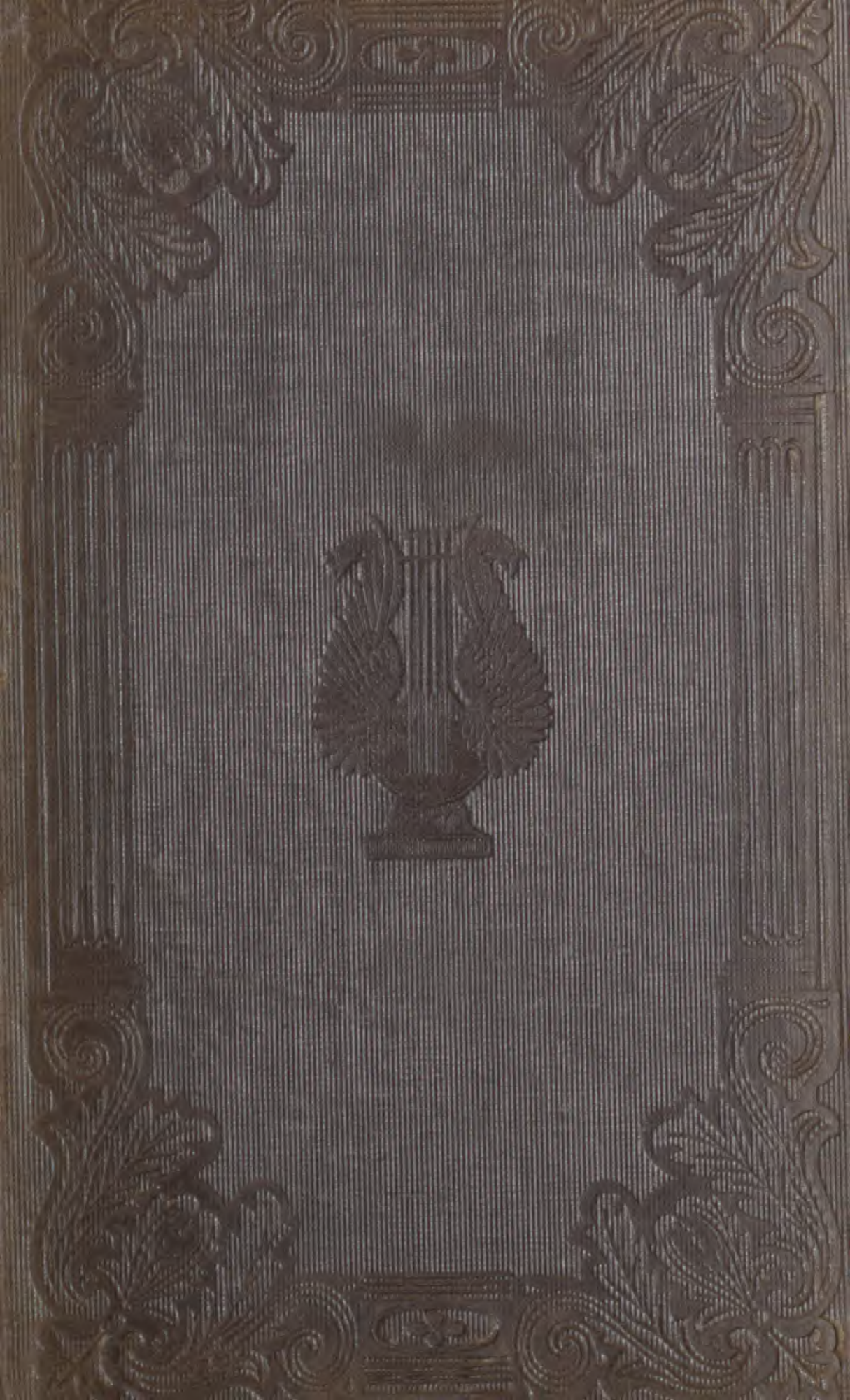

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To the Revd. J. G. Lorimer

with the affectionate regards

of David D. Scott.

MEMOIRS

OF

GASPAR DE COLLIGNY,

ADMIRAL OF FRANCE.

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE

MASSACRE OF ST BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY,

AUGUST 24, 1572.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY

DAVID DUNDAS SCOTT, ESQ.

EDINBURGH:
WILLIAM OLIPHANT AND SONS,
7, SOUTH BRIDGE STREET;
WILLIAM COLLINS, GLASGOW; W. CURRY AND CO., DUBLIN;
AND HAMILTON, ADAMS, AND CO., LONDON.

MDCCCXLIV.

MURRAY AND GIBB, PRINTERS, GEORGE STREET, EDINBURGH.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND
22 DEC 1939

PREFACE.

THE anonymous Memoirs, of which a translation is now, I presume, for the first time published in English, are not mentioned either in the long list of authors consulted by the Abbé Anquetil in writing his *Esprit de la Ligue*, or in the *Dictionnaire des Auteurs Pseudonymes et Anonymes*. Neither do I find any reference to it in any of our more modern histories. The inference from this, however, as the work itself must show, is not that it deserves neglect, but rather that it has long been exceedingly rare, and perhaps, too, that the strain of piety by which it is pervaded, and the comparative meagreness of the narrative in matters not immediately touching the moral and religious character of the subject, may have made it distasteful to ordinary historians.*

Of the Author I can say nothing beyond what appears in his work. If not a contemporary, he

* The title in French runs thus :—*Memoires de Messire Gaspar de Colligny, Seigneur de Chatillon, Admiral de France. A Paris, Chez Francois Mauger, au quatrieme pilier de la grand Salle du Palais au Grand Cyrus*, MDCLXV. The publication of such a work "at the fourth pillar of the great hall of the Palace (of Justice)," corresponding to "the outer-house" of our courts of justice in Edinburgh, where, also, books, &c., were not long since exposed for sale, must have been a bold step, even twenty years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and was probably followed by the instant suppression of the work.

must have lived very near the times he describes. Thus he speaks of Henry III. of France as reigning monarch, and of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, as flourishing when he wrote. From the greater fulness of his narrative towards the close, as compared with its commencement, it would appear that he did not collect materials from extrinsic sources so much as write from personal observation, and from the information of his immediate friends; and this accounts, too, for the incompleteness of some parts of the narrative which have since been swelled by additional facts obtained from other quarters. His having in his possession the letters addressed by the Admiral to his own and his brother's children, and one addressed by him to his wife, proves his intimacy with the family; and, from the minuteness of the narrative towards the close, we may presume that he was an eye-witness, and perhaps the pastor, Merlin, himself.* When he speaks of the Admiral's constancy under the surgical operations that followed his being shot at near the Louvre, he says, "*Comme j'ay sceu d'un fidel temoin;*" and it seems a fair inference that he would not have appealed to the testimony of another for that special fact, if the rest had not passed under his own observation.

But whoever was the Author, the work recom-

* Merlin's preservation was very remarkable. Having escaped by the roof along with some others, he fell into a hay-loft, and was supported for some days by a hen daily laying an egg among the hay that concealed him.

mends itself by the singular simplicity and beauty of the narrative, and the noble character of the person it describes. In the general history of the period we see the great De Colligny,* struggling to reconcile his duty to his king with the allegiance he owed to his God—the indomitable assertor of a good cause, guiding it through apparently inextricable difficulties; often, indeed, sacrificing both its interests and his own to his love of peace; yet, by an admirable union of wisdom, promptitude, and courage, driving his enemies at last to the desperate resource of a perfidious massacre—the politician, also, of large and lofty views, planning the extension of his country's power and territories at home, and a new Protestant empire in America. But here we find something still more instructive and morally beautiful—the first captain of his age turning to the simple Scriptures for comfort when in prison and an invalid; asking counsel of a poor Protestant pastor; entreating the sympathy and prayers of a persecuted christian flock; relinquishing the honours of a court for domestic retirement; regulating his household and instructing his brothers, his children, his servants, and his followers, according to the Scriptures of truth; and yet, when the occasion required, asserting the cause of Christ with unflinching courage and constancy. Nor must we forget the heroic spirit of his first

* I have retained throughout the spelling of the Memoirs, but in general it is De Coligny, with a single *l*.

wife, Charlotte de la Val, and the affectionate compliance of her husband with her urgent desire that they should unite in counting nothing dear to them in that cause. Would that we had many such examples of devoted attachment to that cause among the nobles of the present day!

At the request of the Publishers I have added an Historical Introduction, and an Account of the Massacre of St Bartholomew's Day. To the kindness of the Rev. Dr John Brown I have been indebted for the use of the *Reveil Matin des François*, a work not mentioned in Anquetil's list, nor a common authority. The reader has thus an account of that dreadful event, which, besides being new to the public, possesses the strongest claims to authenticity. The assumed name of the Author on the title-page of the original, is Eusebius Philadelphus Cosmopolites. The *Dictionnaire des Auteurs Pseudonymes et Anonymes*, first ascribes the work to Theodore Beza, but in a subsequent volume the true author is said to have been Nicolas Barnaud. I have only to add that the notes throughout are by the Translator.

D. D. S.

Edinburgh, 10*th January* 1844.

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MEMOIRS

OF

ADMIRAL DE COLLIGNY.

INTRODUCTION.

"In the days of King Francis I., towards the middle of the 16th century, it pleased God to diffuse the light of the Reformation in France, shortly after it had begun to illuminate Germany and Switzerland."

Such are the words of an old document, written in defence of the French Reformed; and very true it is, that we must primarily refer the appearance of the Reformation in France to the good pleasure of Him who "worketh all things according to the counsel of his own will."

But God usually prepares the way for such changes, sometimes at the distance of ages

before they happen, as well as raises up at the time of their accomplishment men of more than ordinary talents, energy, and faith, to be his instruments in bringing them to pass. As an introduction, therefore, to the following Memoirs, I propose, very briefly, to sketch the religious history of France, from the first introduction of Christianity into the country until the Reformation, and to review some of the circumstances by which the nation was prepared for that change.

France, under the name of *the Gauls*, formed an important division of the Roman empire, and being easily accessible to the Christians of Greece and Italy, it soon enjoyed the preaching of the Gospel, became the seat of flourishing churches, and furnished thousands of faithful martyrs to the cross during the persecutions under the Roman emperors. These churches, however, with the exception of a few poor and despised flocks in the mountains of Dauphiny, soon shared in the corruption that overspread Christendom, and widely departed from the purity and simplicity of the Gospel and its institutions. One of the most remarkable of these departures from the Church's original structure lay in the separation of the ministers of the Gospel, together with a multitude of

persons who, as hermits, monks, and nuns, professed to renounce the world with its sins and vanities, into one vast community, called the *clergy*, from a Greek word signifying lot, and implying that they alone were the Lord's lot, inheritance, or chosen people. The monks and nuns were called also the *religious*, as if no persons could be so designated, or find ready admission into heaven, who had not either become parish priests, or bound themselves by solemn vows to forsake the common haunts of men, withdraw from their ordinary callings, conform to certain methods of devotion called rules or institutes, varying according to the fancies of those who first devised them, though often under the pretence of devoting their lives to meditation, fasting, and prayer, they lived lazily and luxuriously in the richly-endowed monasteries and convents which they owed to the superstitious bounty of royal or other wealthy dupes. The parish priests, who mingled more with the world, were called the secular, while hermits and monks were called the regular clergy. Together, they formed a kind of nation apart.

The clergy of France had, from various circumstances, acquired an early popularity and influence, which have in a great measure sur-

vived all the vicissitudes and revolutions that have affected that country down to the present day. Previous to the breaking up of the Roman empire in the Gauls, they inherited much of the popular sympathy called forth by the patience and fortitude of the early Christians when going forth to meet death, as faithful martyrs of Jesus Christ. As christian ministers, they retained much of the respect and affection of their flocks. But even after they had formed themselves into a separate caste, multiplied their numbers, and become possessed of extensive property, they did not cease to be popular among the commonality. Slaves could contemplate this aggrandizement without envy or jealousy; and by far the greater number of field labourers and artizans were at that time slaves. The Roman provincial magistrates, military officers, and wealthy colonists, used to maintain large establishments of such dependants, and thought it by no means dishonourable to derive considerable incomes from the profits of their manufacturing or agricultural industry and skill. This being the case, these poor people could hardly look on with any feelings but those of satisfaction, when they saw large estates fall into the possession and management of men professing to be the mi-

nisters of a religion, which proclaims that God hath made of one blood all the dwellers upon earth, and that in Christ all are brethren. The clergy, they knew, were their mildest masters, and the great promoters of their emancipation.

But the havoc caused in the flourishing farms and manufactories of the Roman colonists and magistrates, when invaded in rapid succession by one horde after another of rude barbarians, must have knit the industrial classes, whether bond or free, by still closer ties to the clergy. A common sympathy is the natural result of common calamities. And when these invasions ended in the entire conquest of the country, the clergy alone remained of all whom the people could look up to for counsel, consolation, and assistance. M. Guizot argues, from the absolute silence of history on the subject, that the provincial aristocracy must have disappeared without a struggle, Britain being the only Roman province in which we can trace even the semblance of a national resistance to the invaders, headed by the civil magistracy and lay aristocracy, feeble as that resistance must have been. The victorious Franks thus became sole masters and rulers of two numerous yet submissive classes—the clergy, who had not then be-

come the warrior-priests that some of them were in later centuries, and the labouring classes in town and country, who, if free, had little reason perhaps to regret the change of their government, and, if slaves, had abundant cause to rejoice at it, since their new rulers, altogether intolerant as they had ever been of slavery in their native seats, and detesting it the more as the condition to which the Romans used to reduce their own countrymen when taken prisoners, united with the clergy in abolishing it altogether.

The new state of things must have been remarkably favourable, upon the whole, to the aggrandizement of the clergy, though, in particular instances, they too may have suffered in their persons, and still more in their estates, from fierce and unpolished invaders, who at once despised all the arts of peaceful industry, and saw nothing to call forth a superstitious veneration for a so-called christian priest. They now engrossed all the learning that remained in France, and which had been previously shared between them and a numerous and accomplished magistracy and aristocracy. Their influence and their ambition were no longer kept in check by a settled government, conducted on principles of ancient standing, and, with the exception of

its toleration of slavery, just and useful. We need not remind the reader with what success the Romans had cultivated both law and civil administration in all its branches. Accordingly, while the empire and its institutions subsisted, the clergy had no pretence for departing from the routine of their own duties, by interfering with these. But it was otherwise after the conquest. The monopoly they then had of learning made it almost indispensable that they should assist in the administration of civil affairs and in courts of justice. Hence an ever open avenue to secular power and influence, and one of which they so successfully availed themselves, as at length to be able to subvert one line of kings, and to raise another to the succession of the crown.

Still more favourable does the change appear to have been to the consolidation and extension of their influence over the industrial part of the population. These two classes, the clergy and the common people, being of one lineage, language, and religion, must naturally have clung to each other during the havoc of invasion, as they flocked into the towns, or clustered about churches and monasteries, where the confluence of inhabitants often led to the rise of towns. While the former engrossed all the learning, the

latter possessed all the skilled industry that survived. The invaders having little taste for the comforts and conveniences of a state of society far more refined than their own, ignorant of agriculture and the useful arts, and despising all such occupations, must have left to the clergy an almost absolute and unlimited command of the industrial ingenuity which was formerly at the disposal of the provincial aristocracy of Rome. This they could not fail to employ both in the augmentation of their own comforts and revenues, and in the erection and ornamenting of ecclesiastical buildings of every kind, from the lofty cathedral to the humble oratory—from the extensive monastery, with its granges, mills, and granaries, to the simple parsonage. Other kinds of labour would be applied to the internal decorations of those buildings, and the hands that used to be employed in weaving and embroidering dresses for the wives and daughters of proconsuls and prætors, would find ample occupation in preparing vestments for the different orders of the priesthood, and for the images of saints. Agriculture and gardening seem also to have been pursued under the direction, and with the capital, of the clergy. Thus, while the Frankish barons lived remote from towns and monasteries, choosing for their resi-

dence, not the well-watered valley or fertile plain, but the rude rock or barren moor, which they deemed best for the purposes of defence, the clergy lived secure amid a throng of industrious dependants, who looked to them not only for the ministrations of religion, but also for employment and for bread. Nor was this course of things fitted to confirm the influence of the clergy over these industrial classes only. The application of such a vast amount of mechanical labour and skill to religious purposes, must have imparted, both to the architecture and the ceremonial ornaments of the church, a peculiar magnificence and grandeur, which, by attracting the admiration and wonder of the invaders, must have done much to impress them with contempt for their old superstitions, and to bring them into the ranks of the clergy's humble and submissive devotees.

The clergy had now the difficult task to accomplish of maintaining their influence over two totally distinct and different bodies—the ancient inhabitants on the one hand, and the new invaders on the other. Yet they succeeded with regard to both to a surprising degree during those ages, usually called dark, in which God, for reasons to us unknown and inscrutable, permitted darkness to cover the earth and thick

darkness the people, even within the limits of Christendom. The relations that subsisted between the clergy and each of those classes, and the address with which the former contrived to make both the latter subserve their own ends and interests, must be studied before we can rightly appreciate the peculiar circumstances attending the Reformation.

The French peasant, or artisan, generally recognised then, in the parish priest, in the monk of the neighbouring monastery, or in the wandering friar, a person of his own Celtic or Roman lineage, speaking, like himself, some provincial *patois* or the corrupt latin that has passed into the modern french. He found him a good natured and easy master of the conscience; making small, if any, pretensions to peculiar sanctity or authority; more ready to entertain his flock with idle gossip than to catechise them on points of doctrine or practice; and, whether in the services of the church or in addresses from the pulpit, seeking rather to furnish something to engage, divert, and amuse, than to inspire reverence and awe. In proportion as men cease to enjoy and exercise freedom, both in taste and intellect, they approach to the condition of children. Such were the masses in France when that country was under the civil

dominion of Rome. Both the civil subjection of the free, and the actual bondage of the enslaved, had communicated to the people that proneness to dependance, and disposition to be occupied and amused with trifles, which marks the character of childhood. To this temper, which, when once formed in a people, may descend to many generations after its first cause has been removed, the clergy seem particularly to have addressed themselves. Hence the number and the gaiety of their numerous processions and pilgrimages—hence those dramatic performances called mysteries, representing passages from Scripture history and the legends of saints, in which the priests themselves were the actors, and which sometimes lasted several days.

But if centuries of subjection had given a childish tone to the descendants of the ancient Gauls, and even of the Romans who had mingled with them, ages of wild freedom had invested the victorious Frank and Goth with very opposite qualities. The priest, who was all blandness and condescension to the former, knew that he must assume a different guise to the latter; that if he wished to make him feel his influcnce, he must first command his respect. Hence the same corrupted Christianity which was gay and gentle to the Gaul, became gloomy and austere

to the Frank. The noble in his castle who dared to trifle with the dignity, or to invade the property of the church, had to be taught that there was a power before which, in all the insolence of victory and conquest, the fiercest warrior must bow; and that this power was wielded by mysterious persons who lived apart from the world, abjuring all the tender relations of life, renouncing even the pleasurable excitement of war, and spending their days in the exercises of a severe and ascetic devotion. These men, he was to be taught, occupied a world of their own, lived in close communion with heaven, and could propitiate the Deity, who condescended to make himself visible in a consecrated wafer, enshrined in gold, and exhibited only on rare occasions to worshippers, who fell prostrate at the sight. Now it was that churches, once light and gladsome buildings, became dim, sombre, sepulchral-looking piles. Every thing about them assumed an awful grandeur. The very external ornaments presented to the prying curiosity of the heathen who might venture to steal a gaze at their walls, were lugubrious faces cut in stone, meant to represent the agonies of souls in purgatory, or the grinning malignity of the devils that tormented them. If they ventured within, in the long distance, and in dim

and broken light, they beheld the figure of the "Man of Sorrows," bloody and emaciated, his sunken head crowned with thorns, the dark blood flowing from his side, his hands and feet nailed to a cross. What a contrast to the northern gods—to Woden and to Thor! Here the god is the bleeding victim,—the sacrifice is that of the heart and soul. Around are the relics of saints and martyrs,—bits of half decayed wood and half consumed bones. Then the whispered prayers in the majestic language of ancient Rome, the mute gesticulations, the monotonous and melancholy music, all things bespeaking mortification, and contrition, and woe—what sights and sounds to soften the warrior; to stay the rude hand of violence; to bend the most masculine; to subdue the most haughty; to inspire reverence, and awe, and dread!

For this elaborate contrivance of means to produce a contemplated result, one might imagine some excuse, had the object been to produce in the stranger a disposition to fear and worship God in Christ. But, alas! that was far from being the intended effect. To procure homage to the priest, and thereby to enhance his authority and power, was the grand design. In this, too, there lay a wide difference between

the policy of the church towards the great, and that which it permitted toward the poor. When the majesty of the priesthood had once been insulted by a man of rank, not even the imperial diadem could save him from the most humiliating penance. But the worst offences of the poor were easily passed over.

The lapse of a few centuries presents us with the picture of a considerably altered state of things. The religious orders had multiplied,—their numbers had increased,—gross corruptions among the clergy had called forth from time to time men of ardent tempers and strong wills, who attempted the work of reformation, but always on false and unscriptural principles. Such was Bruno,—such was Bernard. These had no idea of reforming the Church by going to the fountain-head of truth and sanctification. They thought only of devising new rules for the religious orders which they found existing, or of founding new orders altogether. Each of these being called a religion, Christendom swarmed with religions; yet that of Christ himself was no where to be found; just as the worship of saints was multiplied, until every day in the year became the feast of some holy person or martyr, while, alas! the "King of saints" was more and more left out of view and forgotten.

To remedy this, the *Fête Dieu*, or Corpus Christi day, was introduced, that for once in the year at least, the Lord of all might have a share in the adoration so liberally given to his creatures; but even this degenerated into gross and revolting paganism and idolatry. But what peculiarly marked this intervening period, was the accession of the new race of Frankish conquerors to the ranks of the clergy. The latter, it will be observed, partly by making themselves dreaded, partly by rendering themselves useful, succeeded in forming an alliance with the mighty ones of the earth, while these, in their turn, coveted for their children a share of the Church's wealth and influence. Bishoprics, in particular, became objects of keen ambition to the still semi-barbarous Franks; and the Church, in its eagerness to secure the favour of the feudal aristocracy as a means of strengthening its own position, allowed men who had far more of the rude ignorance and warlike disposition of their northern forefathers, than of the learning and meekness of the class into which they entered, to figure on the scenes of history as ecclesiastics. But, under such bishops, it may well be imagined that the inferior clergy underwent a change of character for the worse. Confiding in this new alliance, they ceased to be the mild and benefi-

cent guardians of the people; on the other hand, they often united with their new chiefs in trampling upon their lay inferiors, and literally caused the name of God to be blasphemed by their manifold oppressions of the poor. No doubt there were many exceptions; no doubt the parish priests, and the inmates of monasteries and nunneries, in many cases retained their ancient blandness and benevolence to their immediate dependants, and to the people at large; but the pages of French history bear unquestionable evidence, that with the introduction of members of the feudal aristocracy of France into the ranks of her clergy, the latter became in a great measure tinctured with the tastes and manners of that still semi-barbarous race.

As yet we have hardly mentioned Rome and the papacy, nor has there been the same necessity for doing so as if we had been reviewing the early history of the Church in England, in Germany, or in the nations bordering on the Baltic. The reason is evident. Christian churches were established in the Gauls long before Rome dreamt of assuming the supremacy, and asserting the pretensions that have made her so notorious; and as those churches did not owe their foundation to papal Rome, they na-

turally prided themselves in their early independence, revered their own peculiar usages, and, though owning the supremacy of the Pope, were by no means disposed to pay him the absolute submission which he would fain have exacted. It was much otherwise with Anglo-Saxon Britain, as well as with Germany and the Scandinavian nations. England owed her Christianity partly, indeed, to missionaries from Scotland, but, in the main, to the monk Augustine, a missionary from Rome. Germany, again, was christianized very much through the instrumentality of Boniface, an Anglo-Saxon emissary employed by Rome. As France was thus more independent of Rome, so she never received the same disgusts from the popedom which the early dependance of those other nations emboldened it to risk with regard to them. The popes had never dared to thrust their needy Italian relatives and dependents into the richest benefices of France. All this materially bore on the history of the Reformation there. It led an immense number of persons to cleave to the Romish church in that country, under the belief that, by a vigorous exercise of its own ancient independence, and by acting on those free maxims which her doctors and councils had often asserted in the face of Christen-

dom, the Gallician Church, by its general assemblies, might, without a violent separation from Rome, effect all the requisite reforms both in doctrine and discipline, and thus avoid the evils of a schism. These prospects were doomed to disappointment then, and, though often revived, even among members of the Church of England, they seem now to be utterly hopeless.

The various causes which, under God, conspired to bring about the Reformation in the 16th century, have been so fully described by many popular authors, that it were altogether superfluous to enter into a minute discussion of them here. Roman Catholic writers have been at pains to show that their church was not essentially corrupt, but only required a reformation of some gross abuses which might easily have been removed; and that many of these have been removed, without the necessity of breaking up the unity of Christendom. But even as respects France, where the corruptions of the Church seem to have been less gross than in some other quarters, it may easily be demonstrated that this was far from being the case. We have seen that the clergy there sought to establish an influence for themselves and their own aggrandisement, among both the two grand sections of the population—the nobles and the

people; that so far from being accordant with the gospel, either in the means by which it was secured, or in the object at which it aimed, that influence was, in both respects, altogether opposed to the truth of God; that Christianity was profaned by being converted into a means of captivating the weak by amusing their curiosity, and of overawing the strong by awakening their superstitious fears; that, in truth, the Gallician clergy knew little or nothing of the gospel as set forth in the word of God, else they would never have persecuted its early professors, the Albigenses, or its later, the Reformers of the 16th century. Hence it is evident, that an effectual reformation must have been too fundamental and essential, to be consistent with anything short of absolute and perpetual separation from the Roman popedom.

Let us now mark the operation of divine providence in a few of the circumstances by which it opened the way for the entrance of the Reformation into the different component parts of French society, and for its reception by many persons of all ranks and employments there. Here, I would say, the finger of God is particularly remarkable, for although the near vicinity of Germany and Switzerland, the multiplication of Protestant books, the concentration in Paris,

as a great university seat, of a multitude of learned men, some of whom had embraced and even taught Protestant doctrines, and the spirit of inquiry and research which accompanied the revival of letters, all powerfully contributed to bring the gospel into France, none of these causes can be said to have prepared such immense numbers for embracing it, as in the course of little more than a quarter of a century, to be reckoned at nearly half of the kingdom's inhabitants.

As the numbers, wealth, and power of the clergy may well be regarded as the grand barrier to the ingress of the truth, we may remark, that whatever went to diminish their influence, must of itself have promoted the Reformation. But a multiplicity of causes was fast undermining the authority of that immense corporation. We have only to look to the kinds of influence which it had long wielded, to perceive that time, which often confirms and establishes authority, had brought changes in its train, tending to undermine and subvert that of the Gallician clergy. Thus, as the princes and nobility had acquired a taste for the comforts and elegancies of life, altogether unknown to their rude ancestors, the clergy were now no longer almost the exclusive patrons and employers of the peasantry

and artizans, and the latter were no longer so dependant in any respect on the former. The commons, or third estate in France, had, in the course of ages, too, risen into some degree of importance; and the extension of commerce and manufactures, which had mainly contributed to the creation of a middle class in the lay population, had diffused also a spirit of inquiry, and a taste for moral and intellectual nourishment of a higher kind than was supplied by the childish ceremonies and legends of the priests. No less remarkable was the change in the relations subsisting between the *noblesse* and the clergy. The former body had become so far mingled with the latter as to share in their corruptions, and knew them too well to retain much reverential respect for their priestly character. But though both peer and peasant, baron and burgess, must have long ceased to be duped and overawed by the Church's pretensions to superior sanctity and authority, and while both orders of society had doubtless begun to feel dissatisfied with the senseless mummeries of Rome's corrupted Christianity, many among both were ready to listen to the grave and conscientious expounders of a faith, which equally claimed to be christian, rested on a purer foundation, and was capable of inspiring its martyrs with the

same holy fortitude that distinguished those of the early ages of the Church. The people were thus prepared on the one hand, and the same God who had so prepared them, sent forth faithful messengers on the other, to point to his own infallible Word as the only light that could enlighten the nation's darkness, and lead the meek and humble inquirer into the way of peace.

Let us add, that if anything could be expected to favour this process, it must have been the conduct of the clergy—at least of the bigoted persecutors among them—towards the Protestants. They affected great intimacy with heaven; they boasted of being God's chosen inheritance. And yet how did they tremble at the exposures of the poor Reformers! How did fears for the stability of their system urge them into persecution and blood! They had long cultivated popular favour by a studied blandness of manner, and by professions of interest in all that concerned the happiness of their flocks; but what more fitted to lead to the loss of this character, than their rancorous persecution of men who simply professed to preach the truth!

If we turn to contemplate the civil condition of France towards the middle of the sixteenth century, we find that it was unlike that of Scotland at any period of our history, and that

it is only by going back to times immediately following the Norman conquest, that we perceive its counterpart in that of England. We, too, in the sixteenth century, had a hereditary monarchy, a numerous and powerful nobility, and a large body of commons, connected with all which was the clergy, in whose ranks there might be found men of royal, noble, and plebeian blood, all equally invested with a spiritual character, though the highest offices and richest benefices were generally bestowed on those who stood highest in point of birth and connexions. But Scotland was happy in this respect, that the different orders in the state were of one blood; whereas, what has been related of the early history of France, shows that the royalty and nobility of that country was of a different stock from the body of the people, and the vast majority of the clergy. It may be thought, indeed, that in the lapse of so many centuries this difference of races must have been obliterated by intermarriages. This, however, was by no means the case. The original difference of blood was carefully perpetuated by a wide separation of position, privileges, employments, and interests. The nobles never lost their nobility; and though the younger sons of great families, were not peers by birth, they and their descendants, under

the name of *gentils-hommes*, held a distinct place in society, enjoyed exemption from taxation, and, in return, devoted themselves to the profession of arms—the only secular occupation which they could honourably follow. So strong was this prejudice, that they were excluded even from the legal profession, including the highest judicial offices, and from civil employments under the government, as well as from the whole range of commercial and mechanical professions and trades.

It is true that the monarch might ennoble whom he pleased. Even here, however, an invidious distinction was maintained, for it was held to be unnecessary to raise a poor *gentilhomme* to the dignity of an actual peer by a patent of nobility; the man, being noble already, was merely removed to a higher grade of his original rank. But if the king desired to raise his own lord high chancellor, or prime minister, to that dignity, the object of his favour being only a commoner by birth, it was necessary that what was called a new *creation* should take place.

