Bouillon.[186] One *commissaire* was sent to the general assemblies in 1605 and 1608, two were sent in 1611, three in 1615 and two in 1619-20. It is possible that the number was increased in 1611 because of the comparatively weaker position of the new regency government. It is likely that Rosny was chosen for the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605 in his capacity as governor and lieutenant general for the king in Poitou (from 1603).[187] Lesdiguières, who was

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[179] J. Russell Major, 'Bellièvre, Sully, and the Assembly of Notables of 1596', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 64 part 2 (1974), p. 3. D. Buisseret, *Sully and the growth of centralized government* (1968), pp. 176-7.

[180] Possibly Henri de Rohan (1579-1638). See Chapter One, p. 9, fn. 45.

[181] Haag I, 109-110: François d'Angennes, marquis de Montlouet, *maréchal de camp* in the royal army, ambassador to Switzerland, governor of Nogent and later a favorite of Marie de Medici. In 1587, Montlouet was a commander in the army of German mercenaries for the king of Navarre. He was a deputy at La Rochelle in 1588. He was wounded at Ivry. He played a part in negotiations on behalf of the general assembly at Mantes in 1593. In 1594, Montlouet accompanied Henri IV to the siege of Laon. In 1599, he was named a *commissaire* for the implementation of the edict of Nantes. He was a deputy at the general assemblies in 1608 (where he was elected president) and 1611.

[182] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 491, art. 247: Vendôme 16 January 1597.

[183] Mazarine Ms. 2595, fols. 525 r-527 v.

[184] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 31 r-36 r; copy in Mazarine Ms. 2608, fols. 31 v-39 r. Anquez 1, 212-4. Herman, 'Protestant Churches in a Catholic Kingdom', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXI, number 4 (1990), pp. 554-7.

[185] P. du Plessis Mornay, *Mémoires et correspondance*, I, 450. A. d'Aubigné, 'Sa vie à ses enfants', in *Œuvres complètes*, I, 74-6.

[186] Sutherland, 'The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes 1598-1629' in I. Scouloudi (ed.), *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800.* (London, Macmillan Press, 1987), p. 163, fn. 22: highlighted the Biron conspiracy of 1600-2 (Bouillon and La Trémoille), the Auvergne conspiracy of 1604, and the Bouillon conspiracy of 1605-6 as indicating that the Huguenots were 'far removed from an attitude of grateful loyalty'. By contrast, Anquez I, 211, highlighted the indifference of Huguenots to Bouillon when compromised in the Biron conspiracy because of the king's generous concessions.

[187] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 39 r-40 r: 'Instruction a mons.[ieu]r le Marquis de Rosny' (25 July and 1 August 1605).

a *maréchal* and the royal lieutenant general in Dauphiné, would have been chosen as royal representative at the general assembly at Grenoble in 1615 for the same reason. Lesdiguières was assisted by his son-in-law Créqui[188] and the *conseiller d'état* and *maître des requêtes ordinaires de son hôtel* Frère. Charles de Créqui was also a *conseiller d'état, maître de camp* in the royal guards regiment and lieutenant general in Dauphiné in the absence of Lesdiguières.[189] At Saumur in 1611, the royal *commissaires* were the *conseillers d'état* Boissise and Bullion.[190] The royal *commissaires* at Loudun in 1619-20 were the sieurs du Maine, a *conseiller d'état* and *gentilhomme ordinaire de sa chambre*, and Marescot, a royal councillor and secretary.

Members of the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605 were hostile to Sully, perhaps because of his opposition to the continuation of Huguenot general assemblies.[191] The duality of Sully's position is nevertheless illustrated by his statement that he pledged his word as he was 'Lié par la Conscience Comme membre du Corps'.[192] At Jargeau in 1608, a separate *cahier* was drawn up for urgent matters, to be presented to him, so that he could act as intermediary with the king to obtain a prompt response, as he had offered.[193] However, a letter from Henri IV to Sully (10 October 1608), which was intended to be burnt after reading, shows that the king thought the duke had been treated 'en catholique' at the assembly.[194]

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[188] Haag II, 384-5: Créqui had married Madeleine, one of Lesdiguières' daughters by his first marriage, in 1595. Although Créqui was a Catholic, he brought his children up as Protestants. The eldest, François, count of Sault, swore the oath of union at the general assembly at Grenoble in 1615. In 1621, Louis XIII placed Sault as governor at Saumur after the expulsion of du Plessis Mornay.

[189] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fols. 70 r-v: royal instruction for Lesdiguières, Créqui and Frère (16 July 1615). See also *Actes et correspondance du connétable de Lesdiguières [...]*, eds. comte de Douglas and J. Roman (1881), II, 82-8, number lxxxi: 'Advis du Mareschal de Lesdiguières à l'assemblée de Grenoble' (21 September 1615); pp. 89-91: 'Discours du Mareschal de Lesdiguières à l'assemblée des églises réformées tenue à Grenoble' (21 September 1615).

[190] Although Bullion came from a Protestant Parisian *parlementaire* family, it is unclear whether he had converted to Catholicism at this date. Anquez I, 233, states that Bullion was a Huguenot, while Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior*, p. 36, states that Claude de Bullion was a Catholic. The articles in Bordier III, col. 211 and col. 393 provide no further information. E. Maugis, *Histoire du parlement de Paris [...]* (3 vols, Paris, Auguste Picard, 1913-6), III, 309, 324 344 shows that although Claude's son Pierre was received at the Paris *parlement* as a Huguenot, he later converted to Catholicism.

[191] D. Buisseret, *Sully and the growth of centralized government* (1968), p. 177.

[192] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 751; cf. p. 764: Châtellerault 1605. D. Buisseret, *Sully and the growth of centralized government*, pp. 52-3.

[193] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608.

[194] *Recueil des lettres missives de Henri IV*, eds. J. Berger de Xivrey and J. Guadet (1843-76), VII, 611. Anquez I, 223 quotes this letter, but does not give its source.

Commissaires after 1611 appear more as formal representatives of the monarchy, rather than as royal officials charged with mediating negotiations. The royal *commissaires* in 1611 (28 May) and 1615 (16 July) were instructed to stress that the edict of Nantes, articles and *brevets* previously granted to Huguenots had been confirmed as verified in the *parlements* and that petitions would be favourably answered so long as they remained within these terms. The assemblies continued to request the restitution of the edict of Nantes as granted in 1598, without the modifications brought by the *parlements*.[195] In his speech to the general assembly at Loudun on 10 January 1620, du Maine stated that the king intended to maintain all that had been granted in previous edicts, *brevets* or royal concessions made by himself and his precedessors. The wording of the speech stresses the sacred nature of royal pronouncements (phraseology not previously employed in communications to the assemblies). It also states that the promise of a favourable response was all the more inviolable as it was the first that the king had made to them 'depuis qu'il à prins le Timon de son Estat'.[196]

During the regency of Marie de Medici, the Huguenots turned to other frameworks for discussions with the monarchy besides the royal *commissaires*. The participation of Huguenots in the Estates General (27 October 1614-24 March 1615) is echoed in the general assembly at Grenoble. J. Michael Hayden showed that it was possible to identify positively nine Huguenots among the one hundred and thirty-five deputies of the Second Estate. In February 1615, eight of these deputies (except Odet de La Noue) refused to sign the *cahier* of the Second Estate because it called for the inviolable maintenance of the Catholic religion and rejection of the edicts of pacification. They signed a protest to this effect[197] and they obtained a royal declaration stating that the king was committed to maintaining the edicts of

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[195] For Saumur 1611 assembly, see B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 211 r-212 r, 214 v, 215 v, 216 r-v; B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 235 r-237 r; 238 v, 239 v-242 r; 256 r-258 r. For Grenoble 1615 assembly, see B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 73 r-v.

[196] *Harangue faicte de la part du roy par les sieurs du Maine, Conseiller au Conseil d'Estat de sa Maiesté, & Gentilhomme ordinaire de sa Chambre, & Marescot Conseiller & Secretaire de sa Maiesté. A Messieurs les deputez de la religion pretendue reformee, assemblez à Lodun [sic.] par permission du Roy. [...].* (Paris, Pierre Ramier, 1620), p. 5. Manuscript copy in Arsenal Ms. 4650, fol. 109 r.

[197] J. M. Hayden, *France and the Estates General of 1614* (Cambridge, C.U.P., 1974), pp. 78-9. In the Third Estate, thirteen deputies could be identified as Huguenots.

pacification.[198] The clergy and nobility in the Estates had also called for the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent. Some of the Huguenot deputies, such as Prégent de la Fin, vidame de Chartres,[199] who led this opposition, Jean du Matz,[200] and René de La Tour-Gouvernet[201] also attended the general assemblies. On 21 July 1615, the deputies general Jacques de Jaucourt, sieur de Rouvray[202] and Etienne Chesnevert, sieur de La Milletière[203] related discussions in the Estates to the general assembly at Grenoble; the assembly approved the actions of the Huguenot deputies.[204]

The general assemblies at Grenoble and Nîmes in 1615 however compromised themselves by allying with the Catholic prince Henri II de Condé (1588-1646) and other noblemen who had chosen to revolt in opposition to the Spanish marriages[205] and the publication of the decrees of Council of Trent in France. They had also called for the Estates General. A *cahier* presented by the general assembly at Grenoble identified with these aims.

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[198] 'Lettres adressées de 1585 à 1625 à Marc-Antoine Marreau de Boisguérin gouverneur de Loudun', eds. G. de La Marque and E. de Barthélemy, *Archives historiques du Poitou*, XIV (1883), 304-5, number 9: letter from Louis XIII (28 February 1615).

[199] Haag VI, 203-8: Prégent de Lafin, vidame de Chartres (d. 1625), was present at Coutras in 1587. In 1616, the general assembly at La Rochelle proposed him as a *commissaire* for the implementation of the peace concluded at Loudun. In 1619, he was a deputy for Ile-de-France at the general assembly at Loudun, where he was elected president.

[200] Haag IV, 401-4: Jean du Matz (or du Mats), sieur de Montmartin, returned from exile in Germany in 1576 with the count of Laval. He was a deputy for Brittany at Montauban in 1581. In 1586, he was sent to request military help from the Palatinate. Du Matz took part in all of Henri de Navarre's campaigns as an artillery officer; he won the *gouvernement* of Vitré in 1589 and became *maréchal de camp* in 1591. He continued to fight in the conflicts against the Ligue. In 1593 and 1595, he attended the provincial estates of Brittany. In 1597, he represented the king in negotiations with the general assembly at Châtellerault and with the duke of Mercœur.

[201] Haag VI, 409-10: René de La Tour-Gouverrnet (d. 1617) obtained the viscounty of Privas from his wife and took her name (Chambaud) after the death of his father-in-law. In 1608 and 1611 he was a deputy for Vivarais at the general assemblies at Jargeau and Saumur. He also led troops to help defend Geneva against the duke of Savoy.

[202] Haag VI, 49-50: Jacques de Jaucourt, sieur de Rouvray, Ménétreux and Saint-Andreux (1574-1637), a *conseiller du roi*, was a deputy for Burgundy at the general assemblies at Jargeau in 1608 and Saumur in 1611, and at the national synod at Saint-Maixent in 1609. As deputy general, Rouvray helped to bring about the agreement between the general assembly at Grenoble (1615) and the prince of Condé. He also helped to prepare for and attended the Loudun peace conference (1616). In 1618, Louis XIII named him *commissaire* for the implementation of the edicts in Burgundy.

[203] Haag III, 436-7: Etienne Chesnevert or Chênevert, sieur de La Milletière, *avocat* at Talmont and *maître des requêtes de l'hôtel du roi de Navarre*. He was a deputy at the general assemblies at Châtellerault in 1605 and Jargeau in 1608, and at the national synod at Saint-Maixent in 1609. In 1611, the general assembly at Saumur chose him as one of those deputies charged with drawing up its *cahier*. As deputy general, La Milletière attended the national synod at Tonneins in 1614. He played a leading role at the general assemblies in Grenoble, Nîmes and La Rochelle (1615-6) and represented the churches at Loudun. He was also a deputy at Loudun in 1619 and La Rochelle in 1620.

[204] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 783: Grenoble 1615.

[205] They opposed the planned marriage of Louis XIII to the Spanish Infanta and of his sister to the heir to the Spanish throne as being detrimental to French foreign policy.

The *cahier* (answered at Poitiers on 12 September) considered the first article of the *cahier* of the Third Estate on sovereignty of the king as a fundamental law of the kingdom that had to be sworn and signed by all subjects. Article three of the *cahier* notably asked that the king refuse the publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent and declare that his coronation oath to extirpate heretics did not prejudice the edicts of pacification.[206] The *cahier* requested that the clergy should abstain from jurisdiction over matters concerning Huguenots addressed in the royal council, as the clergy had pressed for the implementation of the resolutions of the Council of Trent in France. It also asked that other councillors who were known to be hostile to them abstain, and that these cases remain with the princes, crown officers and *conseillers d'état* 'qui ont de tous temps esté recognus affectionnez au bien & repos de cet Estat'.[207]

The frequency with which royal representatives visited the general assemblies and the readiness of the general assemblies to elect deputies to discuss and negotiate with them illustrates how central the general assemblies were to the mechanisms of negotiation that underlay the relationship between the French Protestant movement and the monarchy during this period.

V. The deputies general

A permanent representative of the French churches at court was first chosen by the general assembly at Montauban in 1579. Nicolas de Chassincourt, a member of the royal council of Navarre, and listed as a deputy for a part of Poitou, was chosen by the churches and 'auctorise' by the king of Navarre;[208] the word *compagnie* to designate the general assembly

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[206] *Extraict du cahier de l'Assemblée des Eglises Reformées de France, tenant par la permission du Roy en sa ville de Grenoble, presenté à sa Majesté à Tours, par les Deputez de ladiee* [sic.] *Assemblée le 28 Aoust, 1615* (n.p., n.d.), pp. 1-7. A copy of this can be found in Mazarine Ms. 2597. The same *cahier* was presented to the king at Loudun in May 1616. See B.N.F. fr. 23044, fols. 77 r-84 r for the 1615 general *cahier* and *ibid.*, fols. 84 v-100 r for the 1615 subsidiary *cahiers* (copy of fols. 96 r-100 r in B.N.F. Dupuy 213, fols. 162 r-167 v).

[207] *Extraict du cahier de l'Assemblée des Eglises Reformées de France, tenant par la permission du Roy en sa ville de Grenoble, [...]*, p. 6, art. 4.

[208] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: he arrived on 12 July. Haag III, 353: Nicolas de Chassincourt was already at court as a representative for the king of Navarre. The Haag brothers only mention him being named as representative at court in 1582. Anquez does the same (I, 35): both ignore his selection in 1579. In their article on François de La Noue (1531-91), the Haag brothers state that La Noue placed a

also appears for the first time in 1579. The regulation established at Montauban in 1585 renewed plans for a deputy at court, to be changed every year if need be, indicating that Chassincourt was no longer in office at this date.[209] Pay could have been a factor in this. In 1579, the general assembly aimed to raise 3, 000 *écus* for Chassincourt.[210] Some difficulty in ensuring payment is mentioned in the *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Montauban in 1581.[211] In 1582, however, the sum to be raised (3, 000 *écus* over three years) was said to be necessary both for the two years and nine months that Chassincourt had already spent as representative at court, as well as for the future.[212] Chassincourt still had to write to the general assembly at Montauban in 1584 to ask for payment of the remaining portion of his dues. The matter was sent to the next national synod.[213] Plans for a permanent *procureur* at court, elected every year and paid 800 *écus* for a year, were made in 1595, but without fruition.[214]

Two representatives of the general assembly at Châtellerault (Jean de Cases and Jean Rochelle du Coudray[215]) were sent to court in June 1598 to supervise the registration and implementation of the edict of Nantes. Anquez described these representatives as the immediate precursors to the deputies general. Du Coudray was replaced by the sieur de Colladon[216] in 1600; Colladon was in turn replaced by the sieur d'Odenoud[217] in May 1601. In

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Chassincourt as his lieutenant in Saint-Jean-d'Angély in 1575 (Haag VI, 290), but do not indicate if he was the same person or a relation.

[209] Mazarine Ms. 2593, fols. 180 v-181 r.

[210] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 1579.

[211] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 5 r, art. 49: Montauban 1581.

[212] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 187, 191-2 (copy in Dupuy 213). The sieurs de Clervant, de Ravignan, de la Brissonière and Olier (secretary of Condé) decided the manner in which the total sum was to be apportioned. The sums already paid by provinces to Chassincourt for these three years were deducted from their portions. The *procès-verbal* adds that the total would amount to 3, 600 *écus* until the following 30 September, but does not explain where the extra 600 *écus* would come from. While Dauphiné, Provence and Auvergne would together contribute 11 % of the total sum in 1579, Dauphiné and Provence were asked to pay 20 % of the total in 1582. Languedoc alone was listed as contributing 17 % in 1579 and 20 % in 1582.

[213] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 1584.

[214] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xl: Saumur 1595. One year elected by the provinces north of the Isle river up to Flanders, the other year by the provinces south of the river up to the Alps and Pyrénées.

[215] See Chapter One, p. 29, fn. 170 for his biography.

[216] Haag IV, 5: Claude de Colladon was Henri de Condé's secretary in 1583, and one of his emissaries to Germany. Under Henri IV, he was a *conseiller du roi* and a *maître des requêtes* in 1599.

[217] D'Odenoud was a deputy for Dauphiné at the general assembly at Châtellerault, although he arrived towards its end (22 April 1598). On the last day of the assembly (11 June 1598), he was chosen as secretary, replacing Du Coudray. See Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 674, art. 883 and p. 701, art. 943:

order to obtain the separation of the general assembly at Saumur in May 1601, Henri IV allowed the Huguenot churches to have one or two deputies at court, as a temporary measure, in order to more conveniently represent their concerns and receive royal commands. Political assemblies could be held to choose these deputies.[218] In an article on 'Synodes, assemblées politiques des réformés français et théories des états' (1962), Michel Reulos singled out the formal institution of two deputies general at court in 1601 as testifying to the French reformed churches having the character of a *corps*. The representative at court gave the assembly a legal personality.[219] The position of the deputies general has been compared both to the legal personality granted to synods by article 42 of the particular articles of the edict of Nantes[220] and to the agents general of the Catholic clergy, developed by the assembly of the clergy held at Melun in 1579.[221] Proposals for a Huguenot council at court put forward in 1611, 1616 and 1620 were by comparison unsuccessful.[222] Equally, when du Plessis Mornay proposed his services and that of the *grands* 'pour un accomodement' to the final general assembly at La Rochelle (1620-2), the deputies replied that it would use no other means than the deputies general 'ou autres deputtez de son corps'.[223]

This section first addresses how the deputies general were nominated, the personal relationship that existed between them, and how general assemblies sought to guard against

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Châtellerault 1597-8. He was one of the five deputies present on the opening day of the following general assembly at Saumur, where he represented Dauphiné, Provence, Bourgogne and Lyonnais. See B.N.F. N.a.f. 7192, fol. 243 r: Saumur 1599-1601.

[218] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7192, fol. 333 r: Saumur 1599-1601. Mazarine Ms. 2606, fols. 244 v-246 r. Anquez I, 185-7, 509-10 (Appendix VIII). F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 29, 36.

[219] M. Reulos, 'Synodes, assemblées politiques des réformés français et théories des états', *Anciens pays et assemblées d'états*, XXIV (1962), 108.

[220] *ibid.*, 101.

[221] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Applications*, p. 36, fn. 72. R. Mousnier, *Les Institutions de la France sous la Monarchie Absolue 1598-1789* (2 vols, Paris, P.U.F., 1974) I, 303.

[222] *Discours politiques du duc de Rohan, Faits en divers temps sur les affaires qui se passaient. [...]* (1646), pp. 14-5, 17: *Discours II. A l'Assemblée de Saumur*. Rohan proposed a council in which all the churches took part, in order to maintain resolutions and prevent any individual from establishing himself as protector in order to discredit them (most likely he had Bouillon in mind). Mazarine Ms. 2598, art. xxii: at the conference for peace at Loudun in 1616 and again in the first *cahier* of the general assembly at Loudun (replied 18 May 1620), Huguenot representatives unsuccessfully requested a council of seven *commissaires* for Huguenots at court, with a Huguenot *conseiller d'état* to make up numbers. In his reply, the king affirmed the royal prerogative to choose his counsellors as he pleased.

[223] B.N.F. fr. 15826, fol. 11 r: La Rochelle 12 January 1621.

potential corruption. Secondly, this section will address the role played by the deputies general.[224]

i. Nomination of the deputies general

The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1601 stated that the two deputies general would be chosen by the general assembly or the national synod. They would remain at court for thirteen months, counting from the first of December. The thirteenth month would be spent instructing their successors. Four months before the end of their deputation (or earlier if need be) they would be required to obtain a *brevet* from the king for a general assembly to elect their successors. If the *brevet* could not be obtained, they would convey this to the churches, especially to the province that was due to convoke the national synod to bring forward its convocation.[225] The sieurs de Saint-Germain Monroy[226] and des Bordes Mercier were named as deputies general. If the king only accepted one of the two deputies, the assembly had principally nominated the sieur de Saint-Germain.[227] In accordance with this regulation, an assembly was planned after a full year in order to elect successors to the deputies general.

The need to hold regular general assemblies in order to nominate the deputies general led the monarchy to take four steps to attempt to weaken the link between the two.

Firstly, in 1603 and 1607, the monarchy asked the national synods to nominate deputies general, in order to postpone the holding of general assemblies. The national synod at Gap in 1603 again chose Saint-Germain and des Bordes Mercier. The national synod at La

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[224] For a list of all the deputies general, see Haag, IX, 274-5. A less detailed list can be found in S. Deyon, *Du loyalisme au refus: les Protestants français et leur député général entre la Fronde et la Révocation* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, Publications de l'Université de Lille III, 1976), p. 30, fn. 4.

[225] See Chapter One, p. 8 b, Figure 2.

[226] Haag VIII, 283-4: Gabriel de Polignac, sieur de Saint-Germain-de-Clan, de Monroy et de Comporté, *gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi* and *conseiller d'état*. When still young, he had become an *enseigne* in Henri de Condé's company of *gendarmes*. In 1597, Saint-Germain Monroy was a deputy at the general assembly at Châtellerault, where he was elected president on 6 January 1598. He attended the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605 as deputy general. Here, he was again chosen as a candidate to be deputy general (but La Noue and du Cros were named). He was a deputy at Saumur in 1611, and was chosen as a *commissaire* for the implementation of the edict of pacification. In 1616, the queen mother asked him to help negotiate peace with Condé.

[227] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 726-30, 737-8: regulation and instructions for the deputies general (Sainte-Foy, 15 October 1601). Copy in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 13 r-21 r. Original document in B.P.F. Ms. 711, which is the same text, but dated 29 October 1601.

Rochelle in 1607 was asked to name six candidates (one pair per year for three years). However, it only named two candidates, both of them deputies at the synod: Jean de Jaucourt, sieur de Villarnoul[228] and Jean Bontemps, sieur de Mirande[229] until the next general assembly, or for one year. Henri IV did not accept this nomination and maintained the two previous deputies general, Odet de La Noue and du Cros, who had been chosen by the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605.[230] In a letter to Villarnoul, the minister Loumeau[231] wrote:

> 'Vostre principale affaire est de solliciter importunément une assemblée générale pour décharger le synode de l'envie de ceste nomination, et vous du soupçon de n'en désirer pas une autre: car vous sçavez combien peuvent les premières impressions et préjugez'.[232]

La Noue and others were 'fort mal content' that only two deputies (rather than six) were named in 1607, incurring the king's displeasure. The *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Jargeau in 1608 shows that between 1607 and 1608, these four deputies general exercised their functions concurrently.[233] At the general assembly in 1608, Villarnoul and Mirande were chosen as deputies general by the monarchy from the list presented by the assembly.

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[228] Haag VI, 45-6: Jean de Jaucourt was from a high-ranking noble Burgundy family. He acted as *commissaire* for the implementation of the edict of Nantes in Burgundy. The king named him *chevalier de ses ordres*, *conseiller d'état*, and *gentilhomme ordinaire de sa chambre*, and in 1609, granted that he would succeed his father-in-law du Plessis Mornay as governor of Saumur. In 1611, the regent named him *commissaire* for the implementation of the edict of Nantes in Burgundy. He was a deputy for Burgundy at the national synod at Tonneins in 1614 and at the general assembly at Loudun in 1619-20. He fell from grace at the same time as du Plessis Mornay and also lost the regiment of which he was *maître de camp*.

[229] Haag II, 398-9: Mirande (who died c. 1621) was born in La Rochelle. He was an *échevin* when the town chose him as a deputy to the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605, where he was chosen as a candidate for the deputy generalship. At Saumur in 1611, Mirande was chosen as one of the five deputies who presented the *cahier* at court. His eldest son succeeded him as a judge in La Rochelle's admiralty chamber, but he was killed in naval combat near the town in 1622.

[230] Anquez I, 219-22. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 763: Châtellerault 1605: the general assembly had charged the national synod with naming new deputies general, in case the king did not allow a general assembly to be held. Churches were asked to follow the regulation established at Sainte-Foy in 1601 in sending deputies to the synods.

[231] M Greengrass, 'Informal networks in sixteenth-century French Protestantism', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World* (2002), p. 92, pointed out that Loumeau, who had been a deputy at Saumur in 1601 (and who used to be a physician) had a wide circle of correspondents in France, the Netherlands and England.

[232] 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVIe et XVIIe siècles', ed. G. Musset, *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 64-5, number 17 (22 April 1607). Loumeau added 'Gardez-vous aussi d'accepter une assemblée avec modifications ou restrictions préjudiciables aux libertés ci devant accordées en tel cas'.

[233] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1 October 1608. The assembly thanked all of them and recognised that La Noue and du Cros had remained at court after 1607 by royal command.

Secondly, from 1605, the general assemblies were asked to nominate six candidates, from which the monarchy would chose two as deputies general. This was more favourable than proposals first put forward in a royal memorandum dated 28 October 1604, which argued that the deputies general were a concession limited in time and not recognised in any edict, failing to justify the cost and effort involved in convening assemblies. People would also presume 'que lesdictes assemblées pourroient traiter plusieurs autres affaires que ceux de ladicte Nomination dou l'on pourroit prendre Ombrage'.[234] Sutherland supported the position in this memorandum.[235] The general assemblies mostly complied to the procedure followed in 1605; in 1611[236] and 1616[237] however, they only nominated two candidates (as the synods did in 1603 and 1607) and these were accepted by the monarchy. In 1622, the six candidates were chosen by the duke of Rohan and the principal towns of Languedoc, following the peace of Montpellier.[238]

Thirdly, the monarchy increasingly pressed general assemblies to separate once these candidates had been nominated. The replies to *cahiers* and other memoranda would be given once the general assembly had separated to those the monarchy had chosen as deputies general.[239] Despite this, all the assemblies held between 1611 and 1620 pressed for the receipt of the royal replies to the *cahiers* before nominating candidates to be chosen as deputies general. The debate on whether or not to separate before receiving the royal answers to the *cahiers* deepened the divisions over the election of the assembly president at Saumur in 1611.[240] At the conference at Loudun in 1616, Condé, the countess of Soissons, the duke of

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[234] For details of the proposals in the memorandum, see Mazarine Ms. 2595, fols. 525 r-527 v. See also B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 39 r-40 r: 'Instruction a mons.[ieu]r le Marquis de Rosny' (25 July and 1 August 1605).

[235] N. Sutherland, 'The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes 1598-1629' in I. Scouloudi (ed.), *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800 [...]* (1987), p. 163.

[236] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 206 v-208 r, 209 r: Saumur 1611. Reply from the queen mother in B.N.F. Dupuy 213, fol. 140 r-v. Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 804-5, arts. 57-8: Saumur 1611 *cahier*, which quoted the precedents established at Sainte-Foy in 1601 and Gap in 1603.

[237] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 266 r.

[238] Anquez I, 389-90.

[239] For this debate in 1611, see Arsenal Ms. 6594, fols. 164 r-169 r; B.N.F. Dupuy 213, fols. 140 r-v, 142 r, 158 r-160 v; B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 230 v-231 r, 237 v-238 r, 249 r-250 r, 259 r-260 r, 261 r; B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 207 v-208 r, 214 v; Arsenal Ms. 6594, fols. 177 v-180 r.

[240] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 289 r-v: letter from Lesdiguières to the assembly (Vizille, 27 August 1611) with 'Advis'. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 299 r-300 v: letters from Lesdiguières to Bouillon (Vizille, 19

Bouillon and Henri de la Trémoille,[241] had to pledge that the assembly would nominate the deputies general before 15 June and that it would fully separate on that day.[242] After having presented the *cahiers* of the general assembly at La Rochelle to Louis XIII at Poitiers (1616), the minister at Niort Chauffepié was sent as a deputy to the king at Blois, to state that the assembly would not separate until the king had implemented all the articles granted them. The royal reply proclaimed that: 'ceust esté par elle recepvoir la paix [et] une Loy prescripte de ses subiectz au lieu de la leur donner a Leur Instante priere et treshumbles supplications, ausquelles Ils sont obligez par touttes sortes de debvoirs divin et Naturel'.[243] The same debate also dominated the general assembly at Loudun (1619-20)[244] which was first ordered to separate by the royal *commissaires* on 10 January 1620.[245] The royal *commissaire* du Maine stressed the king's flexibility in accepting a general *cahier* before the assembly's separation. They would have received a prompt answer if all the *cahiers* had been presented together 'sans vous amuser à des formes nouvelles & non usitees'.[246] On 18 January 1620 a letter from the general assembly at Loudun (1619-20) to the provinces, explaining why the deputies did not separate, stressed that: 'Nous n'avons point d'autre voye publique pour efficacement agir, que celle de nos assemblées'. The letter pointed to the precedents established at Saumur in

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August 1611; Grenoble, 6 September 1611; Grenoble, 26 September 1611). Cf. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 261 r: 'Instruction baillée A Mons.[ieu]r de Bullion' (3 August 1611) for royal approval of Bouillon's actions. *Actes et correspondance du connétable de Lesdiguières* (1881), II, 13-4, number xiii. *Discours politiques du duc de Rohan,* (1646), pp. 14-5. H. de Rohan, *Veritable discours de ce qui s'est passé en l'Assemblée politique des Eglises Réformées de France, tenuë à Saumur* (1646), pp. 22-4, 60-1, 65-6. Cf. Anquez I, 240-4.

[241] Haag VI, 419: Henri de La Trémoille, duke of Thouars, peer of France, prince of Talmont, *chevalier des ordres du roi* (1599-1674), son of Claude de La Trémoille and the princess of Orange. Henri de La Trémoille joined his cousin the prince of Condé in 1615. Although he sent a representative to the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1620, La Trémoille refused to accept the military command it offered him. He handed his stronghold of Taillebourg over to Louis XIII and in June 1621 joined royal troops besieging Saint-Jean-d'Angély. He converted to Catholicism in 1628.

[242] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 266 r.

[243] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 22 r-v.

[244] *Lettre d'un gentilhomme de la Religion, à un sien amy, deputé en l'Assemblee generale des Eglises Reformees de France, à Loudun. [...].* (n.p., n.d.) (25 August 1619). Arsenal Ms. 3847, pp. 376-7: letter written to the *grands* (12 December 1619). Version of letter sent to du Plessis Mornay in B.P.F. Ms. 789, second booklet, number 9.

[245] *Harangue faicte de la part du roy [...]* (1620), pp. 6-7.

[246] *ibid.*, pp. 4-5. The general assembly at Loudun presented three *cahiers* to the king between October and December 1619.

1599 and Grenoble in 1615 in favour of its position.[247] In a declaration against the assembly at Loudun (26-7 February 1620) the king stated that after repeated concessions, he had granted it three more weeks to separate, during which time they had to nominate candidates to be deputy general or be declared *criminels de lèse-majesté*.[248] The assembly finally named six candidates, from which the monarchy chose Jean de Favas[249] and Jean Chalas, before its members returned to their provinces.[250] Louis XIII received favourably the *cahiers* presented to him at Fontainebleau (15 April 1621) by these deputies general, but excluded those who remained at the following general assembly at La Rochelle from his grace. The *cahier* would only be answered after the separation of the general assembly.[251]

Finally, the monarchy refused to shorten the term for which the deputies general held office. The general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605 tried to ask for a *brevet* for an assembly that would take place a year from then,[252] but the *brevet* for the next general assembly at Jargeau in 1608, stated that the commission for the deputies general would last for three years.[253] The general assemblies in 1608, 1611 and 1616 unsuccessfully asked for general assemblies to be held every two years for the nomination of the deputies general.[254]

The general assemblies established criteria for who could be chosen as deputy general. The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1601 stated that one deputy general would be from the nobility, the other a magistrate (or of another quality), 'estans entendus aux affaires de Cour'.[255] At the general assembly at Saumur in 1611, the

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[247] Arsenal Ms. 4650, fol. 116 r. Printed version in *Lettres de l'assemblée de Loudun, envoyées aux Provinces* (n.p., 1620). Copy dated 15 January in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7195, fols. 261 r-265 v. See also the *Lettre envoyee au roy, par les deputez des Eglises Reformees de France & Souveraineté de Bearn, assemblez par sa permission, en sa ville de Loudun. Ensemble la harangue prononcee au Roy, par les Deputez de ladite Assemblee.* (n.p., 1620) (16 January 1620).

[248] *Declaration du roy contre ceux de l'Assemblée de Loudun, ensemble la Confirmation des precedens Edicts de Pacification. Donné à Paris le 26. Fevrier 1620. [...].* (Paris, A. Estienne, 1644), pp. 3-8.

[249] Haag V, 83-7: Jean de Favas, vicomte de Castets (d. 1654) had been a deputy for Basse-Guyenne at the general assembly at Grenoble in 1615, where he was one of those most in favour of supporting Condé. He mustered troops at Casteljaloux but was forced to retreat by the duke of Guise.

[250] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 343-4, art. 3: instructions for the deputies on return to their provinces (1620).

[251] Arsenal Ms. 4650, fol. 157 r-v.

[252] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 753: Châtellerault 1605.

[253] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 70 r-v.

[254] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608. Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 804-5, arts. 57-8: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 20 r-v, art. 7: La Rochelle 1616 *cahier*.

[255] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 726.

proposition that a third deputy general be a minister was rejected.[256] As demonstrated above, some of the deputies general had already served as secretaries at the general assemblies, which would have prepared them for 'affairs at court'. It is possible that family connections also helped: Jean de Jaucourt, sieur de Villarnoul, chosen as a deputy general by the national synod in 1607 and the general assembly in 1608, was a son-in-law of du Plessis Mornay from 1599. Villarnoul's younger brother Jacques de Jaucourt, sieur de Rouvray was chosen as a deputy general with Etienne Chesnevert, sieur de La Milletière following the general assembly at Saumur in 1611, where du Plessis Mornay acted as president.[257] In 1887 fourteen letters dating from 1607 to 1611, sent to the deputies general Villarnoul and Mirande, were published by Georges Musset in the *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis* as part of material from the 'ancien fonds' and 'collection Bouyer' of the library of La Rochelle.[258] Seven of these letters were sent from Mirande to Villarnoul.[259] They give an insight into the personal relationships of the deputies general, relating for instance on 25 July 1607 Mirande's happiness in being 'hors de la presse' and 'surintendant de ma maison', and yet finding on his return home that he had lost his twelve-year old daughter, although he accepted this as the will of God.[260] In a letter dated 27 August 1607, written to Villarnoul in Paris, Mirande presented his commiserations to him for the loss of a son and mentioned his interest in writing poetry.[261] Mirande also relates happier events, such as the marriage of a son and birth of a son in 1611.[262] In some letters, Mirande also states that he had sought the advice of du Plessis

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[256] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 215 r: Saumur 1611.

[257] Cf. B.N.F. Dupuy 213, fol. 154 r-v: letters from the king and queen mother to the general assembly at Saumur (9 September 1611), stating that the *brevet* with the choice of deputies general was sent with Bullion (and not on 12 September 1611, as Anquez I, 243 stated).

[258] 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVIe et XVIIe siècles', ed. G. Musset, *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 65-81, 84. All letters were sent from La Rochelle.

[259] *ibid.*, pp. 66-7, number 20 (25 July 1607); pp. 68-70, number 21 (27 August 1607); pp. 70-1, number 22 (21 April 1609); pp. 71-3, number 23 (28 April 1609); pp. 74-5, number 25 (13 April 1610); pp. 77-9, number 28 (1 February 1611); pp. 79-80, number 29 (6/8 February 1611).

[260] *ibid.*, p. 67.

[261] *ibid.*, pp. 68-9.

[262] *ibid.*, pp. 77, 78 (1 February 1611); p. 80 (6/8 February 1611).

Mornay or would greet him in passing on his journeys.[263] In four of the letters, both Mirande and his wife sent their good wishes to Villarnoul's family.[264]

Although the general assemblies sought to nominate deputies who were knowledgeable about 'affairs at court', they also sought to guard against the potential dangers inherent in this. The 1601 regulation stated that the deputies general would swear not to seek any estates, offices, money or other benefits during their deputation; they would also swear the oath of union established in 1593.[265] The oath drawn up by the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 included an oath not to canvass secretly or solicit nominations for election as deputy general, indicating the manoeuvrings that might have gone on behind the scenes.[266] For example, Rohan charged in his memoirs that Bertreville[267] and Maniald were chosen by the assembly at La Rochelle in 1616 because of pressure from the court and Condé, who promised favours and pensions to those who supported him. This charge was reproduced by Sully in his memoirs, but discounted by the Haag brothers, who discuss these allegations in their article on Bertreville.

The general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1601 decided that the first deputy general (Saint-Germain) would be paid 2, 000 *écus*, and the other (des Bordes Mercier) 1, 500 *écus*. Their costs would be taken from the sums that the edict of Nantes set aside for the Huguenot churches from royal revenue.[268] The general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605 ordered that Saint-Germain would be paid 9, 000 *livres* (3, 000 *écus*) and des Bordes 4, 500 *livres* (1, 500

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[263] Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles', *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 67 (25 July 1607); 68 (27 August 1607); 74-5 (13 April 1610).
[264] *ibid.*, p. 71 (21 April 1609); p. 73 (28 April 1609); p. 79 (1 February 1611); p. 80 (6/8 February 1611).
[265] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 726: Sainte-Foy 1601 regulation for the deputies general.
[266] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 231 r-v: Saumur 1611. Anquez I, 233, 512 (Appendix X).
[267] Haag, II, 226-8: N. de Bertreville was a deputy for Normandy at Saumur in 1599-1601, Jargeau in 1608 (where he appeared as *gentilhomme de la chambre du roi*), Saumur in 1611 (where he was presented as a candidate to be deputy general), Grenoble and Nîmes in 1615. He acted as one of the assembly's deputies at the conference at Loudun. The general assembly at La Rochelle (1616) then proposed him as a *commissaire* for the implementation of the treaty and chose him as a deputy general. He attended the general assembly at Loudun (1619-20) as deputy general.
[268] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 728-30. E. Benoit, *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, [...]* (1693), I, 367-9. Anquez I, 209 summarises pay for deputies general.

écus) for the time they had spent as deputies general.[269] No reason is given for this increasing disparity in pay, which apparently went against the principle of equality traditionally maintained for Huguenot representatives at court and enshrined in the Ecclesiastical discipline and common adherence to the Confession of faith.[270] Following the debate at Jargeau in 1608, the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 excluded royal pensioners from the deputy generalship.[271] Nevertheless, in the *petit état* of 1610, the deputies general are allocated 10, 200 *livres*[272] and in the *petit état* of 1616, the first is allocated 5, 100 *livres* from the *petit état* and the second 5, 000 *livres* from the new funds granted for Huguenot ministers.[273] At Saumur in 1611, the deputies sent to court were asked to forward the costs of their voyage and were promised reimbursement if not paid by the king.[274]

The case of Favas (chosen as deputy general in 1620) shows that in his case, the oath sworn by the deputies general to forego personal profit proved not to be binding. The duke of Rohan charged that the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1620 had been called by Favas, ostensibly because of Béarn, but in reality to press his case for the governorship of Lectoure.[275] In June 1621, Favas obtained from the general assembly that he would still be paid the remuneration of a deputy general, although he no longer held the position.[276] He was also named lieutenant general of the province of La Rochelle. However, Favas' increasing tendency to act unilaterally in this role and as commander of a part of Basse-Guyenne (from

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[269] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 764, 768: Châtellerault 1605. The deputies general were paid by the royal *commis* established for the funds reserved for Huguenots in the edict of Nantes. For the *commis*, see Chapter Four, pp. 184-6 and Chapter Six, pp. 277, 281-86. See B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1 October 1608 for the pay of Villarnoul and Mirande.

[270] M. Greengrass, 'Informal networks in sixteenth-century French Protestantism', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World* (2002), p. 92.

[271] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 215 r: Saumur 1611.

[272] Mazarine Ms. 2596.

[273] Mazarine Ms. 2598.

[274] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 221 r: Saumur 27 June 1611.

[275] Arsenal Ms. 4114, première partie, pp. 293-4: 'Appologie [sic.] de monsieur le duc de rohan sur les derniers troubles de france à cause de la religion'. Cf. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7197, fols. 107 r, 115 v, 116 v: 'Seconde Apologie pour monsieur de fabas par le sieur du lion gentilho[mm]e. gascon son voisin' (La Rochelle, 18 July 1622). Arsenal Ms. 4114, première partie, pp. 267-82: 'Raisons de la paix faite devant Montpellier' (written by Rohan). Printed version of the latter in *Discours politiques du duc de Rohan Faits en divers temps sur les affaires qui se passaient. [...]* (1646), pp. 75-89: Discours VIII. Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior*, p. 74.

[276] B.N.F. fr. 15826, fol. 299 r-v: La Rochelle 14 April 1622: when Favas asked to be paid, the assembly referred back to the decision taken on 14 June 1621. The assembly decided that 'tant q[ue]

October 1621), as well as his insistence that he should continue to be paid as a deputy general, turned the assembly against him. In July 1622 when the assembly learnt of the surrender to royal troops of towns that had been under Favas' charge, it implemented a decision to remove him from all his positions. On 19 August 1622, the general assembly declared Favas a deserter from the union of the churches; the consistory ratified this.[277] Favas' colleague Chalas had been revoked as deputy general on 9 January 1622, because despite the oath sworn at Loudun and the orders of the assembly to return, he had remained with the court and had even attended the siege and taking of several *places de sûreté*.[278]

ii. Role of the deputies general

The deputies general were charged with obtaining the *brevet* for the next general assembly. A letter dated 6 July 1610 from the mayor, *échevins*, peers and counsellors of La Rochelle to the deputies general Villarnoul and Mirande 'près du roi' shows that when no general assembly was sitting, there was a degree of consultation about whether another should be requested. In this particular letter, the town leaders thought that the apparent goodwill of the king and queen mother and other matters showed that it was inappropriate to press for a general assembly. They added that on this matter, however:

> 'nous désirons nous conformer aux bons advis des aultres provinces avecq lesquelles nous désirons vivre en la mesme union et corespondance [sic.] que nous avons toujours promise et jurée sy solennellement, et sy ceste affaire se pressoit davantage, nous vous supplions de nous en donner advis et des motifs principaux qui pourroient esmouvoir ceux qui vouldroient demander cet advencement d'assemblée'.[279]

When they had obtained a *brevet*, the deputies general then presented it to the general assembly once it had convened; from 1608 a copy of the text of the *brevet* was included near

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ledit S[ieu]r sera present et assistera en ladite assemblee Il soit compris es distributions q[ue] se feront a mesme raison q[ue] ceux de lordre de la noblesse'.

[277] Anquez I, 375-8. See also Haag V, 83-7 for a summary of Favas' life and career. On the advent of peace, he surrendered to the king at La Rochelle and in exchange for the position of deputy general, he received a *brevet* of *conseiller d'état.*

[278] Anquez I, 354, 365.

[279] 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVIe et XVIIe siècles', *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 76-7, number 27. B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 201 r- 202 r: shows that a *brevet* was granted on 10 October 1610 for a general assembly to be held at Châtellerault on 25 May

the beginning of each *procès-verbal*, and was most likely read out to the deputies. The general assemblies in 1601, 1608 and 1619-20 opened on or near the date stated in the *brevet*; in these cases a period of three to four months between the granting of the *brevet* and the opening of the general assembly had elapsed.[280] In the case of the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605, a *brevet* was granted on 28 October 1604 for an assembly to be held at Châtellerault on 1 May 1605. However, only three days before, on 28 April, the monarchy agreed to allow the assembly to open on 26 May in order to give Huguenots more time to convene provincial assemblies.[281] Five *brevets* were granted for the general assembly that was held at Grenoble in 1615. Perhaps requested in response to the forthcoming Estates General, a first *brevet* had been granted on 17 February 1614 for a general assembly to be held on 15 October 1614.[282] Three more *brevets* were delivered[283] before a final *brevet* was granted on 24 May 1615, acceding to the Huguenot request to move the place of convocation from Jargeau to Grenoble, for an assembly to open on 15 July 1615.[284] These examples suggest something both of the ability of the deputies general to obtain these concessions and of the monarchy's flexibility in granting them.

As shown above, the deputies also had a role in co-ordinating correspondence, particularly when no general assembly was sitting, and they reported matters to the general assembly when it had convened.[285] In response to a letter from Villarnoul, the minister Loumeau wrote on 28 May 1607 to encourage the deputy general:

> 'maintenez-vous en vostre vocation et station tant que vous pourrez, et ne craignez rien en faisant ce qui est de vostre charge, laquelle estant de Dieu vous devez préferer à toutes choses

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1611. A second *brevet* dated the second of May 1611 granted that the assembly could be held in Saumur instead; it was held from 27 May to 10 September 1611.

[280] A copy of the *brevet* dated 7 July 1601 can be found in B.N.F. fr. 4102, fol. 127 [2]; of the *brevet* dated 18 June 1608 in B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608; of the *brevet* dated 24 May 1619 in Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 817-8: Loudun 1619-20.

[281] B.N.F. fr. 4102, fol. 128 [1]-[2].

[282] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 1 r-v. Copy in Mazarine Ms. 2609, fol. 3 r.

[283] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fols. 4 r-v., 6 r-v, 8 r-9 r. Copies in Mazarine Ms. 2609, fols. 3 v, 4 v, 5 v respectively.

[284] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fols. 10 r-11 r. Copy in Mazarine Ms. 2609, fols. 6 v-7 r. Cf. letter from deputies of assembly to king and queen mother making the request in Arsenal Ms. 5427, première partie, pp. 117-9. See Chapter One, pp. 40-1.

[285] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601 regulation for deputies general.

> du monde. [...] Ce que vous avez principalement à faire est de donner bon advis aux provinces et des advis encore plus particuliers aux particuliers confidents de chasque province'.[286]

Letters from Mirande to Villarnoul show that it was difficult to know whether the other deputy general had already received a copy of particular letters; letters sent as attachments could also become separated from the principal missive.[287] In a letter to Villarnoul (6 February 1611) Mirande states that he distributed 'selon leurs adresses' all the letters that accompanied Villarnoul's preceding missive. Mirande adds that these dispatches had served 'pour repaistre les esprits de ces quartiers de nouvelles desquelles vous sçavez qu'ils sont infiniment altérez et surtout en ce temps'.[288] Other letters illustrate the apparent diligence with which Villarnoul and Mirande intervened on behalf of Huguenots and kept them informed of developments at court.[289] There is also an instance, described in two letters from Mirande to Villarnoul (21 April and 28 April 1609), when the two deputies general supervised the sending by the *conseil privé* of a member of the *chambre de l'édit* in Paris to address two cases in La Rochelle. The second letter hints at the poisoning of witnesses and the mislaying of documents from the inventory.[290]

The deputies general sometimes presented deputies from the provinces to the king.[291] They also presented the *cahiers* and relayed specific petitions from the general assemblies. They apparently drew up and presented two *cahiers* while general assemblies were not sitting (in 1603 and 1604).[292]

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[286] 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVIe et XVIIe siècles', *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 66, number 19.
[287] *ibid.*, p. 68: Mirande to Villarnoul (27 August 1607); p. 71: Mirande to Villarnoul (21 April 1609).
[288] *ibid.*, p. 79.
[289] For example, three letters from Mirande to Villarnoul (*ibid.*, p. 72, number 23, 28 April 1609; p. 75, number 25, 13 April 1610; p. 80, number 29, 6 February 1611) refer to La Rochelle's thanks for promoting the town's affairs at court.
[290] 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVIe et XVIIe siècles', *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 71, number 22: Mirande to Villarnoul (21 April 1609); 71-2, number 23: Mirande to Villarnoul (28 April 1609).
[291] An example of this is described in d'Aubigné 'Sa vie à ses enfants', in *Œuvres complètes*, I, 83-4: the deputies from nine provinces were presented by Villarnoul shortly after the murder of Henri IV in 1610. See also 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis', *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 75-6, number 26: the mayor, *échevins*, peers and counsellors of La Rochelle to Villarnoul and Mirande 'près du roi' (22 June 1610).
[292] Anquez I, 393-4.

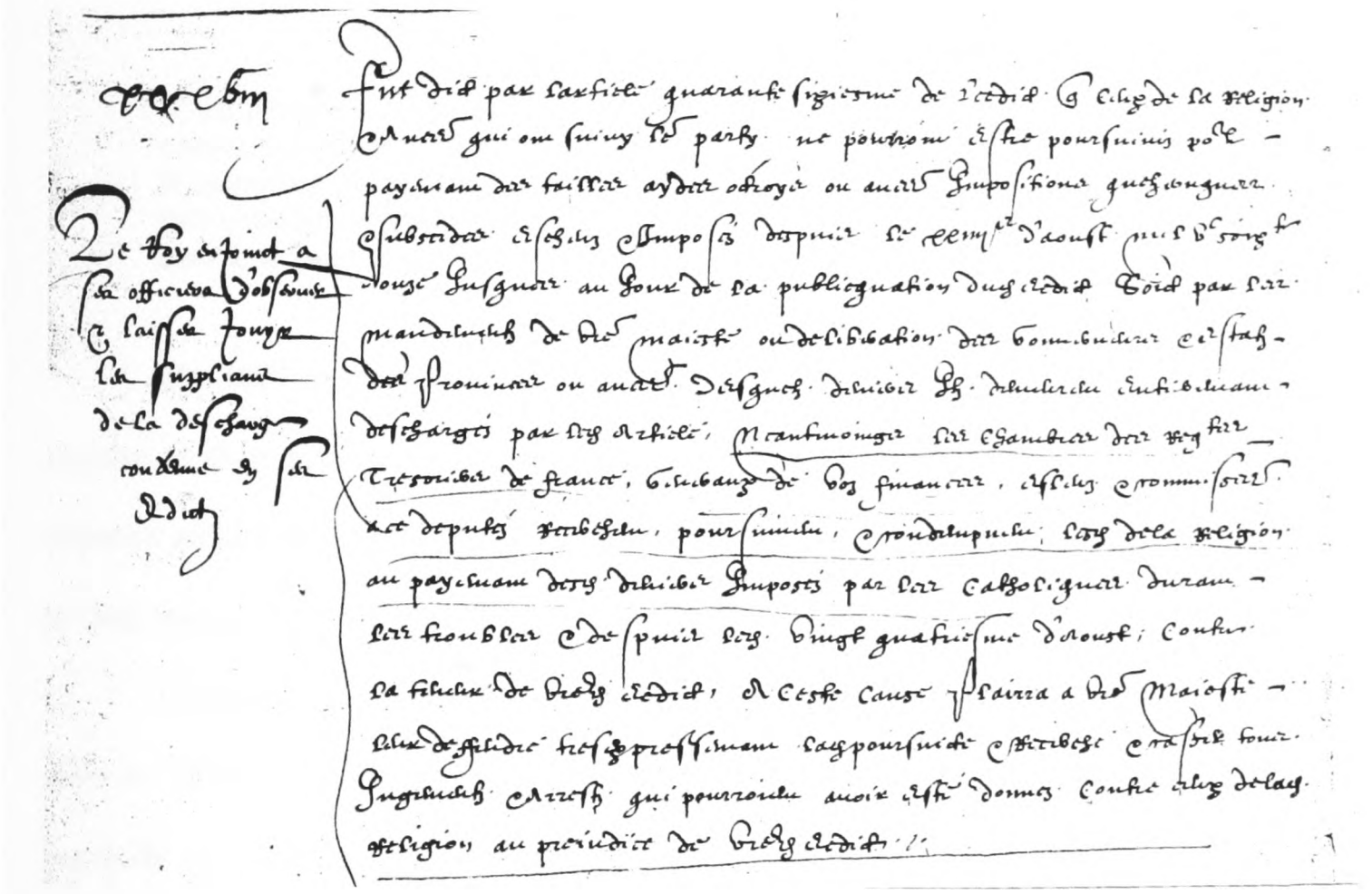
In order to present petitions and *cahiers* at court, and supervise how far measures had been taken for their implementation, the deputies general had to attend the royal council, most likely the *conseil d'état*.[293] The regulation drawn up at Loudun in 1620 warned that no individual could discuss matters in the royal council concerning the Huguenots in general without the mediation of the deputies general.[294]

As royal replies to the *cahiers* were used to implement the royal orders, they had to be in written form. Royal replies were generally written in the margins of the *cahiers*, opposite the relevant article.[295] One of the clearest examples illustrating this is the copy of the *cahier* presented by the general assembly at Montauban in 1584, held in the library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français.[296] Figure 11 shows an extract of this *cahier*. The *cahier* was signed by the king of Navarre, and the royal responses in the margin were signed by Henri III, with royal secretaries countersigning both. When the deputies at Mantes were only given oral answers by royal councillors (15 and 21 January 1594), this can be seen as a measure designed to delay the process of implementation. It could also be a reflection of the pressures imposed by Henri IV's military campaign in the north of France and around Paris against Spanish troops supporting the Catholic League.[297] The deputies insisted on proper form. When the articles agreed at Mantes were presented to the general assembly at Saumur in 1595, the assembly protested 'quilz nestoient en forme ne signés' and that the king had instructed du Plessis Mornay to show the articles only to two or three deputies, without leaving them a copy. The assembly therefore refused to see the articles.[298] At Jargeau in 1608, the deputies general were charged with sending the answers to the *cahiers* to the provinces.

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[293] Matters relating to the implementation of the edicts of pacification were addressed in the *conseil d'état*, one of the four principal parts of the royal council. The others were the *conseil des affaires*, *conseil des finances* and *conseil privé* or *des parties*. See Doucet I, 144-6, 164. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 49. R. Mousnier, 'Le Conseil du Roi de la mort de Henri IV au gouvernement personnel de Louis XIV', *Etudes d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, I (1947), 29-67.
[294] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 619, art. 40: Loudun 1620 regulation.
[295] The same point is made in F. Chevalier, 'Les difficultés d'application de l'édit de Nantes d'après les cahiers des plaintes (1599-1660)', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance* (1998), p. 303 and in P. Roberts, 'Huguenot petitioning during the wars of religion', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, p. 67.
[296] B.P.F. Ms. 95: Montauban 1584 *cahier*.
[297] B.P.F. Ms. 710: Mantes 1593-4. Cf. Anquez I, 59.
[298] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xxiiii: Saumur 1595.

Figure 11. Extract from the 1584 *cahier*, with Royal Responses



Source: B.P.F. Ms. 95: Montauban 1584 *cahier*

The provinces would draw up extracts of the articles that were necessary to them. To these extracts, the relevant letters patent obtained by the deputies general would be attached, ordering magistrates to verify and implement these articles.[299] However, a letter from Mirande to Villarnoul dated 21 April 1609 shows that the deputies general themselves had difficulty in obtaining answers to the *cahiers*. Mirande speculated that the refusal to deliver an answer indicated that there was nothing favourable to be expected. He pointed out that they were obliged to take an answer to the imminent national synod and added:

> 'C'est pourquoy, monsieur, je vous supplie, puis que vous estes encores en lieu où vous le pouvez faire, d'en presser avec importunité la response, et de représenter au roy et a monsieur le chancelier que ce sera chose absurde de représenter un cahier sur lequel il y ait des articles sans response, et nottamment les articles les plus importants, et pour lesquels le roy et mon dit sieur le chancelier sçavent que, dez Gergeau, on avoit fait instance particulière'. [300]

The 1601 regulation for the deputies general stated that they were expected to keep a register of their actions during their time of office.[301] At the end of their term of office, deputies general or deputies at court gave all their commissions, instructions and memoranda to their successors at the general assembly (or to the secretary of the assembly).[302]

Ultimately, the deputies general outlasted the general assemblies. After the peace of Alès in 1629, the national synods named the deputies general, but the synods only met regularly until 1644-5. The twenty-ninth and final national synod was held at Loudun from November 1659 to January 1660.[303] From 1668, petitions and complaints could only be presented through the deputy general, the last of whom was Henri de Ruvigny (1602-89), named by Mazarin in 1653, and associated with his son after 1679.[304]

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[299] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608.
[300] 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles', *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 70-1, number 22. The points in this letter are reiterated in a second letter from Mirande to Villarnoul dated 28 April 1609 (*ibid.*, pp. 71-2, number 23).
[301] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 730.
[302] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xxvi: Saumur 1595. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 730: 1601 regulation for the deputies general. B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1 October 1608. Mazarine Ms. 2608, fols. 202 v-203 r: Saumur 1611.
[303] Mousnier, *Les Institutions de la France*, I, 303.
[304] S. Deyon, *Du loyalisme au refus* (1976), pp. 8-9; p. 13, fn. 7.

VI. Implementation of royal concessions

The *cahiers* were generally framed by reference to the concessions made in the edicts of pacification. Royal *commissaires* had first been sent to the provinces to ensure implementation of the edicts of pacification in 1563.[305] In 1599, the king chose the *commissaires*; they were more numerous than before, with territorial jurisdictions broadly coinciding with those of the *parlements*, and with all the necessary powers for the implementation of the edict. A new element was that each commission would have one Catholic and one Huguenot *commissaire*; only their joint decisions could be valid. For the Huguenots, Henri IV chose people with strong links to the provinces for which they were given their commissions. F. Garrisson argued that it was likely that some of these names had been suggested to the king by Huguenots in his entourage or by the deputies of the general assembly. Garrisson did not note that many of these *commissaires* had attended or were deputies at the general assemblies. Those chosen included lieutenant generals (such as Lesdiguières in Dauphiné, Jacques Caumont de La Force in Guyenne and Jean Baudéan, count of Parabère in Poitou, Aunis and Marche). There were also magistrates (notably du Faur de Pujols in Haut-Languedoc[306] and Le Roy d'Heudreville in Normandy). Others were governors of important strongholds (for example Chandieu in Auvergne, Forez, Bourbonnais and Nivernais,[307] Du Bourg de Clermont in Languedoc and du Faur de Courcelles[308] in Touraine, Anjou and Orléanais). Some were simply notables of the party or in their provinces

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[305] Doucet II, 427-8. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 39-47, 51. R. Mentzer, 'The Edict of Nantes and its institutions', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, pp. 102-6. P. Roberts, 'Religious Pluralism in Practice: The Enforcement of the Edicts of Pacification' in K. Cameron, M. Greengrass and P. Roberts (eds.), *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France. Papers from the Exeter Conference, April 1999* (Bern, Oxford, Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 31-43.

[306] Haag IV, 371-3: Arnaud du Faur, sieur de Pujols. His brother, Louis du Faur, sieur de Grateins, was chancellor of Navarre. Arnaud du Faur was *gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre* for Henri de Navarre, and for a while governor of Montpellier. He might have been present at the general assembly at Mantes in 1593.

[307] Haag III, 332, 334: Jean de Chandieu, baron de Chandieu (b. 22 Nov. 1566) was *gentilhomme ordinaire de la chambre du roi*, and colonel of an infantry regiment. His brother Esaïe de Chandieu, sieur de Chabottes, acted as a deputy for Burgundy at Saumur in 1611, and was then named *commissaire* for the implementation of the edict in Lyonnais.

[308] Haag IV, 373-4: Jean du Faur, seigneur de Courcelles-le-Roi (d. 1605) was Arnaud du Faur's cousin. He accompanied the king of Navarre to La Rochelle in 1588. Henri IV made him a *maréchal de camp* and then governor of Jargeau in 1597. He attended the general assemblies at Châtellerault in 1597-8 and 1605.

(Villarnoul in Burgundy, Cargrois[309] in Brittany, d'Angennes Montlouet in Ile-de-France, Picardie and Champagne).[310]

However, the measures outlined in 1599 were not fully implemented. The general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1601 still had to request that one of the two *commissaires* sent to each province was a Huguenot.[311] The general assemblies also petitioned the king for the pay of the Huguenot *commissaires*. The second *cahier* presented by the sieur de Colladon (sent by the general assembly at Saumur in 1600) stated that the sieur de Cargrois, the Huguenot *commissaire* sent by the king to Brittany, complained that he had only received 200 *écus* for two months. He asked to be paid 300 *écus* per month, as others of the same quality had been paid this amount in order to carry out the same task. Rosny had not addressed the matter, and Colladon presented this petition as a means of ensuring the implementation of the edict throughout the whole of Brittany. The reply however maintained that Cargrois would be paid 200 *écus* per month while he carried out his commission.[312] *Commissaires* (including Odet de La Noue for Brittany and Montlouet for Ile-de-France) were again sent in 1611, partly in response to the *cahier* of the general assembly at Saumur in 1611, in order to address continuing failure to implement the edict of Nantes.[313] The 1611 *cahier* asked that Huguenots in each province be entitled to choose the Huguenot *commissaire* to be sent to them. It also requested that if they preferred, Huguenots could leave implementation to the *baillis* and *sénéchaux* or their lieutenants, to be assisted by a deputy named by Huguenots in these

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[309] Haag I, 198-200: Louis d'Avaugour, sieur du Bois de Cargrois, from an old Breton family, was named governor of Beauvoir-sur-Mer by Henri de Navarre in 1588. Du Bois de Cargrois was a deputy at the general assemblies in 1597-8, 1608 (where he was chosen as a candidate for the deputy generalship), in 1611 and 1615-6. He also attended in 1600 and took part in the national synods in 1607, 1609 and 1612. In 1615 he commanded the garrison at Saint-Jean-d'Angély. In 1622 he unsuccessfully defended the île de Ré on behalf of Louis XIII against Soubise.

[310] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 50, 52-4, 39. See also B. Cottret, *1598. L'Édit de Nantes. Pour en finir avec les guerres de religion.* (Paris, Librairie Académique Perrin, 1997), pp. 217, 223, 225-6, 231, 242, and D. Hickey, 'Enforcing the Edict of Nantes: The 1599 Commissions and Local Elites in Dauphiné and Poitou-Aunis', in K. Cameron, M. Greengrass and P. Roberts (eds.), *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism* (2000), pp. 65-83.

[311] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 733: Sainte-Foy 1601 instruction for the deputies general.

[312] Arsenal Ms. 6594, fols. 68 v-69 r, art. v. Cargrois appears as 'Carqueroy' in the text.

[313] F. Chevalier, 'Les difficultés d'application de l'édit de Nantes d'après les cahiers des plaintes (1599-1660)', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance* (1998), p. 310, suggests, following Benoit's *L'Edit de Nantes* (II, 92), that the *commissaires* in 1611-2 were sent to break up the provincial councils that had gathered after the close of the general assembly at Saumur.

bailliages and *sénéchaussées*, according to the answer to article 2 of the *cahier* given in August 1602. The royal reply agreed.[314] Governors of Huguenot garrisons were informed of the sending of *commissaires* in 1611, so that they might give them the necessary assistance in implementing their commission.[315] In the articles sent to Condé in 1615, the general assembly at Nîmes asked that *commissaires* would be chosen from the *conseillers d'état*.[316] *Commissaires* were again sent in 1616, 1623 and 1625, although Elie Benoit, for one, thought that appeals to them increasingly became a pointless formality.[317] Examples of the manner in which specific provisions in the edicts were implemented will be addressed in the following chapters.

It appears that the leadership of the general assemblies was effective in moderating debates, as the *procès-verbaux* before 1620 do not record any serious disruption during the assemblies. Anquez argued that the decision to follow majority voting entailed that the general assembly's decisions were regarded as sovereign,[318] but the commissions given to deputies were in fact regarded as more important in determining how far their province was bound to follow an assembly's resolutions. If surviving documents had allowed it, it would have been interesting to know more about how petitions were selected and how representative the *cahiers* were of concerns mentioned to the assemblies. The detailed regulations for correspondence reflect the important of consultation and advice.[319] The nobility was often assiduous in maintaining these correspondence networks, as the examples of Chouppes in 1596 and Villarnoul from 1607 to 1611 demonstrate. The care with which records were

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[314] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 777, art. 4.
[315] 'Lettres adressées de 1585 à 1625 à Marc-Antoine Marreau de Boisguérin gouverneur de Loudun', eds. G. de La Marque and E. de Barthélemy, *Archives historiques du Poitou*, XIV (1883), 266-7, number 54: Marie de Medici to Boisguérin (Fontainebleau, 14 October 1611).
[316] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 73 r-v, art. 7.
[317] F. Chevalier, 'Les difficultés d'application de l'édit de Nantes', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance* (1998), p. 320, quoting Benoit, *L'Edit de Nantes*, II, 258, 574.
[318] Anquez I, 445.
[319] M. Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause: Protestant Mobilization and Accountability in France (1562-1589)' in P. Benedict, G. Marnef, H. van Nierop and M. Venard (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585. [...]* (Amsterdam, Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999), pp. 251-2.

inventoried reflects the importance of these as legal documents underpinning both the petitions made in the *cahiers* and the discussions with royal representatives sent to the assemblies. Over time, the general assemblies changed their position with respect to the receipt of royal responses to the *cahiers*. First general assemblies were in part convened to hear answers to a preceding *cahier* (for instance in 1584). From 1611, the assemblies increasingly pressed for hearing the answers to their *cahiers* before deputies returned to the provinces, perhaps because they feared that the regency government was less sympathetic to their cause. The monarchy favoured giving responses to the deputies general chosen after the assembly had closed; the deputies general would then communicate these answers to the provinces. The petitions of the general assemblies relating to the *commissaires* for the implementation of the edicts of pacification reflect the assemblies' concern for the application of justice in the localities. Many of the *commissaires* had attended the general assemblies; through them, the assemblies can be seen as indirectly extending their influence over the implementation of the peace settlements in France.

CHAPTER THREE

The General Assemblies and Provisions for Justice

In addition to the general assemblies, the chambers created for Huguenots in the *parlements* from 1576 were an avenue through which they could voice their grievances and seek redress for infringement of the rights granted them by the edicts. This chapter aims principally to explore the relationship between the general assemblies and these chambers. Firstly, this chapter presents a short summary of the provisions in the edicts regarding access to judicial offices and the creation of the chambers. Secondly, it assesses the role played by the general assemblies in nominating officers to the chambers, in ensuring their reception, and in overseeing the manner in which these offices were resigned. Thirdly, it examines how the general assemblies chose the location for the chambers. Fourthly, this chapter considers attempts by the general assemblies to define the jurisdiction of the chambers, as well as their concern for procedures for trial in civil and criminal cases before the *prévôts*, the *baillis*, *sénéchaux* and *présidiaux*, the *parlements* and the royal council. Finally, it addresses the measures the assemblies took to defend the positions of officers charged with implementing the rulings of the chambers.

I. Provisions in the edicts[1]

Royal edicts granted Huguenots access to justice in two manners. Firstly, the peace of Saint-Germain (August 1570) granted equal access to all offices in the kingdom.[2] There were limitations in 1573,[3] but gains in 1576,[4] abolishing the requirement made by sovereign courts

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[1] A summary of the provisions of the edicts, of the location of the chambers, their membership and their duration can also be found in E. Birnstiel, 'Les chambres mi-parties: les cadres institutionnels d'une juridiction spéciale (1576-1629)', in J. Poumarède and J. Thomas (eds.), *Les Parlements de Province: pouvoirs, justice et société du XVe au XVIIIe* (Toulouse, Framespa, 1996), pp. 130-8. The duration of the chambers is particularly problematic: they were not instituted immediately after the edicts that created them, and secondary sources are often contradictory when stating whether or not a chamber was established at a particular date.

[2] 1570 edict, art. 22.

[3] 1573 edict, art. 17.

[4] 1576 edict, arts. 17, 23-4, 26-7, 46. Arsenal Ms. 3847, p. 140, art. xiii: Huguenot memorandum on implementation of the edict (replied by king 30 May 1576).

(which registered the letters of provision for offices)[5] for holders of judicial offices to make a public profession of the Catholic faith.[6]

Secondly, the edict of Beaulieu (May 1576) granted for the first time a new chamber for Huguenots for each of the eight *parlements* in the kingdom.[7] The oldest of the *parlements* was at Paris.[8] The other seven were at Toulouse (definitely established in 1443), Grenoble (1457), Bordeaux (1463), Dijon (1494), Aix (1501), Rouen (1515-6), and Rennes (Nantes/ Rennes 1554; Rennes 1569).[9]

Measures both for offices and for the chambers were reiterated by the edict of Poitiers in 1577,[10] but reversed by the treaty of Nemours (7 July 1585) and the Leaguer edict of Union of July 1588. Although the letters patent of Mantes (1591) reinstated the 1577 edict, the *parlement* of Paris only registered the edict in 1595.[11]

The edict of Nantes both reiterated the principle of equal access to offices[12] and provided for chambers for the *parlements* of Paris, Grenoble, Toulouse and Bordeaux. Just over a third of the main part of the edict is devoted to the chambers; this, four of the particular articles and the *brevet* of 30 April 1598 set out more detailed provisions than previous edicts of pacification had done.[13] The chamber for Paris would have one president and sixteen counsellors, six of them Huguenots; it is the only chamber explicitly referred to in the edict as

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[5] Doucet I, 180, 217, 258, 261-2.

[6] Anquez I, 118, fn. 1: the ordinance requiring this dated from 1543. See also *Les edicts et ordonnances des rois de France, [...]*, eds. A. Fontanon and G. Michel (Paris, 1611), II, 286: letters patent and declaration (1564); *ibid.*, 287 (copy in *ibid.*, IV, 286-7 and 288): letters (8 November 1567); *ibid.*, II, 294-5: edict of Saint Maur des Fossez (25 September 1568); *ibid.*, 297-8, 299-300: *arrêts* of the *parlements* of Paris (23 June and 16 September 1569).

[7] 1576 edict, arts. 18-21.

