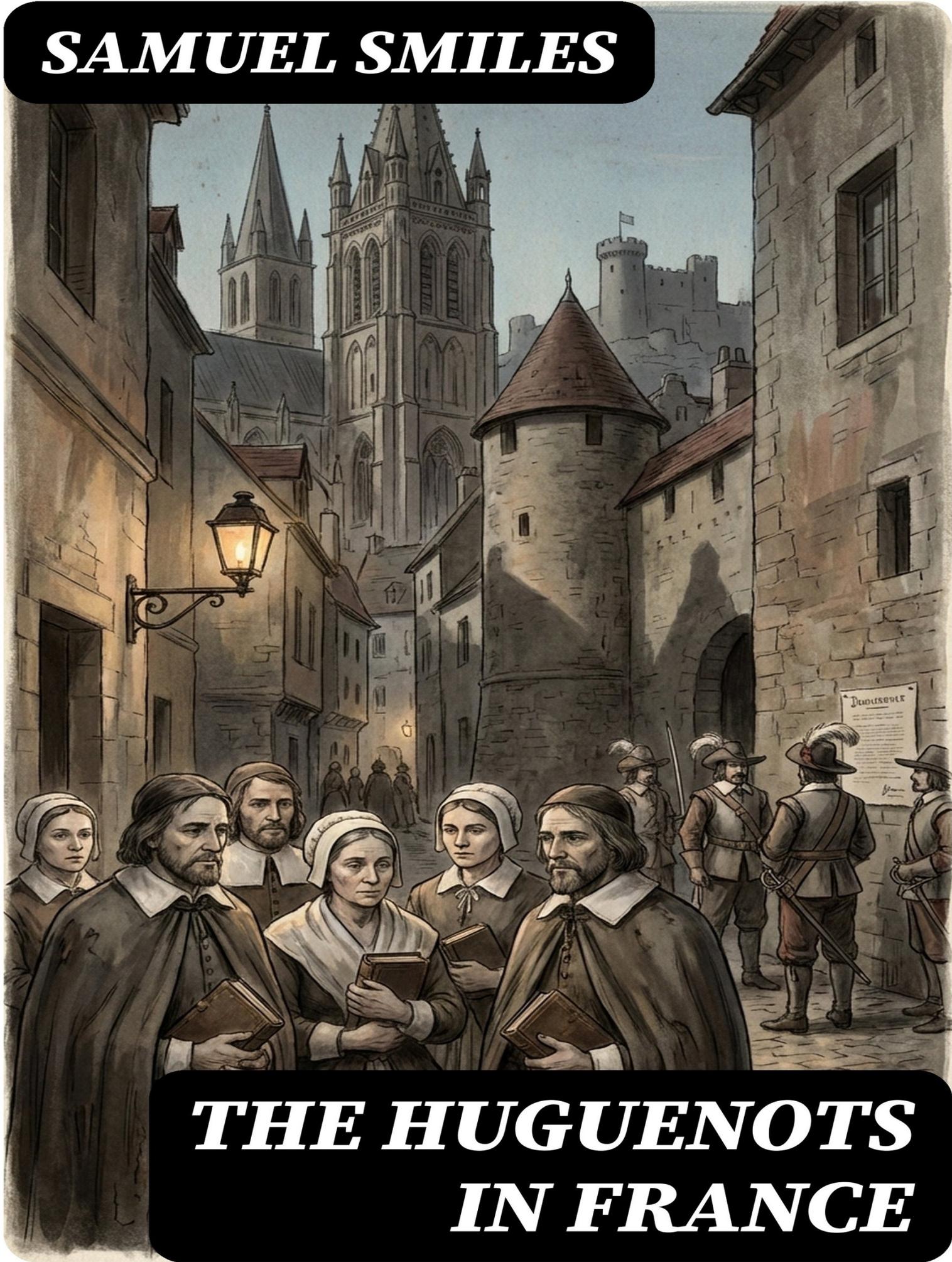


SAMUEL SMILES



***THE HUGUENOTS
IN FRANCE***

Samuel Smiles

The Huguenots in France

Enriched edition.

Introduction, Studies and Commentaries by Max Dillon

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Introduction

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At the heart of Samuel Smiles's *The Huguenots in France* lies the abiding struggle between individual conscience and organized power, a drama in which families, craftspeople, ministers, and merchants weigh fidelity to belief against the penalties of surveillance, constraint, and exile, while kings, officials, and institutions test how far authority may reach into hearts and homes, and in that crucible of principle and pressure the narrative follows ordinary lives across towns and provinces of France from the sixteenth into the seventeenth century, tracing the costs of coercion and the resourcefulness of a community that learns to endure, adapt, negotiate, and, when necessary, depart.

This book is historical nonfiction, written in the Victorian era and first published in the later nineteenth century, when Samuel Smiles was widely read for accessible, morally engaged histories. Its setting is early modern France, a landscape shaped by confessional conflict and evolving ideas of sovereignty and civic order. The period includes the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598 and its later revocation in 1685—events that structure the experience of French Protestants. Smiles's work belongs to the tradition of popular history: it is intended for general readers, yet attentive to the social textures, regional contexts, and public acts that framed private faith.