These distinctions require to be borne in mind, if we would rightly comprehend events, and appreciate characters, in the early history of the Reformation in France. The factitious

distinction arising from the original difference of race between the *noblesse* and the *roturiers* had not begun, in the sixteenth century, to produce that bitter political rivalry, and those civil animosities, to which it gave birth at the close of the eighteenth. The two grand divisions of the population had each become familiar with the peculiarities of its own position. As there was no rivalry, there was no envy. The rank of the nobleman not being questioned, he bore his privileges more meekly than if it had; that of the commoner having been the same as his ancestors had been content to enjoy even under the Roman empire, was not considered a degradation or inconvenience. Still, we can easily perceive that the *noblesse* would be more open to the preaching of the gospel than the commons, partly because more independent in their habits and thoughts, partly because less linked with the clergy, partly, too, because they had not that hereditary fondness for the semi-pagan pomp and ceremonies of Roman Catholic worship, which the lower ranks of France had inherited from their ancestors in the times of pagan Rome. Again, when it became evident that the nobles, who, by introducing Protestant ministers as chaplains and tutors into their castles, had peculiar facilities for propagating

the Reformation in their families and among their followers, had widely separated themselves from Rome, it was easy for the partisans of that power, both lay and clerical, to revive among the people ancient animosities against the authors of this revolt from the Church's unity, not so much on the ground of their higher rank, as because they were of different lineage, and, in fact, a distinct people. Nay, we can hardly suppose that the dreadful massacre of St Bartholomew's day, did not owe part of its atrocity to this peculiarity in the social condition of France. The brutality of the people who, on that occasion, butchered their defenceless victims in cold blood, was that not only of religious bigots, but also of a race of hereditary slaves; the unsuspecting confidence with which, both on that and many other occasions, the Protestants allowed themselves to be duped and betrayed, may so far, no doubt, be ascribed to the christian sincerity of their own minds, but, being carried much beyond the bounds of christian prudence, may fairly be traced in part to the innate aversion of a high-spirited and ingenuous race to suspect that treachery in others which they felt utterly incapable of practising themselves.

We shall conclude these remarks by observing,

that the advantages enjoyed by the old French *noblesse* were counterbalanced by some important disadvantages. That very elevation of rank which, together with claims founded on a common origin with the royal race, put them on a kind of equality with the crown, made them the natural objects of royal distrust, jealousy, and aversion. Hence the kings of France often gave their confidence to lowborn ecclesiastics and lawyers, or perhaps to favourites of still less respectability, rather than to their natural associates, the noblemen whose ancestors had assisted theirs in the conquest of the country. The monarchs of France, too, were not behind those of the other feudal kingdoms of Europe in their endeavours to counterbalance the preponderance of the nobility, by elevating the municipalities of the kingdom to independence and political power—a course which the latter could have no just cause to blame, had it been fairly pursued; but Louis XI., a cruel and perfidious prince, practised, during a long reign, the darkest tyranny, in repressing the pretensions and the power of his nobility.

For some time previous to the introduction of the Reformed doctrines and worship into France, it has been remarked that the condition of that country was happier, upon the whole,

than it had been in former periods. Its sovereigns had, it is true, involved their subjects in several foolish and fruitless wars. These had cost much blood and treasure; but the former loss fell chiefly on the nobility, who might otherwise, perhaps, have been living uselessly, or worse than uselessly, at home; and the natural productiveness of the soil, together with the increasing skill and industry of the people, easily repaired the latter.

The reign of Francis I., in particular, which began in 1515, seemed likely to usher in a period of more than ordinary felicity. With all his faults, that monarch had some redeeming points, which made him deservedly popular. He promoted, by his own example, that mild and frank demeanour which tended to blend the different orders of society into one peaceful community, as far as the factitious distinctions which bygone events had impressed on it, would permit. Having entered warmly into the prevailing taste for classical pursuits, he was a liberal patron of learned men. Having found his capital flourishing as a university seat, he endeavoured still farther to increase its efficiency and augment its renown, by inviting to it eminent scholars of all nations as teachers in its schools, collectors of manuscripts, and editors of

new editions of the ancient authors. Moreover, he had a taste for the fine arts, and encouraged these, especially architecture, among his subjects. But that which of all things, at the commencement of this prince's reign, seemed to augur well for the future happiness of the country, was the total absence of bigotry which he displayed until a late period of his reign, and the favour he showed to those among the learned of his kingdom who were disposed to promote its reformation from popery and the manifold corruptions of the Church. To these promising circumstances let us add, that the king's only sister, the princess Margaret, a woman of remarkable talents and accomplishments, was strongly prepossessed in favour of the Reformed doctrines, and employed her influence with her brother, who was devotedly fond of her, in protecting its preachers when attacked by the devotees of Rome.

In no part of Europe, in short, did the general aspect of society, and of the government, promise more favourably for the Reformation than in France in the earlier part of that reign. The harmony among king, nobility, and people, was such, that a disposition to embrace the Reformation appearing in one of these three parties, was likely to meet with sympathy and encourage-

ment in the other two, rather than with the blind opposition of jealous and prejudiced rivals. Nay, there was much even among the clergy that might lead to favourable hopes with respect even to that body. As a national Church, they had always asserted great independence of the popes, setting the authority of general councils above that of the papal see, and abjuring all right on the part of the pope to interfere with the civil affairs of the country. Moreover, the light which began to burst upon Europe, at the revival of letters, had entered largely into France, and a spirit of seriousness as well as a taste for learning, had begun to be diffused amongst the clergy as well as the laity of the kingdom.

Still there remained, in the very heart of the country, strongholds of Satan, ready to be occupied by bitter foes of the Gospel; and these were immediately seized by Rome. Her scholastic doctors impugned the doctrines of the Reformed ministers as heretical; her crafty politicians, insinuating themselves into a court where the Queen mother herself was an Italian, stirred up latent jealousies. If a prince of the blood royal, such as Condé, or a great vassal, such as De Colligny, on becoming converts to the Gospel, endeavoured to defend, with arms,

their poor defenceless fellow-converts when slain in direct contravention of the laws of the kingdom, it was easy to persuade a weak and jealous monarch that these were rivals and rebels, whose repression was absolutely necessary to the safety of the throne. If the defenders of Christ's slaughtered flocks became formidable in the field, and could not be vanquished by entering into open hostilities with them, the blackest arts of perfidy and violence were employed against them. If any of the nobility, those especially who had begun to leave off their barbarous addiction to arms, as the only profession not beneath their dignity, and to taste the sweets of science and literature, devoted themselves to the study of the word of God, and were led by divine grace to embrace the truth in the love of it, oh! then, the poor people were taught to recognise in these godly barons and gentlemen, the representatives of those foreign invaders who had trampled on the independence of the country, seized its wealth, and, down to that day, exercised a haughty domination over it. And if, in other parts of the country, it was the poor common people that ventured to assert their christian liberty, by meeting to worship God according to the scriptures of truth, then would the partisans of Rome appeal to the no-

bility, alleging that these poor Christians had embraced levelling doctrines, and would never rest until they had reduced their superiors in rank and station, to their own humble and poor condition. On the whole, however, we may safely say, that the strength of Rome lay at the court, where there appeared, after Francis I., a succession of weak and worthless princes, guided by able but unprincipled councillors; and amongst the lower classes, particularly in Paris, where the mass of people has never to this day been protestant, though often sufficiently opposed to the Roman Catholic priesthood, and employed, by divine providence, to revenge, in the 18th century, the atrocities committed, at its suggestion and under its approval, in the 16th. The strength of the Reformation, on the other hand, seems to have lain in the noblesse and their immediate connexions and retainers, many of whom became faithful ministers of the Gospel, while many more died on the field, at the stake, or by assassination, as martyrs to its truth.

But while the state of society at that time in France seemed favourable, in some respects, to the Reformation, and, in others, to the subsistence of the old system, let us not omit to notice one peculiarity in the general condition of the country, which had a manifold action on the

course of events, and on the fortunes of both the great parties which divided the state. Both Romish and Reformed authors represent the state of morality in France as desperately low about that period; and those who are most conversant with the earlier history of the country, know that, however much the long period of civil strife may have aggravated this intestine evil, it preceded as well as accompanied the progress of the Reformation. Now, what more cogent argument against a religious system which had had everything to favour its moral influence,—the support of government, an established control over the people, the absolute command of education, immense wealth, and a numerous priesthood,—than this simple fact, that it failed to make the people more moral than they are described by De Thou the Romanist, and Hotman the Reformed, and than the massacre of St Bartholomew's day, proved them to be. Meanwhile war, famine, pestilence, executions, and murders, tended to make many serious, and to soften their consciences, while they no doubt hardened others, and made them only bolder in evil. But among the former, no sooner was this thoughtfulness and tenderness of conscience produced, than the whole system of Rome and her priesthood must have been

shaken in their respect and affections, especially when contrasting the popular morality with the religious habits, the benevolence, and probity of such men as De Colligny, and with the strenuous efforts of the Reformed Synods to maintain a strict discipline in their churches, at a time when immorality had deeply corrupted even them. Hence a twofold result,—an augmentation of the ranks of the Reformed from among the awakened, the serious, those who hungered and thirsted after righteousness, and the strengthening of the Church of Rome by an increased hardihood,—a more determined attachment among all ranks of her adherents, to the system that palliated and tolerated evil. The most part of men are so brutish, that unless under a very special descent of spiritual influences, the simple preaching of the gospel will not rouse them. But when once awakened from this slumber by God's judgments, they are sure to be either softened and instructed, or hardened in sin and ignorance; and this, during the period we speak of, seemed to be remarkably the case in France.

While the Romish clergy were so degraded by their vices as to wring from the Bishop of Valence the confession, that "the ecclesiastical order has fallen into such contempt, that the

man of the church dare hardly confess to what state he belongs," the same prelate, in his speech at Fontainebleau, in 1569, gave the king the following exquisite description of the first ministers of the Reformation in France. "The doctrine, sire, which occupies the thoughts of your subjects, has been sown during thirty years, not in one, two, or three days; it has been brought hither by three or four hundred diligent ministers, men well versed in literature, distinguished by great modesty, seriousness, and apparent holiness, professing a detestation of all vices and especially of avarice, devoid of all fear of losing their lives as a testimony to the truth of what they preach, having ever in their mouths Jesus Christ, a word, whose sweetness is such, as easily to open ears the most shut, and to find its way into the heart of the most hardened." How striking must have been the appearance of such men, at a time when the chancellor could say to the parliament of Paris, "all orders are corrupt; the people are ill instructed; tithes and offerings only are spoken of; not a word about good morals. Each would have his own religion approved, that of others persecuted. Such is piety! . . . . There are enormous abuses everywhere."

As the memoirs of De Colligny suppose, on the part of the reader, an acquaintance with the general history of the period which many may never have had, and others may have forgotten, I subjoin a brief sketch of the leading events of the period.

Francis I., during the first ten years of his reign, as I have had occasion to remark, indirectly favoured the progress of the Reformed doctrines in his kingdom, by interposing his authority to prevent the persecution of some of their most eminent abettors, when attacked by the officers of the crown at the instigation of the clergy.* But on his return from the captivity which followed his being taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia, a great change took place in his conduct, as respects the Reformation and its friends and followers. Returning in 1526, after an absence of thirteen months, during which his temper, naturally mild and placable, seems to have been soured as well as his health impaired by his misfortunes, he allowed himself to fall under the influence of the Chancellor Du Prat, one of the most worthless

* M. Merle d' Aubigne's History of the Reformation in the 16th century, and Galliard's History of Francis I., a work to which M. M. d' A. has been largely indebted for his materials, may be consulted for a minute narrative of the early progress of the Reformation in France.

and unprincipled men that had ever held that office. The enemies of the Reformation had eagerly taken advantage of the Monarch's absence, in order to attack the chief supporters of doctrines which they pronounced heretical, and that their projects might not be discomfitted by his re-appearance in the capital of his kingdom, they inspired him with the idea that it was his previous indifference to the progress of the new faith, and favour to those that professed it, that had brought God's heavy judgments upon him and his people. By the Chancellor's advice, he ordained that, in future, the cognizance of heresy should belong to the civil magistrates. Thenceforth the courts of law, called parliaments, particularly that of Paris, set to work, and many cruel executions of the Reformed took place throughout France.

But these barbarous proceedings hindered not the advance of the Reformation. The blood of its martyrs proved, as in early times, a fruitful seed of the Church. Besides their progress in Paris, the doctrines of the Gospel were received by many in Meaux, Orleans, Bourges, Thoulouse, and Lyons; and from these cities they spread rapidly over the kingdom.

Francis died in 1547, two months after the death of Henry VIII. of England, for whom,

although separated from the Romish communion, he ordered a funeral service to be performed, thus offending, by one of his last acts, the clergy whose persecuting spirit he had humoured so long. The two reigns presented in this respect a striking contrast. Henry began his with the most absolute devotion to Rome, which Francis seemed at first to treat with indifference; but, in process of years, Francis became a bitter foe to the Reformation, while Henry favoured it by becoming the determined foe of Rome.

Francis was succeeded by Henry II., whose reign, as respected the Protestants, was much like the concluding twenty years of his predecessor's. The alleged heretics were punished in such numbers, that executioners could hardly be found in sufficient numbers to carry into effect the capital condemnations, pronounced against them day after day by the parliaments and other law courts. For forty long years the Reformed submitted to these exterminating measures. Yet amid them all, though opposed only by prayers, and tears, and constancy, God so multiplied their churches, that fresh Christians might be said to rise from the blood and ashes of the martyrs. An immense number of persons of all ages and conditions, and of both sexes, had their eyes opened to the truth, and glorified God

by their public confessions, notwithstanding the judicial sentences, and indiscriminate massacres to which they thus became exposed. Among those who publicly embraced the Reformation during this period, there were several of the higher nobility, officers in the immediate service of the crown, and even princes of the royal blood. The churches in which the worship of God began to be purely conducted, met for divine service as they best could, openly or in secret, according as the persecutions under which they groaned, left them more or less freedom.

In 1559, towards the close of that reign, the fathers of the French Reformation held their first National Synod in Paris. It was then that they first drew up the plan of church discipline, and composed the excellent Confession of Faith which they presented to Charles IX., in 1561, and which have been transmitted, with slight modifications, to their descendants at the present day.

Meanwhile Henry II. continued his utmost endeavours to extinguish the Reformation, and was about to give the finishing stroke to this work of darkness, when it pleased God that, in the midst of diversion and gaiety, he should receive a mortal wound from a lance, of which he died in a few days after, on the 10th of July 1559.

He was succeeded by Francis II., a prince so

young, and so feeble alike in mind and body, that of himself he could do little harm to the reformed churches. But the family of Guise, who had vowed their destruction, would not have failed to visit them with the cruellest persecutions under his reign, had not God, in mercy to his children, shortened it. The princes of Guise, being uncles to the young queen, Mary Stuart, though as a branch of the house of Lorraine they were considered as foreigners, were enabled to engross the whole government of the kingdom. Having induced the king of Navarre, his brother, the Prince of Condé, and de Colligny, all three being Protestants, to come to Orleans, under pretence of holding a meeting of the States General there, they not only caused the Prince of Condé to be arrested, but even condemned him to death. They had resolved, likewise, to get the King of Navarre and de Colligny into their hands, and proposed to publish a royal ordinance, confiscating the entire possessions of the Reformed, and banishing them out of the kingdom. These projects were providentially defeated by the untimely decease of the young king. That of establishing the inquisition in France, when on the point of being accomplished, was eluded by the tolerant new Chancellor, l' Hôpital, who dexterously introduced the much

milder measure of committing the cognisance of heresy to the bishops.

Charles IX., who succeeded, was but a child when called to the throne, and the princes of the house of Guise began to abuse his non-age as they had abused that of Francis II., by ruling the country with a tyranny altogether intolerable. But their grand aim was the execution of the cruel projects into which they had entered for the destruction of the Reformed.

The more easily to effect this, the Duke of Guise formed an agreement with the Constable Montmorency and the Marshal de St Andre, which three received the name of the triumvirate. Having usurped the royal authority, these triumvirs published what was called the Edict of July, from its date in July 1561, by which public act, "those of the Religion," as the Protestants were called, were interdicted from holding any meetings, under pain of confiscation of body and goods, and the cognisance of heresy was again assigned to the Romish clergy.*

* By this apparent concession to the Church, l' Hôpital not only eluded the establishment of that dreadful court, the inquisition, and gave scope to the tolerance of a few of the bishops, but calculated upon the circumstance that though the clergy could pronounce what was or was not heresy, they could not try the heretic, whereas the jurisdiction of the civil courts was at once more prompt and more efficient. See the *Eloge de l'Hopital*, in those by Guibert, p. 158; and *Vie de Michel de l'Hopital*, Amsterdam, 1757.

Nevertheless, there met at Poissy, a small town near Paris, in the month of September following, the famous colloquy or conference of that name, convened by the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, who acted as regent during the king's minority, for the purpose of discovering, if possible, some method of accommodating the religious differences that were distracting the kingdom. The king, queen, and princes of the royal blood were present at first, together with some of the great lords attached to the court, and more private conferences took place afterwards betwixt the Reformed ministers and the Romish prelates, accompanied by some of the ablest doctors of the latter communion. But all was of no avail; each of the parties left the place without any change of sentiment.

Meanwhile the Reformed churches continued to hold their meetings, as they had done previous to the edict of July, and notwithstanding the rigour of its enactments, they met for public worship even in Paris.

The unpopularity of the government now began to raise many enemies against it; and the edict of July was employed by the discontented as a means of covering their several causes of dissatisfaction. Perceiving this, and that the tyranny of the Guise family, the more

intolerable as exercised by foreigners and intruders, was the true cause of these discontents, the queen-mother convoked a meeting at Paris, for the purpose of concerting measures of pacification. Persons of the first consideration, not only at court, but from all the provinces and parliaments of France, were invited to be present. But the Guises and those of their faction refused to attend. It was not the less resolved in their absence, that the Edict of July should be repealed, and that all matters regarding the Reformed religion should be regulated by a new edict.

That new edict appeared in the following January, and hence was called the Edict of January. It interdicted meetings of Protestants for worship in towns, but permitted them to be held without the walls. It also enacted that all parish churches, and other places of worship which the Protestants had begun to occupy, where their numbers seemed to sanction it, should be restored to the Roman Catholics. This, the first edict granting liberty of conscience to the Reformed churches of France, was declared to be provisional only. The parliaments by refusing at first to verify it, wished to deprive it of a sanction, which, though not indispensable to the legal force of a royal edict, was thought of considerable importance, the refusal forming

a check, though but a weak one, on the exercise of arbitrary and despotic power. Some never verified it; the greater number of Roman Catholics could not endure the idea of its having any force, and the Duke of Guise caused a massacre to be made of a body of the faithful, who had met for worship at Vassy, at a farm house, beyond the town, as was allowed by the edict.

That massacre was the occasion, or rather the commencement, of those disastrous movements, which, under the name of *troubles*, long distracted and convulsed France. After this the duke kept no further measures. He proceeded to take treasonable possession of Paris, and seized the persons both of the king and the queen, in order that he might conduct the government in their name.

On the other hand, the Prince of Condé was compelled to look to his own safety, and, to save himself from falling a second time into the hands of his enemies, retired to Orleans with the Admiral de Colligny. As for the King of Navarre, being an extremely weak-minded person, he allowed himself for a time to be blinded by certain hopes held out to him by the Pope, and abandoning the prince, his brother, together with the Protestant party, he ranged himself with that of the triumvirate. On the retreat of the

Prince of Condé, an attempt was made to bring matters to a settlement by negociations, but without success. The Queen-regent now saw that she was but the slave of the Guises, and accordingly addressed several letters to the prince, beseeching him among other things, *to save at once the mother, her children, and the kingdom.* Such were the very words of one of her letters, and they were long after appealed to by the Reformed, as affording the strongest evidence, that in taking up arms on that occasion, Condé and the Admiral acted the part of loyal Frenchmen and subjects, as well as of friends and patrons of the Reformation. There followed an open rupture between the two great parties, and a civil war.

These first troubles were appeased by a pacification, the articles of which were reduced to the form of an edict, according to which the Protestants were allowed to have public worship in several cities of the kingdom. It was called the Edict of March, as it dated from March 1562, and was the first of a series of the same nature, called edicts of pacification.

But it was not observed by the other party, whose cause, it will be perceived, became identified with that of the more violent Roman Catholics and the court of Rome. Hence new troubles, terminated at length by another edict in 1568.

That, too, being violated, the troubles were renewed, and appeased again by a third edict, comprising two remarkable clauses, not to be found in the former two. One of these bore that the edict was *to be perpetual and irrevocable*, and the other, *that all governors of provinces, his majesty's lieutenants'-general, bailiffs, seneschals, and other ordinary magistrates in cities, together with all mayors, town-clerks, capitouls, and other municipal officers, yearly or temporary, both such as should be in office at the time of the publication of the edict, and their successors, should swear to its observance.* In one word, it was to be national, and it was to be perpetual.

Who would not have believed that an edict, so solemn, and so solemnly sworn to, would have been religiously observed? Yet the very reverse was the result. It was while the Reformed were living under the faith of this very edict, that they became the victims of the most barbarous action, and of the blackest treachery to be found in the whole course of modern history. This was the massacre of St Bartholomew's day, 1572, that cruel and bloody deed, the remembrance of which fills many Roman Catholics, even now, with horror, and of which the brave Admiral de Colligny, the subject of the following Memoirs, may be said to have been the first, as he was also the most illustrious, victim.

MEMOIRS OF DE COLLIGNY.

CHAPTER I.

Remote origin of the Colligny family, and its ancient wealth and influence. The Admiral's immediate parentage. His elder brother being created a cardinal, Gaspar inherits the family estates and title. Early proofs of his talents and courage. Distinguishes himself at the battle of Serisoles. Appointed commander-in-chief of the French infantry. His army-reforms receive the royal sanction. Is knighted. Obliges the English to surrender Boulogne. Is appointed Admiral of France, and to other high offices. Charged with the conduct of the war with the Empire. Saves France by an honourable truce. Mischievous influence of the Guise family. The truce violated by France. His early intimacy with the Guises, and subsequent hostility between them. Is sent against the Spanish army in the Netherlands. Siege and loss of St Quentin. Is taken prisoner, and falls into a fever. Finds great comfort in reading the Scriptures.

On the borders of a district called la Bresse, near the ancient province of Franche Comté,* there stands an ancient village, called Colognac, from colonia, or coloniæ aqua. It formerly lay under a castle of the same name, built for the defence of the surrounding country, and the barons to whom it belonged bore the name of

* In the modern French department of the Saone and Loire

Colognac, further corrupted into Colligny. A passage in Cæsar's Commentaries seems to confirm an ancient tradition, that this was the spot at which that Roman general, while conducting his army into Gaul, gave an audience to certain ambassadors from the Burgundians and the Barri, who accused the Swiss of plundering their country, while passing on armed expeditions into Gaul. This supposition is confirmed by a neighbouring hill retaining the name July, and the adjacent village that of Cesiria.

These, however, are but doubtful traditions. What is very certain is, that the lords of Colognac once owned extensive estates in that quarter, and that the towns of Nantua and Montserrat, with their dependencies, formed part of the family domain. Not to mention other proofs, this is shown by all the adjacent towns, villages, and castles having long used what were called the Colognac measures, which are universally admitted to have had their origin there. The family arms of the house of Colligny bore a crowned eagle, whence it is certain that the lords of that name, held those ancient prerogatives of sovereignty, called regalities, that is, they could try their vassals for capital offences, could pardon and restore condemned persons, could coin money stamped with a crowned eagle,

and when circumstances required, could impose taxes. Their great wealth enabled them to make many rich religious endowments, such as Mireuil Abbey, in the county of Auxonne, those of Montmerle and Ceillon in la Bresse, and of Colognac in Burgundy. In the exercise of their sovereign prerogatives, also, they bestowed upon Creffort, Jasseron, Saint Germain, d'Abenau, Ambournay, and Poncin, privileges admitted by the inhabitants of all those places, to have been received by the lords of Colognac.

Certain very ancient title deeds in Mireuil Abbey prove, that in the year 1146, Humbert de Colligny followed the Emperor Conrad II. to the conquest of Jerusalem, and that after returning home, he went a second time into the East, attended by his six sons, Guerric, Guillaume, Humbert, Guy, Dalmacc, and Bernard. Guerric had two sons, Humbert, lord de Colligny, and d'Andelot, the seventh in descent from whom was William, lord of the barony of la Motte St Jean in Burgundy, and of Chatillon, on the river Loing in France. Gaspar, Admiral de Colligny's father, was this William's grandson. In short, not to speak of private titles, the memorials of that illustrious house, had been mixed up with the great movements of France, for nearly five hundred years.

Gaspar, the Admiral's father, flourished under Francis I. He married Louisa de Montmorency,* sister of the Constable de Montmorency, and as he lived on his barony of Chatillon, he and his descendants, according to the custom of France, took their title from it. He held the rank of field-marshall at the time of his father's death, which took place in 1522, as he was conducting a part of the king's troops to the relief of Fontarabia, besieged at that time by the Spaniards. His widow, who was left with three sons, Odet, Gaspar, and Francis, stood in high repute, both as a wife and a mother, and, even amid the dissipations of a court, maintained the character of a singularly holy person. She died while holding the office of maid of honour to the queen of Francis I., and gave her dying testimony to the true and pure religion which in life she had professed. Having that passage of scripture continually in her mouth, "His mercy is from generation to generation unto them that fear Him," she solemnly addressed her son Odet, who, notwithstanding his extreme youth, had been made a cardinal, and expressly forbade his

* This Louisa de Montmorency, according to Professor Genin, in his lately published *Notice sur Marguerite d'Angouleme*, was "the very exquisite and venerable lady, in whom all the virtues met in emulation of each other," under whom that accomplished sister of Francis I, received her early education.

sending for a priest to attend her, telling him that by a singular act of favour, God had revealed to her in what manner she ought to fear and serve Him in all godliness, and how she should escape from the bonds of the body to her celestial abode. She died at the town mansion of the Montmorency family in 1547. Odet was created a cardinal by Pope Clement VIII., at the age of sixteen, and this the pontiff did from political motives, calculating that the influence of the Colligny family might prove of use to him in preserving the large possessions he held in France. As that son was further provided for by the gift of several rich benefices from the king, his younger brother, Gasper, took his place as the representative of the family.

Gasper was born on the 16th of February 1517, and gave early proofs of courage and intelligence. His father's death in 1522, threw his education into the hands of his mother, and that excellent person committed him to the charge of Nicolas Berault, one of the most learned men of that age in France. She at the same time provided him with teachers in the various accomplishments that were then considered indispensable for a person of his rank, and particularly in the art of war and the use of arms, in both which he showed early profi-

ciency. When with the Dauphin at the siege of Bains, he distinguished himself by his promptitude and intrepidity, and as we learn from Du Bellay in relating the events of the year 1543, was wounded there in the neck, while approaching too near the great ditch. That same year, on the court of France being informed that the state of matters in Lombardy was such as to threaten hostilities, the young soldier took his leave of the king, and was present at the battle of Serisoles,* where he gave ample proofs of courage. Such, indeed, was his conduct on that occasion, that it afterwards led Henry the Second of France, to make him commandant of the whole of his infantry,† his mother's brother, Anne de Montmorency, holding at the same time the high office of Constable of France. In his new office, Gaspar de Colligny became so distinguished for justice, valour and prudence, as in a few months to make himself an object of universal praise and affection. The soldiers of

* The gaining of the battle of Serisoles, or Cerisolles, by the French, in 1544, was of great consequence to Francis I., who had become involved in hostilities, both with the Emperor Charles V., and Henry VIII. of England.

† The President Hainault says, under the year 1554, "it was about this time that the office of colonel-general of the infantry began to be known." This we suppose is that here called commandant of the infantry.

France before his time, even when embodied, had become invcterately addicted to prowl about the country, committing pillage and other mischief, but he regulated military discipline by the strictest laws, and restrained all excesses, particularly the execrable license of military men in France, in profane swearing and blasphemy. It would appear that the seeds of true godliness were sown in his heart, even at this early period. Sanctioned by the approval of all good men, his military regulations were soon promulgated in the king's name, and obtained the full force of royal ordinances. The king at the same time conferred on him the honour of knighthood, which, though much depreciated afterwards, was reckoned a high distinction in those days.

France and England were now on the eve of war, the subject in dispute being the town of Boulogne, which by the last peace had been pledged to the English, but which the French king thought he might now recover, by taking advantage of the distractions prevailing in England. After attempting this in vain himself, he left his army, and the entire command of that district, to Colligny, who forthwith proceeded to Picardy, and began the siege of Boulogne. It was on this occasion that he gave directions for the construction of a singular kind

of fort, placed near enough to the town to be extremely effective, and so ingeniously constructed, that, for a century after, it bore the name of Chatillon from its contriver. Such was the advantage it gave the besiegers, that the English soon after capitulated, and the entire charge of the negotiations fell upon de Colligny and his maternal uncle Rochepot.

After this he returned to court, and, some years later, was made Admiral of France, an office of the highest dignity, and conferring on the person who held it the chief command of the entire sea-coast and military marine of the country. He was invested, likewise, with the military command of the provinces of Picardy and the Isle of France, received the captaincy of 100 men-at-arms, and was made a member of the councils of state and privy council. In the following year, when the Emperor Charles V. and Maria, Queen of Hungary, combined their forces against the king of France, such was the confidence felt by all good men in the judgment and virtue of de Colligny, whom we shall now call the Admiral, that with one consent he was appointed to the sole command in opposing this formidable confederacy. His own province of Picardy being threatened with an overwhelming invasion, he had instantly to collect an army

on the Netherlands frontier, at a time when the union of such mighty enemies, the high reputation of Charles V., and the king of France's want of money, and of everything else required for such a crisis, were spreading a panic throughout the kingdom. Indeed, its ruin seemed inevitable; and such was the Admiral's own sense of the danger to which it was exposed, that, after consulting his friends, he advised the king to propose a truce, as his best resource. This suggestion being well received by the king and his council, they charged its author to carry it into effect; and this he did in the course of a few days to the satisfaction of all, and with the credit of having saved his country on most honourable and advantageous terms.

About this time the princes of the house of Guise,—a branch of that of Lorraine,—set up a title to the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, alleging that the Spaniards had unjustly usurped them from their predecessors; and having led the king of France to believe that, by means of favours and promises, they had gained over a considerable part of the Neapolitan nobility, so that, if the king would but trust them with part of his forces, they could easily find access into that kingdom, and reduce the whole of it into subjection to the French crown, the truce that

had been sworn to only a few months before, was, to the disgrace of the French nation, violated. Great was the Admiral's regret and mortification at this perfidy; nor could he cease saying with regard to it, that the consequences of perjury were always fatal, and that God in all ages had been its unfailing avenger. He was on this occasion obliged, by the king's command, to go into the province of which he was governor, there to concert and execute military measures in the face of that very peace, for the maintenance of which he had so lately pledged his honour. Such was the origin of the first misunderstandings, followed by confirmed hostility, between the Guises and him, and which were exasperated by the Admiral having thought himself bound to preside at a duel which the king had permitted two *gentils-hommes** to fight on the borders of Picardy, in respect that, though the Duke of Guise was present, the combat took place within the limits of his governorship. It was said that this duke had another ground for the enmity he bore towards the Admiral. Such intimate friends had they been in their younger days, and so eager to make a display of their intimacy, that they used to dress in the same fashion and colour. In the

* Men of noble family.

course of this friendship, the duke happened to ask the Admiral's advice on the project entertained by his brother d'Aumale, of marrying the daughter of the Seneschalle du Valentinois, the king's mistress, and a person exceedingly censured by people of any pretensions to decency of character. The Admiral replied, that he made more account of a little good reputation than of much wealth; and this was taken in very ill part by the two brothers, as having been said for the mere purpose of diverting them from the pursuit of power and worldly dignity.