[8] Doucet I, 167-175. It was composed of a *grande chambre*, *chambres des enquêtes* (five in 1567), a *tournelle* chamber, *chambres des requêtes* (two in 1580), a chancellery and an auditorium for the *maîtres des requêtes de l'Hôtel*. Particularly important cases were judged by exceptional commissions.

[9] Doucet I, 211-5. When Piedmont was annexed, a *parlement* was created at Turin (1539). A *parlement* was also created at Lyon for the principality of Dombes, seized from the Empire in 1523.

[10] 1577 edict, arts. 17, 19, 27-8 for offices, arts. 21-4 for the chambers.

[11] Anquez I, 55, 56 fn. 3, 112-7. E. Maugis, *Histoire du parlement de Paris [...]. II. Période des guerres des religion de la Ligue et de Henri IV* (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1914), 44-5. Doucet I, 215-6. R. Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*, 2nd ed. (Paris, P.U.F., 1971), pp. 590-1.

[12] Edict of Nantes, arts. 24, 27, particular article 10.

[13] Edict of Nantes, arts. 30-57, 60, 63-5, 67, particular arts. 46-9, 30 April 1598 *brevet*. For a summary of these provisions, see Anquez I, 119, 134-9; R. Mousnier, *Les Institutions de la France*, I, 304.

a *chambre de l'édit*.[14] The chambers for Grenoble and Bordeaux would have two presidents (one of them a Huguenot) and twelve counsellors, half of them Huguenots, and are therefore properly referred to as *chambres mi-parties*. The *chambre mi-partie* effectively re-established at Castres (for Toulouse) in 1595 was maintained.[15] For the sake of clarity, this chapter will refer to all chambers that the edicts of pacification granted in the *parlements* for Huguenots as *chambres de l'édit*. The chambers would exercise sovereign jurisdiction, and judge in last resort, by *arrêt*, all civil and criminal cases in which Huguenots were involved.[16] They addressed contraventions to the edicts of pacification as well as matters relating to the public peace.[17] They also addressed cases relating to the edicts' provisions on amnesties,[18] although such cases apparently never dominated proceedings.[19] The chamber for Grenoble was incorporated with its *parlement*; the chambers for Toulouse and Bordeaux would be incorporated into their respective *parlements* when 'les causes qui nous ont mû d'en faire l'établissement cesseront, et n'auront plus de lieu entre nos sujets'.[20]

The king granted that ten deputies from the general assembly remain together at Saumur until the edict of Nantes had been registered by the Paris *parlement* and the *chambre de l'édit* had been established there.[21] A royal edict of August 1599 added a chamber for the *parlement* of Rouen.

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[14] The term does not appear in the edict of Beaulieu (1576) as Mentzer argued. See R. Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc' in M. Grandjean and B. Roussel (eds.), *Coexister dans l'intolérance. L'édit de Nantes (1598)* (Geneva, Labor et Fides, 1998), p. 328.

[15] Edict of Nantes, arts. 31, 55.

[16] *ibid.*, art. 34.

[17] *ibid.*, arts. 51-52. E. Maugis, *Histoire du parlement de Paris [...]. II.* (1914), 212. Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance.* (1998), p. 333.

[18] For the edict of Nantes' provisions on amnesties, see edict of Nantes, arts. 26, 58-60, 76-7, 86-7. Arsenal Ms. 6594, fol. 30 r, art. lxiiii: articles from the *cahier* presented by the deputies of the general assembly at Châtellerault with royal replies that would not be included in the edict.

[19] D. Margolf, 'Adjudicating Memory: Law and Religious Difference in Early Seventeenth-Century France', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXVII, number 2 (1996), 401-4, 413-8. Cf. R. Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc' in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, pp. 335-7.

[20] Edict of Nantes, arts. 35-6. Anquez I, 184, 203-4: on 22 July 1600, the Bordeaux *parlement* registered a royal edict on the creation of an office of president and six offices of *conseillers* for Huguenots, with the reservation that that they would be regarded as members of the chamber and not of the *corps* of the *parlement*.

[21] 30 April 1598 *brevet*. Mazarine Ms. 2594, fols. 98 v-99 r: 'Memoire des principalles difficultéz qui se sont trouvéz sur les articles presentéz par Monsieur de Clairville'. Mazarine Ms. 2607, pp. 558-60: Châtellerault (1597-8): letter from the king to du Plessis Mornay (9 February 1598). If this delay was too short, the king allowed them to remain until the establishment of the chamber for Guyenne. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 38: instruction drawn up by the assembly on facilitating implementation of the edict

II. The general assemblies and offices in the *chambres de l'édit*

i. Right of nomination

Throughout this period, the general assemblies sought the right to oversee the choice of Catholic counsellors nominated to the chambers, particularly after 1593, when many of them had been associated with the Catholic League. Catholic officers in the chambers were perceived as a problem by Huguenots because the *parlements* had a tendency to send the most zealous Catholics, who moreover sat for only a year at most, never developing an *esprit de corps* with the Huguenot officers.[22]

The 1576 and 1577 edicts stated that Catholic officers in the chambers would be chosen by the king both from the *parlements* and from the *grand conseil*.[23] For the *chambre mi-partie* at Castres (re-established by letters patent of January and February 1594), the general assemblies in 1581 and 1596 sought the right for the Huguenot churches to draw up a list of Catholic presidents and counsellors from the Toulouse *parlement* who were thought to be more tolerant. In 1581, the general assembly wanted the Catholic officers to be approved by the king of Navarre.[24] In 1596, the general assembly wanted the king to choose Catholic counsellors from the list drawn up by the Huguenot churches. This was presented as an attempt to guarantee the impartiality of these officers vis-à-vis the *parlements*.[25] It seems that for the chamber for the Bordeaux *parlement*, at least, Henri IV consented to take the opinion of Huguenots into account. In his first instruction to the *conseillers d'état* de Vic and de Calignon[26] (9 July 1596) the king stated that he would send a chamber formed from presidents and counsellors from the Paris *parlement*, who would be chosen with Huguenots. The king

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of Nantes. Anquez I, 169-170. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d' Application de l'Edit de Nantes. Première partie. Règne de Henri IV* (Université de Paris, Faculté de Droit, 1950), p. 32, fn. 57.

[22] S. Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc au temps de l'édit de Nantes. La chambre de l'édit de Castres (1579-1679)* (Paris, Ecole des Chartes, 1998), pp. 66-7. E. Birnstiel, 'Les chambres mi-parties', in J. Poumarède and J. Thomas (eds.), *Les Parlements de Province* (1996), p. 129. R. Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc' in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, pp. 328-9.

[23] 1576 edict, arts. 18-20; 1577 edict, arts. 21-3. For the *grand conseil*, see below, pp. 152-3.

[24] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 4 r, art. 40: Montauban 1581. Anquez I, 126-7. S. Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc au temps de l'édit de Nantes.* (1998), p. 54.

[25] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 303-4, art. 139: Loudun 1596.

[26] For Calignon's biography, see Chapter Two, p. 65, fn. 79.

was 'sy mal edifiee dudict parlement de Bordeaulx pour les animositez [et] corruptions qui paroissent En Icelluy, Quelle est en termes de le suspendre & Interdire du tout'.[27] The *cahier* sent by the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 then asked that Catholic counsellors for the chambers at Castres and Nérac be chosen from the *grand conseil* and respectively, from the *parlements* of Toulouse and Bordeaux. The king rather than the *parlements* would choose the counsellors, as had been practised in 1579. The reply stated that article 31 of the edict would be followed, nothing could be changed to the establishment of the chambers, and that Huguenots should be content with the king's nominations.[28]

On 10 March 1595, the general assembly at Saumur received letters from the sieur de Viçose[29] with the list of counsellors of the Paris *parlement*; the deputies refused to choose members for the chamber proposed in the 1577 edict from this list, presumably because they objected to all those mentioned.[30] A royal declaration of 24 January 1596 (registered at the Paris *parlement* on 11 March 1596) nevertheless named a Catholic president and fourteen *conseillers* of the Paris *parlement* to sit in the *chambre de l'édit* for 1596.[31] Attempts in 1611 to ensure that the Catholic president and counsellors of the Paris *chambre de l'édit* would be chosen by the deputies general, because of the alleged partiality of the existing Catholic judges, came to nothing. The royal reply to the 1611 *cahier* stated that the choice of a president and counsellors belonged to the king alone.[32]

The edicts of pacification allowed Huguenots to play a role in the nomination of Huguenot officers in the chambers. The king of Navarre was given a right to oversee the

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[27] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fol. 230 v.

[28] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 787, art. 22: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. See also J. Cambon de Lavalette, *La chambre de l'édit de Languedoc* (Paris, Sandoz et Fischbacher, éditeurs; Montauban, Imprimerie Forestié Neveu, 1872), p. 81. R. Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc' in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, pp. 328-9. Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc* (1998), p. 68.

[29] 'Vicose' in the original text. Haag IX, 481-2: mentions a Savignac-Viçose, *général des vivres, commissaire ordinaire des guerres, secrétaire des finances* and governor of Saint-Maixent in 1588, named *conseiller aux conseils d'Etat et privé* and *intendant des finances* by Henri IV. The Haag brothers do not mention that he played a role in drawing up the regulation for justice at La Rochelle in 1588. J. Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes. Chronique d'une paix attendue* (Paris, Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1998), p. 407: identified him as Raymond de Viçose, in contrast to 'de Vierse' in Haag and Anquez.

[30] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xlix: Saumur 1595.

[31] *Les edicts et ordonnances des rois de France*, eds. Fontanon and Michel (1611), IV, 361. E. Maugis, *Histoire du parlement de Paris [...]. II.* (1914), 210-1.

[32] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 786, art. 20: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 251 r-v: *cahier* given to the sieurs de la Caze, Courtomer, Ferrier, de Mirande et Armet (27 June 1611). Cf. R. Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (1971), p. 638.

nomination of Huguenot candidates.[33] This conformed to the system of *élection* for judicial officers, which the monarchy had attempted to develop in an effort to counteract the growing practice of venality. A shortlist of candidates was drawn up (usually three) and the crown would make the final choice. The ordinances produced as a result of the Estates General in 1560-1 and 1579 had respectively allowed town officers and notable members of the clergy, nobility and third estate of the relevant region to play a role in the nomination of officers in inferior jurisdictions. Governors and lieutenant generals would also play a part.[34] Perhaps the monarchy allowed this system for choosing Huguenot officers because these were new offices and there was an opportunity to apply the proposals for judicial reform. As these offices were a special concession of the edicts, they were granted free of charge for the first time.

In practice, it was the general assemblies that played a role in nominating officers to these chambers. After the Leaguer edict of 1588, which revoked previous concessions to the Huguenots, the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 made provisions for justice in areas that Huguenots controlled, as requested by the instructions presented by its deputies.[35] The council planned for the king of Navarre was given general oversight;[36] churches within the jurisdiction of the chambers planned for Guyenne and for Montpellier were charged with nominating candidates, to whom the king of Navarre would deliver commissions.[37] The procedure set out in this regulation appears to have been followed. A copy of the act of the king of Navarre's council at Niort (3 February 1589) finalising nominations for the sovereign

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[33] See Anquez I, 123 and Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc* (1998), p. 145, for the particular articles of the 1577 edict (12-3, 15) which first outlined the role played by the king of Navarre in the nomination of Huguenot candidates. See also Fleix, art. 11.

[34] Doucet I, 175, 407-9. *Les edicts et ordonnances des rois de France*, eds. Fontanon and Michel (1611), I, 210-1: art. 39 of 1561 ordinance; art. 11 of 1566 ordinance; arts. 104 and 264 of 1579 ordinance.

[35] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 207: La Rochelle 1588. Such provisions had already been made before 1576. See Doucet I, 216. Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc* (1998), pp. 50-1. E. Birnstiel, 'Les chambres mi-parties', in J. Poumarède and J. Thomas (eds.), *Les Parlements de Province* (1996), p. 125. Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, pp. 322-5.

[36] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 219-20, 228-9: La Rochelle 1588. Turenne, du Plessis Mornay, de Fontrailles, de Favas, de Feydeau, de Calignon, de Viçose, de Juault and Brisson were amongst those who drew up the regulation for justice. Cf. Anquez I, 41; J. Cambon de Lavalette, *La chambre de l'édit de Languedoc* (1872), p. 46. See Chapter Two, p. 54.

[37] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 210-1, 252-3: La Rochelle 1588.

chamber at Saint-Jean-d'Angély can be found in the *Mémoires* of du Plessis Mornay.[38] Two of those nominated were present at La Rochelle in 1588. Joseph Feydeau, named as president for this chamber, was a deputy for Périgord and Agenais at the 1588 general assembly. Chalmot, named as one of the counsellors, was a deputy for the churches of the town and *gouvernement* of La Rochelle.[39] The 1588 general assembly decided that all the officers of the chambers would be required to observe royal ordinances. For the chamber planned at Montpellier, the Huguenot counsellors of the *parlement* of Toulouse who had previously sat in the chamber at Lisle-sur-Tarn[40] would be required to take up their offices within a month. On the advent of peace, these counsellors would be incorporated into the *chambre de l'édit*, which it was hoped Henri III would grant Huguenots. The royal governor of Languedoc, the duke of Montmorency, who had taken up arms against Henri III in 1585, would be asked to provide this chamber with a Catholic president, counsellors and officers (in equal number), and ensure that they take up their charge within a month. If they did not, the Huguenot officers could exercise sovereign jurisdiction, notwithstanding the regulation on parity between judges of each religion.[41] The chambers established at Bergerac and Montauban were recognised by Henri III in April 1589. However, by 10 November 1590, Henri IV had revoked all exceptional chambers,[42] probably, in view of his precarious position, as a means of consolidating support amongst Catholics at court and in the judiciary.

Perhaps because it was opposed to those chosen as Catholic counsellors for the Paris *chambre de l'édit* in 1596, the general assembly at Loudun in the same year disavowed those who would nominate the Huguenot counsellors 'de La pretendüe Chambre dicte de L'Eedict

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[38] P. du Plessis Mornay, *Mémoires et correspondance [...]* (12 vols., Paris, Strasbourg and London, Treuttel et Würtz, 1824-5), IV, 312, number lxvi.
[39] Haag III, 315-6: the Chalmot family was a noble family from Poitou. The Haag brothers simply state that Jean Chalmot, sieur Du Breuil, who was also a deputy at the national synod at Saumur in 1596, could have been part of the same family. The biographical account in Bordier III, cols. 1010-1013 is very unclear.
[40] See Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, pp. 53, 56.
[41] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 209-10: La Rochelle 1588. Cf. Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, pp. 56-7. R. Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc' in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, p. 327.
[42] Cambon de Lavalette, *La chambre de l'édit de Languedoc* (1872), p. 47, fn. 1.

au Parlem[ent] de Paris'.[43] Notwithstanding this general assembly's resolution, local churches still turned to the general assembly as a way of obtaining the nomination of particular counsellors to this chamber. Letters from the churches of Rennes and Vitré were presented to the general assembly at Vendôme (1596-7) asking its deputies to name *maître* Jean Bedé,[44] formerly a counsellor in the *présidial* at Nantes, to the *chambre mi-partie* for the *parlements* of Paris, Rouen and Rennes. A request signed by Bedé was also presented.[45] For the *chambre mi-partie* at Castres the general assembly at Loudun in 1596 did however ask that Huguenot officers in the chambers would be chosen by the churches.[46] Apart from Philippe Canaye, sieur de Fresnes, a favourite of Henri IV, a Parisian and a diplomat, who became Huguenot president of the chamber at Castres, [47] the other holders of the Protestant offices were from families of local notables and experienced jurists. Three of them had sat in the chamber at Lisle-sur-Tarn.[48]

After the edict of Nantes was signed, the monarchy allowed local assemblies of Huguenot representatives to nominate officers to these chambers. In this respect, the pattern seen at La Rochelle in 1588, that of the action of localised assemblies co-ordinated by the general assembly, is again evident. In June 1598, the general assembly at Châtellerault decided the manner in which nominations for Huguenot counsellors for the chambers for Paris and Guyenne would be divided between provinces.[49] In September 1598, the remaining deputies sent the sieur des Fontaines[50] to the provincial assembly at Taillebourg, to resolve differences between the deputies of La Rochelle, Aunis and Angoumois, who had gathered to nominate one of the counsellors for the Paris chamber. A document dated 24 September 1598 shows that des Fontaines had to obtain the nomination of two or three people. The final

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[43] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 279, art. 51; pp. 293-4, art. 109: Loudun 1596.
[44] The name appears as 'Bidé' in the text, but it most likely refers to Jean Bedé de La Gormandière. See Chapter One, pp. 24, 28 and Chapter Two, pp. 68-9.
[45] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 516, art. 347: Vendôme 1596-7.
[46] *ibid.*, pp. 303-4, art. 139: Loudun 1596.
[47] Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, pp. 370-1. See Chapter Two, p. 79, fn. 172 for Canaye's biography.
[48] R. Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc' in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, pp. 327-8.
[49] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 694-6, arts. 920-2: Châtellerault 9 June 1598.
[50] See Chapter One, p. 24, fn. 140, Chapter Two, p. 72 and Chapter Six, p. 280.

choice, rather than being arbitrated by the king, would be deferred to the general assembly. Votes would be cast 'a voix basse ou par le brévet [sic.]' or any other way des Fontaines thought best. Following the regulation drawn up by the general assembly, three votes had been given to La Rochelle, because it had a separate deputation in the general assembly, whereas Aunis and Angoumois held a joint deputation with Saintonge. Des Fontaines would advise the deputies not to choose individuals from their own province or town. The standing nomination of the sieur Benureau, a president at La Rochelle,[51] would not be accepted before he was exonerated from accusations that are not specified in des Fontaines' instruction.[52] On 31 December 1599, the general assembly at Saumur sent an act nominating three people (Garault, Chalmot and Berger) to sit in the Paris *parlement* to its representative at court, du Coudray.[53] On 10 February 1600, the assembly replaced Benureau, the candidate chosen by Aunis, Angoumois and La Rochelle, with du Coudray, as Benureau had been deferred to the Paris *parlement* as guilty of secret canvassing.[54] The remaining two designated by the assembly were the sieur Godefroy[55] and Chandieu,[56] an *avocat* in the Paris *parlement*, chosen by the provincial synod at Jargeau. On 17 April 1600, the assembly learnt that the king had accepted these nominations.[57]

The process of choosing candidates for the chamber in Paris was therefore relatively long. Huguenot provincial assemblies between 1598 and 1600 also met to nominate Huguenot

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[51] Bordier II, cols 284-5: Nicolas Benureau, sieur des Roziers (d. 1606), an *avocat* whose family sought refuge in La Rochelle during the sixteenth century. In 1593, he replaced Jean de Sponde as lieutenant general in the presidial court. In 1595, he also became president in this court.
[52] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 39: instruction for the sieur des Fontaines.
[53] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7192, fols. 247 r-v (27 December), 248 r-v (31 December): Saumur 1599-1601.
[54] Details can be found in *ibid.*, fols. 253 r-254 r: Saumur 1599-1601, which also mentions that the assembly at Taillebourg in September 1598 had ignored the general assembly's instructions to chose someone other than Benureau within three months.
[55] Haag V, 283-5: Denis Godefroy (1549-1622), from a noble *robe* family allied to the de Harlay and de Thou. Having obtained a doctorate in law at Orléans in 1579, he became professor of law in Geneva in 1580 and in Strasbourg (1591-1600). In 1580, he became a bourgeois of Geneva and in 1586, he was admitted to its *Grand Conseil*. On 11 May 1589, he became *bailli* of some villages in the Jura and on 12 July 1589, was named *conseiller surnuméraire* in the Paris *parlement*. In 1600, Frederic IV invited him to the Palatinate. Godefroy in fact declined the position of Huguenot counsellor in the Paris *parlement* because of his commitment to the Palatinate. He proposed d'Ailleboust, an *avocat* in the *parlement*, in his stead. In November 1601, Godefroy returned to Strasbourg.
[56] Haag, III, 327, 332 : possibly Daniel de Chandieu, son of Antoine de Chandieu (1534-91), seigneur de La Roche-Chandieu, who had been an *avocat* in the Paris *parlement* and a deputy for Lyonnais and Beaujolais at Montauban in 1584.
[57] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7192, fol. 266 v: Saumur 1599-1601.

candidates for the chambers at Grenoble,[58] Rouen[59] and Bordeaux,[60] as the king had requested. The general assembly presented these nominations to the king on 5 June 1600; they were accepted in September 1600. The chamber planned for Rennes was delayed because of counter-claims by the duke of Mercœur and because of the need to consult Huguenots in Brittany.[61]

Attestations from synods and colloquies for eligibility to Huguenot offices, including those vacated as a result of a death, were required by article 49 of the particular articles of the edict of Nantes. In an undated memorandum responding to the articles presented by monsieur de Clairville,[62] sent as a deputy by the general assembly at Châtellerault (1597-8), the king stated that he could not approve that attestations contain any other statement than that the bearer was a Huguenot and 'homme de bien'. If the attestations added 'la capacité pour ladicte charge se seroit une pure nomination qui presuposeroit un corps formé dans son estat'.[63] The general assembly resolved that synods and colloquies would be asked to ensure that ministers did not deliver any attestation. By this, the assembly perhaps sought to ensure that attestations were not signed by only one person, but by the assemblies of colloquies and synods (which evidently included ministers), as the edict intended.[64]

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[58] Mazarine Ms. 2595, fol. 100 r-v: act (5 August 1598) drawn up by the Huguenot churches of Dauphiné and Provence assembled at Grenoble, naming one counsellor. One president and two counsellors (Vulson and Calignon) had been named by a previous assembly at Gap. For Vulson's biography, see Chapter One, p. 12, fn. 67. See also *Vie et poésies de Soffrey de Calignon chancelier du roi de Navarre publiées sur les manuscrits originaux [...]*, ed. comte de Douglas (Grenoble, Edouard Allier, 1874), I, 307, number iii; 318-9, number x; 351, number xxxv; 366, number xlv. On 20 June 1597, Calignon had in fact obtained a *brevet* exempting him from service in the *chambre mi-partie*.

[59] Mazarine Ms. 2595, fols. 197 v-198 r: Huguenot deputies from the province of Normandy assembled on 22 September at Rouen and on 13 October 1599 in Pont-Audemer to nominate two Huguenots for an office of counsellor at the *parlement* in Rouen. These were *maître* Nicolas Grimoult, sieur de La Motte (for his biography, see Chapter Two, p. 78, fn. 165) and Jacques Le Seigneur, sieur de Vicquemare, councillor and secretary to the king (see Haag VII, 34-5).

[60] Mazarine Ms. 2595, fols. 215 v-216 v: letter to the king from a local assembly held at Sainte-Foy to accompany the act of nomination they had drawn up for the presidents and counsellors of the *chambre de l'édit* of Guyenne (5/6 May 1600). Nominations would be presented by Arnaud de Gachon. See Chapter Two, p. 68, fn. 98 for Gachon's biography.

[61] Anquez I, 203.

[62] See Chapter One, p. 19, fn. 104 for his biography.

[63] Mazarine Ms. 2594, fol. 98 r-v.

[64] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 38: instruction on the implementation of the edict (1598). See Anquez I, 424 for measures taken by the national synod at La Rochelle (1607), confirmed by the general assembly at La Rochelle in May 1616. Attestations had to be delivered both by the colloquy where the officer resided and by some other colloquies in the same province. The inhabitants of the towns concerned had

After the accession of Louis XIII in 1610, petitions for continuing rights of nomination went against the general movement towards designation of judicial officers by the king. In the tense political climate after the murder of Henri IV and the establishment of the regency of Marie de Medici, there was also a feeling expressed by some leading Huguenots that foreigners were receiving the benefits of offices, while Huguenots were not.[65]

The general assemblies continued to press for implementation of the measures outlined in the edict of Nantes that had been signed by its representatives, and not the version of the edict registered by the Paris *parlement*. The general assembly at Saumur in 1611 requested the restitution of article 37 of the edict of Nantes, which had been removed when the edict was registered in Paris. The 1611 assembly also asked that according to the *brevet* of 30 April 1598, an additional office of deputy prosecutor general,[66] nominated by the churches and free of charge, would be created in the Paris *chambre de l'édit* for a Huguenot.[67] On 10 September 1611, the general assembly approved and ratified the nomination by the province of Dauphiné of the sieur de Vulson to one of the offices of secretary to the chamber at Grenoble, which the churches had requested.[68] Vulson however complained to the general assembly at Grenoble in 1615 that the Grenoble *parlement* still refused to register his office of clerk and civil secretary (he had already had difficulty in being registered as *conseiller* in 1596). Vulson was apparently later received as secretary and ennobled in 1620.[69]

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to be heard; to ensure the authenticity of the attestations, the king would be asked to show them to the deputies general.

[65] *Discours politiques du duc de Rohan, Faits en divers temps sur les affaires qui se passaient.* (n.p., 1646), pp. 15, 17 : 'Ce seroit chose cruelle, que nous qui faisons partie de l'Estat qui sommes François naturels, fussions exclus de ce que les estrangers possedent'.

[66] For more on this office, see Doucet I, 172-3. The *procureur général* was broadly charged with defending the interests of the king and of the crown. In the Paris *parlement*, he was assisted by deputies chosen from the *avocats*. As auxiliaries, he also had the two *avocats du roi*, or *avocats généraux*, charged with pleading in cases where the king had an interest, and generally with seconding the *procureur* in cases where he intervened.

[67] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 252 r: *cahier* given to the sieurs de la Caze, Courtomer, Ferrier, de Mirande et Armet (27 June 1611). The *brevet* had initially named the linguist and author of legal works François Pithou (1543-1621). See Haag, VIII, p. 256. Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 787-8, art. 23: the Saumur 1611 *cahier* also requested an office of deputy prosecutor general for the *parlement* of Grenoble, as had been granted for the *parlements* of Paris, Toulouse and Bordeaux. The reply stated that this had been addressed in the response to the fourth article presented by Huguenots from Dauphiné the previous August. The king did order *lettres de jussions* to overcome obstruction from the Grenoble *parlement*.

[68] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 248 r: Saumur 1611.

[69] Haag IX, 535-6.

Mousnier argued that the lack of implementation of royal provisions for offices for Huguenots contributed to the motivations for revolt and the alliance with Henri de Condé and his party in 1615.[70] Cambon de Lavalette took the opposite view, arguing that Huguenots did not take part in the uprising led by Condé because of favourable royal declarations.[71] Documents produced by the general assembly at Nîmes in 1615 support Mousnier's position. In the articles drawn up by this assembly in negotiations with Condé it was decided that the assembly itself would grant judicial offices in towns, which would be vacated during the conflict either by death or by absence. The assembly would give commissions free of charge under the provisions of the prince of Condé, which would be left blank and furnished to the assembly. They would attempt to have these commissions converted into titles during negotiations for the peace treaty.[72] However, an open letter from Lesdiguières to Huguenot leaders (28 December 1615) pointed out that the king was free to dispose of offices as he pleased.[73] Members of the chambers who sat as deputies in the general assemblies at Grenoble, Nîmes and La Rochelle (1615-6) were involved in the negotiations with Condé[74] and had perhaps pressed for the assembly's provisions on offices.

While the general assemblies sought implementation of the original concessions of the edicts, they also complained about those who exceeded its provisions. In the 1611 *procès-verbal* the deputies from Haut-Languedoc pointed out that some had obtained provisions for new offices of *référendaires*[75] in the chancellery of the chamber at Castres, exceeding the number of two laid out in the list of officers ordered by the king for that chamber. Article 31 of the edict of Nantes had stated that this list should not be altered. The assembly decided to

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[70] R. Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices* (1971), pp. 640-1.
[71] Cambon de Lavalette, *La chambre de l'édit de Languedoc* (1872), pp. 82-3.
[72] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 74 v-75 r, art. 12. Copy in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 172 r.
[73] *Lettre de Monsieur le Mareschal Desdiguieres envoyee tant à Messieurs de la Rochelle, qu'autres chefs de la Religion pretenduë reformee. Le 28. Decembre 1615.* (Lyon, Iouxte la coppie Imprimee à Paris. *Avec Permission*), pp. 5-7.
[74] Haag, II, 365-366: this was the case for Hugues Bonencontre, named *avocat du roi* at the chamber at Lille-en-Albigeois in 1577 and later a *conseiller* at the chamber at Castres. He held the latter office when attending the general assemblies at Grenoble, Nîmes and La Rochelle as a deputy for Haut-Languedoc. He was also involved in negotiations for peace at Loudun in 1616, and the assembly chose him as one of the fourteen *commissaires* for its implementation.
[75] See Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, p. 143: they were *avocats* who were assistants to the *conseillers* who acted as keepers of the seals.

write to its deputies at court to add this to their complaints. They would ask the king to confirm the ordinance drawn up on this by the chancellery at Castres during the previous month (27 June).[76] The instruction on the implementation of the edict (1598) had stated that lobbying for nominations was forbidden on pain of rejection.[77] The *procès-verbal* of the provincial assembly held at Loudun from 12 September 1619 referred to the sieur des Bordes Mercier,[78] deputy for Ile-de-France to the general assembly, who appeared to have negotiated with the prince of Condé for an office of counsellor, contrary to an oath sworn at the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1616.[79]

ii. Reception

Newly-created offices or offices that had been vacated by death or resignation were included in a list presented to the royal council; the council then established their value. Letters of provision were drawn up for the recipients of resigned offices; those at the king's disposition were auctioned at the *Recette des Parties casuelles*. When approved by the royal council, the candidate paid the taxes and obtained the seal for his letters of provision at the chancellery, giving him the title to the office. Installation was preferably carried out by the sovereign courts (in the Paris *parlement*, in the *grande chambre*),[80] where enquiries on the validity of the letters of provision and capacity of the candidates were carried out. They were then received after an oath of loyalty to the king and an oath to implement justice. The oath of fidelity to the king, which was established by Louis XI, and re-established in 1578, entailed the payment of an additional tax called the *marc d'or*.[81]

The general assemblies complained about opposition from the *parlements* to measures for the reception of counsellors for the chambers. The royal reply to the *cahier*

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[76] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 226 v: Saumur 14 July 1611.
[77] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 38: instruction on the implementation of the edict (1598).
[78] See Chapter Two, p. 69, fn. 101 for his biography.
[79] B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 97 r: Loudun 1619 provincial assembly.
[80] For the *grande chambre*, see Doucet I, 174. In this chamber, the *mercuriales* (internal discipline regulations) and the *lits de justice* were held. Ordinarily the most important cases (concerning the king and royal domain) were judged here as well as appeals from inferior jurisdictions. The oaths of royal officers who had to swear them were received here. Royal edicts were registered here.
[81] Doucet I, 417-8. *ibid.*, 177-8: the general oath at the Paris *parlement* included a statement that nothing had been paid for the office in question. In 1586, the *parlement* asked for the suppression of the oath, to put an end to the frequent cases of perjury.

presented on behalf of the duke of Anjou (6 May 1576) included a provision that members of the *chambres mi-parties* would be named presidents and counsellors and would swear the accustomed oath of the *parlements* where the chambers were established.[82] In his *Histoire du parlement de Paris* Maugis showed how between 3 September and 1 August 1579, eight new officers, most likely Huguenot officers for the *chambre de l'édit*, were received, despite opposition from the *parlement*.[83] More generally, however, the *cahier* of the general assembly held at Montauban in 1584 complained that at Bordeaux, Huguenot *avocats* and *procureurs* and other officers were forced to pay 'les deniers des Confrairies pains benitz messes du palais'. Students were denied the degree of *licence* or *docteur* if they had no testimony of adherence to the Catholic religion.[84]

In view of the continuing hostility of the *parlements*, the general assembly at Loudun in 1596 requested provisions for the examination of new counsellors for the *chambres de l'édit* in the *conseil privé* or in the chambers, once established with sufficient numbers. They also requested provisions for the swearing of oaths in the *conseil privé* if the *parlements* refused to accept them.[85] These measures were granted by the edict of Nantes.[86] However, the regulation ordered by the king on conflicts of jurisdiction between the Rouen *parlement* and its *chambre de l'édit* (Blois, 2 October 1599) stated that the oaths of the officers of the *chambre de l'edit* would be received in the *grande chambre*. At that date, the officers of the *chambre de l'édit* could not serve in the other chambers of the court.[87]

Assemblies during the period 1593-8 also complained that Huguenots were prevented from holding offices as counsellors in the *parlements* and presidial courts because of treaties with the Catholic League. By contrast, members of the League were allowed to continue to

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[82] Arsenal Ms. 3847, p. 132. Those from the chamber at Montpellier would swear the oath before the Chancellor or in the chamber when it was established.
[83] E. Maugis, *Histoire du parlement de Paris [...]. II.* (1914), 47-8.
[84] B.P.F. Ms. 95, fol. 2 v: Montauban 1584 *cahier*.
[85] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: instruction for the deputies sent to Henri IV at Rouen (15 October 1596). Those who had previously held royal judicial offices dependent on the *parlements* would be received in the *conseil privé* without a new examination. Huguenots granted offices either in the *chambres mi-parties*, *parlements* or other lesser jurisdictions, would be received by majority vote of the judges (two thirds was sufficient) charged with their reception.
[86] Edict of Nantes, arts. 49-50.
[87] B.N.F. Dupuy 333, fol. 111 r.

hold offices for which they had obtained letters of provision from the duke of Mayenne, when they presented a letter of confirmation. The case of *maître* Jacques Moynet, sieur de Tancourt, *conseiller* in the *parlement* of Normandy, was highlighted in the *cahier* of the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594 and the *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Saumur in 1597.[88] Royal letters patent (dated Mantes, 4 May 1593) had been sent to the *parlement* at Caen, ordering Moynet de Tancourt's re-establishement with the same rank as before his recent conversion to Protestantism. He had been with the king's army since the siege of Rouen (1592). The *parlement* refused to admit him, and persisted despite royal orders until the edict of Nantes in 1598.[89]

The problem at Paris, Grenoble and Rouen after 1599 was two-fold: there was both general opposition from the *parlements* to the reception of Huguenot counsellors and the *parlements* had obtained modifications of the edict to ensure that Huguenot counsellors only sat in turn in the *chambres de l'édit*, thereby minimising their effectiveness.[90] The general assemblies complained most frequently about the situation in Paris, where only one Huguenot counsellor was allowed to sit in the chamber; the other five were distributed amongst the *chambres des enquêtes*,[91] pending their turn in the *chambre de l'édit*.[92] Details of the

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[88] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[3], 'De la Justice et police', art. 1: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 507, art. 311: Saumur 1597.

[89] *Recueil des lettres missives de Henri IV*, eds. J. Berger de Xivrey and J. Guadet (9 vols., Paris, Imprimerie royale, 1843-1876), III, 765-6. Haag VII, 551: Jacques Moynet, sieur de Tancourt, had converted to Protestantism during the reign of Henri III, but then reconverted to Catholicism. Despite this, the Catholic League in Rouen imprisoned him. He escaped and rejoined the Normandy *parlement*, then seated at Caen. He then converted once more to Protestantism. The *parlement* then excluded him from its ranks. In his *Histoire du parlement de Normandie*, Floquet portrayed Moynet de Tancourt as 'très-peu respectable'.

[90] Edict of Nantes, arts. 30, 35. As the chamber for Normandy was established in 1599, there are no details in the edict of Nantes, but the situation can be seen in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 252 v: *cahier* carried by the sieurs de la Caze, Courtomer, Ferrier, de Mirande and Armet (27 June 1611). The *cahier* asked that if two Catholic counsellors in the *chambre de l'édit* for Normandy died, resigned their offices, or were transferred to the *grande chambre*, the king would order that the two Huguenot counsellors in the *chambre des enquêtes* enter the *chambre de l'édit*, according to their seniority.

[91] Doucet I, 174: the *chambre des enquêtes* judged appeals from inferior jurisdictions in trials judged on the basis of written evidence or investigations. They also provided the *commissaires* charged with investigations.

[92] Edict of Nantes, art. 30: in Paris, four Huguenot officers would be received in the *parlement*, the first in the *chambre de l'édit* and the remaining three, in three of the *chambres des enquêtes*. The first two offices of lay counsellor in the court that were vacated by death would also be given to Huguenots; on reception they would also be distributed in the other two *chambres des enquêtes*. Maugis, *Histoire du parlement de Paris [...]. II.* (1914), 209: the sixth counsellor who sat in *chambre de l'édit* was called to daily assemblies of the *grande chambre* or of the Three Chambers (*grande chambre, de l'édit* and

parlement's initial opposition to the reception of these Huguenot counsellors can be found in Maugis' *Histoire du parlement de Paris.*[93] At Saumur in 1611, the deputies general were charged with ensuring that equality of position was maintained between the six Huguenot counsellors in the Paris *parlement*, and that they served in turn in the *chambre de l'édit*, according to their order of reception. Each would serve the same time there, while waiting that the king order that all six serve together in the chamber, as the original version of the edict of Nantes stated.[94] The third article of the *cahier* presented to the king at Poitiers (1616) requested that out of six Huguenot counsellors in the Paris *parlement*, there would always be two in the *chambre de l'édit*. The *cahier* also sought some role for the general assemblies in nominating Huguenot officers. The royal reply stated that the king consented to the formation of the *chambre de l'édit* that was to serve for one year from the feast of Saint Martin (11 November), as accustomed.[95] However, the king, and not the assembly, would name 'des personnes paisibles equitables [et] moderees', who would serve for two years alternately, with half changing every year. The president would change every year, as he previously did.[96]

The general assemblies also sought to maintain the same number of Huguenot counsellors in the *parlements* when any of these counsellors converted to Catholicism. A notorious case was that of Pierre II Berger, who converted to Catholicism in 1613. In 1608, he had succeeded his father Pierre as one of the six Huguenots *conseillers* in the Paris *parlement.*[97] The king refused to remove Pierre II from his office following his conversion or

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tournelle) which dealt with all important matters during this period. Doucet I, 174: the *tournelle* judged all criminal cases, apart from those involving princes, peers and great Crown officers, which were addressed by the *grande chambre.*

[93] Maugis, *Histoire du parlement de Paris [...]. II.*, 209-12. Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices*, p. 593.

[94] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 247 r-v: Saumur 1611.

[95] See for example Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, p. 66: from 1604, sessions at the chamber at Castres followed the calendar of the Toulouse *parlement.* The first sessions, on the first weekday after the feast of Saint Martin, corresponded to the return of the *parlement* after two months of vacation.

[96] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 18 v-19 r.

[97] E. Maugis, *Histoire du parlement de Paris [...]. III Role de la cour par règnes, 1345-1610 (Présidents, Conseillers, Gens du roi).* (Paris, August Picard, 1916), 316, 324, 342: in July 1600, Pierre I Berger was received to one of the two offices of lay advocate that had been vacated since the edict of Nantes and were reserved for Huguenots. In March 1608, he resigned his office of counsellor to his son Pierre II. Haag II, 193-4: the Haag brothers confuse Pierre Berger and his son Pierre II, saying it was the father who converted to Catholicism. This case is also mentioned in Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices*, pp. 639, 641.

to grant another office for Huguenots. The fifth article of the *cahier* presented to the king at Poitiers (1616) requested that the office of Berger be replaced and the counsellor given another office as a Catholic. The king now granted this; the prince of Condé then asked that this would be mentioned in the edict of pacification, which was granted at Blois in May 1616.[98] There were also cases in the Paris *parlement* of Catholic counsellors who converted to Protestantism and lost their offices because there could never be more than six Huguenot counsellors in the *parlement*. The most noted case was that of a counsellor in a *chambre des enquêtes*, named François Le Coq, who converted to Protestantism in 1615. Le Coq did not have a new office created for him as a Protestant because there were already six Huguenot counsellors in the *parlement*.[99] Not long after Le Coq, two more officers, Villemereau and Lemaistre, converted to Protestantism and were expelled from the *parlement*. Although their reinstatement was obtained at the conference at Loudun in 1616, this failed to be implemented.[100] One of the conditions on which the general assembly at Loudun agreed to separate in 1620 was the reception of two counsellors in the Paris *parlement*.[101] This would presumably refer to Villemereau and Lemaistre, as Le Coq never lost his office, but Anquez states that this related to Villemereau and Le Coq.[102] The duke of Bouillon had advised the general assembly that it would be easier to obtain the reception of the counsellors while the assembly was assembled.[103] Anquez wrote that following steps taken by Condé, the two

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[98] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 19 r-v.

[99] Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices*, p. 639. For both the Berger and the Le Coq cases, see Anquez I, 267, fn. 1; 411-2. Haag VI, 476-7: François Le Coq, who came from a wealthy old Parisian family, entered the Paris *parlement* c. 1594. His July 1615 conversion to Protestantism apparently caused him little difficulty at first: he was only ordered to resign his office to a Catholic. In 1625, however, he was denied the promotion to the *grande chambre* and the seat in the *chambres des enquêtes* that he was entitled to. The king defended Le Coq's position. See Maugis, *Histoire du parlement de Paris [...]. III.* (1916), 293 and 350 for a short biographical note.

[100] Anquez I, 412-3.

[101] Mazarine Ms. 2598, art. vi.: Loudun 1619-20 *cahier* (answered 18 May 1620). Cf. B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 93 v: Loudun September 1619 provincial assembly. This assembly also complained about opposition to those who had been given offices of counsellors and deputies to the prosecutor general in the Paris *parlement* (*ibid.*, fols. 90 v-91 r). Arsenal Ms. 4650, fol. 115 r: letter from the general assembly at Loudun to the provinces (18 January 1620).

[102] Anquez I, 413-4.

[103] B.N.F. fr. 20960, fol. 140 r: advice of Bouillon, carried to the general assembly by the sieur de La Forest. See also B.N.F. fr. 20960, fol. 142 v: advice of La Trémoille (20 February 1620). *Lettre de Monsieur du Plessis à Monsieur le Duc de Montbazon, Sur la rupture de l'Assemblee de Loudun* (n.p., 1620) (manuscript copy in Arsenal Ms. 4650, fols. 113 r-114 v). *Advis d'un vieil conseiller d'estat Opinant sur le faict de l'Assemblée de Loudun.* (1620), pp. 4-5.

conseillers were finally received in November 1620,[104] but the *cahier* presented to the king at Fontainebleau (15 April 1621) still complained about opposition to these counsellors.[105]

iii. Cost of offices

A petition for the removal of judicial offices from sale was formulated by the Catholic clergy at the Estates General in 1560[106] and was considered in the attempts at judicial reform outlined in the ordinance of Moulins (1566). Following complaints from the Estates General, the ordinance of Blois (arts. 100, 101) also stated that once the number of offices had been reduced, 'seront pourvus gens de qualité sans payer finance'. Financial penalties were set out for those who sold and acquired offices. However, the system of venality, which dated from the thirteenth century, held sway.[107]

In an article on 'Les protestants et l'acquisition des offices à la fin du XVI[e] siècle' (1970), J. Airo-Farulla argued that the request in the *cahier* of the general assembly at Mantes (1593-4) for the removal of judicial offices from sale could never have been granted because it went against the grain of contemporary practices of venality.[108] However, royal provisions for the newly-created Huguenot offices in the *chambres de l'édit* stated that those named to these offices would not pay the king for them for the first time. These measures are clearly outlined in the *brevet* of 30 April 1598 that accompanied the edict of Nantes.[109]

When the monarchy assessed cost, there were two principal considerations: firstly the expense of furnishing the lodgings and place where a chamber would sit (or even building a place), and secondly wages.

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[104] Anquez I, 414.
[105] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 6 r-v.
[106] Mazarine Ms. 2509, part 2, p. 31.
[107] Doucet I, 170-1, 281-2, 403-7, 409-14, 419-20. Those officers holding commissions, great Crown offices, most of those relating to the royal household, war and the *gendarmerie* were not subject to the system of venality.
[108] J. Airo-Farulla, 'Les protestants et l'acquisition des offices à la fin du XVI[e] siècle', *B.S.H.P.F.*, 116 (1970), pp. 509-12. He made the same point in his thesis: 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henri IV, 1589-1598' (1969), pp. 55, 140-3.
[109] Arsenal Ms. 3847, p. 131: royal reply to the *cahier* presented on behalf of the duke of Anjou (6 May 1576). 30 April 1598 *brevet*: this was true for all presidents and counsellors in the chambers.

A *cahier* presented by the sieur de Colladon,[110] sent to court in 1600 by the general assembly at Saumur, stated that while the king had granted the sieur Feydeau, president of the *chambre mi-partie* for Guyenne, 200 *écus* of furnishings, the *trésorier de l'épargne* had refused to pay the royal written order, as Rosny had repeatedly refused to approve it. The reply stated that Rosny would be written to to ensure payment.[111] The Huguenot churches also bore some of the cost of the establishment of the chambers. For example, Arnaud de Gachon stated to the general assembly at Sainte Foy (1601) (where he acted as secretary) that he had been ordered 200 *écus* for the remainder of expenses he had incurred for his voyage to court for the establishment of the chamber for Guyenne. In keeping with a decision of the previous general assembly at Saumur, the company decided that the churches of Saintonge, which had nominated a quarter of the officers of the chamber, and had to bear a quarter of the cost of its establishment, would reimburse Gachon.[112]

The monarchy undertook to pay the officers of chambers granted by the edicts of pacification from the *recettes générales* in each province,[113] but the general assemblies opposed this and sought payment from funds specifically destined for the chambers.[114] The (unstated) reason for this would have been that *recettes générales* often contained insufficient funds to meet all the expenses, both ordinary and extraordinary, that the monarchy had committed itself to.[115] The general assembly at Saumur (1597) also requested a paymaster for

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[110] See Chapter Two, p. 86, fn. 216 for his biography.
[111] Arsenal Ms. 6594, fol. 71 r, art. xii.
[112] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601. This payment was apparently from the sums set aside for the Huguenot churches by the edict of Nantes.
[113] Fleix, art. 14. In 1542, the four generalities in the kingdom were replaced by sixteen *recettes générales*, which continued to be sometimes called generalities: Agen (replaced by Bordeaux), Aix, Amiens, Bourges, Caen, Châlons, Dijon, Grenoble, Issoire (replaced by Riom), Lyon, Montpellier, Paris, Poitiers, Rouen, Toulouse, Tours. Nantes was added in 1552, Orléans and Limoges in 1558, Moulins in 1587 and Soissons in 1595. From 1577, their officers were organised into *bureaux*, headed by five *conseillers du roi, trésoriers de France et généraux des finances*. By 1586 there were two presidents and eight treasurers (receivers were subordinates). In areas where there were *élections*, the principal task of the *trésoriers généraux* was to establish a yearly estimate of the income to be expected from royal taxes in their generality, which they sent to the royal council or the *surintendant des finances*. In return they were sent an extract from the 'état général par estimation des recettes', which they transmitted to all their *élections*. An 'état au vrai' was then obtained. The *trésoriers* simply trasmitted written orders for payments. They also managed the royal domain and indirect taxes and had nominal control of the maintenance of land and river routes. See Doucet I, 299-304.
[114] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: instruction for the deputies sent to Henri IV at Rouen (15 October 1596).
[115] See Chapter Six, p. 270.

the *chambres mi-parties* distinct from that for the *parlements*, following a complaint from the existing paymaster for the *chambre mi-partie* at Castres, who claimed obstruction from the paymaster for the Toulouse *parlement*.[116] This was apparently granted by the edict of Nantes,[117] although the edict stated that costs would still be met from royal revenue, until fines and the proceeds from the sale of property belonging to those condemned by the courts was sufficient.[118] In a *cahier* of the general assembly of Sainte-Foy (1601), deputies asked that the fines issued by the *chambres mi-parties* against individuals be distributed by both presidents of the chambers or that each president distributed half. The king in fact replied (24 March and 13 April 1602) that the *deniers* from fines belonged to him alone. The courts that had issued them could only dispose of them for 'quelque ouure [sic.] pie, reparations necessaires ou les menues Necessitez des compagnies' as royal ordinances stated.[119] Generally, Protestant counsellors in the *parlements* were not able to obtain the same level of fees as their Catholic counterparts. For example, Jacques Moynet, sieur de Tancourt, who effectively re-entered the *parlement* of Normandy in 1610 only with the king's strong support, ranked fourteenth in the length of his service, but was only forty-fourth in the value of cases he reported.[120]

iv. Resignation of offices

Offices that were resigned or inherited after death were subject to a variety of taxes by the monarchy, which increased as a result of the financial pressure of the civil wars. The forty-day clause returned the office to the king's disposition if the *résignant* died within forty days of his successor taking up office. The *tiers denier* was introduced in January 1568: those officers who payed a third of the value of their office within two months would have the right

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[116] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 515, art. 345 (26 March): Saumur 1597.
[117] Edict of Nantes, art. 40. The commission for a paymaster was linked with that for a receiver of fines.
[118] *ibid.*, arts. 41, 56. More broadly, the edict stated that Huguenot officers of justice and finance would be paid by the *chambre des comptes* (*ibid.*, art. 55).
[119] Mazarine Ms. 2595, fol. 377 r, art. 9. Doucet II, 787-9: fines were reserved for serious cases, and were tariffed in a manner that would not ruin the guilty party. The 1601 general assembly also asked that officers of the *chambres de l'édit* would be asked not to consent to the *arrêts* which condemned Huguenots to fines applicable to monks, mendicants, those charged with the funds for construction and maintenance of a church, and other ecclesiastics (B.P.F. Ms. 711).
[120] J. Dewald, *The Formation of a Provincial Nobility. The magistrates of the Parlement of Rouen 1499-1610* (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 151-2.

to resign it at any time, irrespective of the forty-day clause. Royal declarations of 7 and 12 December 1604 established the *Paulette*: the *tiers denier* and forty-day clause were now replaced by the annual payment of one-sixtieth of the value of the office, which allowed officers to resign their offices on payment of one-eighth of its value.[121]

The reservation of offices for Huguenots and the granting of offices free of charge both placed limitations on the manner in which they could be resigned. The royal reply to the *cahier* presented on behalf of the duke of Anjou (6 May 1576) stated that when offices held by Huguenots were vacated, they would be given to those who publicly professed the same religion.[122] The ordinance of Blois (art. 110) ruled that those granted offices free of charge could not resign them to whom they pleased.[123] The general assembly at Montauban in 1581 decided that if any Huguenots vacated their offices in any of the chambers granted them, Henri III would be asked to give these offices only to those nominated by the king of Navarre, acting on the advice of the Huguenot churches within the jurisdiction for which the chamber was established.[124]

The general assemblies used the oaths of union as a way of regulating the resignation of offices.[125] Members of the *chambre mi-partie* at Castres for example declared in 1596 'qu'ilz demeureront tousjours Inseparablement unis au Corps general des Eglises Comme membres d'Icelles Et se Conformeront entierement aux Resolutions prises en ceste Assemblée'.[126] The general assemblies at Châtellerault (1597-8 and 1605) and Sainte-Foy (1601) required those named by churches in the provinces to free offices of president and counsellor in the *parlements* and *chambres de l'édit* to sign the union drawn up at Mantes in 1593. After 1601, this would take place in the consistories of their churches or in the

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[121] See Doucet I, 403-7, 412-7.
[122] Arsenal Ms. 3847, p. 132.
[123] E. Maugis, *Histoire du parlement de Paris [...]. I. Période des rois Valois* (Paris, Librairie Alphonse Picard et fils; Auguste Picard, Successeur, 1913), 252.
[124] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 3 v, art. 36: Montauban 1581.
[125] For the oath of union, see Chapter One, pp. 45-51.
[126] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 319, art. 194: Loudun 7 October 1596: declared by the sieur Boucaud, *avocat général* in the *chambre mi-partie* of Castres, who came to the assembly and presented letters from the provincial assembly at Montpellier and more letters from de Fresnes Canaye in his capacity as president of the *chambre mi-partie* at Castres (letters from him had already been read on 5 September). For Boucaud, see Chapter Two, p. 62

colloquies. They would also sign a promise not to resign their offices unless free of charge and to those nominated by provinces or synods. In 1598, it was decided that a formal act of this promise would be drawn up and sent to the general assembly, paid for by the individual who had been named. In 1605, the assembly decided that the oaths sworn in the consistories, colloquies or synods would be given to the deputies general. This excepted those who had already been nominated by the king, had bought their offices, or had been dispensed from this regulation by legitimately convoked general assemblies or by particular conventions drawn up by the churches in the provinces before 1600, notably those of Dauphiné and Normandy.[127] On 7 June 1611, the general assembly held at Saumur restated the existing regulation on the resignation of free offices.[128]

Why did the general assemblies seek to enforce these measures? Part of the reason might have been a resistance to the incorporation of the chambers with the *parlements*, as planned in the edict of Nantes.[129] However, it is generally agreed that the promulgation of the *Paulette* in 1604 encouraged Huguenots to transmit offices in the same families.[130] Pierre Berger, who had been nominated by the churches of Anjou, Touraine and Maine to an office of counsellor in the Paris *parlement*, asked the general assembly at Châtellerault (1605) to allow him to resign his office to his son. The assembly ordered that the regulation allowing resignation only to those nominated by provinces and synods would be observed.[131] In the event, Berger still resigned his office to his son Pierre II in 1608. As seen above, Pierre II converted to Catholicism in 1613. Both Mentzer and Capot showed with respect to the

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[127] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 38: instruction on the implementation of the edict (11 June 1598). B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601: the consistories and synods would be asked to apply ecclesiastical censures to those who refused to swear the oath, or who had contravened it. Cf. Mazarine Ms. 2595, fol. 372 r, art. 7: Sainte-Foy 1601 *cahier* (answered on 24 March and 13 April 1602). Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 760-1: Châtellerault 1605.

[128] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 208 r: Saumur 1611. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 794, art. 37: Saumur 1611 *cahier*: the monarchy allowed this where Catholic officers enjoyed the same privilege, but reserved for itself the formal nomination of officers.

[129] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 732: the deputies general were charged by the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1601 with opposing attempts to incorporate the *chambres mi-parties* and *de l'édit* with the *parlements*.

[130] A. Eurich, ' "Speaking the king's language": the Huguenot magistrates of Castres and Pau' in R. Mentzer and A. Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559-1685* (Cambridge, C.U.P., 2002), pp. 118-9.

[131] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 768: Châtellerault 1605.

chamber at Castres that throughout the chamber's existence, thirteen Huguenot families, mostly from Castres, Montauban, Montpellier and Nîmes, constituted 37 of the 64 magistrates in the chamber (60%). Mentzer presents this as a reflection of initial exclusion from the *parlements*: once offices were acquired in the *chambres de l'édit*, they were rarely abandoned, as there was little hope of promotion beyond this.[132] The provincial assembly held at Loudun from 12 September 1619 asked the general assembly to ensure that offices of counsellors in the *parlements* should not be resigned without the advice of the churches.[133] Measures drawn up by the following general assembly at Loudun appear to reflect a growing worry that general assemblies could not exercise any influence over the Huguenot members of the chambers. The regulation of 10 April 1620 stated that provincial councils would ensure that the same oaths of union and obedience to the regulations would be sworn by presidents and counsellors in the *chambres de l'édit* and all other Huguenot officers and magistrates. Those who contravened them would be declared deserters from the union by the general and provincial assemblies, and colloquies and synods would be asked to proceed against them by ecclesiastical censures. Furthermore, those who held offices granted in royal edicts to Huguenots, and who refused to observe these measures, would be prosecuted by the churches[134] in order to obtain their removal. Colloquies and synods would also be asked to give no attestation to those who sought such offices without first having sworn the oath.[135] While the final general assembly at La Rochelle, which convened without a *brevet*, suspected that the chambers were being used as a tool to divide Huguenot communities,[136] its regulation (10 May 1621) pledged that all Huguenot officers remaining in the union of the churches would be maintained in their positions.[137] Capot showed how the Huguenot members of the

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[132] Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance,* pp. 329-32. Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, pp. 145-6, 261, 265, 301-2. A. Eurich, '"Speaking the king's language"' in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World* (2002), p. 118.
[133] B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 93 r: Loudun 1619 provincial assembly.
[134] 'se rendront lesd[ites] Eglises [par] leurs depputez G[é]n[ér]aux [par]tie formelle'.
[135] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 619-20, art. 42: Loudun 10 April 1620.
[136] B.N.F. fr. 15826, fol. 14: La Rochelle 1620-2 (18 January 1621).
[137] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 42 r, art. 44.

chamber at Castres withdrew from the town rather than support the duke of Rohan in 1621; they kept the king informed of events, at their own personal cost.[138]

Arguably, the general assemblies increasingly lost the support of Huguenot members of the chambers by failing to allow the resignation of offices within the same families. If they had done so, they might have strengthened their position amongst corporative institutions in France.

III. Location and accessibility

The section above has shown how general assemblies co-ordinated the role that local assemblies played in nominating Huguenot officers to the *chambres de l'édit*. The petitions of the general assemblies that requested the chamber for the Paris *parlement* to be located on or south of the Loire can also be seen as an attempt to accommodate regional aspirations. The jurisdiction of the Paris *parlement* was the largest of the eight *parlements* in the kingdom (it reached as far as Riom and Lyon) and those south of the Loire had long requested a separate seat of justice at Poitiers, partly to reduce the costs incurred in travelling to Paris for a trial.[139] Along with the *parlements* of Toulouse, Bordeaux and Rouen, the Paris *parlement* sent temporary commissions to more distant areas within their own jurisdictions made up of its own personnel called the *Grands Jours* (generally, a civil and criminal chamber were established). They were convoked by the king, after an agreement between the royal council and the relevant *parlement*. For the Paris *parlement*, the *Grands Jours* had in part sat at Poitiers and Tours, but the fact that these sessions became less frequent during the second half of the sixteenth century could have reinforced the request for a separate seat of justice south of the Loire.[140] The edict of Beaulieu (1576) stated that from the first of August to the last day of October, the Paris *chambre mi-partie* would sit in Poitiers, to exercise justice for Poitou,

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[138] Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, pp. 70, 301-2. R. Mentzer, *Blood and belief. Family Survival and Confessional Identity among the Provincial Huguenot Nobility* (West Lafayette, Indiana, Purdue University Press, 1994), pp. 9, 10, 14, 20-1. A. Eurich, "'Speaking the king's language"' in R. Mentzer and A. Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, pp. 119-20.

[139] See Arsenal Ms. 3847, pp. 102-3: articles granted by the king (18 May 1575) for a request for a seat of justice for Poitou and La Rochelle.

[140] For more on the *Grands Jours*, see Doucet I, 176, 217-20.

Angoumois, Aunis, and La Rochelle, an area with a high proportion of Protestant inhabitants.[141] At the same time, petitions made by the general assemblies after 1594 for the *chambre de l'édit* for the Paris *parlement* to be situated at Tours were perhaps influenced by the presence of the *parlement* itself there, while Paris was occupied by the Catholic League from 1589 to 1594.[142] The articles presented by the general assembly at Vendôme asked for a *chambre mi-partie* to be established on the Loire 'en lieu de son accez' with officers nominated by Huguenots, which would hear cases brought to the *parlements* of Paris, Rouen and Rennes, and would allow Huguenots in Burgundy access.[143] In his letter and accompanying memorandum addressed to the king (Tours, 13 February 1597) the count of Schomberg argued that if the Huguenot chamber for the Paris *parlement* were established in Poitiers, the Paris *parlement* would lose a good part of its jurisdiction. Schomberg was negotiating with the general assemblies as a *commissaire* on behalf of the monarchy, and his stance can be seen as reflecting a desire to limit the concessions sought by the Huguenots. Schomberg argued that Poitou was thought to be 'la meilleure province dud[it] parlement en matiere de proces' and the approachability of the area would allow neighbouring provinces, or those who would want to evade justice 'de se dire de lad.[ite] rel.[igion] p.[rétendue] R.[éformée] quoy quilz nen soient point en lame parce quilz seront creuz en estre sur le.[ur] simple affirma[ti]on sans quil soyt permis en f[air]e au[tr]e preuve ny enqueste'. The *parlement* long requested for Poitiers would in this way be granted:

> 'Car ceux de lad.[ite] religion qui tireront plus.[ieu]rs comoditez [sic.] de lad.[ite] chambre diront tousiours que les soubçons contre led.[it] parlem.[ent] namoindrissent point Et parce moyen Ilz continueront [et] affermiront lad[ite] chambre à Laquelle ne manquera que le seul nom de parlement qui luy pour [sic.] estre facillement adiousté quant il ne sera plus question de la chose en soy'.[144]

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[141] 1576 edict, art. 18.

[142] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, 'De la Justice et police', art. 7: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*. Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 309-10, art. 161: Loudun 1596. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 514, art. 341: Vendôme 1596-7. B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 93 r: Loudun 1619 provincial assembly. See Doucet I, 216-7 for the 'royalist' *parlements*.

[143] Mazarine Ms. 2594, fols. 104 v-105 r, reply to art. xxix (7 February 1597).

[144] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fol. 257 r: 'Memoire des ouvertures sur les difficultès qui se sont re[n]contrées en L'assemblée de vendosme'. Although Anquez I, 130-3, quotes Schomberg's memorandum, he does not give a manuscript reference for it and omits this discussion of a chamber at Poitiers.

However, the royal *commissaires* prevailed, as this *chambre de l'édit* was established in Paris.

The general assemblies also ensured that regional interests were maintained by requesting that the chambers be allowed to sit in different towns during the course of one year, which was necessary when the chambers exercised jurisdiction over a large area. The edicts of pacification proposed peripatetic courts as a means of implementing the peace settlements. The edict of Beaulieu (1576) stated that the *chambre mi-partie* for Dauphiné would sit for six months in Grenoble, and the rest of the year in Saint-Marcellin (west of Grenoble) where its first session would be held. The chamber for Guyenne would change 'de lieu et séance par les Sénéchaussées d'iceluy de six mois en six mois, afin de purger les provinces, et rendre justice à un chacun sur les lieux.'[145] The chamber for the Toulouse *parlement*, which in 1576 was planned at Montpellier, was finally established in 1579 at Lille-en-Albigeois (Lisle-sur-Tarn, 45 kilometers north-east of Toulouse),[146] with an interruption between August 1580 and May 1583 because of the conflicts and opposition from the League, which controlled the town. Huguenots had not been able to obtain that the chamber sit at Castres or Revel, which they controlled.[147] Despite League control, the general assembly held at Montauban in 1581 decided that the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé would ask Henri III that the chamber ordered for the Toulouse *parlement* continue to sit in Lisle-sur-Tarn, as the king of France had decided. However, the general assembly sought to make this provision more favourable to Huguenots: as the chamber had jurisdiction over a large area, they would ask that it be peripatetic and semestrial, sitting six months in Lisle-sur-Tarn and six months in Montagnac in Bas-Languedoc.[148] When 'aucuns estans En ladicte assemblee' highlighted 'Lincommodite de La ville de lille En albigeois' for the sessions of this chamber because 'Ceux de ladicte religion ne peuvent avoir seur Et libre access', the assembly decided

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[145] 1576 edict, art. 20. 1577 edict, art. 23. Fleix, art. 11.

[146] Nérac, art. 5.

[147] R. Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc' in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, p. 326. The second session lasted from May 1583 to mid-Summer 1585. Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, pp. 54, 108. The chamber was protected by 'une forte troupe' in 1579 and 1583.

[148] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 3 v, art. 38: Montauban 1581. Cambon de Lavalette, *La chambre de l'édit de Languedoc* (1872), p. 33. Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, p. 54.

that the deputies sent to court would ask the king to order the first sitting of the chamber in the town of Mazères.[149] This general assembly also discussed the establishment of *chambres de l'édit* for Dauphiné and Provence, to be modelled on the *chambre mi-partie* for Languedoc, or a semestrial court for both provinces.[150] The deputies did not mention the other *chambres de l'édit*.

The general assemblies also sought to balance the interests of towns that sought the establishment of courts as a lucrative source of revenue,[151] although this is never mentioned as a factor in the records of the assemblies. In the *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588, the need to avoid contention between towns is given as the reason for the king of Navarre choosing the places where the chambers for Guyenne would sit. Chapter One showed how this assembly used rivers in delimiting areas for the process of elections.[152] The same is true here: for the provinces south of the Garonne, the chamber would sit in Nérac;[153] for the provinces between the Garonne and Dronne, in Bergerac;[154] for the provinces between the Dronne and Loire, in Saint-Jean-d'Angély, as the mayor and deputies of La Rochelle said it could not sit in their town. The chamber at Pons would therefore remain abolished (it is unclear when this chamber had been established).[155] The king of Navarre would authorise the establishment of a sovereign chamber for Dauphiné, as proposed by the sieur de Calignon, one of the deputies from Dauphiné. Once the estates of Dauphiné had been heard more fully,

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[149] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 7 r, art. 63.

[150] *ibid.*, fol. 3 v, art. 35. Cf. Mazarine Ms. 2593, fols. 7 v-8 r: letter from Huguenots in Dauphiné assembled at Gap to the *parlement* at Grenoble (12 May 1581). As Anquez I, 126-7, fn. 1 pointed out, the Fleix articles (1580) contained no provision for the chamber for Provence that had been promised by the 1577 edict.

[151] See Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc* (1998), pp. 102, 104 for examples of this.

[152] See Chapter One, p. 4.

[153] Anquez I, 129: in the event, the existing chamber at Montauban was used instead of that planned at Nérac.

[154] According to Doucet I, 216, this chamber at Bergerac was preceded by a *chambre de justice* which sat at Bordeaux between 1582 and 1584 and was made up of *conseillers* from the Paris *parlement*.

[155] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 214, 252-3: La Rochelle 1588. Cf. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 5 [b]: a treaty drawn up on 23 January 1577 between Henri de Condé, acting as lieutenant general for the king of Navarre, and the mayor of La Rochelle, had stated that civil and criminal justice in La Rochelle would not be altered. M. Wada, 'La représentation des régions à l'assemblée générale protestante au 16e siècle', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, pp. 192-3 discusses the rivalry between Pons and Saint-Jean-d'Angély about the establishment of these courts. Wada present this regulation as applicable to the area between the Loire and the Dordogne.

the king would deliberate on this with the council to be established for him.[156] The same degree of concern for local interests is evident in the general assemblies that were held after 1593. The general assembly held at Sainte-Foy (1594) resolved that the deputies of each province would decide where the *chambre mi-partie* for their respective provinces would sit. It was decided that the disagreement between the deputies of Bas-Languedoc, Haut-Languedoc and Haute-Guyenne would be resolved by Henri IV, who would be asked to place that chamber in Réalmont or a nearby town of similar practicality. [157]

As Birnstiel pointed out, the location and jurisdiction of the chambers did not always correspond to that of the *parlements* for which they were established, undermining the claim that the chambers were fully part of the *parlements*. From 1599, there were also only five chambers for eight *parlements*.[158] Once chambers were established, the assemblies also requested that those on the frontiers of a jurisdiction be entitled to bring their cases to a closer *parlement*. For example, at the general assembly at Montauban in 1581, Huguenots in Guyenne under the jurisdiction of the Paris *parlement* asked to be entitled to bring their cases to the Guyenne chamber if they wished, as they were more than a hundred or a hundred and twenty *lieues* from the Paris *parlement*.[159] The edict of Nantes stipulated that Huguenots in Normandy and Brittany could bring their cases to Paris, pending the establishment of their respective chambers. Huguenots in Burgundy could either go to the *chambre de l'édit* in Paris, or to the *chambre mi-partie* in Grenoble. The chamber in Grenoble would also address cases involving Huguenots within the jurisdiction of the *parlement* of Provence.[160] The general assembly at Sainte-Foy (1601) asked in its *cahier* that the king order, in accordance with the *brevet* of 30 April 1598, that Huguenots in the *pays de Bresse* have their cases sent to the chamber at Grenoble. The king replied (24 March and 13 April 1602) that the edict of

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[156] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 208. Cambon de Lavalette, *La chambre de l'édit de Languedoc*, p. 47, fn. 1.
[157] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^2: Sainte-Foy 1594.
[158] E. Birnstiel, 'Les chambres mi-parties', in J. Poumarède and J. Thomas (eds.), *Les Parlements de Province* (1996), pp. 128-9.
[159] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 4 r, art. 41: Montauban 1581. Another example can be found in Mazarine Ms. 2594, fols. 104 v-105 r: Vendôme 1596-7.
[160] Edict of Nantes, arts. 30, 32, 33. Similar measures had already been granted in 1596. See B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fols. 230 v-231 r: first instruction from Henri IV to de Vic and de Calignon (9 July 1596).

Nantes would be observed.[161] Between 1601 and 1611, the general assemblies also pressed for the right for Huguenots in Provence to bring their cases (including cases related to debt before the *cour des comptes*) to the chamber at Grenoble. In 1604, the monarchy allowed Catholics in Provence to bring their cases to the chamber at Castres, but the assemblies complained that this was a measure to force Huguenots to incur greater costs.[162] A royal declaration of 30 April 1612 forbade the *chambres de l'édit* to address cases over which the *cour des comptes* of Provence had jurisdiction, in which the king had an interest, even if Huguenots were party to these cases.[163]

The general assemblies also sought to tie the establishment of the chambers to rights of worship and military concessions granted to Huguenots by the edicts, perhaps since the edicts stated that the chambers were responsible for policing the towns where their sessions were held.[164] As a pre-condition for the establishment of the chamber at Lisle-sur-Tarn and Montagnac, the general assembly at Montauban in 1581 decided that right of worship had to be re-established according to the conference of Fleix (1580), all garrisons had to leave, and citadels here and in other towns had to be demolished.[165] However, at Lisle-sur-Tarn, this proved difficult in practice.[166] On 10 June 1611, the general assembly at Saumur raised the matter of the castle at Nérac, which had always been in the keep of a Huguenot captain. It was now being used as the residence of the Catholic president of the *chambre de l'édit* and as the 'pallais ou se tient la justice ordinaire dicelle', despite the *brevet* stating that there would be no innovations in strongholds held by Huguenots. The king would be asked to return the castle to the same state as it had been in 1598 by transferring the 'pallais' and residence of the

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[161] Mazarine Ms. 2595, fol. 371 r, art. 3.
[162] Arsenal Ms. 6594, fol. 68 r-v, art. iii: *cahier* presented by Colladon (1601). Mazarine Ms. 2595, fols. 526 v-527 r: 28 October 1604 royal memorandum. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 36 r-v: remonstrances presented to the king by Huguenot deputies, with a royal reply dated 28 April 1605. B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 248 r: Saumur 10 September 1611. B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: at Jargeau in 1608 the deputies from Dauphiné requested that Huguenots be judged by the chamber at Grenoble for the relief of their debts, and not by *commissaires* sent for this purpose. An article on this would be included in the general *cahier*.
[163] Mazarine Ms. 2597.
[164] Fleix, art. 19. Edict of Nantes, art. 51.
[165] B.P.F. Ms. 710 number 13, fol. 3 v, art. 38.
[166] Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, pp. 55, 108. R. Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc' in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, p. 334.

president to the most appropriate house in the town. He would also give the means to establish it there.[167] As this request does not appear in the assembly's *cahier*, it is not clear what the monarchy's response would have been.