No sooner did the king hear that the Spanish forces were concentrated at one point on the Netherlands frontier, and that prompt measures were required for the defence of Picardy, than he thought fit that the Admiral, as governor of the province, should proceed thither with a body of troops; but hardly had these accomplished a two days' march, when secret intelligence was brought that the enemy designed to lay siege to St Quentin, a city of some note in Picardy, and to bombard it with a numerous artillery. This news, confirmed by a letter from the governor of Ham, produced such a panic in all that quarter, that many heads of families, abandoning all they had, thought only of flying with

their wives and children. On being informed of this general despondency, the Admiral perceived that it was no time to seem as if he, too, had lost heart, and accordingly he advanced by forced marches to the spot. Jarnac and Lausarche, indeed, whom he had placed over the cavalry, would have had him alter his plan, urging that the town of St Quentin was neither fortified nor provisioned—that its inhabitants were already subdued by their fears—that the enemy would be at its gates before anything could be done for its defence, and, moreover, that it would be at once more advantageous and more creditable to carry on the war in the open country, than to shut themselves up within walls, and think only of their personal safety. But the Admiral's purpose was not to be shaken. He showed the importance of the place for repelling the efforts that any enemy might make against the country, of what consequence it was to the defence of the province that had been entrusted to him, and the advantage that it would give to his personal enemies and ill-wishers, were he to change his plans. Next day brought him the sad intelligence that the greater number of the troops whom the king had destined for the defence of the place, and whom he had sent on before by a single night's

march to keep up the spirits of the inhabitants, had lost heart and fled, some concealing themselves in the woods, and others making the best of their way home by cross-roads and bye-paths. That day, accordingly, brought him only 120 followers, and the next an equal number; discovering which, by means of spies, the enemy immediately invested the place, and began to draw his lines about it. On his obtaining possession of some houses in the suburbs, and approaching the great ditch with his trenches, the Admiral sallied out, set fire to his fascines, and drove him to a greater distance.

On the day following, after having made the entire circuit of the town, and examined it at all those parts where there was no rampart or fortification, the Admiral began to have a bad opinion of the place, and suspected that the siege would be obstinate and bloody. Still, having been called to defend it, and having no alternative but either to save his country by repelling the enemy's efforts, or to die in the attempt, he omitted nothing that care, labour, and vigilance could do, in the way of fortifying, repairing, or demolishing, according as the case seemed to require; and, to show a good example to the towns-people, soldiers, and *gentils-hommes*, he was the first to put his own hands to the

work, and steadily persevered at it. While thus overcharged with engagements, he was suddenly informed of the unexpected appearance of his brother d'Andelot, who succeeded in finding his way into the town with 500 men. In addition to this, the King, on learning how much reason there was to dread that the place might be taken, ordered the Constable to proceed thither with some troops of horse, to throw provisions into it, and to augment the garrison.

All this, however, proved of little avail. The Spaniards attacked and defeated the Constable, took him prisoner, and chased back what remained of his troops after sustaining a heavy loss. When the news of this disaster reached St Quentin, such was the consternation it produced that the Admiral seemed to have nothing farther to say in favour of his plan. Yet, grieved as he felt at the news, and at the critical condition of his country, his resolution remained unshaken. He called a public meeting, and there, after maintaining that at such a crisis every man ought to value his country at more than his life, he obliged all the burgesses and soldiers to swear, himself setting the example, that the first that spoke of surrendering should deserve being put to death, and might be slain with impunity.

Flushed with their success, the Spaniards re-

sumed the siege, and for twenty days bombarded the town, favoured meanwhile by certain walls, which enabled them to approach the great ditch with their trenches, with great facility and safety. When the Admiral saw that a considerable part of the wall had been demolished by the enemy's guns, that a large breach had been effected, and that an assault would soon be attempted, after encouraging his men to repel it, and assuring them that if they once succeeded in doing so, it would not be readily repeated, he took his own post where he perceived the largest breach, leaving the others to be defended by his brother and his friends. But when the Spaniards saw where he was posted, apprehending the resistance they might find there, they forced their way into the place by the two other breaches. Perceiving this, the Admiral left his most trusty followers at the great breach, and hastened to the nearest of the others; but he found that it had been already entered, and all that part of the town was full of enemies. His sole companions were now a young gentleman of his own bringing up, called Avantigny, a valet, and a page who carried his pike; and the whole party was immediately surrounded and attacked. The Admiral being recognised and made prisoner, was sent, after the town was taken, to Ecluse,

where he fell into a fever and lay ill for six weeks. As soon as he began to recover he asked for the Holy Scriptures, in order that in the perusal of their pages he might find consolation and relief; and such was the interest that he felt in that occupation, that, from that time, we may date the love he showed ever afterwards, for true religion and vital godliness, and his desire to worship God aright.*

* The battle of St Quentin, as the assault of that place was called, happened in 1557. The Reformation had by that time made considerable progress in France.

CHAPTER II.

The Admiral is ransomed, and retires to Chatillon. Disgust with the court leads him to resign his great offices. Francis II. succeeds Henry II. The influence of the Guises becomes all powerful on the king's marrying their niece, the Queen of Scots. Character and conduct of Charlotte de la Val, the Admiral's wife. Domestic reform at Chatillon. Change of life on the part of the Admiral and his brothers. His difficulties with respect to the Lord's supper. His open profession of the Reformation. Tumult of Amboise. Meeting of the nobility at Fountainbleau in 1560, where the Admiral presents a *Supplication* in favour of the Reformed to the king. Demise of Francis II., and the succession of Charles IX. A meeting of the States-General again proposed. The Admiral's advice disapproved. The States meet, and a petition presented in favour of the Reformed. Absurd opposition to it by a doctor of canon law. Great relief obtained by the Reformed.

RESTORED to his own home by the payment of a ransom of 50,000 crowns, the Admiral there enjoyed the repose which he so much needed. Disgusted with the partizanships and intrigues of the court, and influenced by his religious views, he resigned the colonelcy of infantry to his brother D'Andelot, and the governorship of the Isle of France to his cousin, Marshal de Montmorency, son of the Constable of that name. Some time after, he sent one of his friends to the king, with the humble request, that, as he was desirous of returning into his majesty's

hands the governorship of Picardy, his majesty would advise with respect to the person to whom it could best be transferred. The king replied, that he thought that the Admiral had formed a very strange resolution, that he had been ill-advised in resigning so many commands and offices, and that it might lead many to suspect that he had changed his religion. And, indeed, it did very clearly appear that his mind was altogether withdrawn from ambition, and from coveting power and greatness.

On the death of Henry, Francis II. succeeded to the throne of France, while as yet very young. Having married Mary, Queen of Scotland, and niece to the Duke of Guise, Francis fell so much under the influence of the Guise family, and his connexion gave them so much favour and authority, that the duke and his brothers were commonly called the king's uncles. They often made their niece's claims on the crown of England the subject of conversation with him, holding them out as a lure to his ambition. The Admiral was aware of this, and he knew, besides, that, from their natural cruelty and violence, they would never cease from suggesting turbulent counsels, and, above all, the persecution of the Reformed religion. Hence, he resumed his first purpose of resigning

his governorship, and communicated this resolution to Louis of Bourbon, Prince of Condé, who had married his sister's daughter, in order that he might obtain for him the king's consent.

And now, being rid of the distractions of public life, and of everything that could divert his mind from religious meditations, he took up his residence at his own house at Châtillon all the more willingly, inasmuch as Charlotte de la Val, his wife, a lady of an ancient and illustrious family, was so much disposed to adopt the same course, that she never ceased soliciting him to reject all superstition and worship of idols, and to embrace the true Christian religion with his whole heart. Thus often and affectionately pressed by her on this subject, the Admiral resolved once for all to open his mind to her with respect to it, and this he did by representing at great length, that for many years back, no one had ever been seen or heard of, either in Germany or in France, who had openly professed the Reformed faith, without being, on that account, overwhelmed with calamities, and that by the edicts of Francis I. and Henry II., which were rigorously enforced by the supreme courts throughout France, persons convicted of this alleged heresy, were condemned to be burnt at

slow fires in places of public resort, and to forfeit their property to the crown. Nevertheless, if she felt so confidently disposed not to refuse any condition that was common to all who made that profession, he, for his part, would not be wanting to what he deemed to be his duty. She replied that that condition was no more than what had ever been the lot of the church of God, and she doubted not that so it would continue to be to the end of the world.* Thereupon they mutually pledged themselves, and the Admiral gradually began to lead his domestics and friends to the knowledge of God, giving them the Bible to read, together with such French books on the Reformed religion as were then to be had. He likewise prohibited the profane swearing and blasphemy so common at that time in France, and particularly at court. He engaged worthy persons to conduct the education of his children, and to furnish them with instruction suited to their age. Such was the effect of all this, that in a few months the whole household at Châtillon presented a new

* The christian heroism of Margaret de la Val cannot be fully appreciated without attending to the circumstances of the Reformed at that time in France. They were attacked not only with the most cruel persecutions, but with what must have been more terrible to the pure mind of such a woman, with the most flagitious slanders.

aspect; even the Admiral's brothers, Odet, he that had been created a cardinal, and D'Andelot, eagerly engaged in studying the doctrines of the Reformation.

The Admiral himself had been brought up amid the pleasures and corruptions of a court, and these he had not altogether abandoned until thoroughly imbued with these new principles. But such a change then took place in his life and manners as clearly proved the operation of the Holy Ghost, and the truth of the Saviour's saying, that he that is born of the Spirit is a new man. And here let us note what took place previous to the Admiral's venturing to come to the banquet and sacrament of the Lord's Supper. He had conferred repeatedly with very learned pastors of the French churches, both about transubstantiation, as it is called by the Sorbonne,* and about consubstantiation; and whereas, in so far as human apprehension can reach, it would seem that the Divine presence must in some sort be locally enclosed in a particular place, there to be worshipped as God was in former times, in the ark of the cove-

* The college of the Sorbonne was an ecclesiastical faculty or corporation in Paris, consisting of doctors of divinity whose decisions on disputed questions, were long looked up to with much respect throughout Roman Catholic Europe, and particularly in France.

nant, the Admiral would have it that the presence of Christ's body, that is, of his flesh, bones, and blood, was certainly mingled with the bread and wine. At length, happening to be present at a secret meeting for public worship held at Vatteville, with very few to engage in it, as was usual at that time, and the Lord's Supper being to be celebrated at the close, he besought those present not to be scandalized at his weakness, but to pray for him, and then begged the minister to explain more fully the mystery of the supper, and this he did as follows :—

"The Lord's Supper," he said, "had two parts, the one human and natural, the object of contemplation to the eyes of the body; the other divine and heavenly, to be viewed only by the eyes of the soul. The former depended on the minister who gave the bread and the wine, and on the act of eating and drinking also; the whole action being accomplished by human and natural means; whereas the latter depended on God who bestows it, and with it the whole fruit to be derived from the body of Christ, crucified, raised again, and glorified, according as God enables us to participate in the supper: that it depended also on the Christian's confidence and consentment, and that this whole mysterious action is accomplished by means that are divine,

heavenly, and supernatural. Still, inasmuch as it has been instituted, not on account of the bread and wine, but for the Christian's sake, and should be considered with an eye to this end, in vain would we too curiously inquire whether there be not something added to the bread, mingled with the bread, under the bread, or about the bread; that the bread and the wine pertained to the external action just so as, and no otherwise than, the water and the washing of baptism to the external action; and, accordingly, that he ought to raise his mind on high to the heavenly and inward action, and to think only of the operation of God in that great mystery, as St Paul intimates when he says: 'The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?' And we ought with him to exclaim that the union of Christ with his church is a great mystery. And St Augustine has very well and truly said, that to eat the bread which perisheth not, but which endureth unto everlasting life, is to believe in Christ. And wherefore make you ready the teeth and the stomach? believe, and thou hast eaten, and prepare, not the palate, but the heart."

Instructed by these words, the Admiral first gave thanks to God and then to the whole church; resolving in his own mind from thence-

forth to take part in that sacred and holy mystery, on the first occasion of its being celebrated; a resolution which was no sooner divulged throughout France than it gave incredible comfort and delight to the professors of *the religion*, who down to that hour had been compelled by the most rigorous royal prohibitions, and by parliamentary penalties and inflictions, to meet, like the early Christians, in secret only. That religion, indeed, was not long of marvellously increasing in all the provinces of France, as may be seen from the very edicts of Henry II. and Francis II., complaining that it was extending and augmenting in all parts of the kingdom, and just so much the more in that, like Francis I., they made violent efforts to suppress it.

Shortly afterwards there occurred the tumult of Amboise,* followed by the rising of many of

* Laval, in his "Compendious History of the Reformation in France," and Mr Browning in his "History of the Huguenots," have fully discussed the question how far the Reformed were implicated in what was called the tumult or conspiracy of Amboise. Brantôme, says Mr Browning, though personally attached to the Guises, declares that Colligny had no part in the conspiracy. It originated in the resentment of the French nobility and nation at the Guises taking the government into their own hands on the accession of Francis II., in contravention of a law passed by the three estates at Blois, in 1484, according to which, on the accession of a minor to the throne, the Three Estates, that is, the nobles, clergy, and people, should be con-

the nobility against the Guise faction—matters in which we find some of the princes and highest nobility led to take a part, by their impatience of the boundless license and pride of the Guise family. As the prince of Condé was not altogether without suspicion of being a party to that movement, and the King of Navarre as little, the Guises thought fit to advise the king to convene the nobility at Fountainbleau, that he might ascertain their individual opinions on the subject of the Reformed religion. When the appointed day arrived, being the 24th of August 1560, on the king desiring to have the advice of those present, the Admiral, with the utmost respect and submission, rose from his seat and presented two petitions, inscribed thus:—

"Supplication of those who in sundry provinces call on the name of God according to the rule of piety."

The king handed them to Aubespine, secretary of orders, to read aloud. The Admiral's conduct on this occasion seemed very bold to the

vened, and should appoint a council for conducting the affairs of the kingdom during the king's minority. The conspiracy failed owing to the imprudence of some of the parties, and the sagacity and promptitude of the Guises.

king and all present, both as being unprecedented, and because of what had previously taken place, not to mention the king's extreme detestation of the Reformed religion, and the great power of the Guise faction. The petitions showed that those who worshipped God piously, and according to his own ordinances, took occasion very humbly to supplicate his majesty, that he would be pleased to manifest his clemency and goodness with respect to a great number of his subjects, who, up to that hour, had been suffering many molestations, miseries, and rigours, on account of their religion; that he would not account it a hardship to listen to what they had to say, and to receive holy scripture as the judge in such important differences; and that he might easily know how far they were removed not only from the crime of heresy, of which they had before been accused, but also from everything approaching to that of sedition, inasmuch as they felt that, in their worst afflictions, they ought not to have recourse to violence or to arms, but to his majesty's kindness and clemency alone. Meanwhile they prayed that he would suspend the judicial sentences which were in course of being issued against them—sentences which had to that time saturated all parts of his kingdom with the

blood of his subjects; and that their condition hitherto had been so much the more wretched, in that they were compelled to plead before judges, who, being under the influence of the pope, acted as enemies rather than judges and impartial persons; that they therefore supplicated his majesty to regard the calamities of so many families of his own subjects, who had ever owned him as their king and most clement lord, and who piously and affectionately honoured him, according to God's commandment, being all ready, when the occasion might require, to employ and lay down their lives in his service, and in maintaining his dignity; and that, as God had placed them under his good faith and protection, it was reasonable that he should defend them against the power and cruelty of their enemies; that they supplicated him also to grant them leave to worship God openly, to receive instruction in the true religion from their preachers, and take part in the sacraments ordained by God, lest, from their religion remaining unknown because of the secrecy of their meetings, they should continue to suffer from the calumnies of their ill-wishers.

After the petitions had been read, opinions were asked and given, not so much on the subject of religion, as about the heavy debts owing

by the king. The Admiral frankly suggested several other points to be deliberated upon; and, in particular, that of the troops which the House of Guise had raised within the kingdom, under pretext of providing a guard for the king, as if he were in some foreign country, and not among his own subjects, and really needed such a safeguard for his personal security; that the royal authority, on the contrary, was so amply recognised in France, that any kind of sedition might easily be put down by a single public officer, acting on orders from the king.

These words sank deep into the minds of the Guises, and greatly increased the hatred they bore towards the Admiral. Some thought that a meeting of the States-General should be called, and a day fixed to that effect. It was likewise urged, chiefly by Marillac, archbishop of Vienne, and by the chancellor l'Hospital, a man of great weight, that such was the ancient and wonted custom among the French, although it had been intermitted in practice for the preceding eighty-seven years, owing to the calumnies of certain flatterers of the crown.

Charles IX. having about this time* succeeded his elder brother, Francis II., when about the age of ten years, it was again pro-

* Dec. 5, 1560.

posed that there should be a meeting of the States. Catherine de Medicis, the king's mother and a Florentine, thought only at this time, as is usual with queens during their widowhood, of governing her house and preserving her son; having, besides, entirely withdrawn from meddling with the state's affairs and the government. Indeed, as long as the Guises administered the government, she found herself strictly confined within her own sphere. But there being reason to apprehend danger, apparently because the nobility were no longer disposed to tolerate the fires, tortures, and other inflictions wherewith the Reformed were prosecuted, and as the queen-mother herself affected to be not far from becoming one of the favourers of the Reformation, the Admiral successfully endeavoured to have her admitted to a share in the government, together with the King of Navarre, on whom the regency had been settled. This step was far from being approved by many of the country's well-wishers; and these appealed to history as universally testifying that the administration of state affairs was never conferred on queen-mothers, least of all in the case of their being foreigners, without its being followed with loss, ruin, and civil war.

The States met at last, and the spokesman of

the nobility, at the close of his address, presented a petition to the king, praying that he would permit the exercise of the pure religion, called the Reformed, in public places. This was opposed by none but a doctor of the canon law, of the name of Quintin, who harangued at length on the subject. His discourse indeed, was rather read than spoken, and whenever he felt at a loss for a word, priests were at hand to prompt him. He had the boldness to say that they who craved the use of public ground for the exercise of the Reformed religion, deserved to be punished as guilty of treason, and as favourers of a new religion. The Admiral complained of this to the privy council, on which the confounded doctor confessed that he had said nothing of his own, but had merely read out what had been handed to him in writing by the church people, and that he was ready to declare before the same meeting of the States, and in his majesty's presence, as he actually did some days after, that he had no intention of alluding to the Admiral, who thereupon expressed himself satisfied. At length the command went forth from the king to all the magistrates and judges of the kingdom, that all persons detained as prisoners on account of religion, should instantly be set at liberty, and the most rigorous

prohibitions were issued against the molestation of any person whatsoever on that pretence.

The question as to what public places were to be allowed for the celebration of the Reformed worship, was to be discussed at a meeting of the States, which was to have been held at Ponthoise, but which never took place. In the following January, however, at a meeting of the princes and grandees at St Germain, to which all the parliaments* sent their deputies, the exercise of the Reformed religion was allowed in the suburbs of all the towns of France, by an edict of the king, which was promulgated throughout the entire kingdom.

* Besides the parliament of Paris, each of the provinces had a parliament of its own. These parliaments, however, were not representative bodies, but mere law courts, consisting of lawyers only.

CHAPTER III.

Massacre of a Reformed congregation at Vassy. The King of Navarre deserts the Reformed. The Guises seize the persons of the King and the Queen-mother. The latter sends for assistance to the Prince of Condé and the Admiral. The Prince's defence of his armed resistance to the Guises. The first civil war commences. Appointed second in command. The Queen's treacherous conduct at Boisgency. The Admiral compels her to restore the Prince, and retakes Boisgency. He loses his eldest son Gaspar. The Guises raise troops in Switzerland and Germany. D'Andelot raises nine thousand men in Germany. Convoy taken by the Admiral. Condé is defeated and made prisoner by the Duke of Guise at Dreux. The Admiral partially redeems this loss. The Constable taken. The Marshal St André and la Brosse killed. Guise attacks Orleans. The Admiral takes Caen. The Duke of Guise assassinated by Poltrot. The edict of pacification renewed. Guise's widow accuses the Admiral of having suborned Poltrot. His defence sustained by the King and Council. Attempt to poison the Admiral discovered.

No sooner did the State begin to breathe again on the publication of this ordinance, and the Reformed worship to be peaceably held in the suburbs of the great towns, including Paris itself, than news arrived that the Duke of Guise, after retiring into Champagne, had caused about two hundred persons to be massacred for having met for worship, under the sanction of the king's edict. This massacre took place at Vassy, while its victims were engaged in prayer and psalmody.

The Duke of Guise boasted of his being the author of it, and he had been emboldened to its perpetration by the friendship he had contracted with the King of Navarre, whose weak mind he had contrived to influence by holding out to him the prospect of succeeding to the kingdom of Sardinia, and various other promises. Thus assured, he came shortly after to court, accompanied by his brothers and a great many armed persons, and possessing himself of the person of the king, who was then a mere child, and of his mother the queen, who seemed to repel such violence by her prayers and tears, he conducted her, first to Melun, and then to Paris. During these proceedings, the queen-mother sent several messengers to the Admiral, and wrote, also, with her own hand, to the Prince of Condé, entreating him that he would come to the rescue of herself and her little ones, and seriously to consider what was fitting to be done for the salvation of the kingdom.

This letter, supported as it was by the entreaties of the greater part of the nobility, induced that prince to declare war against the Guise faction, for the purpose of rescuing the king. This he often declared in public, saying that, since the occasion so completely justified him, he needed not fear being traduced as a

man that sought to advance his religion by force of arms, or that made war on the king; that, at the convention of the States at Orleans, at the instance of the nobility and the commons, praying that they might be permitted to worship God according to their religious convictions, it was enacted that no person should in future be exposed, on that account, to any danger, or suffer any damage; and that thereafter an edict drawn up at a very notable meeting, permitted *the exercise*, as it was called, in all the suburbs of cities, and in all the villages. What right, then, had a Guisart from Lorraine to usurp the kingdom of France? What was his effrontery in daring to commit such an atrocity upon the king's subjects? Besides, there remained no other remedy but to oppose force to force; and, in fine, it was not he that commenced hostilities. He had only had recourse to them in defending persons who were attacked while living at peace with all men: that it was well known in France, and the report had even reached Germany, that the Duke of Nemours, instigated by the Guise faction, had endeavoured, by fine speeches, to abuse Henry, the king's brother, then but a child, and who was afterwards elected King of Poland, with the view of transporting him out of the kingdom,—

a design which was told by the young prince to his mother, and soon became generally known: That those same persons, in contempt of a convention of the states, as well as of a royal edict, and with an insolence altogether intolerable, had fallen furiously on the persons who had met at Vassy, and had put them to death: That they had laid violent hands on the king, and the queen, his mother, taking them as they thought fit, to Melun and Paris: That, shortly before this, while on the German frontier, they had brought some of the princes of Germany, to be admitted among the number of protestants, and induced Christian, Duke of Wirtemberg, a prince of great courage and prudence, to show himself in the town of Savern, near Strasbourg, where the Cardinal of Lorraine, in presence of that prince, and of several German and French professors of the reformed religion, twice delivered such discourses before the public in church, as led the greater number of persons present to believe that he and his brothers wished to embrace that religion, and to be received among the protestants.

Matters being known to stand thus, so general was the approbation given to the prince of Condé's design that, within a few days, several cities surrendered to him, and took his side.

Among these were Orleans, Blois, Tours, Bourges, Rouen, Vienne, Valence, Nismes, and Montauban. Thus began the first civil war, caused most assuredly by the massacre at Vassy.

Now, as the Reformed, with one consent, committed the charge of the war to the Prince of Condé, they proceeded, with the like consentment, to make the Admiral commander-in-chief, and lieutenant-general,—such was the high estimation in which he was held for uprightness, authority, and wisdom. Meanwhile the queen-mother meditated negotiations for peace; and, in order to this, she besought the Prince of Condé to come to her army, which she requested him to allow being quartered in the town of Boisgency, for a few days, as the bridge over the Loire, at that town, would be a very convenient spot for a conference. On this, the prince, without taking hostages, on the mere word of the king of Navarre, and the promises of the queen-mother, proceeded to their army, and merely craved from the queen that, during the parley, the constable de Montmorency, the duke of Guise, and the marshal de St André, which three were commonly called the Triumvirate, formed for the ruin of the state, should retire from the camp. This being granted, the prince withdrew his own garrison from

Boisgency, which town was forthwith handed over to the queen-mother. But, far from keeping her promise, and notwithstanding all that she had said about peace and reconciliation, she not only detained the prince, but seized on the place, garrisoned it, and furnished it with every thing necessary for war. But so piqued was the Admiral at this perfidy, and so unwilling to be wanting to the duty he owed to the prince, that, marching suddenly with his cavalry on the enemy's camp, he threw it into such consternation, that the prince, by the queen's orders, was restored to his friends. Without loss of time, he took the place in a few days from the time of his approaching it; not, however, without the loss, among others, of his eldest son Gaspar, who fell ill and died in the city of Orleans, a boy not nine years old, but of so fine a disposition, that his father was greatly cast down by his death.

Meanwhile the Guise faction, finding that they were abandoned by the French themselves, whose interests were suspended in the event, and that the Prince of Condé's party preponderated, thought of having recourse to foreigners, and began to levy infantry in Switzerland, and horse in Germany. This the Admiral often denounced as treasonable and rebellious, and as

proving that they had evil intentions towards the state, so clearly that, were the point to be debated, in the manner of the ancients, on the ground of the interest and public rights of the French, one might appeal to the ordinances and meetings of the states, which had unquestionably been of supreme authority ever since the foundation of the kingdom: That were it to be brought to the decision of arms, none could fail to see that the greater number of the French was on his side. But to send for foreign troops to oppress native Frenchmen, showed any thing but a French spirit, and was the part rather of a barbarous and cruel enemy!

While such, however, was the language held by the Admiral, he felt too repugnant to be wanting to the regard entertained for him by his friends, and by the many cities which had given him their confidence, not to take advantage at such a crisis, and when threatened by hostile foreign troops, of the friendly regards of some of the German princes towards the Reformed churches of France. To these, accordingly, he sent his brother D'Andelot, with a request for assistance, so that they might oppose foreigner to foreigner; and, as the result of this mission, the latter, within three months time, returned with three thousand horse and six thousand infantry.

Meanwhile it was discovered that a battering train, with a quantity of gunpowder, was on its way to the Duke of Guise, under command of De Chon, a Lorrainer, and no bad soldier, attended by six troops of cavalry, and several companies of infantry, with the design of besieging Bourges, where the Admiral then was. Resolved not to lose so fair an opportunity of attacking this convoy while on its march, the latter set off with a body of cavalry, and by forced marches, met De Chon and his party, who could hardly stand the first charge. The greater number threw away their arms and fled, the infantry making off with the artillery horses, and abandoning the guns, together with a waggon laden with ammunition. De Chon himself was taken while fighting. Unable to make any use of the spoil, from want of horses to carry it off, the Admiral first tried to burst the cannon with overcharges, failing in which, he piled guns, gunpowder, and carriages in one heap, and did his best to make all useless by the explosion.*

Reinforced by D'Andelot's nine thousand Germans, the Prince of Condé now marched on

* The simple process of spiking the guns, seems to have been then unknown. The author of these Memoirs adds, with a simplicity that gives great truthfulness to his narrative, that the Admiral's soldiers were much astonished at the noise of the explosion.

Paris with a sufficiently powerful force, and the Guises, on their side, drew out their forces, including a battalion of Swiss, on which they mainly relied. These encountering the Prince near Dreux, a place said to have been at one time a residence of the Druids, an engagement took place, but the result was uncertain. On the side of the Guises, the Constable was taken prisoner, and on that of Condé, the prince himself—a loss which threatened the utter discomfiture of his forces. For the greater number became so disheartened as to begin to give way, part having already thrown away their arms and fled, part lying dead on the field, and part having surrendered themselves prisoners. At this crisis, the Admiral drew his cavalry together into a wood, and after admonishing them not to make more account of their lives than their religion, country, and honour, he led them again to battle. In this charge the Marshal St André, a man whose credit was high at court, la Brosse, the Duke of Guise's lieutenant, and several other *gentils-hommes* were killed. The Constable, who commanded the enemy's troops, and was a person of great influence, was taken prisoner by a brave man of the name of Stuart, lord of Vesine, who again and again rescued him from being put to death by some of the soldiers

that wanted to kill him. Stuart was the more concerned about his safety, because of his being connected with the Admiral; and because, had his life been taken, Condé's would have been in jeopardy. In the end he was carried safe into Orleans.

The state of matters now became almost desperate; mutual exasperation apparently taking away all prospect of peace. Guise made a furious attack on Orleans. Leaving his brother D'Andelot to defend it, the Admiral took the road to Normandy, and laid siege to the castle of Caen, to which the Marquis of Elboeuf, one of Guise's brothers, had retired some days before. Seeing the city taken, Elboeuf surrendered the castle, with all the arms it contained, on terms.

Meanwhile a youth of noble family, called Poltrot, Sieur of Mercy, who had attached himself to the Reformed Church, and been for some time a follower of the Prince of Condé, found his way into the Duke of Guise's army. He had long detested the duke on account of the whole tenor of his life, as that of a parricide of his country, and the grand cause of its many calamities. His resentment having worked itself into frenzy, he had formed a sudden and spontaneous resolution at Lyons, to assassinate the Duke; and adopting the ancient maxim, that

all means are fair against an enemy, he resolved to desert to the opposite camp, and to watch there for an opportunity of effecting his object. Feelings of honour or conscience prevailed with him so far only, that he was resolved not to accept of any protection or benefit from Guise, or in any way to owe him allegiance, so as to render himself obnoxious to the charge of being a traitor. "But seeing," said he, "that I have never sworn allegiance to him, what harm can there be in my imitating the virtuous example of Scævola, when he determined that he would assassinate Porsenna?" He had been but a few days in the camp, when he seized an opportunity of firing at the Duke, and shot him with a pistol ball through the right shoulder, of which he died in a few days.

No sooner did this event take place than peace was re-established, and the edict for the free exercise of the Reformed religion throughout France was renewed under certain conditions; so that the conclusion with most was, that the Duke of Guise had been to the French what Paris was to the Trojans, the cause of all their calamities—since by his death the war had been immediately extinguished. Shortly after this the Admiral was sent for to court, and there he had to commence war with a woman; for the

Duke of Guise's widow, throwing herself at the king's feet, and bursting into tears, implored him to revenge her husband's death on the Admiral, who, she insisted, had been the author of it. The Admiral, however, plainly saw that this farce did not originate with her, but that she had been instigated to act thus from a higher quarter, in hopes that after having failed to subdue him by arms, he might be destroyed by chicanery; and accordingly he demonstrated to the king, queen-mother, and whole council, that Poltrot had already been tried and executed for this murder. Rightly or wrongly, it was no time now to debate, and any how, if there had been a crime, there had also been satisfaction enough in the tortures inflicted on Poltrot, who had been dragged asunder by four horses in Paris, after not only confessing his guilt, but glorying in it, and avowing that heaven had inspired him with a resolution to do the deed, and that he had no doubt of having done what was agreeable to God, and a most notable and salutary service to his country, by removing from the world a furious tyrant, who had thirsted perpetually for christian blood: that though, possibly, while confined in prison, and loaded with irons, in hopes of escaping punishment, and to give himself importance, he might have implicated him, they

ought to have kept Poltrot alive, in compliance with what, during the prisoner's life, he (the Admiral) had demanded in sundry letters and declarations, so that, on the war being concluded, he might have been interrogated in his accuser's presence, according to the common forms of justice; and that neither the testimony nor the accusation of a dead man could have any weight in the case of a capital charge, above all, one in which the accused was of such rank and dignity. But even allowing all this to go for nothing, a general pacification and reconciliation had followed, on public grounds, and which was to restore harmony, not only between the soldiers on both sides, but also, and specially, between the chiefs and leaders—to all which, this new complaint was directly repugnant: that in all consistency, it might equally be allowed to him to lodge informations against those who now accused him, for it would be easy to show that the late Duke of Guise had committed most enormous cruelties against the king's subjects; had violated the most sacred ordinances of the kingdom, after these had been confirmed by royal edicts; had taken up arms on his own private authority, which was treason; had troubled the State, had broken all laws, human and divine, and had been a firebrand, which for

thirteen months had thrown all France into a blaze.

This defence on the part of the Admiral, was followed by repeated attempts on that of the Guise faction to commence this action, and the king at length ordained a meeting of the princes and grandees of France, together with the leading men of his parliaments and council, to be held at Moulins. There he called upon the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was accompanied by his late brother's widow, to speak out what he had to say for his party, while the Admiral, on the other hand, was invited to reply. After both had spoken, the king, as advised by the council, asked if either objected to any of the convention, as to be suspected of unfairness, and finding that neither had any objection of this kind to make, he then asked if they wished the matter to be settled, and if they would promise to abide by whatever decision might be pronounced. Both parties, within a few days, replied that they were most willing to do so, and on the 29th of June, 1566, the following *arrêt* was pronounced:—"The king, in council, having heard both parties, and the cause being known, by advice of the princes and his counsellors, all being perfectly unanimous, says, that it appears that the Admiral de Chastillon is innocent of the

murder committed on the person of the Duke of Guise, of which murder he judicially absolves him, and imposes perpetual silence in this case on his procurator-general, and on all others who might take it up. Moreover, he prohibits any of those who have been on the other side in this cause, or any other of his subjects, to be so bold as to speak of this deed, or any judge of his kingdom to permit it to be made the subject of a suit at law. And he has received both parties into his protection and safeguard, commanding them in future to live in peace and amity, under his authority, without attempting anything against one another. That if either of the parties, or any one of their relations, allies, and friends, shall contravene this *arrêt*, he declares him convicted thereby of an attempt against his Majesty, and to be guilty of violating peace and public order. And to this effect ordains this *arrêt* to be published in all the parliaments of his kingdom."

But it is time to go back to the transactions of the preceding year. Then it was that an incident took place, which we must not allow to pass unrecorded, it gave such proof of a meek and gentle spirit. Among other family attendants, the Admiral had for some years had a person of noble birth, of the name of Hambre-

villier. This man's services he was in the way of employing in several matters of honest business, when letters were detected at court, and sent to the Admiral, in which Hambrevillier informed certain persons, whom it would be improper now to name, that he would soon execute his commission, and give the Admiral the sleeping draught. Upon this his master called him, and having made him write a few lines on a bit of paper, and confronted the two together, he asked if he acknowledged his handwriting in the letters that had been sent from the court. Instantly convicted by the identity of the two handwritings, Hambrevillier threw himself at the Admiral's feet, imploring his compassion and forgiveness, which were granted him on condition of his quitting the house forthwith, and never shewing his face again.

CHAPTER IV.

Proceedings at court. Important meeting at Bayonne. The Queen-mother insults and persecutes the Reformed. The court followed everywhere by the plague. The Cardinal of Lorraine enters Paris, January 1565, with an armed force. Montmorency sends for the Admiral. His prompt arrival misrepresented. His defence. His life again attempted by an assassin, who charges the Admiral with an attempt on the Queen-mother's life. The Parliament acquits him. He represents the King at the baptism of the Duke of Condé's child. Discovery of the secret designs against the Reformation concerted at Bayonne. The Admiral remonstrates at the privy-council. The Reformed endeavour to get the young king into their hands. Failing in this they approach Paris with an army, and are attacked at St Denis by the Constable. March to Lorraine. Are harassed by the Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. The Admiral's prompt expedient for paying the Germans. Anjou retreats to Paris. The siege of Chartres stopped by the announcement of peace. Death of the Admiral's wife at Orleans.

To return to the designs of the court, some months after the proclamation of peace, the queen-mother resolved to go to Bayonne, and to take her children with her, there to meet her son-in-law, the king of Spain. The purpose of this meeting was known at the time to very few, but the most tragical events afterwards discovered it. The queen made Lyons her first stage, a city then in the hands of the Reformed, owing to the number of burgesses and

other inhabitants who were of the religion. No sooner had she arrived there than she sent for Italian engineers and for labourers from all parts, and ordered a fort to be erected on a neighbouring eminence commanding the city. So resolved was she to accomplish this, that, although a violent epidemic was raging in the place, and had even begun to appear in her court, yet she would neither be persuaded to go away herself, nor would suffer her children to be removed, until she had seen the foundations laid. But finding some of her own retinue attacked with the prevailing disorder, she appointed as governor of the city, a person of the name of Losses, a fierce and barbarous enemy of the Reformed, leaving with him a garrison of insolent soldiers to browbeat and persecute such of the inhabitants as showed their attachment to the Reformation. Strange as it may appear, yet it was notorious, that wherever the king went accompanied by this great retinue, whether city, borough, village, or castle, the plague followed him; so that, during three whole months, nothing short of urgent danger, or apparent necessity, could induce him to leave the house.

Meanwhile the meeting took place at Bayonne, and while the queen-mother was commu-

nicating her plans to her daughter, the queen of Spain, and to the ambassadors of the king, her son-in-law, Marshall de Montmorency, who had been left at Paris with full powers as governor, was informed that the Guise faction were secretly concerting a project for exciting the populace to rise against the Reformed, and that the Cardinal of Lorraine was expected to appear soon with a large body of *gensd'armes*, although all persons were at that time forbidden by the king's edicts to leave their houses armed with musket or pistol.

No sooner was the marshall aware that the cardinal had entered the city with his armed followers, than he went to meet him, and commanded him to disarm—treatment which the cardinal and his nephew, the Duke of Guise, took as an insult, and which made them say repeatedly, that it should one day cost him his life. This being reported throughout a city in which the cardinal could at any time raise 60,000 men to ruin the Marshall, the latter thought it high time for him to consult his friends, and in particular the Admiral, who appeared in Paris on the 22d of January, accompanied by 300 horse; a promptitude which greatly astonished not only the common people, who are marvellously given to superstition, but

the priests also, and, most of all, the prebendaries of Notre Dame, nearly all of whom thought of taking flight.

Next day, the Marshal de Montmorency convened the leading persons of the parliament and the city, and, in the Admiral's presence, spoke to them of the cardinal's outrageous conduct and factious designs, as well as of the illegal meetings of some of the burgesses, who had spread a report that the Admiral was collecting troops, with the view of availing himself of the king's being at such a distance, in order to deliver up so opulent a city to pillage; nevertheless, he had deemed it right to call them together, that the Admiral might freely open to them his intentions.

Thereupon the Admiral stated, that he had long been aware that wicked and malicious persons had circulated a report to his prejudice, to the effect that he had purposed seizing that city, which was the acknowledged centre of the power and intelligence of France, but that such designs were fitter for persons pretending to some right of succession to the crown, and claiming restitution of certain dukedoms and counties. As for him, he had never put forth any claim either to the kingdom or to any part of it; and had he been so disposed, he considered that none of

the French nobility, for the last five hundred years, had possessed such means of disturbing the state as he. They might remember, after the death of the Duke of Guise, and when he had the Constable in his power at Orleans, what an opportunity he then had of holding out, had he been at all disposed to prolong hostilities; and that the queen-mother, and the royal council, had never sought peace until the affairs of the Reformation seemed most prosperous; whereas they were all aware that he, on the contrary, had most urgently sued for peace at a time when several of the most powerful cities were already under his protection, and when several more in Normandy and Brittany had sent him voluntary offers of friendship and alliance. Who among them could fail to know that, on peace being concluded, instead of seeking to gratify his ambition as he might have done, by obtaining posts of honour and emolument from the king, he had preferred retiring to his own house, and there leading a life of perfect quiet and privacy, until that very time? Setting all this aside, however, and coming to the point in hand, he had hastened to Paris at the call of Marshal Montmorency: not with the view of introducing change and trouble, but rather to aid in smothering the flame which the

audacity of some was prepared to kindle. He did not suppose that any of them could fail to know how much the Reformed were disposed to confide in him; indeed, they had become so excited by hearing of these new proceedings, and so alarmed at the factious designs of the Guise party, that they were coming to him daily with letters taken from military officers acting in concert with each other, in which they enjoin their old soldiers to hold themselves ready to proceed in arms to whatever point they might be required to march upon, at the first summons. And, not to deal in general expressions, he would read a passage from copies of certain letters found in Normandy, the originals of which had been taken to the queen-mother:—"There is no easier method of restoring the crown of France to those to whom, by ancient title, it properly belongs, and of abolishing the race of the Valois, than by exterminating the whole of the Huguenots who are its defenders. They ought, therefore, to sell their woods to the highest bidders, and with the price to procure money and arms; and if they would have the question determined by law, on its being so determined they need not fight about the expenses of process." He then addressed the meeting on the subject of the murders and other acts of

violence continually committed by that party. It was certain that, since the proclamation of peace, more than 500 of the Reformed had been slain in divers places, without the death of one of them having been taken cognizance of by a magistrate; and they who carried their complaints to the king or queen-mother, received mere words in return, or some ineffectual piece of paper or parchment. It was well known that in the city of Tours, a massacre of the Reformed had lately taken place, in open day, and with banners flying, in the very presence of the person who had been sent by the Duke of Montpensier to establish peace. And after all this, it was said, nevertheless, that certain priests had felt so much alarmed at his arrival as to meditate leaving the city, whereas, in all France, there was no place, be it garrisoned town, citadel, or castle, where priests could live, and even celebrate their religious offices, with more quiet and security, than in his own town of Châtillon.

After receiving this address, the meeting separated, and, on the day following, about thirty deputies from the merchant companies, and, after them, the Bishop, the Rector of the University, and a great many ecclesiastics, having come to see Marshal Montmorency, the Admiral took occasion to speak to them in the most cor-

teous manner, telling them not to be alarmed. Subsequently to this, being introduced to the parliament, he confirmed all he had said at some length, assuring them that he desired nothing more sincerely than concord among the citizens, and that they should do their part towards securing the quiet of the city.

On returning to his house, the Admiral was informed that a person of the name of May, a man of low condition, who had committed several thefts in an inn which he kept not far from Châtillon, had bargained away his life with d'Aumale, the Duke of Guise's brother, and was now watching for an opportunity of waylaying him while out hunting, as an encouragement to which May had already received a hundred crowns and a good horse. Further, the Admiral after having been often informed of this man's misdeeds, and having repeatedly warned him, that, if he heard anything more about him, he would prosecute him, had at length found sufficient evidence to convict him, and was proceeding to do so before the parliament; and, now, on discovering that he had fallen into a net of his own weaving, the man began to accuse the Admiral of having entered into treaty with him several years before, for the murder of the queen-mother, a deed for which he was to be largely rewarded.

The parliament, however, was convinced that this was a calumny, and condemned him to be broken on the wheel for the crimes of which he was found guilty.

About this time the Prince of Condé had a son, and the king being desirous to stand its god-father, according to custom, but feeling an objection on the score of religion, he did the Admiral the honour of making him present the child, in his name, to baptism, to be solemnly initiated into the Reformed religion. This, as is usual at courts, was done with great pomp and magnificence. At the feast given upon the occasion, the Admiral was seated, like the king, at a table by himself, and was waited on by the same officers—a circumstance interpreted by most as a mark of the singular good-will borne to him by the king.

But soon there came news that the Duke of Alva was conducting the king of Spain's army into the Netherlands, with the view of suppressing the religious movements in that quarter; and as these troops were to pass near the French frontier, the Admiral, at a meeting of the royal council, prayed that measures might be taken for the safety of Burgundy; and to prevent any commotion that might chance to occur on account of the Reformed religion, that a Swiss,

rather than a French, garrison, should be stationed in that quarter. This led most people to believe that the Swiss forces, amounting to about 6000 men, were meant to be opposed to the Duke of Alva, in the event of his making any attempt upon Burgundy. But the Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon, who was of the blood royal, and consequently on terms of intimacy with the Prince of Condé, wrote to the Admiral, begging him to send him secretly some person in whom he entirely confided, as he had matters of great importance to his safety, and which would not bear being divulged, to communicate to him. This was no less than that the result of the deliberations at Bayonne was, that the religion, called Reformed, was to be utterly destroyed, together with all who professed it, and that the levy of Swiss was really made for this purpose, though under pretext of guarding the frontiers, and opposing the Duke of Alva's troops. This news was confirmed by various letters and messages; and, on its reaching them, first the Prince of Condé, and afterwards the Admiral, went to court, and represented to the king, the queen-mother, and the council, that they saw no ground for bringing Swiss levies into the kingdom, unless, perhaps, it was for the purpose of ruining them

and many good families professing the Reformed religion, who were more numerous than people commonly thought, as the last war had proved, and that, if their enemies were plotting anything against them, they should not be wanting to themselves, nor suffer themselves to be slaughtered by cut-throats without a struggle; that they prayed and conjured his royal majesty to compassionate both so many honourable families, and his afflicted country and ruined people. They met, however, with a scornful reception, and their prayer was rejected by the court; so that, finding their lives in danger, they resolved not to be wanting either to themselves or to so many christian churches, especially as they were entreated by so many of the nobility and worthy burgesses to stand forward, as the insults and persecutions of the magistracy were no longer to be endured.

Having taken this resolution, they proceeded to carry it into effect. The last troubles had proved of what consequence it was in the cities to have the advantage of the king's name; accordingly, after admitting a few persons only into their confidence, they secretly proceeded to court with the intention of withdrawing the king, if possible, from the hands of the queen-mother and the Guise party, so that, by detaching him

from evil counsellors, there might be some prospect of peace and public concord. But finding themselves betrayed by one of their own confidents, they missed the opportunity of accomplishing their object, and were obliged to have recourse to open war. Approaching Paris, they reviewed their forces, and found them to amount to between 1000 and 1200 cavalry, and a very few infantry, D'Andelot having the day before drawn off a considerable part of their army to the town of Poissy, with the view of seizing the bridge over the Seine there, and cutting off the supply of provisions from Paris. From that city the Constable advanced at the head of a force of 15,000 infantry and 6000 horse, but having been wounded at the battle that followed, he died in the course of a few days. On this occasion, one could hardly fail to be struck with a remarkable interposition of divine Providence in the preservation of the life of the Admiral. Having mounted a fiery and hard-mouthed horse, and the martingale having given way, he was twice carried through the enemy's ranks without receiving a single wound. His horse, at last, on being struck with a pistol-ball, became manageable, and took him back to his friends.

Although both sides suffered much in this

action, the advantage must have been on the side of the Reformed, their opponents having been compelled to fall back upon Paris. Condé and the Admiral then went into Lorraine, to meet an auxiliary force expected from Germany, and whose services were accepted on the principle of opposing foreigners to foreigners. The two Protestant chiefs effected their object, not, however, without extreme peril, their rearguard having been attacked repeatedly by the Duke of Anjou, the king's brother, and who afterwards succeeded to the crown as Henry III. In Lorraine they met a fine German army under the command of Duke Casimir, a son of the Elector Palatine, but soon found themselves involved in fresh embarrassments, caused by arrears of pay due to the German auxiliaries. When there seemed to be no means whatever of raising the sum required for paying up these, the Admiral promptly suggested one, by proposing a poll-tax that should extend to every soldier and camp-follower, in proportion to what each could afford. Setting the example himself by producing from his coffers five hundred crowns, each followed it according to his ability, and certain persons were appointed to receive the collection, which extended to the whole army, not excepting the Prince of Condé, the Ad-

miral, D'Andelot, and La Roche-Foucault. To these were paid over all the contributions that could be found, and this voluntary offering amounted in all to eighty thousand livres. To this promptitude the army was considered to owe its preservation, not only from the enemy, who was at no great distance, but also from the Germans, who, though they had come to assist, had threatened hostilities if left unpaid.

On the junction of the French and German Protestant forces, the enemy, greatly to the mortification of the king's brother, immediately fell back upon Paris, retreating by forced marches; while Condé's army, on the other hand, with fresh spirits and hopes, turned to the right with the intention of laying siege to Chartres. Having cannonaded the place for some time, and thrown down a part of the wall, D'Andelot was about to lead an assault, when royal trumpeters arrived at full gallop, announcing that peace had been concluded by deputies from both parties, who had been conferring for some days in Paris, so that the siege was raised, and the Prince of Condé's army disbanded.

While the Admiral was thus employed at Chartres, he met with a severe loss in the death of his admirable wife, who had retired with her children to Orleans, and there fell ill and died.

The moment he was apprised of her illness he left the camp with what physicians he could find, but perceiving that all was of no avail, after commending her soul to God, he retired to his chamber, followed by his friends, who did their utmost to console him under his heavy loss. Then it was, as those who were present could well remember afterwards, that his feelings burst forth in sighing and tears. "My God!" said he, "what have I done—what sin have I committed that I should be so severely chastised—so overwhelmed with calamities? Would that I might lead a holier life, and present a better example of godliness! Most holy Father, look upon me, if it please thee, and in the multitude of thy mercies relieve my sufferings." At length, somewhat recovering himself amid the christian exhortations of his friends, he sent for his children, and told them that so heavy a loss as that of their mother ought to teach them that in this world there was no abiding stay whereon to lean; that houses and castles, however sumptuous and strongly fortified, had not been bestowed on us as an enduring possession, or as a perpetual home; but rather as an inn which they must soon leave, and as a loan that ere long must be repaid; in fine, that all things human were frail and transitory—but that the

mercy of the one only God was not so—and that casting ourselves upon that, and rejecting all help of men, they ought not to doubt of finding succour in that divine mercy.

The day following he sent for their preceptor, a person of the name of Gresle, telling him that he must himself return to the army, and as there was no saying what might happen, he besought him to be careful of his children and to instruct them, as he had enjoined, in all godliness and sound learning.

We have already seen how devoted had been the faith of the Admiral's wife, and what constancy she had shown in bearing up under her own and her husband's afflictions, having, we are assured, faithfully kept the promise she had given to her husband that she would steadily profess the Reformed religion. Among other of the Spirit's gifts and graces by which she was distinguished, we may remark her kind attentions to the poor and sick, and her alms. Indeed, it was the opinion of her physicians that the illness that carried her off was to be attributed in a great measure to infection caught from the sick and wounded soldiers in Orleans whom she had been indefatigable in visiting.

CHAPTER V.

The Admiral retires to Châtillon. Reports of new hostilities. Proceeds to Noyers. Accident on the road. Petition to the king. Tavannes threatens Noyers. Providential preservation of Condé's and the Admiral's families. False security of the Reformed. The Queen of Navarre hastens to Rochelle with her son. The Admiral routs the king's forces at Jassennier. Battle of Jarnac. The Reformed defeated and Condé slain. The Admiral and D'Andelot retire to St Jean d'Angely. The Queen of Navarre presents her son, afterwards Henry IV., to the Protestants as their leader. The Admiral charged with the conduct of the war. His claims on the confidence of the Reformed. Death of D'Andelot. His character of D'Andelot. Duke of Deuxponts arrives with an auxiliary force from Germany. The duke dies, and is succeeded by Wolrad, Count of Mansfeldt, with whom the Admiral forms a junction. The tide turns in favour of the Reformed. The Admiral defeats the Duke of Anjou, and negotiates for peace. Plans of the Reformed. They take Lusignan and Châtelherault. The Admiral falls ill. Attempt to poison him. Battle of Montcontour. The Admiral wounded. The parliament of Paris pronounces him guilty of high treason. His house at Châtillon pillaged. Applies to the council of princes for pecuniary support. Letter to his children. The Reformed proceed towards Thoulouse and Montauban. Throws a bridge over the Garonne and joins the troops of Montgomery from Bearn. Successes in Dauphiny of Count Louis of Nassau, who also joins the Admiral. The Admiral again ill. Proceeds in a litter to near la Charité. Deputies from the king come to treat. Peace concluded for the third time.

HARDLY had three days transpired from the proclamation of the peace, when letters and messages came to the Admiral from friends in

all quarters, announcing that no peace had really been made; on the contrary, that it had been resolved to recommence a most cruel war, the preparations for which were proceeding with so much activity that if they did not look well to themselves, the Prince of Condé, the Admiral himself, and all the leading Protestants, would be attacked when off their guard, and exposed to the cruelty of their enemies. This, indeed, might be plainly enough perceived from troops being sent to garrison Orleans, Auxerre, Blois, and other surrendered towns; from all the bridges, boats, and ferries being occupied; from cavalry being kept up in the heart of France, and two regiments of infantry placed in garrison in Paris. Thereupon he took the course which a prudent regard for his personal safety seemed to recommend, and went first to his brother D'Andelot's house, called Tanlay, and afterwards to Noyers, a small town, but of considerable strength, belonging to the Prince of Condé, who had retired to it shortly before for the same object, accompanied by his wife and children.

When on his way to Noyers an incident befell the Admiral, too memorable not to deserve being recorded. On the Auxerre road, and not far from the petty town of Moulin, there is a

small lake, on approaching which he met with an affectionately attached partizan in the person of an old man, called La Grippiére, who had had long experience of the weather in that quarter. This greybeard, on seeing something like a cloud advancing with great violence along the shore, urged the Admiral, in the hearing of many, to put spurs to his horse and hasten with the utmost speed to the next village, otherwise he might be overwhelmed with the coming storm. Thereupon he put his horse to a gallop, expecting that the rest would follow, and was no sooner out of sight than such a tempest came on that several men and horses were thrown down by it, and some were almost killed by the hailstones, which were of extraordinary size. The worst that befell the Admiral was the loss of his hat and a slight bruise on the ankle-joint, but had the party been overtaken while skirting the lake, it was thought that not one of them could have escaped with his life. As soon as the storm had subsided, the Admiral ejaculated :— "I thank thee, O Almighty God ! and regard this unlooked-for incident as a token that we shall have many calamities to encounter, but not so as to be overwhelmed by them."

On the Admiral joining the Prince of Condé at Noyers, they sent sundry letters and deputa-

tions to the king, stating that they were well aware that plots were on foot, to take away their lives, and most humbly beseeching him to have compassion on his country which had already suffered from two civil wars, and both as the dictate of common prudence, and from regard to his kingdom's safety, to suppress the conflagration which the Guise faction were endeavouring to kindle for its destruction. The Admiral wrote likewise to the Duchess of Savoy, daughter of the great king Francis I., conjuring that princess, by every consideration, to exert her influence with the queen-mother in France, which he was assured was great, in order to avert the storm now ready to burst upon her afflicted country. But as soon as he perceived that no room was left for the employment of the remedies that might best have restored tranquillity, and that Tavannes, who was soon after raised to the dignity of a Marshal of France, was secretly drawing troops about Noyers, with the view of investing that place, he recommended the Prince of Condé and his family to retire with the utmost expedition towards Rochelle, a city which had not yet received any royal garrison, owing to certain ancient privileges which it possessed.

The princess and six children, one an infant

of about a twelvemonth old, were of the party. They had to cross the Loire, and were followed next day by the young families of the Admiral, and his brother D'Andelot. Their nurses took them away under night, when they crossed the river, and joined the rest of the party in the province of Berri. There the prince met with a providential incident, which seems to have been of great consequence to him. He looked for no better means of passing than what could be supplied by small boats; but, at the foot of the mountain at Sancerre, he found a ford over which he transported fifty horse, while the women and children were taken over in the small boats. They had just effected their landing, and the day had broken out, when, within the short space of three hours, the river became swollen, and rose to such a dangerous height that the people of Sancerre, and the neighbourhood, acknowledged the hand of God in the safe passage of the children, some of whom were infants in their cradles, and drew from it favourable omens for the future.

No sooner did the king become acquainted with these proceedings, than he summoned a meeting of his council, and through it issued orders for all the companies of gens-d'armes, but especially those on the confines of Xaintonge

and Poitou, to march upon Rochelle; his brother, the duke of Anjou, being instructed, at the same time, to advance thither with all the forces he could assemble. The Reformed, meanwhile, who, fully confiding in the peace, and never doubting the royal faith, had retired each to his own town, found themselves overpowered by superior numbers, and were slaughtered on all sides. So incensed was John, King of Navarre, who had kept himself at home during the previous troubles, at this detestable and oft repeated perfidy, that he, too, accompanied by his son, who was afterwards Henry IV., and his only daughter, withdrew to Rochelle, with all the troops he could muster. While matters were in this position, the Admiral removed part of the cannon from Rochelle, and proposed to lay siege to Niort; but as that town surrendered in a few days, he marched straight to Angoulême, which stands on an eminence, and is steep on all sides, excepting that which leads up to it. There the enemy had posted a strong force. On being cannonaded, however, the inhabitants surrendered in a few days.

This success was followed by the battle of Jassennier, where the Admiral, who then commanded in chief, so hotly charged the enemy that they fled in confusion to Lusignan, leaving

all their baggage to be taken by the victors, who reckoned the booty worth fifty thousand crowns. Such, indeed, was the alarm caused by this defeat among the papal party, that, in a despatch which was intercepted the next day, De Fizes, a secretary of state, expressed the utmost grief at the issue of the affair, and added that no son of France, the term usually given to the royal princes, had, within the memory of man, run such a risk.

From Jassennier the Admiral advanced to Jarnac, where he found himself obliged to offer battle, most unwillingly, for he had lost part of his forces by their dispersion, and part by the ravages of an epidemic. Here he was very nearly himself taken prisoner at the very outset, for the enemy, having got word that he intended, by a bridge of boats, to cross a stream that flanks the town, posted a party in ambuscade for him on the farther side, and the moment he was observed, it saluted him with a volley of musketry, and some even charged, and attempted to force the bridge. This, however, they were prevented from accomplishing, by a single musketeer, who, after firing several shots, fell himself, pierced by several balls, but not until, attracted by his cries, a dozen others had taken his place. The Admiral himself, who had

not even had time to put on his armour, on reaching the margin of the stream, with his drawn sword cut the ropes that attached the boats to the bank, the enemy all the time firing at him. This adventure made him resolve never more to trust himself, in such circumstances, without guards.

Two days after this the enemy crossed the river Charente; and, as they had been augmented since the recommencement of hostilities by a body of three thousand German horse, and not long before that by six thousand Swiss, the Prince of Condé, afraid of being surrounded, gallantly resolved to cut his way through them without allowing the action to become general. At that instant the Admiral was informed that a party which had been posted at the village nearest to the enemy, had been surrounded, and was in imminent peril, and though they were making a resolute defence, being determined not to abandon them, he led a body of cavalry to their rescue. Meanwhile the Prince of Condé, being recognised by the enemy, found himself unexpectedly engaged with them, notwithstanding which, and the fewness of his troops, he succeeded in breaking through their line. But afterwards, while hurried along by the crowd, his horse was killed, and he himself being

thrown to the ground, lost his own life soon after.

Such was the Admiral's grief at this loss, and so much did he feel oppressed by the burden that it threw upon him, that losing confidence for a time in the general prospects of his party, he retired with his brother D'Andelot to St Jean d'Angely. It would appear that the body of the deceased prince was treated in an ignominious manner; but, though the Admiral might have avenged this affront on those of several persons of great power and high rank among the enemy, by subjecting them to similar treatment, his principles taught him to rise above such resentment, and to respect the claims of nature and humanity, by paying all due respect to the dead,—a practice he uniformly observed. The Queen of Navarre, who at this time was at Rochelle, burst into tears on hearing of the loss sustained by her friends; yet, recovering herself, she found strength to comfort the Protestant leaders who were about her, and even exhorted the soldiers never to lose the remembrance of their ancient virtue, telling them, at the same time, that she bestowed upon them, and committed into their hands, her only son, as their chief, and that she held the safety of the army to be dearer to her than that of her own son,

with whom Henry, the young prince of Condé, was associated as partner in this high honour.*

The responsibility and management of the whole war, however, was committed, by the unanimous consent of all the most influential Protestants, including infantry and cavalry officers, to the Admiral, as the person of most influence among the Reformed. This influence was the natural result, not only of his great military experience, his sense of justice, and his moderation, but of his being well known to have been the first of the grandees of the kingdom who had openly professed the Reformed faith, and reformed his own family according to its principles, and of his having dared to submit to King Francis II., when that prince was in the hands of a host of the Guise faction, the claims of the Reformed churches, laid their petition before the royal council, and presented the first example of personal godliness to the nobility of France, at a time when that body was sunk in immorality and vice. Moreover, it was remembered to his praise, that ever since his first pro-

* Even Roman Catholic writers give a high character to this heroic princess Jeanne d'Albret. Anquetil says, that, after having loved the pleasures of life, but before she had ceased to be capable of enjoying them, she became severe in her morals, regular in her domestic habits, firm under reverses of fortune, zealous, and liberal. Her chief friends were the Reformed ministers—to these her house was an asylum.

fession of their religion, he had never given the Reformed churches the slightest occasion for scandal; and that at a time when they applied to him from all quarters for advice, he had always wisely advised them, and had taken up arms, not as some supposed against the king, but at the request and prayer of the queen-mother. And even that step she had taken, not on her own judgment, or of herself, the king being then only twelve years old, but under the authority of the States-General, which had met at Orleans, and of the royal edict, drawn up and published at Paris, with the general consent of all orders in the state; whereas, on the contrary, it was by the advice, and at the solicitation of the Guises, that so many good families had been despoiled of all their property, so many opulent and beautiful towns had been sacked, so many princes, noblemen, and excellent officers slain, to the grievous prejudice of the kingdom, and which is most to be considered, so many flourishing churches destroyed throughout nearly the whole of France, and the state, in fine, exposed as a prey to foreigners.

After this, the Admiral met with a loss which deeply affected him, in the death of his brother D'Andelot, which took place at Xaintes. He died so suddenly, that it was suspected that he

had been poisoned—a suspicion, strengthened by its having often been said at the court of the keeper of the seals, Birague, an Italian from Lombardy, who was afterwards made chancellor, that that whole war would never be terminated by arms alone, or by so many ruins, but that it might be brought to a close most easily by cooks.

As the Admiral wrote soon after to his own children, and to those of D'Andelot, who were all at Rochelle, under the charge of the same preceptor, I think it not amiss to give his letter, of which I possess the original, word for word, as it came from his pen :—"Albeit," he writes, "I doubt not that my brother's death has much afflicted you, I have not the less thought it right to tell you, that you are fortunate in being son or nephew to so eminent a person, and to one who I dare assure you, has been a most faithful servant of God, as well as an excellent and renowned military officer. These are qualities which you ought ever to bear in mind, and keep in view, as examples to be imitated to the best of your ability. And to this I may truly add, that no man in France excelled him in the profession of arms, nor do I doubt that foreigners would say the same thing, those especially who have had proofs of his soldiership. Now, it was

not by idle pretences, or by sloth, that he gained this high reputation, but by the laborious efforts he put forth in behalf of his country. And assuredly, never knew I a man that was more just towards other men, or more a lover of godliness. I am aware that it would ill become me to proclaim his praises to strangers, but to you I present them with the less reserve, in order that you may be incited thereby to the imitation of such virtues—virtues which I propose to my ownself as an example, most humbly beseeching God and our Saviour, that I may depart this life no less piously and happily than I saw him do. And in proportion as I mourn his loss with a most poignant sorrow, would I call upon you to temper my sorrow, by letting me see those virtues of his, lighted up afresh and reviving in you; and in order to this, let me see you devote yourselves with all your hearts, to religion and godliness, and engage, while your time of life permits, in the study of such good learning as may assist you in the way of virtue. And while I would in no wise oppose your preceptor's allowing you certain hours for you to leave your books, and amuse yourselves, be ever on your guard, while at your play, against doing or saying anything that may offend God. Above all things, honour your master, and obey him as you

would obey me, for I feel assured that he will teach you nothing, and give you no counsels, but what will promote your interest and honour. As for the rest, if you love me, or, rather, if you have any regard for yourselves, be at pains to conduct yourselves so that I may always receive pleasant news respecting you, and so that you may grow in godliness and virtue as you advance in years, and grow in body. May God bless you, and keep you in his protection, and preserve you by his Spirit for ever. At Xaintes, this 18th day of May 1569. CHASTILLON."