IV. Jurisdiction and judicial procedures

The general assemblies also showed concern for procedures for civil and criminal trials before the *prévôts*, the *baillis*, *sénéchaux* and *présidiaux*, the *parlements* and the royal council, and for the manner in which the jurisdiction and procedures of the *chambres de l'édit* related to these.

i. The *prévôts* and preliminary investigations for a trial

Except for cases involving nobles and other *causes privilégiées*, all civil and criminal cases could in principle be brought to the royal *prévôts* (seconded by lieutenants, *procureurs du roi* and *conseillers*) with appeals brought before the *baillis* and *sénéchaux*. As in other jurisdictions, the *prévôtés* had clerks, a keeper of the seals, sergeants and other agents.[168] Since two edicts of 1554 and 1555, the *prévôts des maréchaux* co-existed alongside *lieutenants criminels de robe courte* and *vice-baillis* or *vice-sénéchaux*.[169] The *prévôts des maréchaux* primarily addressed crimes of theft, sedition and armed assault (generally, misdeeds committed by soldiers, beggars and vagabonds). They were seconded by companies of archers and other officers, and could execute those caught in the act, or arrest them in order to carry out preliminary investigations. They had a right to investigate all offences (those with a fixed home were sent to ordinary judges). They also addressed offences relating to hunting, sacrilege and counterfeiting.[170]

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[167] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 209 v: Saumur 1611.
[168] See Doucet I, 271-2, 274-5. The ordinance of Orléans (1561) suppressed on vacancy jurisdictions of first instance (*prévôtés*, *vigueries*, lieutenants and all subaltern officers) in towns were there was a *bailliage* or *sénéchaussée*. However, this went against fiscal necessities.
[169] Although the latter three acted as deputies of the *baillis* and *sénéchaux*. For the general assemblies' support of Huguenots who held the latter two offices, see B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 216 v-217 r, 222 r: Saumur 1611.
[170] Doucet I, 275-7.

The *chambres de l'édit* often addressed general cases of imprisonment that had occurred as a result of the wars, although they could be obstructed by local royal offices such as the *prévôts*.[171] The *prévôts des maréchaux* had a reputation for brutality. Perhaps as a form of protest against this, the general assembly at Loudun in 1596 stated that no Huguenot officer or advocate could assist in the judgement of a Huguenot by the *présidiaux* or *prévôt des maréchaux*, unless the parties consented to this, or in criminal matters unless the accused consented. Those who did not agree to this would be declared deserters from the union of the churches.[172]

The edict of Nantes required Catholic *prévôts* or their lieutenants to call a Huguenot deputy in preliminary investigations for trial.[173] These *enquêtes* were carried out only if a case was important or if the parties disagreed over the facts.[174] The edict of Nantes also forced all Catholic *enquêteurs* and *commissaires* in *enquêtes* for civil cases to take a Huguenot deputy.[175] Despite these measures, the *cahier* of the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 asked that in all preliminary investigations for criminal trials brought against Huguenots, Catholic royal and subaltern judges had to take a Huguenot deputy, who was a graduate or at least a practitioner. This deputy would assist in all procedures and be entitled to speak and vote in the final ruling; failure to obey this requirement would void the judgement. This requirement would be effective in all *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées* in the kingdom and not particularly for those specified in article 66 of the edict of Nantes.[176] The king granted this for the preliminary investigation, but refused to give deputies a say and vote in the final ruling.[177]

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[171] Mazarine Ms. 2592: letter from Henri de Navarre to the nobility to justify taking up arms (15 April 1580): mentioned a case involving the *prévôt* of Castelnaudary and the chamber at Lisle-sur-Tarn.
[172] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 301, art. 131: Loudun 1596.
[173] Edict of Nantes, art. 67.
[174] See Doucet I, 256 and Doucet II, 530-1, 536.
[175] Edict of Nantes, art. 61: where the *commissaire* or *enquêteur* was a Huguenot, he would take a Catholic deputy.
[176] Edict of Nantes, art. 66: in all preliminary investigations, other than for criminal trials, in the *sénéchaussées* of Toulouse, Carcassonne, Rouergue, Lauragais, Béziers, Montpellier and Nîmes, the presiding magistrate or *commissaire*, if a Catholic, would take a Huguenot deputy, agreed by the parties to the case. If they could not agree, the magistrate or *commissaire* would chose one automatically. Similarly, if the magistrate or *commissaire* were a Huguenot, he would take a Catholic deputy.
[177] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 792-3, art. 34: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.

The response to the 1611 *cahier* was confirmed by the edict at Loudun in May 1616. However, royal officers did not obey the edict as a matter of course. An act drawn up on Saturday 29 October 1616 shows that Nicolas Fourquin, the lieutenant of the *prévôt des maréchaux* in the *bailliage* of Melun refused a Huguenot deputy for preliminary investigations for the trial of the Huguenot sieur Jacques Piccon in the royal prison at Nemours. Imprisonment was not a penalty but a measure to ensure the presence of the accused or the payment of fines imposed as penalties. Instead of a Huguenot deputy, Fourquin was assisted by *maître* Pierre Picard, *avocat* at the *bailliage* of Nemours. The procedure here followed that of a criminal trial.[178] This preliminary investigation involved taking an oath and questioning Piccon on other accusations. Although Piccon refused to swear the oath because no Huguenot assessor was present, Fourquin ordered that he do so before Picard, as four or five witnesses were present, to be heard by and confronted with Piccon. Despite two appeals from Piccon, Fourquin ordered him to proceed with the oath; if he did not, the witnesses would nevertheless be heard.[179] As previous concessions had clearly not been implemented, the petition for a Huguenot deputy was reiterated at the provincial assembly held at Loudun from 12 September 1619,[180] and again in the first *cahier* of the following general assembly at Loudun, answered on 18 May 1620. The royal reply stated that these articles would be followed. The *cahier* also asked for a royal declaration in the form of an edict to be sent to the *parlements* and other sovereign courts, specifying concessions granted to Huguenots, notably those on Huguenot deputies for the preliminary investigation and passing sentence in criminal trials, according to article 34 of the 1611 *cahier* and article 14 of the *cahier* answered in April 1612. This would ensure registration of article 14 of the edict of Blois by the *parlements*, which ordered the implementation of *brevets*, replies to *cahiers*, and other concessions made

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[178] Doucet II, 536-7, 539-40: an *avocat* did not usually intervene in this procedure. If the confessions of the accused were not conclusive, witnesses were then heard. When the case was serious, the *procédure extraordinaire*, generally used in the sixteenth century, was applied: witnesses were re-examined, and they were confronted with the accused, who could respond only before the reading of depositions, which meant that he could not refute erroneous accusations. When this phase of the preliminary investigation was complete, the case was communicated to the *gens du roi*, after which the *rapporteur* made his report. Penalties ranged from fines to the death penalty (for example, *criminels de lèse-majesté* were quartered).
[179] Mazarine Ms. 2598.
[180] B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 92 v: Loudun 1619 provincial assembly.

to Huguenots.[181] The wording of this article demonstrates that the general assemblies proceeded in a 'legalistic' fashion, using previous replies to the *cahiers* as a legal framework.

ii. The *baillis, sénéchaux* and *présidiaux*

At this level of royal jurisdiction, the petitions of the general assemblies focused on measures to be taken for the transferral of proceedings from these courts to the *chambres de l'édit*, mostly when there were not enough Huguenot judges in these courts, or when they had been rendered inaccessible by the conflicts.

The *baillis* and *sénéchaux* were chosen by the king mostly from the *noblesse d'épée*. They were seconded by auxiliary personnel from the bourgeoisie, notably lieutenants and *conseillers* with legal training who exercised the judicial functions. The *bailliage* tribunal could judge in first instance the cases normally addressed by the *prévôts* (conflicts were frequent). In civil cases, the *bailliage* was competent in first instance for all cases concerning the nobility, churches of royal foundation placed under the king's safeguard, cases relating to benefices and the royal domain. In criminal cases, the *bailliage* could address cases where the nobility were defendants, all *cas royaux* such as cases of *lèse-majesté,* counterfeit coins and those concerning illegal assemblies, cases allowing imprisonment on suspicion (they often abused this right) and *cas privilégiés* in ecclesiastical matters.[182] Appeals were much less frequent, in civil cases because some appeals were usually taken straight to the *parlements*; in criminal cases because the *bailliage* judged important cases in first instance.[183]

The *présidiaux* were created by an edict of January 1552 (there were about sixty-five by the end of the sixteenth century) ostensibly for the need to reduce the length of cases and the caseload of the *parlements*, but in fact it was a fiscal measure. In criminal cases, they generally had the same authority as the *bailliages*. In civil cases, they judged in last resort

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[181] Mazarine Ms. 2598, art. xii.

[182] Doucet II, 784: when a cleric committed a crime, the *délit commun* concerned the ecclesiastical judge. The part of the offence that concerned public order was called a *cas privilégié* and it concerned royal justice. In general, personal civil cases in which clergy were defendants came under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, while those in which clergy were plaintiffs against laymen came under royal jurisdiction.

[183] Doucet I, 251-61: in addition to the personnel of the *bailliage*, there were *gens du roi* (*procureur*, *avocat* and auxiliaries). For the practice of taking appeals directly to the *parlements*, particularly in cases relating to the implementation of royal letters or appeals from ecclesiastical jurisdiction, see Doucet II, 532-4, 538.

cases amounting to less than a capital of 250 *livres* or an income of 10 *livres*. For cases amounting to between 250 and 500 *livres* of capital, and 10 and 20 *livres* of income, presidial sentences could only be implemented provisionally; an appeal to a *parlement* was still possible, but without suspensive effect. On appeal, the *présidiaux* particularly received cases from the *bailliages*.[184]

The 1576 edict stated that criminal trials in Toulouse involving united Catholics and Huguenots as defendants would not take place before the town's *sénéchal*, but before the closest neighbouring *sénéchal* and appeals would be sent to the *chambre mi-partie* to be established at Montpellier (for the Toulouse *parlement*).[185] The *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Montauban in 1581 highlights the complaint that Huguenots in the *sénéchaussée* of Lisle-sur-Tarn and Lauragais could not have access to the towns of Toulouse and Castelnaudary[186] for justice without endangering their lives. The seigneur de Ferratz, *sénéchal* of Lauragais, was organising mounted pursuits of Huguenots who sought to approach these towns, led by one Guindolas Saint Paulet. The deputies resolved that the king would therefore be asked to allow gentlemen to bring their cases in first instance to the *chambre de l'édit*, while members of the third estate could bring their cases in first instance to the nearest *siège de sénéchal*. The *chambre de l'édit* would still address all cases of appeal.[187] No explanation is given for the difference in treatment between the orders. This complaint could have been highlighted because the two secretaries at this assembly, the sieurs de Vignes and de Roux, were deputies for Haut-Languedoc and the *sénéchaussée* of Lisle-sur-Tarn and Lauragais, and were respectively an *avocat* in the Toulouse *parlement* and an *avocat* in the court at Puylaurens.[188]

The 1576 edict also stated that pending the Estates General, all cases involving 'lesdits catholiques unis de ladite religion' where presidial courts and others exercised

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[184] Doucet I, 264-7: a presidial seat was composed of a president, general and particular lieutenants (civil and criminal) and *conseillers* (limited to fifteen in 1580) and a special chancellery. Nine judges had to be present for a judgement.
[185] 1576 edict, art. 21.
[186] Appears as 'Chasteau Neuf du Roy' in the *procès-verbal*.
[187] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 4 r, art. 42.
[188] For the secretaries at the general assemblies, see Chapter Two, pp. 67-9.

sovereign jurisdiction, could (if there was an insufficient number of Huguenot judges) be brought as cases of appeal to the *chambres mi-parties*.[189] There were no comparable provisions in 1577 (which only allowed requests for the withdrawal of presidial judges), but there were in 1579 and 1598.[190] The records of the general assemblies show a clear understanding that the right of appeal to the *chambres de l'édit* did not necessarily work in favour of Huguenots. They also reveal an interest in ordinary cases. The *cahier* of the general assembly held at Montauban in 1584 complained about the case at La Rochelle of a Pierre Roy and a Marie du Del, both of them Huguenots, who had promised each other marriage with the consent of their parents. The *présidial* had allowed them to marry according to their consciences. However, following new opposition from the father of the girl, who appealed to the *chambre de l'édit* in Paris, they were condemned by an *arrêt* of this chamber to marry within two months according to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church. The fine for not doing so was two hundred *écus*, excluding all expenses and indemnities.[191]

The general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 decided that the towns of the lower diocese of Montauban and other neighbouring areas could choose whether to be subject to the jurisdiction of the chamber at Montauban, or to the seat of a new *sénéchal* and *présidial* court to be created by the king of Navarre at Castres, and from there to the chamber at Montpellier. Huguenots within the jurisdictions of the *sénéchaussées* and presidial courts of Toulouse, Carcassonne and Castelnaudary would have recourse to the chamber at Montpellier. The county of Armagnac, usually under the direct jurisdiction of the Toulouse *parlement* would also do so. To formalise this choice, these towns would be assembled before a deputy sent by the king of Navarre, who would write to Henri de Montmorency, the royal governor of Languedoc, to approve this. The chamber to be established at Montpellier was presented as an

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[189] 1576 edict, art. 21.

[190] 1577 edict, art. 25. Nérac, arts. 6, 12. Edict of Nantes, art. 65: allowed an appeal from the *prévôts* and *présidiaux* to the *chambres de l'édit* for crimes unrelated to the conflicts from March 1585 to the end of 1597.

[191] B.P.F. Ms. 95, fols. 3 r-4 r. For the judicial procedure followed in fines (owed to the king), expenses (owed to the judge, *conseillers* and especially the *rapporteurs*: the *épices*) and indemnities for those who lost cases, see Doucet II, 531-2. In keeping with existing royal edicts, edicts of pacification drew up provisions on marriages between relatives concerning Huguenots, but it is not clear in this case whether the parties were relatives in any degree.

alternative to the *parlement* and presidial courts, which were inaccessible during the conflicts. The royal ordinances on *sièges présidiaux* and *sièges de sénéchaux* were followed: in this respect, there was no setting up of separate government, as Anquez argued.[192] These chambers would also address the appeals of royal judges and of the judges of *châtellenies* (often a subdivision of *prévôtés*), which were usually sent to the *sénéchaux* and *présidiaux* established in the towns presently occupied by 'ceux du Party contraire'.[193] The sieur de Fontrailles (a former *sénéchal* of Armagnac and governor of Lectoure)[194] and the sieur de Juault, two of the deputies for Guyenne, the *sénéchaussée* of Armagnac, Albret '& au[tr]es Provinces qui sont dela la riviére de Garonne', also requested the establishment of a *siège présidial* in the town of Lectoure. They asked that the offices of the *sénéchaussée* of Armagnac established in Lectoure would be united and incorporated with the *présidial*.[195]

Particularly after 1610, the general assemblies also defended the positions of *sénéchaux*, *baillis* and members of the *présidiaux*.[196] On 25 June 1611, the general assembly decided to write to the king, queen, the prince of Conti, the count of Soissons, the *connétable*, the chancellor, Villeroy, Phélypeaux, Boissise and Bullion, about the sieur Gohier, *sénéchal* of Beaufort, who had been forced to resign his office by the *chambre de l'édit* at Paris, possibly as payment for a debt.[197] On 27 June 1611, Jérôme de L'Isle Groslot presented an article in which he required compensation for the loss of the office of *bailli* of Orléans, from

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[192] Anquez I, 40.
[193] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 208-211: La Rochelle 1588. Cambon de Lavalette, *La chambre de l'édit de Languedoc*, pp. 46-7.
[194] Haag I, 142-3: Michel d'Astarac, baron of Marestang and Fontrailles (also spelt Fonteraille or Fontenaille), viscount of Congolas, also known as Tonemar. Fontrailles was governor of Lectoure for Jeanne d'Albret until 1567. As *sénéchal* of Armagnac, he escorted the queen of Navarre to La Rochelle. A cannon ball blew away one of his legs at the battle of Jarnac (1569). In 1573, the assembly convened at Réalmont by the viscount Paulin named him governor of Armagnac and Bigorre. In 1574, he was present at the assembly at Millau, and was a member of the council chosen by the assembly for Montmorency-Damville. After 1588, Henri de Navarre named him his lieutenant general in Guyenne, and by letters patent dated 6 March 1590, captain of a hundred men of arms. After the murder of the king in 1610, he worked to maintain peace in his *gouvernement*.
[195] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 213-4
[196] A memorandum on the nomination of the deputies general produced at Saumur in 1611 (B.N.F. Dupuy 213, fols. 158 v-159 r) shows that the assembly was dissatisfied about the poor reception of Huguenots officers to the *présidiaux* and other courts in the kingdom, as granted by the edict of Nantes.
[197] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 220 v-221 r: Saumur 1611.

which his father had been dispossessed on religious grounds. Compensation was presumably sought from the monarchy, but this is not made clear in the text.[198]

The tribunal created by the final general assembly at La Rochelle in 1621 to exercise sovereign jurisdiction in cases of treason or public order, for the duration of the conflicts, was described by Anquez as revolutionary.[199] However, it can be argued that it built on the jurisdictional rights held by La Rochelle until 1628 and it was most likely motivated by the infringement of the presidial court on the town's jurisdictional rights.[200]

iii. Conflicts with the *parlements*

The general assemblies complained firstly about opposition from the *parlements* to the establishment of the *chambres de l'édit*. Secondly, they complained about conflicts of jurisdiction with the other chambers in the *parlements* once the *chambres de l'édit* had been established.

The Paris *parlement*, which had the largest jurisdiction of all the *parlements*,[201] presented itself as the only repository of royal authority above all other jurisdictions, to which the king had conceded a fragment of his sovereignty. In first instance, it could intervene in all trials where there could be imprisonment on suspicion, where there was a *cas royal*, *cas privilégié*, or a case attributed to it by the king. All crimes committed against the king, treason, *lèse-majesté*, counterfeiting, all cases concerning those with royal protection, including churches and charitable establishments, came within its competence. It also

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[198] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 222 r. Haag V, 369-371: Jérôme Groslot, sieur de L'Isle et de Champ-Baudoin, a doctor in law, chancellor of Alençon and *bailli* of Orléans, was the son of Jacques Groslot, *conseiller* in the *grand conseil*. His brother Henri, probably a Catholic, succeeded their father in the *grand conseil*. Jérôme, a Protestant, became *bailli* of Orléans at the same time (1545) and was later named *conseiller* and *maître des requêtes ordinaires* of the queen of Navarre. He died during the massacre of Saint Bartholomew. His son, also called Jérôme, was a deputy at the national synod at Privas in 1612 and a deputy for Orléanais and Berry at Grenoble and Nîmes in 1615. He had been in exile in England from 1572 and probably returned after 1589.

[199] Anquez I, 350-1, 450.

[200] The 1594 *cahier* had already complained about this. See B.P.F. Ms. 710, 29[3], 'De la Justice et police', art. 2: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*. A similar judicial council had already been formed around the mayor in 1614. See Mazarine Ms. 2597: declaration of association between La Rochelle and the sieur de La Noue, gentlemen and other Huguenots to take up arms and oppose the enemies of their religion (8 March 1614). B.N.F. N.a.f. 7197, fol. 130 r-v: 'Seconde Apologie pour monsieur de fabas par le sieur du lion gentilho[mm]e. gascon son voisin' (La Rochelle, 18 July 1622).

[201] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the jurisdiction of the Paris *parlement* extended over thirty-three *bailliages* and seventeen *sénéchaussées*, the *prévôté* of Paris, the *gouvernement* of La Rochelle and the domains of the *grands vassaux*, where royal jurisdiction was less secure.

addressed all cases relating to the privilege of *committimus* (allowing for instance officers of sovereign courts exemption from ordinary jurisdiction), which were addressed by the *chambres des requêtes*[202] or the *maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel*. With the peers, the *parlement* formed the *cour des pairs*, in order to judge all cases in which peers were involved. On appeal, it revised all the sentences delivered by the *baillis* and *sénéchaux*, the higher jurisdictions of the *grands fiefs*, the particular tribunals of the *connétablie*, admiralty, and of the *eaux et forêts*. The *parlement* could also intervene in conflicts between two jurisdictions. Its *arrêts de règlement* had the same authority as royal edicts.[203]

Both Sutherland[204] and J. Garrisson have shown how general assemblies in the 1590s reacted against opposition from the *parlements* to measures that would favour the Huguenots. J. Garrisson drew a comparison with the theories developed in 1572. She pointed out that from 1593, du Plessis Mornay (thought to be author of the *Vindiciæ contra tyrannos*) played a role in the general assemblies and at court; the ideas of Théodore de Bèze still circulated in France, although he was preoccupied by Genevan affairs during this period.[205] However, the proposals put forward by the general assemblies against the *parlements* do not rest on the contractual basis at the heart of political resistance theory, but on the principle that judges who are proven to be partial in a particular case should withdraw themselves or be withdrawn from that case. General assemblies between 1593 and 1596 used this principle as a means of pressing for the establishment of the *chambres de l'édit*.[206] The 1595 general assembly also decided to organise the collection of memoranda that would act as proof that a *parlement* had

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[202] Doucet I, 174-5: the Paris *parlement* gained a second *chambre des requêtes* in 1580. Its members were a separate *corps* from the *parlement*; they were *conseillers commissaires* delegated there. In first instance, they addressed matters concerning the officers of sovereign courts or others who held the privilege of *committimus* and the feudal obligations between lords and vassals. They also examined written petitions relating to cases, delivered letters of justice and judged oppositions to them. Their rulings could be appealed before the other chambers of the *parlement*.

[203] Doucet I, 178-80, 222-3.

[204] N. Sutherland, 'The Edict of Nantes and the "protestant State"', *Annali della fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa*, 2 (1965), pp. 209-10.

[205] J. Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes. Chronique d'une paix attendue* (1998), pp. 249-50.

[206] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[1], additional art. 1: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xxvi: Saumur 1595: the deputies sent to court in 1594 were required to explain why they did not present the 'requeste des recusations contre les parlementz' to the king as asked. No explanation is given in the text.

given cause for complaint, and that a chamber for Huguenots was therefore necessary.[207] On 20 and 21 June 1596, the general assembly at Loudun drew up an act on the withdrawal of the *parlements* from cases concerning Huguenots. It was signed by lords, governors, gentlemen and others then in Loudun. The deputies of the assembly were ordered to take two copies to be signed in their provinces. One of these copies would be sent within three months of their departure from the assembly to du Plessis Mornay at Saumur; the other would be sent with the deputies to the following general assembly. The provinces would ratify this; the provincial assemblies, governors, principal lords and gentlemen would promise not to plead before the *parlements* and judges whose withdrawal had been requested. Instead, they would agree on arbitrators to resolve their differences.[208] The *procès-verbal* then stated in greater detail that when a Huguenot brought or was brought to a trial before the *parlements*, he was expected to call his adversary before notaries and witnesses to agree on arbitrators and a settlement of terms. If the adversary failed to agree to this, the Huguenot was entitled to plead his case. If he obtained a ruling in his favour, it would be implemented without hindrance; if on the contrary the adversary obtained implementation, it would be prevented by governors, mayors, consuls and others in authority in all areas controlled by Huguenots. This was perhaps decided as a way of countering the refusal of *parlements* and other officers to implement rulings in favour of Huguenots.[209]

The edicts forbade the *parlements* to address cases involving Huguenots that were reserved for the *chambres de l'édit*.[210] In an attempt to avoid conflicts with the *parlements*, the general assembly at Montauban in 1581 charged six of its deputies (including de Vignes, one of the secretaries at this assembly, and Constant, charged with the keep of its *procès-verbal*) with drawing up a regulation.[211] The assembly decided that this regulation would be

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[207] B.P.F. Ms. 710, arts. lxxvii, lxxxviii: Saumur 1595.
[208] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 300-1, arts. 126-9: Loudun 1596. Cf. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: instruction for the deputies sent to Henri IV at Rouen (15 October 1596). Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 491-2, art. 248; p. 495, art. 269; p. 505, art. 301: Vendôme 1596-7.
[209] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 301, art. 130: Loudun 1596.
[210] Nérac, art. 7. Fleix, arts. 13, 15-16. Edict of Nantes, art. 64.
[211] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 4 r, art. 39: Montauban 5 May 1581.

drawn up under the supervision of de Grateins, chancellor of Navarre,[212] and of d'Arbieu and de Scorbiac,[213] counsellors in the *chambre de l'édit* at Castres. The regulation would be presented to Henri III.[214] A regulation, planned in the edict of Nantes, was published on 7 May 1599; general regulations, which slightly modified this, were published in August 1599.[215] The regulation on conflicts of jurisdiction between the Rouen *parlement* and its *chambre de l'édit* (Blois, 2 October 1599) stated that if a case was presented in one of the other chambers of the *parlement*, it could not afterwards be taken to the *chambre de l'édit*. The regulation also outlined procedures to be followed if the *chambre de l'édit* and another chamber in the *parlement* disagreed over jurisdiction for a particular case.[216]

Despite royal edicts and the regulations complementing them, general assemblies throughout this period complained about the *parlements* infringing the jurisdiction attributed to the *chambres de l'édit*. Royal replies ordered that the edicts would be implemented and forbade the *parlements* to contravene the rights granted to the chambers by the edicts.[217] The *cahier* of the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 asked that the provisions of article 67 of the edict of Nantes for the provinces of Guyenne, Languedoc, Provence and Dauphiné for judging the competence of the *chambres de l'édit*, be extended to all other provinces in the kingdom. The reply stated that the edict of Nantes could not be altered.[218] A royal declaration of 16 April 1612 maintained that the *chambres de l'édit* could rule on whether they were competent to address a case, as the edicts stated, unless there was an appeal to the royal council.[219] The *parlement* at Bordeaux in particular failed to observe royal regulations, particularly in

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[212] See Chapter Two, p. 74, fn. 138 for his biography.
[213] See Chapter One, p. 10, fn. 56 for his biography.
[214] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 4 r, art. 39: Montauban 1581.
[215] Edict of Nantes, art. 63. Anquez I, 138, 204. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions*, p. 38.
[216] B.N.F. Dupuy 333, fol. 111 r.
[217] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 304, art. 140: on 3 July 1596, the general assembly at Loudun discussed the *parlement* at Toulouse as a particular instance of the *parlements* infringing on the jurisdiction attributed to the *chambres de l'édit* by royal edicts. The king had in part addressed this matter in his reply to the *cahier* of Mantes (1593-4). See also B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: instructions for deputies sent to the king at Rouen (15 October 1596). Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 726: instruction for the deputies general (Sainte-Foy, 15 October 1601).
[218] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 793, art. 35: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 251 v-252 r: the *cahier* given to La Caze, Courtomer, Ferrier, Mirande and Armet (27 June 1611) asked that the chambers be sole judges of their competence in all cases.
[219] Cambon de Lavalette, *La chambre de l'édit de Languedoc*, pp. 82-3.

requests for transfers of proceedings to the chamber at Nérac and for criminal trials, which the edict of Nantes attributed to the *chambre de l'édit*. The *cahiers* of the general assembly at Loudun (1620) complained about long imprisonments and deaths in prison after torture, as a result of the *parlement* infringing on the rights of the chamber. The *cahier* also stated that by article 34 of the edict of Nantes, the *chambres de l'édit* had the jurisdictional right to address all criminal trials with Huguenot defendants. Nevertheless, the *parlement* at Bordeaux had begun to judge criminal trials where Huguenots were defendants in cases committed within the town walls and its *faubourgs*, as well as crimes of *lèse-majesté divine ou humaine* within its jurisdiction:

> 'faisant tomber soubz ces deux especes touttes sortes dexcedz et Introduisent soubz pretexte de la recherche desdictz crimes de leze maiesté divine une horrible Inquisition pour faire mourir voz subJectz de ladicte relligion comme Ilz l'on praticqué envers quelques uns ainsy q[ui]l apparoistra par le cahier de leurs Plainctes'.

The royal reply once more forbade the *parlements* to have jurisdiction over any case except those attributed to them by the edict of Nantes.[220]

iv. Procedures for trial in the *chambres de l'édit*

If general assemblies complained about opposition to the *chambres de l'édit*, they were also concerned with procedures for trial in the chambers.

Attestations from one minister and two elders giving proof of profession of the reformed religion were required after 1598 in order to enable Huguenot litigants to bring cases to the *chambres de l'édit*.[221] The general assembly at Jargeau (1608) resolved that colloquies and synods would be exhorted to enforce this measure.[222] Those attestations that were delivered were often questioned. The general *cahier* of the following general assembly at Saumur (1611) asked that attestations only be contested if the signatures were thought to be forgeries, and that it would not be necessary for them to be drawn up before royal notaries and

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[220] Mazarine Ms. 2598, arts. xx and xxi: first *cahier* of the general assembly at Loudun (18 May 1620).
[221] See the memorandum by the count of Schomberg above, p. 129, which probably influenced this.
[222] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608.

judges.[223] It is possible that the latter request was made in order to avoid excessive cost. The provincial assembly at Loudun in September 1619 asked that the king would declare certificates and attestations given by ministers and elders as valid for retaining cases in the *chambres de l'édit* and other purposes, as if they had been given before royal judges, in order to avoid 'les grandes vexations et fraiz' which ministers and individuals were forced to incur in obtaining these.[224]

The terms of the attestations were important because they reflected the legal position of the litigant. The edict of Beaulieu (1576) had ordered the term 'prétendue' to be applied to the 'religion réformée' in all public acts and documents, but there was fluidity in the use of such labels until the 1630s.[225] From 1612, the chambers at Castres and Nérac were ordered to tolerate the omission of the term 'prétendue' (this had already long been tolerated in Paris and the chamber in Rouen was prepared to allow this).[226] The clergy at the Estates General in 1614 asked that Huguenot ministers would not be entitled to call themselves 'de La religion refformée', but would follow the terms in the edicts ('de la religion prétendue réformée') in giving attestations or other public acts.[227] In the memorandum (20 September 1615) given to the royal *commissaire* Frère, returning to the general assembly at Grenoble after the *cahiers* had been answered, Louis XIII stated that the word 'prétendue' would have to be maintained as the edicts had stated, yet approved a form of attestation which did not explicitly use this:

> 'Je tel pasteur de legl[is]e establye suivant les ediz a Certifie que [blank] est de la qualité portée par lesdictz ediz pour Jouir du Renvoy de ses proces Et differends en la chambre [blank] de l'edit Et au bas les notaires pouront faire la reconnoissance en cette sorte. Pardevant nous Notaires [a mark] ung tel cydessus nomme A reconnu et confesse avoir escrit et signé La certiff.[icati]on et attestation cy dessus transcripte'.

Frère was instructed to ask officers in the *parlements* to tolerate this.[228] Nevertheless, the *procès-verbal* of the provincial assembly held at Loudun in September 1619,[229] the first

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[223] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 790, art. 28: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[224] B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 93 v: Loudun 1619 provincial assembly.
[225] A point made by P. Benedict, 'Confessionalization in France? Critical reflections and new evidence', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World* (2002), pp. 54-6.
[226] Anquez I, 400.
[227] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 52 r.
[228] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 92 r-73 r [sic.]. Anquez I, 400, 402 : the *surintendant des finances* Jeannin had first proposed this attestation. Anquez only gives a preliminary version in a letter from Jeannin to du Plessis Mornay.

cahier of the general assembly at Loudun (answered 18 May 1620)[230] and the *cahier* presented in 1621 by the final general assembly at La Rochelle[231] again asked that Huguenots not be forced to call themselves 'de la religion prétendue réformée', on grounds of conscience.

Attestations were paralleled by the requirement in the first regulation for the *chambres de l'édit* (May 1579) and an *arrêt* of the royal council (January 1604) that limited access to the chambers to those Huguenots who had professed their religion for more than six months.[232] In this matter, the regulation for the *chambre de l'édit* at Rouen (2 October 1599) had been more flexible,[233] and it is possible that this requirement was enforced from 1604 because of those who converted in order to benefit from the *chambres de l'édit*. The case in 1608 of the Augustinian monk named Bordes who was accused of murder, then converted so that his case could be brought to the chamber at Castres, became notorious in this respect.[234] From 1601, the general assemblies had supported Catholic clergymen who converted. The assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1601 decided, as the national synod at Jargeau had proposed, that individual churches should draw up memoranda on the clergy who had converted since 1598. Although it seems that the general assemblies were primarily concerned with monks and priests who had converted, the 'clergy' could also include those who were simply tonsured, who could marry and engage in a wide range of professions, such as laborer, butcher, tavernkeeper, merchant and lawyer.[235] The memoranda on converted clergymen drawn up in

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Du Plessis Mornay approved but asked that all Huguenot officers be forced to use this formula (19 September 1615). See also F. Chevalier, 'Les difficultés d'application de l'édit de Nantes d'après les cahiers des plaintes (1599-1660)', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance* (1998), p. 315.

[229] B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 90 v.

[230] Mazarine Ms. 2598, art. i.

[231] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 6 r.

[232] Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, pp. 65-6.

[233] B.N.F. Dupuy 333, fol. 111 r. Those who sought to bring their cases before the *chambre de l'édit* for Rouen were required to have professed Protestantism before the trial had begun, with regards to trials brought in first instance to that court. In other cases, profession was required before the end of the appeal, and would be proven by an attestation from one minister and two elders, drawn up before notaries.

[234] See Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, pp. 65-6. B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608: the *cahier* to be presented through Sully would ask that the chamber at Castres or other *chambres mi-parties* be attributed this case.

[235] See Doucet II, 685-91. Furthermore, laymen, church servants, university functionaries and church patrons (lay or clerical) also benefited from church privileges. No clergyman could claim the privilege of being

1601 had to be sent to Béraud[236] in Montauban or de Montigny[237] in Paris within two months of the return of the deputies to the provinces, so that the memoranda could be held at Montauban in order to draw up a general list.[238] The memoranda and list were most likely conceived as evidence supporting the case made by the general assemblies on behalf of these clergymen; this further reflects the importance attached by the assemblies to record keeping in their representations to the monarchy.[239] The general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605 resolved that the new deputies general would seek a resolution to the petition presented by their predecessors at the *conseil privé* in order to cease the harrassment of priests, monks and other Catholic clergy who had converted.[240] The general assemblies at Jargeau in 1608 and Saumur in 1611 sought a royal declaration exempting monks, priests and other clergymen who had recently converted from the requirement of having professed Protestantism for more than six months in order to have access to the *chambres de l'édit*. The assemblies also hoped for a declaration that they could not be brought before guardians, priors, rectors and others who claimed to be their superiors in the judgement of cases in first instance.[241] The clergy at the Estates General in 1614 stated that all apostate clergymen would be claimed by their superiors and all those who left the church would be publicly excommunicated.[242]

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subject only to church tribunals if married, acting as a royal officer, practising commerce, or *lettres de charge*; in the latter three cases, they were considered laymen.

[236] See Chapter One, p. 37, fn. 226 for his biography.

[237] See Chapter One, p. 18, fn. 98 for his biography.

[238] B.P.F. Ms. 711. Churches would also send memoranda on ministers who had been falsely accused by 'les Jesuistes de bordeaux' of having converted to Catholicism, as the national synod at Jargeau had proposed.

[239] See Chapter Two, pp. 63-73. The general assemblies also sought to establish inheritance rights for the children of clergymen who had married. See for example Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 505, art. 300: Saumur 1597. The edicts only made limited provisions in their favour. See 1576 edict, art. 9. Edict of Nantes, particular art. 39.

[240] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 759-60: Châtellerault 1605.

[241] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 791, art. 31: Saumur 1611 *cahier*, which added that instead of drawing up a new regulation between the *parlements* and the chambers, in accordance with article 63 of the edict of Nantes, in most chambers a regulation drawn up in 1578 and 1582 was followed. The king replied that the limitation of six months could not be removed. Clergymen who had (re)converted should present a petition to him to resolve their matter.

[242] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 52 v. Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, p. 68: the Estates General of 1614 and the assembly of the clergy of 1615 insisted that the 'six months' clause' would be absolutely respected.

The general assembly at Loudun in 1596 sought concessions that would have placed Huguenot judges in the chambers in a favourable position for trials had they been granted.[243] Article 48 of the particular articles of the edict of Nantes stated that the most senior president of a *chambre mi-partie* would preside at a hearing, in his absence the second president. Trials would be distributed by the two presidents conjointely or separately, every month or week. Article 45 of the edict stated that the chambers at Bordeaux, Grenoble and Castres would keep the organisation and style of the *parlements* for which they were established; they would judge in equal numbers of each religion, if the parties to a case did not wish otherwise.

General assemblies after 1598 were particularly interested in the position of judges in the chambers as a means of ensuring fair procedures for trial for Huguenots. Quarrels of precedence were based on the principle that Catholic officers in the chambers were members of the *parlements*, while Huguenot officers were not. The *parlements* also had a tendency to always send their most senior presidents. The general assemblies sought precedence for senior Huguenot presidents (according to particular article 48 of the edict of Nantes) and the withdrawal of Catholic presidents thought to be partial. The Catholic president of the *chambre mi-partie* at Castres, de Paule, was repeatedly mentioned. However, the king maintained his right to decide who would serve in the *chambres de l'édit*, as the edicts stated.[244]

Royal ordinances and edicts forbade judicial officers to address cases in which they were party and also allowed the transfer of a case to a neighbouring court on these grounds. Similarly, requests for the withdrawal of judges had become increasingly frequent in the course of the sixteenth century because of suspected partialities resulting from encroaching

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[243] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: the deputies sent to Henri IV at Rouen were instructed (15 October 1596) to ask that Huguenot judges be able to address cases where all parties were Huguenots without respect for the proportion to be maintained between judges of each religion. This proportion would however be maintained in important inquiries, confrontations of the accused with witnesses and legal proceedings begun by Catholic judges. In defiance of the *parlements*, these deputies were also instructed to request that royal advocates in the chambers be called advocates general and not deputies This latter point was rejected in the edict of Nantes (arts. 37-8). The deputies were also instructed to ask that a Huguenot deputy judge be accepted at the request of the Huguenot party to a case.

[244] Anquez I, 200-1, 424. Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, pp. 68-9. Mazarine Ms. 2598, art. xix: Loudun 18 May 1620 *cahier*.

venality.[245] The edict of Nantes stated that requests for the withdrawal of presidents and counsellors in the *chambres mi-parties* would have to leave a minimum of six judges to address a case.[246] The 1611 general *cahier* requested two new counsellors for the chamber at Nérac (where there were only six Huguenot counsellors) on the basis that this would enable proceedings to continue even when the withdrawal of judges had been requested and that the chamber at Castres had eight Huguenot counsellors. However, the monarchy refused on the grounds that the number of offices in the kingdom was already too large, but granted that cases could be dealt with by eight judges as in other *parlements* and not ten judges as previously.[247]

The general assemblies also discussed measures to be taken in cases where no verdict could be reached because of an inability to reach a majority vote, although this apparently concerned only a limited number of cases.[248] The deputies sent by the general assembly at Loudun to the king at Rouen were instructed (15 October 1596) to ask that cases could be brought before another Huguenot chamber if a majority verdict could not be obtained.[249] The edict of Nantes granted this. If no majority verdict could be reached for a case in all the *chambres mi-parties*, the case would be sent to the *chambre de l'édit* at Paris. Here, such cases would be addressed by judges named by royal letters for this purpose, unless the parties prefered to wait for a new sitting of the chamber in November.[250] However, the regulation ordered by the king on conflicts of jurisdiction between the Rouen *parlement* and its *chambre de l'édit* (Blois, 2 October 1599) shows that when it came to practical implementation,

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[245] J. Powis, 'The Magistrates of the Parlement of Bordeaux. C. 1500-1563' (University of Oxford D. Phil thesis, 1975), pp. 5-6, 124-5. *Les edicts et ordonnances des rois de France*, eds. Fontanon and Michel (1611), I, 587-8, 607: art. 52 of ordinances of Orléans (1561). J. du Chalard, *Sommaire exposition [...]* (1562), pp. 111-2, article liiii. Doucet II, 529.

[246] Edict of Nantes, art. 47.

[247] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 786-7, art. 21: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.

[248] Maugis, *Histoire du parlement de Paris [...]. II.*, 47-8. O. Christin, 'La question du vote majoritaire à l'époque de l'édit de Nantes', in L. Hubert, J.-D. Candaux and C. Chalamet (eds.), *L'Edit de Nantes revisité.* (2000), p. 46. Cambon de Lavalette, *La chambre de l'édit de Languedoc*, p. 81.

[249] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36.

[250] Edict of Nantes, art. 47. Mirroring the role of the Paris *parlement*, the *chambre de l'édit* at Paris could also act as a court of appeal for chambers falling within the jurisdiction of neighbouring *parlements*. See also Maugis, *Histoire du parlement de Paris [...]. II.*, 211. Article 21 of the conference of Fleix had stated that all *évocations* and inability to reach a majority vote in the chambers would be taken to the neighbouring chamber, or if the parties requested it before the king.

particular provisions were made for existing local circumstances. The regulation stated that no majority verdict could be reached for a case in the *chambre de l'édit*, the case would be resolved by the *grande chambre*, or by supplementary counsellors chosen by the Huguenot party to the case. If the *grande chambre* was chosen, Huguenots could if they wished request the withdrawal of ecclesiastical officers without giving reason for this.[251] The general assemblies reiterated petitions on the transfer of proceedings, indicating the difficulty in obtaining implementation of these measures. The *cahier* of the general assembly held at Saumur in 1611 asked that cases could be brought before another Huguenot chamber if a majority vote could not be obtained (according to article 47 of the edict of Nantes) and in trials where the officers of the chamber or their kin were the principal litigants. The king granted the request where no majority vote could be obtained, but in all other cases royal ordinances would be followed.[252] Nine years later, the anonymous pamphlet entitled *Les antipodes pour et contre, en l'assemblee tenue par permission du Roy à Loudun és annees 1619. & 1620.* (1620) commented on the prevalence of division of opinion between judges in the chambers, weakening their authority.[253]

The general assemblies sometimes intervened in specific cases before the chambers. For example, the assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1601 charged the deputies sent to court with supporting the sieur des Fontaines in seeking the overturning of an *arrêt* given against him in the *chambre de l'édit* in Paris. This concerned a ransom, which des Fontaines was allegedly forced to pay to the inhabitants of Poitiers; the *arrêt* had been obtained by 'Carré et ses Consorts', presumably from Poitiers. It is not clear whether the ransom was for des Fontaines or another, but the fact that he intended to bring his case before the *chambre mi-partie* at Nérac shows that the chamber at Paris was not always considered as a final court of appeal.[254] Half of the judges at Nérac were Huguenot, whereas only one Huguenot sat in the Paris chamber: this would explain why des Fontaines thought that his case had a better chance of

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[251] B.N.F. Dupuy 333, fol. 111 r.
[252] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 790, art. 29: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[253] *Les antipodes pour et contre, en l'assemblee tenue par permission du Roy à Loudun és annees 1619. & 1620.* (n. p., 1620), p. 14.
[254] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 736-7.

success at Nérac. Furthermore, this example illustrates the chambers' role in implementing the edicts of pacification. The chamber at Paris had in fact contravened the edicts, which annulled obligations to pay ransoms imposed during the preceding conflicts.[255]

The general assembly at Saumur in 1611 decided to intervene in an unusual case involving an artisan named Thomas de La Garde, who had been condemned to banishment (a punishment in criminal law)[256] for three years by officers at Vendôme. La Garde had been condemned for saying that he had heard preach and teach in Huguenot churches that the Pope was the Antichrist, and that he believed it. The appeal was pending at the *chambre de l'édit* in the Paris *parlement*. The assembly wrote to monsieur de Chandieu, a counsellor in the *chambre de l'édit*, to ask him to ensure that La Garde was not punished for professing what was in fact an article (first adopted by the national synod at Gap in 1603) of the Huguenot Confession of faith.[257] Although some such as Odet de La Noue disapproved of the decision by the national synod in 1607 to confirm this article in the Confession of faith,[258] the assembly's decision in 1611 to support La Garde could reflect a desire to maintain a united front in the face of attacks by the Jesuit order.[259]

v. The *grand conseil* and the *conseil privé*

Royal edicts allowed Huguenots right of appeal to the *grand conseil* (a specialised section of the royal council confirmed in 1498)[260] when *chambres de l'édit* were not established. This right of appeal was removed following the treaty of Nemours (7 July

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[255] 1577 edict, art. 39. Fleix 1580, art. 36. Edict of Nantes, art. 76. B.P.F. Ms. 816[1], 2[e] Dossier, 3: general pardon for Dauphiné (February 1622). B.N.F. fr. 3821, fol. 23 v: Montpellier 20 October 1622. Arsenal Ms. 2667, première partie, p. 306: 22 October 1622.

[256] Doucet I, 539.

[257] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 210 v-211 r: Saumur 11 June 1611.

[258] 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles', ed. G. Musset, *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 64-5, number 17: the minister Loumeau to the deputy general Villarnoul (22 April 1607).

[259] L. Racaut, 'Religious Polemic and Huguenot self-perception and identity, 1554-1619', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World* (2002), pp. 39-40.

[260] Doucet I, 134, 179-80, 202-6: the *grand conseil* had its own personnel (the chancellor, *maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel*, ecclesiastic and lay counsellors, the *procureur du roi*, a clerk and a secretary). It addressed conflicts of competence between sovereign jurisdictions and the regulations of judges, appeals against the legal decisions of royal officers, cases relating to fiefs and benefices, civil and criminal matters, in first instance or in appeal.

1585).[261] While the *parlements* refused to register the edict of 1577, Henri IV generally allowed Huguenots to use the right of *évocation* to the *grand conseil* in cases to which they were party.[262] When chambers were established, Huguenots were still allowed to bring their cases in final appeal either to the *chambre de l'édit* at Paris or to the *grand conseil*.[263] Huguenots supported the right of the *grand conseil* to review the cases of lower jurisdictions (*évocation*) at a time when this right was increasingly questioned (for example at the Estates General in 1560).[264] A reason for this could have been that Huguenots saw appealing to the *grand conseil* rather than the *parlements* as a means of obtaining impartiality.[265]

The *conseil des parties* (which could also be known as the *conseil privé*) dealt with appeals that had not been sent to the *parlements* or the *grand conseil*.[266] The presidents and *gens du roi* of the sovereign courts could sit here. The chancellor presided, while the work was effectively carried out by eight counsellors, assisted by the *maîtres des requêtes* as reporters and by *avocats*.[267] General assemblies between 1593 and 1598 requested offices of *maîtres des requêtes* for Huguenots.[268] The *brevet* of 30 April 1598 granted them the first two offices of *maîtres des requêtes* in the Paris *parlement* that had been vacated by death of the

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[261] *Les edicts et ordonnances des rois de France*, eds. Fontanon and Michel (1611), IV, 345: 'Extraict des Registres du Conseil privé du Roy' (21 August 1585): all trials and instances sent to the *chambres de l'édit* and *grand conseil* 'soubs la qualité de la religion nouvelle, les associez Catholiques' would be transferred to the *parlements* and other relevant judges. A small tax would be levied for this transfer.

[262] Anquez I, 130, fn. 2.

[263] Anquez I, 126. *Les edicts et ordonnances des rois de France*, eds. Fontanon and Michel (1611), IV, 361: royal declaration of 24 January 1596 (registered at the Paris *parlement* on 11 March 1596) establishing the Paris *chambre de l'édit*. Mazarine Ms. 2594, fols. 71 v-72 v, art. xxix,: concession from the king (28 December 1596). Edict of Nantes, art. 43.

[264] Doucet I, 205-6.

[265] Anquez I, 424.

[266] Doucet I, 144-6, 148-9, 164. On Wednesdays and Fridays, the *conseil d'état* addressed 'matières contentieuses, procès et différends d'entre les parties', and was known as the *conseil des parties*. It addressed matters concerning judicial regulations, *évocations* concerning notably cases relating to benefices and royal offices, and the revision (on appeal) of the *arrêts* delivered by sovereign courts. It could also pronounce *arrêts criminels* in serious cases that needed a prompt ruling. The *parlement*, Estates General and Assembly of the Notables opposed its actions.

[267] Doucet I, 133-40, 147, 154-65, 172, 174-5; Doucet II 422-33. The *secrétaires d'état*, *maîtres des requêtes* and clerks were charged with preparing and expediting matters. The *maîtres des requêtes de l'hôtel* were auxiliaries of the chancellor. They sat with the king, in the *grand conseil*, in the royal councils (where they reported judicial matters), in the chancellery (keeping the seals) and in the auditorium of the *requêtes de l'hôtel*. They were also incorporated in the Paris *parlement*. They ensured implementation in their *chevauchées*, and were the forerunners of the *intendants*. Some of them were *commissaires* for the implementation of the edicts of pacification.

[268] Anquez I, 117-8, 129-30, 133, 198-9. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: instruction for the deputies sent to Henri IV at Rouen (15 October 1596).

holders. The general assemblies at Sainte-Foy in 1601, Châtellerault in 1605[269] and Saumur in 1611 continued to press for the implementation of this concession, and named candidates for these offices in 1601[270] and 1611.[271] The *cahier* presented to the king at Fontainebleau (15 April 1621) requested that two Huguenots nominated by the churches be granted each an office of *maître des requêtes* free of charge, as had been promised. It also asked that the counsellors and ordinary reporters for Huguenot affairs be maintained in their offices, as had been granted at the conference at Loudun (1616). In case of death, they would be replaced at the request of the deputies general, and one of the counsellors would be a Huguenot.[272] Huguenot *maîtres des requêtes* would have undoubtedly helped Huguenots with cases before the council, for general assemblies frequently complained about *arrêts* from the *conseil privé*. The assemblies also showed interest in specific cases before the council. On 7 July 1611, the general assembly at Saumur charged its deputies at court with supporting the case brought by the sieur and lady of Vérac before the *conseil privé* to obtain reparation for an unspecified contravention of article 17 of the edict of Nantes.[273] The same general assembly advised Huguenots from Fresne in the viscounty of the *vicebailliage* of Caen in Normandy to put their case before the royal council, in order to obtain permission to build a temple.[274] For appeals, Huguenots considered the *conseil privé* preferable to the *parlements*.[275]

V. Subordinate offices of justice

The *chambres de l'édit* had clerks and secretaries in order to draw up legal proceedings, as well as sergeants and bailiffs to implement their rulings. The edict of Nantes

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[269] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 763: Châtellerault 1605. Cf. Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices*, p. 593.
[270] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601. Restated in Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 736: Sainte-Foy 1601 regulation. Mazarine Ms. 2595, fol. 372 r: first part also restated in article 6 of the *cahier* that was answered (this article favourably) on 24 March and 13 April 1602. Cf. Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices*, pp. 639-40.
[271] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 205 v (1 June); fol. 218 v (23 June), fol. 244 v (8 September): Saumur 1611. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 795, art. 40: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[272] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 6 r-v.
[273] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 224 v: Saumur 1611. Article 17 of the edict of Nantes regulated preachers and other public speakers, forbidding them to stir up crowds.
[274] *ibid.*, fol. 223 r: Saumur 2 July 1611.
[275] Anquez I, 425.

made provisions for Huguenot clerks and bailiffs in the *chambres de l'édit*.[276] The edicts of pacification ordered all judges, bailiffs and sergeants to implement the *arrêts* (in 1598, also the commissions and chancellery letters) of the *chambres de l'édit*.[277] The edicts also stated that Huguenot subordinate officers would be examined and admitted by the chambers within the jurisdiction of which they came. They would swear an oath before the latter only if the relevant *parlement* refused to accept it.[278] However, subordinate officers were often prevented from taking up office.[279]

Sergeants and bailiffs for the *chambres de l'édit* appear to have been opposed in their work throughout this period.[280] The general assemblies also complained about the obstruction of the work of the sergeants through attack or imprisonment. The *cahier* drawn up at Sainte-Foy in 1594 outlined the case of a young Huguenot soldier from Gaissac in Gascony, required by the judge of Montravel to accompany him to implement a decree against the *procureur d'office* of Montravel. The judge's nephew killed the *procureur*. Despite having no confession or testimony against the soldier, the *parlement* of Bordeaux condemned him to death, while the judge, a Catholic, was suspended from his office and fined. The confession of the judge's nephew had afterwards proved the soldier innocent.[281] The decision by the general assembly at Loudun in 1596 to prevent the implementation of rulings in favour of Catholics in areas controlled by Huguenots was complemented by a decision that sergeants who implemented these rulings would be punished.[282] The *cahier* to be presented to the king by Sully on behalf of the general assembly at Jargeau (1608) asked for the release of Jehan Chantier, a sergeant

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[276] See for example edict of Nantes, arts. 39-40: on the chamber for Bordeaux. Doucet I, 173, 257; Doucet II, 529, 532, 536: sergeants were charged with implementation in simple cases; they could also be responsible for summoning (in civil procedure) and sometimes the questioning of witnesses (in criminal procedure). Bailiffs were charged with 'police' in a court, the implementation of writs and *arrêts* and the guard of prisoners. Bailiffs could also be responsible for summons.

[277] Fleix, art. 20. Edict of Nantes, art. 46.

[278] Fleix, art. 22 (applicable to Languedoc, Dauphiné and Guyenne). Anquez I, 112: the *commissaires* for the implementation of the edict in 1580 sought the insertion of the clause 'il sera informé de leur religion' in the letters of provision for notaries and sergeants. Edict of Nantes, art. 53.

[279] B.P.F. Ms. 1063 [3]: the speech of the deputy Feydeau, which accompanied the presentation of the *cahier* of the general assembly held at Mantes (12 December 1593) highlighted the fact that in the *bailliages* and *sénéchaussées*, even sergeants and notaries were prevented from taking up their offices.

[280] See Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, p. 54, for the specific example of the chamber at Castres from 1579 to 1595.

[281] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, 'De la Justice et police', art. 3: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*.

[282] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 301, art. 130: Loudun 1596.

in Provence, imprisoned for implementing an *arrêt* of the chamber at Grenoble.[283] The *cahier* of 1611 also complained that contrary to article 46[284] of the edict of Nantes, the *parlements* of Brittany, Provence and Burgundy decreed daily against the bailiffs who implemented the *arrêts* of the *chambres de l'édit* at Paris and Grenoble. The royal sergeants established in these provinces refused to implement these *arrêts*. The royal reply stated that article 46 of the edict would be observed. Bailiffs or sergeants would be enjoined to implement all *arrêts*, commissions and ordinances from the chambers in Paris and Grenoble, on pain of suspension from their offices, and of incurring the indemnities of the parties involved.[285]

General assemblies both asked for the creation of offices as granted by the edict of Nantes and the creation of new offices in order to overcome obstruction of the officers' work, which hindered the implementation of the chambers' rulings. The general assembly at Saumur in 1611 unsuccessfully asked for two new offices of secretary and for one new office of bailiff for the chamber at Grenoble. The refusal stated that the king had resolved not to create any new offices. The response to the request that a Huguenot be given the office of one of the two Catholic clerks of the chamber at Castres if it were to be vacated was that this had already been satisfactorily addressed.[286] This latter request was however granted in 1617.[287] When it came to the request for offices of royal sergeant for the jurisdiction of the *parlements* of Brittany, Provence and Burgundy,[288] the royal *commissaires* Boissise and Bullion opposed this, arguing that these offices would be too costly for the kingdom. However, the assembly argued that it only requested five sergeants in Brittany, four in Burgundy and four in Provence, because the *parlements* hindered those who implemented the *arrêts* of Paris or

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[283] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608.
[284] The *cahier* actually states article 47, because it refers to the original version of the edict of Nantes, from which article 37 was removed in the version registered in the Paris *parlement*.
[285] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 789, art. 26: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. Cf. Cambon de Lavalette, *La chambre de l'édit de Languedoc*, pp. 81-2.
[286] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 788, arts. 24-5: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. Cambon de Lavalette, *La chambre de l'édit de Languedoc*, pp. 82-3. In 1612, the king however promised the creation of Huguenot offices of secretary and bailiffs, as requested by the general assembly at Saumur in 1611.
[287] Capot, *Justice et religion en Languedoc*, p. 132.
[288] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 789, art. 26: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.

Grenoble there. If any wished to resign his office, the assembly asked that Huguenots be preferred in the purchase of this office.[289]

The anonymous pamphlet *Les antipodes pour et contre, en l'assemblee tenue par permission du Roy à Loudun és annees 1619. & 1620.* (1620) commented that subordinate magistrates were increasingly disregarding the authority of the chambers.[290] In view of the need to obtain the implementation of favourable rulings in the localities, the general assemblies also supported complaints made by officers in towns who had lost their offices on religious grounds. The 1594 *cahier* notably complained that by their treaties with the monarchy, members of the League had obtained the expulsion of Huguenot officers from the towns they held, notably Orléans, Bourges and Montargis.[291] The *cahier* presented by the general assembly at Châtellerault (1597-8) asked for instance for the validation of the nomination of the syndic of Périgord, which had been made by the inhabitants of Bergerac in the accustomed manner, notwithstanding the opposition of the inhabitants of Périgueux and Sarlat, founded on the fact that he was a Huguenot. The king replied that the matter would be resolved in his council.[292] The assemblies also supported officers in seigneurial jurisdictions.[293]

Nor did the general assemblies disregard the plight of notaries. The 1594 *cahier* complained that despite edicts granting Huguenots freedom of conscience, Huguenot notaries were pursued in the *parlement* at Bordeaux if they did not attend masses for the new

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[289] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 257 r-v: instruction for de la Caze, de Courtaumer, Ferrier, de Mirande and Armet sent to the king and queen mother on behalf of the general assembly at Saumur (27 June 1611).
[290] *Les antipodes pour et contre, en l'assemblee tenue par permission du Roy à Loudun és annees 1619. & 1620.* (n. p., 1620), p. 14.
[291] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, 'De la Justice et police', art. 1: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*. The general assemblies also complained in their *cahiers* about individuals being forced to convert to Catholicism in order to take up or retain their judicial offices. Examples can be found in *ibid.*, art. 11 and in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 73 v, art. 8: articles drawn up by the general assembly at Grenoble in negotiations with Condé (27 November 1615). The 1594 regulation decided that the admission of Catholics to offices in towns controlled by Huguenots would be settled when the deputies at court returned, unless there were grounds for opposition because of a notable personal fault. See B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^2, additional art. 6. Anquez I, 116, states that the assembly decided to exclude Catholics from such offices if the king replied to the *cahier* unfavourably, but this is not borne out in the assembly's documents.
[292] Arsenal Ms. 6594, fol. 30 r, art. 68, clarification 5: Châtellerault 1597-8 *cahier*.
[293] B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 93 v: Loudun 1619 provincial assembly: complained that Catholic lords inserted a requirement of adherence to the Catholic, apostolic and Roman religion in the letters of provision for Huguenot officers on their lands and *vigueries*.

confraternity of that estate. The articles of that confraternity stated that there would be a fine of one *teston* each time mass was not attended.[294] The *cahier* also complained that in Saumur and Villeneuve d'Agenois, the offices of Huguenot notaries had been given to members of the Catholic League.[295] In order to remedy the difficulty faced daily by Huguenots in Paris and other places where there were no Huguenot royal notaries to receive their contracts, and other deeds and titles (*actes volontaires*), the king was asked in the 1611 *cahier* to create in each town two offices of royal notaries for Huguenots. The reply simply stated that existing royal notaries would be enjoined to receive all contracts, wills and other acts when required by Huguenots, on pain of being deprived of office.[296] The royal *commissaires* Boissise and Bullion also opposed this petition on grounds of cost. However, the assembly argued that notaries were only requested in royal seats where there was a Huguenot church and no existing Huguenot notary. If any wished to resign his office, the assembly once more asked that Huguenots be preferred in the purchase of this office. There would be no more than two notaries in each seat.[297] Returning for the second time to the general assembly at Saumur, the royal *commissaire* Bullion was instructed (3 August 1611) to give du Plessis Mornay hope that he would be granted one or two offices of notaries at Saumur, perhaps in recognition of the conciliatory role that du Plessis Mornay played as president of this assembly.[298]

The *chambres de l'édit* have been described as 'ad hoc creations' that had no place 'in the broad sweep of five centuries'.[299] They have also been described both as a threat to royal authority, a mark of division with other subjects[300] and as a means of achieving peace in

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[294] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, art. 12: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*.
[295] *ibid.*, 'De la Justice et police', art. 1.
[296] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 789, art. 27: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[297] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 257 r-v: instruction for de la Caze, de Courtaumer, Ferrier, de Mirande and Armet sent to the king and queen mother on behalf of the general assembly at Saumur (27 June 1611).
[298] *ibid.*, fol. 259 v. See Chapter Two, p. 58.
[299] J. Shennan, *The Parlement of Paris* (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968), pp. 42-3.
[300] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fols. 251 v-252 r: letter from the count of Schomberg to the king (Tours, 13 February 1597). He feared that 'les chefz du party de la ligue' would also request *chambres mi-parties* on the basis of recent hostilities; the duke of Mercœur was already proposing through his treaty to establish such a chamber at Nantes. D. Margolf, 'Adjudicating Memory: Law and Religious Difference

the kingdom.[301] As illustrated in this chapter, Huguenot general assemblies perceived them as a means of obtaining justice within the framework of the edicts of pacification. Some of those nominated to the chambers by local and general Huguenot assemblies (the latter often co-ordinated nominations from the localities) were also deputies at these assemblies. However, particularly after 1610, the monarchy gradually asserted control over nominations to the chambers. Regulations drawn up by the general assemblies stating that members of the chambers could only resign their offices to those nominated by provinces and synods, rather than to members of their own families, went against contemporary trends. They also made the assemblies vulnerable to losing support from office-holding families, as the case of the Berger family illustrates. The choice of locations for the chambers also illustrates the manner in which the general assemblies co-ordinated regional interests and sought to ensure the effectual establishment of the chambers. The assemblies' attention to procedures for civil and criminal trials before existing royal courts and to the jurisdiction and procedures of the chambers reflects their concern for the proper administration of justice. The decision to intervene in particular cases before the chambers seems unusual; although the outcome is unknown, this would reflect a certain confidence about the assemblies' ability to have a say in the judicial process. The general assemblies also sought to defend the right of Huguenot officers to hold offices at all levels, as the edicts of pacification stated, and as a means of ensuring the equitable implementation of the rulings delivered by the *chambres de l'édit*. Ultimately, however, the chambers existed for a much longer time than the assemblies did: the chambers for Paris and Rouen were abolished in 1669 and those for Bordeaux, Toulouse and Grenoble in 1679.

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in Early Seventeenth-Century France', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXVII, number 2 (1996), 417-8. *L'édit de Nantes*, ed. J. Garrisson (Biarritz, Atlantica, 1997), p. 20.

[301] Cambon de Lavalette, *La chambre de l'édit de Languedoc*, pp. 9-11 and Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc' in *Coexister dans l'intolérance*, p. 321.

CHAPTER FOUR

Property and Civil Rights

One of the most obvious consequences of the civil wars was their destructive effect on property. Both sides took lay and ecclesiastical property; they levied tolls and took prizes. At the same time as regulating these activities, Huguenot political assemblies sought a measure of protection for Huguenot property and the implementation of the terms of the edicts which granted this protection. They did not consider this in purely financial terms, but assessed the legal and moral repercussions for those involved. These repercussions were acutely felt with respect to ecclesiastical property, with consequences for rights of worship, teaching and charity. This chapter will address the manner in which the general assemblies could hold both of these positions and how they were able to reconcile them.

I. Sequestration of lay property

Huguenots could have their property seized by hostile governors or after 1585 by sympathisers of the Catholic League (which also targeted Catholics who supported peace).[1] Their property could also be forfeited to the king following a charge of rebellion and *crime de lèse-majesté*. For a nobleman, this latter charge could also entail loss of noble privileges for himself and his posterity, and the razing of his property to the ground.[2] Property could then be auctioned by royal *commissaires* and the proceeds given to the royal domain, or benefits of sale could be used by a *trésorier de l'extraordinaire des guerres*. Personal estate (which could include silverware, movables, debts, arrears of rents and mature standing timber) was generally sold, while real estate was leased.[3]

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[1] M. Wolfe, *The Fiscal System of Renaissance France* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1972), p. 192. *Reglement faict par Monseigneur le Duc de Mayenne Pair & Lieutenant general de l'Estat Royal & Couronne de France, & le Conseil general de l'union des Catholiques estably à Paris, [...]*. (Paris, Frederic Morel, 1589), pp. 8-11, arts viii-x; p. 14, art. xv; pp. 15-7, arts. xvi-xvii.

[2] See for example B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 55 r: 'Somma[ti]on. faicte au s[ieu]r de Soubise par ung herault du Roy envoyé dans S[ain]t Jehan d'angely' (2 June 1621).

[3] See for example Arsenal Ms. 3847, pp. 219-31: for the sequestration by the monarchy of both Leaguer and Huguenot property (8 January 1591).

Huguenots also seized and adjudicated property belonging to Catholics, or to Huguenots who had left their homes to join opposing troops or withdrawn to towns held by the opposing party.[4] The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 demonstrates that Huguenot general assemblies followed the same procedure as royal officers. *Commissaires* sent by the king of Navarre or in his stead by governors and lieutenant generals would grant leases for sequestered real estate; Huguenot *présidents des élus* and the *élus* in towns adhering to the Huguenot party would continue to collect the rent from these leases.[5] A copy of the propositions made on 12 July 1581 by Lesdiguières[6] (acting as lieutenant general for the king of Navarre) during an assembly of the churches of Dauphiné held at Vaynes shows that property was also used for the payment of foreign troops.[7]

Pardons for the sequestration and destruction of personal and real estate (including property belonging to orphans and the deceased) and measures for the restitution of property (even when razed, allowing rebuilding) for both parties was an essential part of negotiations for peace and of each edict of pacification.[8] Some general assemblies requested exemptions from the *taille* for such towns, in order to enable them to be rebuilt.[9] The terms of the edicts relating to property led to the first detailed chronologies of the Wars of Religion. To resolve all cases of prescription (where ownership was gained or lost by a specific lapse of time) after 1598, the precise duration of the conflicts and of the peace in between was set by the *chambres de l'édit.* This was then transcribed in the registers of the *chambre des enquêtes.*[10]

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[4] Mazarine Ms. 2593, fols. 8 v-9 r: letter from Huguenots of Dauphiné assembled at Gap to the *parlement* at Grenoble (12 May 1581). Anquez I, 37, fn. 3. Most regulations stated that peaceful Catholics would not be harmed: e.g. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 5 [b]: accord between Condé and La Rochelle (23 January 1577).

[5] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 229-30: La Rochelle 1588.

[6] See Chapter One, p. 37, fn. 221 for his biography.

[7] Mazarine Ms. 2593, fol. 52 v. This practice was perhaps derived from royal commissions to lieutenant generals, which allowed the selling of offices and property belonging to those who had taken up arms against the king, in order to reimburse those who had contributed to levies and to finance the army. See M. Greengrass, 'War, Politics and Religion in Languedoc during the Government of Henri de Montmorency-Damville (1574-1610)' (University of Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 1979), pp. 7-8.

[8] 1576 edict, arts 14, 23, 33, 37, 40-2, 53, 59. 1577 edict, arts. 26, 34, 38, 42-3, 47, 55, 59. Nérac, arts. 11, 18. Fleix, art. 32. Edict of Nantes, arts. 58, 59, 76, 89. B.P.F. Ms. 816^{1}, 2e Dossier, 3: general pardon for Dauphiné (February 1622). B.N.F. fr. 3821, fol. 23 v: Montpellier 20 October 1622.

[9] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 4 v., art. 46: Montauban 1581. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^{2}, 'Faitz particuliers', art. 3: Sainte-Foy 1594.

[10] For the *chambre des enquêtes*, see Chapter Three, p. 119, fn. 91.

The duration of the conflicts was deducted from the time lapsed; the duration of each peace therefore decided whether possession could be gained by prescription.[11] The general assemblies sought to ensure that the same measures were used in all the *chambres de l'édit*.[12]

The terms of the edicts of pacification relating to property were difficult to implement. During the four years between the re-establishment of the 1577 edict by letters patent in 1591 and the registration of these letters by the Paris *parlement* in 1595, particular settlements were sought. The *cahier* of the general assembly at Sainte-Foy (1594) asked for the taking of property and payments to receivers and other members of the Huguenot party during the hostilities to be approved by the king, as they were being persecuted for this despite royal avowals. In the same *cahier*, deputies complained that the *parlements* forced those who had taken leased property to pay their rent a second time to royal treasurers and receivers, and even to the original owners.[13] This complaint seems surprising as the 1577 edict of pacification had in fact stated that owners were due arrears in rent lost during the conflicts.[14] The context of negotiations with the monarchy also subsequently influenced the assemblies' stance. The general assembly at Loudun in 1596 refused to intervene on Claude de La Trémoille's[15] behalf for the return of his home of Taillebourg 'de peur que cela nuisist a la negociation generale'.[16]

If restitution could not be obtained, as was frequent, compensation could be sought. In 1601, the deputies general were instructed by the general assembly at Sainte-Foy to petition the king for the baron of Montsac (near Montauban) to be assigned the 2, 000 *écus* the king had long granted him for losses incurred 'pour Le bien de L'Estat'.[17]

Rights of reprisal were also sought from the monarchy, as was traditional. The *cahier* drawn up by the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 asked that the *concordats* drawn up at

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[11] Examples of these chronologies can be found in Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 35-7 (copies in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fol. 22 r-v and Mazarine Ms. 2604, fols. 27 r-29 v) and in Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 37-41 (copies in Arsenal Ms. 5419, pp. 21-2; B.N.F. N.a.f. 7197, fols. 24 r-25 v and Mazarine Ms. 2604, fols. 30 r-34 r).
[12] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 790-1, art. 30: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[13] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, art. 3 and 'De la Justice et police', art. 5: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*.
[14] 1577 edict, art. 43.
[15] See Chapter One, p. 7, fn. 37 for his biography.
[16] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 276, art. 41: Loudun 1596.
[17] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 734: 15 October 1601 regulation for the deputies general.