The admirable constancy with which the Admiral met this severe affliction, was not unknown to others, for notwithstanding the loss of a brother, whose equal he never had seen in godliness, equity, and courage, or in great achievements and military science, calling him on all occasions his right arm, still he gave evidence by the ordinary current of his thoughts, that he felt his absolute dependence on the providence of God, as one who knew, and was ever ready to confess, that the ordering of the Church of God hangs not on man's counsels, or their Christian army on the valour of its chiefs, and often exclaiming, when he spoke to his friends of his deceased brother, "Oh! how happy is

D'Andelot in having finished his course with so much godliness and felicity."

It was about this time that he had intelligence of the arrival in France of the Duke of Deux-ponts, with a powerful German army, which the duke was bringing to his assistance, and that the latter had taken by assault the town of la Charité, which touches on the province of Berri, being situate at the end of the bridge over the river there, but that after having brought over all his troops, and arrived at the town of Chalus, on his way through the Limousin, he had died that very day of a violent disorder, so that the project of their meeting was defeated. Wolrad, Count of Mansfeldt, who had been the duke's lieutenant, succeeded him in the command of this foreign force, and so much was their junction with the Admiral's troops dreaded by his opponents, that it was almost universally thought throughout France, that should that once be effected, it would soon be all over with the king's forces, and that the court would find itself compelled to supplicate terms from those whom it had made its enemies. Those, also, who, whether in the army or in towns, desired the return of peace and public tranquillity, gave open expression to their abhorrence of the perfidy which had destroyed both, and which, together with per-

jury, they said, had ever led to disastrous and ruinous consequences. And, indeed, there is no doubt, that had the Admiral collected all his forces, and marched at once into the heart of France, and upon Paris, many cities would have opened their gates to him.

Such impressions were strengthened by the ill success of the Duke of Anjou, who having pressed on with his army, and engaged the force opposed to him, was repulsed with no great difficulty, and lost the whole of his infantry, including Strozzi, a relation of the queen-mother's, who commanded them, and was taken prisoner. Trusting, however, that the muster of so formidable a force might bend the king's spirit to something like equity and mildness, the Admiral, finding, that owing to the Duke of Anjou's refusal to grant a passport, he could not send a deputation, transmitted a petition in the name of the whole army.

In this paper he conjured the king no longer to persist in his present course, but to compassionate his people and their miseries; that he would consider how ruinous the prolongation of the war would prove to France, which would be overrun by twenty thousand foreigners, sent for by the two parties to assist them; that matters had come to such a pass, that neither mutual

reconciliation, nor love, nor compassion, seemed likely to bring hostilities to a close, but ruin only; that people had no prospect but that of dwelling perpetually amid blood and slaughter, flight, and robbery; and, in conclusion, imploring him to spare those of his own nation, who had already suffered so much and for so long a time; and that he would not give so much heed to cardinals and Italians, who had too much influence at court, seeing that foreigners are not so much affected at the sight of what the French are suffering, as the French themselves are; and that the time was well fitted for treating of peace, while each side was confident in its strength, and that it would be easy to settle the conditions; then, that all who were in arms along with him, only sought the free exercise of their religion, as it had so often been granted to them by the authority of the States, and by several of the king's edicts; that it was extreme folly for a small body of Italians and relations of his majesty, to imagine that two hundred thousand of the Reformed religion could easily be ruined and exterminated, seeing that events had already proved the contrary.

The Duke of Anjou, after receiving the above defeat, with the advice of his friends, dismissed a great part of his army, and particularly of his

cavalry, for a month or two, in order that the men might go home and refit. But the Count of Mansfeldt being still at the head of the Germans, and all things continuing as we have stated, the Admiral convened a council, and there it was unanimously resolved, that as all the towns and landward country, from Rochelle inwards, and the whole sea-coast were in the power of the Protestants, they ought to fortify their frontier, and do their best to take Poictiers, so that it might serve as a bulwark to the whole country now in their hands. This project seemed much favoured by the taking of Lusignan, one of the strongest places in the kingdom, which surrendered after a few days' siege, as did also Châtelheraut. The camp was now transferred to Poictiers, and the siege of that place had commenced, when the Admiral was attacked with a dysentery, brought on by excessive fatigue and watchings, and for a whole month it kept him so weak, that he could neither go about, nor even assist with his advice. Meanwhile the inhabitants were at all hours receiving fresh troops and supplies, and being further encouraged by frequent sallies, and by letters and promises from the king, they held out vigorously against the besiegers. Notwithstanding, it cannot be doubted that nothing but the

Admiral's illness prevented the place from being taken.

It was at this time that one Dominick Albe, a Gascon, in the domestic service of the Admiral, returned from the king's army, where he had been for some time a prisoner, and became so much suspected by some, both from the vanity, and the various matter of his talk, that he was laid under arrest, and thereupon showed a box-ful of poison, which, he confessed, had been given to him by La Rivière, captain of the Duke of Anjou's guards, and by one of the said duke's servants, with a promise of 2000 crowns, if he would poison and kill his master. On this discovery the man was condemned to be hanged, and would have been consigned to a worse fate, but that the Admiral's pleading in his favour prevailed with a majority of the judges.

The Admiral's recovery was not yet complete, when word was brought to him that the enemy had laid siege to Châtelherault, whereupon he had himself borne on a litter to the place, and having thrown some soldiers into it, he routed the besiegers with great slaughter, particularly of the Italians, nor did he cease pursuing them until they had crossed the Creuse, a stream that takes its name from its great depth. Meanwhile the Duke of Guise, who commanded at Poictiers,

though still but a youth, made a sally at midnight, with a large body, and thus secured the entrance of fresh troops. Shortly after, the Duke of Anjou collected a large force of French, Germans, and Swiss, and pushed on to Chinon. By this time the Protestant army found itself much straitened by want of provisions, and by the wetness of the season, besides having a large proportion of its infantry, the Germans in particular, suffering from disease. Part, also, of the Xaintonge men had dispersed, and gone home to refit, some to la Charité, and some to Sancerre. Informed of this, the Admiral judged delay to be necessary, but found it hard to repress the eagerness of his troops to engage. On all sides, both officers and men gave expression to their determination to return to their own homes, and look after their affairs, alleging that each could carry on the war with more ease, and find better accommodation in his own than in any other quarter, seeing that as they held several towns in Guyenne, Dauphiny, and on the Loire, they might retire into these, and from thence sally out upon their enemies, and live by making requisitions on the country. Nor were the Germans, to whom arrears of pay were due, less obstreperous. They complained of the length of time that they were kept from their native

land and their homes, and, that rather than stay longer, they would go into action at once. Such, indeed, was the state of the camp, that little was wanting to make the leaders go away, taking a large part of the troops along with them.

It was resolved, accordingly, that a battle should be fought. The two armies drew towards Montcontour to encamp. The front of the enemy's advanced guard unexpectedly charged some skirmishers and a few companies of the main body of infantry, which formed an advanced brigade under the immediate command of the Admiral; and so little anticipated was this attack that he could not at the moment find the man that kept his armour, so that dashing in upon the enemy in his doublet, followed by Count Mansfeldt, he drove them back, and compelled them to quit their camp. The two armies were now divided by a small stream; this the enemy endeavoured to force, but the Admiral throwing forward a body of musketeers upon the bank, in front of the first battalion, checked its advance, and in the face of a continual discharge, both of large and small arms, defended the post until nightfall. Had the enemy effected his passage, and charged the Admiral's main army, there is no saying what mischief he might have

done, being more numerous by a third, and coming into action with troops fresh from repose against men worn out with long fatigue.

Both sides now rested for two days, but a battle ensued on the third, in which the greater part of the Protestant infantry was cut to pieces, and the cavalry broken and put to flight. The Admiral, with two hundred French horse, charged six hundred German horse, who received him with a shower of pistol balls. One of these, by cutting his sword-belt, cost him the loss of his sword, besides breaking the lower strap of his coat-of-mail, so that it held on by the upper only. He received a wound also on the nose, the blood bursting from which nearly choked him, for, the vizor being down, it had no way of escape. Hurried along at last by the crowd, with the help of a young Norman gentleman, called Plotinière, whom he had educated as a page, he was taken to Partheny, there to manifest the most admirable proofs of his courage and constancy. For while this loss quite disheartened several of his friends, he ceased not to console and re-assure them, sending off letters to all quarters, exhorting all who were in arms not to lose heart, or to consider the blow any thing more than might shortly be remedied. On the following day he came to

Niort, and from that to Xaintonge, where he remained for a week, to allow time for the staunching of his wound, which, however, it took twenty-five days to heal.

While thus encompassed with so many labours, cares, and difficulties, he received advice that the parliament of Paris had, upon the 13th of September 1569, issued an *arrêt* against him, pronouncing him guilty of high treason, and offering 50,000 crowns to any one that should bring him alive to the king; moreover, that a certain Italian, called Martinengue, who had been found guilty of treason in his own country, had been sent by the king with some companies of infantry to Châtillon, where they not only pillaged the mansion-house, and seized furniture of not less than a 100,000 crowns in value, which had for many years been preserved untouched, but had burnt the town also which lay below, and that so effectually that hardly a trace of it was left. Yet, so far was this surcharge of disasters from drawing off his mind from the affairs he had in hand, that no one could observe the smallest mark of affliction in his countenance. Nay, he was always telling his friends that God had been so singularly gracious to him that he knew both how to possess the things that people called property, and how to be without them,

and that they had always been subject to him and not he to them.

Now, although in the course of these wars the princes, nobles, gentlemen, and soldiers, whether infantry or cavalry, whose lands had been seized by the king, had been wont to maintain themselves by the war itself, there being very few who regularly paid, as the Admiral did, the householders and innkeepers for what they supplied to him and his family; yet as, in order to defray this expense, he had borrowed large sums at high interest, and had also pledged a considerable part of his wife's ornaments and jewels, all for this one purpose, so he found himself, towards the close of the third civil war, despoiled of his whole private and family property. Accordingly, he was compelled to crave from the council of the princes some aid for the support of himself and his family. He wrote, also, as follows, to his own children and those of his deceased brother D'Andelot, who were still at Rochelle under the same preceptor. The original letter is in my possession, and I consider it well worth insertion here.

"I could much have wished to say to you in person what I now write, and also to see you, but that not being possible at present, I have thought it right to exhort you ever to bear in

mind the love and fear of God; and the more as experience may have already taught you that we ought not to account ourselves secure in the possession of what is called property, but ought to place our confidence elsewhere than in this world, and to have better possessions than our eyes can see or our hands touch. But as this is not in our own power, we ought humbly to beseech God to be pleased to conduct us to the last, along that good and safe path which we must not expect to be smooth and pleasant, or accompanied with all sorts of temporal prosperity. We must follow our Head, Jesus Christ, who himself leads the way. Men have deprived us of all that it was in their power to take from us, and should it be God's will that we should never recover what we have lost, still we shall be happy, and our condition will be a good one, inasmuch as these losses have not arisen from any harm done by us to those who have brought them upon us, but solely from the hatred which they bear towards me for its having pleased God to make use of me in assisting his church. And notwithstanding that in this case we suffer losses and inconveniences, we are well off, and shall receive a reward whereof men will not have it in their power to deprive us.

"Had I leisure I should like to write to you

about several other matters, but for the present let it suffice that I admonish you, and conjure you in God's name, courageously to persevere in the study of virtue, and to testify both by your actions and your words, through the whole course of your lives, the horror you entertain for every kind of vice. Obey your master and your superiors, in such wise that though I may rarely enjoy the satisfaction of being present with you, I may often hear at least of your good and honourable behaviour. To conclude, if it be the will of God that we should suffer some loss, whether in person or property, in the cause of that religion by which he desires to be worshipped, we ought to account ourselves fortunate. And I do assuredly beseech Him, to be assisting to you, to keep you in his protection, and to preserve you in your tender years. Adieu. From Xaintes, this 16th of October 1569.

"CHASTILLON."

In that city councils had often been held on the general affairs of the Protestants, and it was determined, by advice of their leading men, to proceed with the lightest of the cavalry along the road that led to the country around Toulouse, after having first secured the towns they were about to leave by providing them with garrisons. In those parts stood Montauban, a

strong city both in point of situation, and from what had been done to fortify it; and it was held by the Reformed, who had amassed a considerable sum there for the pay of the Germans. The Reformed, moreover, were animated by the hope, that after having crossed the Garonne and the Lotion, they might form a junction with the troops with which Montgomery, a person of high repute and authority, as well as of long experience in war, had reduced and pacificated the province of Bearn. This march, notwithstanding its exceeding difficulty, for the roads were extremely bad, there were hostile garrisons in all the cities, and the bridges had been destroyed and the boats removed, was effected without any interruption or delay. Though the soldiers were much fatigued, and many of them unarmed, none dared to attack them, or to oppose their crossing the rivers, which they did by lashing boats together. Thus they at length reached Montauban, and from it the Admiral despatched a letter to the king and queen, supplicating them, in the name of all who were in arms along with him, not to suffer so many brave men on both sides to slaughter each other, but rather by their clemency to put an end to so many evils and calamities,—that the war had been recommended by certain bishops and car-

dinals who never came to blows themselves, together with some Italians who had no compassion for the miseries of France,—and that it was the extremity of folly to suppose that 200,000 Protestants, comprising many of the nobility, could without difficulty be defeated and destroyed. Moreover, that there were among them Roman Catholics who would not in future be exempt from their share in the common calamities of the country,—some dying in battle, some of fatigue, and the greater number having their property more or less injured, if not altogether destroyed,—that what was ordinarily said at court, "The king spares not the lives of his subjects, provided he but ruin his enemies," ill accorded with the royal majesty,—that the saying, "Let my friends perish, provided my enemies be destroyed along with them," was that of a tyrant, not of a king,—and that peace might easily be had, were measures taken to secure the observance of what was enacted by the States-General of the kingdom when convened at Orleans, and by the edict published at Paris, and were the free exercise of the Reformed religion allowed in certain places.

Having sent off this deputation, it was resolved to cross the Garonne, which now lay

between the Admiral's troops and those of Montgomery. But this was no easy undertaking, for the stream was broad, deep, and rapid. These difficulties were so far overcome by the Admiral's gaining possession of the town of St Mary, which stood on the banks of the river, and from it opening a communication with the other side by means of an ingeniously constructed bridge. First, he caused two parallel rows of posts to be fixed in the bed of the river, fourteen in each row, and each post twenty-four feet in length, and shod with iron. Across these were laid strong beams, firmly pinned to the posts; upon these were laid rafters, and across the rafters planks, to all which were added diagonal stays and a railing. At each end of this bridge there was another smaller one, with facilities for the ascent and descent of horses; and, to make the whole still more secure, the main posts were attached to each other with iron chains, and to the banks with hempen cables.

After this bridge had been completed, and two days had been spent in taking over the German cavalry, some mills, placed on barges up the river, having been unmoored for the purpose, were allowed to drop down the stream at midnight, and were carried by the current so

violently against the bridge, as to break and overturn it—a result to be ascribed partly to the negligence of the men who had been placed to guard the two banks, and partly to the want of a sufficient supply of cordage. In consequence of this mishap, it was thought more advisable to transport the remainder of the troops by a bridge of boats than to repair the broken one. After all had crossed, the Admiral allowed his men some days' rest, and then marched towards Toulouse, reducing several places in its neighbourhood by the way, some by voluntary surrender, others by force, and that although his whole artillery consisted of two pieces of ordnance from Montauban. Encouraged by having these, he drew towards the district called Vivarais and the river Rhone, and being aware that those who favoured his side had an armed force on foot in the province of Dauphiny, and that they held certain fortified places there, he sent them part of his troops with the view of seeing whether they might not obtain possession of more. These troops he gave in charge to Louis of Nassau, whom we have already spoken of, and that officer, passing the Rhone by a bridge of boats, threw such terror into Dauphiny, that the people throughout the country universally sought shelter in the towns. But having no

cannon, and thinking he had done enough for his reputation and to prove his courage, after pillaging the country he in a few days brought back his troops safe and sound. This expedition gained him a high character for courage and good generalship among both French and Germans.

Some days after this, excessive fatigue and watching again threw the Admiral into ill health, and subjected him to much suffering; still, seeing how needful it was to approach as near as possible to the river Loire, he had himself carried on, without halting, in a litter, in order that he might join about 2,000 men, who had assembled in arms about La Charité and Sancerre. This reinforcement he thought of the more consequence, in as much as the Marshal De Cossé, who had been put in the place of the Duke of Anjou after the victory of Xaintonge, spoke of approaching these quarters with all the king's forces, and then marching right upon him. To De Cossé the Admiral sent word by a trumpeter who had come to his camp about some prisoners, that he needed not be in such extreme haste, for he would be with him without delay to solace him when fatigued with his journey. Meanwhile deputies, sent on the part of the king for the purpose of opening

negociations and treating about peace, came looking for the Admiral at Forest, where he had arrived with his army. The fact is, that the men at court, who had considered him as lost without resource, on seeing how many troops he had again on foot, and how rapidly he had re-organized a powerful army, were afraid that, after forming a junction with those at La Charité, he would march straight upon Paris and set fire to the country-houses and suburbs, including those of the presidents and counsellors of the courts of law, as had been done to those of the leading men of Toulouse. But after accomplishing part of his journey in a litter, he grew so much worse, and the physicians were so much afraid of his being unable to survive the mental anxiety and fatigue to which he was subjected, that the negociations for peace were broken off and delayed. This gave much annoyance to the Protestant leaders, who were tired with the long continuance of the war, and complained to the deputies that it was unreasonable that the indisposition of one admiral should completely interrupt the negociations for peace, adding, that were he even to die, several others would survive with whom they might enter into treaty. To this the deputies replied, that it was very strange that they did not see

the weight and authority possessed by their Admiral; "for," said they, "were he to die to-day, to-morrow we should not offer you so much as a glass of water; as if you did not know that the Admiral's name goes farther in giving you consideration than had you another army equal to that you have at present." But the Admiral, having recovered his health and strength, a council was held on the subject of the proposed accommodation, and it was resolved that a deputation should be appointed to meet that from the king, and that the persons composing it should represent that the Reformed desired nothing so much as peace, and hated nothing so much as war; yet that there was not one among them who would not submit to all sort of sufferings, and even to death itself, rather than offend his conscience by renouncing his religion and the true worship of God; that if the king would be pleased to give them liberty to profess that religion, and to have public worship, together with some guarantee cities, none would more willingly lay down their arms for ever.

After agreeing to the offer of these terms, the Admiral put his army in motion and, in passing, took René-le-Duc, where the Marshal De Cossé's skirmishers had already arrived, and,

from that day forward, hardly one passed without a skirmish, so that there was much risk that the increasing eagerness of the soldiers might bring on a general action. There was only a rivulet between the two armies, and Montgomery had broken and put to flight the enemy's first line, commanded by Lavalette, a Gascon, and a man of great credit among them. But the deputies from the king having returned to the Admiral's camp, asked that some time might be allowed for a truce, during which the negociations, which had been broken off, might be brought to a close. This was pressed the more eagerly, as the members of the parliament of Paris were extremely alarmed at the threats that had been held out to them of having their houses demolished and burnt; there being no people in France who run more fiercely into war when it is at a distance, or who display more cowardice in purchasing peace, on any sort of conditions, when the enemy is at hand. In conclusion, after several goings and comings between the deputies for the two sides, the king's edict was brought, containing permission for the exercise of the Reformed religion in certain places, together with Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and la Charité, as securities.

CHAPTER VI.

The Admiral retires to Rochelle. Marries Jacqueline Montbet. Teligny marries Louisa de Colligny. The King invites the Admiral to Blois. The King's apparent confidence and good will. Louis of Nassau's negotiations for assistance to the Prince of Orange against Spain. Intercepted Letter from the Cardinal of Pelue. The Admiral's fatal confidence in the sincerity of the King, Is shot at and wounded. Conversations between him and his Chaplain. Prayer for patience. Conversations with the Marshals Cossé and D'Anville. Affected sympathy and profound dissimulation of the King and Queen-Mother. Consultations among the Reformed leaders. Maligny urges the instant removal of the Admiral from Paris. His advice overruled. Tbe eve of St Bartbolomew. His calmness at the approacb of death. His murder. Inhuman treatment of his dead body. His loyalty proved. Impression produced by tbe massacre in other countries. The Admiral's domestic arrangements. His regard for God's honour in these. His patronage of learning. The mutual affection between bim and his brothers. His liberality. His private habits. Notices of his Children.

THE third peace being thus made, and the edict published throughout the kingdom, the Admiral, after conducting the *Reiters** to the frontiers of Germany, took it to Rochelle, and placed it there in the hands of the Queen of Navarre and the young princes. There, too, he remained

* Reiter was the name usually given to a mounted German soldier, and corresponded in Latin, French, and English respectively, to eques, chevalier, knight.

some days until he saw the peace fully established on all sides. Trusting, at length, to the promises and oath of the king and his brothers, and the parliaments, and thinking that, after so many toils, he had found some repose, he formed the design of a second marriage. To this he was urged by his friends, and, above all, by the relations of Jacqueline de Montbe, daughter of the Count of Entremont and widow of the Baron d'Anton; a lady whose modesty, piety, and sanctity, he had heard spoken of long before. Her he espoused in the town of Rochelle, to which place she was honourably convoyed; and after that, he gave his daughter, Louisa de Colligny, in marriage to Teligny, a young man of an illustrious house and excellent character, and who of the whole nobility seemed always most welcome and agreeable to the king. Indeed, there is no doubt that it was by this young man's persuasion that the Admiral was led to repose the most entire confidence in the king's honour and friendly sentiments.

The year following, that is, in 1571, the king, in letters expressive of the utmost affection and regard, sent for the Admiral to come to Blois, where the court then was, for the purpose of arranging the conditions of a marriage between his sister, the princess Margaret, and the King

of Navarre. By every messenger he sent him, the king represented that there could be no firmer bond for strengthening peace and public concord, nor any more certain means for uniting the minds of men of all sorts of conditions and qualities, than such an alliance. But hardly had the Admiral set off than the Duke of Guise, by the advice of his uncle the Cardinal, and as urged to it by his mother also, proposed to renew the complaint about his father's death. This led the king to interpose his authority, and to prescribe a form of accommodation which he ordered to be sworn to and sealed by the parties, so that the remembrance of that quarrel might be entirely obliterated. This was followed by the Duke of Guise's arrival in Paris, attended by a powerful armed retinue, on which the Admiral, who had retired to Châtillon, craved permission from the king, through his son-in-law, Teligny, to have some soldiers for the protection of his house. To this request the king sent answer by the hand of Briquemault, a *gentilhomme* of great worth and reputation, that it would be most agreeable to him to use all diligence in providing for his personal safety, and allowed him to have in his house and about his person such a guard as he chose, asking him to confide in his friendly sentiments, and not to

doubt that he might hope and expect from his majesty all the defence and protection due from a good master to a good servant.

Letters, replete with such expressions, and written by the king's own hand, were read, greatly to the satisfaction of many persons, who were induced from them, to lay aside all suspicion of the king's being unfavourably disposed towards the Admiral. This impression led Count Louis of Nassau not to lose so good an opportunity of opening a treaty, in the name of the Prince of Orange, his brother, with the king, who had sent for him to come secretly to his court, and of representing to him that there were several towns in the Netherlands which, being weary of the violence, luxury, avarice, and cruelty of the Spaniards, were his majesty to offer them assistance, would willingly commit themselves to his good faith and submit to his government. After some days had been devoted to this treaty, the king at length pledged his word that he would shortly send the Admiral with a large force to their assistance, and it was agreed between them, that, if the result were favourable, the whole country from Antwerp to Picardy, should belong to the king, and Holland, Friesland, and Zealand, to the Prince of Orange.

About this time a letter was intercepted, addressed by Cardinal de Pelue to the Cardinal de Lorraine, and bearing that the king was never more resolved, and that, looking to the singular affection which he bore to the queen his mother and the Duke of Anjou, he entertained the highest hopes of the ultimate success of their common design:—that since the Admiral's arrival the king had conducted himself with much more prudence, and had played his part better than could be believed:—indeed, that he had left the Admiral without any ground for suspicion or doubt of his good-will—a result which the Cardinal could not fail to know gave assurance of success in all that had been concerted between them:—that the king had given so frank a reception to the proposal of a war with Spain, that the Admiral had formed an excellent opinion of the king's good-will, and that such artifices had been found necessary while waiting the issue of a secret consultation, of which the king of Spain had been carefully apprized, and word sent to him not to be alarmed at the warlike preparations, which were merely employed as a blind to facilitate the accomplishment of a good design:—that from all this the Cardinal might feel assured, whatever he may have heard or might hear, that the king would

not swerve from the enterprise he had taken in hand, and to which all that was doing, pointed, and was adjusted, as its end:—that nothing held a higher place in the minds of the king, his mother the queen, or his brother; and that as soon as it was accomplished, he would let him know by a trusty messenger sent on purpose:—as for the King of Navarre's marriage, that it would soon be over, as he hoped, for it was necessary as a commencement to the execution of all that was to follow, and that the time within which the four cities were to be handed over as guarantees was about to expire.

The person who transmitted this intercepted correspondence to the Admiral, had no doubt that it would put him on his guard, and make him look to his affairs; but such was his confidence in the king's honour and good intentions, as constantly impressed on him by his son-in-law Teligny, that, clear-sighted though he was in all things else, I know not by what fatality he was blinded here. But as the "History of an Infernal Massacre" gives a summary account of this discourse, and of those tragic events, together with the King of Navarre's marriage, and the pomps, tournaments, and grand doings of that occasion, it remains for us simply to relate the closing scenes of the Admiral's life, with

respect to which we have been furnished with very authentic testimonies; first, however, giving a copy of a letter which, on the very bridal-day, he wrote with his own hand to his wife, then about to become a mother. Of that letter we possess the original; and it throws too much light on the history of the period to admit of its being passed over without notice.

"My dearest and most beloved wife,—This is the marriage-day of the king's sister with the King of Navarre, which will be followed by four or five days spent in pleasure and festivity, masquerades, balls, and tournaments; and when these are over, the king assures me he will devote some days to the hearing of complaints made in different parts of his kingdom, about the infractions of the edict of pacification,—a matter to which I must devote my utmost attention; for although I have a great desire to see you, I cannot but think that we should both of us feel much regret were I to be wanting in the care I ought to bestow on such affairs. This delay, however, will not be such as to prevent my having leave to visit you next week. Looking only at my own convenience, it were far more agreeable to be with you than to remain any longer at court, for reasons which I must communicate to you when we meet. But we

ought to postpone what is only pleasant or profitable to us as individuals, to what is due to the public interest. I have somewhat else to communicate to you as soon as I see you, as is my continual wish, night and day. All I can say at present is, that to-day after four o'clock, when the nuptial mass was over, during which the King of Navarre walked about in a court outside the church with some *gentils-hommes* of our religion, composing part of his followers, several small particulars passed which I reserve for your entertainment when we see each other.* Meanwhile I pray, my dearest and most beloved wife, that God may keep you in his protection. — Paris, this eighteenth of August 1572. Three days ago I was tormented with cholic, which, thank God, lasted but for eight or ten hours, and to the same goodness I owe being quite free from it, and assure you, that amid all these festivities and amusements, I shall be troublesome to no one. Once more adieu, your most affectionate husband, CHASTILLON."

* No doubt one of these particulars related to the flags suspended from the church walls, some of which had been taken from the Reformed in battle. These the Admiral had said he hoped soon to see replaced by others which would be more pleasing to Frenchmen,—alluding to the prospects of the war in Flanders.

Five days after the date of this letter, that is, on the 22d of August, while the Admiral was on his way home from a meeting of the council to dinner, as he passed the house of a prebendary of the name of Villemur, who had been the Duke of Guise's preceptor, he was wounded in three places by a blunderbuss fired at him through the grating of a window, one pellet breaking the mid-finger of his right hand, and the other two passing through his left arm. This incident is but succinctly told by the author of the Account of the massacre. The physicians and surgeons, among whom was Ambrose Paré, a man of the highest reputation, both for proficiency in the science, and as a practitioner, began, as I know from a faithful witness, who held the patient's arm as he lay in bed, by attending to the shattered finger, which he had to amputate three several times on account of his scissors being in bad order. This subjected the Admiral to great pain. An incision was then made on both sides of the arm which had been shot, and this he not only bore without wincing, but on seeing the tears and affliction of those who were about him, and even of Merlin, his minister, he said, "My friends, why do you weep? As for me, I think myself happy in having received these wounds for the name of God." Then looking at his

minister, he said, "I acknowledge that if I suffer pain, it is of his good pleasure and of his loving kindnesses, and I thank the divine Majesty in that he has been pleased so far to honour me. Let us pray that he will enable me to persevere in this holy resolution." And on his minister, to whom he had said, "Why do you not rather comfort me than weep?" answering that more solid or certain comfort there could not be, than constantly to bear in mind the honour God conferred on him, in accounting him worthy to suffer for his name, he rejoined by saying, that were God to treat him according to his deservings and his justice, he ought, indeed, to be enduring other and much more grievous sufferings; but "blessed be the name of God," said he, "who exercises such gentleness and clemency towards me, his most unworthy servant." The same Merlin continued exhorting him to take courage in his piety, and to thank God for his having been pleased in his goodness to preserve the bulk of his body, in these wounds giving witness rather to his mercy than to his wrath, and chiefly in that his head and mental faculties had been preserved sound and entire; and that he could not do better than divert his thoughts and feelings from his assassins and his wounds, and turn them, as he was doing, from all things

else to God, since it was from his hand that he had received them; to which the Admiral's reply was, that he sincerely and from the heart forgave the person who had wounded him, and those who had put him upon doing it, holding it for certain that it was not in their power to do him any harm, even were they to kill him, for death to him would be an assured passage to life. These words he afterwards repeated to the Marshal d'Anville, on his paying him a visit, and in presence of the same Merlin. On that occasion, Merlin showed that the calamities and afflictions which good people frequently experience in this life, often acted as a spur, by exciting them to pray more ardently, and more profoundly to revere the omnipotence of God. On this the Admiral, raising his voice under feelings of strong emotion, exclaimed, "Lord God, heavenly Father, in thy great goodness and clemency have mercy upon me, and remember not my past life or my transgressions. Wert thou to regard our sins, our fickleness and infidelity, shown in the breaking of thine ordinances, who is there, Lord, who could stand before thee,—who could resist the power of thine anger? I reject all the fables of the gods, and I call upon thee alone, acknowledging and adoring thee as the Father of our Lord Jesus

Christ, Eternal God, by whom I supplicate thee to grant me thy Spirit and the gift of patience. I confide in thy mercy alone; on it reposes all my hope; whether thou wouldst immediately withdraw me from the world, or prolong my days in it, I am equally ready for the former, not doubting that if I must die, it will please thee to receive me into thy heavenly and most blessed rest. But if it be thy will that I continue longer in life, grant me, heavenly Father, that I may employ it to the end, in promoting the glory of thy name, and in the exercise of the true religion, and of thy holy service."