Nîmes in 1577 between Huguenots and Catholics from the Comtat Venaissin be implemented. It also asked that local officers be allowed to give rights of reprisal to Huguenots to whom justice had been denied, notwithstanding the dispensation affixed to article 51 of the particular articles of the edict of Nantes. The reply stated that only the king could grant *lettres de représailles*; judges and officers could only draw up *procès-verbaux*.[18] More unrealistically, an additional *cahier* in 1594 asked that the seigneur de Rohan[19] and his acolytes be granted rights of reprisal. Some were still prisoners at Nantes, while the others 'pour s'estre esvadez et avoir amené a la Rochelle une gallere de lennemy arrivé en laquelle ils estoient aux fers' had had their property seized.[20]

Loss of property had often occurred as a result of banishment from towns (a punishment in criminal law)[21] and the general assemblies complained about the wider consequences of banishment as well as the loss of property. They also sought guarantees for the re-establishment of Huguenots in their homes. The general assembly at Montauban in 1581 asked the king to guarantee the re-establishment of Huguenots from Issoire in their homes, as they could not have access to the town without endangering their lives.[22] The same general assembly complained about the resistance of governors to establishing places of worship for Huguenots, as the edicts of pacification stated that they should.[23] The 1584 *cahier* complained that Huguenots were excluded from towns in Haute-Auvergne, forcing them to be vagabonds and therefore legitimately pursued by the *prévôts*, and killed in the fields. The *cahier* also complained that the chamber at Lisle-sur-Tarn had refused to address cases in Cahors and Lauzerte, where those who had been returned to their homes by the *maréchal* de Matignon had soon been expelled again by the Catholic inhabitants. Similarly, the chamber of justice at Saintes had refused to address complaints from the town's consistory that the

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[18] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 794, art. 38: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[19] Possibly Henri de Rohan (1579-1638). See Chapter One, p. 9, fn. 45 for his biography.
[20] Mazarine Ms. 2593, fols. 332 v-333 r.
[21] Doucet I, 539.
[22] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 4 v, art. 46: Montauban 1581.
[23] 1577 edict, art. 8. Fleix, art. 6. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 3 r, arts. 26 and 27: the deputies would therefore ask the king to choose in his council one place from a list of four or five places named

minister of Saintes had been expelled from the town, for fear of offending the sieur de Ruffecq, governor of the province, who had expelled him.[24]

All of these examples illustrate why the *places de sûreté* and other Huguenot strongholds were important for the security of Huguenots who could not be re-established in their property. Petitions for *places de sûreté* were consistently based on the need for a place of retreat in face of persecution and cannot therefore be seen merely as a concession to feudalism, as J. Garrisson and others have argued.[25] In contrast to the view put forward by Lublinskaya,[26] surety towns were also present and requested in provinces not traditionally thought of as important to Huguenots during the later period of civil wars, such as Brittany, Champagne and Burgundy.[27]

II. Sequestration of ecclesiastical property

i. Measures taken by Huguenot general assemblies

In an article on 'Finances et guerres de religion en France' (1981) Claude Michaud studied how the appropriation of benefices by Huguenots contributed to a decline in the revenue the monarchy hoped to gain from the subsidy paid by the clergy from benefices during the period 1568-78. Michaud concluded that it was in fact the periphery, irrespective of religious choice, that refused to pay the subsidy. This was an area where 'les autonomies locales, consignées dans les coutumes, défendues par les états provinciaux et les seigneurs,

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by Huguenots for each *bailliage* or *sénéchaussée*, where worship could be established within a month, without reference to governors and other officers.

[24] B.P.F. Ms. 95, fols. 3 r-4 r: Montauban 1584 *cahier*.

[25] J. Garrisson-Estèbe, *L'Homme protestant* (Paris, Hachette, 1980), pp. 32-3. *L'édit de Nantes*, ed. J. Garrison (Biarritz, Atlantica, 1997), pp. 21-2. Similar points are made in Anquez I, 168 and C. Benoist, *Condition juridique des protestants sous le régime de l'édit de Nantes et après sa révocation.* (Paris, Arthur Rousseau, Editeur, 1900), p. 101.

[26] A. Lublinskaya, *French Absolutism: the crucial phase, 1620-1629*, transl. Brian Pearce (Cambridge, C.U.P., 1968), p. 158.

[27] See for example B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^2: Sainte-Foy 1594. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 302, art. 134: Loudun 1596. Mazarine Ms. 2594, fol. 107 r: replies given at Vendôme by Vulson and other deputies of the general assembly (7 February 1597). Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 504, 514, arts. 293, 338, 340: Saumur 1597. B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608. B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 210 r: Saumur 1611. B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 75 r-76 r, arts. 13-4: articles decided in the general assembly at Nîmes in response to those from Condé (1615).

sont restées les plus vivantes'.[28] In his article on 'Financing the Cause', Greengrass pointed out that 'seizure and sale of the movable wealth from churches and confraternities' was the most readily realized in the cities.[29] Ecclesiastical property also included temporal church property and revenue, produce, church ornaments, bells, relics, silver, vestments, woods and forests (including mature standing timber), and stone.

Generally, sequestration of ecclesiastical property was treated by Huguenot political assemblies in the same way as sequestration of lay property: it was acceptable for public purposes such as the payment of troops but reprehensible when carried out on private authority.[30] As for private property, leases and farms of ecclesiastical property and revenue were auctioned to provide revenue for the party. The regulation of the general assembly at La Rochelle (10 May 1621) stated that ecclesiastical property would be leased in the customary manner before the *commissaires* who were established in each province.[31]

Less well known is the fact that many Huguenots legally acquired temporal ecclesiastical property during royal alienations (only Catholics could buy clerical ecclesiastical property)[32] or ecclesiastical buildings sold after the reconquest of Navarre in August 1569.[33] The latter sales were guaranteed in an agreement between the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé and La Rochelle in 1577.[34] At the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588, some complained that they had never benefited from their acquisition of ecclesiastical

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[28] C. Michaud, 'Finances et guerres de religion en France', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 28 (1981), pp. 573-4, 575, 586, 590, 595-6.

[29] M. Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause: Protestant Mobilization and Accountability in France (1562-1589)' in P. Benedict, G. Marnef, H. van Nierop, and M. Venard (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585* (Amsterdam, Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999), p. 235.

[30] Mazarine Ms. 2593, fols. 8 v-9 r: letter from Huguenots of Dauphiné assembled at Gap to the *parlement* at Grenoble (12 May 1581).

[31] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 46 r, art. 35: La Rochelle 10 May 1621 regulation.

[32] For the alienation of church property, which was first discussed at the Estates at Pontoise in 1561, see Doucet II, 841-3. See also F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d' Application de l'Edit de Nantes. Première partie. Règne de Henri IV* (Université de Paris, Faculté de Droit, 1950), pp. 49-50 and Wolfe, *The Fiscal System*, p. 127. Alienations took place in 1563, 1568, 1574, 1576 and 1586. The 1586 alienations were interrupted by the death of Henri III in 1589 and had to be concluded later. Those areas that were very poor and could find no buyers for their properties had the king's permission to alienate their tithes or to sell off the tall timber in their forests.

[33] J. Major, *The Monarchy, the Estates and the Aristocracy in Renaissance France*, p. 30: the confiscation in Navarre yielded about 80, 000 *livres* annually.

[34] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 5 [b].

temporal property during the conflicts in 1568-9. The property had been sold by the authority of the princes, and it was now decided that its revenue would be employed for the public good.[35] At the general assembly held at Châtellerault in 1605, the sieur Armet, a deputy for Burgundy, Forez, Lyonnais and Bresse and an *avocat* at the *parlement* of Dijon, stated that in 1569 his late father had bought ecclesiastical property amounting to 5, 450 *livres*, in three contracts, which he had been forced to return by the edict of pacification of 1570. He claimed that by this edict the Huguenot churches owed him the price of acquisition,[36] but the assembly concluded that Armet's demand was inadmissible, and that the king would be asked to declare the churches exempt from such payments.[37] The edict of Nantes allowed Huguenots who had bought such property to obtain reimbursement from the Huguenot churches.[38] Armet was possibly the 'baron de Armen', on behalf of whom the sieur de Barjac asked at Saumur in 1611 for the reimbursement of sums paid for ecclesiastical property sold by judicial authority in 1562. The assembly again refused.[39]

Other Huguenots were legal owners of temporal property on lands belonging to an ecclesiastical overlord. Many noblemen were also lay patrons of (small or secular) benefices (and subject to ecclesiastical courts).[40] Huguenots were also associated with the movement for reform of church property first advocated by Catholics at the Estates General at Pontoise, and further discussed and requested by the alliance between Catholics and Huguenot in 1575.[41]

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[35] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 253: La Rochelle 1588. Anquez I, 38-9 pointed out that at La Rochelle in 1588, the king of Navarre was accused of selling benefices to former Leaguers and favourites of Henri III.
[36] 1570 edict, art. 27.
[37] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 756-7: Châtellerault 1605. Armet was also a deputy for Burgundy at Jargeau in 1608.
[38] Edict of Nantes, art. 90.
[39] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 219 r: Saumur 1611. Armet was a deputy for Burgundy, Forez, Lyonnais, Beaujolais, Mâconnais, Bresse, Bugey, Verne and Gex at this assembly.
[40] For lay patrons, see Doucet II, 689, 701-2, 707 and J. Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi 1559-1598* (Toulouse, Edouard Privat, 1980), p. 251. Right of patronage principally consisted in the right to present a candidate when a benefice or ecclesiastical office fell vacant. B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 49 v, 50 r-v, 51 r-v: the clergy at the Estates General of 1614 sought to remove Huguenot lay patrons in favour of Catholics. They asked that the king not grant any benefices to Huguenots, that Huguenots be forced to obey synodal visits and regulations for temporal property, and that Huguenots who rented ecclesiastical property could not be judged by a *chambre de l'édit.*
[41] Arsenal Ms. 3847, p. 110, art. 78: articles presented for peace in May 1575. Mazarine Ms. 2592: treaty of association between Catholics and Huguenots (1575). *Declaration et Protestation de monseigneur de Dampville Marechal de France. avec la Protestation des Eglises refformées de France, asse[m]blées à Millau en Rouuergue* [sic.], *sur les troubles de presant* (Strasbourg, 1575), pp.

Edicts of pacification and articles for peace led to the restitution of ecclesiastical property and revenue to the church, even when property had been legally bought, as the case of Armet above shows, and granted a royal pardon for this.[42] Huguenot restitution of ecclesiastical property and revenue was encouraged by an allocation of funds in compensation in the *brevet* of 3 April 1598 that accompanied the edict of Nantes.[43] The restitution of ecclesiastical property and worship was often supported by Catholic judges sitting in the *chambres de l'édit*, although the chambers could not address cases relating to benefices.[44] However, much of church temporal and ecclesiastical property had been damaged or destroyed during the conflicts; some land had been built upon and some of the building material used for fortifications.[45]

A condition of the absolution of Henri IV had been the restoration of the Catholic chuch in Béarn.[46] The restitution of ecclesiastical property in the kingdom of Béarn has been frequently discussed, but it needs to be reiterated here because of the consequences of the decision made by the general assemblies to support Huguenots in Béarn. The trigger was the grant of a royal pension to the bishops in Béarn, to be drawn on the sum allocated to Huguenots from ecclesiastical property in the province for ministers, the academy at Orthez and the garrison at Navarrenx.[47] This prompted the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 to establish an oath of union and regulation in common with Béarn, which was seen by the queen mother as contrary to their duty to the king. The general assembly also included articles

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8-9. Cf. Arsenal Ms. 3847, p. 106, art. 24: articles for peace (May 1575) and Arsenal Ms. 3847, p. 132: reply to *cahier* of 6 May 1576.

[42] 1576 edict, arts. 25, 27, 30, 41-2. 1577 edict, arts. 29, 31, 43, 47, 59. Nérac, arts. 11, 18. Fleix, art. 32. Edict of Nantes, arts. 3, 4, 16 (converse rights for Huguenots), 25, 76, 90. B.P.F. Ms. 816^{1}, 2e Dossier, 3: pardon for Dauphiné (February 1622). B.N.F. fr. 3821, fols. 22 v-23 r: Montpellier 20 October 1622 articles and Arsenal Ms. 2667, première partie, pp. 306-7: 22 October 1622 articles.

[43] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 26-7.

[44] R. Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc' in M. Grandjean and B. Roussel (eds.), *Coexister dans l'intolérance. L'édit de Nantes (1598)* (Geneva, Labor et Fides, 1998), p. 334.

[45] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 183-4. Cf. edict of Nantes, arts. 5, 76.

[46] The king accepted this in 1595; in 1599, he enacted the edict of Fontainebleau giving Catholics in Béarn the same rights as Huguenots were granted in France by the edict of Nantes.

[47] Details in Anquez I, 303-9.

on Béarn in the general *cahier*.[48] There had been deputies from Albret at the general assemblies at Saint-Jean-d'Angély in 1582 and La Rochelle in 1588; deputies from Béarn were a permanent presence from 1611.[49] However, the joint presentation of petitions with those of the kingdom of Béarn damaged the standing of the political assemblies because they maintained this stance despite the opposition of Louis XIII (particularly in 1611 and 1615).[50] This question is also important because it led to the implementation of the regulation on the *cercles*, first drawn up at Saumur in 1611.[51] The deputies of the councils of the provinces of France and Béarn convened in 1617 and from April 1618 to January 1619 in response to the full withdrawal from Huguenots of ecclesiastical property in Béarn (25 June 1617).[52] This assembly, which moved from Orthez to La Rochelle in late December 1618 and early January 1619, was judged illegal by the *parlement* on 16 January 1619, as it contravened prohibitions of 25 May 1618, but was pardoned following its separation on 22 April 1619.[53] The king was fully aware of all that took place at this *cercle* assembly: a letter to Louis XIII (dated 19 February 1619) from a M. de Boissorée, who secretly acted on behalf of the monarchy at this assembly, was originally accompanied by a 'livret' by which the king would be completely informed 'des conséquences de l'affaire dudict Béarn'.[54] This *cercle* assembly preceded the

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[48] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 203 r-205 r, 216 v: Saumur 1611. Copy of the oaths in B.N.F. Dupuy 213, fols. 130 r-132 r. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 241 r, 244 v-255 r: letter from royal *commissaires* (Boissise and Bullion) to the queen mother and her reply (12 June 1611). Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 809, art. 59: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 175 r-177 r, 179 r-181 r, 183 r-v (copy in Mazarine Ms. 2608, fol. 204 r-215 r): memoranda and instructions on Béarn for the deputies sent to court (1611).

[49] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 185: Saint-Jean-d'Angély 1582. Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 197-8: La Rochelle 1588. B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 200 v: Saumur 1611.

[50] For the Saumur 1611 general assembly, see B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 246 r: the queen mother's reply to a letter from Boissise and Bullion (12 June 1611); Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 811, art. 59: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. For the general assemblies at Grenoble, Nîmes and La Rochelle in 1615-6, see B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fols. 92 r-73 v [sic.]: memorandum given to Frère returning to the general assembly at Grenoble after the *cahiers* had been answered (20 September 1615); B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 20 v-21 r, art. 8: articles in the *cahier* presented to the king at Poitiers; the prince of Condé requested modifications to the royal reply to these articles (1616).

[51] See Chapter One, p. 8 c, Figure 3.

[52] See letters from the deputies of provincial councils at La Rochelle to La Trémoille in B.P.F. Ms. 522^2, fol. 24 r (17 February 1617); fols. 36 r-38 r (22 January 1619); fols. 41 r-41 [bis.] (12 March 1619).

[53] Mazarine Ms. 2598. For details on the assembly at Orthez and La Rochelle, see Anquez I, 312-5.

[54] *B.S.H.P.F.*, 7 (1858), pp. 19-21.

general assembly at Loudun in 1619, which sent a deputation to Béarn.[55] A pamphlet entitled *Les antipodes pour et contre, en l'assemblee tenue par permission du Roy à Loudun és annees 1619. & 1620.* (1620) did express some opposition to the assembly's association with Béarn,[56] but Louis XIII's 'invasion' of Béarn in October 1620 then motivated the convocation of the provincial assembly at Millau, on 11 November.[57] This was followed a month and a half later by the final general assembly at La Rochelle, which convened without a *brevet*.

ii. Restitution of Catholic worship and Catholic processions

The restitution of ecclesiastical property was paralleled by the restitution of Catholic worship. Edicts also stipulated the return of Catholic clergy and Catholics to Huguenot *places de sûreté*.[58]

General assemblies sought an exemption from the re-establishment of Catholic worship for some towns they held, such as La Rochelle and other *places de sûreté* granted to the party.[59] At the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588, Henri de Navarre agreed that generals and governors of provinces and fortified places would keep watch over Catholic clergy to punish them accordingly should they forfeit the protection under which they had been received.[60] This provision was reiterated at the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594.[61] The general assembly at Saumur in 1611 complained that processions were being led almost daily into Huguenot towns, garrisons towns and castles, to reclaim Catholic churches there.

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[55] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7195, fols. 97 r-100 r: 'Instructions de l'assemblée generalle tenant a Loudun à Mess.[ieu]rs de Colombières et de Blondel deputez vers les Eglises de la Souver.[aine]té de Béarn par l'assemblée de Loudun. [16 October] 1619'. *Lettre de l'Assemblee de la Souveraineté de Bearn, a l'Assemblee de Loudun* (n.p., 1620).

[56] *Les antipodes pour et contre, en l'assemblee tenue par permission du Roy à Loudun és annees 1619. & 1620.* (n. p., 1620), pp. 38-9.

[57] B.P.F. Ms. 816[1], 2[e] Dossier, 1: letter of convocation written at Montauban by the council of the province (26 October 1620).

[58] 1577 edict, arts. 3-4. Nérac, art. 18. Fleix, art. 2. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 26, 182: edict of Travecy (May 1596). Edict de Nantes, art. 3. B.N.F. fr. 3821, fols. 22 v-23 r: Montpellier 20 October 1622. Arsenal Ms. 2667, première partie, pp. 306-7: 22 October 1622 articles.

[59] See for instance B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: instructions for the deputies sent by the general assembly at Loudun to Rouen (15 October 1596). This request also included some towns held by Huguenots in the marquisate of Saluzzo.

[60] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 16 [a] [A 5, R 5 & 6]: 'Remonstrance faitte au Roy de navarre p[ar] les deputes de l'assemblee Generalle des Esglizes Reformées de ce Royaume [actually just ministers] convoquee a la Rochelle'. Answered by the king.

[61] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[3], arts. 5-8, 10, 12-3, 15: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*.

The assembly asked the king to order that governors from these places would not be forced to let these processions enter, unless they were limited in number, or if Catholic worship that took place in some of the castles was moved elsewhere in these towns.[62] In towns controlled by Huguenots, it is likely that religious processions became a problem in the 1590s and 1600s, as bishops began to reassert their role in these areas.[63]

Within the context of the restitution of Catholic worship, the general assemblies particularly discussed the re-introduction of the Jesuits in the jurisdiction of the Paris *parlement*. On 3 April 1600, the general assembly held at Saumur received letters from its deputy du Coudray[64] stating that the Pope was pressing the king to publish the decrees of the Council of Trent and to receive the Jesuits. The assembly decided to seek prompt advice from 'les seigneurs de nostre confession' at court 'afin que par prieres a dieu et bon conseil quil nous donne que nous puissions divertir cest orage dessus noz eglises'.[65] The Jesuits were re-introduced in 1603. Deputies such as Jean Bedé, sieur de La Gormandière, whose role has already been discussed in Chapters One and Two,[66] wrote printed works (published between 1610 and 1646) in support of the Gallican position against advocates of papal supremacy such as cardinal Bellarmine and ultramontane bishops.[67] The *cahier* of the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 also asked that Jesuits would not be allowed to establish colleges, seminaries, or homes, nor to preach, teach, confess or even reside in any place held by Huguenots. It also

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[62] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 208 v: Saumur 8 June 1611. Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 802-3, art. 54: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. The provincial assembly at Loudun in 1619 specifically asked for the exclusion of Catholic clergymen from the castle at Loudun. See B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 95 v: Loudun September 1619 provincial assembly.

[63] See B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, art. 12: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*. 'Promulgation de l'édit de Nantes dans les villes de sûretés huguenotes. Montpellier en 1600', ed. M. de Cazenove, *B.S.H.P.F.* 47 (1898), p. 366, art. xiii. P. Conner, 'Peace in the provinces. Peace-making in the Protestant South during the Later Wars of Religion', in K. Cameron, M. Greengrass and P. Roberts (eds.), *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France. Papers from the Exeter Conference, April 1999* (Bern, Oxford, Peter Lang, 2000), p. 182. R. Mentzer, 'The Edict of Nantes and its institutions', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World* (2002), p. 105, briefly mentions processions.

[64] See Chapter One, p. 29, fn. 170 for his biography.

[65] B.N.F. 7192, fol. 263 r-v: Saumur 1599-1601.

[66] See Chapter One, pp. 24, 28 and Chapter Two, pp. 68-9.

[67] See Bibliography, pp. 308-9. On the perception of Huguenots 'collationnez à l'original des anciens Gaulois' as a counterbalance to Spain, the papacy, ultramontane bishops and their flocks, see Arsenal Ms. 5427, première partie, p. 123: note by the Secretary of State Puysieux, c. 1622. *Les antipodes pour et contre, en l'assemblee tenue par permission du Roy à Loudun és annees 1619. & 1620.* (n. p., 1620),

asked that the king limit Jesuits in his kingdom to the terms set for their re-introduction in 1603. The reply stated that no Jesuit college could be established in the kingdom without royal permission.[68] Although assurances were given to the general assembly, the monarchy could however bring pressure to bear on individual governors who were indebted to the crown for *brevets*, pensions and other rewards. A letter (dated 17 July 1611, during the general assembly at Saumur) from the regent Marie de Medici to Marc-Antoine de Boisguérin, the governor of Loudun,[69] shows that the regent was assured that Boisguérin would no longer deny the Jesuits 'l'entrée et séjour libre' in the castle at Loudun, because of the priory they held there.[70] The request in the 1611 *cahier* should also be seen in the light of the fact that the national synods of 1578, 1601 and 1609 had done all they could to prevent Huguenots from sending their children to Jesuit colleges. The two educational systems were similar and some Huguenots were keen that their sons should benefit from the same schooling as many in the Catholic majority.[71] Complaints about Jesuit contraventions were renewed in October 1619 at the general assembly at Loudun. The assembly decided that the governors of *places de sûreté*, noble landowners, mayors, magistrates and consuls of towns held by Huguenots in France and Béarn would implement previous royal resolutions excluding Jesuits. The act outlining the assembly's decision would be sent to the provinces for implementation.[72] The royal declaration (7 February 1620) allowing Jesuits to preach in towns left in the hands of Huguenots was written in direct response to this 'arresté' and to complaints from bishops and clergy in the kingdom. The royal declaration stated that diocesan bishops would be allowed to send preachers to Catholic subjects, as they had always in the past, without obstruction from

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pp. 7-8, 11-2, 15. This trend can be seen as a development of anti-Italian feeling already existing during the reign of Henri III.

[68] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 802, art. 53: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.

[69] See Chapter One, pp. 40-1.

[70] 'Lettres adressées de 1585 à 1625 à Marc-Antoine Marreau de Boisguérin gouverneur de Loudun', eds. G. de La Marque and E. de Barthélemy, *Archives historiques du Poitou*, XIV (1883), 266, number 53. The Jesuits had established their religious house in Loudun in 1610.

[71] K. Maag, 'The Huguenot academies: preparing for an uncertain future', in R. Mentzer and A. Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, p. 152. For Jesuit colleges, see Doucet II, 797-9.

[72] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 832-3: Loudun 1619-20. The assembly's decision was rejected by the *parlements* of Toulouse and Paris. The assembly decided to support the governor of Figeac, who had implemented this decision, against prosecution by the Toulouse *parlement*. See Anquez I, 323, fn. 1.

governors, mayors, consuls and *échevins*. The declaration added that as before, Jesuits would not be allowed to establish colleges, seminaries or homes in these towns and places as long as they remained in the keeping of Huguenots. The declaration refers to a royal *arrêt* of 10 November 1617, which itself clarified the royal answer to articles in *cahiers* presented by Huguenots in 1607 and 1612. This illustrates the manner in which previous answers to the *cahiers* served as a basis for the elaboration of rulings on matters that concerned Huguenots, and served as a framework for exchanges between the monarchy and the assemblies.[73]

iii. Places for Huguenot worship

The restitution of ecclesiastical property also entailed that new places had to be chosen for Huguenot worship. In her article on 'The Conflict over Sites for Reformed Worship in Sixteenth-Century France' (1998), P. Roberts pointed out that although Huguenots were often granted places of worship far from towns, this failed to prevent the civil disorder that had often entailed from the proximity of Huguenot and Catholic worship. Huguenots became easy targets for ambush, by the peasantry in the countryside, by robbers on woodland paths, or as they passed through the town gates.[74]

Although Huguenot petitions about sites for reformed worship could indeed be made through the local high nobility and members of the royal entourage,[75] they were also made through the general assemblies. The speech delivered by the deputy Feydeau on behalf of the general assembly at Mantes in December 1593 stated for example that those forced to worship in 'leurz [sic.] champestres [e]t égarez' had been captured, burnt alive, or tortured, then ransomed above the value of their property. If duty to service of the king and the preservation of France did not retain them, exile would have been preferable to 'une demeure si abiecte

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[73] Mazarine Ms. 2598. See also B.N.F. fr. 20960, fol. 140 v: 'Advis de monsieur de Bouillon a lassemblee porté par le s[ieu]r de la forest' and *Advis d'un vieil Conseiller d'estat Opinant sur le faict de l'Assemblée de Loudun.* (n.p., 1620), pp. 5-6.

[74] P. Roberts, 'The Most Crucial Battle of the Wars of Religion? The Conflict over Sites for Reformed Worship in Sixteenth-Century France', *A.R.G.*, 89 (1998), pp. 257-60, 262, 265.

[75] *ibid.*, p. 262. P. Roberts, 'Huguenot petitioning during the wars of religion', in R. Mentzer and A. Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, p. 72.

entre nos parens [et] voisins'.[76] On 3 April 1597, the general assembly at Saumur read letters stating that on 28 March, 'on a bruslé Les Loges bancs et la Chaise [sic.] du lieu ou se faisoit Le presche a Caen'. The assembly decided to write to the sieur de la Vérune and to the *présidial* at Caen 'et s'en plaindre vifvement A Messieurs Les Depputez de Sa Majesté Afin qu'on y mette ordre pour obvier a ce qui en pourroit advenir'.[77] The second *cahier* presented to the king by the sieur de Colladon[78] (1601), acting on behalf of the general assembly at Saumur, complained that Florimond de Raemond (1540-1601), a *conseiller* and president in the Bordeaux *parlement*[79] and a Capuchin called father Archange had instigated a riot at the place of worship given to Huguenots at Bègles, outside Bordeaux, on 1 May of that year. Little redress seemed to be available.[80] In her article of 'The Rites of Violence' (first published in 1973), N. Zemon Davis discussed the role of clerics, particularly Catholic preachers, in legitimating popular violence. The occasion for most religious violence was during the time of religious worship or ritual and in the space which one or both groups were using for sacred purposes.[81] The example above illustrates this. The provincial assembly at Loudun from 12-16 September 1619 intended to complain about Catholic preachers flouting the provisions of the edicts on public peace, so that Huguenots were unable to find servants, 'et les enfans mesmes ne s'osent librement trouver par les rues, pour les injures et force qu'on leur faict'.[82] Some of these cases were brought before the *chambres de l'édit*, to be judged within the framework of the edicts of pacification, although this was an area of conflict with

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[76] B.P.F. Ms. 1063 [3]: speech by Feydeau (December 1593). Mazarine Ms. 2594, fol. 9 r-v: the petition presented to the king on 10 May 1596 hoped for an edict of pacification that would grant them an 'Egalité civille'. The *Lettre d'un gentilhomme de la Religion, à un sien amy, deputé en l'Assemblee generale des Eglises Reformees de France, à Loudun. Contenant advis sur les principalles propositions qui y seront faites*. (n.p., n.d.) (25 August 1619), pp. 4-5, also stressed the importance of being born in France.

[77] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 521, art. 365.

[78] See Chapter Two, p. 86, fn. 216 for his biography.

[79] Montaigne had sold him his office of *conseiller* on 10 April 1570. Raemond's *Histoire de la naissance, progrez et décadence de l'hérésie de ce siècle* (2 vols) was published in 1605.

[80] Arsenal Ms. 6594, fols. 69 r-70 r, arts. 7 and 8 (copy in Mazarine Ms. 2595, fols. 271 r-279 r). The remonstrance presents a detailed narrative account of this incident.

[81] N. Z. Davis, 'The Rites of Violence', in N.Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Cambridge and Oxford, Polity Press and Blackwell Publishers, 1995), pp. 165-7, 170.

[82] B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 91 r: Loudun 1619 provincial assembly. See edict of Nantes, art. 17.

ecclesiastical jurisdiction (represented by the *officialités*).[83] Requests to bring places of worship closer to towns were primarily addressed to the king.[84] Another *cahier* dated 27 June 1611 requested that Huguenots in the *bailliage* of Mâcon be allowed to worship in whichever place they could buy in the village of Urigny, given to them by the *commissaires* for the implementation of the edict.[85] On 28 August 1615, deputies from the general assembly at Grenoble presented to the king a *cahier* in which they requested that places of worship would be brought closer to towns.[86]

iv. Huguenot cemeteries and funeral processions

The case of cemeteries further illustrates the manner in which Huguenot general assemblies addressed conflicts with ecclesiastical and lay authorities over the attribution of church property.[87] Anquez briefly mentioned problems relating to cemeteries and burials before the edict of Nantes, but made no extensive study of this.[88] Temples and cemeteries were treated in the same articles in the *cahiers* drawn up by the general assemblies, and were

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[83] In general, all personal civil cases in which clergy were defendants came under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, while those in which clergy were plaintiffs against laymen came under royal jurisdiction. When a cleric committed a crime, the *délit commun* concerned the ecclesiastical judge. The part of the offence that concerned public order was called a *cas privilégié* and it concerned royal justice (Doucet II, 783-4, 786). Article 34 of the edict of Nantes stated that in criminal trials between clergymen and Huguenots, where the clergyman was defendant the sovereign courts would judge the trial; if a Huguenot stood accused by a clergyman the trial would be judged in the last instance by the *chambres de l'édit*. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 781, art. 11: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 251 v: *cahier* given to La Caze, Courtomer, Ferrier, Mirande and Armet (27 June 1611). Doucet I, 180-1, 280-1; Doucet II, 780-2, 786-9: procedure in the *officialités* was defined by canon law and by royal ordinances. The *officialités* had a tendency to exceed their jurisdiction: royal judges could intervene with *l'appel comme d'abus* (the appeal was addressed to the *parlements*), the procedure for *cas privilégiés* or threaten seizure of temporal property.

[84] R. Mentzer, 'L'édit de Nantes et la chambre de justice du Languedoc' in *Coexister dans l'intolérance* (1998), p. 335.

[85] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 253 r: 'Cahier baille aux sieurs de la Caze, Courtomer, Ferrier, de Mirande et Armet'.

[86] Mazarine Ms. 2597: 'Cahier des aproches de l'exercice de la Religion pretendue refformée que demandent ceux de ladicte Religion plus pres des Villes presenté au Roy a Tours avecq le Cahier general' (28 August 1615). Answered Poitiers, 12 September 1615.

[87] Doucet I, 180-1, Doucet II, 782: while the *officialités* had jurisdiction over church or monastic property such as cemeteries, matters relating to benefices were addressed by lay jurisdiction. Edict of Nantes, art. 34: the *chambres de l'édit* could not address cases involving benefices, tithes that were not paid as feudal dues, ecclesiastical patronage, and cases concerning the rights and duties or domain of the church, which were all judged in the *parlements* (following the Pragmatic Sanction of 1438 and the Concordat of 1516).

[88] Anquez I, 103-4.

subject to the same concerns about civic order and the legality of Huguenot claims.[89] As part of the implementation of the edict of Nantes, the attribution of cemeteries came under the remit of the *commissaires* for the implementation of the edict. For F. Garrisson, right of burial was certainly 'un des problèmes les plus délicats que posa l'application de l'Edit'. He demonstrated that apart from a few exceptions, the *commissaires* did not personally supervise the delivery of cemeteries granted to Huguenots by article 28 of the edict of Nantes, as royal instructions would have wished, but left this to recalcitrant local officers. The royal council could only resolve a few of these cases.[90]

The case of Bordeaux, often highlighted by Huguenot political assemblies, is interesting because it was a predominantly Catholic town. The *parlement* was particularly active against heresy.[91] The memorandum on contraventions to the peace of May 1576 (8 October 1576) stated that at Bordeaux no place of burial was given to Huguenots, where they were even denied burial at hospitals.[92] As the archbishop and his clergy refused consecrated ground for Huguenot burial, the mayor and *jurats* of the town had offered a place that was not enclosed, near the walls, at one of the town gates, 'Ou tous Les [bourrurs] et Immondicitees ont acoustume destre portez'. Not only was this ignominious, but Huguenots would always be suspected of trying to seize the town gate.[93] Far from being fatally elitist, as Airo-Farulla argued in his 1969 thesis,[94] the general assembly at Sainte-Foy (1594) named in its *cahier* the

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[89] P. Roberts, 'The Most Crucial Battle of the Wars of Religion? The Conflict over Sites for Reformed Worship in Sixteenth-Century France', *A.R.G.*, 89 (1998), p. 264. *idem*, 'Contesting sacred space: burial disputes in sixteenth-century France', in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds.), *The Place of the Dead. Death and Remembrance in Medieval and Modern Europe* (Cambridge, C.U.P., 2000), pp. 140, 145, 146. Cemeteries were first granted by the edict of pacification in 1570 (art. 13).

[90] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 235, 242-4.

[91] H. Dubief and J. Poujol (eds.), *La France protestante. Histoire et lieux de mémoire*, 2nd ed. (Paris, Les éditions de Paris Max Chaleil, 1996), p. 369. See P. Roberts, 'Contesting sacred space: burial disputes in sixteenth-century France', in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds.), *The Place of the Dead.* (2000), pp. 141-2, for examples of burial disputes in Bordeaux and in regional towns such as Bazas, Libourne and Marmande in 1562 and 1563.

[92] Doucet II, 806-10: between 1561 and 1593 a series of royal ordinances and edicts had increasingly transferred ecclesiastical authority over hospitals to lay administration, controlled by the municipalities, royal officers and the *parlements*. In Rouen, Amiens and Bordeaux, hospitals were administered jointly by clerics and laymen. The edicts of pacification of 1570 (art. 15), 1573 (art. 8), 1576 (art. 11), 1577 (art. 15) and 1598 (art. 22) stated that there would be no discrimination between Catholics and Huguenots for their access to hospitals. The deputies general, notably in 1606, pressed for the implementation of this. See J. Imbert, 'L'hospitalisation des protestants sous l'Ancien Régime' *B.S.H.P.F.*, 131 (1985), pp. 176, 179-81.

[93] B.N.F. fr. 20783, fol. 95 r.

[94] J. Airo-Farulla, 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henry IV, 1589 to 1598' (Seattle, University of Washington, 1969), pp. 138-40.

individuals involved in particular cases, even when not members of the nobility. In one case, it complained that although right to burial was founded on 'le droit des gens', burial in the public cemetery at Bordeaux was denied to the daughter of a notary named Castaigne because, while a Catholic, she had died in the house of a Huguenot. As her brother-in-law arranged her burial 'au [bourryer], ou Lon est [con]traint d'enterrer ceux de Lad[ite] Religion', he and his wife were brought before the *parlement* and compelled to relinquish their right of inheritance from the deceased with minimal compensation.[95]

Article 28 of the edict of Nantes stated that Huguenot cemeteries lost during the conflicts would be returned to them, except where new buildings had been erected on these grounds. Much of the implementation of the edict depended on whether plaintiffs still possessed the relevant documents that could validate their claims.[96] The second *cahier* presented to the king in 1601 by Colladon stated that at Bordeaux, the *commissaires* for the implementation of the edict had not given Huguenots a cemetery under pretext that they had been donated one by a Huguenot lady. However, that cemetery was far too small and the town magistrates had never allowed it to be 'fossoyé ny renfermé po[u]r empescher le bestial d'y entrer [et] garder quon nallast Sur la nuict desenterrer les morts'. The corpse of the wife of a 'notable Bourgeois' named Poictevin had been found disinterred. The general assembly therefore asked for a cemetery inside the town walls, according to the resolution of the *commissaires* in 1581, for which Huguenots in Bordeaux still had the *procès-verbal*. In case of new injunctions, the assembly asked that the case be brought before the *conseil privé*.[97] F. Garrisson mentions this article in Colladon's *cahier*, without discussing the case of Poictevin's wife, and argues that the decision by the *commissaires* not to grant Huguenots another cemetery, made on the basis of the decision of the 1577 *commissaires* to maintain

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[95] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, art. 14. The same article highlighted the case of an English captain who had served Henri IV: he had been exhumed by *arrêt* of the *parlement* at Bordeaux from the chapel of the Carthusian order, which had always been destined for the burial of foreigners.

[96] The edicts of pacification also contained provisions for the return of title deeds and documents taken with property during the conflicts. See 1576 edict, art. 43. 1577 edict, art. 44. Fleix, art. 32. Edict of Nantes, art. 69.

[97] Arsenal Ms. 6594, fol. 70 r-v, art. 9. For the *conseil privé*, see Chapter Three, p. 153.

Huguenots in separate cemeteries, was legally unjustifiable.[98] This was perhaps because article 28 of the edict of Nantes stated that Huguenots should be given a burial place 'la plus commode que faire se pourra' by local officers and the *commissaires* for the implementation of the edict. Huguenot complaints to the royal council were met with opposition from the local authorities. Article 9 of Colladon's *cahier* was taken up again in article 25 of the *cahier* presented by the deputy Dédouard in 1602. This resulted in an *arrêt* of the *conseil d'état* (12 October 1602) ordering a new assignation of land to be used as a cemetery, but the *jurats* opposed this. Huguenots in Bordeaux fared no better under the new *commissaires* chosen in 1611, Boissise and La Caze.[99] However, the royal reply to article 10 of the *cahier* drawn up at Saumur in 1611 agreed that proof of previous use would be sufficient for the return of places of worship and burial, as the 'tiltres justif[f]icatifs de la propriete' had often been lost during the conflicts.[100]

Partitioning of cemeteries was a related problem. The reply to the *cahier* presented by Colladon in 1601 stated that Catholic cemeteries could not be given to Huguenots, unless the priest and Catholics in the parish agreed to this, and the Huguenot area was in some way partitioned off from the rest.[101] However, the clergy at the Estates General in 1614 asked that Huguenots be prevented from partitioning cemeteries with Catholics, as well as having cemeteries close to those of Catholics.[102] Poitou was a rare case where partitioning of cemeteries was introduced from 1612 and was especially noticeable from 1623.[103]

Complaints relating to the wider jurisdiction of the Bordeaux *parlement* appear to focus on exhumations rather than denial of burial. Forced exhumations and the desecration of Huguenot corpses have recently been described as a consequence of the offence taken by Catholics at the Huguenot rejection of Purgatory and of elaborate funeral rites. The rejection

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[98] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 112-3.
[99] *ibid.*, p. 113. For La Caze, see Chapter Five, p. 229.
[100] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 780-1, art. 10; cf. pp. 782-3, art. 14: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[101] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 113, fn. 64; p. 242. See *ibid.*, p. 240, fn. 60 for an example of this.
[102] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 50 r.
[103] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 241-2. P. Roberts, 'Contesting sacred space: burial disputes in sixteenth-century France', in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds.), *The Place of the Dead.* (2000), p. 144.

of these beliefs and practices was also interpreted as a snub to the community; in return, exhumations physically expelled bodies from the community by their removal from sacred gound.[104] N. Weiss pointed out that exhumations became common after the Council of Trent and with the Catholic League, and he highlighted complaints about mass exhumations in 1597, notably in the jurisdiction of the Bordeaux *parlement*.[105] The general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594 complained in its *cahier* that Florimond de Raemond had ruled in the Bordeaux *parlement* 'en plaine audience', at the instigation of the *curé* of Ozillac in Saintonge, against the body of a young child buried there. Furthermore, it was ordered that Huguenot corpses that had been buried in that cemetery for ten years would be exhumed, and the bishop of Saintes would consecrate the land.[106] Article 45 of the particular articles of the edict of Nantes forbade exhumations and stated that Huguenot cemeteries would be separate from those of Catholics.[107] F. Garrisson showed how, despite this article, the Bordeaux *parlement* agreed in 1600 to a petition from the cardinal de Sourdis,[108] which entailed the exhumation of a Huguenot corpse in the cemetery at Coutras. La Force, the Huguenot governor of Guyenne,[109] upheld a complaint from the Bordeaux consistory. The Huguenots at Coutras agreed to exhume the corpse and bury it in the cemetery that was to be given them. The *parlement* was asked to no longer address such matters, which came first within the remit of the *commissaires*, then within that of the *chambre mi-partie* at Nérac. The *commissaires* signed an ordinance forcing Huguenots to ask for particular cemeteries and obliging local

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[104] N. Z. Davis, 'The Rites of Violence', in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (1995), p. 179. P. Roberts, 'Contesting sacred space', in B. Gordon and P. Marshall (eds.), *The Place of the Dead*, pp. 131-3, 140. See also B. Roussel, '"Ensevelir honnestement les corps": funeral corteges and Huguenot culture', in Mentzer and Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, pp. 200-1, 207 and B. Cottret, *1598. L'Édit de Nantes. [...]* (Paris, Librairie Académique Perrin, 1997), p. 165.

[105] N. Weiss, 'Autour de l'édit de Nantes. La question des enterrements de protestants', *B.S.H.P.F.* 47 (1898), p. 520.

[106] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, art. 14. Cf. B. Roussel, '"Ensevelir honnestement les corps"', in Mentzer and Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, p. 200.

[107] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 235. Huguenots were allowed to continue to bury their dead in parish cemeteries as a temporary measure that was intended to force local officers and magistrates to rapidly grant burial grounds to Huguenots.

[108] J. Bergin, *The Making of the French Episcopate 1589-1661* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 704-5: François d'Escoubleau de Sourdis (1574-1628) was archbishop of Bordeaux from 1599 to 1628 and coadjutor of Maillezais from 1605 to 1615.

[109] See Chapter One, p. 16, fn. 89 for his biography.

officers to assign these within three days of the request.[110] Redress was also sought through the deputies general: their instruction (15 October 1601) drawn up by the general assembly at Sainte-Foy specifically asked them to present to the king the case of a merchant from La Rochelle named Pitassarie who had died in Bayonne, his birthplace. He had not been buried because he was a Huguenot and his body had been 'porté en divers Lieux par divers Jours sans qu'on ait peû avoir de Lieu pour Luy donner Sepulture et satisfaire au dernier debvoir que L' humanité Requiert des hommes'.[111]

The problem of the exhumation of members of the nobility from their churches was also raised by Huguenot general assemblies, but only briefly mentioned by F. Garrisson.[112] On 10 March 1597 du Plessis Mornay presented letters from the sieur de Noyer to the general assembly at Saumur, asking advice on the fact that the bishop of Le Mans[113] sought to exhume the sieur de L'Isle du Gast, buried in the Huguenot temple in a parish dependent on his home. The assembly decided to try to bring this case to the *conseil privé*. Du Plessis Mornay was asked to write to the count of Schomberg,[114] one of the royal *commissaires* negotiating with the assembly, about this matter.[115] In 1601, the cardinal de Sourdis had ordered the exhumation of the corpse of the demoiselle de Roulies who had been buried ten years previously 'au Bourg de Pontus aux landes de Bourdelois en l'Eglise dont son Mary est fondateur'. The deputies general were asked to raise this matter at court.[116] The reply to the 1611 *cahier* stated that the king could not approve the burial of Huguenot noblemen in churches, even on their own lands, where they held right of burial, because it contravened canonical constitutions. The *commissaires* for the implementation of the edict would however

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[110] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 111-2, 238.
[111] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 737.
[112] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 240, fn. 60.
[113] J. Bergin, *The Making of the French Episcopate* (1996), pp. 360, 364, 384, 386, 398-9, 563: Claude d'Angennes (d. 1601), successively bishop of Noyon and Le Mans. He and his brothers rallied early to Henri IV; he was one of his key advisors during the 1590s. However, in his speech presenting the remonstrances of the general assembly of the clergy that opened in December 1595, d'Angennes criticised the subversion of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the monarchy and demanded the adoption of the decrees of the Council of Trent. He became a papal legate in 1596.
[114] See Chapter Two, p. 77, fn. 156 for his biography.
[115] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 504, art. 295: Saumur 1597.
[116] *ibid.*, p. 736: Sainte-Foy 1601 regulations for the deputies general.

be entitled to establish with noblemen the means of preserving the temporal rights they held as lay lords or patrons of these churches.[117]

Article 28 of the edict of Nantes stated that the delivery of a new cemetery would be free of charge when the burial grounds of which Huguenots had been dispossessed had been built upon. Subsequent regulations then developed this provision.[118] The *cahier* of 1611 asked that following previous regulations, notably the reply to article 22 of the *cahier* answered in August 1602, all royal and subordinate judges would provide a convenient place for the burial of Huguenot dead in each town, *bourg* and village where required, even if there were only one or two Huguenots there. This would be free in public places belonging to the king or to the communities of these towns, *bourgs* and villages. Where there were no public places, the *cahier* asked that a place would be bought by all inhabitants of the parish, to which Huguenots would contribute their portion. The royal response stated that the reply of August 1602 would be followed and broadly agreed to these terms.[119] Temples and cemeteries were exempt from the *tailles* and other taxes, but not from rents and other duties owed to jurisdictional overlords. The royal reply to article 13 of the *cahier* of August 1602 stated that mortmain legislation (for property owed by a community) was not applicable to them. The same reply granted that seigneurial duties owed for grounds acquired for a temple or cemetery would be paid only once (after expert evaluation). The *commissaires* in Guyenne (La Force and Refuge) made only Huguenots bear the cost of these duties, while Renard and Courtomer in Normandy made the community pay them.[120]

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[117] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 784-5, art. 17: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 50 r-v: there was again opposition to this from the clergy at the Estates general in 1614.

[118] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 112.

[119] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 783, art. 15: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. Cf. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 239, 240-1: the same decision entailed that the royal council, *commissaires*, *parlements* or *chambres de l'édit* responded favourably to Catholic *cahiers* requesting restitution to them of parish cemeteries used by Huguenots where they were the majority. Replacement grounds were offered to Huguenots from common funds.

[120] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 247-8. 'Documents inédits sur la Saintonge et l'Aunis du XIIe au XVIIe siècle', ed. P. Marchegay, *Archives historiques de Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, V (1878), 59, number xxiii: in a later example, the Huguenots of Semussac, a parish in the barony of Didone, asked in a letter to their jurisdictional lord Frédéric de La Trémoille, count of Laval (17 May 1623), for the abolition of the rent in wheat assigned on the land they had bought for use as a cemetery.

The *cahiers* and petitions presented by the general assemblies also repeatedly sought to obtain permission to carry out burials by day instead of at night in places where Huguenot worship was allowed. Restrictions on the burial of Huguenots were first imposed by the royal edict of interpretation (of the earlier March edict) dated 14 December 1563.[121] Article 29 of the edict of Nantes stated that royal judges would ensure the security of Huguenot funerals, free of charge. F. Garrisson argued that the ordinance for Paris by the *commissaires* Montlouet[122] and Jeannin of 26 October 1599 served as a model for others. The royal council confirmed that the particular regulations of *commissaires* would be followed; where there were none, Huguenot funerals would take place half an hour before sunrise and half an hour after sunset.[123] An extract from the registers of the *conseil d'état* dated 24 April 1609 shows that these provisions had fallen into disuse ten years later. On 7 March 1609, following a petition from the Huguenot deputies general, the *conseil d'état* agreed to overrule the judgement of the *lieutenant criminel* of Paris limiting these provisions and to reinstate the decision of 26 October 1599. Huguenots would also be assisted by an archer and the knight of the watch, who could only charge 'un quart descu' for each burial; poor people would not be charged. Copies of this decision were made for the knight of the watch and for Pierre de Ryaucourt, gravedigger for the hospital of the Trinity in Paris. Documentary evidence assessed by the *conseil d'état* included the extract of the reply (19 August 1606) made by the king to the *cahier* presented by the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605.[124] Although royal replies to the *cahier* of Saumur in 1611 stated that burials could take place by day if there were no problems with security, this was never formally granted.[125] The new *commissaires* generally confirmed the regulations of their predecessors. The number of those allowed to follow funeral processions was often limited to twenty or twenty-five and comparable limitations were placed on Catholic funerals. However, the sergeants charged

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[121] P. Roberts, 'Contesting sacred space', in *The Place of the Dead*, p. 143.
[122] See Chapter Two, p. 81, fn. 181 for his biography.
[123] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 235-6.
[124] B.N.F. Dupuy 333, fol. 112 r.
[125] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 783-4, art. 16: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. Cf. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 242 r, 245 r: letter written by Boissise and Bullion to the queen mother and her reply (12 June 1611).

with protecting Huguenot funeral processions did not fully observe article 29 of the edict of Nantes, notably in the requirement to provide their help free of charge.[126] How distinctive were Huguenot funeral processions? N. Zemon Davis, P. Roberts and B. Roussel argued that it was their very simplicity and their rejection of traditional Catholic funeral rites that provoked riots.[127] However, in her book on the *Protestants du Midi* (1980) J. Garrisson showed how, particularly in eastern Languedoc, funeral customs dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries prevailed in contravention of the Ecclesiastical discipline. There is no evidence that consistories or local authorities took any action against these practices.[128] This suggests that Huguenot funeral processions in this region could have been made distinctive by the very requirement to carry out burials at night.

v. Funds for Huguenot ministers and education

Although this subject has been frequently addressed from the point of view of the synods, only Anquez made a detailed study of the funding of Huguenot ministers and education (most Huguenot colleges and academies were founded in the second half of the sixteenth century)[129] from the perspective of the general assemblies. Although Huguenot ministers and teachers were often not paid because of the immediate demands of war,[130] the measures taken by the general assemblies illustrate the manner in which sequestered ecclesiastical property was managed.

These measures can be divided into three principal periods. During the first period, between 1579 and 1589, the general assemblies relied on funds from sequestered ecclesiastical property and revenue, drawing to some extent on the developing role played by municipal authorities during the sixteenth century in the services traditionally provided by the

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[126] F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, pp. 236-8. P. Roberts, 'Contesting sacred space', in *The Place of the Dead*, pp. 143-4.
[127] N. Z. Davis, 'The Rites of Violence', in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, p. 171. P. Roberts, 'Contesting sacred space', in *The Place of the Dead*, p. 133. B. Roussel, '"Ensevelir honnestement les corps"', in Mentzer and Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, p. 197.
[128] J. Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, pp. 249-52.
[129] See for example P.-D. Bourchenin, *Etude sur les académies protestantes en France au XVIe siècle* (Paris, Grassart, 1882), p. 65. J. Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, p. 326. K. Maag, 'The Huguenot academies', in R. Mentzer and A. Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, p. 139.
[130] J. Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, p. 325. Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause', pp. 242-3.

church. The general assembly held at Montauban in 1581 ordered that the revenue from the tutorial prebend (part of the temporal property of some chapters and destined by the ordinance of Orléans for the instruction of children), would be given in all towns with cathedral and collegiate churches for the upkeep of a tutor. This tutor would be named by the officers, mayor, *échevins* and consuls, in absence of the bishop and chapter, without regard to religion in places where the reformed religion was publicly established. The ancient privileges of towns would be maintained.[131] In describing this measure, Anquez makes no mention of the tutorial prebends.[132] Provisions for the funding of Huguenot ministers and for the 'university' of Montpellier[133] and the academy of theology at La Rochelle from sequestered ecclesiastical property in these towns were drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588. Anquez failed to state that the one thousand *écus* per year which were to be taken from ecclesiastical revenue to constitute a fund for the pensions and maintenance of these schools, would in fact be placed with solvent merchants, with annual interest. There are also some discrepancies in the detail of the provisions as described by Anquez.[134] Difficulties occurred when the holders of ecclesiastical property were expected to directly contribute to the pay of ministers. A short letter dated 30 October 1589 from Lesdiguières to Montbrun, the Huguenot governor of Gap, stated that in Dauphiné, the payment of ministers was delayed because those who held the rent of benefices had not given the tithes to the receiver. Lesdiguières asked Montbrun to order that the payments took place.[135]

During the second period, between 1593 and 1597, general assemblies requested the implementation of royal proposals for subsidies for Huguenot ministers, academies, colleges

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[131] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 3 v, art. 32: Montauban 1581. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p.181. J. Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, pp. 325-6: in cathedral towns such as Nîmes, Montpellier and Castres, Huguenots could benefit from the revenue of tutorial prebends for the funding of education. In other towns such as Millau, church benefices were reserved for the funding of colleges, although with the exception of Béarn, revenue from ecclesiastical property always had to be supplemented by internal collections. For the tutorial prebend, see Doucet II, 701-2, 796.

[132] Anquez I, 105-6.

[133] See K. Maag, 'The Huguenot academies', in Mentzer and Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, pp. 145-6, 155: for the academy, university and the *collège des arts* (the latter restored in 1596) in Montpellier.

[134] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 201-2, 203-7: La Rochelle 1588. The measures taken in 1588 were broadly reiterated in B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 47 r, art. 46: 10 May 1621 regulation. Anquez I, 43, 454-5.

[135] *B.S.H.P.F.*, 7 (1858), p. 18: letter from Lesdiguières to Montbrun (30 October 1589).

and schools. While nothing was forthcoming, the general assemblies authorised Huguenot noblemen and provincial councils to seize ecclesiastical property and revenue (or in 1596 royal revenue) in the areas controlled by them.[136] The 45, 000 *écus* granted in the *brevet* of 3 April 1598 that accompanied the edict of Nantes were intended as a royal subsidy for Huguenot ministers, academies and colleges,[137] with the aim of stopping the seizure of ecclesiastical property and revenue. It was also a compensatory measure because Huguenots were already forced to pay tithes to the Catholic clergy.[138]

During the third period, after 1598, the general assemblies sought to ensure and co-ordinate payment of the sums promised at Nantes. By the *brevet* of 3 April 1598, the king ordered 45, 000 *écus* for Huguenot ministers, academies and colleges. The king chose the Huguenot sieur de Viçose[139] as *commis*: from the first of April 1598, he would be given written orders for 45, 000 *écus* by the *trésoriers de l'épargne* at the beginning of each year. On the basis of these written orders, the *recettes générales* would make payments each quarter.[140] The *trésoriers généraux de France* and receivers general would comply if they were required to pay a part of these sums to particular receivers.[141] Viçose would then deliver these sums to those named by Huguenots at the beginning of the year. At the end of the year, they would give Viçose a statement of this with receipts. Henri IV gave Viçose a new *brevet*

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[136] B.P.F. Ms. 710: Mantes 23 December 1593, 15 and 21 January 1594. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, art. 16: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*. B.P.F. 710, number 29^1, art. 27: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. lxii: Saumur 1595. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 271, art. 26; p. 284, art. 68; p. 292, arts. 102-3; pp. 299-300, arts. 126-8: Loudun 1596. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: instructions for the deputies sent to the king at Rouen (15 October 1596). Mazarine Ms. 2594, fol. 101 r, art. xxvi: Vendôme 1597 articles.

[137] N. Weiss, 'De la conversion de la noblesse protestante au XVIIe siècle', *B.S.H.P.F.*, 2 (1853), p. 123: a census taken by Henri IV in 1598 revealed 694 Huguenot churches in the kingdom, and an additional 257 attached to manors. For royal subsidies for garrisons from 1598, see Chapter Six, pp. 276-87.

[138] Anquez I, 108-9: the first national synod had made the decision to pay tithes, but successive political assemblies had requested exemption from it in order to use it to pay ministers. Edicts of pacification (1576 edict arts. 3 and 13, 1577 edict arts. 3 and 18, Nérac art. 18, Fleix art. 2, edict of Nantes arts. 3, 25) generally stated that Huguenots had to pay tithes to Catholic priests. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 181. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 251 v-252 r: the *cahier* given to La Caze, Courtomer, Ferrier, Mirande and Armet (27 June 1611) asked that the *chambres de l'édit* would be entitled to judge cases where Huguenots refused to oversee the levy of tithes, or such cases in which Huguenots had an interest.

[139] See Chapter Three, p. 109, fn. 29 for his biography.

[140] Paris would contribute 6, 000 *écus*, Rouen 6, 000 *écus*, Caen 3, 000 *écus*, Orléans 4, 000 *écus*, Tours 4, 000 *écus*, Poitiers 8, 000 *écus*, Limoges 6, 000 *écus*, Bordeaux 8, 000 *écus*.

[141] For the *recettes générales* and their personnel, see Chapter Three, p. 123, fn. 113.

and commission on 18 April 1600. *Maître* Jehan Pallot, a *conseiller secrétaire du roi*, acted as his *commis*, or receiver general.[142]

It is generally stated that the subsidy granted by the king for ministers, academies and colleges in 1598 was distributed by the synods.[143] As a result, insufficient attention has been paid to the role played by the royal *commis* and to the oversight exercised by the general assemblies.[144] General assemblies after 1598 co-ordinated petitions relating to the role played by national synods in distributing the sums for ministers and teachers held in account by the royal *commis*. At Sainte-Foy in 1601, the deputies for Ile-de-France presented a petition, requesting that a fund to establish schools and universities be constituted from *deniers* remaining from the royal *commis*' account for ministers. The assembly concluded that this could only be resolved at the national synod. Following the regulation of the synod of Jargeau, this proposition was broadly followed for the payment (including arrears) of the 'university' of Montauban.[145] The same general assembly stated that while the national synod would distribute the *deniers* granted by the king as a subsidy for the churches, the provincial synods, particularly those of Haut-Languedoc, and of Haute- and Basse-Guyenne, would be exhorted, as they had been by the national synod, to aid the churches.[146] A fragment in a manuscript volume in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal shows that in 1603, six hundred and fifteen ministers were paid from the king's *deniers*.[147] At Châtellerault in 1605, the decision

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[142] Haag VIII, 357-8: Jean Pallot was apparently the son of Joseph Pallot, one of the deputies for the islands of Saintonge at the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588.

[143] Anquez I, 194. F. Garrisson, *Essai sur les Commissions d'Application*, p. 27, fn. 40. J. Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, p. 326. *idem*, *Les Protestants au XVIe siècle* (Paris, Arthème Fayard, 1988), pp. 136-7. K. Maag, 'The Huguenot academies', p. 154. Bourchenin, *Etude sur les académies protestantes*, p. 301.

[144] This is the case for instance in Anquez I, 397.

[145] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601. For the college and academy of Montauban, the statutes of which were promulgated in 1600, see K. Maag 'The Huguenot academies', pp. 142-3, 156.

[146] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601. Anquez I, 195. R. Mousnier *Les Institutions de la France sous la Monarchie Absolue 1598-1789* (2 vols., Paris, P.U.F., 1974), I, 302-3: consistories could apportion and levy taxes from Huguenots, as could provincial synods, which could also name a receiver.

[147] Arsenal Ms. 7463, fol. 79 r: Berry had 33 ministers paid in this way, Touraine and Anjou had 24, Brittany 11, Normandy (including students) 45, Poitou 44, Saintonge 54, Basse-Guyenne 55, Haut-Languedoc 70, Haute-Auvergne 4, Bas-Languedoc 90, Basse-Auvergne 8, Vivarais 25, Provence 14, Dauphiné 63, Ile-de-France 56, and Burgundy 19.

for the maintenance of the colleges at Die,[148] La Rochefoucauld and Bergerac was again given to the national synod.[149]

Payments were still promised by Louis XIII in the early years of his reign, although the general assemblies continued to press for the sums promised at Nantes.[150] The loss of ecclesiastical revenue from Béarn, discussed in the section above, also entailed that the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 expressed specific concern about the pay of ministers there, which had not altered for twenty-five years or more, since when 'toutes choses sont augmentees de prix'.[151] The memoranda on Béarn produced by this assembly also complained that the 6, 000 *livres* granted by the king to maintain sixty students in the academy at Orthez, in lieu of the sponsorship of lay patrons,[152] was paid irregularly, leading to a decrease in teachers and pupils.[153] On 14 and 17 April 1612, Louis XIII granted *brevets* by which the royal *commis* du Candal[154] would deliver 1, 500 *livres* per year to the Huguenot college at Bergerac and 16, 000 *livres* per year to the academy, ministers and pastors of Sedan. This would be from 45, 000 *livres* given as an increase to Huguenots to make up for previous shortfalls in the sums allocated to them in 1598.[155] The royal reply to the *cahier* presented by Huguenots at Poitiers (1616) stated that in addition to 30, 000 *livres* granted at Poitiers, the king now granted 15, 000 *livres* for the next three years.[156] However, the provincial assembly

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[148] For details on the Die college and academy (the latter founded in 1603) see J. Garrisson, *Protestants au XVIe siècle*, pp. 126, 135, 137 and K. Maag, 'The Huguenot academies', pp. 146-7, 151, 156.
[149] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 756: Châtellerault 1605.
[150] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 795-6, arts. 41-2: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[151] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 183 v: memoranda and instructions for the deputies sent to court on behalf of the general assembly at Saumur (1611) on Béarn. The king and queen mother would therefore be asked to order 500 *livres* for married ministers, and 450 *livres* for the others. Restated in Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 809-10, art. 59: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. Extract from these memoranda and instructions (concerning pay) are reproduced in *B.S.H.P.F.*, 7 (1858), p. 18.
[152] The lay patrons had been forced to sponsor the education of Catholic priests since November 1605. The general assembly at Saumur in 1611 instructed its deputies to raise this matter at court. See B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 177 v-178 r and Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 806-7, art. 59: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[153] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193 fol. 184 v-185 r.
[154] Haag III, 357-8: Isaac du Candal, sieur de Fontenailles. By a royal *brevet* of February 1612, he acted in lieu of Viçose. See Chapter Six, pp. 281-5.
[155] Both *brevets*, which give the details for the mode of payment, are in Mazarine Ms. 2597. A portion of the sum granted to Bergerac would be paid from the 45, 000 *écus* granted by Henri IV in 1598. For the Sedan academy (founded officially in 1602) see K. Maag, 'The Huguenot academies', pp. 145, 156.
[156] B.N.F. 3850, fols. 19 v-20 r, art. 6. *Négociations lettres et pièces relatives à la conférence de Loudun*, ed. L. Bouchitté (Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1872), pp. 672-3, number ccclxxx: *brevet* for the increase of 45, 000 *livres* for ministers.

held at Loudun in September 1619 complained that the increase of 1616 had not been paid and asked for a further rise for ministers, 'attendu que leurs charges croissent tous les jours'.[157] On 12 May 1620, Louis XIII granted a *brevet* for the continuation of the 45, 000 *livres* given to ministers until 1 July 1622.[158]

In considering the general assemblies' ongoing attempts to ensure adequate pay for ministers, the comparative success of the assemblies in obtaining exemption from the *tailles* for ministers (as Catholic clergymen were exempt) must also be stressed. The deputies sent to Rouen in 1596 had sought this exemption and at the same time asked that ministers would be dispensed from being assessors or collectors and from all commissions.[159] The latter request was granted by article 44 of the particular articles of the edict of Nantes. Exemption from the *tailles* was granted in 1604. At the general assembly held at Saumur in 1611, the deputies general Villarnoul and Mirande[160] gave their successors the original letters patent granting ministers exemption from the *tailles*, with their registration at the *cour des aides*, which they had obtained during their term of office.[161] This again reflects the importance attached by the general assemblies to record keeping as a basis for petitions and a means of guaranteeing rights that had been conceded by the king, as pointed out in Chapter Two.[162] Deputies at the following general assemblies, notably at Loudun in 1619-20, still pressed for these concessions to be fully implemented.[163] The exemption from the *tailles* granted to ministers raises broader questions about their legal position. The edict of Nantes also exempted Huguenot ministers from billeting, guard and watch duty, as well as the guardianship and

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[157] B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 91 r.
[158] Mazarine Ms. 2598: royal *brevet* (12 May 1620). Cf. Mazarine Ms. 2598, art. ix: Loudun 1620 first *cahier* (replied 18 May 1620) and *Exhortation a l'assemblee de la rochelle* (n.p., n.d.), p. 3.
[159] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: instructions for the deputies sent to Rouen (15 October 1596). See Doucet II, 567: on exemptions from the *taille* generally.
[160] See Chapter Two, p. 89, fns 228 and 229 for the biographies of Villarnoul and Mirande respectively.
[161] Mazarine Ms. 2608, fols. 202 v-203 r. Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 779-80, art. 9: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[162] See Chapter Two, pp. 63-73.
[163] See for example B.N.F. fr. 20960, fol. 140 v: 'Advis de monsieur de Bouillon a lassemblee porté par le s[ieu]r de la forest'. *Advis d'un vieil conseiller d'estat Opinant sur le faict de l'Assemblée de Loudun.* (1620), p. 5. Mazarine Ms. 2598: first *cahier* of general assembly at Loudun (replied 18 May 1620), art. x. Arsenal Ms. 7463, fols. 111r-113 r provides a good summary of the successive exemptions granted to ministers. It concludes with the *arrêt* of the royal council dated 17 July 1624: the personal estate, pensions and wages of ministers would remain exempt from the *tailles* and other impositions.

commissions for property sequestered by judicial authority.[164] Ministers were also given a measure of protection in courts of law.[165]

Anquez did not note that the favourable provisions for ministers drawn up at La Rochelle in 1588 (primarily concerning ministers who were refugees) were in fact drawn up mainly by noblemen.[166] By contrast, the leadership of ministers at Mantes (1593-4) and Sainte-Foy (1594) did not ensure that the promised subsidy for ministers was effectively paid. These two examples show that the presence of ministers in the general assemblies cannot be correlated with favourables measures towards them, as Airo-Farulla and others have argued.[167]

The general assemblies were also concerned about the legal position of teachers and guardians. The assembly at Montauban in 1581 interpreted the fourth article of the conference of Fleix (1580) as granting protection for tutors in private homes from investigation and attack, and presented this as a matter of freedom of conscience.[168] The *cahier* drawn up by the general assembly at Montauban in 1584 complained that by an *arrêt* of 5 December 1582, the *parlement* of Paris had ordered all teachers (*pedagogues precepteurs m[aîtr]es [et] Regentz*) to give the receiver their names, names by which they were known (*surnoms*) and those of their children and pupils as a means of obtaining their expulsion from the capital.[169] The general assemblies defended the right of Huguenots to have schools where they were granted freedom of worship.[170] The assemblies also sought to defend as a matter of freedom of

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[164] Edict of Nantes, particular art. 44.

[165] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, art. 9: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*. Edict of Nantes, particular art. 35: Huguenot ministers, elders and deacons could not be forced to testify in a court of law about those things revealed in their consistories relating to censures, unless this concerned the person of the king or the conservation of the state. Anquez I, 107. Cf. B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 17 r-18 r, art. 1: the word 'prétendue' was omitted in the model that the king prescribed for attestations for ministers, in response to the *cahiers* presented to the king at Poitiers in 1616.

[166] These included Turenne, du Plessis Mornay, de Feydeau, de Calignon, de Gasques and also the minister de Nort. See Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 202.

[167] See Chapter One, pp. 37-8.

[168] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 3 v, art. 31: Montauban 1581.

[169] B.P.F. Ms. 95. The same had happened in other towns. B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 50 r: at the Estates General of 1614, the clergy asked that Huguenots be forbidden from having school pupils in Catholic towns.

[170] Edict of Nantes, particular art. 37. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 785, arts. 18 and 19: Saumur 1611 general *cahier*. F. Chevalier, 'Les difficultés d'application de l'édit de Nantes d'après les cahiers des plaintes (1599-1660)', in *Coexister dans l'intolérance* (1998), p. 319: mentions problems with installing the

conscience the duty of guardians (*tuteurs*) to educate their charges (*pupilles*) whose fathers were Huguenots in the reformed religion, at least until puberty, sometimes against the efforts of the *parlements* to prevent this.[171] The *cahier* drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in April 1621 also complained about the removal of children from their parents.[172] The *cahier* presented by the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594 complained that the lady of Montagnac, of the house of Baignac, was compelled to abjure her religion by the *parlement* at Bordeaux, to obtain the 'garde noble' of her children, although it belonged to her 'par le droit de nature'.[173]

vi. Charity

The appropriation of temporal and ecclesiastical property during the civil wars also affected the position of church establishments for charitable purposes, as did the relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline and the depreciation of currency. As part of planned reforms, the monarchy gave an increasingly greater role to municipal authorities in the administrative control of these places.[174] Charitable establishments included *aumôneries* (mostly attached to churches or monasteries, for receiving pilgrims and travellers), hospitals (for receiving the poor and infirm), *maisons-Dieu* (to cure the sick) and leper hospices. They were funded by the revenue from the property assigned to them, donations, bequests (*legs pieux* in wills), *quêtes* (with indulgences granted in bulls) and preaching by mendicants. They also benefited from the proceeds of certain confiscations and judicial fines, as well as from selling concessions to some butchers to sell meat during Lent, certain judicial privileges and exemptions from tax.[175]

J. Garrisson showed how Huguenot provisions for charity built on the increasingly greater role played by laymen in this field since the beginning of the sixteenth century.

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petites écoles in the center of towns; instead they had to be installed with temples, usually far removed from towns.

[171] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: instruction for the deputies sent to Rouen (15 October 1596). Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 793, art. 36: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. This was according to edict of Nantes, particular art. 39.

[172] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 6 r: La Rochelle April 1621 *cahier*.

[173] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, art. 11: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*.

[174] Doucet II, 805-10, 819.

[175] *ibid.*, 803-5.

Huguenot town councils adopted the same attitude to the poor as was common during the sixteenth century: in principle, begging was not tolerated; while help was given to the infirm, orphans and widows, those able to work were obliged to do so; the poor would generally be supported by their town of origin and registers were kept both of those in need and of the amount of help given them. A Huguenot addition might have been that attestations of need were required. Catholics were not excluded from help.[176]

Huguenot political assemblies generally requested equal access to existing hospitals, leper hospices and alms for Huguenots.[177] The role played by Huguenot political assemblies in the provision of charity has been touched upon by only Anquez and Greengrass.[178] Revenue from sequestered property was reinvested for refugees, the poor, destitute, and wounded soldiers, showing once more that the political assemblies were not solely concerned with 'the upper classes', as Airo-Farulla stated in his thesis on 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henry IV' (1969), arguing that it led to their eventual downfall.[179]

The *procès-verbal* of the general assembly held at Montauban in 1581 stated that the rights and revenues of confraternities abolished by royal edicts and ordinances would be employed for subsidies for the poor and for the apprenticeships of poor destitute children.[180] The general assembly held at La Rochelle in 1588 widened this to ecclesiastical property, from which sums would be taken in proportion to the existing revenue that places had to support the poor. Support would also be proportionate to the number on the lists of the poor, as certified by the principal officers, magistrates, consuls and *commissaires*. The *corps des villes* would distribute these sums, from which they could not take more than three percent as

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[176] Doucet II, 810-2. J. Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, pp. 255-61. Many of the same points are developed in M. Dinges, 'Huguenot poor relief and health care in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries', in Mentzer and Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, pp. 157-74.

[177] This was granted in successive articles and edicts of pacification. See 1576 edict, art. 11. 1577 edict, art. 15. Edict of Nantes, art. 22. Requested for example in B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 90 r-v: Loudun September 1619 provincial assembly.

[178] Anquez I, 455. Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause', p. 243.

[179] J. Airo-Farulla, 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henry IV, 1589 to 1598' (1969), pp. 138-40.

[180] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 3 v, art. 33: Montauban 1581. For apprenticeships organised by deacons and elders, see J. Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, p. 260.

a tax.[181] The same general assembly decided that in case of death, the widows and children of ministers would continue to receive their wages (600 *livres*) during the course of the year in which death took place. This would be maintained only in cases of necessity or poverty, of which the widow and children had to bring an attestation before the local colloquy, for the council of the king of Navarre to grant the appropriate pension.[182] The instruction for the deputies general (Sainte-Foy, 15 October 1601) contained provisions for pensions for the widows and children of those killed during the wars, to be paid from ecclesiastical property.[183]

It is generally accepted that apart from the exceptional case of Béarn, where ecclesiastical property could be exploited, the majority of Reformed communities had to find funds from the congregation.[184] Legacies, personal settlements and good works (*œuvres pies*) for charitable purposes were essentially a Catholic practice, but they persisted amongst the Protestants, although there was apparently greater resistance to the practice towards the end of the sixteenth century, particularly when it formed part of a will.[185] The records of the general assemblies do not appear to reflect this general trend. The deputies sent to the king at Rouen were also instructed (15 October 1596) to obtain the validation of settlements for maintenance of the ministry and other pious works.[186] The Huguenot church at Tours wrote to the general assembly held at Saumur (1597) asking for the validation of the bequests and gifts made to their poor. The assembly decided that this would be included in the *cahier* 'aux faictz particuliers'.[187] Article 42 of the particular articles of the edict of Nantes broadly granted this, including settlements made in wills (also for *docteurs*, *écoliers* and the poor).[188] Huguenot noblemen also bequeathed monies to churches and ministers in their wills, although this was

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[181] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 202-3: La Rochelle 1588.
[182] *ibid.*, p. 205: La Rochelle 1588. Discussed in Anquez I, 454.
[183] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 726: 15 October 1601 instruction for the deputies general
[184] M. Dinges, 'Huguenot poor relief and health care', in Mentzer and Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, p. 161. Cf. J. Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, p. 261.
[185] J. Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, pp. 261-2. M. Dinges, 'Huguenot poor relief and health care', in Mentzer and Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, pp. 162-3. J. Imbert, 'L'hospitalisation des protestants sous l'Ancien Régime', *B.S.H.P.F.*, 131 (1985), pp. 174-5.
[186] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36.
[187] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 514, art. 341.
[188] Anquez I, 110, fn. 2: this had already been granted in 1594.

opposed by the clergy at the Estates General in 1614.[189] The assemblies also defended wills more generally. Despite the provisions of the ordinance of Villers-Cotterêts, which attributed wills to royal jurisdiction, the *cahier* of the general assembly held at Montauban in 1584 complained that in Brittany, the wills of Huguenots were not received unless they were approved by the *official*.[190] This was justified by appealing to customary law in Brittany, although it contravened the edict of 1577 and the conference of Fleix (1580).[191] The edict of Nantes specified that Huguenots could bring cases relating to the validity of wills before royal judges. Appeals could be 'relevez de ceux de ladite religion, nonobstant toutes coutumes à ce contraires, mêmes celles de Bretagne'.[192] The 1611 *cahier* also asked that Huguenots who were heirs or litigants who had voluntarily contested their cases in the *parlements*, could if they wished send their cases to the *chambres de l'édit*, as had been resolved in several particular cases by *arrêts* of the *conseil du roi*.[193]

The general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 also drew up provisions for refugees. As there was a great number of lords, gentlemen '& au[tr]es personnes de toutes qualitez', who were refugees and deprived of all their property by royal edicts, those deemed capable were expected to take up the offices offered them. Those remaining would be maintained from the sequestered property of Catholics from the opposing party. The refugees in each town could establish a procurator to pursue these matters before the king of Navarre in his council, or before the governors or lieutenant generals, or elsewhere if need be. They would bring a valid attestation of the social standing and needs of each refugee.[194] It is possible that the deputies for the town of Pons and province of Saintonge beyond the Charente, who arrived on 9 December (nine days before the end of the assembly, which had begun on 14 November) took heed of the permission to establish procurators for refugees. The sieur de Soubrun acted as a deputy for the nobility, while the sieurs the Bergemont and Paboul acted

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[189] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 51 r.
[190] For the respective competence of ecclesiastical and royal jurisdiction in the matter of wills, see Doucet I, 180-1, 259, 261, 784; Doucet II, 690.
[191] B.P.F. Ms. 95: Montauban 1584 *cahier*.
[192] Edict of Nantes, art. 62.
[193] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 791-2, art. 32: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[194] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 203: La Rochelle 1588.

as deputies for the *corps de ville* of Pons '& au[tr]es. de lad.[ite] Province & refugiez en Icelle'.[195] The general assembly at Loudun in 1596 decided that those Huguenots expelled from their homes would be supported by the provincial councils from the property of expelled Catholics, each according to status, family and property.[196] The accord between the deputies of the general assembly and Condé at Nîmes (27 November 1615) stated that refugees in towns held by Condé and his party (largely Catholic) would be given funds from property belonging to those who had left or been expelled from these towns.[197] The regulation of 10 May 1621 stated that either the general assembly or generals and provincial councils would provide for refugees.[198]

In his article on 'Huguenot poor relief and health care' (2002) M. Dinges pointed out how in many cases the consistory provided legal aid. Although it probably grew in importance after 1661, judicial assistance had always played a part in poor relief.[199] The role that political assemblies occasionally played in this respect has not been recognised. For example, the *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 refers to a complaint from the sieur Benoist, a minister in Quercy, about the costs he had incurred in the pursuit of the case brought against him by the bishop of Montauban.[200] No immediate answer is apparent,[201] but the general assemblies had already complained about the judicial encroachments of bishops and archbishops.[202] P. Roberts suggested that faiths were not expected to meet the legal costs for bringing cases to the *commissaires* for the implementation of the edicts because she could find no evidence of complaints about the difficulty in meeting

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[195] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 251-2: La Rochelle 1588. They joined the 'Deputez des Isles de lad.[ite] Province'.
[196] *ibid.*, p. 293, art. 108: Loudun 1596.
[197] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 172 v.
[198] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 42 r, art. 47: La Rochelle 10 May 1621 regulation.
[199] M. Dinges, 'Huguenot poor relief and health care', in Mentzer and Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, pp. 171-2.
[200] J. Bergin, *The Making of the French Episcopate*, pp. 75, 369, 382, 400, 490-1, 674-5: Anne de Murviel (1568-1652), bishop of Montauban from 1600 to 1652. Murviel was a relation of the Leaguer duke of Mayenne's second wife and not even a cleric when first nominated by Mayenne in 1594-5. Murviel was consecrated in the chapel of his family's castle in 1600 by the cardinal François de Sourdis.
[201] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 222 r: Saumur 29 June 1611.
[202] The deputies sent by the general assembly at Loudun to the king at Rouen were instructed (15 October 1596) to request that cases involving Huguenots (including appeals) be addressed by the *chambres de l'édit* rather than by the bishops and archbishops. See B.P.F Ms. 710, number 36.

the expenses incurred.[203] The general assembly at Saumur in 1611 did discuss the large costs incurred in trials brought as a result of contraventions of the edict of Nantes.[204] In September 1619, the provincial assembly held at Loudun granted 150 *livres* to support people from Lassay in Mayenne who were bringing a case as a result of an exhumation.[205] The final general assembly at La Rochelle also paid or reimbursed people for ransoms.[206]

In his article, Dinges also showed how consistories regularly provided treatment and medicines (which could be expensive) free of charge; surgeons and physicians were often members of the consistories, or the consistories paid physicans or apothecaries directly for their services.[207] The assemblies too had a contact with the world of medicine. Some deputies at the general assemblies were doctors or linked to the medical profession, indicating that the debate about the social composition of the general assemblies which has been traditionally formulated in terms of the balance between the nobility, magistrates and ministers, ought to be considered in broader terms.[208] For example, a doctor named Goyer was listed as one of the three deputies for La Rochelle at the general assemblies at Grenoble and Nîmes in 1615.[209] The father of Pierre Huron, a minister at Riez who was a deputy for Provence at the general assemblies at Grenoble, Nîmes and La Rochelle (1615-6), was an apothecary from Châteauneuf.[210] The Huguenot royal counsellor and doctor Théophraste Renaudot (1586-1653) spoke on 4 December 1619 to the general assembly at Loudun on the merits of a general remedy called Polychreston. He then dedicated the printed version of his speech (repeatedly illustrated with political metaphors) and a description of the remedy to the deputies of the assembly. Renaudot also held the license of *médecin du roi* from 1612, but

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[203] P. Roberts, 'Huguenot petitioning during the wars of religion', in Mentzer and Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, p. 69.
[204] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 223 v: Saumur 5 July 1611.
[205] B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 96 v: Loudun 1619 provincial assembly.
[206] An example from 1622 includes Léonard Thévenot, a former *curé* of Saint-Sauvin, who converted to Protestantism in 1601 and became a minister. His ransom was worth 200 *livres*. He reverted to Catholicism in 1634 and wrote at least two polemical works to publicise this (1634-5). He then earned a pension of 600 *livres* from the clergy (Haag, IX, 369).
[207] M. Dinges, 'Huguenot poor relief and health care', in Mentzer and Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, pp. 165-6.
[208] See Chapter One, pp. 34-8.
[209] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 1 v: Grenoble and Nîmes 1615 list of deputies.
[210] Haag VI, 17-8.

could have been seeking a monopoly right from the assembly. It would be interesting to know how far the assembly's endorsement helped Renaudot and the apothecary Jacques Boisse to sell the remedy.[211] Renaudot's address is not in fact mentioned in the *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Loudun. However, the necessity for adequate remedies is mentioned in the *procès-verbal* of the following general assembly at La Rochelle. On 12 April 1622, the deputies de La Goutte and de Casaubon represented the need of wounded people in the town of Royan, arising from a lack of 'medicamens convenables pour les penser'. Casaubon was asked to 'faire faire un coffre pourveu de toutes les drogues [et] medicamens necessaires a un chirurgien', which would be sent to the governor of Royan so that he could give it to the surgeon of his choice.[212]

III. Tolls and prizes

The general assemblies also regulated the levying of tolls and the taking of prizes as a source of revenue for the party. Negotiations for peace and edicts of pacification invariably included articles on the free passage of goods, and restitution of commerce, fairs and

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[211] *Description d'un medicament appellé Polychreston. Dispensé publiquement par Iaques Boisse Maistre Apotiquaire en la ville de Loudun, le 4. Decembre 1619. Avec la Harangue faite sur ce subiect [...]* (Loudun, Quentin Mareschal. dit La-barre, 1619). For Renaudot, see H. Solomon, *Public Welfare, Science and Propaganda in Seventeenth-Century France. The Innovations of Théophraste Renaudot.* (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 4-5, 7-8, 10-4, 16-20 and L. Brockliss and C. Jones, *The Medical World of Early Modern France* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 124, 330-1. Renaudot, who trained principally at the University of Montpellier, was born in Loudun and practiced there as a doctor between 1609 and 1626. A town father by the age of twenty-five, he helped to develop poor relief in the town. In 1611 he met the Père Joseph, who introduced him to Richelieu, in whose diocese of Luçon Loudun was located. Renaudot's title of *médecin du roi* was confirmed on 30 October 1617, and on 3 February 1618 he was named *Commissaire Général des Pauvres du Royaume.* Solomon states that Renaudot addressed the Loudun general assembly a second time and that this address was printed as a *Discours sur le scelet* (Loudun, 1629). Following the royal campaign of May 1621 and before he settled in Paris in 1626, Renaudot became a Catholic. The reconfirmation of his 1612 patents remained without effect until 1628. He became founder and editor of the *Gazette* in 1631.

[212] B.N.F. fr. 15826, fol. 297 v: La Rochelle 1620-2. De La Goutte was a deputy for La Rochelle; Casaubon was one of the deputies for Béarn. Neither are identified in the Haag brothers' *La France protestante*. Casaubon might have been a relation of the Calvinist scholar and theologian Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) (Haag III, 230-9), as the latter's father had sought refuge in Dax.

markets.[213] Some articles granted protection to Huguenot traders travelling abroad,[214] while the general assemblies sought guarantees for the security of Protestant traders in France.[215]

i. Levying of tolls and delivery of passports

Tolls were levied by those *corps* or individuals who exercised seigneurial rights, and who maintained these routes (including bridges, paths and the security of travellers).[216] The king of Navarre also exploited the tolls granted him by the king of France on the Garonne and Dordogne rivers.[217] Huguenot *places de sûreté* (castles or fortified towns) were often situated on important river routes,[218] which were far less expensive to use than land routes. For example, Sancerre was positioned on the left bank of the Loire downstream from La Charité-sur-Loire. Generals granted passports along routes they controlled, despite earlier efforts to prevent this.[219]

It is possible that Huguenots also drew on the right of provincial estates in the *pays d'états* to nominate officials for tolls set aside for the *pays*,[220] as well as the rights of oversight over routes held by *trésoriers généraux*, *baillis* and *élus*.[221]

A third possible source of influence was the administrative and judicial rights linked to the admiralty of Guyenne, held by the kings of Navarre from 1544, and the development of these rights at La Rochelle, which was one of the three principal seats of the admiralty of

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[213] 1576 edict, arts. 44-5. 1577 edict, arts. 48-9. Fleix, art. 34. Edict of Nantes, art. 72.
[214] Edict of Nantes, particular art. 53.
[215] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 792, art. 33: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. Generally, Huguenot merchants and traders had to cease all business for Catholic feast days, while the general assemblies sought exemption from this. See B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, art. 12: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*. Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 781-2, art. 12: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 49 v, 51 v-52 r: the clergy at the Estates General in 1614 pressed for observation of feast days, even in Huguenot-held towns. They also asked that Catholics not be forced to cease work on days ordered for Huguenot fasts.
[216] *Les edicts et ordonnances des rois de France, [...]*, eds. A. Fontanon and G. Michel (Paris, 1611), III, 80-1: royal ordinances of 1560, arts 107 and 138; royal ordinance of 1579, art. 282. J. du Chalard, *Sommaire exposition des ordonnances du roy Charles IX. [...]* (Paris, Pour Lucas Brayer, 1562), pp. 227-9, 273-4.
[217] Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause', p. 247.
[218] A point also highlighted in F. de Dainville, 'Cartes des places protestantes en 1620, dessinées à la fin du règne de Louis XIII', *Journal des savants*, 1968-9, p. 224.
[219] Mazarine Ms. 2592: the commission given by the king of Navarre to the viscount of Turenne to command in Albigeois, Lauragais and Languedoc (Nérac, 10 April 1580) allowed him to deliver passports.
[220] M. Wolfe, *The Fiscal System of Renaissance France* (1972), pp. 48-9.
[221] Doucet I, 303-7.

Guyenne (along with Bordeaux and Bayonne).[222] A treaty established on 23 January 1577 between the prince of Condé, acting on behalf of the king of Navarre, and La Rochelle established a *bureau général* for the finances of Navarre and Condé in the town. It is likely that the measures for trade and commerce developed here served as a basis for the regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588.[223]

Chapter Two has shown how general assemblies between 1579 and 1588 drew up plans to establish a council for the king of Navarre, with some members elected by the Huguenot churches.[224] Deputies at the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 decided that the council planned for the king of Navarre would verify all safe-conducts and passports for merchandise. Commissions for storing produce would also be issued here.[225] The 1588 general assembly also decided that the *traites*[226] and tolls established by authority of the king of Navarre, on water and land, would be continued. No gifts or exceptions would be made for the tolls on rivers. No passport for the transport by land of grain, wines, woad, oils, fish, cork and salts would be given in the whole of Guyenne. This might have represented an attempt to ensure that all these goods were transported by river, where tolls were more easily levied.[227] The transport of grain was also traditionally strictly regulated (and usually excluded from export). Furthermore, by April 1587 a measure of corn which had cost 25 *écus* in 1585 was selling at between 95 and 100 *écus*, and the cost of wine had increased four times.[228] Guyenne

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[222] The jurisdictional rights of provincial admirals are detailed in Doucet I, 244-9 and summarised in Doucet II, 652. Their jurisdiction was exercised in the first degree by the *lieutenants particuliers*, then by the tribunal of the admiralty and in the final instance the relevant *parlements*, which judged all appeals.

[223] Details in B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 5 [b]. Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 256-7: La Rochelle 1588.

[224] See Chapter Two, pp. 54-7.

[225] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 220: La Rochelle 1588.

[226] The *traites* were broadly taxes levied on goods entering or leaving regions where the *aides*, or indirect taxes on most foodstuffs and other merchandise, applied. See Doucet I, 196-8, 303, 308 and Doucet II, 557-8, 561-2, 587-94.

[227] In view of the Huguenot predominance in south-west France, Anquez (I, 19, fn. 2) pointed out that appropriation of *droits dits de foraine* and *de domaine forain* would affect the bales of woad, the wine, saffron, wool and wood for construction and burning which were transported down the Garonne, Allier, Gers, Aude and Salat rivers.

[228] N. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici* (London, The Athlone Press, University of London, 1962), p. 267.

was part of the region that traded in cheap black salt from the Atlantic coast, and had redeemed itself from royal taxes on salt.[229]

The 1588 regulation further stated that merchants and carters who held receipts from receivers established on rivers[230] could freely transport their merchandise by land for one voyage, without a further passport. For other goods, the generals and governors of towns where there was a receiver's office could grant a passport to merchants who paid the toll to the receiver of that town, who would then deliver his receipt. Without the receipt, the passport would be void, and the ship and merchandise judged a lawful prize; an ordinance stating this would be published in Huguenot garrisons. To be valid, the passports and receipts had to carry the quantity of goods, the sums paid for them, and the duration of the voyage.[231] The 1588 *procès-verbal* records a complaint by the deputies for the islands of Saintonge about the excessive fee requested for passports; it was decided that this complaint would be addressed by the council planned for the king of Navarre.[232] In a memorandum addressed to the king of France in 1588, the duke of Guise claimed that by issuing passports to those within his jurisdiction as admiral of Guyenne, the king of Navarre was making at least 600, 000 *écus* annually and a further 200, 000 *écus* from prizes from those who had not taken passports.[233]

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[229] The salt taxes in the south west of France, where efforts to introduce the *gabelle* were met by revolts at La Rochelle in 1543 and at Bordeaux in 1548, are described in Doucet II, 584-6. In 1553, the provinces in the south west (Poitou, Saintonge, the *gouvernement* of La Rochelle, Angoumois, Limousin, Marche, Combrailles, Périgord, Guyenne, Agenais, Bazadais, Quercy, Landes, Armagnac and Comminges) had redeemed themselves from the *droits de quart et de quint* in return for paying 1, 194, 000 *livres* to the king. The region was now known as *pays rédimés*.

[230] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 226-9. The toll for the Dordogne would be levied at Castillon, unless the provincial assembly decided otherwise. The tolls for the Tarn and Lot rivers would be levied by the receivers established there. Their wages would be decided by the provincial assembly from a five percent tax. For the Charente, the king of Navarre and his council would resolve where the toll would be levied, and how much the receiver would be paid. The receivers for the tolls on the Garonne would have limited wages: at Dumas, 200 *écus* (600 *livres*), at Caumont, 1, 200 *livres*, and the assessor at each place half each amount. The wages would be taken from a five percent tax on the tolls, which would be levied by an inhabitant of each place, who would give a separate account of this, and who would be paid 100 *livres* at Dumas and 200 *livres* at Caumont. All would receive a fee from the auditors of their accounts for the return of their accounts during their year out of office.

[231] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 225-6: La Rochelle 1588.

[232] *ibid.*, p. 256. See also Anquez I, 42, fn. 1, for a complaint by some from Languedoc about tolls and passports profiting a limited number of individuals.

[233] Quoted by A. James, 'Between "Huguenot" and "Royal": Naval Affairs during the Wars of Religion', in K. Cameron, M. Greengrass and P. Roberts (eds.), *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France.* (2000), p. 101.

The regulation drawn up at La Rochelle in 1588 was however modified by subsequent agreements in 1589. An accord of early 1589 between the duke of Epernon for Angoumois and the king of Navarre for the lands held by the Huguenot party, allowed reciprocal travel without a passport.[234] After the accession of Henri de Navarre to the French crown, the chamber for the admiralty at La Rochelle (as well as tolls and passports within the admiralty) was perpetuated by royal letters of 12 October and 29 November 1589, in order to pay for war with the Catholic League. Those who did not bear passports were legally obliged to do so.[235] Henri IV remained admiral of Guyenne until December 1589.[236] In perpetuating these structures, he also maintained in position officers in the admiralty's jurisdiction who had in all likelihood complied with the decisions of the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588. This provides an interesting example of the manner in which structures that the general assemblies relied on were then used to support the first few years of the nascent Bourbon monarchy.[237]

By article 77 of the edict of Nantes, Huguenots were pardoned for all *traites* and tolls they had continued to levy or established, even at Royan, and on the Charente, Garonne, Rhône and Dordogne, and of all actions to ensure their payment.[238] The office of *grand voyer* was created for Rosny in 1599, taking over many of the functions traditionally attributed to the *trésoriers de France*. In January 1605, he ordered his *lieutenants* to check all tolls, and in April a further *arrêt* ordered them to draw up a list of these during their autumn tour. This was more successful in the *pays d'élection* than in Brittany, Burgundy, Dauphiné, Provence and Languedoc. Canals were built during the reign of Henri IV because many of the formerly

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[234] E. Trocmé and M. Delafosse, *Le Commerce Rochelais* (1952), p. 8.
[235] B.N.F. fr. 20783, fols. 277 r, 279 r-280 r: extract from the registers of the admiralty (La Rochelle, 27 December 1589).
[236] See Chapter Five, p. 221, fn. 88.
[237] In his article on 'Naval Affairs during the Wars of Religion' (*The Adventure of Religious Pluralism*, pp. 110-1) A. James does however mention that Henri IV found it hard to use the merchants and privateers of La Rochelle against the League and collected a levy by force from La Rochelle in 1592.
[238] See also edict of Nantes, particular art. 50.

navigable rivers were blocked by mills, diminishing the income likely to be derived from tolls on rivers.[239]

The provisional regulation for the admiralty established by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1621 is characterised by the assembly assuming many of the jurisdictional functions traditionally attributed to the holder of the admiralty and his officers. The regulation declared that the assembly would itself deliver passports and safe-conducts for all merchants who wanted to trade in La Rochelle and other ports 'qui Embrassent La Juste defence desdictes eglises'. Passports would be delivered to merchants of good faith for a small fee; transport of contraband goods was expressly forbidden to them. Merchants from La Rochelle would not be forced to take passports and would not be hindered in their trade for lack of them or of permits. Those who sought to convey cargoes to or from La Rochelle without knowledge of this regulation would not be subject to it for one month after its issue. This would include those 'de Contrayre party', indicating that the assembly placed the need to maintain existing trading practices above hindrance of boats manned by Catholics. Interestingly, the regulation specifies that ships that had gone to Newfoundland for fishing (in particular cod) and to Canada for the furriers would only be subject to the regulation on their return.[240] This was an important trade for La Rochelle during this period. As deficiencies in crew numbers or in salt for these voyages were made up at Passajès in Spain, and Aveiro in Portugal respectively, it is possible that subjects of the king of Spain were bound by the regulation of this Huguenot assembly.[241]

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[239] D. Buisseret, 'The Communications of France during the Reconstruction of Henri IV', *The Economic History Review*, 2nd series, 18 (1965), pp. 269, 273, 277.

[240] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fols. 52 r, 53 v.

[241] Trocmé and Delafosse, *Le Commerce Rochelais* (1952), pp. 120-4 (cf. p. 9), 135-7: despite regulations, fish from Newfoundland were usually sold before their entry into La Rochelle. Cod liver oil, salted and especially dried cod were sent in great quantities to Aunis, Saintonge, Angoumois, Poitou, Anjou, Maine, Limousin, Périgord, Auvergne, Forez and Dauphiné. Dried cod was also sent to the Asturias and to Portugal. Ships also returned directly to Cadiz, where a *commis* of the financiers sold the cargo or sent it to Malaga, Valencia, Palma de Majorca or Marseille. Whale fat, oil, whalebone, and salted whale meat were also included in this trade. Trade in leathers and pelts, especially those of beavers, derived from exchanges between the crews who fished from dry land and the local tribes.

ii. Privateering

Huguenot general assemblies also sanctioned privateering, which could provide a lucrative source of revenue.[242] The agreement between Condé and La Rochelle in 1577 shared responsibility for permits for sea warfare and the adjudication of prizes between officers of the admiralty of Guyenne and the mayor of La Rochelle. It was decided that of the prizes that would come to the harbour of La Rochelle, the mayor and *échevins* would levy half of the *droit de quint* principally for the fortifications of the town. The ships and cargoes of La Rochelle were not excluded from seizure by members of the Huguenot party; no explanation is given for this surprising statement.[243] As stated above, the chamber for the admiralty at La Rochelle was perpetuated in the king's name by royal letters in 1589. Permits for war were now only granted to navy captains for use against rebels against the king and those who helped them.[244]

Article 83 of the edict of Nantes pardoned all prizes by sea and land, which had been carried out by virtue of permits and avowals, and had been adjudicated by the judges and *commissaires* of the admiralty, or by Huguenot leaders or their councils.[245] In spite of this, at the general assembly held at Châtellerault in 1605, the sieur de Lalet appealed to this article in stating that in 1581, he had taken the sieurs de Bonzac and de Besson as prisoners with the crew of the sieur de Sparcou. This had been judged a lawful prize by the late sieur de Plassac,[246] who was governor of Pons by authority of the king, then king of Navarre. In contravention of the edict, an *arrêt* of the *conseil privé* (one of the highest courts of appeal in

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[242] During the first civil war, the tenth of prizes levied as an admiralty right at La Rochelle is said by François de La Noue to have yielded 300, 000 *livres*. See *François de La Noue. Discours politiques et militaires*, ed. F. Sutcliffe (Geneva, Droz; Paris, Minard, 1967), pp. 771-2. According to Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause', p. 239, privateering was less significant after 1572. For prizes generally, see G. Parker, *The military revolution. Military innovation and the rise of the West, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, C.U.P., 1988), p. 82.

[243] Details in B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 5 [b]. The regulation could have been referring to enemy vessels usually berthed at La Rochelle.

[244] B.N.F. fr. 20783, fols. 279 r-280 r: letters dated 12 October 1589 (extract from the admiralty registers, 27 December 1589); *ibid.*, fol. 278 r: letters dated 28 January 1590 (extract dated 13 February 1590).

[245] Edict of Nantes, art. 85: all that had been taken outside the context of the hostilities, and against the regulations of the leaders or communities of the provinces, could be subject to judicial pursuit.

[246] Haag VIII, 293-4: Jean de Pons, sieur de Plassac et du Langon, fought for the Huguenots from 1574 and contributed notably to the taking of Pons, where he was made governor. He was a member of the king of Navarre's council in 1582. He led the taking of Royan in 1586 and fought at Coutras in 1587.

the kingdom)[247] had ordered him to restore the property he had taken. The company agreed to insert the complaint in its *cahier*, and the deputies sent to court would support this case.[248] This illustrates the fact that although the edict of Nantes granted amnesties for legitimate acts of war, this provision was difficult to implement in practice. This particular case also shows that de Lalet considered the general assembly as a means of seeking redress even though his case had already been addressed by the *conseil privé*.

Privateering from La Rochelle continued after 1611.[249] In an article on 'Huguenot militancy and the seventeenth-century wars of religion' (2002), A. James described the creation by the assembly and La Rochelle in June 1621 of an admiralty court able to issue *lettres de marque* as the creation of an independent naval authority, for which there could be no legal justification. The only precedent was the council created by Jeanne d'Albret at La Rochelle in 1568.[250] The regulation for the admiralty established by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1621 declared that the assembly would deliver permits for war against enemy vessels, also allowing the pursuit of 'forbans pirates Corsayres [et] aultres Gens Sans adveu qui Tiennent la mer'.[251] As in 1577, the regulation stated that captains could return only to La Rochelle with their prizes, but this time were forbidden from attacking ships and goods belonging to Huguenots. This also included those merchants of La Rochelle and other Huguenots who brought their goods and possessions back from distant provinces (including those held by Catholics) or from foreign countries in enemy ships. Ships belonging to the subjects of the kings of Great Britain, Denmark and Sweden, and of the estates of Holland, German coastal towns, Republic of Venice, and the duke of Savoy were also exempt from

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[247] See Chapter Three, p. 153.
[248] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 757: Châtellerault 1605.
[249] B.N.F. fr. 3810, fol. 59 r: a letter from Phélypeaux to the duke of Nevers (Fontainebleau, 12 April 1613) shows that the king had undertaken to reimburse the duke for expenses incurred in refitting two ships taken by La Rochelle. The king ordered La Rochelle to return the vessels (the Saint François and the Saint Louis) and to deliver to them to the baron de Sauzon.
[250] A. James, 'Huguenot militancy and the seventeenth-century wars of religion', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, pp. 217-9. Within two months, possibly as much as 20, 000 *écus* in revenue was brought in from privateering, and a fleet of fifteen warships was gathered, which easily matched the numeric strength of the royal fleet. By 1622, Soubise reportedly had twenty warships. See B.N.F. 15826, fols. 107 v, 125 r, 127 r, 143 r, 241 r: La Rochelle 1620-2.
[251] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 52 r: La Rochelle 10 May 1621 regulation.

attack, on condition that they had bought the appropriate passports for merchandise loaded at La Rochelle, or other ports of the union. The captains and their guarantors would be required to pay the rights of the admiralty on lawful prizes, both for the 'Cause Publicque' (one tenth) and for La Rochelle (one tenth) and to fully observe this regulation. A copy of this and of the royal ordinances on the admiralty would be given to them. *Deniers* from the passports (including for land travel), permits and prizes, would be received by the treasurer general established at La Rochelle, who would give an account to the general assembly. A register would be kept of the passports, safe-conducts and permits for war at the registry of the *commissaires* established by the general assembly for the admiralty. The 'noms [et] Surnoms' of the soldiers and sailors in a captain's crew would also be registered here. The passports, safe-conducts, permits and commissions for war could only be used once and would be valid for a maximum of three months. On return, irrespective of whether seizures were carried out, captains would be expected to report to the *commissaires* of the admiralty. Where they had taken prizes, captains would faithfully represent all the charter-parties[252] for these ships, with all the gold, silver, jewels, movables and merchandise. To avoid fraud, the captains would also present two or three of the principal members of the crew whose cargo had been seized to give oral testimony, in conformity with the royal ordinances on the admiralty. To judge the prizes and other affairs of the admiralty, the general assembly would establish ten *commissaires*, five of them from the assembly, the other five from La Rochelle. They would judge without appeal, in both civil and criminal matters, with at least seven present, 'dont le president Sera en ladicte assemblee'. Four of the *commissaires* would be changed every three months on the advice of the assembly. A further four *commissaires* were also named (two by the general assembly and two by La Rochelle) to go with the officers of the admiralty to the ships to draw up inventories and ensure that the cargoes were stored in a safe place.[253]

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[252] A deed between a ship-owner and a merchant for the hire of a ship and the delivery of cargo.

[253] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fols. 52 r-54r. B.N.F. 15826, fol. 155 r: La Rochelle 1620-2: the assembly ordered that *commissaires* would apportion merchandise taken as prizes and that it would be sold 'à son de trompe'.

Prizes taken as a result of this regulation were countered by letters of reprisal issued by the king. In August 1621, Louis XIII granted letters of reprisal to the owners of a ship and galleon taken two months previously (10 June) near the Ile de Ré by a captain Papault from La Rochelle. The ship contained 18, 000 Spanish *reals*, 45 *pistoles* (Spanish gold coins each equivalent to about 11 *livres*) and other monies from the sale of wheat in Spain, the whole, including the money, sailing equipment and gear, amounting to about 9, 000 or 10, 000 *livres*. The galleon with its equipment, loaded with wheat, was worth about 3, 000 *livres*. The letters of reprisal stated that these two vessels had been judged a lawful prize 'par l'assemblée illicite de la Rochelle, tenue par ceux de la R.P.R'. As compensation, the letters granted that the owners could take the personal and real estate on land and sea of the Rochelais and others within their walls up to the sum they declared had been lost. The Rochelais and others they were harbouring could be pursued as 'rebelles et perturbateurs du repos public'.[254]

Success at sea was undermined by divisions between the assembly and La Rochelle over the manner in which proceeds from prizes were to be shared, and in 1622 the general assembly lost its right to a tenth of prizes to La Rochelle.[255]

This chapter has shown that in taking lay property, the general assemblies followed the same procedures as royal officers; in many cases, ecclesiastical property had been legally acquired by Huguenots. The edicts of pacification included detailed measures for the return of property. General redress was sought through the general assemblies, the deputies general, the *chambres de l'édit* and the *commissaires* for the implementation of the edicts of pacification. The requests for compensation for loss of property that were presented to the general assemblies indicate that the assemblies were considered as a fair arbiter of property rights. These requests should be paralleled with demands made by individuals to the assemblies for the repayment of money forwarded for purposes that served the general interest, to be

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[254] B.P.F. Ms. 816[1], number 2: 'Représailles'.
[255] Anquez I, 378-80. A. James, 'Huguenot militancy and the seventeenth-century wars of religion', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, pp. 220-1.

discussed in Chapter Six.[256] However, the general assemblies proved themselves unwilling to commit themselves to reimbursing sums that the churches could not meet. The petitions highlighted here nevertheless continue to reflect a concern for the individual, irrespective of social origin. Petitions relating to the lack of adequate places for burial are a good example of this. Pitassarie, the merchant from La Rochelle for whom no burial place could be found in Bayonne in 1601, was owed the 'dernier debvoir que L'humanité Requiert des hommes', and the deputies general were instructed to present his case directly to the king.[257] From 1594, the petitions of the general assemblies relating to ecclesiastical property also complain about the increasingly militant actions of the Jesuits and the bishops (the latter mostly with respect to exhumations), reflecting the growing influence of Counter-Reformation Catholicism in France. The provisions for charity hint at the practical influence that the assemblies could have in the localities in a period when lay authorities were often taking these responsibilities over from the Church. The taking of tolls and prizes by the assemblies essentially relied on the framework provided by the admiralty of La Rochelle, which also offered protection to Catholic ships which held the appropriate passports and permits. However, independent use of these rights was no longer tenable after 1589 and disagreement with the town authorities in La Rochelle in any case diminished the role that the general assembly played in this area.

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[256] See Chapter Six, pp. 264-8.
[257] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 737.

CHAPTER FIVE

Provisions for War made by the General Assemblies

While the general assemblies represented the concerns of Huguenots to the monarchy and sought to ensure the implementation of the edicts of pacification, they also made provisions for war. These provisions were always justified by the need for self-defence when no other remedy was available, as well as by the need to defend the edicts of pacification against those who contravened them and misled the king.[1] How far were the general assemblies involved in warfare and how far could they influence commanders on the ground? The only studies concentrating on the Huguenot navy and army remain articles published in 1956 and 1957 by Jean de Pablo, then an army colonel. In the first article, de Pablo discussed developments during the third civil war (August 1568-August 1570); in the second he covered the period 1562-73. He relied principally on contemporary memoirs, histories and letters, without always specifying his references.[2] Sir Charles Oman's *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century* (1937) provides a narrative account of Huguenot troops and their development during the French Wars of Religion, but he again relied on the same category of sources.[3]

While in some provinces such as Languedoc, there might have been more Huguenot troops than royalist ones, there is a broad consensus that Huguenots were generally outnumbered in the drawn battles fought during the conflict.[4] Overall troop numbers can only

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[1] See for instance the *Declaration des eglises reformees de France & Souveraineté de Bearn. de l'iniuste persecution qui leur est faicte, par les ennemis de l'Estat & de leur Religion. Et de leur legitime & necessaire defense* (La Rochelle, Pierre Pié de Dieu, 1621), pp. 3, 45.

[2] J. de Pablo, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'histoire des institutions militaires huguenotes. I. L'armée de mer huguenote pendant la troisième guerre de religion', *A.R.G.*, 47 (1956), pp. 64-76 and 'Contribution à l'étude des institutions militaires huguenotes. II. L'armée huguenote entre 1562 et 1573', *A.R.G.*, 48 (1957), pp. 192-216. The latter article develops a review by de Pablo in *B.S.H.P.F.*, 102 (1956), pp. 49-50.

[3] C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century* (London, Methuen & Co, 1937), pp. 393-533.

[4] J. de Pablo, 'L'Armée huguenote entre 1562 et 1573', *A.R.G.*, 48 (1957), pp. 200, 202-3. M. Greengrass, 'War, Politics and Religion in Languedoc during the Government of Henri de Montmorency-Damville (1574-1610)' (University of Oxford D. Phil. thesis, 1979), pp. 125, 136, 356-64.

be estimated.[5] Debate has focused on the composition of the Huguenot army. It is generally agreed that it included a greater proportion of artisans and merchants than in the royal army.[6] De Pablo argued that there was a greater proportion of infantry troops in the Huguenot army than in the royal army. He also highlighted the domination in the Huguenot army of the more manœuverable light cavalry (*reîtres* and *argoulets*) over the heavy cavalry (*gendarmes*),[7] although the latter was generally in decline at the end of the sixteenth century.[8] A higher proportion of infantry troops was a key element of the 'military revolution', which had been brought about by the development of firepower (archers, artillery and firearms). These developments also led to increases in the size of armies.[9]

This chapter first provides a summary of the general assemblies' involvement in the conflicts. Secondly, it considers the relationship between the assemblies and the Huguenot military leadership, as well as the manner in which the assemblies delivered or sanctioned commissions for the levy of troops. It also examines the measures drawn up by the assemblies with regard to military discipline. Thirdly, this chapter addresses the provisions made by the assemblies for the pay of troops, and fourthly, their attempts to regulate billeting, supplies, and the taking of ransoms and booty. Fifthly, it considers the manner in which the assemblies supervised the management of stores and artillery and finally, their coordination of funds for the building and repair of fortifications. Throughout, the assemblies also sought implementation of the terms of the edicts of pacification with respect to military activities.

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[5] F. Lot, *Recherches sur les effectifs des armées françaises de Guerres d'Italie aux Guerres de Religion 1494-1562* (Paris, S.E.V.P.E.N., 1962), pp. 13-4.

[6] J. de Pablo, 'L'armée huguenote entre 1562 et 1573' (1957), pp. 199-200. Greengrass, 'War, Politics and Religion in Languedoc' (1979), pp. 137-40. Cf. G. Parker, *The military revolution. Military innovation and the rise of the West, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, C.U.P., 1988), p. 47.

[7] De Pablo, 'L'armée huguenote entre 1562 et 1573' (1957), pp. 205-6, 207 and 208-9. By contrast, Oman (*A History of the Art of War*, pp. 403-6, 463-4, 466, 468) argued for the dominance of cavalry on the Huguenot side. De Pablo also pointed out that from 1562, there were regiments in the Huguenot army entirely constituted of harquebusiers, an innovation with which Gustavus Adolphus is generally credited. The same point is broadly made in J. Lynn, 'Tactical Evolution in the French Army, 1560-1660', *French Historical Studies*, 14, number 1 (1985), p. 183.

[8] Doucet II, 627. For a breakdown of royal troops, see J. Wood, *The King's Army. Warfare, Soldiers, and Society during the Wars of Religion in France, 1562-1576* (Cambridge, C.U.P, 1996), pp. 64, 71 and 72.

[9] G. Parker, *The Military Revolution* (1988), pp. 24, 69.

I. The general assemblies and their involvement in the conflicts

General assemblies from 1579 to 1622 convened at a time of internal conflict in 1588, 1593-8, 1615-6 and 1620-2, but faced general insecurity throughout this period. It was difficult to ensure that troops disbanded as royal edicts stipulated and royal guards and frontier garrisons were always exempt from these measures.[10]

The general assembly at La Rochelle in November and December 1588 met during the eighth period of formal civil war (begun in 1585) which was characterised by the predominance of the Catholic League.[11] In May 1588, Henri III was forced to leave Paris following an insurrection (the 'Day of the Barricades') and in July 1588 he was forced to sign an edict of Union with the Catholic League. Articles in the military regulation drawn up by this assembly can be found word for word in the regulation of the final general assembly at La Rochelle, written in May 1621.

The general assemblies held between 1596 and 1598 resisted royal requests for military help in the campaign against the Spanish troops in the north of France, as a means of highlighting Huguenot claims in the period that preceded the edict of Nantes. As president of the general assembly at Loudun in 1596, Odet de La Noue[12] was the recipient of letters from Henri IV (in June 1596), requesting his help in operations for the siege of Amiens.[13] La Noue tactfully refused and responded on 26 June that 'nous croïons fermement, nous unissans bien solidairement pour arrester le cours de nostre ruyne, nous faisons votre service plus que sy nous estions l'espée à la main affrontez à l'Espaignol'.[14] On 9 July 1596, Henri IV had instructed the royal *commissaires* de Vic and Calignon[15] to remind the general assembly at

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[10] 1577 edict, arts. 47, 59. Fleix, arts. 29, 32. Edict of Nantes, art. 82. Huguenot complaints are outlined for example in B.P.F. Ms. 95, fols. 21 v-22 r, arts. xli-xlii: Montauban 1584 *cahier*. B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 216 v: Saumur 1611. B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 6 r-v: La Rochelle April 1621 *cahier*.

[11] In July 1585, the treaty of Nemours had removed the crown of Navarre from Henri de Navarre and removed both him and the prince of Condé from the succession to the crown of France. The treaty also revoked all the edicts of pacification and prohibited all but the Catholic religion. In September 1585, Navarre and Condé were excommunicated by the Pope.

[12] See Chapter One, p. 18, fn. 103 for his biography.

[13] V. Saulnier, 'Henri IV, Odet de La Noue, et l'assemblée de Loudun', *B.H.R.*, XXVII (1965), 536-8. The article is based on a letter from Henri IV to La Noue, dated Abbeville 13 June 1596.

[14] 'Autour de l'Edit de Nantes. Lettre inédite d'Odet de La Noue à Henri IV. 26 juin 1596', ed. N. Weiss, *B.S.H.P.F.*, 47 (1898), p. 105.

[15] See Chapter Two, p. 65, fn. 79 for his biography.

Loudun of the positions that Huguenots held in the royal army as a means of dissuading them from disobeying the king's will.[16] The king then called out a *ban* in 1597, for the relief of the siege of Amiens. Leading Huguenot noblemen at the general assembly at Saumur 1597 chose to withhold the troops they commanded, as a means of bringing attention to the petitions of the political assembly.[17] The tension continued at the following general assembly at Châtellerault, where Bouillon[18] and La Trémoille[19] withheld the troops they had raised in response to the king's request. Anquez argued that because of the withholding of troops, the assembly's deputies were not in a position to argue over the conditions given to them in the edict of Nantes.[20] Sutherland argued by contrast that the edict of Nantes was 'extorted, under duress', by the Huguenots who 'had all but betrayed their king and country into the hands of Spain'.[21] Both Anquez and Sutherland ignore the fact that some of the deputies at these general assemblies opposed the stance that was taken from the outset.[22] Statements made by Huguenot military leaders at the general assemblies cannot therefore be taken as reflecting the position of the Huguenot churches as a whole.

After initial discussions at the general assembly at Grenoble,[23] the following general assembly at Nîmes in 1615 signed a formal treaty of union (27 November 1615) with the Catholic prince of Condé, thereby allying itself with the revolt of the princes.[24] Despite

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[16] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fol. 233 r-v.

[17] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 509, art. 320, and p. 512, art. 334: Saumur 1597. Mazarine Ms. 2594, fols. 90 r-96 r: letter from the general assembly to the king after the fall of Amiens (May 1597). N. Weiss, 'Autour de l'édit de Nantes. Les députés Huguenots et Henri IV en mai et juillet 1597', *B.S.H.P.F.*, 47 (1898), pp. 472-8. For the *ban*, see Wood, *The King's Army* (1996), pp. 160-1 and Doucet II, 617-8.

[18] See Chapter One, p. 7, fn. 36 for his biography.

[19] See Chapter One, p. 7, fn. 37 for his biography.

[20] Anquez I, 78-9.

[21] N. Sutherland, 'The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes 1598-1629' in I. Scouloudi (ed.), *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background, 1550-1800. [...]* (London, Macmillan Press, 1987), p. 160. *idem*, 'The Edict of Nantes and the "protestant State"', *Annali della fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa*, 2 (1965), pp. 227-33.

[22] See Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 302-3, art. 136, for a complaint from the sieur de La Motte to the general assembly at Loudun on 3 April 1596.

[23] Speech by Condé's envoy de La Haye (10 August 1615) in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 88 r-v (copy in Mazarine Ms. 2609, fols. 104 r-105 r). The royal *commissaire* Frère was instructed (20 September 1615) to tell the assembly that if the deputies sent by Condé and Bouillon were still at Grenoble, the *parlement* would ask them to leave, because of their discussing taking up arms against royal authority. See B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fols. 92 r-74 r [sic.] (copy in Mazarine Ms. 2609, fols. 108 v-111 v).

[24] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 71 r-76 v: articles drawn up at Nîmes to be sent to Condé (copies in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fols. 170 r-173 r and Mazarine Ms. 2609, fols. 202 v-206 r; 242 r-245 v). See also B.N.F.

opposition from a local assembly held at Montauban in 1615[25] and from the duke of Lesdiguières,[26] the general assembly decided to take up arms for Condé in Basse-Guyenne, while stating its fidelity to the king. Military leaders were established in the provinces, but only Languedoc, Guyenne and Poitou took up arms for the assembly and towns such as Aigues-Mortes, Montpellier and Châtellerault were reluctant or in disagreement, hampering the levy of troops. Lesdiguières levied 6, 000 soldiers against his coreligionists.[27] Many thought that the general assembly should not have allied itself with a quarrel that was motivated by the interests of the high nobility.[28] The general assembly subsequently presented petitions for peace.[29]

The final general assembly at La Rochelle (1620-2) drew up a military regulation (10 May 1621) and delivered commissions for the levy of troops, in response to the news from the deputy general Chalas[30] that royal troops were mustering for a campaign against Huguenot positions.[31] The 1621 regulation named a commander for each of the eight synodal provinces to lead all Huguenots under the authority of the king.[32] Many of those named as commanders,

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N.a.f. 7194, fols. 260 r-263 r: La Rochelle assembly to Condé (19 April 1616). For the revolt of the princes, see Chapter Two, pp. 84-5

[25] *La Declaration Faicte en la ville de Montauban, par des deputez assemblez en icelle: Portant de vouloir demeurer sous l'obeissance du Roy, & observation de ses Edicts* (Lyon, Iouxte la copie imprimé à Montauban, *Avec permission*, 1616), pp. 6-7, 10-6.

[26] *Lettre de monsieur le Mareschal Desdiguieres envoyee tant à Messieurs de la Rochelle, qu'autres chefs de la Religion pretenduë reformee. Le 28. Decembre 1615* (Lyon, Iouxte la coppie Imprimee à Paris, *Avec Permission*). *Responces de messieurs les Deputez de Grenoble. Addressees à Monsieur le Mareschal d'Esdigueres* [sic.], & *autres de ladite Assemblees* [sic.] (n.p., 1616), pp. 4, 6, 10, 12-3, 15. See Chapter One, p. 37, fn. 221 for Lesdiguières' biography.

[27] Anquez I, 275, 277. J. Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior: the Life and Times of Henri de Rohan, 1579-1638* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), pp. 55-6, 58. A. James, 'Huguenot militancy and the seventeenth-century wars of religion', in R. Mentzer and A. Spicer (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559-1685* (Cambridge, C.U.P., 2002), p. 216.

[28] See A. d'Aubigné, 'Sa vie à ses enfants', in *Œuvres complètes [...]*, eds. E. Réaume, F. de Caussade and A. Legouëz (6 vols., Paris, Alphonse Lemerre, 1873-92), I, 88. See Chapter One, p. 11, fn. 63 for d'Aubigné's biography.

[29] *Harangue derniere des Deputez de l'Assemblee de Nismes, au Roy, prononcee par la bouche du Sieur de Berteville à la Roche-foucaut, le 3 Janvier, 1616* (n.p., n.d.). *Recueil Veritable de ce qui s'est passé à l'assemblée Generalle de Nismes* (n.p., 1616), pp. 2, 10, 18, 23. *Lettre de monseigneur le Prince, envoyee à Monsieur le Duc de Rohan* (n.p., 1616) (26 January 1616).

[30] For Chalas, see Chapter Two, pp. 69, 70, 73, 92, 96.

[31] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fols. 42 r-47 r. Chalas stated that the king's council had decided to use 41, 000 infantrymen and 6, 000 cavalrymen against the Huguenots. Background in Anquez I, 339-40.

[32] Anquez I, 341, fn. 1; 349-50, 449-50. Picardy, Champagne, Lyonnais, Nivernais, Bourbonnais, Marche and Auvergne were not initially included, perhaps because they did not contain a sufficient number of churches. Poitou, Orléanais and Dauphiné did not take up arms. Béarn assured the king of its loyalty and instructed its deputies to leave the assembly.

notably the duke of Bouillon (named as overall commander) and Lesdiguières, did not take up their positions or did not remain in them.[33] Within a month of the regulation, Louis XIII wrote in two letters (8 June 1621) to the duke of Nevers, that Sully, La Trémoille and de Brosse Pardaillan (the latter two were named commanders by the general assembly) and other leading members of the Huguenot nobility had assured him of their obedience. Bouillon gave further evidence of his disapproval of the assembly at La Rochelle.[34] In contrast to Henri IV in 1596, Louis XIII was able to use the positions that Huguenots held in the royal army to his advantage. In addition to being named commander for Bas-Languedoc, Cévennes, Gévaudan and Vivarais by the assembly at La Rochelle, the count of Coligny and sieur de Châtillon was a *conseiller d'état*, a captain of one hundred men of arms in the royal army, governor of Montpellier and Aigues-Mortes, and colonel of the royal French infantry in the United Provinces.[35] In a letter (12 November 1621) to the duke of Nevers on raising the siege of Montauban, Louis XIII wrote 'Je m'achemine en Languedoc asseuré de la fidelité du s.[ieu]r de Chastillon Et des lieux ou son credit s'estend'.[36] Opposition from Châtillon and his supporters prevented the duke of Rohan from levying adequate troop numbers.[37] Rohan and Soubise (named broadly as a commander for Brittany and Poitou), the only two commanders to resist, were declared *criminels de lèse-majesté* in December 1621 and July 1622 respectively, entailing loss of office, pensions and sequestration of property.[38] Rohan gained

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[33] Anquez I, 342, 351- 2, 354-6, 367. Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior*, p. 82. The duke of Bouillon, who was first *maréchal de France*, was also chosen in the regulation as commander for Normandy, Ile-de-France, Berry, and the region of Maine, Perche and Touraine in the province of Anjou. The duke of Rohan (chosen to command Haut-Languedoc and Haute-Guyenne) was named in his stead. Lesdiguières, who was a *maréchal général* in the royal army, was chosen to command Dauphiné, Provence and Burgundy. Montbrun was named for Provence in his stead. In January 1622 Montbrun was also named commander for Dauphiné.

[34] B.N.F. fr. 3802, fols. 68 r-69 r and 70 r-71 r. The duke of Nevers was a peer and royal governor and lieutenant general in Champagne and Brie.

[35] See Chapter One, p. 37, fn. 220 for his biography.

[36] B.N.F. fr. 3802, fol. 73 r. See also Arsenal Ms. 4114, première partie, p. 272: 'Raisons de la paix faite devant Montpellier' (written by Rohan).

[37] Arsenal Ms. 4114, première partie, pp. 274-5, 280-1: 'Raisons de la paix faite devant Montpellier'. Cf. B.N.F. fr. 4102, fol. 51 [1]: letter from the assembly of Bas-Languedoc to the general assembly at La Rochelle (Sommières, January 1622). *ibid.*, fols. 54 [1]-53 [2] [sic.]: 'Memoires du Duc de Rohan pour la revocation du Cercle'. See Anquez I, 359-61, 367-9, 371, 384-6. J. Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior* (1966), pp. 99-100.

[38] B.N.F. fr. 3808, fols. 103 r-105 r: extract from the registers of the Paris *parlement*.

some compensation for his losses from the peace settlement,[39] but he also criticised Châtillon and the marquis of La Force (named as a commander for Béarn) for concluding individual settlements beforehand. All had sworn through their deputies not to conclude a treaty without the general assembly.[40]

II. Military leadership and troop enrolment

i. Field troops

Throughout this period the general assemblies and Huguenot military leaders interacted through councils established in the provinces. In 1588 and 1621, military commanders were also given prominence in the general assemblies.

Leading noblemen and officers in the Huguenot armies were included in the council planned for the king of Navarre by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588. Military leaders were influential in drawing up the military regulation produced by this assembly, but did not lead the assembly to direct involvement in the conflicts. The same general assembly decided that councils would be maintained for lieutenant generals in the provinces. This reflected the increased power of governors during the civil wars: many had councils known as *conseil d'états*, through which they published ordinances, named governors of fortresses and seized royal revenue.[41] The 1588 assembly decided that when the king of Navarre was in the principal towns of his *gouvernement*, he would call the generals who were governors of these towns, gentlemen and other notables to his council, in order to avoid greater costs.[42]

Chapter Two showed how the leadership of the provincial councils established in 1594 could be deferred to leading members of the nobility, and in this sense they can be seen

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[39] Arsenal Ms. 2667, première partie, pp. 306-7: 22 October 1622 articles. Anquez I, 389, fn. 1. J. Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior* (1966), p. 107.
[40] Arsenal Ms. 4114, première partie, pp. 268-70: 'Raisons de la paix faite devant Montpellier'.
[41] Doucet I, 242.
[42] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 219, 221. Members of Navarre's council included François de La Noue; the viscount of Turenne, lieutenant general for the king of Navarre in Guyenne, captain of fifty men of arms of the king's ordinances, and one of the colonels of the French infantry of the Huguenot party. There were also La Trémoille, duke of Thouars, prince of Talmont and colonel of the light cavalry of the Huguenot party; Châtillon, also a colonel of the Huguenot party; Lesdiguières, governor and lieutenant general for the king of Navarre in Dauphiné. See Chapter Two, pp. 54-7.

as a continuation of the councils for military leaders in the provinces before 1588.[43] At the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1601, governors asked to be admitted to the general and provincial assemblies and to be entitled to debate without being deputies.[44]

The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1621 established that the overall commander would have a military council composed of the principal commanders and officers of his army. Three deputies from the general assembly would attend this council; the general assembly would change them every three months. The generals in the provinces would also have military councils, which three deputies from the provincial council would attend, also subject to change by the council every three months.[45] The purpose of this was to prevent (as it turned out, unsuccessfully) the generals from negotiating separately with the king.[46]

Although troops could not be levied without a royal commission, it was common practice during the civil wars for governors to deliver such commissions. Before 1588, commanders given commissions by the king of Navarre would in turn deliver commissions for the levy of troops.[47] The regulation for the council for the king of Navarre drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 stated that all commissions and provisions for offices would be delivered and verified there. Commissions given to captains and others would be inserted in the registers of the provincial governor.[48]

The union between the prince of Condé and the general assembly at Nîmes (27 November 1615) stated that military actions and the levy of funds in areas controlled by Huguenots 'se conduiront absoluement par les ordonnances et suivant les Reglemens de

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[43] See Chapter Two, p. 57.
[44] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601. Many had already attended the general assemblies at Loudun, Vendôme and Saumur (1596-7).
[45] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fols. 42 v-43 r, arts. 2, 4, 5; cf. art. 1: La Rochelle 10 May 1621 regulation.
[46] J. Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior* (1966), p. 78.
[47] See for example Mazarine Ms. 2592: commission to the viscount of Turenne to act as the king of Navarre's lieutenant general in Albigeois, Lauragais and Languedoc (Nérac, 10 April 1580). B.P.F. Ms. 246: commission to Châtillon to act as lieutenant general in Rouergue (28 April 1586). 'Une commission de Guillaume de Montmorency seigneur de Thoré, gouvernant sous Henri III pour les réformés en Languedoc 1577', ed. L. Farelle, *B.S.H.P.F.*, 7 (1858), pp. 396-9. *Actes et correspondance du connétable de Lesdiguières [...]*, eds. comte de Douglas and J. Roman (Grenoble, Edouard Allier, 1878), I, 60-1, number xlix: commission from Lesdiguières to the captain François Philibert to levy a company of up to fifty harquebusiers (30 September 1585).
[48] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 219-20, 238.

lad[ite] assemblée qui subsistera tandis que Les armes dureront'. Although Condé was responsible for delivering the commissions sanctioning these actions, the assembly assumed for the first time the role of choosing those to whom these commissions would be given. None could receive commissions directly from Condé. Those negotiating peace on behalf of Huguenots would attempt to have these commissions converted into titles of office. The text states that the assembly would act by Condé's avowals or 'adveuz' (aveux) which also has the connotation of recognition between a vassal and his overlord.[49] As a prince of royal blood, Condé could confer some legitimacy on the assembly's actions.

For the first time in 1621, the general assembly assumed the authority to deliver commissions. This was a grave step, worsened by the fact that the assembly chose to adopt a seal in order to authenticate these commissions.[50] The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in May 1621 ordered that the commanding general would dispose of all offices in his army, except those of colonel in the cavalry and infantry, *grand maître* of the artillery and *maréchaux de camp généraux*, which the assembly would name with the advice of the general. The generals in the provinces could appoint one or more lieutenants in their province with the advice of the provincial council, and dispose of all other offices. Those named would take their letters of provision from the general assembly. These commissions would be inserted both in the registers of the assembly and those of the commanders and generals.[51]

Example of these commissions survive because on 9 October 1621, the royal commander Matignon[52] found about forty of them, to be distributed in the provinces by the sieur de Montchrestien, hidden in a small box 'en une carriere ores d'Ansio[u]t'. Montchrestien and the six men with him had been ambushed two days previously;

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[49] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 74 r–75 r, arts. 11-2.

[50] See *B.S.H.P.F.*, 4 (1855-6), pp. 470-4: 'Le Sceau de l'Assemblée politique de La Rochelle apposé sur une commission de cette assemblée. 1621' and Anquez I, 514, both of which reproduce a drawing of the seal. The seal is also discussed in 'Actes de l'assemblée générale des églises réformées de France et souveraineté du Béarn (1620-1622)', ed. A. de Barthélemy, *Archives historiques du Poitou*, V (1876), xvi.

[51] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fols. 43 r, 44 v, arts. 3, 6, 20.

[52] Probably Charles de Matignon, son of the *maréchal* Jacques II de Matignon, who had supported Henri III rather than the Catholic League and rallied to Henri IV in 1589. See Chapter Four, p. 163.

Montchrestien was killed and it is likely that the commissions were hidden by someone from his party who escaped.[53] A copy of one of these commissions (dated 9 August 1621) can be found in a volume of the 1652 Brienne collection in the Bibliothèque nationale. It states that the assembly acted by virtue of the authority given to it by all the churches in France and Béarn and granted each commission 'sous le nom et auctorité de sa maiesté' for the levy of a regiment of veteran French infantry. Each company would number one hundred armed pikemen and musketeers, including the commander and officers. The commander could name the lieutenants, ensign and other officers in his company, which would operate in a particular province (left blank in this commission) and wherever ordered by the commander (*chef général*) of that province, their lieutenant generals, *maréchaux de camp* and others in authority. However, the commission added that the assembly ordered 'tous que besoin sera que à nous en ce faisant Ilz entendent et obeissent selon et ainsy quil app.[artien]dra'.[54] As seen above, the general assembly found it difficult in practice to exercise authority over all its commanders; during this period they were being won over by the monarchy.

The regulations for troops produced by the general assemblies developed previous Huguenot military regulations and set out detailed rules for the conduct of troops in the field.[55] The regulations of the general assemblies set one hundred cavalrymen as the standard number for a *cornette* (a cavalry standard) in order to ensure military discipline.[56] The

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[53] Haag VII, 462-8: Antoine de Montchrestien, sieur de Vasteville, born in Normandy, was a well-known playwright (he wrote a series of tragedies, first published in 1600/1601) and a writer on the economics of France (his *Traicté de l'Œconomie politique*, 1615, was dedicated to the king and queen mother). He established a steel works near Châtillon-sur-Loire. He decided to follow the duke of Rohan in 1621. Montchrestien was taken prisoner at Sancerre and released after Condé capitulated on 29 May 1621. In July 1621, he offered his services to the general assembly at La Rochelle. He was given one hundred commissions to levy troops in Maine and Normandy. He had already levied 5, 000-6, 000 men when he and his party were ambushed in October 1621. Montchrestien's corpse was taken to Domfront, where it was mutilated, burnt and the ashes scattered.

[54] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7197, fols. 100 r-101 r. The commission was sealed and signed by the assembly's president, deputy to the president and two secretaries (for that month). Reproduced in Anquez I, 513-4: Appendix XI. For another example of a commission, see B.N.F. fr. 23490, fols. 60 r-61 r: commission given to Montbrun to act as lieutenant general in Provence (14 May 1621).

[55] For previous Huguenot military regulations, see for instance Mazarine Ms. 2590: ordinances (9 September 1568) confirmed on 15 March 1569. Anquez I, 43-4 only briefly mentioned the measures on military discipline drawn up at La Rochelle in 1588, apparently modelled on a regulation drawn up at Montauban in 1584.

[56] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 240: La Rochelle 1588 regulation. B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 45 r, art. 28: La Rochelle 1621 regulation.

regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1621 limited companies of light cavalry to fifty men.[57] Smaller formations were easier to drill and allowed greater mobility; they are seen as a development of the 'military revolution' that occurred during this period.[58]

Soldiers were initially expected to enroll under a specific *cornette* or ensign (with recognised commissions) and swear the oath of unity and observance to the regulations, generally at a parade inspection ordered by *commissaires*. Officers would also swear the oath, which should be distinguished from the oath sworn to the assembly. The renewal of the oath every month (before 1588) or every week (after 1588) gave gentlemen and soldiers the opportunity to leave their companies in case of maltreatment by their captains. It also prevented soldiers from leaving their *cornettes* or ensigns for another, or from being 'poached' by other captains without a written permit from their own captain. The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 stated that such soldiers would be delivered by local inhabitants to the *prévôt* or other officers for punishment.[59] This would include demotion; if they had taken their mount (*montre*) they faced death. Governors, *maîtres de camp* and captains had to promise and sign not to accept such soldiers. These measures were reiterated at La Rochelle in 1621.[60] There were also attempts to keep registers of the movements of foreign soldiers.[61]

The oath was intended to prevent unilateral negotiations with the enemy. Negotiations with the enemy could not be undertaken without the approval of members of the councils or the generals, and could not be concluded without the approval of the general assembly.[62] The

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[57] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 45 r, art. 28.
[58] Parker, *The military revolution*, p. 20. J. Lynn, 'Tactical Evolution in the French Army', *French Historical Studies*, 14, number 1 (1985), pp. 176-8, 178-9.
[59] See Chapter Three, p. 134.
[60] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 238-9, 246: La Rochelle 1588 regulation. B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 44 v, art. 21: La Rochelle 1621 regulation.
[61] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 239: La Rochelle 1588 regulation. B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 44 v, art. 22: La Rochelle 1621 regulation.
[62] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 8 r, arts. 70-1: Montauban 1581. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 239: La Rochelle 1588 regulation. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 619, art. 41: Loudun 1620 regulation. B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 45 r, arts. 10, 25: La Rochelle 1621 regulation.

oath was furthermore intended to prevent unilateral military action.[63] In 1588, the general assembly imposed the death penalty for marching or holding campaign without a commission from the king of Navarre, governor or lieutenant of a province. Troops were also forbidden from attacking fortified places and surrendering towns to the enemy unilaterally.[64] Both these points were reiterated in the regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1621.[65]

In keeping with existing royal provisions, the regulations of the general assemblies left the authority to punish military crimes firstly to the commander, generals (with their councils) and captains of the army. Secondly, the authority to punish these crimes was left to the *prévôts des maréchaux* or more particularly the *prévôts des camps* with their archers. Huguenot ordinances and regulations explicitly stated that royal ordinances on the scope of military justice would be followed.[66]

Duels were forbidden, as the quarrels from which they arose were thought unworthy of Christian soldiers. The regulations drawn up by the general assemblies at La Rochelle in 1588 and 1621 both encouraged soldiers to seek the arbitration of their commanders or captains and governors in order to avoid duels.[67]

Both the 1588 and the 1621 regulations broadly admonished leaders, captains and soldiers to follow Christian conduct as an example to others.[68] The 1588 assembly enjoined magistrates and governors to implement the ordinances on oaths, lewdness, theft, 'Jeux prohibez & au[tr]es exceds & debordemens' in order to avoid the wrath of God and maintain

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[63] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fols. 4 v- 5 r, art. 47: Montauban 1581.
[64] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 238, 244-5: La Rochelle 1588 regulation. The 1588 regulation also imposed the death penalty for use of commissions that had been revoked, both for captains of cavalry troops and for the soldiers who followed them.
[65] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 44 v, arts. 20, 23: La Rochelle 1621 regulation.
[66] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 239-40: La Rochelle 1588 regulation. B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 44 r, art. 27: La Rochelle 1621 regulation. For the latter, see J. du Chalard, *Sommaire exposition des ordonnances du roy Charles IX. [...]* (1562), p. 146; cf. pp. 157-9, arts. lxxiiii-lxxv. See Doucet I, 116-20 and Doucet II, 649 for discipline in the royal army.
[67] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 237: La Rochelle 1588 regulation; B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 44 r, art. 17: La Rochelle 1621 regulation.
[68] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 235-6: La Rochelle 1588 regulation; B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 44 r, art. 13: La Rochelle 1621 regulation.

the authority of the Ecclesiastical discipline.[69] Both royal ordinances and Calvinist ecclesiastical disciplines forbade gaming, particularly games of chance (such as cards and dice) as a means of making illicit gains, endangering family livelihoods, wasting time and encouraging avarice and immodesty.[70] The regulation drawn up by the general assembly in 1588 also explicitly referred to the condemnation of blasphemy in royal ordinances as its basis.[71] The 1588 regulation stated that the first time, blasphemy was punished with a fine of one *teston* for a soldier, and one *écu* for a gentleman or captain, to be doubled each time the fault was committed. In case of repeated offending, troops faced demotion and imprisonment, and would be forced to pay from their wages. This measure also reflected military practice elsewhere in Europe in the sixteenth century: Parker showed how the hospital for the Spanish army founded at Malines in 1585 was partly financed, from 1596 onwards, by fines imposed on officers for blasphemy.[72] The regulation drawn up by the general assembly in 1588 added that all troops without exception were prohibited from bringing any woman to the companies and bands of soldiers, whether in the towns or on campaign, on pain of death. The woman would be subject to corporal punishment, as royal ordinances stipulated.[73] All of these points were reiterated in the regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1621.[74]

At La Rochelle in 1588, it was decided that each regiment would, if possible, have a minister to preach or lead prayers on the appointed days, suggesting that the practice of maintaining ministers with troops (clear from the first civil wars) was falling into disuse.[75] All leaders, captains and soldiers would be subject to the Ecclesiastical discipline and order. There would also be a paid minister in each garrison, and public prayers would take place at

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[69] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 202.
[70] Games of chance contravened the Third Commandment. They were also forbidden by Counter-Reformation clerics. See J. Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi*, pp. 300-2 and *idem*, *Les Protestants au XVIe siècle* (Paris, Arthème Fayard, 1988), pp. 73-5.
[71] See J. du Chalard, *Sommaire exposition des ordonnances du roy Charles IX.* (1562), p. 46, art. xiii.
[72] Parker, *The military revolution*, p. 72.
[73] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 236-7.
[74] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 44 r, arts. 15, 16.
[75] See Chapter Four, p. 183 for this assembly's attempts to establish bursaries for the training of ministers at Huguenot academies in order to replenish churches that had been lost or scattered during the conflicts.

the bedding down and rising of the guards.[76] This decision was reiterated at La Rochelle in May 1621, but with the added specification that commanders of cavalry and infantrymen ought to have 'pasteurs ordinaires'.[77] Some of these ministers actually fought with Huguenot troops. In a letter (c. 1625) to an advocate at Lyon, Agrippa d'Aubigné discussed the rarity of finding preachers, as he himself had found before 1620, 'qui montroyent, l'espee à la main, en faisant la prattique de ce qu'ils avoyent enseigné'.[78]

It is important to note that despite their refusal to provide military support for the royal army fighting against Spanish troops, the general assemblies at Loudun (1596) and Vendôme (1597) also sought rights of worship for Huguenots in the royal army.[79] By this request, these assemblies tacitly supported Huguenot soldiers and commanders who had chosen to participate in the royal campaigns. The extent to which these assemblies' awkward stance during the negotiations before 1598 affected their position with respect to the edict of Nantes should therefore be qualified in this light. Perhaps in an effort to keep Huguenot support, the union with the prince of Condé (27 November 1615) allowed Huguenots free and public worship in the armies and wherever Huguenot troops would be found.[80]

ii. Mercenary troops and naval forces

Only the final general assembly at La Rochelle (1620-2) sought to make commitments for mercenary troops. Having arrived in Geneva in exile on Thursday 1 September 1620, Agrippa d'Aubigné described how in the following month, the general assembly asked him to levy Swiss troops on the assembly's behalf. He was also asked to forward to each of the four Protestant cantons, the town of Geneva, the Hanseatic League, and to all Protestant princes 'vingt des dittes lettres, le nom en blanc, le cachet volant

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[76] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 236. Cf. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 16 [a], A4 and R4: remonstrance from the deputies of the assembly (in fact the ministers) to the king of Navarre.
[77] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 44 r, art. 14.
[78] *Œuvres complètes de Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné*, I, 183-4, letter number xxi.
[79] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 282, art. 61: Loudun 1596; B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: instruction for the deputies sent to Rouen (15 October 1596). Mazarine Ms. 2594, fol. 101 r, art. lix: Vendôme 1596-7 articles. Mazarine Ms. 2594, fol. 103 r-v: replies given at Vendôme by Vulson and other deputies of the general assembly (7 February 1597).
[80] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 172 v.

nouvellement mis en usage par la dite Asemblee [sic.]'.[81] In 1621, the general assembly formally asked the German count of Mansfeld (1580-1626) to come to France. He came within twelve *lieues* of Châlons-sur-Marne before opening negotiations with Louis XIII. Mansfeld finally left in September 1622. The army of 10, 000 infantry and 1, 500 light cavalry which Anne of Austria and the royal council had decided to raise in July 1622 to oppose him could now be used in the campaign against the Huguenots.[82]

Jean de Pablo showed that a Huguenot navy was established, most likely at the instigation of the admiral of France Gaspard de Coligny (killed in 1572), when the leading Huguenot nobility retired to La Rochelle at the onset of the third War of Religion. The navy amounted to forty or so ships by early 1570, including a *caraque* called *La Huguenote*.[83] La Rochelle was one of the seats of the admiralty of Guyenne, which was held by the kings of Navarre from 1544. The royal navy was overseen by the admiral of France and the three provincial admirals of Brittany (incorporated with the admiralty of France from 1544) Guyenne and Provence.[84] The royal navy had to be supplemented by ships from foreign powers, noblemen or merchants.[85] The Huguenot navy was built up in the same way: on 6 June 1577 an agreement was drawn up between agents for the prince of Condé (acting of behalf of the king of Navarre) and troop leaders in Holland and Zealand for twelve ships that would help to defend La Rochelle. La Rochelle would pay for these ships.[86]

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[81] A. d'Aubigné, 'Sa vie à ses enfants', in *Œuvres complètes* (1873-92), I, 98-100; *Agrippa d'Aubigné. Histoire universelle*, ed. A. Thierry (Geneva, Droz, 1999), X, 81.