When he had thus spoken, Merlin asked him if he would like that those present, together with the servants, should unite their prayers to his, to which he replied that he desired this, and asked him to pray. During prayer, the Admiral showed the depth of his emotions, and the warmth of his zeal, by his expression as he fixed his eyes on heaven; and when it was over, on Merlin representing the example of the ancient martyrs, and that, since Adam and Abraham, none who had ever well served God and his church, had been found without afflictions, the Admiral interrupting him, told him he found himself much assured by what he had said, and had experienced singular consolation and relief

to his sufferings, from the recital he had heard of the piety of the Fathers and martyrs.

Shortly after this, the Marshals De Cossé and D'Anville came to assure him that they had been more affected on hearing of what had befallen him, than at anything they had heard for a long time; but that it was reasonable and what might be expected from his accustomed generosity, to retire within himself, to give proofs of his virtue, which, on this occasion, had given to him far more than it had taken away. To this the Admiral, turning to Cossé, replied, "In truth, you are only losing time until the same thing happen to yourself, as I have already foretold you." As for D'Anville, of whose previous life, and motives, and end I know nothing, he said it was not for him to deliver exhortations to greatness of courage and constancy, since he came rather to receive than to give instruction; but he wished him to consider in what respect he might be of use to him. The Admiral's reply was, that he suspected no one but the Duke of Guise; still, that he could not feel quite assured that it was he; and that by the grace of God he had long learned to fear neither his enemies nor death, which he knew of a certainty, far from doing him harm, would rather secure to him an eternal and most blessed

repose, knowing well that God, in whom he placed his entire confidence, was neither a deceiver nor a liar, and that his only regret for what had happened was, its depriving him of an opportunity of making the king perceive the affection he bore to his service (alluding to the Flanders project), and that he could well have wished to have some conversation with his majesty, on matters which were to him of great moment, not supposing that any one else would have the courage to state them.

Meanwhile the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé complained to the king of this outrageous attempt on their friend's life, and received for answer that he would revenge it on its authors with such rigour as should make the case a warning to others in future. The only two persons found in the house at the time, were a woman and a lacquey, and these were arrested and put in prison. On hearing of the Admiral's wish to see him, the king paid him a visit at about two o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by the queen-mother, the king's brothers, the Duke of Montpensier, the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Marshals D'Anville, De Tavannes, De Cossé, Count De Rets, Toré and Meru, and afterwards by the Duke of Nemours. On his arrival, the king first ordered all the

Admiral's people to leave the room, except Teligny and his wife, and the person, who, on his escape from the massacre, related all that now took place, after carefully marking all that was said and done. On the king approaching the bed, the Admiral told him he most humbly thanked his majesty for the honour he had deigned to do him, and for the trouble he was taking on his account. The king, after employing all sorts of fine words, in assuring him that he congratulated him on his generosity, enjoined him not to lose hope or courage. The Admiral then told him that the three subjects on which he wished to converse with his majesty were, first his own loyalty and obedience, and that he prayed to God, before whose tribunal he was, perhaps, soon to appear, to be as favourable, clement, and propitious to him, as he had ever been most affectionately attached to his majesty's service, with respect to which he was aware that his ill wishers had often calumniated him, as a disturber of the state, but that the result, thank God, had clearly shown, that the sole cause of these slanders had been his constant opposition to their audacity and fury, and his defence of the authority of his majesty's edicts, against their turbulent and violent efforts; determined as he had been, that they should not violate the

faith which his majesty had so often plighted to his subjects—and that to this God was his witness, the God who should, according to his justice, finally judge between his enemies and him. Further, inasmuch as it had pleased the kings, his father and grandfather, to honour him with so many great dignities and commands in the kingdom, and as his majesty had been pleased to confirm him in these, he could not, in point of duty, avoid most humbly beseeching him to apply a remedy to so many troubles, which had long been agitating it.

For the second matter, which was the Flanders project, none of his majesty's predecessors, said he, had enjoyed so fair an opportunity of advancing it.* That his majesty was aware that several cities in the Low countries desired having his favour and protection—a fact which he saw was openly and publicly ridiculed by the courtiers, and of the advantage of which we had been deprived by the fault of some one. That it was not long since the greater part of the

* The Abbé Anquetil speaks of the Admiral's introduction of the Flanders project at this conversation, as an instance of a kind of mania which he had about it. But nothing could be more natural, for at this very time, the admirable La Noue, who had been sent with a few troops to Flanders, was in great jeopardy from want of timely succour. His being sent at all, was a mere feint, as was also Jenlis' expedition.

troops under the command of Jenlis, had been defeated by the Duke of Alva, among which defeated troops there were a good many Roman Catholics—and what affection could they have for their compatriots professing the same religion, who made merry at such a loss? That one could not turn an egg, or utter a word at his council, but it was forthwith reported to the Duke of Alva. And, indeed, what else was to be expected, since those who were present, and his brothers in his council, communicated to foreigners and enemies the most secret deliberations. In fine, he passionately desired and supplicated his majesty to be pleased to take precautions in this respect for the future.

Furthermore, as for the last point, which was the observance of the edict of pacification,—an edict which had been made and so often sworn to, and which not only foreign nations, but neighbours and friendly powers, too, had witnessed,—what opinion would they form of him, or of his word, on seeing it most shamefully almost laughed at and despised? That, some days previous to this, certain seditious persons near Troyes had waylaid and assassinated a nurse and an infant on its way from baptism, together with those who had accompanied them, and who were on their way from a village set

apart by his majesty for the exercise of the religion; that he implored him to consider the cruelty of such an act, and whether it was honourable and glorious for his name to permit such ill deeds to go unpunished throughout the length and breadth of his kingdom.

To this discourse the king replied, that he never had suspected his loyalty, and accounted him a right good man, and a generous and great captain—that there was not a person in his kingdom that he would prefer to him, and that had he entertained any other opinion, he would not have acted as he had done. It was particularly remarked, that, of the Flanders project, the king said not a word; but as for the third head, that he desired nothing more than a religious and rigorous observance of his edicts of pacification, and had for this purpose sent commissioners into all the provinces, and appealed, also, to the testimony of the queen-mother, who, turning to the Admiral, assured him that there was nothing more true. "Yes," replied the Admiral, "than the number of those who have offered fifty thousand crowns for my head." But the king now told him that the prolongation of this discussion might injure his health, and that he had better take rest; that they who had wounded him, had at the same time com-

mitted a marked insult on his majesty, and, swearing by the death of God, that he would so rigorously revenge it, "that the remembrance of it should last to posterity;" he added, that he had caused the woman and the lackey who were found in the house, to be imprisoned, and that it was his wish that justice should take its course with regard to them, both by torture and condemnation to death.

To this the Admiral replied that, as for that, he would commit himself to his majesty's prudence and good faith, but since he had done him the honour to ask his advice, that he could wish Avagnes and Masparot, and a third whom he named, but whose name the witness who heard it, has forgot, might be judges; and that there was no need of making any extensive investigation of the fact. The king and queen-mother then approached the Admiral's pillow, and spoke in a low voice together for some short time. All that the witness, who stood in front of the bed, could over-hear, was the last words of the queen-mother:—"Although I be but a woman, true it is, that I recommend its being timeously seen to."

On leaving him the king told the Admiral to get himself carried to the Louvre. The Count de Rets repeatedly gave the same advice in

speaking to Teligny and another person who was near the bed; adding, that he feared there might be a popular tumult, which the king might find it difficult to appease. To this it was answered, that none of the physicians were yet of that opinion, but on the contrary, they feared, that the motion of his body might augment the irritation of his still fresh wounds; and that were there assurance to be given of the king's favourable sentiments towards the Admiral, the people of Paris were no more to be feared than simple women, seeing such was the authority of the king's name throughout all France, and Paris in particular, that upon his simple word, the populace, however furious and excited, might easily be appeased.

The king wished, also, to see the copper pellet with which the Admiral had been wounded, and inquired if he had suffered much pain when his finger was cut off, and the incisions made in his arm. The person who showed the ball, having his doublet sleeve much stained with blood, the king asked if it was the Admiral's, and if he had lost much blood from his wounds, saying farther, that the world did not possess a man more constant or courageous. He then returned the ball, which the queen-mother next examined, saying she was happy to think that it had been ex-

tracted, recollecting that when the Duke of Guise was shot, the medical men had repeatedly said, that although the ball had been poisoned, there was no danger to be apprehended from it, on its coming out. It was answered to this, that not content with that, care had been taken in time to apply antidotes to any poison that might have been imbibed.

When the king had left the place, John de Ferrières, Vidâme of Chartres, visited the Admiral in his chamber, and after addressing him for some time in the language of consolation, concluded by observing that his enemies had openly shewn their cowardice by not daring to attack him except through a barred window, and that it was a happy thing for him to have secured men's praise even to his time of life. To this the Admiral replied, that he was truly thankful that God had rendered him worthy of his compassion; next, that those are truly blessed to whom God forgives their transgressions and their sins. Shortly after this, the chiefs having met by advice of the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, under the Admiral's chamber, in order to advise with each other, as to what immediate measures should be taken, the Vidâme demonstrated at great length, that they ought instantly to leave Paris, and not to doubt that

this was but the first act of the tragedy, and would soon be followed by many more. Several maintained, on the contrary, that it was enough for them to present a petition to the king, praying him to see that the crime that had been committed, might be brought to justice and punished. This opinion was obstinately maintained by Teligny, who assured them that he knew to the very bottom what the king's intentions were, and that, besides, there was no ground for doubting his good-will. On the day following, some of the Admiral's friends had certain intelligence, that there was a great commotion throughout the city, and that arms were carried about at various points—that it was well that immediate measures should be taken, for that no good could be expected from these goings and comings. This led to some of those who brought word of these things, being sent to the king to apprise him of the excitement of the people and the noise of arms, and also to beg that some guards might be placed at the Admiral's residence, to defend it in case of attack.

When this message was told the king, he seemed much moved and astonished. He asked how this report had originated, and if it had reached the Admiral, telling the Count de Rets to call the queen-mother. She no sooner ap-

peared, than the king, who was apparently much excited, exclaimed: "What misluck is this;—this man here reports that the populace is in commotion, and taking arms?" "Not at all," she replied; "but, you know, you gave orders, that from day-break every man should be in his own quarter, as a security against tumult." "All true," says the king; "but my commands were also, that no man should take up arms." On this, the person who was sent proceeded to discharge what remained of his commission, and craved from his majesty that he would be pleased to send the Admiral some of his guards; and on the Duke of Anjou, who had come with the queen-mother, saying that it was a good idea, and that he might take Cosseins with fifty musketeers, he replied, that half-a-dozen of his majesty's body-guard would be enough; and the rather, as their authority would go much farther with the people than a far greater number of any other armed force. The king, however, and the Duke of Anjou, having rejoined with sufficient rudeness, as he thought, that he should take Cosseins, and that no better choice could be made, he remained silent, although well aware that Cosseins was one of the Admiral's most passionate opponents. Thoré, a brother of the Marshal de Montmo-

rency, meeting him near the king's chamber, whispered to him that they could not have given him a guard more opposed to what they were sent for; to which he replied: was he not aware that the king, to whose favourable intentions they committed themselves, had absolutely commanded that it should be so; nevertheless, he was a witness of the first reply that he had made to his majesty.

Some hours after this, Cosseins came with his fifty musketeers, and chose two lodgings near that of the Admiral in which to place his men. He was followed by Rambouillet, grand quarter-master to the king, and in compliance with an advice tendered at the last council by the Duke of Anjou, he ordered all the Roman Catholic *gentils-hommes*, who lodged in that street, to leave their quarters, and to make way for the Admiral's friends and servants. Of all artifices, this was the most cunning and best contrived for facilitating the execution of what was to follow, as an incident that occurred that evening gave no small reason to suspect. A servant-boy, who, by Teligny's orders, was bringing two spears to the Admiral's quarters, was forbidden entrance by Cosseins. The King of Navarre, who was at the time with the Admiral, was apprised of this, and went down to

ask Cosseins how he had the assurance to do so. He at once replied, that he had the king's orders to do so; yet, since such was his desire, the man might go in. That same day the king sent again and again to the Admiral's friends, urging them to resort as near as possible to the Admiral's quarters, and in such numbers, if possible, as to fill all the houses near. Shortly after this, a council was again held in the room under the Admiral's, when Maligny repeated his first opinion, and vehemently urged the Admiral's being taken out of Paris, and that his friends and followers should accompany him, for he perceived a multitude of circumstances that every moment increased his suspicions. Several, on the contrary, maintained, that all that was required was to crave justice of the king, and to petition that all the *Guisarts*,* as having too much influence with the people, should leave the city.

This, to the exclusion of the other advice, was approved by the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the greater number; and the more as Teligny maintained, that it was a

* The *Guisarts*, or followers of the house of Guise, were no less formidable to the protestants of Scotland than to those of France, and I doubt not that the dread they inspired, led to this name being given to the masked persons who go about in that name for amusement, on Hallow-e'en.

nockery of the king to doubt his word and sincerity—that it was enough that they craved justice of him in a mild and humble manner—that the deed was quite recent—and that, were they to show too much urgency, they might irritate the king.

At this council, too, it was remarked, that a Picard, of the name of Bouchavannes, said not a single word, but merely noted the opinions given—a circumstance which greatly increased the suspicions entertained of him; many wondering that, though professing the religion, he was so much in favour with the queen-mother, and was so much with her friends; and, among others, with the Count de Rets. Another suspicious circumstance occurred about three o'clock, Cosseins having obstinately opposed the entrance of Teligny and De Guerchy. The latter, being a resolute and hot-tempered person, took this refusal as such an affront, and expressed himself so violently to Cosseins, that the two had all but come to blows, when the dispute was appeased by Teligny, a young nobleman, as all were aware, of a gentle and peaceable temper, and who had been so much taken with the king's caresses and fine words, as to praise and proclaim his majesty's candour without measure and without end. Accord-

ingly, when Guerchy and some others asked him if they would like them to pass the night, and keep guard at the Admiral's quarters, he replied, that it was unnecessary; at the same time, thanking them very courteously for their offer. Thus, on the night that followed, the only persons with the Admiral were Cornaton, La Bonne, Yolet, a captain of cavalry, the minister Merlin, Ambrose Paré, surgeon to the king, and four or five, at most, of his valets and serving-men. About midnight, Teligny retired with his wife into his own lodging, which adjoined that of the Admiral. In the court, however, there was a guard of five Swiss, whom the King of Navarre had sent from his own followers.

A little before daybreak La Bonne was told that there was some one at the gate wanting to speak to the Admiral, on the part of the king; he went immediately with the keys, and no sooner opened the gate than Cosseins stabbed him with a poignard, at the same time entering with his musketeers, and killing all he met, some as they tried to escape, others as they stood panic-struck, and all with such noise and tumult as to alarm the whole house. The door at the foot of the staircase was then driven in, and a Swiss shot dead. Still, some trunks and

boxes that were thrown upon the steps opposed farther entrance. Meanwhile the Admiral, and those who were with him, roused by the musket-shots, and not doubting that their enemies were attacking them, suddenly threw themselves on the ground, and prayed that God would be pleased to withdraw his anger, and regard them in his compassions. The Admiral then rose, and putting on his morning-gown, asked his minister, Merlin, to pray, accompanying what he said with deep-drawn sighs, and calling upon Jesus Christ, he resolved to commend himself to God, and to return into his hands the soul he had received from him as a loan; and, as the eye-witness of these things entered the room, and was asked by the surgeon what the noise meant, turning to the Admiral, he said, "God calls us to himself; the house has been forced, and we have no means of resistance?" "It is long," replied the Admiral, "since I have kept myself prepared for death. As for you others, try to save yourselves the best way you can; for it were vain for you to attempt saving my life. I recommend my soul to the mercies of God." And it was remarked by those who gave this testimony, that his countenance shewed no more disquiet than if nothing had happened to discompose it. Thus, all but one called Nicolas

de la Mouche, his German interpreter, and most faithful family servant, got upon the roof, and finding a window in the tiles, escaped under favour of the night.

Meanwhile Cosseins, having succeeded in removing the trunks and other obstacles placed to oppose him in the staircase, first ordered some Swiss to enter, whose green, white, and black uniforms showed them to belong to the Duke of Anjou's followers. These offered no offence to their four surviving compatriots, whom they found in the staircase. But Cosseins, with his cuirass, shield, and naked sword in hand, no sooner saw them than he ordered the nearest of his musketeers to fire on them, when one fell dead. Then a German, called Besme, a native of the dutchy of Wirtemburg, and son, as was said, of the commander of the artillery, first entered the room; and, on asking the Admiral, whom he found seated, whether he were the Admiral, on his replying,—" I am; but young man, do *you* respect my grey hairs and old age, without deigning to reply, Besme struck him on the head, and was the first to stain himself with the Admiral's blood, thus commencing what Cosseins, Attins, and others who followed, soon completed.

The body was first thrown from the window

into the court. There it was kicked by the Duke of Guise*, and long lay exposed to every kind of ignominy. Part of its members were cut off. It was dragged through the mud, and three days afterwards it was hung up by the heels at Montfaucon, where it remained for some days as a trophy and mark for the cruelty and fury practised by the people on the dead body, as well as the living person of the deceased. This is what posterity never will forget, and many persons of great judgment regard as what could not fail to prove fatal to the chief author of his death.† Some days afterwards, certain persons came on horseback, took away the body, and secretly buried it. In pillaging his furniture, his papers were broken into; and among these, there was found and taken to the queen-mother, his testament, which he had made at the close of the last civil war. This document she caused to be read in the hearing of some of her familiar friends; and an article occurring in it, in which he counselled the king not to give his brothers either too much property or too much power, she turned to the Duke of Alençon,

* The duke would not be satisfied that the Admiral was dispatched, till, with the help of a light, he had recognised his features.

† This the author meant to apply to Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, a deadly foe to the Admiral, who was slain at Blois, the 23d of December 1582.

saying, "There is a fine friend for you, the man whom you so prized and esteemed." To which the duke replied, that he did not know how far he had been a friend to him, but that, by this advice, he clearly showed how much he had loved the king. To a like purpose was the answer given by the English ambassador, on her telling him that the Admiral had advised the king to hold the greater part of England as to be suspected. "True," said he, "he was a bad Englishman, but an excellent Frenchman."

When the news of the massacre reached England, Scotland, and Germany, it is not to be told what hatred it produced towards the king and the queen-mother on the hearts of those who professed the same religion as the Admiral. This was not to be wondered at; for about ten thousand persons of that creed, giving themselves up for lost at home, fled into those countries, and proclaimed every where that the Admiral was an excellent personage, a great and wise captain, and an honour to his country, while the authors of such a piece of mischief were no better than parricides. This clamour was redoubled by the complaints of many German scholars, who, happening to be in France at the time, were for the most part so terrified, as to take themselves home, leaving all they had

behind them, and expressing among their relations and friends their detestation, not only of such an atrocity, but of all France. Others, who had served under the Admiral, commended his good qualities to all the German princes; the more as he was one who excelled no less in counsel than in courage; a rare union of good qualities in an occupation like war, where prudence often begets timidity, and courage rashness. Nor were there wanting persons who, having particularly known the Admiral, and gone off to these princes, expatiated in the highest terms on his innocence, temperance, modesty, and admirable zeal for religion, as might at once be seen from his ordinary habits of life, and from those of his household, as to which we shall briefly add what we have seen and heard.

As soon as he had risen from bed, which was always at an early hour, putting on his morning-gown, and kneeling, as did those who were with him, he himself prayed in the form which is customary with the churches of France. After this, while waiting for the commencement of the sermon, which was delivered on alternate days, accompanied with psalmody, he gave audience to the church-deputies who were sent to him, or devoted the time to public business. This he

resumed for a little, after the service was over, until the dinner hour. When that was come, such of his domestic servants as were not prevented by necessary engagements elsewhere, met in the hall, where the table was laid, standing by which, with his wife at his side, if there had been no preaching service, he engaged with them in singing a psalm, and then the ordinary blessing was said. We have this on the testimony of a countless number of witnesses, not Frenchmen only, but also German captains and colonels, who were often asked to dine with him, and can testify that this was his constant practice, not only in his own house, and while enjoying a quiet home, but in the army also.

On the removal of the cloth, rising and standing up with his wife and the rest of the company, he either returned thanks himself or called on his minister to do so. Such, also, was his practice at supper, and finding that the members of his household could not, without much discomfort, attend prayers so late as at bed-time, an hour, besides, which the diversity of his occupations prevented from being regularly fixed, his orders were that as soon as supper was over, a psalm should be sung and prayer offered. It cannot be told how many of the French nobility began to establish this religious order in their

families, after the example of the Admiral, who used often to exhort them to the practice of true piety, and that it was not enough for the father of a family to live a holy and religious life, if he did not by his example bring all his people to the same rule.

Indeed, there is no doubt that such was the admiration entertained for his piety and sanctity, even by members of the Roman Catholic party, that, but for the dread of tortures and massacres, the greater part of France would have been converted to the same religion and discipline.

On the approach of the time for the celebration of the Supper of the Lord, calling together all the members of his household, he told them that he had to render an account to God, not of his own life only, but also of their behaviour, and reconciled such of them as might have had differences. If any of them seemed not sufficiently prepared for the right comprehension and due veneration of that mystery, he saw to their being better instructed; and if he found any obstinate, he told them frankly, that it were better for him to live alone than to support wicked followers. Moreover, he thought the institution of colleges for youth, and of schools for the instruction of children, a singular benefit from God, and called it a seminary of the church,

and an apprenticeship of piety,—holding that ignorance of letters had introduced, into both the church and commonwealth, that thick darkness in which the tyranny of the Pope had had its birth and increase—a tyranny which domineered over the blind and the erring, just as, according to the poets, the god of riches and of hell, called Dis, ruled over night and darkness. This conviction led him to lay out a large sum in building a college at Châtillon, in a pleasant airy situation, and there he maintained three very learned professors of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin respectively, and several students.

There could not be a stronger proof of his integrity, and of the moderation of his desires with respect to the possession of property, than that notwithstanding the high offices he held, and the opportunities they furnished, as is usual with courtiers, of attending to his own interests and acquiring much wealth, he did not increase his patrimonial estates by a single acre of ground or a single cottage; and although he was an excellent economist, yet the numbers both of persons of high rank, and, indeed, of people of all conditions, that came to see him on public business from all parts of France, obliged him to draw largely on the savings effected by his good management, so that he left no less than

forty thousand livres of debts to his heirs, besides six thousand livres of interest, which he paid annually to his creditors. Nor should we omit to mention the incredible similarity of mind, and the love and mutual good-will that subsisted among the three brothers of the Châtillon family, which were such as to make them seem to have but one soul.

The Admiral lived fifty-five years, six months, and eight days. He was of middle stature, of a reddish tint, well proportioned in his limbs, of a calm unclouded countenance, and had a soft and pleasant voice, but was a little tardy and slow in his utterance. He had a good complexion, was dignified in his carriage and gesture, and distinguished by a gracious sobriety of manner. He drank little wine, ate sparingly, and slept at most eight hours. Ever since the last peace he never suffered a single day to pass without writing down, before going to bed, some of the things worth notice which had occurred during the troubles. These memoranda having been found after his death, and taken to the king's council, his greatest enemies there could not but express their admiration of the evidence they furnished of the gentleness and calmness of his temper. Moreover, having retired to Rochelle after the peace, not a day passed without

his reading, morning and night, one of Calvin's sermons on the book of Job, saying ordinarily that that history was his consolation and general remedy in all his calamities.

By his first wife he had five children, of whom four survived him, namely, Louisa, his eldest, married to Teligny, who was slain the same night with his father-in-law, and since married a second time to William, Prince of Orange, the issue of which marriage has been Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, and Governor-General of the Netherlands, and grandfather of William III. of England,—and Francis, Odet, and Charles, the two eldest of whom escaped from that detestable massacre; the third, who was at the time but seven years and eight months old, an uncommonly good-looking boy, and the object of his father's fondest love, was taken, and from his early childhood began to bear the cross of Christ. The Admiral's second wife gave birth to a daughter four months after her husband's death, and had not long returned to her own house in Savoy when she was made a prisoner by Duke Philibert.

THE

MASSACRE OF ST BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY.

AUGUST 24, 1572.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

"At a time," says the Abbé Anquetil, "when the clash of arms resounded throughout all Europe—when the Catholic princes, urged on by Pius V., were covering the sea with their vessels, and victoriously opposing the cruel emperor of the Turks: when Germany, surcharged with sects, was still in a state of internal agitation: when discord reigned in Scotland, and England was a prey to conspiracies: and while the Dutch were suffering all the horrors of intestine war, in maintaining their liberties and the right to profess the new religion, France became the scene of a surprising revolution. Peace, union, and concord prevailed among all orders of the state. Confederates, but lately so ready to take offence, and to strike the first blow in the dread of being anticipated, are seen laying aside their suspicions, and living at peace under the safeguard of the royal word; Charles IX., forgetting the offence of his lately revolted subjects, is beheld taking a kind interest in their happiness, while they seem to think only how they could best please him; he proposes marriages, discusses complaints by the intervention of pacific commissioners, punishes the promoters of strife and the fomenters of new troubles, receives from Calvinists many counsels of advantage to the state, concerts with them about carrying these into effect, and so wins

their confidence, as to obtain from them the restitution of the guarantee cities before the expiry of the term that had been agreed upon. And then," he adds, "what shall we think of Charles IX., a young king of two-and-twenty, if so many proofs of his goodness of heart were all but a feint, employed only that he might plunge the dagger into his victims more surely, and if his heart were black enough to meditate, during two whole years, the frightful project of assassinating seventy thousand of his subjects?"

The part which Charles had in the intrigue that preceded the massacre, is still a problem which different persons will solve differently, according to their views of the evidence that has come down to us. If Charles were indeed a party to the plot from the first, he must have been such a master of dissimulation, as not only to deceive the most experienced of his cotemporaries, but to make it difficult for posterity positively to convict him of all the duplicity and perfidy of which he was guilty. But the precise degree of his guilt is rather a curious than an important question. What one young man, with a tinge of insanity we suspect, in his mental constitution, might or might not be guilty of, is not of so much consequence. But the mere existence of an institution in the 16th century, possessing so powerfully depraving an influence, as to lead even a few persons in high situations, of unquestionable soundness of mind, of mature age, of much experience of life, to plan so execrable a project, and to engage so many thousands to execute it, is a fact of immense moment even in the 19th: so that we can hardly anywhere bestow research more usefully than in sifting its evidences and examining its minutest details.

The progress of the Reformation, and the corresponding decline of the Popedom, had now for fifty years been so astounding; the lowly beginnings of the former had shot up so rapidly into an ever-growing popularity and power, while the hyperbolical pretensions and exorbitant resources of the latter had been treated so rudely, and had experienced such an alarming decline; the humble preachers of the New Testament, notwithstanding violent controversies among themselves, and the

extravagance of many fanatics with whom they had been artfully identified, had acquired such a solid reputation for learning and virtue, and the ignorance and viciousness of the great body of the Romish clergy, had brought their whole system into such wide-spread hatred and contempt; such strenuous efforts had been made, and so much blood and suffering had been expended by Rome and her satellites, in fruitless endeavours to arrest a course of things which seemed to threaten their speedy destruction,—that the reader of history cannot be much surprised if the struggles of that power begin to be marked by a kind of frantic desperation, like that of some enormous animal, when sensible that it is approaching its death-agony, or rather like the frenzy of some criminal, who, on being discovered and apprehended, thinking that he has nothing to hope for at the hands of God or man, cares not in his struggles what means he uses, or what vengeance he may awaken, provided he can but destroy his assailant and secure his own escape.

The massacre of St Bartholomew's day throws a fearful gloom over modern history. Its shadow reaches to our own times. Roman Catholics have made repeated efforts to destroy, or at least weaken, the impression that their church is responsible for the enormous guilt it involved. But these efforts have only led to a more thorough sifting of the historical evidence of the case, and such investigations more and more strengthen the conviction that a crime so fearful in its extent and atrocity, was the natural result of Papal advices to the great, and of priestly harangues to the multitude,—that it was projected, planned, and executed by the members of their church, for the interests of that church, however other motives may have mingled with religious ones in the case of many of the actors, and however political objects may have been conjoined with ecclesiastical in the contemplated results. The feelings with which Protestants ought to contemplate it, are those of humility and godly fear. The French Reformed had greatly provoked God during the previous hostilities, and had disgraced the profession of the gospel by much lawlessness and immorality. But even during the peace, they had involved themselves in much guilt. It is evident

that they never would have been the dupes of the royal perfidy, had they kept aloof from enemies so lavish in their professions of friendship as were the Roman Catholic courtiers, with whom they mingled on the occasion of the king of Navarre's marriage. The true character of those with whom, not content with entering into a peace which was right, they entered into a fellowship of amusement and dissipation, which was as certainly wrong, could not be unknown to them. They were described to the life by an inspired apostle; and from such, with the authority of divine inspiration, that apostle had commanded them *to turn away*.*

Many historians trace the massacre to the proceedings of the queen-mother in 1565, while smarting under the disappointment of the toleration which the Reformed then enjoyed, or perhaps suffering from the idea, no doubt impressed upon her by her spiritual advisers, that any such peace implied mortal sin in all children of the church who in any way acknowledged it.

Catherine, we are told, had for some time entertained a great wish to travel through the kingdom, to show the young monarch to his subjects, and to ascertain the strength of the Huguenots. Being attended by a brilliant court, people flocked around the royal party, and greeted the king with their acclamations. Such, indeed, was the warmth of the reception he met with, as the restorer of peace to France, that his mother dreaded his being seduced into milder maxims of government than she could approve. Ever at her son's side, she strove to stifle those humane and benevolent feelings which the conduct of the people tended to inspire. She took care, also, to revive the fanaticism of the Papists by encouraging shouts of *Vive la Roi*, *Vive la Reine*, *Vive la Messe!* and they were even encouraged to mingle abuse of the Protestants with expressions of loyalty to the king. During the festivities with which the court was entertained on the German frontier by the king's brother-in-law, the Duke of Lorraine, and by the Duke

* See 2 Tim. iii. 1-5. Laval, with all the honesty of a true Protestant historian, says that God's just anger on account of the sins of *the whole* nation, was the first cause of the massacre.—Vol. iii. p. 417.

of Savoy, as the royal party approached his frontiers on its way to the south and south-west of France, while pleasure seemed the only object, the queen held secret conferences for strengthening the Papacy in France. At Avignon, then a seat of the popes, while the legate did the honours of the place, Catherine held secret interviews with a special messenger from Rome, whom she herself had sent for, and who, like herself, was a Florentine.

But it was at Bayonne that the grand conference took place, at which the destruction of the Protestants throughout Europe is said to have been determined upon.* The court arrived there on the 10th of June 1565, and were joined by the Queen of Spain, the king's sister, sent thither, says Mr Browning, an unconscious instrument of the dark designs of her husband Philip. Her chief attendant was Alva, who, like his master, was capable of proceeding to all lengths in the extirpation of the alleged heresy. Here, again, while apparently engrossed with the festivities of the occasion, Catherine eagerly pursued her grand object. Under pretence of having easy communication with her daughter, she had a gallery constructed between their apartments, along which she might pass unobserved, and thus could hold nightly conferences with Alva. The prospects of all Europe were, no doubt, discussed at those meetings; plans were laid for crushing the Reformation in every country in which it had appeared; but the grand objects of interest must have been France and Flanders.†

Subsequent traces of some projected catastrophe, are found in the correspondence of Pope Pius V. In a letter of congratulation, addressed, 20th October 1569, to the King of France after the battle of Montcontour, Pius urges him to stifle every sentiment of clemency to the Reformed, as sinful and rebellious against the Almighty. "What else would it be," says he, "but to render vain the kindness

* It was there that the famous association, called *the League*, is supposed to have first been formed, for the universal suppression of Protestanism. David Rizzio is thought to have been one of its secret agents in Scotland.

† See Browning's History of the Huguenots, vol. i. pp. 186-189, Pickering's edition, 1829.

of God in his victory over the heretics: the fruits which it ought to produce are, the extermination of the infamous heretics, our common enemies, on account of the deserved hatred which they inspire, and the restoration of the ancient tranquillity and peace of the kingdom. Suffer not any one to beguile you with the sentiments of an idle pity; seek not the false glory of a pretended clemency in forgiving offences done to God himself, for nothing is more cruel than mercy to wretches who deserve the worst punishments. If your majesty would restore the ancient splendour, power, and dignity of France, you must endeavour above every thing else, to make your subjects universally profess the Catholic faith alone, even that which from the first origin of Christianity, hath remained uncontaminated unto this day." And the letter closes with a recommendation, that all who had borne arms against the king, should be executed, and that the inquisition should be established in all the towns of the kingdom.*

The prospect of peace, delightful as it must have been to all who loved their country, and felt for its distracted and wasted condition, only alarmed Pius and made him recommend violent measures more urgently than ever. On the 23d of April 1570, he warns the French king that a peace founded on the principles of toleration, would prove a source of the worst calamities to France; that if any think otherwise, and would fain make the king adopt their views, he should treat them as self-deceivers or corrupt flatterers; that although they might urge the false pretext of the general welfare, they forgot the Catholic religion and his majesty's glory, and, in fact, revered neither his majesty nor God. "They should consider," said the Pope, "that by concluding a peace, your majesty permits your bitterest foes to come out from their haunts of robbery into your own palace; that hence must arise a thousand snares and dangers of every kind, and that even should the heretics have no wish to prepare a snare for you, God himself by a just determination of his divine providence, will inspire them with the idea, in order thus to punish your having postponed

* See Mr Browning, vol. i. p. 287.

the interests of religion to your own." And then he points to the example of Greece by way of warning, alleging that she owed the loss of her ancient splendour and her cruel subjection to infidels, to her disrespect for the Roman Catholic faith.

Pius, says Dr Browning, was unwearied in his exhortations, and letters arrived from him without intermission, mostly in the same strain. Yet a peace was concluded at St Germains, on the 15th of August 1570; not, we are persuaded, as that author intimates, because France was weary of the horrors of civil war, in so far at least as the Romanists were concerned. Such a supposition implies that they must have been unwilling to obey the repeatedly urged exhortations of their great spiritual chief at Rome, and is inconsistent with the fact that within two short years, they were found ripe for horrors tenfold worse than those of civil war. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for the reasons that induced them to agree to a peace founded in direct opposition to the papal counsels, on the basis of a general amnesty, the free exercise of the reformed worship in the suburbs of two cities in each province of France, the restoration of confiscated property, the admissibility of the reformed to most offices in the state, and their right of challenging six judges, presidents as well as counsellors, in the different parts of the kingdom; together with the granting of Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac, and La Charité, as a security to the Protestants for the full observance of the treaty, but which they were bound by oath to surrender *at the end of two years.*

Let us now see, from La Noue, the necessity which the papal party must have felt for attempting some other compliance with the papal mandates, besides persevering in open war. "Many are of opinion," says he, "that the third peace would not have been so soon finished, had not those of the (Reformed) religion approached Paris. From which experience they have laid it down as a maxim, that in order to obtain peace, that puissant city should be threatened with war close at hand. This, I consider, was one of the great causes of the advance that was made, blows aimed at the head always causing more than ordinary apprehension.

The foreigners among the Catholics, also, having consumed a vast amount of money, had caused such a scarcity that none knew how they were to be paid. In all quarters, too, the country had been ruined and pillaged. Moreover, it seemed that success was likely to raise those who had been beaten to the ground. The army of the princes had made a bold head against the king's at René le Duc. Gascony, Languedoc, and Dauphiny, carried on the war more vigorously than before. The Bearn country had been reconquered, and in Poitou and the Xaintonge, those of the (Reformed) religion had been remarkably successful, having defeated the two old regiments and taken several towns. All this, together with other secret and private occasions, disposed the king and the queen to condescend upon a peace."*

What the author would have us to understand by secret and private occasions, it is not easy to say, unless by occasion he means inducement, or reason, in which case he may hint at the grand features of the plot. But it is evident from the picture he presents, and from the well known talents of the Admiral in making himself formidable after defeat, and in the midst of apparent impossibilities, that the Romish faction had given up military operations, as a very doubtful, if not a hopeless, course.

Historians have failed to note a circumstance which, I confess, appears to me to be in itself a strong proof of the insincerity of the Romish faction in agreeing to a peace, and of their projecting the destruction of the Reformed under the covert of apparent friendship. Even granting that the former were weary of the horrors of war, they could have had no ground for wishing for the Admiral's aggrandisement. It is evident that whatever he received in the way of wealth, honours, and influence, would be sure to redound to the credit of his religion, and make the heresy which they were bent on destroying, only more prosperous and powerful. Yet "the deputies," says Mr Browning, "who went from the court to discuss the projected treaty, made the Admiral an offer of 200,000 crowns, on condition that he should abate some of the demands which he invariably put forward as essen-

* See *Discours Politiques et Militaires du Sieur de la Noue*, p. 1008. Edition of 1614.

tial articles of any treaty he might make;" while, to remove all appearance of this being a bribe, he was informed that it was to remunerate him for the spoliation of his house at Châtillon: and though he at once rejected everything of the sort, declaring that, provided the Reformed churches could be satisfied, he wished nothing for himself; yet, no sooner was the peace concluded, than he was loaded with favours of the most substantial kind. Now, why not have taken this Protestant at his word, and left him with the little that he claimed for himself? Why aggrandise with wealth and honours an arch-heretic, already so formidable by his talents and personal character.* The very slightest acquaintance with that character must have made it appear chimerical to attempt to bribe him back to popery, however feasible that might have been thought with respect to the two young princes, Navarre and Condé. The question can be answered satisfactorily only by assuming that there was then intended, what in two years was actually done, when not only his life was taken, but every means adopted to destroy the moral influence of his name. In that interval of two years, between the conclusion of the peace and the massacre, far from committing any crime, or doing anything prejudicial to the interests of France, he had laboured to promote the internal pacification of the kingdom, and had suggested measures of great consequence to its external prosperity. Yet, after his death by murder, it was solemnly decreed, by a public sentence, that his effigy, after being taken from before the Hôtel de Ville to Montfaucon, should be suspended there at the highest spot: that his arms should be dragged at horses' tails by the public executioner in the chief cities of the kingdom: injunctions were given

* Laval says, "The king added something more than bare words, for he gave to the Admiral 100,000 livres, for repairing the losses he had sustained in the late wars, and one year's income of all the benefices his brother Odet had enjoyed, together with part of those benefices; and, at the same time, he gave strict orders to redeem the rich furniture and plate of the said Cardinal which had been plundered, wherever it could be found; then he restored to him his place in the council." See Hist. of the Ref. in France, vol. ii. p. 366.

to tear down and break in pieces his portraits and statues wherever they could be found: that his country-seat of Châtillon-sur-Loing should be razed so effectually as to be incapable of being rebuilt: that all the trees there should be cut over four feet from the ground: that the earth should be sown with salt, and a pillar raised amid the ruins with the sentence engraved upon it. Finally, his whole property was confiscated, his children declared *roturiers*, and for ever incapable of holding any office. The same sentence ordained that there should be a solemn yearly procession, on St Bartholomew's day, to thank God for having on that day preserved the kingdom from the wicked designs of the heretics! *

The only clue to this gross inconsistency is to be found in the hypothesis that the massacre had been projected at the very time that the peace was signed.

Catherine, historians tell us, found it difficult to procure a peace with the Reformed on terms that would at all satisfy her zealous co-religionists who were not in the secret of her plans, and many thought she had compromised the interests of church and state by the concessions she had made. But when the whole of her policy, and the execution of it, were contemplated by such zealots, we presume that they were fully satisfied that she had concerted her measures with infinite regard for the interests of the Romish church in France.

We have now to examine the proceedings of the opposite party by like tests. But in them we find not the smallest vestige of insincerity in their acceptance of the pacification, or in their wish to maintain it; not the slightest trace of designs of any kind whatever, to attack the Romanists. The caution which led the Reformed leaders to make Rochelle rather than Paris, their head quarters at the peace, was both natural and justifiable. Apart from all ideas of personal danger, the capital of France was dangerous to the Reformed, on the ground of its immorality and the numerous temptations it presented, to the younger nobility in particular, to make shipwreck of the faith and of a good conscience. And in all other respects there was nothing in their public measures, or private habits, that could justly inspire jealousy

* L'Esprit de la Ligue, Book iv.

or give umbrage. When subjects marry themselves, and promote marriages among their children, we may be sure that they are giving the strongest possible pledges of their interest in the general peace of the country. Such was the case with the Reformed. What could be more indicative of the absence of all cabal and intrigue, than the following picture of the peace as enjoyed by the leaders of that party ?

"One would have thought," says Anquetil, "that a veteran warrior like the Admiral, must have been quite unattackable on the side of the tender passion, yet he both loved and was loved in return, and the marriage of perhaps the gravest man in France, had much of the character of an adventure in romance. Jacqueline of Montbel, the Lady of Entremont, a widow of great wealth in money, and in lands situate within the States of Savoy, had entertained a warm passion for the Admiral, although known to her only by reputation ; and, enthusiasm mingling with her affection, she had resolved to bestow her hand and her property upon that hero of Calvinism. This design of hers made the Duke of Savoy attentive to the widow's proceedings, but Jacqueline, notwithstanding her being watched, escaped and came to Rochelle, there to be married to De Colligny. The duke was angry and seized her lands. In vain did the king interpose his good offices when urged to do so by the spouses ; the prince remained inflexible.

"The Admiral showed himself little affected by this disgrace, and at the same time gave another unequivocal proof of his disinterestedness, by marrying his daughter Louisa, to Teligny, a simple *gentilhomme* without fortune, but an excellent negotiator, thoroughly master of the affairs of his party, and better able than any one else, to give weight to its interests by his prudence and ability.

"The young prince of Condé, also, made preparations for marrying Mary of Cleves, third sister of the Duchess of Guise, and who had been brought up by the Queen of Navarre in the Reformed faith."* These marriages, it is very evident, would have been postponed until the result of any contemplated plot or project should be as-

* See Espirit de la Ligue, Book iv.

certained, had any such scheme occupied these leaders of the French Reformed. But the idea of such designs being entertained by them, is inconsistent with the very charges brought against them by their opponents. The worst that could be seriously alleged, was certain boasts and bravadoes of the young Protestant nobility, who naturally enough gloried in the manifest triumphs of their principles, but who, had they been engaged in any secret and treasonable designs, would, as a matter of common prudence, have been more guarded in their speech.

But the Reformed could not have desired any better justification of their conduct than is to be found in the fact of the charge of a conspiracy being an after thought on the part of the king and his court and council, not resorted, to until it was found impracticable to throw the odium of the massacre on the Princes of Guise.

From all these considerations, it must appear evident that the massacre was not, as Roman Catholic historians, like Dr Lingard, would make it appear, an unpremeditated ebullition of popular rage; that the religious principles, not the political insubordination of the Reformed, led to its being planned and executed; and that there was nothing of the nature of a conspiracy among the latter, which could justify such a barbarity on the score of its political necessity.

We shall now give an account of the massacre from a source of information which has been strangely overlooked by most, if not all, the modern relators of that event. It forms part of a dialogue between certain imaginary personages, in a work printed at Edinburgh in 1574, within two years after the massacre, but the narrative itself was evidently written within a year after. It may seem strange that any part of an imaginary dialogue should be produced as a piece of authentic history. But a little consideration will at least enable the reader to see the grounds on which such a course is hazarded, and he can hardly fail to justify and approve of it.

First, The book in which it is found is a serious work, written for a serious purpose, and mainly, it would appear, to warn the Polish nobility against the election of the King of France's brother, the Duke of Anjou, as the King of Poland. An attempt to palliate the king's con-

duct having been made to the Polish diet, by Montluc, bishop of Valence, the *Reveille-Matin* seems to have been written to undo the impression made by that eloquent prelate. But in order to this, it was of the utmost consequence that the relation it gave of facts of such very recent date, and of facts, too, which the numerous Roman Catholic actors in the massacre, must have been able at once to expose, if misrepresented, or even exaggerated, should be true to the minutest particulars.

If the author, accordingly, was not an eye-witness himself, so as to be able to give his own evidence, he would be sure to obtain that of some other, if such could be found among the survivors of the tragedy. In either case he would give the narrative of one who was present in Paris at the time, and who could write from his own fresh recollection, and from what he had been told by others who had also been eye-witnesses.

If we scrutinize the narrative, we must be convinced that such is its character. It is a clear consecutive statement of facts; these facts are verified by other narrations of admitted credibility, in a way that mutually supports both, from the manifest absence of any appearance of design in their accordance, just as Dean Paley has, in his Horæ Paulinæ, established the authenticity of the Epistles of St Paul from their minute and undesigned coincidences with each other, and with the Acts of the Apostles. Some of these proofs are referred to in the notes, but they can be best appreciated by the reader himself comparing this with other accounts, such as those of Laval, Mr Browning, and the very full and elaborate ones to be found in the volumes intituled "Paris and its Historical Scenes," in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, and in the Supplement to the Saturday Magazine for December 1839.

The intimations, too, of the author's having been present in Paris, are precisely what might be expected from one who really was so. They are few and incidental. He states that he was one of those who accompanied the Admiral at the time of the latter being shot at, and hence we may infer that he was a Huguenot nobleman, or *gentilhomme*. The minuteness with which he relates the many just causes of apprehension among the Reformed, pre-

vious to the massacre, and the importance he attaches to these, may so far account for his having been one of the survivors, for it shows that he was a remarkably wary person, and that he had made up his mind to expect the worst. Again, the fulness with which he details the events on the south side of the Seine, seems to intimate that he must have been one of those who lodged in that suburb. But he had evidently stayed behind while others fled, for he mentions a conversation which he had with certain councillors and courtiers, probably about three weeks after the massacre, and before his leaving Paris. It were idle now to conjecture to what he had owed his escape. He might have been a foreigner, or one of those Frenchmen whom the Duke of Guise had sheltered, or he might have been concealed in the house of some faithful Roman Catholic family.

The author of the account of the massacre in the volumes intituled "Paris," &c. in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, justly remarks, that no merely general description could convey either so curious or so correct a representation of the St Bartholomew as the narratives of individual adventure which he has introduced. These I might easily have collected also, but they would have enlarged this volume far beyond its proper size, and would have been but a repetition of accounts now easily and cheaply accessible to most of our readers. The following narrative, although the author, from the dread, no doubt, of compromising the safety of the friends who had protected him in Paris, relates nothing that can be called personal adventure, has all the graphic character of one who was present amid the scenes that he describes; it gives a clearer view of the proceedings of the night than any other of the many I have perused: and not only is it not easily accessible even in the original French, but it does not seem to have been at all consulted in any of the modern accounts. It may therefore be regarded as a valuable *new* contribution to the historical materials which enable us to form our judgment on the events and characters of that period.

THE

MASSACRE OF ST BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY,

FROM THE REVEILLE-MATIN DES FRANÇOIS, &c.

PRINTED AT EDINBURGH 1574.

The prince of Navarre, now by the death of his mother become king, and the prince of Condé, being solicited and encouraged on all hands to come to the court, at length arrived in Paris, expecting to find the king, Charles, there; and thither he in fact had come, for the celebration of his sister's nuptials. They were accompanied by many Huguenot lords, barons, and *gentils-hommes;* the whole court went out to meet them, and they were received by the king, by his mother, by his brother, and the other princes, and by Madame,* with all apparent cordiality.

Some days were then spent in rejoicings and banquetings, while waiting for the marriage, which was delayed from day to day, for various reasons; among others, because the Cardinal de Bourbon, who was to receive the marriage vows, would have nothing to do with the matter without a dispensation from the Pope, which had been sent for. Even after its arrival, not being, as he thought, ample enough for his conscience, it was found necessary to send to Rome for one that would suit his fancy. Upon this, the king pretended to be out of temper at so many delays, and fuming and blaspheming, swore that the marriage must be consummated without

* According to the custom of France, the king's eldest brother is called simply *Monsieur*, and his eldest sister *Madame*.

delay ; that if the Cardinal de Bourbon would not marry them, he would take them himself to a Huguenot preaching, to have them married there by a (Reformed) minister : and that, by the death of God, he would not have his Peggy (as he called his sister) kept waiting any longer. The marriage was celebrated at length, with the utmost pomp, on Monday the 18th of August last.* The Huguenot princes, counts, barons, and other lords and *gentils-hommes* of note, some of them with their wives and children, were almost all present. Altogether, there might be a thousand of the noblesse assembled on the occasion.

The following Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, were spent in all sorts of plays and pastimes, at which the Admiral was often present, the king wearing the same gracious looks as usual.

On Wednesday, the Admiral wished to treat with the king on some affairs of great importance, but the latter begged of him, with a smile, to allow him four days to amuse himself and be merry, promising, on the faith of a king, that he should not stir out of Paris until he had given satisfaction to him and to all who had any matter to settle with him. Besides the above intimations, the Admiral had been warned, some days before, of a murderous attack committed by some seditious persons at Troyes, on certain Huguenots, as they were returning from divine service—that those of Rouen and Orleans threatened putting a stop to the protestant services within two years after the pacification last agreed to.

Among the *gentils-hommes* of the court, likewise, half-suppressed murmurs were heard, that, about the end of August, the Huguenot church services would be interdicted ; nay, that several Roman Catholic *gentils-hommes* wanted to wager with the Huguenots that they would be going to mass within four months ; that a rumour prevailed among the leading persons in Paris, that more blood than water would appear at that marriage ; that the commissaries, centeniers, and dixeniers of Paris, were brewing some mischief, easily to be discovered by those who looked narrowly into such matters ; that a cele-

* This shows that this account must have been written within a year of the events related.

brated Huguenot advocate at the Paris bar, had been warned by the president of the court, to withdraw from Paris for some days with his family, if he wished to save his own life and those of his household; that an Italian had pledged his head that the marriage would never take place, and another Italian, at the table of John Michel, and Sabalin the ambassador from Venice, boasted that they knew how to ruin the Huguenots in four-and-twenty hours. Other things of a like kind were circulating among the common people, and the Admiral likewise had been apprized of them. To this it was added, that the faction of the seditious desired, above all things, the ruin of the Huguenots—that the time and place gave facilities for it—and that, as there was thus both the will and the power, nothing else was to be expected from them. In all this the Admiral, perfectly fearless, and, like himself, ever constant and confident in the king's goodness, saw nothing at which to be alarmed.

On Thursday it was mentioned at the king's privy council, that certain men on horseback had been seen at the Parson's meadow, and passing through the most public parts of Paris, with pistols and carabines at their saddle-bows—in contravention of the prohibition to bear arms; to which one of the council replied, that these might have been some persons who were preparing for the review that was to take place for the entertainment of the court.

On Friday morning, the 22d of August, a council was held at the Louvre, to consult about remedying the complaints of the Huguenots; when Monsieur, who presided in his brother the king's absence, rose and left the room sooner than usual; upon which the Admiral, who was likewise there, went out with the other lords of the council, and while on his way to his lodgings, meeting the king as he came out of a chapel in front of the Louvre, he took him back as far as the tennis court, where the king and the Duke of Guise took sides against Teligny and another *gentil-homme*, and played for some time. The Admiral then went home to dinner, accompanied by some twelve or fifteen *gentils-hommes*, of whom I was one. He had not gone a hundred paces from the

Louvre, when, from an iron-barred window in a house in which Villemur, the Duke of Guise's preceptor, commonly lodged, three balls were fired at him from a blunderbuss, while reading a petition as he passed along the street on foot. One of the balls carried off the forefinger of his right hand, and another wounded him in the left arm. At the moment of his being wounded, the Lord de Guerchy was on his right side, being that from which the shot was fired, and the eldest of the Pruneaux was on his left. They were amazed and confounded, as were all the rest of the company.

The Admiral merely pointed to the house that the shot was fired from, and to where the balls had struck, and begged Captain Pilles, who came up along with Captain Monins, to go and tell the king what had happened; and, that he might judge how finely faith had been kept, alluding to the agreement made between him and the Duke of Guise. Another *gentil-homme*, on seeing that the Admiral was wounded, went up to him to support his left arm, binding the wounded part with his handkerchief; the Lord de Guerchy supported his right, and in this manner he was conducted to his lodgings, which were about a hundred and twenty yards off. On the way, a *gentil-homme* remarked that there was room to apprehend that the balls might be poisoned; to which the Admiral replied, that nothing would happen but what God should please.

Soon after the shot, the door of the house from which it had been fired was driven in by certain *gentils-hommes* of the Admiral's suite. The piece itself was found, but not the man who had fired it; but there was a servant boy of his, and a servant maid belonging to the house. The man who had fired the shot had instantly fled by a back door entering on the cloister of the church of St Germain l'Auxerrois, where a horse had stood in readiness for him, with pistols at the saddle-bow. Escaping upon it, he had passed out of Paris by the Porte St Antoine. There he found a person waiting for him with a Spanish horse, and then dismounting from the one and mounting the other, he had set off at a hard gallop.

Hearing of the Admiral's wound, the king left off playing, threw down the racket, and with a sad dejected

countenance went to his room. The Duke of Guise went away also, soon after the king.

The chamber-maid of the house, being interrogated, said that the Lord de Chailly, who is *maitre d'hotel* to the king, and superintendant of affairs to the Duke of Guise, had brought the man, who fired the shot, into the house, and had warmly recommended him to her mistress.

The footman, on being interrogated, said that very early that morning his master had sent him to Chailly, to request that it might be arranged that the Duke of Guise's groom should have the horses ready that were promised. As for his master's name, that he had been but a short while in his service, and had never heard him called anything but Bolland, one of the soldiers of the king's guard; but to say the truth, it was Montrevel* de Brie, the same who, in the preceding wars, treacherously slew the Lord de Mouy.

The King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, the Count de la Roche-foucault, and several other Huguenot lords, barons, and *gentils-hommes*, on hearing of the Admiral's wound, came straight to visit him. There came also several Roman Catholic lords and *gentils-hommes*, friends of the Admiral, and all were much distressed at what had happened.

On the wounds being dressed by the most skilful surgeons, the King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé went to find the king, and to him they complained as the fact required; remonstrating that they were no longer safe in Paris, and most humbly beseeching him that they might be allowed to withdraw elsewhere. The king, joining in their lamentations at what had happened, promised with an oath, that he would see such justice done upon the guilty person, and his favourers and abettors, that the Admiral and his friends would have reason to be content. Meanwhile he begged that they would not stir from the court, and that they should leave to him the punishment and the revenging of the crime, assuring them withal that he would anon attend to it.

* This is evidently a different spelling for Maurevel.

The queen-mother, who happened to be there also, appeared to be much afflicted at what had taken place; saying that it was a gross outrage committed against the king,—that were it to be tolerated to-day, to-morrow people might be bold enough to do as much in the Louvre, and even in his bed, and in his arms. By this artifice the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé, and the other French Huguenot lords and *gentils-hommes*, were induced to remain in Paris. But as some amongst them thought it right that the Admiral should be taken home to Châtillon on the Loing, distant about two days journey from Paris, to prevent this the king offered him the use of an apartment in the Louvre palace; and that, if the state of his wounds prevented his removal from his present quarters, he would send him a company of soldiers of his guard, for the safe keeping of himself and his lodgings.

On hearing of these honourable offers made by the king, the Admiral oft-times and most humbly expressed his acknowledgements, owning that he was so safe under the king's protection, that, next to God, he needed not any other guard. Nevertheless, about a hundred soldiers were, by the king's orders, stationed that day before the house where he lodged.

Meanwhile chase was given to the assassin who in his flight had passed through Villeneuve St George, where he took another horse, openly telling people that there was no longer any Admiral of France. Thereupon the king ordered Nancé, one of the captains of his guard, to go and seize Chailly, and take him to prison; but he had already either got away, or was so well concealed, that there was no wish to find him. That same day the king wrote letters to all the governors of provinces, and of the chief cities of his kingdom, as also to his ambassadors at the courts of foreign princes, informing them of what had happened, and promising to take measures for the discovery, and condign punishment of all who were implicated in so wicked an act. That meanwhile they should give all to understand how much this outrage had displeased him. The queen-mother, that same day, wrote to the like effect to the said governors and ambassadors.

The king also that day, after dinner, which he made shorter than usual, went, accompanied by the queen his mother, his brothers, all the marshals of France, except De Montmorency, who had gone a hunting the day before, the Chevalier d'Angoulême, the Duke of Nevers, Chavigny, and several other military officers, to visit the Admiral, who was burning with impatience to see him. The king having heard what he had to say, and affecting to weep, frankly confessed that the Admiral had come to court in the assurance of his good faith and friendly feelings; and, therefore, although the pain inflicted by the wounds was the Admiral's, the insult and the outrage were his, and that he was resolved, with all his heart, to have satisfaction for it, and to do such justice on the criminals as should never be forgotten.

The Admiral replied that he committed the revenging of the offence to God, and the trial of the guilty to the king. As for the author of the deed, he was pretty well known; and, since he was not sure how long he might have to live, he very humbly besought the king to hear him about some things which he had to communicate to him, and which were of the utmost consequence to his kingdom's welfare. Upon this request the king, as if desirous of having a secret communication with the Admiral, ordered all to leave the room; but the queen-mother, who never went a step from the king, prevented, I know not why, this conversation from taking place.*

On the Saturday following, being August 23d, the wounds were doing so favourably, that the physicians and surgeons pronounced the Admiral out of danger, and said that his arm, though it might lose a little of its strength, would be easily healed. The king sent several *gentils-hommes* that day to see the Admiral, and he had a visit also from the lately married princess. That Saturday, also, certain witnesses were examined at the privy council, respecting the shot that was fired, the person who fired it, and those who had employed him; so that the Admiral and his friends, believing the course

* It would appear from other accounts that a few words did pass between the king and the Admiral, but that the queen soon interposed. The author of this narrative does not speak of his being present on the occasion.

of justice to be open to them, were in high spirits, feeling assured that they could easily convict the authors of the crime. Accordingly, they sent letters to their friends in different quarters of the kingdom, begging them not to stir, and not to annoy themselves about what had happened; that God and the king were powerful avengers; that judicial proceedings had already commenced against the guilty and his abettors; and that, thank God, the wounds were not mortal; for although the arm had been struck, the brain was safe. By such consolatory letters they were exhorted to keep themselves quiet, waiting for such an issue to the affair as God might be pleased to send.

That day, too, the king's eldest brother, and the Chevalier d'Angoulême, went about the city of Paris in a coach, about four o'clock in the afternoon.* From about that time a report was in circulation, that the king had sent for Marshal de Montmorency to come to Paris, with a large force of cavalry and infantry; that the Parisians, therefore, had much need to look to their own safety. But in this there was no truth whatever. Six porters were seen going into the Louvre that day, carrying arms with them; and the Admiral's trumpeter having informed Teligny of this, he replied, that people gave themselves unnecessary fears,—that he was very well assured of the king's good-will, and perfectly knew his heart and his affections, and that people should not give credit to things so much out of the question. I believe Teligny saw nothing wrong about it, the more so as, the day before the Admiral received his wound, orders had been given to have a sort of mock fight at a chateau, which had been put in readiness accordingly, and the courtiers had therefore been invited to prepare for it.

That the Huguenot lords and *gentils-hommes* might all be brought together into one quarter, the king caused lodgings to be marked out for all of them in the neigh-

* I do not find this in the other accounts, but it entirely accords with the fact of the civic authorities having been summoned to collect a force at the Hotel de Ville. Some of these, to be sure, had been sent for, but it was by Tavannes.

bourhood of the Admiral's, so as to be nearer him, and within reach. Some went to those lodgings, others could not so suddenly change theirs. Count Montgomery, Briquemaut, the father, and some other *gentilshommes*, had sent word to Teligny, that, if he chose, they would willingly sit up all night in the Admiral's lodgings; Teligny, however, sent back a message, thanking them for their offer, but that it was unnecessary.

Meanwhile the other party were sitting up. The Chevalier d'Angoulème, who did not want to go to bed, while entertaining his most intimate friends, told them to keep up their spirits, assuring them that he should that day be Admiral of France. But he was mistaken, inasmuch as the vacancy was filled up by being given to the Marquis de Villars.

The queen-mother, shortly after midnight, was seen to go into the king's chamber, attended only by a chamber-maid: some nobles were sent for, and went in shortly after, but I know not for what purpose. True it is, that, two hours after, the signal was given by tolling the church-bell of St Germain l'Auxerrois.* No sooner was this heard, than the soldiers stationed in front of the Admiral's lodgings, instantly forced in the outer gate, which, indeed, was easily done, as it was immediately opened for them upon the king's name, on which they prided themselves, being used. The Duke of Guise soon after entered on horseback, accompanied by a numerous body of his partizans. There was little

* Some would ascribe the ringing of this bell to the queen-mother's impatience, as the proper alarm-bell was the tocsin of the Palais de Justice, which was not rung till afterwards. Others would have it that there was but one bell rung, namely, that of St Germain l'Auxerrois; and Laval speaks only of the clock of the Palais striking. But this account, which notes the fact of both bells being rung, is alone consistent with the general design of those who planned the massacre. The common church-bell immediately opposite the Louvre, and very near the Admiral's lodgings, was the proper signal for the attack from the Louvre, on the Protestants in that quarter. That attack being a preliminary affair, to be made use of as a whet to the fanaticism of the citizens, it was, of course, some time after that the great bell of the Palais, which is much nearer the Hotel de Ville, was sounded for the general onslaught.

or no resistance, none of the Admiral's household or followers being in anywise armed.

The Admiral hearing a noise, and dreading some sedition, told his *valet-de-chambre*, whose name was Nicolas Trucheman, to go out upon the roof of the house, and call the soldiers of the guard which the king had given him, not dreaming for a moment that they were the very men that created the disturbance. As for himself, he rose, and, slipping on his night-gown, began to pray to God, when in an instant he was murdered by a German, called Besme, a domestic servant of the Duke of Guise, who, along with Captains Caussens (Cosseins), Sarlaboux, and several others, had entered the room. Sarlaboux, however, boasted that it was he that killed him.

The Admiral's last words in speaking to Besme, were these: "My child, you will not by this make my life shorter." No mercy was shown to such of the Admiral's household as allowed themselves to be found—all of them were murdered.

The Admiral's dead body was thrown out of the room window into the court of the house, by Sarlaboux, at the command of the Duke of Guise and the Duke of Aumale, who had also hastened to the spot, both wishing to see him dead before leaving the place.*

On the day that the Admiral was wounded, the king had sent a recommendation to his brother-in-law, the King of Navarre, that ten or twelve of his greatest favourites should sleep in his room to protect him from the designs of the Duke of Guise, who, he said, was a bad boy. But these *gentils-hommes*, and some others who slept in the King of Navarre's anti-chamber, were led out after the Admiral's death, disarmed of their swords and daggers by Nancé and the soldiers of the king's guard, taken to the gate of the Louvre, and there,

* According to De Thou, Besme called out at the window that the thing was done, but he does not say that it was he that threw his body out, on Guise saying that d'Augoulême would not believe it unless he saw him dead at his feet. So minute is the harmony between this and the other accounts. Guise wiped the murdered man's face, we are elsewhere told, and kicked his body. D'Angoulème's hopes of being Admiral, no doubt, made him anxious to see the body.

while the king looked on from a window, they were murdered before his eyes. Among these were the Baron de Pardillan, Captain Pilles,* Saint Martin-Bourses, and others whose names I do not know.†

The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were then brought to the king, who, on seeing them, said that he did not mean in future to tolerate more than one religion in his kingdom: he, therefore, desired that they should live after the manner of his predecessors—that is to say, that they should go to mass, if they set any value on their lives and properties.