[82] Arsenal Ms. 4114, première partie, pp. 276-7. Letters from Louis XIII to the duke of Nevers: B.N.F. fr. 3802, fols. 68 r-69 r: 8 June 1621; *ibid.*, fol. 74 r: 24 November 1621; *ibid.*, fol. 80 v: 22 July 1622; *ibid.*, fol. 82 r-v: 23 July 1622 (from Anne of Austria); *ibid.*, fol. 97 r-v: 29 August 1622; *ibid.*, fol. 99 r-v: 11 September 1622. B.N.F. fr. 3810, fol. 56 r-v: from Louis XIII to the duke of Bouillon and to Nevers (Montpellier, 14 September 1622); *ibid.*, fol. 43 r: from 'De Geneis' to Nevers (4 August 1622). See also A. d' Aubigné, 'Sa vie à ses enfants', in *Œuvres complètes*, I, 100-1. A. Lublinskaya, *French Absolutism: the crucial phase, 1620-1629*, transl. Brian Pearce (Cambridge, C.U.P., 1968), pp. 206-7. Anquez I, 352, 382-4: the general assembly at La Rochelle also sought help from England and the Low Countries in 1621 and 1622.

[83] De Pablo, 'L'armée de mer huguenote pendant la troisième guerre de religion', (1956), pp 64-76.

[84] The admirals were seconded by vice-admirals and had a largely administrative and judicial function. See Doucet I, 120-2, 244-9 and Doucet II, 652.

[85] Doucet II, 652, 657-8.

[86] Details in B.N.F. fr. 20783, fols. 97 r-98 r.

As de Pablo and Vergé-Franceschi showed, the admiralty of Guyenne could be used to legitimise naval warfare and commandeer ships.[87] It was also a position that was defended by the general assemblies. In 1594, the office was held by the eleven-year-old Henri, count of Coligny, grandson of the admiral of France Gaspard de Coligny.[88] The *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in July 1594 states that the deputies were aware that madame de Châtillon was being put under pressure to consent to her son's resignation of the admiralty of Guyenne. The assembly's *cahier* asked that the king consider the services of his forebears to the crown, and the justifiable distrust with which Huguenots, notably those on the coast of Bas-Poitou and Aunis and in La Rochelle, would regard 'un tel [et] si subit changement'.[89] Gaspard, count of Coligny, who became admiral of Guyenne in October 1601, after the death of his brother Henri, sold his office to the admiral of France in 1613.[90]

In this light, there could be no legitimation for the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1616 approving the arming of a number of warships on the Gironde by the sieur du Candelay,[91] governor of Royan from 1588.[92] In the face of gradual absorption of the admiralties into the admiralty of France, the general assembly at La Rochelle named its own admirals in 1621.[93] Perhaps drawing on the role traditionally played by La Rochelle, this was

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[87] M. Vergé-Franceschi, 'L'amirauté de France dans la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle: un enjeu entre catholiques et protestants', in M. Acerra and G. Martinière (eds.), *Coligny, les protestants et la mer. Actes du colloque organisé à Rochefort et La Rochelle les 3 et 4 octobre 1996* (Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), pp. 36-7. De Pablo, 'L'armée de mer huguenote pendant la troisième guerre de religion', (1956), p. 68.

[88] M. Vergé-Franceschi, 'L'amirauté de France' (1997), p. 42: he held the office from October 1591 to September 1601 and had succeeded his father François de Coligny, who had held the office from December 1589 and had himself succeeded the king of Navarre. Haag III, 409: in 1593, the Rochelais placed Henri de Coligny at the head of a fleet they sent against the Spanish. In 1597, he signed the oath of union at the general assembly at Châtellerault. He then fought for Prince Maurice of Nassau as *colonel-général* of the French infantry in Holland, where he was killed in 1601. He was extremely popular with his troops.

[89] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^{2}: Sainte-Foy 1594. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^{3}, 'De la Justice et police', art. 2: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 282, art. 62: Loudun 1596: letters from Châtillon were presented to the general assembly.

[90] The admiralty of France was abolished by Richelieu in 1626, but reintroduced by Colbert in 1669.

[91] Haag IV, 358: N. du Candelay, seigneur de Gemozac (died c. 1620). In 1596, he swore the oath of union at the general assembly at Loudun. In 1599, he complained to the general assembly at Saumur that the monarchy had failed to pay his garrison for more than two years. He swore the oath of union at Grenoble in 1615.

[92] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 849: La Rochelle 5 March 1616. This was financed by a toll at Royan on ships entering and leaving the estuary.

[93] Cf. P. Chareyre, 'Les frégates et le sel. Les protestants du Midi et la Méditerranée 1560-1629', in *Coligny, les protestants et la mer* (1997), p. 217.

also the only general assembly that formally sought to establish a navy. Its regulation for the admiralty (May 1621) stated that if the assembly approved the establishment of 'quelq[ue] Corps Darrmée [sic.] Navalle pour Resister aux effors [sic.] des Ennemis de lad[ite] Religion', the captains would gather in whichever harbour they were ordered. Officers chosen by the assembly would lead them and would observe royal ordinances on the admiralty.[94] However, in view of the need to maintain the naval force, the general assembly decided (1 October 1622) that it would give the *corps de ville* the number of commissions that it sought, but maintained the regulation that such commissions always had to come from the assembly.[95]

iii. Garrison troops

The general assemblies paid greater attention to garrison troops for two principal reasons. Firstly, tactical advantages gained in battles during the civil wars were rarely pursued effectively; by contrast, fortified towns and castles were often the key to controlling vital routes and to securing particular areas for either party. Secondly, many strongholds played a role from 1570 as *places de sûreté* for Huguenots conceded by the king.[96] As will be discussed in Chapter Six, the king guaranteed payment for the troops in the *places de sûreté*; from 1594 some of these were listed in the royal *états* for payment.[97]

The general assemblies were particularly interested in the position of Huguenot governors. They sought to ensure that the provisions for their nomination were implemented and that their positions were resigned only to Huguenots. As sieges were costly and

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[94] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fols. 53 r, 54 r. Anquez I, 349, 515-6 (Appendix XIII). Mazarine Ms. 2127, fol. 198 v: an 'Estat certain de ceulx de la relligion [...]' describes a naval army established at La Rochelle as a worthy match to that of the duke of Guise. A. James, 'Huguenot militancy', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, pp. 217-20. By 1622, the Huguenots reportedly had twenty warships.

[95] Anquez I, 380-1.

[96] La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac and La Charité were granted by the edict of 1570 for a period of two years (art. 39). Eight towns were granted by the edict of 1576 for an indeterminate time (art. 59). In 1577, eight towns were granted for six years (art. 59). At Nérac, in February 1579, 15 strongholds were granted for six months (art. 17; see also Fleix and Coutras, arts. 31 and 47). B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 1584: following discussions with Pomponne de Bellièvre, the monarchy conceded that Huguenots could keep their strongholds for a further two years. P. du Plessis Mornay, *Mémoires et correspondance [...]* (12 vols., Paris, Strasbourg and London, Treuttel et Würtz, 1824-5), I, 148-51; II, 358-9, 360-2. However, these concessions were soon nullified by the edict of Nemours in July 1585. By the one-year truce of April 1589, Huguenots could retain the towns they held on 3 April 1589.

[97] See Chapter Six, p. 270.

particularly deadly to troops,[98] one of the most effective ways to win over a fortified town or castle was to obtain the removal of their governors. The assemblies also defended Huguenot governors who were under attack or who had been forcibly removed.

The articles of the conference at Nérac (1579) stated that the governors of *places de sûreté* would be chosen by the king of Navarre and approved by the queen mother.[99] General assemblies between 1594 and 1597 sought to ensure that Huguenots were effectively nominated to *capitaineries* and *gouvernements* in towns held by Huguenots.[100]

Following the conversion of Henri IV in 1593, some Huguenot governors were ordered by partisans of the Catholic League to place their castles in the hands of officers acting on behalf of the duke of Mayenne, leader of the Catholic League.[101] The general assembly at Vendôme decided on 31 January 1597 that it would request the return of Marsiguy Les Nonains, unexpectedly taken from the Huguenot de Beauvais La Nocle.[102] The general assembly at Saumur in 1597 was told that the Huguenot sieur de Nesde had been ordered to surrender the place of Chauvigny (on the Vienne river) to the bishop of Poitiers, its jurisdictional lord. The assembly decided that he would reply that he could not leave without the consent of the general assembly held at Saumur. However, the bishop would not be hindered in the collection of his rights and revenue.[103] The deputies general were instructed in 1601 to ask the king to maintain Castillon in its present state notwithstanding the duke of Mayenne. They asked the same for all places left in the keeping of Huguenots when the noble landowners sought to enter them.[104] Although this is not stated in the instruction, changes in

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[98] Parker, *The military revolution*, p. 55.
[99] Nérac 1579, art. 19.
[100] B.P.F. 710, number 29^1, art. 18: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. lvi: Saumur 1595. Mazarine Ms. 2594, fol. 107 r: replies given at Vendôme (7 February 1597).
[101] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, 'De la Justice et police', art. 8: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*. Cf. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 306, art. 146; p. 320, art. 195: Loudun 1596 (14 July, 8 October).
[102] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 493, art. 260: Vendôme 1596-7.
[103] *ibid.*, p. 501, art. 322: Saumur 1597. The return of Chauvigny to the bishop was ordered by the *brevet* of 30 April 1598 that accompanied the edict of Nantes. Its new fortifications would also be demolished.
[104] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 733-4.

ownership had consequences for rights of worship, even though the edict of Nantes had sought to protect these.[105]

The general assemblies also protested against the monarchy's attempts to reduce the number of *places de sûreté* in the 1590s, principally because of the need to turn its material commitment to the conflict with Spanish troops in northern France.[106] Attempts to reintroduce Catholic worship to Huguenot *places de sûreté* also jeopardised their security. The general assemblies charged Huguenot governors and townspeople with remaining in strongholds under threat.[107] In addition, provincial councils were charged in 1594 and 1596 with advising on the re-establishment of garrisons that had been removed or reduced since the truce of 1589 and with giving advice on which strongholds in their provinces should be provided with garrisons.[108] The general assembly at Loudun in 1596 decided for instance that the baron de Courtomer was entitled to re-establish himself in Argentan, from which he had been forcibly removed in 1594. He could do this by advice of the provincial council, for 'on ne voudroit pour ce suject entrer en un Remuem[en]t general'.[109]

The *brevet* of 30 April 1598 that accompanied the edict of Nantes granted Huguenots all the strongholds they held at the end of August 1597 as *places de sûreté* for eight years, counting from the day of publication of the edict.[110] The subsequent renewals of the *brevet*,

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[105] The *cahier* of 1611 asked, by articles 9 and 10 of the edict of Nantes, that places which had held freedom of worship in 1577, 1596 and 1597, including by right of fief, should still do so in 1611, even if the fiefholder had converted, or possession had been transferred to a Catholic, even an ecclesiastical lord (Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 778, art. 5). Article 10 of the edict of Nantes in fact excluded places held by right of fief in the royal domain from these provisions.

[106] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xxxviii: Saumur 1595. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fols. 242 v-243 r, art. 4; fols. 244 v-245 v, art. x: third instruction to de Vic and de Calignon sent to Vendôme (18 January 1597).

[107] B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], additional art. 5: Sainte Foy 1594 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 710, arts. xliii-xlv, lxxiiii: Saumur 1595. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 279, art. 51; p. 291, arts. 101, 106: Loudun 1596. If Huguenot worship was removed, then Catholic worship could be removed in the same number of places held by Huguenots. In 1596, it was decided that if a Huguenot stronghold was seized by Catholics, then Huguenots could seize a Catholic stronghold, following advice from the provincial council.

[108] B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], art. 22: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xlvi: Saumur 1595. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 292, art. 105: Loudun 1596; restated in B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. 21: Loudun 1596 regulation (confirmed 3 April 1597).

[109] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 293, art. 107: Loudun 1596. Cf. Anquez I, 150.

[110] According to J. Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes. Chronique d'une paix attendue* (Paris, Arthème Fayard, 1998), pp. 299-300, this included fifty-nine surety towns, eighteen 'places of marriage' tied to the surety towns, fifty-seven or so 'particular' fortified places, and a number of Protestant royal free cities, which had the right to provide their own defence. See Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 25-8 (copy in Mazarine Ms. 2604, fols. 19 r-21 r): 'Places accordées par le Roy, Par Brévets [sic.], à ceux de la

conceded in response to the general assemblies' complaints that the edict of Nantes had not been fully implemented, were delivered to the assemblies in 1605,[111] 1611,[112] 1615-16[113] and 1620.[114] The delivery of the *brevets* to the general assemblies both strengthened the position of the assemblies as interlocutors with the monarchy and indicated that the process of delivering the *brevets* was becoming gradually formalised.

Formal attestations from colloquies for those appointed to vacated Huguenot *gouvernements* were first mentioned at the general assembly at Châtellerault in January 1598.[115] The *brevet* of 30 April 1598 stated that only Huguenots with attestations from their colloquies would be named to vacated Huguenot *gouvernements* and *capitaineries*. Reasons for refusing an attestation would be sent to the king. The wording of the attestation was established between the Huguenots and the monarchy, and it is found in the instruction drawn up by the general assembly at Châtellerault (11 June 1598) for better implementation of the edict:

> 'Nous Ministres [et] Anciens assemblés en Colloque en la province de [blank] sur ce que le s[ieu]r de [blank] s'est adressé à nous requerant nostre attestation de la bonne profession qu'il faict de la Religion reformee sur l'election que sa M[ajes]te à [sic.] faite de sa personne pour estre pourveu par icelle du gouvernement de [blank] vaquant nagueres par le deces de [blank] Attestons [et] certifions à sa M[ajes]te que ledict s[ieu]r de [blank] faict actuelle profession de ladicte Religion, participant aux saincts sacrements, vivant religieusement [et] en homme de bien, [et] fesant toutes les functions appartenans à la profession susdicte, dont luy rendons tesmoignage pour luy servir ce que de raisons [sic.]'. [116]

Religion P.[rétendue] Reformée, pour leur Sureté': a full alphabetical list covering all provinces (including Béarn and Albret). Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 28-9 (copy in Mazarine Ms. 2604, fol. 21 r-v): 'Places que tiennent ceux de la Religion P.[rétendue] Réformée, outre celles de Sureté'.

[111] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 747, 765-6: Châtellerault 1605. On 7 August, Sully stated to the assembly that the eight years were to be counted from the registration of the *brevet* in the *parlement* of Revel in August 1600. Cf. A. d'Aubigné, 'Sa vie à ses enfants' in *Œuvres complètes*, I, 77-8. A copy of the *brevet* can be found in B.N.F. fr. 4102, fol. 128 [2] and in in Mazarine Ms. 2596. It was accompanied by a second *brevet* (B.N.F. fr. 4102, fol. 129 [1]; copy in Mazarine Ms. 2596).

[112] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 796-7, art. 43: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. Arsenal Ms. 6594, fol. 178 r: collection of letters on the general assembly at Saumur in 1611.

[113] Mazarine Ms. 2597: *brevet* granted by Louis XIII on 12 September 1615. Sutherland, N., 'The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes 1598-1629', in *Huguenots in Britain*, pp. 164-5.

[114] Mazarine Ms. 2598, art. iii: Loudun first *cahier* (replied 18 May 1620). Followed by a *brevet* dated 12 May 1620, lasting for five years from 1 January 1620

[115] Mazarine Ms. 2607, pp. 370-1; cf. pp. 341, 342 and 361.

[116] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 38. The 'Formulaire d'attestation' in Arsenal Ms. 6594, fol. 35 v is broadly the same as the above. The wording of the attestation given in Anquez I, 204 is different but the meaning is essentially the same as the above. Cf. Mazarine Ms. 2595, fol. 371 r-v, art. 4: *cahier* answered on 24 March and 13 April 1602; B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608. Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 618-9, art. 36: the 1620 regulation asked that colloquies and provinces send a copy of the attestations or causes of refusal to the deputies general.

Attestations were meant to be no more than a statement of religious belief, outlining the candidate's suitability for an office reserved for Huguenots. However the assemblies consequently sought a greater role for Huguenots in the nomination of Huguenot governors, while the king continued to affirm his right to make appointments as he pleased. The instruction drawn up by the general assembly at Châtellerault (11 June 1598) stated that on delivery of the attestation, the colloquies would also require signature of the union of Mantes.[117] The oaths would be sworn before the provincial councils (or in 1598, before the planned general council).[118] The general assembly at Saumur in 1611 decided that in case of death, the king would be asked to replace governors by nomination of the deputies general. The deputies general in turn could only follow the nomination of the province where the *gouvernement* was situated.[119] The *cahier* also asked the king not to appoint lieutenants and captains of companies in these places without the consent of the governor. It also requested that the governorships of Béarn and that of Navarrenx be reserved to Huguenots chosen by the king. In both cases, replies reaffirmed the king's right to make such appointments as he pleased.[120] The union between the prince of Condé and the general assembly at Nîmes (27 November 1615) however stated that the assembly would distribute blank commissions given by Condé. They would seek to convert these commissions into titles by the peace treaty.[121] The regulation of May 1621 established that the general in each province, on the recommendation of the provincial council and relevant town, would nominate governors to

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[117] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 38.
[118] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 271, art. 24 (5 April); pp. 299-300, arts. 126-8 (20 June, with signatures): Loudun 1596. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 34, art. xxxi: Châtellerault 20 March 1598 regulation: the 'Sergens MaJours' would do the same. Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 619-20, art. 42: Loudun 10 April 1620 regulation: includes oath of obedience to the regulations, which would also be sworn by the lieutenants of the governors of *places de sûreté.*
[119] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 208 r-v: Saumur 1611. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 801, art. 50: Saumur 1611 *cahier.* The reply referred back to the edict, articles and *brevet* of April 1598.
[120] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 801, art. 51 and p. 810, art. 59: Saumur 1611 *cahier.* Cf. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 296 v: Saumur 29 August 1611 regulation.
[121] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7194, fol. 172 r.

places controlled by Huguenots. Where a vacancy arose later, the general assembly would chose one of three people presented by the general of the province and its council.[122]

In part because the oath was sworn to the provincial council, the regulation of the general assembly at Loudun (1596) required the consent of this council before a governorship could be relinquished.[123] The general assemblies at Sainte-Foy in 1601 and Saumur in 1611 reiterated that governors of Huguenot surety towns could not resign their offices without the consent of the churches; in 1611 the consent of the churches in the relevant province was required. Attestations from colloquies and synods were also necessary before a Huguenot governor or captain could resign his office.[124] The provincial assembly at Loudun in September 1619 required governors named since the previous general assembly to register in the *procès-verbal* of the next general assembly the acts of the oath they had sworn to the churches each in his colloquy or synod.[125] The general assembly at Loudun (1619-20) furthermore enforced an oath of union to be sworn by all governors in France and Béarn to ensure that they kept the strongholds granted as a result of the *brevet* of 30 April 1598.[126]

There were many complaints to the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 about dispossessions, forced resignations (without royal approval) and loss of fortified places granted in 1598 and confirmed by Louis XIII on his accession in 1610, in some cases because of conversions. The royal *commissaires* broadly responded that if there was indeed less security during a royal minority, there were also fewer means to address such complaints.[127] Some complaints were not always above suspicion. The sieur de Bertichères persuaded the general assembly that he had been removed from the governorship and *capitainerie* of Aigues-Mortes and Sommières in 1598 for having obeyed the resolutions of the general

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[122] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 43 r-v, arts. 7-8: La Rochelle 10 May 1621 regulation.
[123] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. 20: Loudun 1596 regulation, which restates art. 56 of Saumur 1595.
[124] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 758: Châtellerault 1605. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 800, art. 49: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[125] B.P.F. Ms. 526, fols. 93 r, 95 v, 96 v.
[126] Mazarine Ms. 2610, fols. 169 r-170 v (copy in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7195, fol. 101 r).
[127] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 241 v: letter from Boissise and Bullion to the queen mother (12 June 1611).

assemblies at Loudun and Châtellerault.[128] Bertichères was in fact removed because the king had become suspicious of him.[129]

The petitions of the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 are characterised by an appeal to the terms of the edicts of pacification, notably article 27 of the edict of Nantes, which forbade summary removal from office, whether the reformed religion was professed before or after appointment. Those who had been removed in this way should be reinstated, notably governors and captains.[130] The *procès-verbal* of the general assembly highlights the case of the sieur de Montbarot, who had served the king and the state as governor of Rennes and royal lieutenant in the bishoprics of Rennes, Saint-Malo and Dol. He had been imprisoned in the Bastille 'sans occasion'; following a long imprisonment and removal from his offices 'Il auroit este eslargy avecq tresample absolu[ti]on'. As the assembly judged that Montbarot had lost these offices 'qu'a Cause de la relligion', it decided to support his claim for compensation (with other *gouvernements* or otherwise) and charged the deputies general with furthering this claim.[131]

In some instances, the jurisdiction of the *chambres de l'édit* was preferred. For example, on 10 June 1611, the general assembly raised the case of the sieur de Rocquetaillade, to whom the king had granted the captainship and governorship of the castle of Essenas in Rouergue, which had been held by a Huguenot captain since 1598. Rocquetaillade's position was challenged by the sieur de Broquier, who claimed to be co-lord with the king. The general assembly asked the king to give jurisdiction over this case to the

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[128] This could refer to these assemblies' resolutions allowing governors to seize royal revenue in order to pay their garrisons (discussed in Chapter Six, pp. 272-6).
[129] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 213 r- 214 r: Saumur 1611. Cf. P. du Plessis Mornay, *Mémoires et correspondance*, I, 448. Haag III, 421-4: Abdias de Chaumont, sieur de Bertichères, baron de Montredon and de Lecques. In 1595 his father-in-law Antoine de Lecques resigned the *gouvernement* of Aigues-Mortes to him. The sieur d'Harambure held the governorship from 1607. Although Bertichères was reinstated as governor in 1612, following a petition from the general assembly at Saumur, the province of Bas-Languedoc opposed this and the stronghold was returned to Harambure in 1614. Harambure was soon replaced by his son, who sold the governorship to Gaspard de Châtillon in 1615. Bertichères, however, continued to present himself as the legitimate governor of Aigues-Mortes, notably at the general assembly at Nîmes on 16 October 1615.
[130] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 782, art. 13: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. The reply promised observation of art. 27.
[131] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 206 v-205 r; 219 v-220 r: Saumur 1611.

chambre de l'édit at Castres instead of the royal council.[132] The reply is unknown, but it seems that the assembly made this request because the *chambre de l'édit* had been bypassed in the appeals procedure. It would not have argued that the *chambre de l'édit* could supercede the royal council, which was the highest court of appeal in the land.[133]

The desire of the general assemblies to act according to established laws is illustrated by the case of the sieur de Mesmes.[134] The baron de La Caze presented a petition to the 1611 general assembly on behalf of de Mesmes, asking that following the conversion of the governor of Tartas and of Mont-de-Marsan,[135] the assembly consider his right to the *gouvernement*, as he had long held its *capitainerie*. Tartas and Mont-de-Marsan were both *places de sûreté*. The assembly refused this petition because de Mesmes had not been removed from the *capitainerie* and still received its wages. The refusal was based on royal ordinances, which stated that no person could hold two *capitaineries* at the same time.[136] The sieur de Marcoux presented himself to the general assembly at Loudun (1619-20) stating that he had served both the king and the churches for 28 or 30 years as lieutenant of the *gouvernement* of Lectoure, another *place de sûreté*. He had lost his position in 1616 because the sieur de Fontrailles[137] had carried Lectoure 'hors La sureté des Egl[is]es' and converted to Catholicism. Marcoux therefore asked the assembly to petition the king for his return to office when the king placed a Huguenot governor in Lectoure, or some recompense in lieu of this. As Marcoux had good testimony from the deputies for Haut-Languedoc and Haute-Guyenne,

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[132] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 210 r-v: Saumur 1611.

[133] See Chapter Three, pp. 152-3.

[134] Haag VII, 394: a Joseph de Mesmes, sieur de Ravignan, commanded the garrison at Mont-de-Marsan for the king of Navarre in 1580. Joseph de Mesmes attended the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 as a deputy for Guyenne.

[135] Haag VI, 250: François de La Motte, baron de Castelnau-de-Chalosse. He first served the Catholic League but in 1585, as governor of Marmande, he converted to Protestantism and followed the king of Navarre, who named him governor of Mont-de-Marsan as recompense for services rendered notably at Coutras (1587). In 1608 he reconverted to Catholicism. In 1610, Huguenot deputies from Basse-Guyenne asked at court for his replacement, as well as that of the governor of Tartas, Vignolles, who had also converted. Castelnau died from an illness in 1621, while with the royal army besieging Montauban. The *gouvernement* of Mont-de-Marsan then passed to his second son, who died in 1622.

[136] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 218 v-219 r: Saumur 1611. Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 797-8, art. 45: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. J. du Chalard, *Sommaire exposition des ordonnances du roy Charles IX. [...].* (Paris, Pour Lucas Brayer, 1562), p. 242, art. cxiiii.

[137] Haag I, 143: Benjamin d'Astarac, baron de Fontrailles (d. 1625). His father is discussed in Chapter Three, p. 140, fn. 194.

the general assembly decided to write to the deputies general to support this petition.[138] The granting of royal offices and the promise of pensions in return for conversions were part of a concerted policy under Henri IV and Louis XIII, which was helped by the growing movement for Catholic reform in France.[139]

Governors and captains were also required to ensure that soldiers in their garrisons actually professed the reformed religion and held good testimony of this from their churches. The assemblies' regulations after 1594 stated that garrison troops would not be originally inhabitants from the same town or their *fauxbourgs*, as these towns had to be strengthened, not diminished. Surety towns and castles would also be subject to inspection by deputies from the provincial councils,[140] although the effectiveness of these inspections may be questioned.[141]

Towns also contained armed militias,[142] which Huguenot political assemblies sought to organise by compelling citizens to buy weapons in proportion to their means.[143] It is not clear from the assemblies' records whether these militias were intended to supplement existing garrisons.

III. Pay

Pay was regulated with the stated aim of preventing captains and soldiers from taking provisions, utensils and fodder without paying their hosts for them at the established price. Ultimately, this would maintain a source of supplies for the army. Troops would thus also be

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[138] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 835-6. Anquez I, 327, 437-8.

[139] J. Russell Major, *Representative Government in Early Modern France* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 386, 452. A. Lublinskaya, *French Absolutism* (Cambridge, C.U.P., 1968), pp. 214-5. *Les Institutions de la France*, I, 305: c. 1610 the Huguenots had lost 19 towns through the conversion of the governor to Catholicism.

[140] B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], art. 19: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 105, art. 293: Loudun 1596, restated in B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. 21: Loudun 1596 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 755: Châtellerault 1605. B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 294 r-v: Saumur 1611 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 93 r: Loudun 1619 provincial assembly. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 617, arts. 31 and 32: Loudun 1620 regulation.

[141] Mousnier, *Les Institutions de la France*, I, 306.

[142] See Doucet I, 384-5.

[143] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 240: La Rochelle 1588 regulation. Cf. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 5 [b]: 1577 accord between La Rochelle and Condé. B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 34 v: a royalist text on La Rochelle (seventeenth century) described its inhabitants as 'lestement armez et equipez'.

encouraged to remain in their posts.[144] The Huguenot army did not, as Oman argued, serve without pay.[145] As in the royal army, [146] only those present at parade inspection under *controlleurs généraux des guerres* or *commissaires* were paid. In garrison towns, where parade inspections would take place every week, magistrates and consuls could do this in their absence. The general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 decided that each provincial assembly would draw up rolls of all the troops to be paid from contributions and *tailles*, and send these rolls to the king of Navarre and his council. Captains, officers and soldiers would be paid in person 'à la banque' by the paymaster.[147] The regulation drawn up by this assembly listed the amount that would be paid each month to ranking officers and soldiers in infantry companies (of one hundred men) and those in heavy cavalry (the *gens d'armes*) and light cavalry companies. As in the royal army, infantrymen were paid less than cavalrymen were (approximately between a sixth and a third less according to rank). Navarre and his council or the governors and lieutenant generals were entitled to increase these sums in case of need.[148]

As troop numbers in companies naturally varied in the course of the conflicts,[149] the regulation of Sainte-Foy (1594) charged provincial councils with verifying numbers of infantry and cavalrymen, 'en somme de faire tout le devoir dun bon advise et auctorize general'.[150] As from about 1594, troops in some Huguenot strongholds were nominally paid by the monarchy, the general assembly at Saumur in 1597 decided that governors had to verify their lists of troops before royal officers or other officers of justice. In case of their

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[144] Parker, *The military revolution* (1988), p. 77.
[145] Oman, *A History of the Art of War*, pp. 403, 407-8, 432, as quoted by M. Wolfe, *The Fiscal System of Renaissance France* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1972), p. 151, who correctly states that 'At least part of the Huguenot-Politiques forces had to be paid'.
[146] Doucet II, 624. F. Lot, *Recherches sur les effectifs des armées françaises* (1962), pp. 13-4: showed how troop numbers in the royal army could be inflated by 'passes volantes' recruited by unscrupulous officers who dismissed them once parade inspection had passed and appropriated their pay.
[147] This practice was already evident in Dauphiné in 1585 when Lesdiguières gave a commission to the captain François Philibert for a company of up to fifty harquebusiers on 30 September of that year. See *Actes et correspondance du connétable de Lesdiguières [...]* (1878-84), I, 60-1, number xlix.
[148] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 239-43, 247-9: La Rochelle 1588 regulation. Cavalrymen would have two service horses and one docked horse. Governors had to use their own resources, to restrain their expenses and not to seek to enrich themselves at the expense of public funds. For pay in the royal army, see Doucet II, 623-5, 635, 644 and Wood, *The King's Army* (1996), pp. 275-86.
[149] Oman, *A History of the Art of War in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 406-7. Doucet II, 627.
[150] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[1], art 15: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. 18: Loudun 1596 regulation; B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 34, art. 26: Châtellerault 20 March 1598 regulation.

refusal this would be done before deputies sent by the provincial council.[151] In 1598 and 1601, the general assemblies charged Huguenot governors with maintaining their garrison numbers as stated in the royal public and secret *états* at least in proportion to the payments they received. Provincial councils would also oversee this.[152] This was reiterated at Châtellerault in 1605, but consistories, provincial synods and the national synod (or general assembly) were charged with verifying lists of soldiers and lists of expenditure. Synods already played a role in distributing and overseeing the sums granted by the king for Huguenot ministers, academies and colleges in the *brevet* of 3 April 1598.[153] The aim of the controls planned in 1605 was to discern loyal governors from those who sought only their particular interest, endangering their localities through a failure to maintain the required number of soldiers. These could eventually be declared deserters from the union of the churches; this decision would be implemented by the consistories.[154] The general assembly at Jargeau (1608) developed this by enjoining the deputies of colloquies to ensure implementation. Those provinces that had not yet established these deputies were encouraged to conform to the regulation of Sainte-Foy.[155]

The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 stated that from the sum set aside in 1598, governors would take a third. For the remaining two-thirds, they would give their receipts to the person named by the provincial council, who would pay the lieutenant, captains and soldiers 'A la Bancque' according to the salaries ordered for them by governors and captains. That person would also pay the sergeant major, drummer, gunners and other officers, and give an account to the governor and provincial council. The provincial council or those committed by it would draw up an estimated statement of annual expenses, by which troop numbers could be limited.[156] By 1621, the final general assembly at La

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[151] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 522-3, art. 371: Saumur 1597.
[152] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 38: Châtellerault 11 June 1598 instruction. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 34, art. xxvi: Châtellerault 1598 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601.
[153] See Chapter Four, pp. 185-6.
[154] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 755: Châtellerault 1605.
[155] B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608. For the Sainte-Foy regulation (1601), see Chapter One, pp. 7-8.
[156] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 294 v-295 r.

Rochelle co-ordinated the accounts for the payment of troops. The 1621 regulation stated that the generals and their councils would send a roll of all troops and officers to be paid, along with other expenses, to the general assembly. They would also send a statement of returns from general and particular receiverships in their provinces so that sums could be assigned for the troops and officers from these receiverships.[157]

IV. Billeting, supplies, ransoms and booty

Escalation in troop numbers and in the numbers of those following an army made billeting and supplies more difficult to organise, both for garrison troops and for field armies.[158] Articles on the provisions for garrisons in the regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 could have been drawn up following an uprising at Millau in Rouergue in December 1586 and January 1587, against a garrison of about sixty placed there by François de Châtillon (1555-91).[159] Châtillon was lieutenant general for the king of Navarre in Rouergue. The discourse on the uprising was written for du Plessis Mornay, who was present at the general assembly in 1588. The townspeople had first been uncooperative about billeting arrangements and about spreading the cost of the soldiers according to the list of the inhabitants established for the levy of the *taille*, as the regulations of the king of Navarre stated it should be. When Châtillon suggested taking wheat from private lofts, on condition that a levy would take place over the region for reimbursement, the consuls 'luy dirent avec grosses parolles quilz nestoient point pupilles po[ur] se laisser manier de la facon'. They took a manifesto to Châtillon that evening, which he showed to the sieur Devaulx:

> 'Il luy dict que sestoit [sic.] ung peuple Rude qui ne scavoit com[m]e Il se faloit comporter a lendroict de ses superieurs, Et qu'au demeurant Il n'avoit Jamais porté aucune foule ny d[e]spen[ce] extraordin[air]e, Ce qui le rendoit ainsi aspre [et] Impatient'.[160]

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[157] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fols. 45 r, 46 v, arts. 26, 42: La Rochelle 1621 regulation.
[158] Parker, *The military revolution*, p. 78.
[159] He was the son of Gaspard de Coligny, killed in 1572. See above and Chapter Two, p. 56, fn. 13
[160] B.P.F. Ms. 246, fols. 2 v- 3 r.

The dispute for control of the *gouvernement* between Châtillon and the townspeople was referred first to an assembly 'des estatz du pays' held at Millau, then to an assembly of the churches of Bas-Languedoc to be held at Nîmes. This was followed by an uprising on 3 January 1587, in which two of Châtillon's soldiers were killed by an armed mob of townspeople.[161] The provincial assembly of Bas-Languedoc held at Nîmes sent two deputies to the town, and wrote letters (18 January 1587) accusing the townspeople of premeditated action and asking them to return weaponry and munitions belonging to their governor Châtillon.[162]

In common with royal ordinances, the regulations of the general assemblies sought to provide a measure of protection and compensation for local inhabitants.[163] The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 stated that on arrival, the *maréchaux des logis* and harbingers would give a list of soldiers and other members of their companies to one or two of the consuls (or those charged by them). The town council could keep a copy of this list and return it afterwards to the *maréchaux* or harbingers. They would not be received anywhere without *commissaires*. Billets and lists of lodgings would not only contain names and *surnoms* (as previously) but also places of origin and the houses where they lodged. Troops would change lodgings every fifteen days or every month as the captains would advise with the local consuls to lessen the burden on the people.[164] Similar provisions were made by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1621 and were explicitly referred to in the commissions it delivered.[165]

The regulation at La Rochelle in 1588 stated that troops on campaign would pay for their victuals according to the established price[166] in places where contributions were paid voluntarily. Otherwise, the soldiers and *maréchaux des logis* would give a receipt to the hosts of places where they were billeted. The receiver of the town where the troops came from

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[161] B.P.F. Ms. 246, fol. 4 r-v.
[162] *ibid.*, fol. 7 r.
[163] See du Chalard, *Sommaire exposition des ordonnances du roy Charles IX.* (1562), p. 246, art. cxvi; p. 248, art. cxvii; p. 250, art. cxix.
[164] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 241-2: La Rochelle 1588 regulation.
[165] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7197, fol. 100 v: commission dated 9 August 1621.
[166] H. Michaud, 'Les institutions militaires des guerres d'Italie aux guerres de religion', *Revue historique*, 258 (1977), p. 38: the price of food provisions was usually established in the royal council.

would reimburse the hosts from his own wages. Two or three principal inhabitants would be chosen as *commissaires* in each town and paid to provide hay, oats and straw, at the prices established in proportion to the soldiers' wages. The *commissaires* would pay the inhabitants as the food supplies were delivered, according to troop rolls signed by the *maréchaux des logis* and verified by one or two consuls. This co-optation of local inhabitants as *commissaires* differed from the royal army, where on campaign, *commissaires des vivres* were charged with buying and distributing the provisions necessary for the armies.[167] If captains in command did not seek out those who failed to pay before leaving villages, they themselves would be responsible for payment, and soldiers faced corporal punishment. To avoid people being ruined by the passage of troops, a *commissaire* would be sent to each province to establish halting-places where possible for the passage of soldiers in enemy territory.[168] Soldiers would be furnished with rations at the expense of the region. A levy would take place at the following town to reimburse those who had forwarded these rations.[169] This was still the case in the regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1621.[170] The 1621 regulation added that to maintain freedom of commerce in the armies, merchants and innkeepers would be entitled to go and stay there with guaranteed protection from the theft of their horses and carts. They would be required to observe the price established for their produce. Soldiers who attacked them or stole from them faced the death penalty.[171]

The regulations of 1588 and 1621 stipulated that garrison troops were forbidden from inviting one another to their lodgings in order not to burden their hosts. Hosts would provide them with a bed, clean linen and table, and the possibility of cooking food (*la viande*) in their fire. As a supplement, they could also give soldiers their daily rations, and in addition four

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[167] Doucet II, 649.
[168] Doucet II, 625: royal companies had to follow on itinerary that was fixed by the governors of a province or by the *bailli*, and could only stay in the *villes d'étapes*, for no more than twenty-four hours. This was supervised by a royal *commissaire*, *prévôts des maréchaux* and local judges, who could intervene to protect those in their jurisdiction.
[169] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 238-9, 245, 247-9: the 1588 regulation imposed the death penalty for those billeted in private homes who did not pay their hosts.
[170] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 45 r, arts. 24 and 29.
[171] *ibid.*, fol. 45 v, art. 33. Cf. Parker, *The military revolution*, p. 67.

livres each month for shoes, gunpowder, shot and other necessities. Soldiers had to be content with half a pound of meat (*chair*) and one and a half litres (three *chopines*) of wine per day.[172] In order to avoid fraud in the lodging and feeding of soldiers, each week consuls would send one of the leading inhabitants to visit the soldiers actually garrisoned in their town and control the *billets* drawn up for the soldiers' lodgings. Troops that were originally from the town to which they were billeted had to fend for themselves. Horses would not be paid for by the townspeople, and no more than ten horses could be taken inside these towns. Soldiers in garrisons would not have any army valets (*goujats*) in order not to inconvenience their hosts.[173] The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 stated that up to a third of the sum that remained after governors had taken their pay would also serve to renew weapons and to provide firewood and candles to guard-houses in places where the inhabitants did not provide them (as they did traditionally), along with mattresses, beds, sheets, laundering and other utensils.[174]

In many ways these provisions in the regulations produced by the general assemblies are unoriginal, modelled as they are on royal ordinances. However, they do show the assemblies' concern for the protection of local inhabitants from the depredations of troops.

This concern is also seen in the general assemblies' measures on the taking of prisoners, ransoms (which also extended to besieged towns)[175] and booty. The edicts of pacification also addressed these aspects of the conflicts.[176]

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[172] Cf. Parker, *The military revolution*, pp. 75-6: for armies during this period, the daily ration (of bread) was generally reckoned at fifteen pounds a day (or a three-pound loaf every two days) with about one pound of meat, cheese, or fish, and six pints of beer (or three pints of wine). Bulk supplies of food could be brought in by water transport. As Huguenots controlled many river routes, it is likely that this helped in the supply of troops.

[173] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 241-2: La Rochelle 1588 regulation. B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 45 r, arts. 24 and 29: reiterated in La Rochelle 1621 regulation.

[174] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 294 v-295 r. Doucet II, 625.

[175] Parker, *The military revolution*, p. 59 and fn. 46; cf. pp. 65-6: ransoming and sacking of towns was relatively rare. The commission given by Navarre to Turenne for Albigeois, Lauragais and Languedoc (10 April 1580) also enabled him to accept compositions (Mazarine Ms. 2592) as did that given to Châtillon in 1586 (B.P.F. Ms. 246). B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 46 r, art. 37: in 1621, sums from such agreements would belong to the public purse.

[176] Nérac 1579, art. 11. Edict of Nantes, arts. 73, 76, 87. B.P.F. Ms. 816^{1}, 2e Dossier [3]: general pardon for Dauphiné (February 1622). B.N.F. fr. 3821, fol. 23 v: Montpellier 20 October 1622 articles. Arsenal Ms. 2667, première partie, pp. 306-7: 22 October 1622 articles.

The general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 decided that a sixth of seized merchandise, booty and ransoms would return to the public purse, unless it was customary in any province to take more. The remainder would be shared between the commanding captain, town governors and the serving members of the companies. These rights over ransoms and booty were reserved for troops who were wounded, imprisoned or who had lost their weapons or horses in combat ordered by their commanders. In each cavalry and infantry company, one of its members would keep a register of the prisoners and property that had been taken and of all other rightful levies, and give an extract and declaration to the receiver general of the province. All booty had to be adjudicated by the general of the *pays* in which it had been taken. All prisoners had to be declared to them within twenty-four hours of capture, as only they could allow their release or ransoming (in conjunction with local receivers and assessors). Generals, governors and captains could not however dispose of rights of ransom and booty without the receiver having been informed beforehand and without the adjudication of the princes.[177] Most of these points were restated in the regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1621.[178]

Regulations also addressed the taking of horses, which could represent several months' wages, and which, in addition to battle, could often be killed in rainstorms or die of cold in unsheltered billets or garrisons.[179] Royal ordinances forbade all captains of cartage, both for war munitions and artillery, as well as other officers, and those in the royal entourage, to take the horses of farmers and ploughmen without paying, on pain of hanging.[180]

Agricultural livestock (mostly for ploughing) was generally excluded from booty and ploughmen and peasants, irrespective of religion, were excluded from imprisonment and ransoming by Huguenot regulations throughout the wars, in an attempt to protect agriculture

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[177] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 224, 237-9.
[178] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 42 r, art. 11; fol. 42 v, arts. 18 and 19; fol. 46 r, art. 36.
[179] Parker, *The military revolution*, pp. 69-70.
[180] J. du Chalard, *Sommaire exposition des ordonnances du roy Charles IX. [...].* (1562), p. 249, art. cxviii. Cf. Parker, *The military revolution*, p. 77.

that foreshadowed Sully's *Mémoires des sages et royales économies d'état* (after 1611).[181] The regulation drawn up by the general assembly in 1588 also excluded harnesses and the movables of ploughmen, while the regulation of 1621 added that soldiers were forbidden from taking the beds and clothes of male and female peasants of either religion. Peasants could only be imprisoned for failure to pay levies.[182] The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 only accepted the taking of livestock from those who had refused or had always neglected to pay the sums imposed for the maintenance of soldiers. Livestock had to be sold within three days with the usual formalities to avoid it wasting. Within eight days, it could be recovered at the price established in each province. Captains and soldiers were forbidden on pain of death to resell this livestock secretly. Generals and governors would enforce this.[183] Protection was also given by Huguenot regulations to blacksmiths, with their smithies, tools and movables, and to millers, with their mills and movables.[184]

Huguenot troops made use of peasant labour, but whether it was remunerated depended on the commander. In her book on *Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France* (1989), Neuschel refers to an attempt by a group of Picard noblemen to hold a fortified site in 1580. They commandeered the labour of nearby villagers without recompense.[185] However, on 13 January 1590, Lesdiguières decided that two muleteers from Espinasse (Antoine Hermite and Loys Michel Pourrès) would be given six *sous* per mule per day, for having led two pairs of mules carrying the personal effects of the governor of Embrun and of his company to Vienne, Châteauneuf and other places during two months.

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[181] The developing practical and literary model of the 'gentilhomme campagnard' should also be noted, illustrated for example by d'Aubigné, who was a deputy at the general assemblies, and by the Huguenot Olivier de Serres (1539-1619) in his *Théâtre d'agriculture et mesnage des champs* (1600).

[182] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 243: La Rochelle 1588 regulation. B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 45 r, art. 30: La Rochelle 1621 regulation.

[183] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 243-4.

[184] The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1621 (B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 45 v, art. 32) gave protection to millers on condition that they did not retain in their mills the property and provisions belonging to other local inhabitants, and that they put their mills in good order when required. The same article excluded millers from billeting. See also B.N.F. N.a.f. 7197, fols. 100 r-101 r: copy of a commission delivered by the assembly (9 August 1621).

[185] K. Neuschel, *Word of Honor. Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 63.

They had also carried war munitions to the Château Pipet, Beaurepaire and to Saint-Georges and gone to fetch iron from the tilt hammer at Melans to reinforce the stones of the ramparts of Embrun.[186]

The general assemblies were therefore sympathetic to the peasantry in their military regulations and some Huguenot commanders did remunerate peasant labour. Despite this, evidence for a deputation of Huguenot *Croquant* peasants to the general assembly at Sainte-Foy (18-31 July 1594) is quoted by Airo-Farulla as an example of the general assembly fatally ignoring the interests of 'the lower classes'. His sources are Agrippa d'Aubigné's *Histoire universelle* and Benoit's *Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes.*[187] However, the deputation is not mentioned in the *procès-verbal* of the assembly. Were the *Croquants* ignored simply because the deputies at the assembly shared their contemporaries' general aversion to peasant revolts? In his *Histoire des Croquants* (1974) Y.-M. Bercé showed how the *Croquant* movement, which lasted from late 1593 to September-October 1595, had reached its point of greatest expansion in June 1594, when from its centre in Limousin and Périgord, it influenced Agenais, Quercy, Gascony, Angoumois, Saintonge, Marche and Berry.[188] The movement was primarily motivated by the need to organise an armed defence of the *plat pays* against marauding and thieving garrisons, their imprisonment and ransoming of peasants and merchants, and their illegal tax levies. The movement organised at least twenty-one gatherings, primarily for military purposes, but they also drew up lists of grievances and sent deputies to the king (heard favourably in the council in May 1594). They also wrote letters to the consuls of towns in June 1594. Their positive proposals included a decrease in the *taille* (supported by both Catholics and Huguenots), the suppression of offices of finance, a right for

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[186] *Actes et correspondance du connétable de Lesdiguières [...]* (1878-84) I, 106, number lxxxi.

[187] J. Airo-Farulla, 'The political opposition of the Huguenots to Henry IV' (1969), pp. 138-40; *ibid.*, p. 128. *Agrippa d'Aubigné. Histoire universelle*, ed. A. Thierry (Geneva, Droz, 1995), IX, 111-2: states that the *Croquants* sent a few of their principal captains to the general assembly at Sainte-Foy. They were heard 'comme particuliers et porteurs d'avis' before they had declared 'de quelle part ils venoyent'. The assembly asked them to leave once they had declared 'qu'ils estoyent là pour demander conseil et confort'. However, some individuals listened to them and advised them not to disband following a loss, but to multiply their number 'pour obtenir oubliance et faire qu'on ne les recherchast plus'. E. Benoit, *Histoire de l'édit de Nantes, [...]* (Delft, Adrien Beman, 1693-5), I, 130-1.

[188] Y.-M. Bercé, *Histoire des Croquants. Etude des soulèvements populaires au XVIIe siècle dans le sud-ouest de la France* (2 vols, Paris; Geneva, Droz, 1974), I, 257-93.

peasants to arm in self-defence and the creation of a syndic for the *plat pays*, to be financed by levies amongst themselves. They described themselves as the 'Tiers Etat du plat pays'; *Croquants* was a derogatory name employed by contemporary chroniclers. Two gatherings were held close in time to the general assembly at Sainte-Foy: one at Lédat, in the Lot valley (Agenais) on 10 July and the other at Tremolat on 31 July. Bercé stated that the general assemblies at Sainte-Foy and Saumur (24 February-25 March 1595) authorised deputies from the Charente and Périgord area to join Catholics in the gatherings of the *Croquants.*[189] There is no mention of formal association with the *Croquants* gatherings in the *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Saumur. Following a proposal from the sieur de La Caze, deputy for La Rochelle, Aunis, Saintonge and Angoumois,[190] the general assembly at Saumur did allow Huguenots in these provinces to join Catholics in seeking the implementation of an *arrêt* they had obtained in the *conseil privé* for exemption from royal taxes. They should debate this in the relevant provincial councils; the deputies sent to court were instructed to ask the king to charge a nobleman from these regions with the implementation of this *arrêt.*[191] Perhaps this shows that while the general assemblies were prepared to allow their deputies to take part in these gatherings in order to implement a royal decision, they were not prepared to be directly associated with its leaders, who had sanctioned armed revolt. The same ambivalence is seen in the stance taken by different members of the Huguenot nobility. La Caze did later participate in the antifiscal assemblies in Saintonge in September 1595.[192] However, one of the strongest opponents of the *Croquants* was Jean de Vivans, seigneur de Doissat and like his father governor of Domme. He was a *chevalier du roi* and later a deputy for Basse-Guyenne

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[189] Bercé, *Histoire des Croquants* (1974), I, 284.
[190] Haag VIII, 290: Jacques de Pons, marquis de La Caze, also attended the general assembly in 1597. In 1605, he was a deputy for Saintonge at Châtellerault, where he was named president. Another La Caze is listed as a deputy for Basse-Guyenne, Périgord and Limousin at the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 (see above), but the Haag brothers do not state whether this was the same person.
[191] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. lxxxiii: Saumur 1595.
[192] Bercé, *Histoire des Croquants*, I, 289, does not note that La Caze also participated in Huguenot political assemblies.

at the general assemblies at Sainte-Foy in 1601 and Châllerault in 1605. Vivans also became a *conseiller d'état* and governor of Tournon.[193]

V. Stores and artillery

Edicts of pacification pardoned Huguenots for melting down and appropriating artillery and munitions, and for making gunpowder and collecting saltpetre, and seizing these in royal and private stores.[194]

The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 stated that all those commanding fortresses and towns could not appropriate rations, munitions and weapons in public stores in case a peace was agreed.[195] After army officers had exercised their rights in towns and castles taken by force, stores would be reserved 'au profit du public', to be employed as Navarre, governors and lieutenant generals ordered. Those present before settlements could not take anything without the king of Navarre's permission or order, on pain of returning four times the amount that had been taken and other exemplary punishment. In loyal towns in Guyenne, stores would be renewed every year by their inhabitants, according to the regulation to be established by their governors and councils. They would be accountable to *commissaires* sent by Navarre.[196]

From 1594 to 1598 the organisation of munitions was left to provincial councils.[197] The general assemblies kept detailed accounts of stores, and verified the closure of accounts presented by their guards. For example, on 21 March 1598, the general assembly at Châtellerault closed an account returned by Jean Jaunay, guard for the store at Fontenay-le-

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[193] Haag IX, 523-4: Jean de Vivans, sieur de Doissat (d. after 1627), first took part in the conflicts in 1585. He was noted at Coutras and the siege of Paris. In 1599, Henri IV granted him a pension of 3, 000 *livres*. In 1607, he was named governor of Tournon, one of the *places de sûreté*. After the murder of Henri IV in 1610, Vivans was sent to court by an assembly at Bergerac to state their fidelity to the new king. In 1612, he resigned his *gouvernement* of Tournon to his eldest son, and in 1620, he was named a *conseiller du roi* and captain of fifty men of arms.

[194] 1577 edict, art. 55. Fleix, art. 35. Edict of Nantes, art. 76. B.P.F. Ms. 816^{1}, 2e Dossier [3]: general pardon for Dauphiné (February 1622).

[195] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 240. Restated in B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 45 r-v, art. 31: La Rochelle 10 May 1621 regulation.

[196] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 243, 249.

[197] B.P.F. 710, number 29^{1}, art 15: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. 18: Loudun 1596 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 34, art. 26: Châtellerault 20 March 1598 regulation.

Comte.[198] The *brevet* of 30 April 1598 that followed the edict of Nantes maintained those placed by Huguenots to guard stores, munitions, gunpowder and the cannon in the towns they held (including the *places de sûreté*). These guards would now receive their commissions from the royal *grand maître de l'artillerie*[199] and the royal *commissaire général des vivres*, at no cost. They would be paid from the sums granted by the king to Huguenot garrisons in the royal *états*.[200] Chapter Four showed that the officers and duties established by Huguenots as part of the admiralty at La Rochelle were perpetuated and adopted by the monarchy after 1589.[201] The same was done for guards in towns held by Huguenots. Regulations drawn up by the general assemblies at Saumur in 1611 and at Loudun in 1620 gave governors responsibility for maintaining public stores. They would ensure that wheat, wines and other rations were renewed before perishing, that gunpowder, wicks (generally for harquebuses) and other perishable munitions were as dry, beaten down and refreshed as possible. The regulations stated that this should be done without prejudice to royal officers, showing that these controls were not thought of as divorced from the ordinary framework of royal administration. Governors were furthermore exhorted to co-operate with deputies from the provincial council.[202] Huguenot governors could of course act independently with the advent of renewed conflict. During the conflicts that ended with the peace of Montpellier (1622), the duke of Rohan sought to fulfill his obligation to maintain public stores: he provided Montpellier with wheat, flour-mills, gunpowder, wicks and other material necessary for a siege. However, Nîmes ('nôtre seul grenier') only granted him wheat for eight days, while he only had enough fodder for his cavalry (only 200 *maîtres*) to last eight days.[203]

Most artillery was to be found in towns, although some was obtained through the contracts drawn up with foreign troops.[204] In his article on 'Tactical Evolution in the French

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[198] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 659-61, arts. 539-40: Châtellerault 1597-8.
[199] For the royal artillery and its administration, see Doucet II, 645-7.
[200] Outlined in Anquez I, 160, although he does not discuss stores in any detail.
[201] See Chapter Four, p. 199.
[202] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fol. 296 r: Saumur 1611 regulation. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 618, art. 34: Loudun 1620 regulation.
[203] Arsenal Ms. 4114, pp. 273-6: 'Raisons de la paix faite devant Montpellier' (written by Rohan).
[204] Mazarine Ms. 2592: 1575 agreement for troops from the Palatinate. B.N.F. fr. 20783, fols. 230 r-231 r, 234 r: 1586 agreement for troops from the Palatinate. B.N.F. fr. 20783, fols. 97 r-98 r: June 1577

Army, 1560-1660' (1985) John Lynn argued that while the predominance of siege warfare in the second half of the sixteenth century required heavier pieces of artillery, the Wars of Religion actually witnessed a decline in the heavy use of artillery, probably owing to the limited resources available to all parties.[205] Huguenots generally had few cannon and preferred to use *fauconneaux*, which could be moved by only two horses (and therefore during battle) and which could fire one hundred shots without exploding. Both sides even used fifteenth-century pieces.[206] La Rochelle was an important source of artillery for Huguenot troops. In 1577, the town lent artillery with the necessary gunpowder and munitions to Navarre and Condé.[207] The sieur de La Chaboissière,[208] deputy for La Rochelle, complained to the general assembly at Saumur in 1595 that a good number of artillery pieces, which had been removed from the town before 1589 to defend places such as Saint-Jean-d'Angély, Taillebourg, Marans and Fontenay-le-Comte, had not been returned. The general assembly decided that as La Rochelle had requested, provincial councils would verify if they held any of these pieces, so that they could be returned or their monetary value reimbursed.[209] It is therefore probable that provincial councils kept an account of artillery pieces held by towns in their province. Reimbursement of artillery pieces would presumably have been very expensive; the 1595 *procès-verbal* gives no indication as to how funds would have been obtained for this.

At Sainte-Foy in 1601 and Saumur in 1611, the general assemblies sought to prevent the transport of artillery, weapons, gunpowder and ammunition away from Huguenot surety

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accord between La Rochelle, Condé and navy captains from Holland and Zealand. Parker pointed out that few contractors were able to provide sufficient artillery from their own resources. See Parker, *The military revolution*, p. 67.

[205] J. Lynn, 'Tactical Evolution in the French Army', *French Historical Studies*, 14, number 1 (1985), pp. 184-6.

[206] De Pablo, 'L'armée huguenote entre 1562 et 1573', pp. 209-11: Huguenots also used hand grenades (invented c. 1382) and censers, smokescreens, and floating batteries, taken up by Louis XIII for the siege of the island of Ré (1627). De Pablo concluded that the Huguenots favoured technical innovations.

[207] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 5 [b]. B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 34 v: a seventeenth-century royalist text on La Rochelle stated that the town had large quantities of gunpowder and one hundred and fifty pieces of artillery, not counting the *bâtardes* and *couleuvrines*, and a large quantity of victuals and other provisions.

[208] Haag I, 480: René Bourdigalle, sieur de La Chaboissière, peer of La Rochelle. He was also a deputy for La Rochelle at the general assembly held in that town in 1588. In 1605, he was acting as criminal assessor at the presidial court for La Rochelle.

[209] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. lxxviii: Saumur 1595.

towns by order of royal officers. Philippe Contamine showed that traditionally, towns had been forced for periods of time to concede all or part of their artillery to the monarchy. He also showed that since the reign of Louis XI, a treasurer held account of the pieces of artillery belonging to the crown and the attached material dispersed in castles, towns and citadels. From time to time, there was a general inquiry for the whole kingdom.[210] In 1601, the deputies for Haut-Languedoc and Haute-Guyenne sought advice from the general assembly on the order issued by the *garde général des magazins et munitions de France* to Montauban and other surety towns, to deliver an inventory of their artillery and munitions. The assembly decided that inventories could be delivered, but that captains and magistrates had to obtain the consent of the churches for the actual transport of artillery and munitions. In addition, the *cahier* of 1611 asked for the return of artillery, weapons and munitions that had been removed from the *places de sûreté*. It also asked for an impartial provision of weapons and munitions in the yearly royal distribution. The reply was non-committal.[211] The requests made by the general assembly in 1611 can in part be explained by the general insecurity felt by Huguenots in the first year of Marie de Medici's regency government. The assembly also asked the duke of Sully not to relinquish his remaining offices, notably that of *grand maître* of the artillery.[212] The 1611 regulation added that two-thirds of the sum granted to governors would also serve for the reassembly of artillery, as the provincial council judged necessary, although how much artillery could be reassembled in view of the other expenses that this sum was meant to cover is open to question.[213]

VI. Fortifications

In his book on the military revolution, Parker argued that the type of warfare illustrated by the Wars of Religion 'only came to an end with the demolition of the network of

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[210] P. Contamine, 'Les industries de guerre dans la France de la Renaissance: l'exemple de l'artillerie', *Revue de l'artillerie*, 271 (1984), pp. 270-1.
[211] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601; Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 804, art. 56: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[212] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 206 v-207 r: Saumur 4 June 1611. On 8 August, Sully wrote to the assembly asking it to request that this office be maintained for his son. See B.N.F. fr. 19570, fol. 486 r-v.
[213] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 294 v-295 r.

strongholds that sustained it'.[214] Edicts of pacification or settlements for peace generally contained provisions for the demolition of fortifications (on both sides) of towns that had not voluntarily submitted to the king, or the demolition of all new additions to fortifications at the expense of the inhabitants. Hostages from each town would be given to ensure that the royal *commissaires* could carry out the demolitions.[215] The stronghold, which could also include fortified abbeys or cathedrals such as Maillezais in the Poitou marshes,[216] would then be returned to the owner. Building new fortifications without royal permission (in letters patent) was qualified as a *crime de lèse majesté*. The pamphlet entitled *Advertissement a l'assemblee de La Rochelle. Par Abraham Elintus Docteur en Medecine* (1621) highlighted the ordering of construction of fortifications by the final general assembly at La Rochelle as another instance of rebellion.[217]

Some *cahiers* had to press for the return to their owners of property where fortifications had been demolished, as the edicts stipulated.[218] The sieur de Chandieu[219] presented a petition to the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 on the loss incurred by his father on grounds of religion of his homes of Chandieu in Dauphiné and Pouilly in Beaujolais, which had long been held by 'les ennemis de lestat'. Chandieu had notably been demolished and razed '[pour] le bien du service du Roy'. Neither he nor his brothers had been able to obtain compensation, although it had often been verbally promised by the late king. The assembly charged the deputies general with seeking compensation from the king and queen

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[214] Parker, *The military revolution*, pp. 41-2.

[215] 1577 edict, art. 50. Fleix, art. 27. Edict of Nantes, arts. 76, 88. B.P.F. Ms. 816[1], 2[e] Dossier [3]: pardon for Dauphiné (February 1622). B.N.F. fr. 3821, fol. 23 r: peace of Montpellier (20 October 1622). Arsenal Ms. 2667, première partie, pp. 306-7: articles of 22 October 1622.

[216] It was held by Agrippa d'Aubigné from 1589 to 1620, and was a *place de sûreté* by the edict of Nantes. It had been a fortified abbey from the early eleventh century until 1317 when it was made the seat of a bishopric, with an episcopal castle attached. The cathedral was ruined by both sides during the Wars of Religion. The bishopric was suppressed in favour of La Rochelle in the seventeenth century. See A. d' Aubigné, 'Sa vie à ses enfants', in *Œuvres complètes*, I, 86-8.

[217] *Advertissement a l'assemblee de La Rochelle. Par Abraham Elintus Docteur en Medecine* (Paris, François Iulliot, 1621), p. 16.

[218] See for instance Arsenal Ms. 6594, fol. 30 r, art. lxiiii, clarification i: Châtellerault 1598 *cahier* (Nantes, 30 April 1598).

[219] Possibly the *avocat* in the Paris *parlement* named to the *chambre de l'édit* there in 1600. See Chapter Three, p. 113, fn. 56. Both the family name and the place appear as 'Champdieu' in the text.

mother.[220] A frequent ground of appeal was that royal *brevets* stated that there would be no innovations in towns granted to Huguenots for a specific number of years. On these grounds, for example, the general assembly at Saumur (1611) decided to petition the king for the demolition of a fort begun by the bishop of Pamiers[221] near the town walls.[222]

Fortifications cost far more to build and maintain than field armies.[223] From 1580 to 1588, decisions for the repair or demolition of fortifications were left to lieutenant generals appointed by the king of Navarre (with their councils), in conjunction with the generals and governors of the *pays*.[224] The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 declared that those who built fortifications without the permission of the governor of the region were rebels.[225] Some Huguenot noblemen who participated in the political assemblies, such as Philippe du Plessis Mornay, Odet de La Noue and Agrippa d'Aubigné were themselves adept at practical engineering.[226] In one letter (1622), d'Aubigné praised the superiority of practical skills of captains over those of even the best engineers, 'qui n'ont que la theorie'.[227]

The general assemblies coordinated funds to build or repair the fortifications of towns listed in the royal *états*. However, funds were always lacking. For example, the sieur de La Ferrière asked the general assembly at Saumur in 1597 for help in completing the two

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[220] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 221 r: Saumur 1611.

[221] Joseph Esparbès de Lussan (c. 1580-1625), bishop of Pamiers from 1605 (consecrated in 1608) to 1625. See J. Bergin, *The Making of the French Episcopate 1589-1661* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1996), p. 619.

[222] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 217 v-218 r: Saumur 22 June 1611. Other examples of requests for demolitions can be found in Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 833-4: Loudun (1619-20) and B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 6 r-v: La Rochelle April 1621 *cahier*. In 1595, 1605 and 1611, the general assemblies also requested that there be no 'innovations' in places held by Huguenots where there were no garrisons established by royal *état*. B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. lxxii: Saumur 1595. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 767: Châtellerault 1605. Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 797 art. 44: Saumur 1611 *cahier*. There was a generally favourable reply.

[223] Parker, *The military revolution*, p. 39.

[224] Mazarine Ms. 2592: commissions for Turenne to command in Albigeois, Lauragais and Languedoc (1580) and B.P.F. Ms. 246: for Châtillon in Rouergue (1586). Mazarine Ms. 2593, fol. 52 v: propositions made to the assembly of the churches of Dauphiné by Lesdiguières, acting as lieutenant general under authority of the king of Navarre in the absence of Condé (Vaynes, 12 July 1581).

[225] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 245-6.

[226] Du Plessis Mornay supervised for example the building of fortifications at Quillebœuf (between Le Havre and Rouen) during the siege of Rouen (1591-2) to control the Seine (P. du Plessis Mornay, *Mémoires et correspondance*, I, 212). La Noue wrote a memorandum and plan (1607) and an 'Avis' (1610) on the fortifications of Geneva (both remained manuscript) (Haag VI, 303). D'Aubigné drew up plans for fortifications at Geneva, Berne and Basle after 1620. See his *Œuvres complètes [...]*, I, 137-9, letter number iv; 139-42, v; 143-5, vi; 145-8, vii; 148-50, viii; 135-6, xiii; 191, xxiv.

[227] *Œuvres complètes*, I, 139-42, letter number v: Agrippa d'Aubigné to M. Turetin (1622).

bastions that remained to be constructed for the stronghold of Vézins that he commanded. He had used his own *deniers* to obtain cannon, gunpowder and cannon-balls. The reply simply stated that his stronghold would be kept in mind.[228] Vézins was listed in the royal *état* in 1598, but a lack of financial assistance could have resulted in the loss of the stronghold between 1601 and 1602. The Huguenot governor was re-established by royal letters in 1602.[229] After this event the general assemblies sought to ensure that the garrison received due financial assistance from the monarchy.[230] By 1619, the stronghold had however fallen into severe disrepair; the *procès-verbal* presented to the provincial assembly at Loudun by a deputy of the provincial council requested funds for its garrison and necessary repairs.[231] Another example is that of Pons: in order to protect the town, its governor Bretauville[232] built a fort that the king ordered to be demolished.[233] As he had used his own funds, Bretauville sought reimbursement from the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605,[234] but his son was still pursuing his claim posthumously at Saumur in 1611.[235] This general assembly wrote to his successor asking him to advance up to 2, 000 *livres* in order to repair Pons' fortifications, promising to reimburse him.[236] Reiterating article 49 of the *cahier* of Jargeau (1608), the *cahier* of the general assembly at Saumur (1611) asked the king to grant funds in order to maintain and repair the gates, walls, and defences of the strongholds left in their keep by the

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[228] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 505-7, arts. 298, 306, 313: Saumur 1597.

[229] See Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 737: instruction for the deputies general (15 October 1601). Mazarine Ms. 2595, fol. 371 v, art. 5: *cahier* answered on 24 March and 13 April 1602. Arsenal Ms. 6594, fols. 67 v-68 r, art. ii: *cahier* presented by Colladon (1601). Mazarine Ms. 2595, fols. 387 v-388 v: royal letters re-establishing the sieur de La Ferrière in the *gouvernement* of the castle of Vézins, from which he had been removed by the lady of Vézins (Tours, 13 May 1602).

[230] Vézins was also listed in the *états* for 1603 and 1611. Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 752, 755-6, 758: Châtellerault 1605. B.P.F. Ms. 711, number 5: Jargeau 1608.

[231] B.P.F. Ms. 526, fols. 90 r, 94 v: Loudun September 1619 provincial assembly.

[232] Haag II, 386-7: Nicolas de Bonnefoi, baron de Bretauville (d. 1607), colonel of an infantry regiment. He fought in the conflicts from 1570 and was governor of Bouteville (near Angoulême) in 1575. He was a friend of Coligny and sought to avenge him by killing his murderer. In 1593, he attended the general assembly at Mantes and in 1596, swore the oath of union at Loudun as governor of Pons.

[233] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 733: instruction for the deputies general (1601). Arsenal Ms. 6594, fol. 71 r, art. xi; cf. art. vi: *cahier* presented by Colladon (1601).

[234] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 753-4: Châtellerault 1605. Bretauville also sought payment for his garrison.

[235] See Chapter Six, p. 282.