The King of Navarre, without giving any reply to the king's proposition, yet answered very humbly ‡: and the Prince of Condé, who is of a rather hasty temper, having answered somewhat more tartly, was threatened by the king with nothing less than the loss of his head, if he did not think better within three days, which the king allowed him, calling him opinionative, obstinate, seditious, and the son of the seditious.

The other Huguenots, who happened to be in the Louvre Palace, and whose lives had as yet been spared by means of bribes or entreaties, promised to comply with all the king's commands. Among these, Grammont, Gamache, Duras, and some others, were the more easily pardoned, in that the king very well knew that they had

* Armand de Clermont, Baron de Pilles or Piles, in Perigord.

† Hotman fully confirms this in his "De Furoribus Gallicis," and adds that, the bodies being thrown into a heap, the soldiers exclaimed to the people as they passed, "These are the men who attacked us while endeavouring to murder the king." It will be observed how artfully all this was contrived previous to the sounding of the great city bell, which was used, Hotman says, on the most solemn occasions, in order that the citizens, whom Tavannes the day before had to threaten with the king's displeasure, on account of their reluctance to engage in a general slaughter, might be stimulated to fulfil their engagement, which was that if they once begun, they would do the work most effectually. Hotman, however, was not in Paris at the time, and his narrative is manifestly inferior, on the whole, as a piece of evidence.

‡ This is one of several apparent intimations, that part of the information to be found in this account, must have been got from the King of Navarre. No one else was likely to ascribe this humility to him.

little or no religion. Instantly the Palais bell was sounded as a signal for attacking all the other Huguenots, of all ranks and both sexes, that were in the city, the pretext being a report which was spread, that there had been discovered a conspiracy formed against the king, his mother, and his brothers, by the Huguenots, who had already killed more than fifteen soldiers of the guard, being the men who lay dead ; therefore the king commanded that no quarter should be given to the Huguenots.*

The courtiers and the soldiers of the royal guard were the executioners of this commission on the (Huguenot) *noblesse*, bringing to a conclusion, they said, by the sword and general disorder, those processes which pens and paper, and the order of justice, had hitherto failed to void. Thus, the poor creatures, accused of a conspiracy and an attempt (against the king), naked, not knowing what to say, half asleep, unarmed, and in the hands of their enemies, thanks to their own simplicity, were murdered before they could take breath, some in their beds, some on the roofs of the houses, some in other places, according as they allowed themselves to be found.

The Count de la Rochefoucault, who, up to eleven o'clock on Saturday night, had been chatting, laughing, and joking with the king, had hardly begun his first sleep, when he was awakened by six armed men in masks, who marched into his room. Thinking that the king himself was one of them, and that their object was to whip him for their amusement,† he begged that they would not treat him too roughly, when, after opening and ransacking his coffers, one of the maskers, who was valet-de-chambre to the Duke of Guise, murdered him by his master's orders.

It is very true that Captain la Barge, who was one of the men in masks, had had orders from the king to go and kill him, with the promise of having the count's

* We see how clearly this narrative reconciles all the conflicting accounts respecting the two bells, and thus gives a much more rational idea of the whole proceedings, than any other extant. By "Palais" is meant the *Palais de Justice.*

† Another account says, that the king, when he left him the preceding night, jested that he would come and whip him.

company of *gens d'armes*, not having been willing to do so on any less condition. And though, as we have said, the valet anticipated him, he was not the less made captain of the murdered count's company.

Teligny was seen by several of the courtiers, and though they were commissioned to kill him, they could not summon up the hardihood to do so, when they looked at him, so gentle was he in his nature, and so beloved by all who knew him. At, last, however, he was murdered by some one who did not know him.

The Marquis de Renel was chased in his night-shirt as far as the river Seine, by soldiers and people, and there, after getting into a small boat, he was killed by Bussey d'Amboise, his cousin.

Monsieur, the king's eldest brother, to gratify Archan, the captain of his guard, Châtaigneray's sweet-heart, sent the soldiers of his guard to kill his father-in-law, the Lord de la Force, and though he thought that he had murdered both the brothers of Châtaigneray, there was but one found dead.* The other being only wounded and lying under the dead body of his father, who had stumbled over him, had disengaged himself towards nightfall, and slipt as far as the residence of his relation, Lord de Biron. This coming to the knowledge of his sister, Châtaigneray, vexed to think that she should not enjoy the whole family inheritance, she went after the Lord de Biron at the arsenal, affecting the utmost joy at her brother's escape, and saying that she wished to see him and to dress his wounds. But Lord de Biron, who saw through the artifice, would not let her know where he was, and thus saved his life.†

The President de la Place, a man of great learning and rare abilities, was driven with blows from halberts as far as the Seine, and there murdered and thrown into the water; and the same was done to Peter Ramus, public reader to the king, and to De Chapes, also an advocate, and to L'Omenie the king's secretary, after having been induced by a promise of saving his life, to make a dona-

* See Browning, vol. i., p. 342.

† The boy who was thus saved, became the Marshal de la Force, and lived to give a much fuller account of his singular deliverance, strikingly verifying this statement.

tion of the finest part of his property, and resign his office of secretary. Several more were massacred in like manner, whose names I cannot tell.

The commissaries, quarteniers, and dixeniers of Paris, went about with their people from house to house, wherever they expected to find Huguenots, making the doors to be opened by (orders from) the king, and revenging their pretended conspiracy on poor Huguenot artizans, young and old, women and children, without having regard to any sex, age, or condition, whatsoever, led on and incited to this by the dukes of Aumale, Guise, and Nevers, who went about the streets saying, "Kill all, the king commands you." Carts laden with the dead bodies of maidens, women, girls, men, and children, were driven to the river.

Happily for the Lord de Fontenay, brother of the Duke of Rohan, the Vidame of Chartres, Count de Montgomery, Lord de Caumont, one of the Pardillans, Beauvais la Nocle, and several other Huguenot lords and *gentils-hommes*, they were lodged in the Faubourgs St Germain, facing the Louvre, but with the river Seine between. And God so ordered it, that Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, having had orders from the king on Saturday evening to have a thousand men ready armed at midnight, and to hand them over to Maugiron (whom he had charged with the assassination of those in the suburbs, having also ordered the commissary of that quarter, and the comptroller Du Mas, to guide him with his troop to the lodgings of the Huguenots), had not his men ready, and that the commissary Du Mas slept beyond the time appointed; and, meanwhile, a certain person (who has never been seen or known since), having passed over from the city to the suburbs of St Germain in a small boat, after having witnessed all that had been doing in the course of the night against the Huguenots in the city, gave notice, about five o'clock on Sunday morning, to the Count de Montgomery, of what had come to his knowledge. The count again gave notice to the Vidame of Chartres, and other Huguenot lords and *gentils-hommes* who resided in the Faubourgs, several of whom being utterly unable to make themselves believe that the king was, I do not say, the author, but even a consenter to the

butchery, resolved to pass the river in boats and to go to the king; much preferring thus to trust themselves to him, than by flying, to shew that so far they distrusted him. Others, under the conviction that there had been a conspiracy against the king himself, wished to go to him in person, to offer their most humble services, and to die, if necessary, at his feet. But very shortly, and while still in the suburb, they saw upon the river, and directly on their way to them, at least two hundred soldiers of the royal guard, in arms, and crying "kill, kill!"* at the same time firing musket-shots at them, within sight of the king, who was sitting at his room window—it being now about seven o'clock on Sunday morning. It has further been said that the king, seizing a fowling-piece, and denying God, said, "Let us fire, *mort-Dieu*, they are flying." At this spectacle, the Huguenots of the suburbs, not knowing what to think, were obliged, some on foot, some on horse-back, some without boots or spurs, and leaving all that was most precious to them behind, to fly for their lives. They were no sooner gone than the soldiers, the Swiss of the king's guard, and some of the courtiers, sacked their lodgings, putting to death all that they found remaining.

Further, it happened very opportunely that the Duke of Guise, wishing to go out by the gate de Bussy, found that he had brought the wrong key, a mistake which gave time for mounting to some of the loiterers. Chase was given to them, however, by the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Aumale, the Chevalier d'Angoulême, and several *gentils-hommes* butchers, for about eight leagues distance from Paris. The Duke of Guise went as far as Montfort, where he stopt, and gave directions to Saint Legier and other *gentils-hommes* of the neighbouring country, who were of his sentiments or his partisans, to take measures for preventing the ultimate escape of the said lords and *gentils-hommes*, who had saved their lives by hurrying away. He sent word to the same effect to those of Houdan and of Dreux. In that man-chase a few were wounded, but very few, if any, killed.

The Dukes of Guise and Aumale, whatever appear-

* This precisely accords with the famous Sully's personal recollections.

ance they may have made, behaved mildly enough ; and as if the death of the Admiral had so far appeased their wrath, they saved the lives of many, some in their house of Guise, to which the Lord d'Acier and some other Huguenots had retired for safety. So much was this the case, that on their return from the pursuit, and some days after, the king looked unkindly upon them, believing that those who had escaped owed their safety entirely to them.*

The whole of that Sunday, the 24th of August, was speut in murder, violation, and pillage, so that it is thought that the number of those who were slain that day in Paris and its suburbs, exceeded ten thousand persons, including peers, *gentils-hommes*, presidents, councillors, advocates, students, physicians, law agents, merchants and shop-keepers, artizans, women, girls, mere children, and preachers. The streets were covered with dead bodies, the river was tinged with blood, the doors and entrances into the king's palace were smeared with it, yet the murderers were not yet satisfied.

The king, the queen his mother, and his brother, and the ladies of the court, went out in the evening to see the dead bodies one after another (as they lay about). Among others, the queen wished to see the Lord de Soubize, for the satisfaction of an abominable curiosity.

About five o'clock on Sunday afternoon, proclamation was made by trumpets, in the king's name, that all should retire into houses, and that none who were there already should go out ; that it should be lawful for none but the soldiers of the king's guard and the commissaries of Paris, with their troops, to go through the city in arms, under pain of severe punishment to all who should do otherwise.

Many who heard this proclamation thought that there was to be some mitigation of measures ; but, on the contrary, there was in fact to be a renewal of the massacre on the next and the following days.

That same Sunday the king wrote letters to his ambassadors at the courts of foreign princes, and to the

* This conduct on the part of the Guises was no doubt partly intended to counteract the king's project of throwing all the odium of the massacre on them.

governors of the provinces and chief cities of the kingdom, informing them that the murder of the Admiral, his very dear and beloved cousin, and of the other Huguenots, had not been done with his consent, but altogether against his will: that the Guise family, having discovered that the Admiral's friends and relations wished to take signal revenge for his wound, in order to anticipate them, had convened such a body of *gentilshommes* and Parisians attached to their interests, that, after having overpowered the guard that the king had given the Admiral, and entered the house in which he lodged on Saturday night, they had slain him and all his friends that they could meet with, to the very great regret of the king, of the queen his mother, and of his brothers, being compelled to endure it, and, owing to the fear in which he stood for his own life, to confine himself to the Louvre, where he had with him his very dear brother the King of Navarre, and his well-beloved cousin the prince of Condé, who were in like case with himself. All which he was desirous that the whole world should know, and understand the displeasure it had given him, to perceive that, after so many repeated attempts to bring about a sincere reconciliation between the Duke of Guise and the Admiral, all nevertheless had been of no effect.

Together with these letters, the king sent patents forbidding the carrying of illicit weapons, the holding of illicit assemblies, or doing anything fraudulently or openly against the edicts of peace, under the benefits of which he commanded all his subjects to comport themselves, and live peaceably the one with the other. These letters were subscribed by Pinart, secretary of state, on the 24th of August.

The queen-mother wrote likewise to the said governors and ambassadors to the same effect. In neither case was there any mention made of the conspiracy of the Admiral and his accomplices. But although these letters were sent through the provinces of France, nothing of the kind was heard of in Paris, nor aught of a nature to appease the fury of the seditious.

On Monday, August 25th, the Parisians placed guards at all the city gates, by command of the king, who

wanted to have the keys; in order, said he, that no Huguenot may escape, with the help of man or woman.* After having mowed down the bulk of the harvest, they went about collecting, here and there, the stalks remaining from the work of the preceding day, threatening with death whosoever should conceal any Huguenot, however nearly related or intimate, so that all that could be found remaining were slain, and their effects given up to pillage, as were also the effects of the absent.

The king bestowed upon the Swiss of his guard, as a reward for the good service that they had done in this affair, the sack and pillage of the house of a very rich lapidary, called Thierry Badvere. I have heard say, that the plunder was worth more than two hundred thousand crowns.

The pillage of the lords, *gentils-hommes*, merchants, and other Huguenots that were slain, was done by private authority, or given and distributed by the king to his courtiers, and other good servants. And when any of these happened to find something rare among the spoils of the dead, they went and offered it to the king, to his mother, or to some one else of the royal family to whom they were most attached.

While this was going on, the king called a meeting of his council, to which there was shewn by Monsieur, the king's brother, certain letters from Marshal de Montmorency, to Teligny, dated Friday, August 22, after the Admiral's wound, in answer to what Teligny had written to him, the which letter was found among Teligny's papers after his death. By it the Marshal de Montmorency openly expressed the vexation he felt, alluding to the wounds of his cousin the Admiral; that he was no less determined to revenge them, than had the outrage been committed on his own person, and was for nothing being delayed that might serve to that effect, knowing how displeasing such an act must have been to the king.

Now, it had been determined at a secret council held by the king, the queen-mother, monsieur, the king's brother, the Duke of Aumale, the Duke of Nevers, the

* *Compere ou commere;* literally, godfather or godmother—*i. e.* male or female crony or acquaintance.

Count de Retz, Lausac, Tavannes, Morvilliers, Limoges, and Villeroy, some days before the butchering, that as soon as the Admiral and the Huguenots should be dispatched in Paris, the Duke of Guise and those attached to his household, should void the place and withdraw from Paris into one of his houses in the country, in order that it might the better appear to all France and the neighbouring countries, that everything had been done by that house without the king's knowledge, in order to revenge upon the Admiral and other Huguenots, the death of the old Duke of Guise, who had been slain by a Huguenot in the first troubles of France. This accounts for the letters written on Sunday, throwing all the blame on the house of Guise. But the members of that family, reflecting on the atrocity of what had taken place, and dreading lest they should bring upon them and their posterity, the wrath of all men who set any value on human society, and consequently should make themselves objects for every one to aim at as its sole authors and as alone guilty, soon came back to Paris, and instead of leaving it and forsaking the court insisted in the contrary, that the king should avow the whole.*

The king, with the same council as above, both on the occasion of the letter of the Marshal de Montmorency, who presumed on the king's willingness to revenge the wrong, and because the Guises would neither leave Paris, nor charge themselves with what had been done, was constrained to admit the whole : For, said the members of his council, if the Marshal de Montmorency, solely on account of the wounding of his cousin, the Admiral, is so much offended, and threatens so much, what will he not do when he shall hear of the death of so many persons whom he loved ? And if the house of Guise shall refuse to charge themselves with the doing of it, how will it be possible to cover it ?

The king, accordingly, by advice of his said council, wrote afresh to his ambassadors and to the governors of the provinces and chief cities of France, informing them

* This easily accounts for the apparent lenity of the Guises in sparing, and even protecting, some of the Huguenots. They dreaded the public opinion even of France.

that what had taken place in Paris, had nothing to do with the (Reformed) religion, but had been done to prevent the execution of a cursed conspiracy of the Admiral and his allies against him, his mother, and his brothers: therefore he wished his edicts of pacification to be observed: That should it happen that any Huguenots, excited by the news from Paris, should meet in arms in any place whatsoever, he commanded his said governors, to see to their being dispersed and broken. And to prevent any mischief being done by those who were studious of innovation, his intention was that the outlets of the kingdom should be well guarded, leaving what remained with respect to his wishes to be learned from the bearers of those letters.*

No sooner were these despatches received at Meaux, Tours, Angiers, Bourges, Thoulouse, and several other cities, than the Huguenots were, by orders from the governors, murdered. Some governors less cruel, such as Mandelot at Lyons, and Carrouges at Rouen, contented themselves as a commencement, with causing the Huguenots in their cities, to be imprisoned; but a few days after, these too were murdered.

Early on the same Monday the king sent some captains and soldiers of his guard to Châtillon on the Loin, to bring him the Admiral's children and those of his late brother D'Andelot, whether they would or not; but the eldest were found already beyond the reach of pursuit.

The Duke of Anjou, in like manner, sent soldiers from his guard to the country round Paris, to visit the Huguenots in their country houses, and to murder them there. And that not one might be spared, he sent to certain points, in different quarters, soldiers who knew nobody there, to prevent their being tempted to spare their acquaintances. And though ransoms were taken for some by such as were most greedy for money, yet they would even slay their prisoners after the ransoms had been paid.

During those two days, Sunday and Monday, the weather was beautifully clear and calm at Paris and in

* These, according to other accounts, had verbal instructions to deliver orders for the Reformed to be slain.

the neighbourhood, so that the king, standing at one of the Louvre windows, said, that it seemed to him that the weather rejoiced at the slaughter of the Huguenots.*

About noon on Monday, a hawthorn bush, quite out of season, was seen in blossom, in the churchyard of St Innocent. No sooner was this reported through the city than the people ran to see it from all parts, and the church bells rang a merry peal. To prevent too much crowding, and the discovery of the pretended miracle, which, as has since been known, was the trick of a good old friar, a guard had to be placed round the bush. There was no want of people who interpreted the miracle as meaning nothing less than that France was about to recover her lost prosperity and splendour. The people, on their way back from the hawthorn bush, pleased and satisfied at the thought that God, by that sign, approved of all their doings, went straight to the deceased Admiral's lodgings, and finding his dead body there, they trailed it through the streets to the riverside: they then cut off the head, which a soldier of the guard, by orders, it was said, carried to the king. The trunk, after being slashed and mangled by the populace with knives and daggers, was dragged at last to the gibbet at Mountfaucon, and there hung up by the heels.

On Tuesday the 26th of August, the king, accompanied by his brothers and the highest persons of his court, went to the palace of Paris, which used to be called the court of the peers of France, and the king's bed of justice. There, taking his seat in a full house, all the chambers being met, he openly declared, that what had taken place in Paris, had been done, not only with his consent, but by his orders, and was entirely of his own doing. Accordingly, he desired that whatever blame or disgrace might attend it, should be cast upon him.

Thereupon the first president, in the name of the whole senate, praising the deed as worthy of a great king, replied, that it was well done, and that he could justly do it.

* I am not aware of any other account mentioning this striking incident, or the pretended miracle of the hawthorn bush.

That he who knows not how to dissemble well, knows not how to reign.*

* * * * *

To return to my story: as the king was passing along to the palace, a *gentil-homme* was recognised in the crowd as a Huguenot, and immediately murdered, not far from the king, who, turning about at the noise, and having been told what it was, said, "Let us go on—would to God it were the last!"

On that Tuesday and other days following, there were few Huguenots slain in Paris, there being few of them remaining for slaughter.

Some Catholics had the hardihood to save the lives of their old friends and relations. Among others, Fervaques wanted to save that of Captain Monins, and went to intercede for him with the king, whom he besought, for all his past services, to give him the life which he had saved for him up to that hour. But it was in vain, for the king commanded him to kill Monins, unless he wished to be killed himself by the hands of him, Charles. Fervaques, although a most bitter enemy of the Huguenots, and though he had murdered and plundered many of them, during the foregoing days, was horrified at the thought of such a thing, on account of the particular friendship which he bore to Monins; nevertheless, he was obliged to shew where he was concealed, and then an assassin was immediately sent and killed him.

The like happened to some other Huguenots, when they thought that they had escaped.

* * * * *

That same day letters patent were published from the king, by which he openly declared, that he no longer wished to use covert words or dissimulations: that the slaughter of the Huguenots had been done by his orders, on account of a cursed conspiracy entered into by the Admiral against him, his mother, his brothers, and other princes and great lords of court; not meaning, nevertheless, that the edicts of pacification should be other

* A saying of Louis the XIth; in Latin, *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare.*

than well observed: on condition, however, that the Huguenots should not hold any meetings for public worship, nor meetings of any kind, until it should be otherwise provided.

In the first copy of the said letters, the King of Navarre was not comprehended in them,* but knowing well that people would draw from him whatever testimony they chose, it seemed good to the council to name him in them.

These letters-patent were sent by expresses to all the governors of France, together with private letters from the king, substantially the same, except that orders were added, that, as soon as the letters were received, the governors should cause all the Huguenots found out of their houses to be cut in pieces. Some Huguenots, whom fear had led to desert their homes, on hearing of this order, instantly returned. Others, who dared not trust themselves in their own houses, and happened to be from home, were instantly, some slain, others saved on paying a ransom. But, in the end, those who, in obedience to the order, went into their own houses, were no better off than the rest. And yet the governors, who had received the above letters, gave people to understand that the only Huguenots they were in search of, were those who were implicated in this last conspiracy, —that, as for the past, they had no wish to meddle with it, or to remember it at all.

But inasmuch as, a few days after, additional instructions came, ordering the prisoners to be set at liberty, and that none in future should be put in prison, excepting such as, in the civil wars of France, had held any office for the Huguenots, had managed their affairs, or otherwise had had any acquaintance with them, but if any such person were taken, that he should be handed over to the governor of the city or country, who should be informed of the king's pleasure regarding such, nevertheless it was seen that the prisoners were not set at large, while people were put in prison afresh every day. Several of the said Huguenots, less credulous than others, thought it would be the wisest course to hasten out of

* As one of the persons against whom the conspiracy was directed.

France ; but no sooner were they out of the kingdom, although they had withdrawn into territories at amity with the king, than his officers in many places seized and took inventories of their goods, confiscated them, sold the moveables of some, and sacked and pillaged those of others.

But to return to matters in Paris : the king, on the 5th of September, having sent for Pezon Bouchier, one of the leaders of the Parisians, inquired of him if any of the Huguenots were yet left in the city ? to which Pezon replied, that he had thrown a hundred and twenty into the water the day before, and that he had as many still in hand for the coming night ; whereat the king, being quite delighted, began to laugh so heartily as cannot be believed.

On the 9th of September, the king, moved at once with fear and rage, and swearing and blaspheming that he would slay, with his own hand, all that remained of the Huguenots, ordered his arms to be brought to him, and called for the captains of his guards to come to him, saying that, by the death of God, he wished to begin at the Prince of Condé's head. Thereupon the queen reigning (not the queen-mother) threw herself on her knees before him, and besought him not to do anything of such moment without the advice of his council. The king, though not at all overcome by his wife's entreaties, supped and slept with her. In the morning, the fit being a little over, he sent for the Prince of Condé, and to him he proposed three things—the mass, death, or perpetual imprisonment ; and that he must make up his mind as to which of the three was most agreeable to him. The Prince of Condé replied, that, with the help of the grace of God, he never would choose the first : as for the two last, he left them, after God, to the arbitration and disposition of the king.

True it is, that having heard that a room was preparing for him in the Bastile, where it is usual to imprison princes, I have heard say that the young Prince of Condé has since changed his mind.

A few days after, there was printed, with the king's privilege, certain bitter and most insulting books against the Admiral ; in which, in particular, it is argued and

maintained, that it was lawful for the king to treat his subjects thus, on account of the violence done to religion, neither more nor less than was done to the priests of Baal. But not a word appeared about the Admiral's conspiracy, and the councillors and courtiers to whom I spoke about it before my leaving (among others, Messieurs De Foix and Malassise), laugh at it, saying on their faith that it was a gallant pretext, acknowledging that the deed was so barbarous and diabolically cruel, that no other names could be given to it (nevertheless, that he is ill concealed whose breech is seen). But be that as it may, they say that the king would have it believed that there had been a conspiracy. And the only thing good about it is, that the king of Navarre was put down among the number of those who were to have been slain.

* * * * *

To conclude,—throughout all France, wherever the power of the king extends, whoever will not go to mass, must either die or secretly leave the kingdom; and it is believed that, from the 24th of August till now, more than a hundred thousand Huguenot persons have been slaughtered throughout France, under the pretext of their (pretended) conspiracy; and even still their thirst for blood is not slaked,—their wrath is not appeased.

Thus far the author of the *Reveil-Matin des Francois*.

Historians vary exceedingly as to the numbers of the slain. Perefixe, archbishop of Paris, reckoned them as above at 100,000; Sully, a Protestant, at 70,000; De Thou, a Roman Catholic, at 30,000; Lapopiliniere, a Protestant who returned to the Roman church, at 20,000; Masson, a Romanist, at 10,000. Dr Lingard, a Romanist of our own day, reduces them to about double 786, or 1572 persons! This last computation is found by doubling the number reported by an anonymous writer, called the Martyrologist, and who professes to have procured from the ministers of the different towns where massacres had taken place, lists of the names of persons who had suffered, or were supposed to have suffered. Mr Browning very sensibly remarks, "that it is a fair subject of inquiry who this Martyrologist was; and

whether his work was not one of the artifices of the League, to diminish the odium which even at that time was entertained for these effects of Popish bigotry." But granting that he was really a Protestant, and honest in his inquiries, we know not how many of those ministers could, would, or did, send him the lists he wanted, or what means they had for making them up accurately. Mr Browning farther demonstrates that, in Paris alone, more than 6000 victims must have fallen!

The old historian d'Aubigné, relates the following instance of Charles's visitations of remorse, on the authority of Henry IV. of France, who told it many times, had been an eye-witness of what he related, and never did so without feeling, and shewing his hairs bristling.

"Eight days after the massacre, came a vast quantity of crows, some perching and others croaking over the great pavilion of the Louvre. The noise they made drew every body to see what was the matter, and the ladies were frightened, and expressed their alarms to the king. That same night, two hours after he was in bed, starting from his sleep, the king leaped out of bed, caused all the gentlemen in his chamber to do the same, and sent for his brother-in-law, the king of Navarre (afterwards Henry IV.) complaining that he heard a dreadful noise in the air, as it were of many voices, crying, and sighing, and wailing, and howling; and amongst them some furiously threatening, cursing, and blaspheming, just as on the first night of the massacre. So distinct and articulate seemed the notes, that the king, thinking a new massacre was begun among the Montmorencians, sent for his guards, that they might go into the city, and put a stop to the slaughter. They went, but returned, saying that all was quiet in the city, only that the skies were in a terrible agitation; whereupon the king was more troubled than before, especially because the noise lasted for seven nights, and always began at the same hour."*

* See d'Aubigné, vol. ii. b. i. ch. vi., quoted by Laval, vol. iii., p. 449.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page	26,	line 1,	for *Gallician*, read *Gallican*
...	27,	... 10,	
...	28,	... 23,	
...	27,	... 9,	for *that*, read *and*
...	57,	... 11,	for *by*, read *from*
...	59,	... 8,	for *VIII.*, read *VII.*
...	89,	... 12,	for *brought*, read *besought*
...	123,	... 12,	insert as a foot note, *who was afterwards Henry IV.*
...	152,	1,	for *Montbet*, read *Montbel*
...	153,	8,	for *Montbe*, read *Montbel*
..	177,	17,	instead of a full stop, place a comma after o'clock; and in the next line, instead of *Du Guerchy. The*, read *Du Guerchy, the*

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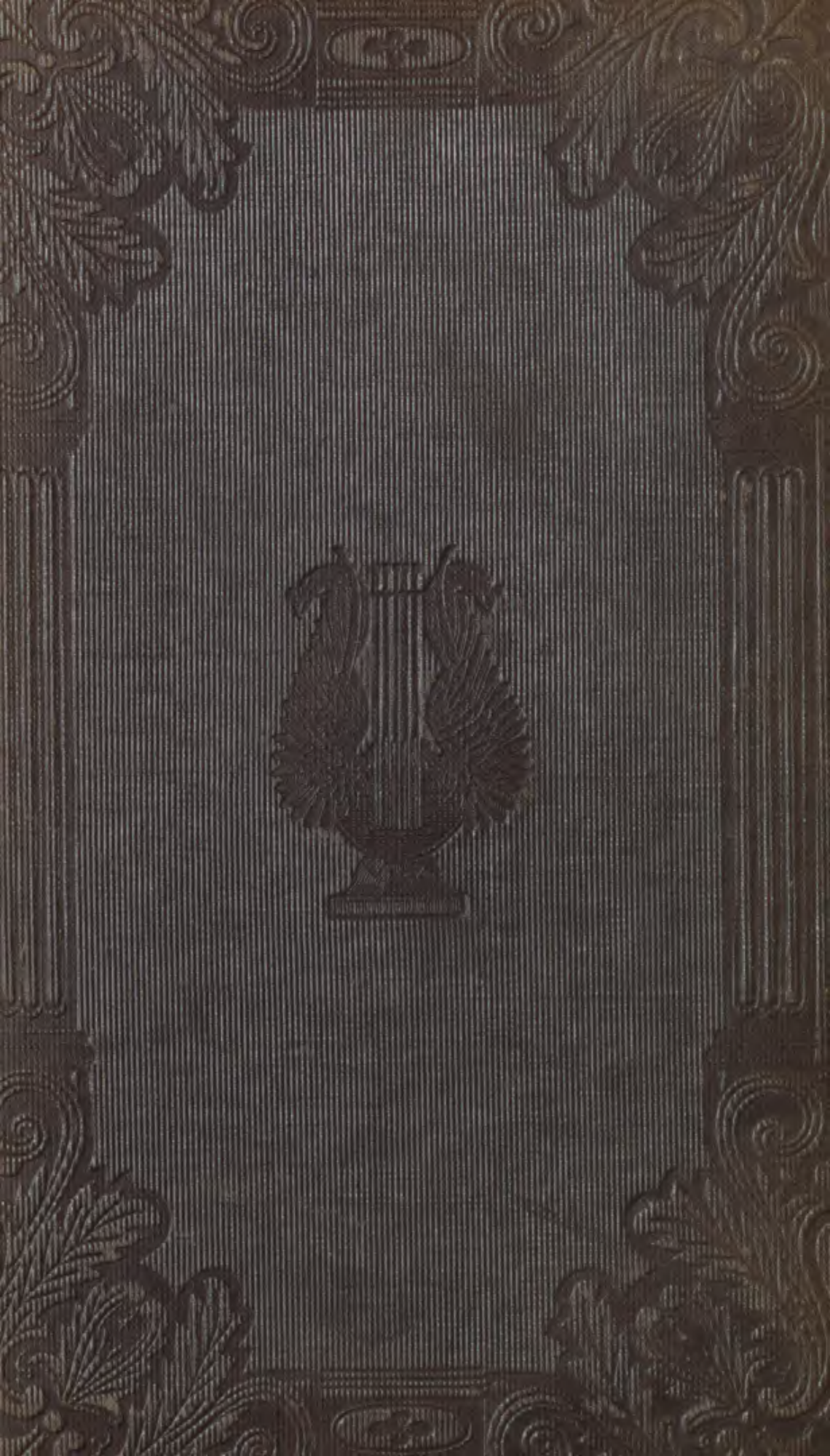
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