[236] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 207 r, 210 v: Saumur 1611. A letter from Mirande to Villarnoul (6/ 8 February 1611) shows that the serious disrepair of Pons was also discussed by the provincial synod at Taillebourg. See 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVIe et XVIIe siècles', ed. G. Musset, *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 79-80, number xxix.

royal *état*. The reply stated that repairs would take place at the expense of the inhabitants, as was customary in the kingdom. *Lettres d'octroi* would be obtained from the royal council to carry out levies.[237] While the 1611 regulation stated that the two-thirds of the sum allocated to governors would also serve for small repairs to turrets, bridges, banners and palisades, it added that if the king and queen mother did give funds, governors would decide how they would be employed, but provincial councils would carry out inspections to ensure these funds were not monopolised by any party.[238] These measures were reiterated by the regulation of the general assembly at Loudun (10 April 1620).[239]

The general assemblies took a growing interest over time in controlling provisions for war. As well as military commanders, the provincial councils and local assemblies played a coordinating role in the localities. A common theme throughout is that the general assemblies sought wherever possible to co-opt established authorities, in particular town consuls. With respect to the conduct of troops, the general assemblies mostly followed established royal ordinances; a primary aim was to provide as much protection for local populations as there could be during a period of civil war. The provisions made by the assemblies for stores and artillery in towns also illustrate the assemblies' concern for the need to keep account of resources at the disposal of Huguenots. The assemblies' coordination of funds for the building or repair of fortifications reinforces this role. Security was ultimately hampered by the inability of the assemblies to obtain adequate funds from the churches or from the monarchy (when strongholds were listed in the royal *états*). The manner in which the general assemblies sought to ensure adequate financing of Huguenot troops and strongholds will be explored in the following chapter.

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[237] Arsenal Ms. 3135, p. 803, art. 55. Repairs requiring immediate attention would be addressed on petition to the king. See Doucet I, 384 for the responsibility of towns in maintaining and expanding their fortifications.
[238] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7193, fols. 294 v-296 r: Saumur 1611 regulation.
[239] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 617-8, art. 33. B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 92 v: the provincial assembly at Loudun in September 1619 had renewed the plea for royal funds for the repair of places held by Huguenots.

CHAPTER SIX

The General Assemblies and the Financing of War

In his book on the royal army from 1562 to 1576 (1996) James Wood argued that it failed to achieve a decisive victory over the Huguenots because the kingdom's financial and administrative structures could not sustain the larger forces needed to fight longer campaigns. Moreover, these forces could not be maintained in peacetime. For Wood, 'the Huguenots were able with their own resources or the aid of foreign powers to sustain military resistance long enough to exhaust both the royal army and the royal treasury'.[1]

How did the Huguenots raise and co-ordinate the use of these resources, particularly under the leadership of Henri de Navarre after 1576? In his thesis, Lowenstein did assess the financial and military capabilities of the Protestant rebels in Languedoc in the 1620s, but he stated that the general assembly at La Rochelle (1620-2) had little influence in this.[2] In an article on Huguenot financing from 1562 to 1589, M. Greengrass argued that Huguenot political assemblies would not have come into being had they not been convened by the nobility in order to mobilize finances for war. He also argued that 'an underlying weakness of Huguenot war-finance' drove their leaders towards repeatedly seeking peace with the monarchy. However, the detail of this article is focused on assemblies in Languedoc before 1576.[3]

This chapter examines the role played by the general assemblies in raising and co-ordinating financial resources for military purposes. Firstly it considers the extent to which they could rely on the existing mechanisms for royal revenue collecting. Secondly this chapter addresses discussions in the assemblies from 1579 on the payments of debts for the levy of

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[1] J. Wood, *The King's Army. Warfare, Soldiers, and Society during the Wars of Religion in France, 1562-1576* (Cambridge, C.U.P, 1996), pp. 4-5.
[2] S. Lowenstein, 'Resistance to Absolutism: Huguenot Organization in Languedoc, 1621-1622' (Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Ph. D. thesis, 1972), p. 204.
[3] M. Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause: Protestant Mobilization and Accountability in France (1562-1589)' in P. Benedict, G. Marnef, H. van Nierop and M. Venard (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585* (Amsterdam, Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999), pp. 233-54.

troops (principally from the Palatinate) and on the costs incurred by La Rochelle during the siege of 1572-3. Thirdly, it examines the manner in which general assemblies from 1594 responded to the need to pay garrison troops, particularly in the *places de sûreté*, when there was a shortfall in the sums promised by the monarchy.

I. Mechanisms for collecting revenue

Greengrass pointed out in his article on Huguenot financing that in order to gather the financial resources necessary for war, Huguenot political assemblies did not create new structures, but adapted the existing mechanisms for royal revenue collecting. However, the periods of civil war were too short to allow these structures any permanence or to allow any substantial collection of taxes.[4] The edicts of pacification pardoned levies of direct and indirect taxes and validated the accounts of Huguenot receivers when taken with the receipts of Huguenot commanders or accountants to the *chambre des comptes* in Paris,[5] or when examined by the royal *commissaires*.[6] They also ordered the return of offices for royal revenue collecting that had been moved during the conflicts in areas controlled by both parties.[7]

Martin Wolfe argued in *The Fiscal System of Renaissance France* (1972) that after August 1572, 'Virtually the whole apparatus of the royal tax machine in Languedoc and other

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[4] Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause', in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War* (1999), pp. 233, 240-1.
[5] Doucet I, 189-96: the *chambre des comptes* was a sovereign court that verified the yearly accounts of royal financial officials, administered the royal domain and addressed cases of financial administration. *Chambres des comptes* were also created at Montpellier (1523) and at Rouen (1580).
[6] Pardon for farming of domanial rights and other rights belonging to the king: art. 71 of edict of Nantes. Pardon for levies: 1577 edict, art. 46. Edict of Nantes, arts. 74, 75, 76, 77 and 82, particular articles, art. 50. B.P.F. Ms. 816[1], 2[e] Dossier, 3: pardon for Dauphiné (February 1622). Validation of accounts: edict of Nantes, arts. 76-7, 78, 79 and 80. B.P.F. Ms. 816[1], 2[e] Dossier, 3: pardon for Dauphiné (February 1622). B.N.F. fr. 3821, fol. 23 v: 20 October 1622 peace. Complaints about contraventions in e.g. B.P.F. Ms. 95, fols. 20 v-21 r, art. 38: Montauban 1584 *cahier*.
[7] 1577 edict, art. 49. Edict of Nantes, art. 72. Articles for peace, Montpellier 20 October 1622 (B.N.F. fr. 3821, fol. 23 r) and 22 October 1622 (Arsenal Ms. 2667, première partie, p. 306). For the established structures of royal finance and revenue collecting, see Doucet I, 294-6 for the *trésor de l'épargne* and other central treasurers; Doucet I, 299-304 for the *recettes générales* (generalities) administered from 1577 by a college of treasurers general and other officers; Doucet I, 194, 304-8 for the *élections* and *greniers à sel*.

provinces of the south and west was in the hands of this "state within a state"'.[8] He stated that from 1576, the king of Navarre had been 'granted imposts by regular votes of the representatives' (without explaining which assemblies he was referring to), whereas in the 1580s, Navarre 'assumed the power to impose taxes himself'.[9] Although the council planned by the general assemblies for the king of Navarre was granted the right to decide on taxes,[10] the actual levy of taxes during this period in fact still depended on the co-operation of governors and assemblies in the localities.[11]

The general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 drew up an extensive regulation on finances in order to organise means for military self-defence. Turenne, du Plessis Mornay, Feydeau, Calignon, and de Roux[12] were among those named by the assembly to draw it up.[13] The regulation broadly followed established practice for the royal army, in establishing a division between ordinary and extraordinary revenue, the latter for troops that were initially recruited on a temporary basis.[14] The regulation does not distinguish between the *pays d'état* and the *pays d'élection*,[15] but uses the Dronne river to delimit particular geographical areas. While the king of Navarre's council and the treasurers general and receivers general who would sit with the council were given overall control, some autonomy was also given to the lieutenant general of Guyenne and the provincial assembly that would sit in Guyenne after the close of the general assembly. While the regulation planned a network of receivers paid from

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[8] Wolfe, M., *The Fiscal System of Renaissance France* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1972), p. 148.
[9] *ibid.*, p. 153.
[10] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 8 r, arts. 70-1: Montauban 1581 (22 May). Mazarine Ms. 2593, fol. 180 r-v: Montauban 1585 regulation. Cf. P. du Plessis Mornay, *Mémoires et correspondance [...]* (12 vols., Paris, Strasbourg and London, Treuttel et Würtz, 1824-5), I, 168. See Chapter Two, p. 54.
[11] Commissions given after 1580 by the king of Navarre to members of the sword nobility to act as his lieutenant generals (to maintain the edicts of pacification) carried the power to organise monetary levies or seize revenue to pay troops and for the purposes of war. The commission given to the viscount of Turenne to command in Albigeois, Lauragais and Languedoc (Nérac, 10 April 1580) is one example of this (Mazarine Ms. 2592). See also Mazarine Ms. 2593, fol. 54 r: propositions made to the assembly of the churches of Dauphiné by Lesdiguières, acting as lieutenant general for the king of Navarre (Vaynes, 12 July 1581). B.P.F. Ms. 246: commission for Châtillon to command in Rouergue (1586).
[12] For Calignon see Chapter Two, p. 65, fn. 79; for de Roux, see Chapter Two, p. 55, fn. 8 and pp. 67-8.
[13] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 221: La Rochelle 1588 regulation.
[14] For this system in the royal army, see Doucet I, 116 and Doucet II, 648-9.
[15] For these, see Doucet I, 348-9.

commissions taken during levies,[16] officers in *élections* and in towns controlled by the Huguenots would continue their work as before.[17] The governors and lieutenant generals for the king of Navarre in Languedoc (the duke of Montmorency, who had taken up arms against the king in 1585) and Dauphiné (Lesdiguières)[18] would deliver commissions for extraordinary impositions.[19] In addition, the provinces of Dauphiné, Languedoc and Guyenne south of the Dronne, would contribute annually to the *trésorier extraordinaire de la guerre* for general expenses. For this purpose, the king of Navarre would send deputies to the assemblies to be held in these provinces after the general assembly. On 12 December, the sieur Bellanger was named treasurer general for *l'extraordinaire des guerres*.[20] The regulation also made detailed provisions for the keeping of accounts.[21] Languedoc and Dauphiné would send an estimated *état* at the beginning of the year, and a real *état* at the end of the year.[22] All commanders, captains and soldiers would promise to observe the regulations, as regards the military, justice and finances.[23] All generals and governors were forbidden from carrying out unilateral monetary levies. There is some evidence that commissions given by governors acting on behalf of the king of Navarre were perpetuated for a while after his succession to the crown of France in 1589. For example, on 4 April 1590, Lesdiguières gave a commission to *maître* Pierre Arnaud for the pay of his troops in Dauphiné. Lesdiguières explained that 'Puis l'advenement du Roy à la coronne [...], nous n'avons eu commandement de luy d'interrompre l'ordre que nous avons tenu au maniement des finances et soldoyement de nos

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[16] In appointing these receivers, preference would be given to those deprived of their offices because of the conflicts. See the assembly's provisions on refugees in Chapter Four, pp. 192-3.
[17] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 219-20, 226-9, 235, 254-5: La Rochelle 1588 regulation.
[18] See Chapter One, p. 37, fn. 221 for his biography.
[19] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 224-5, 245.
[20] *ibid.*, pp. 231, 255.
[21] *ibid.*, p. 235. There would be a separate register for monies actually received and orders for payment, officers would serve alternately in order to return their accounts in their year out of office (in common with established practice), *commissaires* would verify accounts and the registers of independent auditors would be kept in the archives of each provincial capital.
[22] *ibid.*, p. 220. This last point apparently reflected existing practice: the *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Saint-Jean-d'Angély in 1582 records the receipt of accounts from Dauphiné, although these are not reproduced with the *procès-verbal* (Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 193).
[23] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 236: La Rochelle 1588. This point was restated in B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 42 r, art. 12: La Rochelle May 1621 regulation.

trouppes audict pays'. This continuation was also made possible by the truce in March 1589 with d'Ornano, the royal lieutenant general in Dauphiné.[24]

After this period, the general assemblies continued to defend the positions of Huguenots who held royal financial offices, particularly in the face of encroachments from the Catholic League. The *cahier* of the general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594 complained that by its treaties with the monarchy, the League had obtained the expulsion of Huguenot officers from the towns it held, notably Orléans, Bourges and Montargis. This had 'even' happened to an *élu* and *procureur du roi* at Montargis.[25]

Although many financial offices became open to Huguenots after the edict of Nantes,[26] difficulties occurred after the death of Henri IV in 1610. The general assembly at Saumur in 1611 made the removal of Sully from his position as *surintendant des finances* (held from about 1599) a case of public interest to the churches.[27] In a letter to the general assembly (8 August 1611), Sully presented the knowledge on military resources he had gained in his lost position as an advantage in organising Huguenot defences in the period of uncertainty following the murder of Henri IV: 'la force de noz adversaires est petitte [sic.] [et] Congneue et la n[ot]re ne se peult sonder'.[28] Despite this loss, Mousnier has shown how many Huguenots still held financial offices during the reign of Louis XIII.[29] Some of these officers attended the general assemblies. For example, At Saumur in 1611, the sieur de Burges, *receveur des tailles* for Loudun, was a deputy for Anjou, Touraine, Le Maine, Lodunnais, Vendômois and Bas-Perche.[30] At Grenoble and Nîmes in 1615, de Serres, the *général* for Montpellier and de Gallières, *trésorier général*, were deputies for Bas-Languedoc.[31] As

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[24] *Actes et correspondance du connétable de Lesdiguières [...]*, eds. comte de Douglas, and J. Roman (3 vols., Grenoble, Edouard Allier, 1878-84), II, 493-4, number cdxi.
[25] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[3], 'De la Justice et police', art. 1: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*,
[26] Arsenal Ms. 6594, fols. 30 r-35 r, art. lxviii, clarification v: Châtellerault 1598 *cahier*. R. Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices sous Henri IV et Louis XIII*, 2nd ed. (Paris, P.U.F., 1971), p. 594.
[27] In the *procès-verbal* of the assembly in B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 206 v-207 r, this is on 4 June. Sully intervened again on 24 June (*ibid.*, fols. 219 v-220 r). On 17 June, the general assembly decided that Sully and his son the marquis de Rosny would be asked not to relinquish their remaining offices.
[28] B.N.F. fr. 19570, fol. 487 r. Copy in B.N.F. fr. 19575, fols. 75 v- 77 v.
[29] R. Mousnier, *La vénalité des offices* (1971), pp. 640-1.
[30] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 199 r: Saumur 1611.
[31] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 1 r: Grenoble and Nîmes 1615 list of deputies.

leading officers in the *recette générale* (or *généralité*) of Montpellier, de Serres and de Gallières were both highly placed.[32]

In 1621 the general assembly once again took an interest in the organisation of the fiscal bureaucracy. The regulation drawn up by the final general assembly at La Rochelle (10 May 1621) stated that generals and provincial councils would re-establish receivers, assessors and treasurers to accelerate the receipt of *deniers* from royal taxes. They would give their proceeds every quarter to the receiver general established with an assessor general in each province by the general assembly, following advice from the general and the provincial council.[33] An innovation in 1621 was the decision that the treasurer general and receivers in the provinces would give account every quarter to the general assembly, rather than to *commissaires* and auditors appointed for this purpose, as in 1588. Furthermore, the receivers general could make payments only by ordinance of the assembly.[34] The regulation added that officers of finance would be maintained, as would all the rights and income (*rentes*) belonging to Huguenots on the *tailles* and other impositions.[35]

II. Payments for mercenary troops

The agreements for the provision of mercenary troops, notably from the Palatinate, have already been discussed by Vogler in his article on the role of the Electors of the Palatinate during the French Wars of Religion (1965).[36] These troops were raised with the financial backing of the German princes and with loans from the queen of England. The Huguenot nobility mortgaged their personal property to guarantee payment. Vogler, Wolfe in his book on *The Fiscal System of Renaissance France* (1972) and Greengrass in his article on Huguenot financing (1999) noted how the monarchy assumed the majority of the debts

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[32] For the *recettes générales*, see Chapter Three, p. 123, fn. 113.
[33] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 46 r, art. 38; cf. fols. 45 v, art. 34; fols. 46 v-47 r, art. 43. Every tenth *denier* of levies in the provinces would be given to the treasurer general and others for the levy of foreign troops and the maintenance of the army 'du general de laditte Assemblee' (*ibid.*, fol. 46 r-v, art. 39).
[34] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 46 v, art. 41.
[35] *ibid.*, fol. 47 r, arts. 44 and 45.
[36] B. Vogler, 'Le rôle des Électeurs palatins dans les guerres de religion en France (1559-1592)', *Cahiers d'histoire*, 10 (1965), pp. 51-85.

incurred as a result of these agreements (including troop payments, pensions and sums outstanding from previous conflicts). These debts were still outstanding in the 1590s.[37]

The first agreement for mercenary troops that is relevant for this period was drawn up between Henri de Condé, Damville and other Catholic noblemen on the one hand and Jean Casimir, count of the Palatinate and duke of Bavaria on the other (8 January / 27 September 1575).[38] The brief cooperation between Huguenot noblemen and Catholic noblemen such as the governor of Languedoc Damville, allowed Huguenots to win the most favourable concessions to date in the edict of pacification of 1576. Although by the peace of May 1576, the crown committed itself to paying the debt owed to these foreign troops,[39] the peace settlement was not implemented rapidly.[40] In 1576, Anjou, Navarre, Condé, and their parties obtained a *brevet* from Henri III to carry out a levy to pay their debts. Anjou wrote to the secretary of state Villeroy (1 October 1576) saying that this amounted to 659, 100 *livres*. Anjou, Navarre and Condé also owed some individual noblemen and foreign merchants 111, 000 *livres* provided and forwarded for them in Germany.[41] The king of Navarre had also mortgaged his crown jewels in England. The secret articles of the edict of pacification of 1577 and article 38 of the peace of Fleix (1580) allowed Huguenots to levy 600, 000 *livres* in order to pay off their debts.[42]

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[37] Vogler, 'Le rôle des Électeurs palatins', p. 82. Wolfe, *The Fiscal System of Renaissance France*, pp. 145-6, and fns 20-1. Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause' in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War* (1999), p. 245.

[38] Mazarine Ms. 2592. Followed by 'Procuration de monsieur frere du Roy pour Ratiffier La Precedente Capitulation' (12 December 1575) addressed to the sieur de La Fin. See this agreement and Vogler, 'Le rôle des Électeurs palatins', pp. 65-8 for details of troop numbers. Casimir was assigned a pension of 6, 000 *écus* per year from the churches of Languedoc.

[39] See Vogler, 'Le rôle des Électeurs palatins', pp. 68, 73. N. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State in the Age of Catherine de Medici* (London, The Athlone Press, University of London, 1962), p. 195. M. Greengrass, ' Pluralism and Equality: The Peace of Monsieur, May 1576', in K. Cameron, M. Greengrass and P. Roberts (eds.), *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France. Papers from the Exeter Conference, April 1999* (Bern, Oxford, Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 46, 54.

[40] Arsenal Ms. 3847, p. 140: Huguenot memorandum on implementation of the edict (replied 30 May 1576). Vogler, 'Le rôle des Électeurs palatins', p. 69. Sutherland, *The French Secretaries of State*, p. 195.

[41] B.P.F. Ms. 765[4]: 'Estat des deniers Que Monsieur frere du Roy, les Roys de Navarre, prince de Condé, les Catolicques associéz Et ceux de la Religion Reformee doivent pour raison des troubles derniers passéz que pour autres debtes auparavant faicte et dont la levée sen doit promptement faire pour satisfaire ausdites debtes et frais extraordinaires de mondit seigneur'.

[42] Vogler, 'Le rôle des Électeurs palatins', p. 73. *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XXII (1581), 76-7 and 81, fns 12-3, number 1471: from the sieur de Clervant to Théodore de Bèze (28 March 1581).

The following two sections will explore the role played by the general assemblies in organising levies to repay both overall debts and the noblemen who had forwarded sums for the cause. The assemblies' debates on these matters have never been addressed in detail.

i. Levies for the payment of mercenary troops

Chapter One discussed a letter of convocation sent by Henri de Navarre on 13 October 1578, which was issued following letters patent from Henri III, allowing Huguenots to raise 166, 666 ⅔[43] *écus* (or approximately 500, 000 *livres*) to pay German mercenary troops.[44] Henri de Navarre's letter of convocation states that he had ordered an assembly of the reformed and Catholic churches of the 'pais des La[nd]es' to be held at Clairac in his *gouvernement* of Guyenne, in order to choose deputies for an assembly to be held at Montauban from 1 November. Deputies chosen at Clairac for the Montauban assembly were required to know the number of churches in their colloquy and the financial means of each, so that the portion to be raised by the generality (as *recettes générales* were still sometimes known) of Bordeaux (13, 333 ⅓ *écus*) could be shared out amongst them. The deputies were also asked to bring a list of all the noblemen in their colloquy and of their financial means, although noblemen were traditionally exempt from such levies.[45]

The *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Montauban in 1579 indicates that the levy planned in 1578 took place. Deputies at this assembly complained about the imposition in 1578, which now amounted to 176, 928 ½ *écus*, possibly because of interest, and was the best part of 224, 656 ⅔ *écus* that had been imposed on all the churches in the kingdom by royal commission. The sum most likely refers to the 600, 000 *livres*, including interest, allowed by the 1577 edict of pacification and the peace of Fleix (1580).

The debates at the 1579 assembly, as recorded by the *procès-verbal*, highlight the concern expressed by many deputies that their provinces had been overtaxed. This is a rare

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[43] 'deux tiers descu', or approximately two *livres*.
[44] See Chapter One, pp. 9-10. Although the *écu* replaced the *livre tournois* as the standard money of account between 1577 and 1602, the records of the general assemblies use *écus* and *livres* interchageably. This most likely led to some approximation in accounting. See Note on currency, p. iii.
[45] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 11. The king Navarre would send a letter where the name of the gentleman thought to be the most appropriate to assemble the nobility could be filled in.

area in which the *procès-verbaux* of the general assemblies do record the detail of debates between the deputies.[46] On 15 July, it was decided that overtaxed provinces would be granted rebates from the contributions that they still had to make for the remainder of the 224, 656 ⅔ *écus* that had to be paid, or 47, 728 *écus* 10 *sous*. However, as this debt obligation still had to be met, the rebates granted had to be reapportioned between all the provinces. The assembly decided that this would be done when the king next allowed a general assembly. On 16 July, having examined the complaints put forward by the deputies for Burgundy, Champagne, Touraine, Normandy, Picardy, Lyonnais and Bordelais, the assembly presented its decisions 'Dun co[m]mun advis & consentement'. Burgundy was granted the largest rebate (it would contribute 4, 000 *écus* instead of 10, 000). Sedan would not be included as it was not sovereign territory; the *pays messin* would pay 2, 000 *écus* and Champagne 4, 000 *écus*. Three days previously, the deputy for Champagne had complained about the unwillingness of 'ceulx du pays Messin' to contribute to 'les affaires co[m]munes des Eglises de ce royaume' as they were not part of the kingdom. It was decided that the king of Navarre, the prince of Condé and the sieur de Maisonneuve[47] on behalf of the assembly would write to Huguenots in the *pays messin*, advising them to help the churches in the kingdom 'Comme estans dun mesme corps'.[48] Rebates were also granted to Touraine, Picardy, Lyonnais and Normandy, which was granted the second largest reduction (16, 666 ⅔ *écus* instead of 20, 091 *écus* and 50 *sous*). The generality of Bordeaux was asked to pay its tax 'sauf de pouvoir co[m]poser des termes avec ceulx qui sont assignez sur Icelle comme bon leur semblera'.

Although the *procès-verbal* states that the above decisions were reached by common consent, a strong debate resulted, which also illustrates how deputies at this general assembly moved from a concern about their provinces being overtaxed to expressing a need for consent

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[46] See Chapter Two, p. 60.

[47] Probably Antoine de La Faye, sieur de La Maisonneuve et de Gournay (d. 1609), minister for the king of Navarre, and president of the national synod at Figeac in 1579. See Chapter Two, p. 63, fn. 68.

[48] Perhaps as a result of these long-standing problems, the general assembly at Saumur in 1595 wrote to the church of Metz that it would be joined with the churches of Champagne (B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. lxxix).

to taxation. The sieur de Saint-Etienne, deputy for Brittany,[49] complained that his province had not given him charge to agree to a new levy or to the rebates granted to the provinces above.[50] The sieur de La Valière, one of the deputies for Poitou, agreed with Saint-Etienne. The sieur de Locque,[51] deputy for Haut- and Bas-Limousin added that 'ceulx qui ont faict la cottisa[ti]on a Sainct Jean dangely de la generalite de Limoges ont surtaxe les pays Sans avoir este appelez ne ouyz'. It is unclear whether 'ceulx' refers to the officers of the *élection* of Saint-Jean d'Angély, which was part of the generality of Limoges.[52] The assembly decided to write to the generality:

> 'pour luy faire entendre quon napprouve poinct une telle procedure Et partant quilz se rassemblent avec led[it] pays pour conferer amiablement par ensemble Et faire une cottisation agreable avec bonne congnoissance des facultez dun chacun selon qu'entre tous il sera advisé estre bon'.[53]

The sieur de Meslon, deputy for Gascony, made a similar complaint to that presented for Limousin for the *sénechaussée* of Castelmoron-sur-Lot in the duchy of Albret. The assembly decided that he should put this matter to officers representing his generality. The sieur de Chalup, deputy for the town of Bazas, would write on behalf of the assembly. The *procès-verbal* then reiterates that the rebates, amounting to 19, 761 *écus* and 5 *sous*, and other sums that remained to be levied would be assigned when another assembly was allowed 'Afin q[u]e les creanciers ne soient frustrez du payem[ent] de leurs debtes'. Following a petition from the deputies for Haut-Languedoc and Vivarais, and in view of the complaints about overtaxation, it was decided on 23 July that in the future, the way in which levies were previously apportioned would not be followed.[54]

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[49] See Chapter One, p. 33, fn. 196 for his biography.
[50] See Chapter One, pp. 21-5 and Chapter Two, pp. 61-3 for commissions and instructions for deputies.
[51] Haag VII, 120-1: possibly Bertrand de Loque, who was a minister at Casteljaloux in 1597, and in the same year acted as vice-president of the provincial synod at Miremont. In 1581, he had acted as Turenne's envoy to Geneva; when Turenne became duke of Bouillon he called on Loque to act as minister in Sedan. The Haag brothers list four works of religious polemic by him, printed between 1577 and 1606, and one work attributed to him (1595).
[52] See M. Cassan, *Le temps des guerres de religion. Le cas du Limousin (vers 1530-vers 1630)* (Paris, Publisud, 1996), p. 13.
[53] One of the three deputies for Burgundy was charged with writing the letter.
[54] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 1579.

In a letter to Théodore de Bèze (28 March 1581), the sieur de Clervant[55] stated that he resolved to 'debattre fort' the matter of payment of debts, as 'nul ne veult mettre la main à la bource sans contrainte en toutes les Eglises'. Clervant concluded by asking de Bèze to write to the churches 'qu'elles s'efforcent pour la levee de deniers'.[56] However, the payment of the debts owed to the Palatinate was only briefly raised at the general assemblies at Montauban in 1581 (by Peter Beutterich, counsellor and ambassador for the Palatinate)[57] and at Saint-Jean-d'Angély in 1582.[58] In both of these assemblies, Clervant acted as president for when the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé were absent.[59]

The redistribution planned in 1579 did not take place until the general assembly at Montauban in 1584.[60] Anquez presented the *places de sûreté* as being 'la préoccupation principale de l'assemblée de Montauban (1584)' and ignored this levy, the discussion of which takes up most of the *procès-verbal* of the assembly.[61] J. Valone claimed that after the death of Henri III's brother and heir the duke of Anjou on 10 June 1584, which entailed that the Protestant Henri de Navarre became heir to the throne, 'Huguenot radicals suddenly turned pro-Royalist, after years of preaching regicide'. However, there is no mention of regicide in the records of previous general assemblies, the *procès-verbal* of this general assembly does not mention the duke of Anjou's death, and the financial discussions if anything show continuity with previous assemblies.[62]

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[55] See Haag IX, 483-6: he worked for the treaty signed between Condé, Alençon and the Palatinate in 1575 and returned to France leading 2, 000 *reîtres* under Montmorency-Thoré. In 1587, he signed a treaty with the Palatinate on behalf of the king of Navarre, and obtained permission to levy troops in Switzerland, with which he rejoined the German mercenaries in Alsace.

[56] *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XXII (1581), 77-8, number 1471.

[57] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 2 r, art. 21; fol. 7 r, art. 67: Montauban 1581: Beutterich appears as the 'sieur de Beutec' in the *procès-verbal*. Vogler, 'Le rôle des Électeurs palatins', pp. 53, 73-4: states wrongly that Beutterich attended an assembly at Montpellier, and not at Montauban. Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause', p. 244. For Beutterich (1538-87), who was born in Montbéliard and obtained a doctorate in law from the university at Valence, see Haag II, 257-9.

[58] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 188, 191: Saint-Jean- d'Angély 1582. Anquez I, 30, 33-4.

[59] See Chapter Two, p. 54.

[60] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 28 August 1584.

[61] Anquez I, 147.

[62] J. Valone, *Huguenot Politics: 1601-1622* (1994), p. 16. Anquez I, 36-7 pointed out that Huguenots did not seek to exploit the death of the duke of Anjou, but refers to a letter from the king of Navarre to Henri III (14 November 1584) and to du Plessis Mornay rather than the *procès-verbal* of the assembly to illustrate this.

The 1584 *procès-verbal* does show that dissension between the provinces was even more pronounced than it had been in 1579. The deputies for Languedoc, Guyenne, Dauphiné, Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois and Normandy refused to agree both to the rebates granted in 1579, and to a further levy. The participation of the deputies for Normandy in this complaint is surprising, as their province had been granted a substantial rebate in 1579. On 29 August, the deputies for Languedoc presented the rebates granted in 1579 as something claimed by 'aucugnes provinces De dela loyre' (although Lyonnais was also involved).

For the deliberations, over which Turenne presided, the representatives of each generality were given one vote. The sieur Picheron, a minister and deputy for Normandy, had unsuccessfully tried to be given two votes, as he represented the two generalities of Rouen and Caen. The deputy for Angoumois (the sieur de La Croix, a minister) also asked to be given a vote, but was joined to the deputies for the generality of Limoges.

In two instances, provinces granted a rebate in 1579 asked for a further reduction in 1584, but were denied this by the general assembly. As they were refused a further reduction, the deputies for Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Perche and Vendômois, for the generality of Tours, refused to take part in the redistribution, according to their instructions. Picardy was also refused a further reduction. The deputies for the generality of Lyon and Beaujolais, which was also granted a rebate in 1579, asked for their contribution to be postponed until some churches had been established in their province; they then offered to pay what the king of Navarre ordered.

This last example shows that in some cases, deputies requested that payments should be proportional to the number of Huguenots in their province. The same is true for Brittany, whose deputy had strongly objected to the reductions granted in 1579. On 30 August 1584, the deputies for Brittany complained that their part of the levy was over 23, 000 *écus*, which amounted to a ninth of the total. They offered 8, 000 *écus* and asked for a rebate on the remainder. It was decided that they would be given a reduction of 7, 000 *écus*, as long as they participated in the redistribution of the 1579 rebate, which they refused to do. On 31 August, they again complained that their portion could amount to no more than one twenty-fifth, as

they did not even constitute one fiftieth of all the churches and of those who professed the reformed religion in France. They were given a further reduction of 1, 000 *écus*, with the same condition. Contrary to the statement made at Montauban on 23 July 1579, it was decided that the redistribution would be apportioned in the same way as in 1579. The deputies for Brittany finally left after having affirmed the nullity of the levies. The assembly also refused to give the rebate of 10, 000 *livres* requested by the deputy for Dauphiné (the sieur de Saint Ferriol, a minister), seeing the ease with which the province could pay the 33, 500 *livres* (or about 11, 167 *écus*) attributed to it. The province would take part in the redistribution.

Other provinces were successful in gaining reductions in 1584. The deputies for Berry, Nivernais, Orléans and Bourbonnais, representing the generality of Bourges asked for a rebate of 11, 000 *livres* on the 21, 000 *livres* (7, 000 *écus*) their province owed. They obtained a rebate of 8, 000 *livres* on condition that they take part in the redistribution. The deputies for Provence asked for a rebate of 4, 000 *livres* as their condition for taking part in the redistribution. The assembly gave them a rebate of 1, 000 *écus*, on this condition.

The deputies for Guyenne agreed to their contribution on condition that those for Haut- and Bas-Languedoc did the same. The nine deputies for Languedoc[63] agreed to the rebate, on condition that no other rebate was granted and without prejudice to the 20, 000 *écus* the province had paid in 1575 for foreign troops. The assembly held at Millau in August 1574 had decided this sum would be redistributed amongst all the provinces at the first general imposition on the churches, but this had apparently not taken place.[64]

The *commissaires* for the generality of Limoges would have a commission from Turenne 'po[ur] cottiser ses subjectz'. This could refer to the small viscounty of Turenne, which was almost entirely surrounded by the viscounty of Limoges, a land belonging to the king of Navarre. This could also have been an attempt to forestall complaints about levies in the area such as those that had been made to the general assembly at Montauban in 1579.

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[63] There were five deputies for Bas-Languedoc and the dioceses of Montpellier, Nîmes and Uzès and four deputies for Haut-Languedoc.

[64] This matter had already been raised by the deputies for Haut-Languedoc and Vivarais at Montauban on 23 July 1579.

On 4 September, the assembly stated that the rebate of 19, 761 *écus* 5 *sous* granted in 1579 (still to be levied) would have the reduction of 3, 333 ⅓ *écus* given to Normandy deducted from it because the province had not been able to obtain confirmation of this reduction.[65] Normandy was therefore exempted from the new levy. This left 16, 333 ⅓ *écus* for redistribution amongst the provinces. The rebates granted to Bourges and Provence at this assembly were apparently not considered. De Chandieu,[66] de Baronnat, de Vaurs, Floret, de Bretaigne and de Roux were elected to apportion the sums between the provinces. Montpellier and Toulouse were asked to pay the most (2, 604 *écus* 10 *sous*), while Riom was asked to pay the least (243 *écus* 3 *sous* 4 *deniers*). The contribution from the Lyonnais was not postponed, as its deputies had asked: they were required to pay 520 *écus* 50 *sous*. Brittany was also asked to pay 1909 *écus*, 43 *sous* and 4 *deniers*, although its deputies had affirmed the nullity of the levies. The deputies calculated the total contributions as amounting to 16, 337 *écus* 9 *sous* 2 *deniers*, leaving 3 *écus* 49 *sous* and 2 *deniers* in excess. It was decided that if the claims of deputies could not be verified here, this would be done at the next assembly, where *maître* Nicolas Pajot, a treasurer for the king of Navarre[67] and *commis* for the receipt of the imposition, would be required to bring the verified returns, the acts, papers, and his account. On 29 August each generality was given one year to levy the required sum. This included the sum apportioned to them in 1579 (amounting with the rebates to 47, 728 *écus* 10 *sous*). The above suggests that the deputies expected a general assembly to be held one year later, but civil war broke out again in 1585, and the following general assembly was held in the winter of 1588. The king of Navarre was asked to write to the sieurs de Méru and Thoré[68] to ask them to pay their levies. A guarantee was given on 6 September that members of the

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[65] In response to the deputy for Normandy, the general assembly at Saint-Jean-d'Angély in 1582 replied that it would be difficult to reapportion the reduction granted in 1579 'sur le Corps principal des Eglises, la plus grand [sic.] part desquels se pleignent de mesme surcharge, & aucuns absens'. See Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 194: Saint-Jean-d'Angély June 1582.

[66] Possibly Antoine de Chandieu (1534-91). See Chapter Three, p. 113, fn. 56 and Chapter Five, p. 245.

[67] In the *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XXIII (1582), 21, Nicolas Pajot is described as a treasurer of the king of Navarre.

[68] Charles de Montmorency, seigneur de Méru (1537-1612) and Guillaume de Montmorency, seigneur de Thoré (1544-91), younger brothers of Henri de Montmorency (1534-1614) royal governor of Languedoc from 1563, count of Damville, then duke of Montmorency in 1579. Charles de Montmorency became count of Damville in 1579.

nobility and towns traditionally exempt from royal taxes would not have their legal position affected by participation in this levy.

The articles drawn up in 1586-7 with Casimir, who became administrator of the Palatinate after the death of his brother Louis VI in 1583,[69] were not followed up by detailed plans for levies at the following general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 because no peace settlement had been reached. The articles were drawn up in response to the Catholic League's treaty of Joinville with Philip II (31 December 1584) and to Henri III's treaty of Nemours with the League and subsequent edicts of July 1585. These removed the Protestant king of Navarre from his rights of succession to the French crown, as well as removing him from the crown of Navarre.[70] If any future peace settlement left payment of debts to the king of France (as in 1576) the 1586-7 articles sought to guarantee this by ensuring that he assigned them valid funds in *recettes générales* for direct and indirect taxes. This would be from receiverships that the king of Navarre, the churches and associates presently controlled in Guyenne, Gascony, Languedoc, Dauphiné and other places in the kingdom.[71] The proceeds from collections for mercenary troops in Languedoc in 1587 were physically carried across to Geneva.[72] The general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588 elected the sieurs de Fontrailles,[73] de Calignon, de Gasques,[74] and de La Tousche[75] only to deliberate on the annual *état* for the maintenance of the foreign army with the king of Navarre, assisted by his council.[76] German

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[69] B.N.F. fr. 20783, fols. 230 r, 231 r, 233 r-234 v. *Accort et capitulation faict entre le Roy de Navarre, & le Duc de Cazimir pour la levee de l'armee des Reistres venus en France en l'annee 1587* (Strasbourg, Gillot le Porché, 1588), pp. 27-8. Ratified 11 January 1587. Diplomatic and military details in Vogler, pp. 75-8, 80-2.

[70] A papal bull dated 9 September 1585 also excommunicated Navarre. The articles with Casimir partly sought recognition of Navarre as a prince of royal blood and heir to the crown if the king had no children able to succeed him.

[71] B.N.F. fr. 20783, fols. 231 v-232 v, 233 v.

[72] Vogler, 'Le rôle des Électeurs palatins', pp. 77-8. Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause', pp. 243-4, 246-7

[73] See Chapter Three, p. 140, fn. 194 for his biography.

[74] De Gasques also helped to draw up provisions for ministers at this assembly. See Chapter Four, p. 188, fn. 166.

[75] Haag VI, 410-1: either Daniel de La Tousche, seigneur de La Ravardière, a navigator and colonial adventurer who would be a deputy for Brittany at Jargeau in 1608 and was named vice-admiral of the fleet by the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1621; or Pierre de La Tousche, seigneur de Malaguet (died c. 1625), who was first noted in 1589 in helping to defend the castle at Blain and in 1621 was named governor of Royan by the general assembly at La Rochelle. .

[76] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 250: La Rochelle 1588.

mercenary troops were again mustered for use against the duke of Parma and Spanish troops and in the Rouen campaign (1590-2).[77] On 16 January 1598, the sieur Lescuyer, secretary to the prince of Anhalt (Casimir's nephew), presented letters to the general assembly at Châtellerault asking the deputies to petition the king for payment of the sums spent in his service.[78]

ii. Repayment of sums forwarded for mercenary troops

The difficulty in organising monetary levies entailed that members of the nobility and others who had forwarded sums for the levy of mercenary troops could not be fully repaid. The discussions at the general assemblies show the manner in which the churches planned to reimburse members of the nobility.

At Montauban in July 1579, the prince of Condé asked to be reimbursed for the debts he had contracted for the churches, amounting to 42, 661 *écus* 47 *sous* for which he had given 'des grandz Joyaulx Et deux siennes places & terres' as collateral.[79] He would lose these if his creditors were not paid 14, 000 *écus* the following September. Condé offered to provide 6, 000 *écus* himself. On 17 July, the general assembly offered 22, 000 *écus*:

> 'Jacoit que po[u]r le present led[it] seigneur ne monstre entierement les pieces concernans la[dite] verifica[ti]on les deputez neantmoings ne laissent point de sasseurer que les fraiz par luy faictz ont este employez pour le general Nestant dadvis dentrer en plus grand preuve des[dites] parties Mais bien de Supplier le[dit] sieur prince davoir Esgard a la pauvrete des eglises'.

Part of the 22, 000 *écus* would reimburse the sieur de Saint-Mesme's[80] partially gold-plated silverware, weighing 123 *marcs* 3 ounces and 1 *gros*, given as payment to the colonels and captains of the *reîtres*, led by the late duke of Zweibrücken. It would also reimburse the costs

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[77] Vogler, 'Le rôle des Électeurs palatins', pp. 80-2. H. Lloyd, *The Rouen Campaign, 1590-1592. Politics, Warfare and the Early-Modern State* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1973), pp. 45-8.
[78] Mazarine Ms. 2607, pp. 392-3: letters from the prince of Anhalt to the assembly (25 October 1597).
[79] In 1581, Condé stated that his jewels were pledged in Germany and Switzerland.
[80] Haag VI, 350-1: Jean de La Rochebeaucourt, sieur de Saint-Mesme (1533 - c. 1603). As Huguenot governor of Angoulême, he fought at Jarnac in 1569. He helped to take Brouage in 1570. In 1576, he helped Condé to gain possession of his *gouvernement* of Saint-Jean-d'Angély. Saint-Mesme attended the general assembly at Saint-Jean-d'Angély in 1582. He led troops for Condé in his campaigns in 1585, then retreated to La Rochelle, of which he was given the command. He was named governor of Saint-Jean-d'Angély after the death of Henri de Condé in 1588. Saint-Mesme sent his lieutenant La Plenne to the general assembly at Saumur in 1599 to seek payment for his garrison.

incurred by the sieur Darenes on several voyages undertaken for the churches. The assembly decided that on behalf of the churches, the deputies would legally commit themselves to the prince for this sum ('en seroit passe obliga[ti]on aud[it] sieur prince'). This suggests the assembly viewed itself as a having a legal personality. Chapter Two showed that the word 'compagnie' also appears in this assembly's *procès-verbal* for the first time and that this was the first assembly to establish a permanent representative at court.[81] The *procès-verbal* states that the 22, 000 *écus* and interest from the day of the contract would be levied as part of the 47, 728 *écus* 10 *sous* that still had to be apportioned between the generalities. It is difficult to see how the sum for Condé could be included with or even added to existing debts, given opposition in the provinces to the levies that had taken place in 1578. At the following general assembly at Montauban in 1581, Condé had still not been paid.

Claims made by other creditors in 1579 were also postponed to the following general assembly 'a cause du peu de moyen qu'ont les Eglises de faire une nouvelle cottisation Et pour navoir les deputez assez Ample pouvoir dy entrer'. In 1579, the deputy for Lyonnais claimed 'part of' the 2, 040 *écus*, long due to the sieur Claude Juge, a bourgeois of Lyon.[82] It is likely that Juge, who sought refuge in Geneva in 1572, was one of those who contributed to a loan of 10, 000 *écus* that Condé had obtained in Geneva to pay for German mercenary troops. This loan was guaranteed by jewels (valued at 14, 500 *écus*), which were still held in Geneva in October 1578. Two letters from Théodore de Bèze to Henri de Condé in 1578 highlighted Juge's efforts to prevent the jewels from being sold and show that the reformer supported Juge's need for reimbursement from a 'bonne assignation sur les deniers des Eglises'.[83] In 1581, it was decided that the 2, 429 *écus sol* Juge was now owed (including

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[81] See Chapter Two, pp. 85-6.

[82] Haag VI, 101: the Haag brothers present him as Claude de Juges (d. 1600), *conseiller du roi* and royal treasurer with the Swiss Confederacy. He was received as bourgeois of Geneva in 1584 for no fee because he had raised funds for the cause at great personal cost. In the same year, he became a member of the Genevan council of Two Hundred. In 1589, he ceded to Geneva, as payment of a debt he owed the city, an obligation for 4, 306 *écus* he had forwarded to the king of France in 1571 for the fortifications of Lyon. There was little hope of repayment.

[83] *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XIX (1578), 89-93, number 1303: Théodore de Bèze to Henri de Condé (4 May 1578). The editor quotes (p. 92, fn. 7) a letter from the general assembly at Montauban in 1579 to the Council of Geneva (25 July 1579) on the sum of 1, 151 *écus* owed by Condé to some inhabitants of Geneva. This sum would be levied from the 22, 000 *écus* granted by the

interest) would be paid from the 47, 728 *écus* 10 *sous* that remained to be levied.[84] In 1579, the sieur du Douhet had made a claim of 3, 333 ⅓ *écus* on behalf of a madame du Vigean. In 1581, the assembly decided that the 5, 333 ⅓ *écus* now owed to madame du Vigean, including other sums which Condé had asked her husband to borrow 'pour les affaires publicz', would be added to the sum to be levied for Condé. The claim made for the sieur de Mouy,[85] for 2, 000 *écus* of expenses incurred as a commander at La Fère in 1580 was also included. These sums would be paid before Christmas.[86] However, the claims made in 1579 by the sieur de Chouppes,[87] who was owed 2, 713 *livres* 8 *sous* (904 ⅓ *écus* 8 *sous*) for his wages when commanding Périgueux, and by the sieur de Chalup on behalf of the sieur de Casse, who was owed 1, 500 *écus*, do not appear to have been addressed in 1581. One possible reason for this is that Périgueux was taken by royalist troops in 1581.[88] The apportioning of the 45, 000 *livres* forwarded by François de La Noue in 1576 was postponed until the following year when a commission from the king had been obtained.[89] Article 38 of the peace of Fleix had stated that this sum could be levied as part of the 600, 000 *livres* the churches were entitled to levy.

Chart 2 shows the manner in which the general assemblies at Montauban in 1579 and 1581 planned to apportion the sums to be levied from the provinces for Condé and other noblemen. The smallest contributions were made by Metz (279 *écus* in 1579 and 328 ⅓ *écus* in 1581) and Lyon (396 *écus* in 1581). The largest contribution, or sixteen per cent of the total, was made by Montpellier and Toulouse (3, 544 *écus* in 1579 and 4, 400 *écus* in 1581). This was followed by Brittany (2, 573 *écus* in 1579 and 3, 193 *écus* in 1581) then Rouen and

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churches to Condé and payed within a year at the Frankfurt fair. See also *ibid.*, pp. 125-8, number 1312: Théodore de Bèze to Henri de Condé (23 July 1578).

[84] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 8 r, art. 69.

[85] Haag IX, 453-5: Isaac de Vaudray, sieur de Mouy (d. 1598) was present with Condé when the prince went to La Rochelle in 1576. De Mouy then fought in the wars (in 1579 he served in Flanders with La Noue) and was one of the commanders for Condé at La Fère in 1580. In 1587, de Vaudray commanded the French infantry in the army of German mercenaries that came to help the king of Navarre. He then fought with Coligny's son Châtillon until the latter's death in 1591, and afterwards followed Henri IV to the siege of Rouen. He was awarded the *brevet* of *maréchal de camp* in 1597. In the same year, he went to support the royal troops at Amiens.

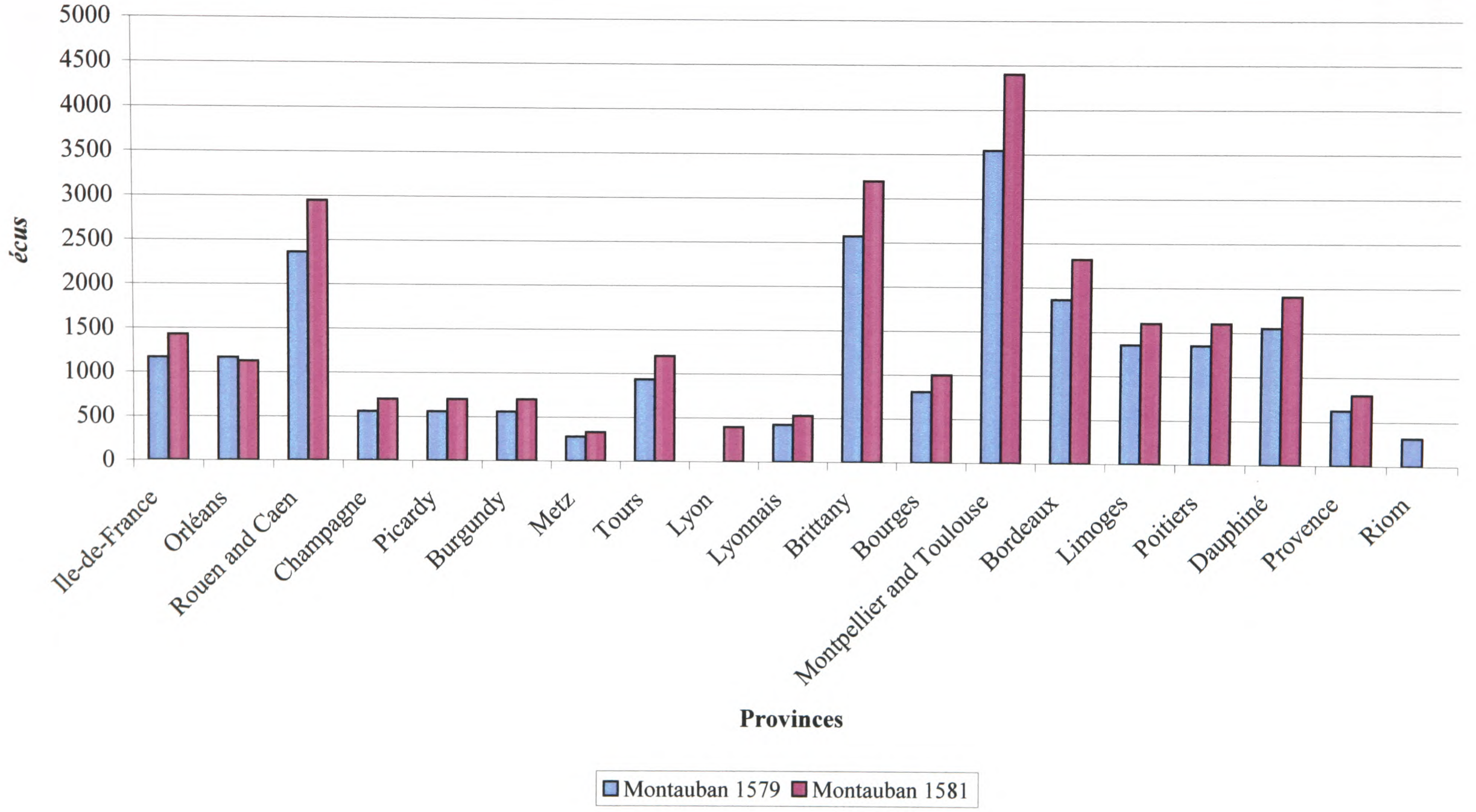
[86] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 7 v, art. 68.

[87] See Chapter One, p. 30, fn. 176 for his biography.

[88] For Périgueux, see Anquez I, 34, 146.

[89] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 8 r, art. 72: Montauban 1581.

Chart 2. Projected Levies for Noblemen, 1579 and 1581



Sources: B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 1579; *ibid.*, number 13: Montauban 1581.

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Caen (2, 362 *écus* in 1579 and 2, 947 *écus* in 1581). In view of the objections to the general levies made by deputies for the latter two provinces, as shown above, it does not appear that they made any complaint here. Anquez stated that the 22, 000 *écus* promised in 1579 was still the sum to be raised in 1581,[90] but ignored the fact that the total in 1581 amounted to 27, 333 ⅓ *écus* because of the sums promised to madame du Vigean and to de Mouy. The *procès-verbal* of the general assembly at Montauban in 1584 does not discuss the sums owed to the noblemen, so it is to be assumed that either these levies did take place around 1581, or that these debts were written off.

Other creditors were not in fact included in these levies. The trade in the more expensive white salt from Bas-Languedoc[91] was often used to guarantee loans for the payment of troops, and was an important source of revenue for the Huguenot party throughout this period. However, peace settlements could cut these payments short.[92] Other noblemen who had forwarded sums for German mercenary troops remained unpaid. A notable example is that of the sieur de Clervant. The 'Etat des deniers' of 1576 had stated that he was owed 220, 000 *livres* for the *reîtres* and foreigners he had brought to the duke of Anjou under the leadership of the sieur d'Athoré.[93] The 1586 agreement for mercenary troops drawn up with the count of the Palatinate mentioned an obligation to fulfill the remainder of sums assigned for Clervant and Lesdiguières.[94] However, a royal memorandum dated 28 October 1604, almost thirty years after the initial recognition of debt, stated that the heirs of Clervant were pressing 'Incessamment' for commissions 'pour Imposer sur Eux avec contrainctes' the remainder that was owed. Deputies at the forthcoming general assembly had to resolve this

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[90] Anquez I, 33.
[91] Doucet I, 583-4: Languedoc was part of the *pays de petites gabelles*, with Velay, Gévaudan, Rouergue, Haute-Auvergne, Lyonnais, Beaujolais, Forez, Vivarais, Mâconnais, Provence and Dauphiné.
[92] Arsenal Ms. 3847, p. 133-4: reply to the *cahier* presented on behalf of Anjou (6 May 1576). B.P.F. Ms. 765[4]: 'Estat des deniers'. B.N.F. fr. 20783, fol. 97 r: the churches of Bas-Languedoc assembled at Lunel (27 February 1577). B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 23 July 1579. B.N.F. fr. 20783, fol. 232 r: 1586 articles drawn up with the count of the Palatinate. Art. 77 of the edict of Nantes pardoned Huguenots for all seizures of salt. Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 754-5: Châtellerault 1605. M. Greengrass, 'Financing the Cause', p. 244.
[93] B.P.F. Ms. 765[4].
[94] B.N.F. fr. 20783, fols. 231 v-232 r.

matter.[95] The heirs of Clervant petitioned the general assembly at Châtellerault in 1605 for payment of these debts. This also included the 320, 000 *livres* (a vast sum for one family) they claimed were assigned to them partly from a tax on the salt *greniers* of Languedoc, and partly from the Huguenot churches of several provinces in the kingdom. It is not entirely clear from the *procès-verbal* what the deputies at the general assembly decided, but it seems that according to contracts authorised by Henri IV in September 1599, Rosny agreed that the king, rather that the churches, would compensate Clervant's family.[96]

The assemblies granted subsidies to the king of Navarre, both to compensate him for the property he had mortgaged to raise loans for the churches and to cover his expenses as leader of the party. At Montauban in 1584, Navarre offered to accept 150, 000 *livres* instead of the 200, 000 *livres* that were offered to him, in order to help lessen the burden of the levies about which deputies complained.[97] Turenne claimed at the general assembly at La Rochelle in 1588, that Navarre had given up to three million *livres* for the party, for which he had alienated his strongholds by sales, pledges and settlement of annuities since 1576. Most of those remaining had been occupied by the enemy. Much of this property had been pledged in the articles drawn up in 1586 for troops from the Palatinate.[98] The 1588 general assembly decided that he would be given 100, 000 *écus* per year from the public *deniers* by the provinces under Huguenot control, which would also pay for cost of travel and negotiations, ambassadors, agents and messengers, and the wages of his council. The monies would be delivered to the *trésorier général de l'extraordinaire*.[99] It is unclear what became of these financial arrangements after Henri de Navarre nominally became king of France in August 1589.

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[95] Mazarine Ms. 2595, fol. 527 r: royal memorandum on instructions to be transmitted to the general assembly (28 October 1604).
[96] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 754, 762-3: Châtellerault 2 August 1605. For the *greniers* and the *gabelle*, see Doucet I, 308-9.
[97] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 15: Montauban 29 August 1584. Cf. *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, XXII (1581), 77 (and fn. 13), number 1471: letter from the sieur de Clervant to Théodore de Bèze (28 March 1581), on the need to compensate the king of Navarre, who had mortgaged his crown jewels in England: 'Je n'y voys aultre moyen, ce sont pour luy deux cent mille livres'.
[98] B.N.F. fr. 20783, fols. 230 v, 232 r, 233 v–234 r. *Accort et capitulation faict entre le Roy de Navarre, & le Duc de Cazimir pour la levee de l'armee des Reistres venus en France en l'annee 1587* (Strasbourg, Gillot le Porché, 1588), pp. 28-9, 31-2.
[99] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 249-51. For the king of Navarre's council, see Chapter Two, pp. 54-7.

III. Repayment of loans for the defence of La Rochelle

At the general assemblies held at Montauban in 1579 and 1581, the deputies from La Rochelle also requested reimbursement for the costs incurred for a navy and other purposes during the siege of the town in 1572-73. In 1579, the deputy for La Rochelle requested 40, 000 *écus* for the costs incurred during the town's siege;[100] in 1581, the debt amounted to 200, 000 *livres* (about 66, 667 *écus*), including interest.[101] In 1584 La Rochelle was again refused reimbursement for 200, 000 *livres* borrowed from the English and the Rochelais for its siege, that of Brouage, and ensuing conflicts. The sieur du Coudray[102] petitioned the general assembly held at Saumur in 1597 on behalf of La Rochelle for reimbursement of another loan of 11, 000 *écus* obtained from English merchants after August 1572 at the request of other churches, for the purpose of general self-defence. The merchants were now pressing for payment, and the Rochelais offered to pay their portion of a general levy. It was agreed that the king would be asked to pay the sum, or ensure that the merchants relinquished their claims; failing this, the churches would contribute. This would be included in the forthcoming treaty (the future edict of Nantes).[103] The general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1601 finally instructed the deputies general to support the *corps de ville* of La Rochelle in obtaining royal letters for a levy on the town. *Arrêts* from the Paris *parlement* and the *conseil d'état* made the town liable for reimbursement of the *deniers* borrowed in England in 1572 and 1573 and the articles for peace in 1573 had promised to give them a commission for this levy.[104] As with the debt owed to Clervant, this illustrates the length of time (in this case, again almost thirty years) that it took to settle repayment of debts incurred during the conflicts. Both of these examples also suggest that the general assemblies sought where possible to avoid responsibility for the payment of debts that the churches could not meet.

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[100] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 8: Montauban 14 July 1579.
[101] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 13, fol. 8 r, art. 73: Montauban 1581.
[102] See Chapter One, p. 29, fn. 170 for his biography.
[103] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 517, art. 350: Saumur 1597.
[104] *ibid.*, pp. 734-5: instruction for the deputies general (15 October 1601).

IV. Payments for garrison troops

i. Before the edict of Nantes

Although the monarchy had provided subsidies for Huguenot strongholds from at least 1575,[105] Huguenot garrisons were first included in the royal *états* for payment of garrison troops in January 1594. With inclusion in the *états*, written orders were delivered that allowed funds to be drawn from receiverships in the localities. However, the financial pressures on the monarchy during this period entailed that the anticipated revenue from the *tailles* was allocated in advance to the repayment of royal debts or to the projected increase in military expenditure. The receiverships could not meet the budgeted expenditure.[106] After 1589, conflict with the Catholic League and then with Spain placed added pressures on royal finances and the general assemblies after 1593 complained about the lack of funds to meet the sums promised in the *états*.[107]

There was some attempt to meet shortfalls by organising levies on Huguenots in the provinces. The general assembly at Sainte-Foy in 1594 decided that provincial councils would apportion *deniers* for ordinary levies and see to their distribution.[108] The assembly decided to levy 45, 000 *écus* as a temporary measure from the royal subsidies received by Huguenot governors and captains of *places de sûreté*, from other captains, and from the revenue enjoyed by the owners of benefices and 'les plus aizes [et] plus zeles'. This would establish a fund to address the most urgent necessities. For now, 5, 000 *écus* would be levied from each province, but those north of the Loire would only contribute 2, 500 *écus* each, presumably

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[105] Arsenal Ms. 3847, pp. 134-5: royal reply to 6 May 1576 *cahier*. Nérac, art. 21. Coutras, art. 47.

[106] The *taille* was not levied in Brittany, Burgundy, Dauphiné or Provence, where taxes were voted and collected by the provincial estates. Insufficiency in the *taille* was met by *crues*. A new levy, the *taillon*, was created in 1548-9 to prevent troops from taking food and other necessities from people without paying. See Doucet II, 562-77.

[107] B.P.F. Ms. 710: Mantes 21 January 1594. B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xlvi: Saumur 1595. Mazarine Ms. 2594, fol. 3 v, art. xxiii: reply to *cahier* of Saumur, 20 September 1595. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 493, art. 259; p. 495, art. 268: Vendôme 1596-7.

[108] B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], arts. 15 and 25: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. The general assembly at Saumur gave control over finances to the general assemblies rather than the provincial councils (B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. lxi) but the general assembly at Loudun restored the role played by the provincial councils. See B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, arts. 18 and 22: Loudun 22 and 24 June 1596 regulation (confirmed at Vendôme 3 April 1597).

because there were less Huguenots here.[109] The general assembly at Loudun in 1596 decided that to avoid quarrels, levies would be apportioned between the provinces according to set proportions, 'sauvé [sic.] a Croistre ou diminuer La quantité selon que Dieu benira ou affligera quelque Province'.[110]

However, general assemblies from 1594 to 1597 also sanctioned forcible levies from *tabliers*, *élections*, receiverships or tolls by governors and captains in order to pay their garrisons as stated in the royal *état*. They explained their actions by the fact that the sums promised by the king were reduced or misappropriated, diminishing garrison numbers and therefore jeopardising the security of these places.[111] The rapid disbursement of funds from the receiverships and the high cost of maintaining garrisons entailed that the seizure of royal taxes by governors and garrison commanders was a general phenomenon during this period.[112] The royal *commissaires* sent to the general assemblies at Loudun and Vendôme in 1596 and 1597 repeatedly stressed that Huguenot garrisons had been removed from the royal *états* in the same proportion as Catholic garrisons had been, and that Huguenots should not take advantage of conflict with Spain to press their case.[113] Catholic governors also feared the reduction of sums granted them in the royal *état* or their removal from the *état*. The general assemblies at Loudun, Vendôme and Saumur in 1596 and 1597 discussed at least three cases of Catholic governors wishing to convert in exchange for the churches providing for the upkeep of their garrisons as *places de sûreté*. The churches would also help defend them against attack. In return, the general assembly expected a public profession of the Protestant faith and a Huguenot church to be established in these places, as well as conformity to the

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[109] B.P.F. 710, number 29^1, art. 23: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. *ibid.*, art. 24 stated that governors, captains, commanders and others would also provide loans, which would be reimbursed by the churches if not freely given. B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. lx: Saumur 1595.

[110] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 305, art. 142: Loudun 1596. Haut-Languedoc, Bas-Languedoc and Guyenne would each pay 15 *écus* in every 100 *écus*, Dauphiné, Poitou and Saintonge would each pay 12, Normandy would pay 8, Anjou and Berry would each pay 4, while Ile-de-France would pay 3.

[111] B.P.F. 710, number 29^1, art. 19: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, 'De la Justice et police', art. 8: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*.

[112] See Y.-M. Bercé, *Histoire des Croquants. Études des soulèvements populaires au XVIIe siècle dans le sud-ouest de la France* (2 vols, Paris-Geneva, Droz, 1974), I, 278-9, 281, 288.

[113] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fols. 228 r, 231 r-232 r: first instruction to de Vic and Calignon sent to Loudun (9 July 1596). *ibid.*, fols. 236 v-237 r: second instruction to de Vic and Calignon sent to Loudun (11

assembly's resolutions.[114] How sincere these proposals for conversion were cannot be judged (although there are other cases of noblemen converting to Protestantism in the early seventeenth century),[115] but they do indicate that the Huguenots were seen as effective in providing funds for their own garrisons.

How did the general assemblies sanction and co-ordinate forcible levies? The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at Sainte-Foy (1594) stated that where there was no *tablier*, *élection* or *recette*, governors could turn to a neighbouring parish, where taxpayers would take the seized *deniers* to a notable bourgeois, acting as *commis*. The provincial councils oversaw this. The churches would also help to ensure the levy of *deniers*.[116] The general assembly at Loudun in 1596 renewed the order that *deniers* would be taken from receivers to pay the garrisons, following the list of payment drawn up in 1596.[117] Excerpts of the *procès-verbal*'s article, in which the decision was made, were signed by the assembly's president and secretary, and given to the governors[118] (who would keep an account) and to provincial councils as a legal document.[119] On 10 September, for example, an extract of the article was given to the governor of Châtellerault.[120] On the next day, Henri IV specifically ordered the royal *commissaires* de Vic and Calignon to forbid the seizure of royal *deniers* by the sieur de Préau, governor of Châtellerault.[121] The king had tolerated this on the assumption

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September 1596). *ibid.*, fols. 243 v-244 r, 244 v-245 r, arts. vi and x: third instruction to de Vic and Calignon sent to Vendôme (18 January 1597).

[114] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 314-5, arts. 177, 177 bis and 178: Loudun 31 August and 5 September 1596. *ibid.*, p. 490, art. 243: Vendôme 31 December 1596: case of monsieur Leviston, governor of Montaigu en Combraigne. *ibid.*, p. 504, art. 291: Saumur 6 March 1597: case of the governor of Domfront. *ibid.*, pp. 526-7, art. 382: Saumur 29 April 1597: case of sieur de La Tremblay. See also B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 219 r-v: Saumur 1611: case presented by the duke of Sully.

[115] One notable example is described in *Declaration de Henry Marc de Gouffier, Marquis de Bonivet, Seigneur de Crevecœur, & c. Faite au Consistoire de la Rochelle, [...] le Mercredy troisiéme d'Aoust 1616. Et depuis a esté faite mesme protestation par ledit Sieur Marquis en presence de toute l'Eglise de la Rochelle le Dimanche 7. dudit mois apres le presche du matin au grand Temple.* (Iouxte l'exemplaire Imprimé A La Rochelle, Corneille Hertman, 1616).

[116] B.P.F. 710, number 29[1], arts. 20 and 21: Sainte-Foy 1594 regulation; art. 20 broadly reiterated in B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. 47: Saumur 1595: which added that governors could only act by permission of the provincial council, who would justify their action to the king.

[117] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 277, art. 45; pp. 292-3, arts. 104-5 and pp. 298-300, arts. 124, 126-8: Loudun 1596. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. 21: Loudun 1596 regulation. Cf. Anquez I, 150-1.

[118] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 310-1, art. 163; pp. 317-8, art. 187; p. 319, art. 192; p. 322, art. 207.

[119] *ibid.*, pp. 313-4, art. 176; pp. 316-7, art. 183; p. 323, arts. 211-2.

[120] *ibid.*, p. 316, art. 181.

[121] Haag VIII, 317-8: Hector de Préaux or Préau, sieur de Châtillon, was brought up at the court of Jeanne d'Albret. He commanded a regiment in the Huguenot army in 1587 and fought at Coutras and in

that it was 'plustost Une Imprudence particuliere que non pas Une deliberacion de lassemblee'. If these actions progressed, 'elle le recevra Pour declara[ti]on manifeste de pure desobeissance'.[122] Nevertheless, on 15 October, a commission was given to the provincial council of Poitou to seize the *deniers* in its *tabliers* in order to pay its garrisons following the list of payment drawn up by the king at the beginning of the year and the rise ordered by the assembly.[123] The assembly stated that paying garrisons was the only means of maintaining them in allegiance to the king.[124]

There is evidence that having received its commission, the provincial council of Poitou strove to act within the framework provided by the general assembly. An ordinance of this council (3 November 1596) gave a commission to the royal governor of Thouars, to seize the *tailles* within three months. He could appeal to the regulations of Sainte-Foy and of Loudun (article 20).[125] An extract of the acts of the provincial council (3 November 1596, signed by La Trémoille) and of the general assembly at Loudun were then used as legal documents for an act drawn up before Huguenot incorporated notaries at Thouars, on 20 November 1596, for the seizure of *deniers* by the governor. The receiver for the *tailles* in Thouars was *maître* Uriel Falloux. While the original version of the act was kept by the governor, the minute was signed by all and kept by one of the notaries.[126] The decisions of the provincial council of Poitou were then ratified by the general assembly at Vendôme on 2 December 1596.[127]

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other later engagements, notably in the taking of Châtellerault in 1589. As governor of this town (later a *place de sûreté*) he attended the general assembly at Loudun in 1596, where he swore the oath of union. He was perhaps a lieutenant general and an ambassador to Holland in 1607.

[122] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fol. 237 r-v. B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fol. 244 v, art. ix: this statement was broadly reiterated in the third instruction to de Vic and Calignon sent to the general assembly at Vendôme (18 January 1597). This general assemblies at Loudun (Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 298-9, art. 124; pp. 310-1, art. 163; cf. p. 270, art. 22; pp. 286-7, art. 83), Vendôme (*ibid.*, p. 497, arts. 280-1) and Saumur in 1596-7 (*ibid.*, p. 524, art. 374) allowed de Préau to seize *deniers* from the local receiverships to pay his garrison troops. The assembly at Saumur also approved the retention of two companies by de Préau notwithstanding the royal reduction of 1596.

[123] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 321-2, art. 206: Loudun 1596.

[124] *ibid.*, p. 321, arts. 203-4: Loudun 14 October 1596.

[125] Mazarine Ms. 2594, fol. 36 v.

[126] *ibid.*, fols. 43 r-44 v.

[127] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 486, art. 220: Vendôme 1596-7.

Some of the tolls on rivers were legitimately used to pay garrisons and this might have encouraged the general assemblies to seize funds from these sources.[128] The toll levied by Huguenots on the Charente at Taillebourg is the most frequently mentioned in the records of these general assemblies because Catherine de Bourbon, sister of Henri IV, was entitled to a revenue of 24, 000 *écus* from its proceeds. On 12 September 1596, the general assembly at Loudun wrote to the provincial council for Saintonge that *deniers* to pay the garrisons at Royan, Pons and Taillebourg as stated in the royal *état* of 1596 should first be sought from the toll on the Charente, or the toll at Royan, which had been removed in contravention of the 1589 truce.[129] The Huguenot deputies at the Assembly of the Notables at Rouen later wrote to the general assembly at Vendôme (15 November 1596) that the royal court possessed a copy of the commission drawn up by the council of Saintonge, signed by Claude de La Trémoille, implementing the decision of the general assembly. Catherine de Bourbon 'a esté emploiée à nous en faire des plaintes avec bruict merveilleux'. The deputies wrote that they had been as evasive as possible, but when presented by her with all the documents of proof, 'nous avons esté contraints de rejeter le tout sur Dame necessité et au delay qu'on a tousjours prins de donner ordre a nos affaires'. The deputies therefore asked the general assembly to ensure that La Trémoille and the council of Saintonge cease their levies, which Catherine de Bourbon deserved 'a cause du rang qu'elle tient, de sa constance en la Religion & de la bonne volonté qu'elle desmontre a l'advancement du bien des esglises'.[130] Although the king ordered the general assembly to remove the tolls it had authorised,[131] and although complaints by Catherine de Bourbon were relayed by Odet de La Noue[132] to the following general assembly held at Saumur, the actions of the provincial council of Saintonge were approved at Saumur.

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[128] For instance, in a *brevet* dated 23 December 1593, the king granted du Plessis Mornay the tenth *denier* of the extraordinary levies on the river at Saumur as a reimbursement for services rendered and for the garrison and fortifications of the town. *Mémoires et correspondance de Duplessis-Mornay* (1824-5), V, 578-9, number cclxii.

[129] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 310-1, art. 163; pp. 298-9, art. 124; pp. 313-4, art. 176; pp. 316-7, art. 183. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 35, art. 21: Loudun 1596 regulation. See also Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 501, art. 285: Saumur 1597.

[130] B.P.F. Ms. 789, first booklet, number 21. The general assembly at Mantes in 1593 received letters from Catherine de Bourbon (B.P.F. Ms. 710: Mantes 23 November and 6 December 1593) as would the general assembly at Vendôme (Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 491, art. 247: Vendôme 16 January 1597).

[131] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fol. 244 v, art. ix: third instruction to de Vic and Calignon (18 January 1597).

[132] See Chapter One, p. 18, fn. 103 for his biography.

The 10, 000 *écus* that the general assembly thought could be obtained from the levy at Taillebourg were certainly a factor in this.[133] Ironically, the general assembly at Châtellerault decided on 16 June 1597 that the complaint that Catherine de Bourbon could not obtain the final 12, 000 *écus* of her pension because of Huguenot control of Taillebourg would be brought to the royal *commissaires*.[134]

The general assembly at Loudun had requested an edict allowing Huguenots to keep their garrison towns with maintenance until all conflict had ceased.[135] Partly in response to the forced levies, the third instruction to de Vic and Calignon sent to Vendôme (18 January 1597) stated that the king would establish a fund for Huguenots, principally for their garrisons and ministers, of up to 150, 000 *écus*, from the general receiverships of Languedoc, Guyenne and Poitou.[136] In a letter to the king (Tours, 13 February 1597) the count of Schomberg[137] stated that the deputies would not be content with less than 200, 000 *écus*; some had even stated 220, 000 *écus*. Despite the need for restraint in finances, he argued that:

> 'iamais Roy nemplira [sic.] son argent plus louablement et plus a propos pour l'estat q[ue] V.[otre] M.[ajesté] à faict celluy qu'avez accordé a ceux de la ligue. Et que vous ordo[n]nerez p[rése]ntement à ceux de la relligion Car Il se peut dire que l'une depence à esté et lau[tr]e sera le salut de v[ot]re estat veu les pernicieux desseings Tendans au partage du Royaume [et] la subversion de la monarchie'.[138]

On 1 February, the assembly had named du Plessis Mornay, de La Noue, de Montgommery,[139] de Chouppes, de la Motte and Chamier (the assembly's secretary),[140] to address the matter of the *état* for garrisons, after having heard the deputies from each

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[133] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 506, art. 307; cf. pp. 501-2, art. 286; p. 511, art. 328; p. 521, art. 364 bis.
[134] Mazarine Ms. 2605, fol. 265 r-v.
[135] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 273-5, arts. 33-4: Loudun 9 April 1596.
[136] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fols. 243 v-244 r, art. vi.
[137] See Chapter Two, p. 77, fn. 156 for his biography.
[138] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7191, fol. 251 v. Anquez I, 152-3: quotes this letter as dated 23 February 1597.
[139] Haag VII, 480-2: Jacques de Montgommery, count of Lorges, then of Montgommery (d. 1609). After the death of his father in 1574, he was briefly governor of Brouage, but Condé replaced him in 1577. Montgommery was known for his violent temper. He was in Flanders with the duke of Anjou in 1581. In 1585, he was named as governor of Castres by Montmorency and imposed himself as commander in Haut-Languedoc from 1588. The people of Castres expelled him in May 1591, although it is probable that he was still commander in the province in 1595. He signed the oath of union at the general assembly at Loudun in 1596.
[140] See Chapter One, p. 29, fn. 171 for his biography.

province.[141] As several governors complained to the general assembly at Saumur in 1597 that the sums promised by the monarchy for their garrisons had not been forthcoming,[142] this assembly continued to allow forcible levies to pay Huguenot garrisons, while at the same time petitioning for garrisons to be included in the forthcoming royal *état*.[143] As several individuals had handled several large sums belonging to the churches without giving account of them (and therefore possibly without authorisation), it was decided to pursue them after the treaty had been concluded.[144] On 2 May 1597, Schomberg told the assembly that Huguenot garrisons would be paid 'par L'ordre ordinaire des finances' until otherwise decided.[145] The king replied to the memorandum presented by monsieur de Clairville[146] that he could not allow Huguenots to take *deniers* from the receivers or collectors of the *tailles*, if they did not fully receive the sums assigned for them. This would be giving them permission 'de ce qui est crime de leze majesté'.[147] The regulation drawn up by the general assembly at Châtellerault (20 March 1598) stated there would be two *commis* for the receipt and payment of *deniers* granted for the payment of garrisons. They would be nominated by the churches and would swear the oath to the planned *conseil général*.[148]

ii. From the edict of Nantes to the accession of Louis XIII (1598-1610)

The edict of Nantes pardoned the levy of *deniers* to pay garrisons. Where the money orders fell short of the *état* of 1596 and its augmentation, new orders would be issued to make this up.[149] Article 82 forbade all subjects henceforth to levy any *deniers* without the king's permission.[150] The edict of Nantes' *brevets* promised funds for Huguenots, to be drawn from royal revenue. Chapter Four outlined the provisions made in the *brevet* of 3 April 1598 for

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[141] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 494, art. 261; cf. p. 493, art. 258: Vendôme 1596-7.
[142] *ibid.*, pp. 506-7, art. 308: Saumur 1597: letters from La Trémoille, La Tabarière, d'Aubigné, Bessay and Constans.
[143] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 504-5, art. 297 (10 March); pp. 505-6, art. 305 (12 March); pp. 508-10, arts. 319, 321 (18 March); p. 519, art. 356; pp. 521-2, art. 367; p. 522, art. 369 (5 April); p. 525, art. 378; pp. 527-8, art. 384 (30 April): Saumur 1597.
[144] *ibid.*, p. 517, art. 351.
[145] *ibid.*, p. 529, art. 389.
[146] See Chapter One, p. 19, fn. 104 for his biography.
[147] Mazarine Ms. 2594, fols. 97 r-99 r: Clairville memorandum Châtellerault 1597-8.
[148] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 34, arts. xxxii-xxxiii.
[149] Edict of Nantes, art. 81. Edict of Nantes, art.77 and particular arts. 50 and 54 pardoned the levy of tolls.
[150] Edict of Nantes, art. 87: levies carried out on private authority would be punished.

funds for Huguenot ministers, academies and colleges and the role of the Huguenot *commis* Viçose and Pallot (the latter named from 1600) in disbursing these funds.[151] The *brevet* of 30 April 1598 provided sums specifically for garrisons. It stated that all strongholds, towns and castles held by Huguenots on 31 August 1597 where there were garrisons according to the royal *état*, would remain in their keep for a period of eight years counting from the day of publication of the edict. For the maintenance of these garrisons, the king granted up to 180, 000 *écus*. Garrisons in Dauphiné would be given 180, 000 *écus* per year separately.[152] Where the sums assigned from the nearest *recette* were insufficient, payment of the remainder would be guaranteed from neighbouring *recettes*. The *état* for the garrisons would be drawn up on the advice of Huguenots, and after having heard Huguenot remonstrances. The *état* for the Dauphiné garrisons would be drawn up on the advice of Lesdiguières.

Payments for Huguenot garrisons appeared on three different kinds of royal *état*: the public *état de l'extraordinaire des guerres* (payments through written orders), the particular *état* (direct payments) and the secret *état* (smaller garrisons receiving a proportion of the funds allocated to a larger, nearby garrison in the *état public*). Because of the manner in which they were paid, the smaller garrisons appearing on the secret *état* were known as *places de mariage*.[153] As very little work has been done in this area,[154] the precise nature of these financial arrangements is still obscure. However, it can be seen from the records of the general assemblies that the *commis* Viçose and Pallot also played a role in disbursing the funds granted by the monarchy for Huguenot garrisons.

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[151] See Chapter Four, pp. 184-6. For Pallot, see Chapter Four, p. 185, fn. 142.

[152] Although Dauphiné had been definitely united to France in 1560, it had some autonomy through its provincial estates, which voted taxes, its *parlement* and *chambre des comptes*. According to J. Garrisson in her edition of the edict of Nantes (Biarritz, Atlantica, 1997, pp. 123-4, fn. 138), this explained why Huguenot garrisons here were given a special status.

[153] For the royal *état* of 14 May 1598, see Arsenal Ms. 6594, fols. 45 r-46 r (copy in Mazarine Ms. 2595, fols. 104 r-106 r). The *état* reproduced in Anquez I, 162-6 is broadly similar, but varies in the detail, notably in the figures given, and it states the proportion of the sum allocated to each garrison that would be paid from the *état secret*. See also the maps by P.-J. Souriac showing strongholds listed in the *états* of 1598 and the amount of royal funds allocated to them, in J. Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes. Chronique d'une paix attendue* (Paris, Arthème Fayard, 1998), pp. 373-4.

[154] The maps by Souriac referred to in the previous footnote are from his master's thesis on 'Les places de sûreté protestantes' (Toulouse-Le-Mirail, 1997). As Toulouse-Le-Mirail university would not lend this thesis, it is to be assumed that this is ongoing work.

The fact that the 1598 settlement stated that Huguenots would be consulted on the drawing up of the *états* entailed that the general assemblies had a close interest in the manner in which the *états* were drawn up. The general assembly at Sainte-Foy instructed the deputies general (15 October 1601) to seek the re-establishment of the *deniers* removed from the garrisons and assist at the *état* drawn up every year, which they would give to the receiver general. They would ensure that valid funds were assigned for garrisons and ministers.[155] The same general assembly sought adequate payment for Huguenot garrisons in Languedoc, as for other garrisons in the kingdom.[156] The assembly also sought adequate payment for Dauphiné and instructed the deputies general to ask that the new *état* for Dauphiné would be negotiated with the churches, rather than with Lesdiguières as previously.[157] While the 1601 general assembly sought to ensure the adequate payment of *places de mariage*,[158] the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 sought clarification about the manner in which garrisons were listed in the three different kinds of *état*.[159] The 1611 general assembly also drew up a 'petit Cahier Contenant lestat des places de sureté'.[160] This reflects both the role that the general assemblies sought to play through the deputies general in the drawing up of the *états*, and a general desire for clarity in the records, which underpins all of the general assemblies' petitions.

In addition, the *cahier* drawn up by the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 asked for the return of funds for garrisons that had been allocated instead to the *petit état* for royal pensions, in order to give a personal payment to governors for their garrisons, thereby removing the necessity of listing these garrisons in the royal *état*. The *cahier* unsuccessfully asked the king for a new fund to be assigned for all the sums that had been reduced or not

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[155] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 728, 731-2. Anquez I, 205: the assembly pointed out in vain that the initial 180, 000 *écus* had fallen in 1601 to 50, 000 *écus*. Mazarine Ms. 2595, fol. 370 r-v, art. i: *cahier* answered on 24 March and 13 April 1602.
[156] Arsenal Ms. 6594, fol. 67 v, art. i: *cahier* presented by the deputy Colladon.
[157] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 732: instruction for the deputies general (Sainte-Foy, 15 October 1601). These petitions were reiterated in the *cahier* of the assembly, answered on 24 March and 13 April 1602 (Mazarine Ms. 2595, fols. 370 v-371 r, art. 2). The reply stated that the garrisons of Dauphiné were included in the general *état* for garrisons in the province.
[158] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601.
[159] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 209 r-v: Saumur 1611.
[160] *ibid.*, fols. 217 r, 218 v.

paid from 1598. The reply stated that garrisons for Huguenots and Catholics had been reduced in the same degree, as peace in the kingdom no longer justified the terms applicable at the end of the conflicts. The *petit état* would on the contrary be augmented.[161] In view of the request in the 1611 *cahier*, it may be surprising that restitution of pensions was one of the aims of the alliance between Huguenots and the Catholic prince of Condé in 1615.[162] Total royal expenditure on pensions to Huguenots as shown by the *petit états* was greater in 1616 than it was in 1610, although a reduction of 22, 500 *livres* was made in the *petit état* of 17 October 1616 (for the last two financial quarters of that year). This reduction had been made to pay half of the 46, 000 *livres*, which had been given to increase the pay of Huguenot garrisons at the conference for peace at Loudun in 1616.[163] The provincial assembly at Loudun in September 1619 complained that pensions on the *petit état* were gradually being reduced,[164] suggesting that the increasing number of Huguenots included on the *petit état* were then left short as they came to rely on this source of income.

The general assemblies repeatedly complained about the work of Pallot, who acted as Viçose's receiver general. Although the assemblies' records do not provide full information, they do highlight two principal problems: the difficulty in ensuring payment from royal receivers and disagreement about the commissions that Pallot and other receivers took to carry out their work. Pallot had declared to the national synod at Jargeau that he was unable to deliver the sums promised by the edict of Nantes for ministers and garrisons.[165] The general assembly held at Sainte-Foy (from 16 October 1601) decided to remove Pallot from his office, following allegations of misappropriation of funds made by the deputies and by governors. The sieur Audoyer was elected in his place to begin on 1 January 1602; if he

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[161] Arsenal Ms. 3135, pp. 798-800, arts. 46-8: Saumur 1611 *cahier*.
[162] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fol. 73 v, art. 8.
[163] The *petit état* for the whole year of 1610 promised 87, 500 *livres* (Mazarine Ms. 2596), and for the last two financial quarters of 1616 (July and October) it promised 69, 800 *livres* (Mazarine Ms. 2598). While 29 recipients were listed in 1610, 82 were listed in 1616. In 1616, the manuscript actually gives 64, 900 *livres* as a total. Perhaps the global amount was set before individual pensions, which together amounted to more.
[164] B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 94 r: Loudun 1619 provincial assembly.
[165] Haag III, 357-8.

refused, or could not accept, the sieur Arnaud, a *trésorier de France*,[166] would fulfill this office, and in his stead, the sieur de la Peirière. They would be required to follow the regulation drawn up by the assembly. A memorandum of the complaints made against Pallot would be drawn up, which the deputies general to be chosen at this assembly would take to court.[167] Deputies present at Châtellerault and Saumur after the edict of Nantes (and who had supported Pallot) were asked to send memoranda to the sieurs d'Odenoud and du Claux Hardy in Paris, which would account for the excessive payments that members of these assemblies had required Pallot to make. Both d'Odenoud and du Claux Hardy had in fact been deputies at Châtellerault and Saumur; d'Odenoud became representative at court for the Huguenot churches in May 1601.[168] It appears that d'Odenoud and du Claux Hardy were simply charged with collecting and holding the memoranda that acted as supporting evidence. The general assemblies had used this mechanism in other contexts.[169] Deputies at Châtellerault and Saumur had ordered that half of the *deniers* destined for the churches would remain in a suspense account with Pallot. Without any real clarification, the *procès-verbal* states that the general assembly now disavowed this measure, as Pallot had already taken his five-percent commission when making payments. This perhaps reflected a suspicion that Pallot would levy a further, excessive commission. The sieur des Fontaines[170] was elected by the assembly to ensure that Pallot submitted his accounts. Plans to give des Fontaines a monthly salary from the royal funds allocated for ministers and governors met with opposition from the sieurs du Bourg and de Lusignan,[171] on behalf of the governors of Haute-Guyenne and Basse-Guyenne respectively. They possibly saw this salary as setting a

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[166] Haag I, 130: possibly Claude Arnaud, who died in May 1603, and who was like his brother David a *commis aux finances* under Sully. When he died Claude Arnaud was also a *conseiller*, *notaire* and *secrétaire du roi* and a *trésorier-général de France* in the generality of Paris.

[167] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 737: instruction for the deputies general (15 October 1601): they would also ask the king to deliver letters of provision for Audoyer.

[168] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7192, fol. 243 r: Saumur 1599-1601. Du Claux Hardy was a deputy for Ile-de-France, Picardie and Champagne. For d'Odenoud, see Chapter Two, p. 86.

[169] See Chapter Three, pp. 142-3 for the collection in 1595 of memoranda on *parlements* that had given cause for complaint, and Chapter Three, pp. 147-8 for memoranda on Catholic clergy that had converted to Protestantism and on Huguenot ministers falsely accused of having converted to Catholicism (1601).

[170] For des Fontaines, see Chapter One, p. 24, fn. 140, Chapter Two, p. 72 and Chapter Three, pp. 112-3, 151-2.

[171] See Chapter One, p. 17, fn. 91 for his biography.

precedent for a further diminution of these funds.[172] The deputies general chosen at Sainte-Foy were also instructed (15 October 1601) to compel Pallot to submit his accounts and to pay the sums due. The deputies general would exercise the same oversight over all other receivers henceforth charged with the *deniers* for the churches 'selon L'advis qu'ilz en auront des assemblées generalles'.[173]

As royal funds were involved, the monarchy also sent *commissaires* to oversee Pallot's accounts. Pallot's account for 1598 and the next three years was examined and closed by the *conseillers d'état* Maupeou and Beaumarchais, sent by the king on 10 April 1602. Gilles de Maupeou, a Huguenot who converted to Catholicism in 1600, was one of three *intendants des finances* immediately below Rosny, who was *surintendant des finances* from about 1599.[174] It could be argued that as these royal officials were responsible to Rosny, the Huguenots had some influence in the verification of these accounts. An extract from this particular account states that Pallot was entitled to retain 3, 319 *écus* 33 *sous* 6 *deniers* for the expenses incurred in the delivery of 66, 391 *écus* 30 *sous* over these three years. However, as Pallot had already received this when paying several individuals, he would only be given 1, 544 *écus* 35 *sous* which were still owed to him.[175]

The national synod at Gap (1603) relieved Pallot of his office and replaced him with *maître* Isaac du Candal, a royal *conseiller*, secretary and notary.[176] In a letter to Loumeau, a minister at La Rochelle (26 June 1604) the deputy general Josias Mercier, sieur des Bordes et de Grigny, wrote 'J'espère qu'il ne vous donnera pas tant de peine que son prédecesseur'.[177]

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[172] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Sainte-Foy 1601.

[173] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 728.

[174] Haag VII, 338-9: Gilles de Maupeou, sieur d'Abliges et de Villeneuve, was also a *contrôleur général des finances* by 1614. D. Buisseret, *Sully and the growth of centralized government in France 1598-1610* (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968), pp. 57, 69, 71, 88. The principal task of these *intendants* was to communicate with the *bureaux des finances*.

[175] Mazarine Ms. 2595, fols. 394 v-396 r. This includes an act of the general assembly at Saumur (17 June 1600), stating that the assembly agreed to Pallot taking a commission from the *deniers* for the garrisons and the churches that he delivered, as he had not beeen provided with wages to cover his expenses. This copy was collated with the original by Josias Mercier (9 April 1604).

[176] Haag III, 357-8: Isaac du Candal, sieur de Fontenailles. He was also entitled to a five-percent commission.

[177] 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles', ed. G. Musset, *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 55-6, number ix. A few days previously, des Bordes Mercier had sent Loumeau a letter from du Candal, in which he asked to whom the *deniers*

Du Candal was Viçose's new deputy; Viçose was still principal *commis* and Henri IV renewed his *brevets* and commissions on 29 April 1603 and 8 April 1604.[178]

At the general assembly held at Châtellerault in 1605, Pallot still sought reimbursement for sums that were owed to him, despite his removal from office. He asked that he should be allowed to keep 10, 800 *livres* that he still held, as a reimbursement for the sums advanced by him in 1599. The assembly decided that Pallot would distribute the 10, 800 *livres* that he still owed to its deputies and to the governors or their *procureurs*, according to the list established by the royal *commissaires*. On this condition, and once he had delivered three quarters of the sums owed to ministers for 1603, he was allowed to reimburse himself from the royal written orders for payment that he still held from his years in office (dating from before 1603). The assembly ordered Pallot to submit his account in the time given him by the *commissaires*. He would then give the orders still to be paid and the receipts to those named by the assembly, in order to be discharged.[179] This illustrates both the length of time that it took to ensure the payment of garrisons and ministers (in this case two years) and the particular problems faced by the assembly in ensuring that Pallot submitted his accounts. In some cases, the payment of garrisons took longer. The assembly decided that the sums owed the sieur de Bretauville, governor of Pons,[180] for his garrison for 1598, would be given preference when distributing the proceeds from the written order for 6, 535 *écus* to be levied from Texier, the royal receiver at Limoges. For sums outstanding from 1599 and 1600, Bretauville would also be paid preferentially, as the king had ordered, from the *deniers* that remained to be levied from the written orders for that year.[181] However, Bretauville's son petitioned the general assembly at Saumur in 1611 for arrears due to his father by Pallot.[182]

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for Huguenots in La Rochelle would be disbursed. The editor describes du Candal as 'commissaire ordinaire et provincial de l'extraordinaire en Guienne'. See Chapter Two, p. 69, fn. 101 for des Bordes' biography.

[178] Mazarine Ms. 2595, fols. 509 r-510 r (*brevet* of 8 April 1604). Cf. Mazarine Ms. 2595, fol. 513 r: letter from Henri IV to de Fresnes in favour of Viçose.

[179] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 760, 761-2: Châtellerault 1605.

[180] See Chapter Five, p. 247, fn. 232 for his biography.

[181] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 759, 762.

[182] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fol. 212 r: Saumur 1611.

Others worked as *commis* for Pallot, and the general assemblies also sought to exercise some oversight over them. In response to a complaint from Montauban, the general assembly in 1605 sent the unspecified case of the *commis* for Haut-Languedoc to the national synod.[183] At the general assembly held at Jargeau from 1 October 1608, *maître* Jehan Dugon, a *commis* for Pallot, presented himself on Pallot's behalf, asking that the assembly ratify several petitions and a statement of sums that he claimed were owed to the churches by the receivers general. The assembly reiterated that the king had commissioned Maupeou, Beaumarchais and Pontcarré to examine the accounts. At the same time, the sieur du Pradel, an *avocat* in the *conseil privé*, proposed that he could exercise the general commission for the *deniers* on more favourable terms than du Candal (Pallot's successor) did. The assembly confirmed du Candal in his office.[184]

iii. From the accession of Louis XIII to 1622

Sully was removed from his position as *surintendant des finances* in 1611. The commissions granted to Viçose by Henri IV were however confirmed by Louis XIII on 18 January 1611 with the same terms and conditions as previously.[185] The deputies general and the general assemblies still sought to exercise some oversight over Huguenot accounts. The matter concerning Pallot remained unresolved; the deputies general were charged with pursuing the case at court and were responsible for presenting the supporting evidence. A letter written from his home by the deputy general Mirande to his colleague Villarnoul on 1 February 1611, gives an insight into the manner in which the deputies general managed the documents used as supporting evidence:

> 'Quant aux pièces de la poursuite du sieur Palot [sic.], je suis trompé ou vous les trouverez en mon coffre de fer, parmi les liaces qui concernent ceste affaire, et si vous ne les trouvez là, elles seront dans le sac de velours noir que j'ai accoutumé de faire porter avec moy, ou dans mon cabinet, duquel la servante vous mettra en main la clef'.[186]

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[183] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 764: Châtellerault 1605. This *commis* had perhaps been named by Huguenots in accordance with the provisions of the 3 April 1598 *brevet*.
[184] B.P.F. Ms. 711: Jargeau 1608. Haag III, 357-8: two people named Rocheblave and Ricard also tried to supplant du Candal.
[185] Mazarine Ms. 2596.
[186] 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVIe et XVIIe siècles', ed. G. Musset, *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 78, number xviii.

At the general assembly that opened at Saumur in May 1611, Villarnoul and Mirande gave their copies of the accounts drawn up by Pallot and related documents to their successors Rouvray and La Milletière.[187] The controversy surrounding Pallot was only finally resolved by the synod at Charenton in 1631.[188]

The *procès-verbal* of the 1611 general assembly reflects a continued concern to resolve difficulties in the payment of individual garrisons. For example, on 2, 18 and 20 June 1611, the assembly heard complaints from the deputies for the town of Marvejols and for Bas-Languedoc against the sieur de Picheron, presumably governor of Marvejols.[189] The complaint is not specified in the *procès-verbal*, but it could have been about maladministration of the funds reserved for the garrison.[190] The assembly also heard the report from the sieur de Haumont, a deputy for Anjou at this assembly,[191] who was commissioned to verify documents relating to this matter. The assembly decided that the town's petitions would be inserted into the general *cahier* and ordered du Candal to pay the *deniers* for the town henceforth to the Huguenot consuls and not to Picheron. Other complaints against Picheron were sent to the next provincial assembly of Bas-Languedoc, where it was decided that he had to present himself on pain of being declared a deserter from the union of the churches. The assembly ordered du Candal to pay the first quarter of the present year to the town's deputies (who were present at the general assembly) on condition that they promised to bring back receipts from the Huguenot consuls.[192] This shows both that some payments

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[187] Mazarine Ms. 2608, fols. 202 v-203 r: Saumur 1611. For Rouvray and La Milletière, see Chapter Two, p. 84, fns 202 and 203.
[188] The synod asked for 20, 000 *livres*, while Pallot claimed he was owed money by the churches. It was finally decided that Pallot owed 8, 000 *livres*, which he paid to du Candal.
[189] A sieur de Picheron is listed in the petits *états* in 1610 (Mazarine Ms. 2596) and 1616 (Mazarine Ms. 2598).
[190] In his *Discours* addressed to the 1611 general assembly, the duke of Rohan charged that royal funds allocated for the garrisons were used instead by their governors and captains to acquire land and furniture. See *Discours politiques du duc de Rohan, Faits en divers temps sur les affaires qui se passaient*. Cy-devant non-Imprimez. (n.p., 1646), p. 18.
[191] Haag V, 436-7: Bernard de Haumont, a *conseiller* and *avocat du roi* with the *sénéchal* at Saumur. Haumont was also a deputy for Anjou at the general assembly at Jargeau in 1608.
[192] B.N.F. fr. 10208, fols. 206 r, 215 r-v, 217 r-v: Saumur 1611.

were made during the course of the general assemblies, and that du Candal was present at this general assembly in order to effect this payment.

On 29 February 1612, the king gave du Candal a *brevet* for the receipt and administration of the 45, 000 *écus* (in the *brevet* of 3 April 1598) and of the 100, 000 *livres* granted as an increase to Huguenots, presumably to make up for shortfalls in previous payments. For the monies already granted by Henri IV, du Candal acted in lieu of Viçose. It is unclear whether Viçose continued to play any role, for the 1612 *brevet* stated that du Candal would enjoy the same terms as Viçose, on condition that he paid each year 1, 000 *livres* to Viçose, and 2, 000 *livres* to the sieur Armet (whose role is also unclear), so long as the king's subsidies to the Huguenots lasted.[193] The *conseillers d'état* Pontcarré, Maupeou, Bullion[194] and Beaumarchais were given a new commisson to examine and close the accounts of du Candal for that year on 29 December 1613, with the same power as the king in his council.[195]

During the uprisings of 1614-5, there were again forcible levies in the parishes. Commissions were delivered by the Catholic prince of Condé.[196] The divisions within the Huguenot party on whether to support the uprisings[197] were reflected in attitudes to these levies. An ordinance published by du Plessis Mornay, royal governor and lieutenant in Saumur, with the president, lieutenant and *élus* of the town (29 October 1615) stated that the *procureur du roi* considered both those who had seized the *deniers* and the collectors involved guilty of *lèse-majesté*.[198] Some of the levies took place because payments for

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[193] Mazarine Ms. 2597.

[194] See Chapter Two, p. 82, fn. 190.

[195] Mazarine Ms. 2597. The regulations of 5 and 9 February 1611, drawn up after the departure of Sully, replaced the position of *surintendant des finances* with a *Direction*, made up of three *conseillers d'état*, which reported to the *Conseil des finances*. They were assisted by three *intendants des finances*, one of whom was still Maupeou. See R. Mousnier, 'Le Conseil du Roi de la mort de Henri IV au gouvernement personnel de Louis XIV', *Etudes d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, I (1947), 30.

[196] For an example of a commission for the *élection* of Noyon (7, 25 September 1615), detailing the manner in which the seizure of funds took place, see *Négociations lettres et pièces relatives à la conférence de Loudun*, ed. L. Bouchitté (Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1872), pp. 227-9, number lxxxvii.

[197] See Chapter Two, pp. 84-5 and Chapter Five, pp. 209-10.

[198] *Ordonnance de Monsieur de Plessis Mornay, Gouverneur de Saumur, & des Esleus dudit lieu. Pour courir sus aux rebelles qui veulent prendre les Tailles & deniers du Roy. [...]* (Paris, Abraham Saugrain, 1615)

garrisons had not been made.[199] A request had specifically been made for payment for the town and territory of Sedan.[200] At the same time, the November 1615 articles stated that all monetary levies would be sanctioned by Condé. The assembly would attempt to have the commissions delivered for this purpose converted to titles of office by the peace treaty.[201] Claims for better payment of *places de mariage* could have repercussions for the strongholds to which they were tied for payment in the *états*. A letter (31 March 1616) to du Plessis Mornay from Villeray, one of the deputies for Anjou at the general assembly at La Rochelle, highlights the claim made by de Bellefontaine, captain of the castle at Châtillon-en-Vaudelais, for full payment of his garrison of twelve men. The matter concerned du Plessis Mornay because Châtillon-en-Vaudelais was a *place de mariage* tied to Saumur. Villeray asked du Plessis Mornay to send memoranda 'pour parer à ces demandes, qu'elles ne vous nuïse'. The matter was apparently settled the following day.[202] Article 10 of the *cahier* presented by the Huguenots to the king at Poitiers (1616) asked that they be allowed to nominate a receiver for the *deniers* destined for them, to lessen costs. The king answered that Viçose and du Candal would first need to be consulted.[203]

The general assembly at Loudun (1619-20) persisted in requesting financial support for specific garrisons from the king. The first *cahier* of the assembly asked for an *état* of *places de sûreté*, *places de mariage*, and *places* in Dauphiné, similar to that sent in 1598. The reply (18 May 1620) stated that these were drawn up by du Candal at the beginning of every

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[199] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 72 v-73 r, art. 6: articles sent by the general assembly at Nîmes to Condé for an alliance with him (27 November 1615).

[200] *Extraict du cahier de l'Assemblée des Eglises Reformées de France, tenant par la permission du Roy en sa ville de Grenoble, presenté à sa Majesté à Tours, par les Deputez de ladiee* [sic.] *Assemblée le 28. Aoust, 1615* (n.p., n.d.), p. 6, art. 20. *Articles presentez par Monseigneur le Prince, aux deputez de sa Majesté à la Conference de Loudun* (n.p., n.d.), p. 6, art. 25. The duke of Bouillon continued to press for this support from the assemblies after 1616, as the town was under threat of siege. Provincial assemblies also responded favourably. See B.P.F. Ms. 446[1], fols. 19 r-20 r: extract from the *procès-verbal* of the mixed assembly for Haute-Guyenne and Haut-Languedoc (Figeac, 20-8 February 1617). B.P.F. Ms. 526, fol. 94 v: Loudun September 1619 provincial assembly. See also B.N.F. fr. 20960, fol. 140 v: 'Advis de monsieur de Bouillon a lassemblee porté par le s[ieu]r de la forest' (Loudun 1619-20).

[201] B.N.F. fr. 3850, fols. 74 r–75 r, arts. 11-2.

[202] 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVI[e] et XVII[e] siècles', *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 93-5, number xxxix. The letter ended in a coded line stating that the courier had a separate memorandum.

[203] B.N.F. 3850, fols. 21 v-22 r.

year; for Dauphiné, the same procedure as before would be followed.[204] The request for an *état* for Dauphiné was reiterated in the *cahier* presented to the king at Fontainebleau (15 April 1621), which also requested valid funds to be assigned for the *deniers* granted by the king for garrisons.[205] On 10 May 1621, the general assembly at La Rochelle also drew up an *arrêt* for the seizure of *deniers* for self-defence, which was implemented by the provincial assemblies. For example, the provincial assembly at Montpellier gave the count of Coligny and seigneur de Châtillon[206] a commission (10 June 1621) for this 'soubz Lauctorité de sa Ma.[jes]te et benefice de ses edictz'. The *commissaires* sent by Châtillon and the assembly would be given all registers, documents and receipts.[207]

The general assemblies were clearly aided by the ability to rely on the existing mechanisms for royal revenue collecting, but faced significant difficulty in financing Huguenot military commitments throughout this period. The debates over the repayment of mercenary troops reinforce two important points that are implicit throughout the general assemblies' *procès-verbaux*. The first is the clear acknowledgement of objections or differences of opinion between deputies; the second is the need expressed by deputies to obtain the consent of the churches that had sent them in order to agree to particular measures. However, the *procès-verbaux* show that these particular debates took this further by indicating the willingness of deputies to argue and even leave proceedings. Deputies also argued that participation in levies had to be proportional to the number of Huguenots residing in their provinces. Opposition to rebates granted to some provinces entailed that debts could not be promptly repaid. Faced by claims for reimbursement for sums forwarded to the cause, the general assemblies repeatedly stressed the lack of funds held by the churches. Debts left outstanding after about thirty years, for instance in the case of La Rochelle and the Clervant

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[204] Mazarine Ms. 2598, art. iiii.
[205] B.N.F. fr. 20621, fol. 6 r: La Rochelle 15 April 1621 *cahier*.
[206] See Chapter One, p. 37, fn. 220 for his biography.
[207] B.N.F. N.a.f. 7197, fols. 88 r-89 r. Signed by Châtillon, sealed with his arms, and countersigned by du Marne.

family, were eventually met by levies in La Rochelle or by reimbursement from the monarchy. The possibility of relying on royal expenditure was however limited, and promises by the monarchy to provide financial support for the garrison towns allowed for the security of Huguenots could not always be fulfilled. Seizures of royal taxes were in fact a common practice during this period because of the limitations of royal finances. The appointment of Huguenot royal officers to oversee the disbursement of royal funds for Huguenot garrisons after 1598 arguably gave Huguenots some voice in this process. Subsequent debates over the role and efficiency of the *commis* provide a good example of the growing institutionalisation of the assemblies' activities, and this probably enabled them to win more funds from the monarchy that partially made up for growing shortfalls. If the general assemblies did face financial difficulties, they were no worse than those of their contemporaries. In fact, it can be argued that it was the assemblies' success within the context of their own time that provoked increasing dissatisfaction. The assumption of authority by the final general assembly at La Rochelle in part triggered the royal campaigns that began a period of internal conflict in the 1620s, only ending with the peace of Alès in 1629.

CONCLUSION

The deputies at the general assembly at Loudun (1619-20) had some justification in stating in a letter to the provinces on 18 January 1620: 'Nous n'avons point d'autre voye publique pour efficacement agir, que celle de nos assemblées'.[1] From 1579 to 1620, the Huguenots had held twenty-one general assemblies, over half of these during periods of internal conflict, and had established themselves as credible interlocutors with the monarchy.

The strength of the general assemblies lay in their ability to act as one institution and as a credible *corps*. Those deputies who sought admittance to the assemblies and a vote in its proceedings were required to swear the oath of union; from about 1596, provinces were asked to include a promise to ratify the resolutions of the general assemblies in the commissions they gave to their deputies. Deputies were frequently late or failed to attend; members of provincial councils were accused of 'froideur', but the threat of removal from the union of the churches was used to recall them to duty. Since deliberations and voting did not take place by social order, as they did in the Estates General, it cannot be argued that the predominance of a particular social order was able to directly influence proceedings in the general assemblies. Again, the negotiations that preceded the edict of Nantes always took place by committee. The *procès-verbaux* do not reveal how decisions were reached; they do reveal opposition to particular measures and record disagreements. However, even the strong opposition at Montauban in 1579 and 1584 to planned levies for the payment of mercenary troops was founded on deputies' insistence that they should follow the instructions given them by their provinces and obtain their consent to new levies.

A permanent representative at court was first established by the general assembly at Montauban in 1579. Both this, the fact that the word 'compagnie' to designate the assembly first appears in this *procès-verbal* and that this assembly was prepared to legally commit itself to reimbursing sums claimed by the prince of Condé suggest that the assembly viewed itself

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[1] Arsenal Ms. 4650, fol. 116 r. Printed version in *Lettres de l'assemblée de Loudun, envoyées aux Provinces* (n.p., 1620). Copy dated 15 January in B.N.F. N.a.f. 7195, fols. 261 r-265 v.

as having a legal personality. From 1601, the general assemblies were allowed by royal *brevets* in order to choose those who would act as deputies general at court. The deputies general attended the *conseil d'état* and were given royal responses to the assemblies' *cahiers*. Petitions in the assemblies' *cahiers* were framed by the terms of the edicts of pacification and documents drawn up by the assemblies constantly referred to established royal edicts and ordinances. Reference to royal laws and precedents was also made when presenting cases to the *commissaires* for the implementation of the edict and to the *chambres de l'édit*. In order to support their cases, the general assemblies repeatedly insisted on accurate documentation and attached great care to record keeping. They organised the collection of memoranda, for instance on infringements by the *parlements* and on decisions made during the controversy over the *commis* Pallot. Documents were carefully copied, inventoried and stored.

If surviving documents had allowed it, it would have been valuable to see how far the petitions and *cahiers* actually brought to the general assemblies were represented in its proceedings and in its *cahiers*. Glimpses of the discussions that took place outside the formal sessions of the assemblies can be found in the correspondence and memoirs of those who attended the assemblies, and these reveal greater ambivalence than the clear-cut measures outlined in the *procès-verbaux*. The opposition to the deputation of 'Croquant' peasants at Sainte-Foy in 1594 and subsequent support for antifiscal assemblies in Saintonge in 1595 is one notable instance of this. Yet the general assemblies were not élitist: their *cahiers* raised many individual cases concerning people who were not high-ranking, wealthy or powerful. The case of the Catholic daughter of a notary in Bordeaux named Castaigne who had died in a Huguenot home, and was therefore denied burial in the town's public cemetery is one such example. Although it may seem surprising that a Huguenot general assembly defended the rights of Catholics, the 1594 *cahier* argued that right to burial was founded on 'le droit des gens'.[2] It is also possible that some Catholic merchants were subject to regulations produced by the general assemblies.[3] Extensive provisions on charity for refugees and the destitute,

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[2] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29[3], art. 14. See Chapter Four, pp. 175-6.
[3] See Chapter Four, p. 200.

generally thought to be the preserve of synods, consistories and deacons, as well as measures to protect those in towns and in the countryside from the depredations of troops, also provide strong evidence of the general assemblies' wider concerns. These concerns raise the assemblies above sectional interests and give an indication of the practical effect that their measures could have had in the localities.

Why did the general assemblies lose influence in the long term? The oaths required of members of the *chambres de l'édit* and of governors, with increasingly stringent penalties towards 1619-20, and the general assemblies' rules for the resignation of these offices, appear to be responsible for the loss of some support for the assemblies from these groups. Although claims for compensation (for sums forwarded for the levy of troops, for loss of property or of offices) were presented to the general assemblies throughout this period, the monarchy increasingly provided benefits and incentives (often in return for conversions), drawing prominent Huguenots away from the assemblies.

More importantly, the manner in which the general assemblies responded to tension under Louis XIII allowed their opponents to represent them as being a state within a state. The growing refusal of deputies at the general assemblies from 1611 to separate before royal answers to the *cahiers* had been received increasingly invited the response that royal answers were a concession to be gratefully received and not to be extorted from the monarchy.[4] The decision made by the general assembly at Loudun (1619-20) to reconvene within six months if promises made by the crown were not fulfilled represented a further challenge to the monarchy. The final and twenty-second general assembly convened at La Rochelle in 1620 without a royal *brevet*. The general assemblies had also compromised themselves by opposition to the reappropriation of ecclesiastical property in Béarn (1611, 1617) and by association with the uprising of the prince of Condé in 1615. The seizure of royal taxes in 1596, 1615 and 1621, although not specific to Huguenots, further challenged royal authority.

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[4] See for example *Harangue faicte de la part du roy par les sieurs du Maine, Conseiller au Conseil d'Estat de sa Maiesté, & Gentilhomme ordinaire de sa Chambre, & Marescot Conseiller & Secretaire de sa Maiesté. A Messieurs les deputez de la religion pretendue reformee, assemblez à Lodun* [sic.] *par permission du Roy [...]* (Paris, Pierre Ramier, 1620), p. 6.

Anquez thought that the decision by the final general assembly at La Rochelle to take up arms in May 1621 in particular justified charges of constituting a state within a state.[5] This assembly assumed for the first time the authority to deliver commissions for the levy of troops (authenticated by a seal that it adopted), to make commitments for mercenary troops and to establish an independent admiralty court at La Rochelle. The crown's desire to isolate this final general assembly is seen in several royal declarations during this period.[6] The oath of fidelity imposed by declaration in the Paris *parlement* (14 June 1621),[7] the general pardon for Dauphiné (February 1622),[8] particular treaties with towns such as Sainte-Foy (May 1622)[9] and the peace of Montpellier in October 1622[10] all stipulated disassociation from the assembly at La Rochelle as a condition of peace. The fact that there were no more general assemblies after this can be seen as a testament to the monarchy's success in taking these measures.

Anquez argued that Huguenots ought to have tried to win over public opinion by moderate behaviour and the great services they rendered to the country, rather than rely on physical force, although this might have been the only route open to them within the limits of their own time.[11] How far 'public opinion' existed before the eighteenth century is debatable;[12] the relative availability of printing presses during the conflicts (Catholic presses dominated from about 1567)[13] and low literacy levels further limited the manner in which

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[5] Anquez I, 449-50.

[6] See for instance the *Ordonnance generale faicte Par Monsieur le Duc d'Espernon, En toutes les Villes de son Gouvernement. Pour l'observation des Commandements du Roy* (Suivant la coppie Imprimée, à Paris, Et à Xaintes, Par Samuel Crespon, 1621), pp. 8-9. Sutherland, 'The Huguenots and the Edict of Nantes 1598-1629' in *Huguenots in Britain and their French Background* (1987), p. 165. A. James, 'Huguenot militancy and the seventeenth-century wars of religion', R. Mentzer and A. Spicer, (eds.), *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559-1685* (Cambridge, C.U.P., 2002), pp. 216-7.

[7] See B.N.F. fr. 20621, fols. 48 r-49 r, 50 r-v for the oaths taken at the *bailliage* of 'Saint Jean de l∞[u]e' (most likely Saint-Jean-de-Losne in the Côte d'Or) (25-6 June 1621).

[8] B.P.F. Ms. 816[1], 2[e] Dossier.

[9] 'Traité du roi Louis XIII avec les habitants de Sainte-Foy touchant la reddition de cette place. 1622', ed. A. Mercat, *B.S.H.P.F.*, 9 (1860), pp. 131, 133.

[10] B.N.F. fr. 3821, fol. 23 r: peace of Montpellier, 20 October 1622.

[11] Anquez I, 168, 191-2. L. Anquez, *Un nouveau chapitre de l'histoire politique des réformés de France (1621-1626)* (Paris, Auguste Durand, 1865), xxx.

[12] L. Racaut, 'The Cultural Obstacles to Religious Pluralisms in the Polemic of the French Wars of Religion', in K. Cameron, M. Greengrass and P. Roberts (eds.), *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France. Papers from the Exeter Conference, April 1999* (Bern, Oxford, Peter Lang, 2000), p. 123. M. Wolfe, 'Henry IV and the Press', in A. Pettegree, P. Nelles and P. Conner (eds.), *The Sixteenth-Century Religious Book* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2001), p. 177.

[13] A. Pettegree, P. Nelles and P. Conner (eds.), *The Sixteenth-Century Religious Book* (2001), p. 16.

texts could be disseminated. However, there is some evidence that during the reign of Henri IV wider audiences were reached because of an increase in the volume of materials printed, the frequency with which these were discussed (noted by memorialists) and the increasing concern of royal officials to regulate or manipulate this.[14] In his book on *Hatred in Print* (2002), L. Racaut argued that 'the French Wars of religion were lost and won by the ability of Catholics and Huguenots to create and to block competing narratives and representations of each other'.[15]

General assemblies between 1595 and 1597 did in fact encourage the writing of histories and discourses by deputies who attended; they named deputies to review these texts, and made arrangements for their printing and dissemination. They aimed to support and defend the position they took vis-à-vis the monarchy during these years. Examples include a history by the sieur de la Motte,[16] a *discours* by the sieur de La Primaudaye,[17] and a *discours* by du Plessis Mornay.[18] The Huguenot Jean de Serres, already well known for his history in Latin of the civil wars (which appeared in 1571, 1575 and 1580, the last covering the wars to 1576) and somewhat notorious from 1594 for his irenic writings, became *historiographe de France* in November 1596. He had attended the general assemblies at Montauban in 1581 and 1584 as a minister and it is possible that his new royal office reinforced awareness of the need for a historical record.[19]

Particularly in the 1590s, political assemblies were also concerned with the restrictions put on Huguenot book printing and selling by the *parlements* and the converse encouragement of Catholic texts to bring popular pressure on Huguenots and support

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[14] M. Wolfe, 'Henry IV and the Press', in *The Sixteenth-Century Religious Book* (2001), p. 195.
[15] L. Racaut, *Hatred in Print. Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity during the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2002), p. 5.
[16] B.P.F. Ms. 710, art. xxxi: Saumur 1595. Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 285, art. 74: Loudun 27 April 1596.
[17] Arsenal Ms. 5411, p. 505, art. 302: Saumur 1597. The *discours* had first been presented at the previous general assembly at Vendôme and corrected as suggested by that general assembly.
[18] *ibid.*, p. 529, art. 389: Saumur 1597: the *discours* would address negotiations for the edict of Nantes and would be printed. Cf. *Mémoires et correspondance de Duplessis-Mornay [...]* (1824-5), I, 302, 303; VI, 257-98, number cxxxv. In addition, his discourse on the religious debate at Fontainebleau was approved by the deputies at Saumur in 1600 and by the ministers. The deputies each made a copy to send to their respective provinces (*ibid.*, I, 373-4).
[19] For Jean de Serres (c. 1540-98), see Haag IX, 263-8 and W. Patterson, 'Jean de Serres and the politics of religious pacification, 1594-8', in D. Baker (ed.), *Church, Society and Politics* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1975), pp. 223-44.

conversions of the nobility.[20] The latter had become an increasingly public phenomenon after the king's conversion in 1593.[21] The second *cahier* to the king by the sieur de Colladon,[22] sent as deputy by the general assembly at Saumur (1600), also complained about books published and sold in Bordeaux such as those entitled *La reprimende* [sic.] *des Ministres* and *Le fouet des Apostats*.[23] This complaint was perhaps made with implicit reference to measures in the edicts of pacification that included the removal of defamatory books or acts against Huguenots.[24] The deputies general also kept abreast of cases of book censorship, as a letter from Mirande to his colleague Villarnoul (13 April 1610) illustrates.[25]

The general assemblies could not however prevent the appearance from 1611 of pamphlets specifically aimed at the assemblies and their activities. Although Sully did not favour representative assemblies,[26] he wrote in a letter (8 August 1611) to the general assembly at Saumur after this removal from power, that:

> 'vous ne debvez poinct tollerer, une Infinité de Libelles qui se font a v[ot]re. desadvantage se [sic.] sont avant Coureurs de mal ne le souffrez poinct faictes en voz Plainctes vous avez veu ce qui a este faict a paris sur v[ot]re assemblée demandez Justice contre les escrivains, [...]'.[27]

A brief survey of the content of some of the pamphlets published against the assemblies between 1611 and 1621 reflects the changing political climate during the regency of Marie de Medici and the first few years of Louis XIII's personal rule. The general style of these pamphlets is populist, seeking to diminish the reputation of the assemblies, and suggesting

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[20] B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 29^3, art. 9 and 'De la Justice et police', art. 6: Sainte-Foy 1594 *cahier*. B.P.F. Ms. 710, number 36: instruction for the deputies to the king at Rouen (15 October 1596). The edicts of Beaulieu (1576, art. 5) and Poitiers (1577, art. 14) allowed the publication of books concerning the reformed religion that had been verified by the *chambres de l'édit.*

[21] Conversions of the nobility were given greater *éclat* by the staged religious debates that preceded them and by published accounts of these events. See M. Reulos, 'Controverses entre catholiques et réformés à l'occasion de conversions (Lesdiguières, mademoiselle de Duras)', in M. Péronnet (ed.), *La Controverse religieuse (XVIe-XIXe siècles). [...]* (2 vols, Université Paul Valéry- Montpellier), I, 179-81, 183.

[22] See Chapter Two, p. 86, fn. 216 for his biography.

[23] Arsenal Ms. 6594, fols. 70 v-71 r, art. 10.

[24] See for instance edict of Nantes, art. 21.

[25] 'Documents sur la réforme en Saintonge et en Aunis. XVIe et XVIIe siècles', ed. G. Musset, *Archives historiques de la Saintonge et de l'Aunis*, XV (1887), 74, number xxv.

[26] Buisseret, D., *Sully and the growth of centralized government in France 1598-1610* (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968), p. 177.

[27] B.N.F. fr. 19570, fols. 486 v-487 r.

that they were aimed at a wider audience.[28] Some were presented as letters written from one Huguenot to another, the better to ridicule the proceedings of the assemblies. One example is the *Copie de la lettre d'un de la religion prétendue réformee, à un autre sur l'assemblée de Saumur* of 1611.[29] Another example is the 'Lettre Envoyee au Sieur de forlambaut [par] le sieur de Chausepierre pour ce qui cest [sic.] Joué a Saulmur depuis le 24.[e] Juing Jusques au Cinq.[uiem]e Juillet'. Strongly influenced by the burlesque in Rabelais, it presents the assembly as a populist institution, advocating war. A sympathetic reference to the Jesuits suggests a possible source for this tract.[30] The *Satyre menipee sur ce qui s'est ioüé à l'assemblee de Saulmeur* (1612) is, despite the title imitating the well-known anti-Leaguer text, in part an expanded version of the 'Lettre Envoyee au Sieur de forlambaut'. It was printed together with a speech made by du Plessis Mornay and the letter from Sully on his forced resignation as *surintendant des finances*, indicating that despite the oaths of secrecy, opponents of the assemblies had little trouble in obtaining their documents.[31] Printing legitimate documents from the assemblies along with spurious accounts could also give credence to the latter, and better support the views of the author. *Le surveillant de Charanton* [sic.]. *A messieurs de l'assemblée generalle convoquée à Saumur.* (1611) is a second example during this period of a pamphlet printed together with the records of a general assembly: it is also accompanied by the same speech by du Plessis Mornay and the letter from Sully. This pamphlet stated that the deputies should submit themselves to the laws of the prince, '& ne vous imaginez pas que votre assemblée soit quelque Senat Romain qui commandoit jadis aux Rois & nations de la terre'. The pamphlet's author argued that after the 1590s, the idea of a

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[28] On the importance of maintaining reputation and on the use of popular genres like the burlesque dialogue in contemporary pamphlets, see R. Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, 3rd ed. (London, Fontana Press, 1997), pp. 201-2.

[29] *Copie de la lettre d'un de la religion prétendue réformée, à un autre sur l'assemblée de Saumur* (Paris, Iean Regnoul, 1611).

[30] B.N.F. fr. 19570, fols. 489 r-492 r, 495 r.

[31] *Satyre menipee sur ce qui s'est ioüé à l'assemblee de Saulmeur, avec la representation des tableaux & enrichissemens des bordeures. Par le sieur de Tantale Ministre de france, addressees aux Ministres d'Allemaigne* (n.p., 1612), pp. 59, 63. Anquez I, 252, fn. 1, mentions this text (and dates it 1613) but does not discuss its content.

union had become negatively associated with the Catholic League.[32] Parodies of Huguenot participation in the Estates General of 1614, portraying them as seeking their private interest in the division of the kingdom rather than the public good, undermined their role there.[33] Parodies were also printed against Condé and the general assembly at Grenoble in 1615, again showing that the authors were aware of the kind of document produced by this assembly.[34]

Pamphlets written against the general assembly at Loudun (1619-20) and the final general assembly at La Rochelle (1620-2) no longer resorted to parody or comedy. In discussing the important debate on when the general assembly at Loudun should separate, a text entitled *Les antipodes pour et contre, [...]* (1620) concluded that the assembly should not remain standing because of the disorder that would ensue if if did:

> 'Dans ces desordres, quelle forme donnerons-nous à l'Estat qu'il faudra former dans l'Estat? Nos grands ne souffrirons iamais l'Aristocratie, la Noblesse abhorre la Democratie, l'Oligarchie se ruinera bie[n]tost de soy-mesme, & de vous conduire en forme de Monarchie vous n'avez plus de prince du sang qui ait interest à l'union, & à qui tous veuillent obeir'.[35]

Divisions of opinion amongst Huguenots are also reflected in these pamphlets. One pamphlet, the *Advertissement a l'assemblee de La Rochelle. Par Abraham Elintus Docteur en Medecine* (1621) was in fact written with the approval of the duke of Bouillon by Daniel Tilenus, a Calvinist minister and professor at the Protestant academy at Sedan. The pamphlet strongly supported absolutist doctrine and rejected perceived 'republicanism' in the assembly.[36]

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[32] *Le surveillant de Charanton* [sic.]. *A messieurs de l'assemblée generalle convoquée à Saumur.* (n.p., 1611), pp. 12, 14-5.
[33] *Copie de la Harangue faicte en la presence du Roy à l'enttee* [sic.] *des Estats, Par les Deputez de la Rochelle, pour les Eglises reformees. Au Raport de Matault.* (n. p., 1615).
[34] *Lettre iustificative d'un deputé de Grenoble à Monsieur le Prince.* (n. p., 1615).
[35] *Les antipodes pour et contre, en l'assemblee tenue par permission du Roy à Loudun és annees 1619. & 1620.* (n. p., 1620), p. 30; cf. p. 18, 34-6. See also the *Advis d'un vieil conseiller d'estat Opinant sur le faict de l'Assemblée de Loudun.* (1620), pp. 3, 4, 8, which was sympathetic to the assembly's refusal to separate in order to ensure implementation of concessions. *Le caier de l'assemblee generale de Loudun, presenté au Roy par Messieurs les Deputez.* (n.p., 1620), pp. 3-6.
[36] *Advertissement a l'assemblee de La Rochelle. Par Abraham Elintus Docteur en Medecine* (Paris, François Iulliot, 1621). pp. 4, 7, 17-8, 20, 26, 28-9. See also J. Clarke, *Huguenot Warrior: the Life and Times of Henri de Rohan, 1579-1638* (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), p. 76. W. Stankiewicz, *Politics and Religion in Seventeenth-Century France. A Study of Political Ideas from the Monarchomachs to Bayle, as Reflected in the Toleration Controversy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1960), p. 84. For Daniel Tilenus (1563-1633), who was from Silesia and came to France in 1590, see Haag IX, 383-7. Tilenus wrote in reaction to the regulation produced by this assembly in May 1621.

In an article on 'The Huguenot Republic and Antirepublicanism in Seventeenth-Century France' (1992), Herman noted that to attack the 'Huguenot republic' was one means through which the image of absolutism was constructed, even after 1629 and 1685. Herman also argued that in the seventeenth century, there was a gradual shift from finding the root cause of republican rebellion in the ambitions of great nobles to a greater emphasis on popular religious fanaticism or enthusiasm.[37] This is borne out by pamphlets specifically aimed at the general assemblies. The *Mercuriale A Messieurs de l'Assemblée de Lodun* [sic.] (1620), for example, began to highlight the influence of Calvinist doctrine and ministers on the general assembly: 'vous vous tenez en corps contre l'intention du Souverain, comme si vous estiez autant de membres détachez, & sans chef'. The assembly had refused to separate before it had received the royal answers to its *cahiers*. The *Mercuriale* referred to Calvin's supposed preference for democracy over monarchy and linked conversions to Catholicism with loyal service to the king.[38] The final general assembly at La Rochelle (1620-2), which convened without a royal *brevet*, was portrayed in printed works as a secessionist institution modelled on those in Holland and the United Provinces. The writer of *Les larmes de Theognide* (1621) charged the assembly with seeking to establish 'une Democratie infame en son Royaume, & par ce moye[n] former un nouveau corps, dans ce corps, [...], & avec contradiction manifeste loger deux corps en un mesme lieu'.[39] In the *Advis salutaires en forme de lettre,* dated 15 March 1621, under the spurious authorship of the 'freres des eglises evangeliques d'Angleterre', parallels were unfavourably drawn with Geneva.[40] A royalist text entitled 'Le Departement du Royaume de France [...]' described all aspects of the regulation drawn up at

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[37] A. Herman, 'The Huguenot Republic and Antirepublicanism in Seventeenth-Century France', *J.H.I.*, 53 (1992), pp. 250, 251, 266, 268.
[38] *La Mercuriale A Messieurs de l'Assemblée de Lodun* [sic.] (Paris, 1620), pp. 6-12, 18, 24.
[39] *Les larmes de Theognide, sur la desolation des eglises reformées de France. A cause des procedures de l'assemblée de la Rochelle, & ses adherants. [...]* (Bordeaux, Simon Millanges, 1621), p. 5.
[40] *Advis salutaires en forme de lettre, donnez par les freres des eglises evangeliques d'Angleterre, à ceux des Eglises Reformées de France. Touchant les troubles & mal'heurs qui s'en vont estre causez par les autheurs de l'Assemblée de la Rochelle, & autres leurs partisans.* (Imprimé, Sur la copie faite à Londres, chez George Bichops, 1621), pp. 4-7, 10-13, 16, 22-3, 34-35, 38-9.

La Rochelle in May 1621 as 'l'establissement d'une Républiq.[ue] formelle dans l'Estat [...] sans y considérer en rien la personne du Roy'.[41]

The assumption of authority by the final general assembly at La Rochelle in part triggered the royal campaigns that began a period of internal conflict in the 1620s, only ending with the peace of Alès in 1629. After the peace of Alès, the national synods named the deputies general, but the synods only met regularly until 1644-5. The twenty-ninth and final national synod was held at Loudun from November 1659 to January 1660.[42] From 1668, petitions and complaints could only be presented through the deputy general, the last of whom was Henri de Ruvigny (1602-89), named by Mazarin in 1653, and associated with his son after 1679.[43]

Although the general assemblies worked as a *corps*, they had never received letters of corporation from the monarchy; they remained ad hoc, susceptible to events and to the manipulation of public opinion through well-aimed pamphlet literature.

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[41] Arsenal Ms. 5411, pp. 44-5.
[42] R. Mousnier, *Les Institutions de la France sous la Monarchie Absolue 1598-1789* (2 vols, Paris, P.U.F., 1974), I, 303.
[43] S. Deyon, *Du loyalisme au refus: les Protestants français et leur député général entre la Fronde et la Révocation* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, Publications de l'Université de Lille III, 1976), pp. 8-9; p. 13, fn. 7.

APPENDIX

Chronology

Leadership of Henri de Navarre, 1576-89

Conflicts and treaties	Principal events	General assemblies
Fifth civil war, Shrove Tuesday 1574- May 1576 (peace of Monsieur, edict of Beaulieu 6 May).	30 May 1574: death of Charles IX. 13 February 1575: coronation of Henri III. 2-5 February 1576: Henri de Navarre escapes from the Louvre.	
Sixth civil war from December 1576-September 1577 (14 September: peace of Bergerac, confirmed by edict of Poitiers on 17 September). 1 January 1577: Henri III revokes edict of Beaulieu.	5 June 1576: manifesto of the Catholic League signed at Péronne. 6 December 1576-2/ 5 March 1577: Estates General at Blois, dominated by the Catholic League.	
February 1579: conference at Nérac develops edict of Poitiers.		3-27 July 1579: Montauban
Seventh civil war, 29 November 1579-26 November 1580 (peace of Fleix). December 1580: conference at Coutras confirms peace of Fleix. Registered at Blois (26 December 1580).		26/ 30 April-24 May 1581: Montauban
		25 June 1582: Saint-Jean-d'Angély assembly closes
31 December 1584: treaty of Joinville between the Guises and Phillip II, reconstituting the Catholic League. 30 March 1585: Péronne manifesto.	10 June 1584: death of the duke of Anjou. Henri de Navarre becomes heir presumptive.	21 August-8 September 1584: Montauban
Eighth civil war, March/April 1585-3 April 1589 truce. Declaration of 4 August 1589 confirms truce. 7 July 1585: treaty of Nemours (registered by the Paris *parlement* on 17-8 July, confirmed in April 1587) removing the crown of Navarre from Henri de Navarre and excluding both him and Condé from the royal succession (by setting aside the Salic Law). It also revokes all the edicts of pacification and prohibits all but the Catholic religion (ministers expelled and Huguenots had to go into exile or convert within six months).	9 September 1585: Sixtus V bull excommunicating Navarre and Condé and removing Navarre from rights of succession to the French crown. 13 May 1588: Henri III forced to leave Paris, following an insurrection the previous day (the 'Day of the Barricades'). 16 October 1588-15/ 6 January 1589: Estates General at Blois. 23-24 December 1588: murder of the duke and cardinal of Guise.	14 November-18 December 1588: La Rochelle[1]

[1] Anquez I, 38-9, states that an assembly was held in March 1588, following military defeats in 1587, without deputies from Dauphiné and Languedoc, but the records for this assembly have not been found and Anquez gives no reference for them.

15 July 1588: edict of Union between Henri III and the Catholic League. Sworn by Henri III on 18 October and proclaimed a fundamental law of the kingdom.		
	1 August 1589: Henri III stabbed by the Dominican Jacques Clément at Saint-Cloud. The king dies the next day. 5 August 1589: the duke of Mayenne and the general council of the Catholic League proclaim the cardinal of Bourbon, uncle of Henri IV, as Charles X. He dies in May 1590 under royal custody.	

Reign of Henri IV, 1589-1610

Conflicts and peace treaties	Principal events	General assemblies
July 1591: letters patent of Mantes revoke the Leaguer edicts of 1585 and 1588 and re-establish the edict of Poitiers (1577) (amended in 1579 and 1580). However, all the royalist *parlements* refuse to implement the edict of 1577.	The royal army briefly besieges Paris in 1589 and in January 1591. In February 1591, a garrison of Spanish troops from the Low Countries is able to install itself in the capital.	
	26 January 1593: Estates General of the Catholic League at Paris, convoked by Mayenne in Paris in order to elect another king, following the death of the cardinal of Bourbon. 25 July 1593: Henri IV abjures his Protestant faith and converts to Catholicism at Saint-Denis. The Estates General of the League are brought to an end.	
	27 February 1594: coronation of Henri IV at Chartres. 27 March 1594: Henri IV enters Paris with his troops.	8 November 1593-23 January 1594: Mantes
November 1594: declaration of Saint-Germain (registered by the Paris *parlement* in February 1595) confers on the edict of pacification of 1577 (and 1579-80 amendments) the status of a *loi d'état*.	Late 1593- September/ October 1595: revolt of the *Croquants*. 29 December 1594: *arrêt* of the Paris *parlement* expels the Jesuits from its jurisdiction. The *parlements* at Rouen and Dijon agree to implement this, but Toulouse and Bordeaux refuse.	18-31 July 1594: Sainte-Foy
17 January 1595: Henri IV declares war with Spain. February 1595: the Paris *parlement* registers the edict of 1577 by three votes; the Rouen *parlement* would do so in February 1597, but both	17 September 1595: absolution of Henri IV at Rome by Clement VIII.	24 February-21 March 1595: Saumur

jurisdictions neglected to implement it.		
		1 April-18 October 1596: Loudun
	4 November 1596-26 January 1597: Assembly of the Notables at Rouen.	23 November 1596-7 February 1597: Vendôme
	11 March 1597: Spanish troops take Amiens.	5 March-2 May 1597: Saumur
20 March: formal submission to the king by the duke of Mercœur, the last leader of the Catholic League to resist. 3 and 30 April 1598: edict of Nantes (ninety-two articles, fifty-six particular articles and two *brevets*) signed with deputies from the general assembly at Châtellerault. 2 May 1598: signing of peace with Spain at Vervins.	19 September 1597: Henri IV retakes Amiens from Spain.	16 June 1597-11 June 1598: Châtellerault Ten deputies are allowed to remain in Saumur until registration of the edict of Nantes by the Paris *parlement*.
25 February 1599: Paris *parlement* registers the edict of Nantes. 15 April 1599: edict of Fontainebleau, re-establishing Catholic worship in Béarn.		24 November 1599-31 May 1601: Saumur
		16-28 October 1601: Sainte-Foy
	1 September 1603: the edict of Rouen re-establishes the Jesuit order where expelled.	
		26 July-9 August 1605: Châtellerault
	1 March-12 April 1607: national synod at La Rochelle.	
		1-16 October 1608: Jargeau
5 August 1609: Rouen *parlement* fully registers the edict of Nantes and publishes it in its *bailliages* in 1611.		

From the accession of Louis XIII to the peace of Montpellier, 1610-22

Conflicts and peace treaties	Principal events	General assemblies
22 May 1610: royal declaration confirms the edict of Nantes.	14 May 1610: assassination of Henri IV. Regency of Marie de Medici. 17 October 1610: coronation of Louis XIII	27 May-10 September 1611: Saumur
24 April 1612: royal declaration of (registered at the Paris *parlement* 25 May) grants a general pardon for those who had convoked and attended 'extraordinary assemblies', prohibited by article 82 of the edict of Nantes.		
	January-October 1614: revolt of the princes against the royal 'Spanish marriages' and the introduction of the decisions of the Council of Trent.	16 July-24 September 1615: Grenoble

	2 October 1614: majority of Louis XIII. 27 October 1614-24 March 1615: Estates General June 1615-February 1616: second revolt of the princes	
	25 November 1615: marriage of Louis XIII and Anne of Austria in Bordeaux.	2 October 1615-4 February 1616: Nîmes. January-February 1616: the assembly sits in Montauban
21 February 1616: conference opens at Loudun. 3 May 1616: peace of Loudun. Ratified by edict of Blois, 6 May 1616, registered by Paris *parlement* on 13 May. Royal declaration of 30 September (registered 25 October) confirms treaty of Loudun and particular articles annexed to it.	20 July 1616: edict of Paris explains that Huguenots were not included in coronation oath to extirpate heretics. 1 September 1616: arrest of the prince de Condé. New revolt of the princes. November 1616-April 1617: Richelieu is Secretary of State	3 March-2 June 1616: La Rochelle. *Brevet* (3 May 1616) allows it to remain until 15 June 1616, while waiting for the registration of the edict for peace and implementation of previous concessions.
	January-April 1617: revolt of the princes. 24 April 1617: murder of the king's favourite Concino Concini, marquis d'Ancre and *maréchal de France*. Beginning of Louis XIII's personal rule.	
	25 June 1617: withdrawal from Huguenots of all ecclesiastical property in Béarn. December 1617-January 1618: Assembly of the Notables at Rouen.	
	February 1619: escape of queen mother. 20 October 1619: prince of Condé freed from prison. 26 February 1620: royal declaration against the general assembly at Loudun (published in the Paris *parlement* on 27 February).	25 September 1619-13 April 1620: Loudun.
July-August 1620: royal military campaign against the queen mother and her supporters. August/ September 1620: Louis XIII launches a military campaign against Huguenots, culminating in the annexation of Béarn in October. 18 April 1621: Louis XIII resumes anti-Huguenot campaign 21 March 1622: Louis XIII resumes anti-Huguenot campaign 20 October 1622: peace of Montpellier. Confirmed in 22 October 1622 articles.	October 1620: reunion of Béarn and France. 22 October 1620: royal declaration stating that the general assembly planned at La Rochelle was illegal. 27 May 1621 (registered 7 June): royal declaration of *lèse-majesté* against La Rochelle assembly and Saint-Jean-d'Angély (and all those who helped them).	25 December 1620-11 November 1622: La Rochelle.

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Ms. 5427 Recueil de pièces manuscrites (Conrart) t. XVIII

Ms. 6594 Registre concernant Les affaires de Ceux de la Religion Des plaintes et autres demandes faites a sa Maiesté, ou est registré premierem[ent] lEdit de Nantes, articles par.[ticuli]ers Cahiers p[rése]ntez au Roy, formulaires, Memoires Instructions, plaintes a sa Ma.[jes]te [et] au[tr]es actes Avec les actes de l'assemblée g[é]n[ér]ale tenüe A Saumur en 1611

Ms. 7463 Recueil Conrart et Milsonneau

Bibliothèque Mazarine

Ms. 2127 Divers Estats Mesmoires, Instructions, Advis Et Procedures Touchant La Ruyne du party huguenot es provinces de dauphiné Languedoc, Sevennes,

Vivarets, hauteguyenne Et Pays de Rouergue Envoies par diverses personnes a M. Tronson Con.[seill]er du Roy En ses Conseils Intendant des finances et Secretaire du Cabinet de sa Maj.[es]te Es années 1624 et 1625 suiva[n]t Lordre et Commandem[en]t. Qui en avoit est [sic.] donne par sad.[ite] Maj.[es]te

MS. 2509 Procès Verbal du Clergé de France de l'année 1560

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Mss. 2604-2613 Assemblées généralles politiques de ceux de la Religion prétendue réformée (1572-1622)

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fr. 3722 Registre de Monsieur Tronçon Secretaire du Cabinet, de Plieusieurs [sic.] Lettres Escrittes de la main du Roy Louys treisiesme A divers Princes, Seigneurs et autres, ez années 1619, 1620, 1621 1622, 1623, 1624, 1625 Et 1626

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Ms. 246 Discours véritable des actions et emportemens de (François de Châtillon) pendant le temps qu'il a été à Milhau, en Rouergue, et de la sédition [...] des habitans [...] Relation composée pour Duplessis-Mornay_ 1587

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cogneu Christ, en icelles aussi l'Eglise. *Aug. De Unit. Ecclesiae.* (Geneva, Matth. Berjon, 1613) *Pour la société Chaldorienne*

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