Without detailing every turn of the historical arc, Smiles offers a premise that is both intimate and panoramic: he

follows Huguenot communities as they worship, work, and withstand pressure, surveying how policy and prejudice filter down into households, parishes, and guilds. The reading experience is steady and lucid, pairing narrative momentum with reflective commentary. His voice is sympathetic but measured, descriptive rather than sensational, and often biographical in approach. Rather than foregrounding dramatic set pieces, the book accumulates episodes and portraits, allowing character, habit, and local custom to convey the stakes of conviction under changing political winds.

A central theme is the claim of conscience within a legal order that alternately tolerates and constrains it. Smiles examines the friction between promises of protection and practices of control, showing how edicts, taxes, and regulations touch everyday life. He traces the ways communities organize education and worship, transmit skills, and sustain mutual aid under uncertainty. The book also reflects on the civic dimensions of religious life—how trust, reputation, and obligation forge bonds that outlast decrees. Through these lenses, steadfastness is never abstract virtue but lived discipline, visible in patient work, quiet courage, and care for posterity.

The work remains resonant for contemporary readers because it illuminates perennial questions: What do societies owe to dissenting minorities? How does a state balance unity with liberty? Smiles's narrative invites reflection on migration, identity, and the social value of pluralism, speaking to present debates about refugees, conscience protections, and the ethics of public order. It also

underscores how innovation and industry often flourish where communities are allowed to organize freely, suggesting that stability and prosperity are strengthened, not threatened, by principled diversity that is safeguarded by law.

Stylistically, the book is characteristic of Victorian popular history: clear in exposition, moral in emphasis, and hospitable to anecdote. Readers will find a sequence of vivid sketches rather than exhaustive archival apparatus, with attention to persons and places that exemplify broader currents. The tone is sober and humane, confident that history teaches by example as much as by argument. Smiles prioritizes clarity over polemic, encouraging readers to weigh causes and consequences without requiring specialist knowledge, and to see grand policies refracted through ordinary routines, craft practices, and the rhythms of communal life.

Approached today, *The Huguenots in France* offers more than a chronicle of suffering or endurance; it is a study in how convictions are sustained amid pressure, and how societies reform—or fail to—when confronted by the claims of conscience. Smiles's balanced narrative, attentive to both power and piety, invites careful reading and reconsideration of familiar categories like tolerance, loyalty, and citizenship. In revisiting this history, we recover a usable past: a reminder that legal frameworks and cultural imagination together determine the fate of minorities, and that civic health depends on protecting room for principled difference.

Synopsis

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The Huguenots in France, by Samuel Smiles, is a nineteenth-century historical study that follows French Protestantism from its emergence to its long aftermath. Drawing on documentary materials, congregational records, and family narratives, Smiles arranges the material as a sequence of crises and recoveries anchored in recognizable places and lives. He examines how belief, law, and livelihood intersected, and how changes in royal policy altered everyday arrangements of worship and work. Without polemic, he traces the making of a minority whose organization and habits mattered to towns, trades, and provincial society, setting up the questions that guide the book's sustained narrative.

Smiles begins with the spread of reforming ideas in France, tracing how evangelical teaching moved from learned circles into workshops, guilds, and provincial households. He follows the adoption of a Reformed discipline that organized congregations, synods, and consistories, noting the appeal among artisans, merchants, and some nobles. The crown's responses oscillate between uneasy toleration and exemplary punishment, producing martyrs whose cases are documented in official records. The author's method foregrounds locale and vocation, using towns and industries to show how belief reshaped social ties. Early conflicts are set out not as abstractions but as pressures on families, livelihoods, and civic order.

As tensions sharpen, the book follows the factional politics that bring religion into the arena of dynastic rivalry. Smiles sketches the roles of great houses, municipal leagues, and provincial estates, emphasizing the uneven geography of adherence and resistance. He treats turning points—assassinations, massacres, and fragile peaces—as interruptions to daily routines and commerce as much as to theology. Urban strongholds and fortified communities become case studies in organization under strain. While acknowledging notorious episodes, the narrative avoids sensationalism, using them instead to frame the perennial dilemma of public peace versus liberty of conscience that runs through the French wars of religion.

With the settlement associated with Henry IV, Smiles describes a legal framework that allows Reformed worship within defined limits while leaving tensions unresolved. He surveys how churches rebuilt institutions, supported schools, and maintained consistories, and how their members sustained trades and finance under protective charters. Central authority reasserts itself under powerful ministers, and sieges and disarmament reduce political autonomy even as some civil guarantees persist. The account gives close attention to ports and manufacturing towns, showing the mutual dependence of religious communities and local economies. Readers are shown mixed gains: a respite for worship paired with narrowing space for collective security.

Under Louis XIV, the narrative tightens around incremental restrictions that culminate in open coercion. Smiles assembles royal edicts, administrative measures,

and testimony to show how pressure on schools, guilds, and property translated into conversions, exile, or clandestine practice. He recounts the use of quartered troops, the suppression of synods, and the closure of temples, yet he balances repression with portraits of endurance: itinerant ministry, secret assemblies, and regional resistance. The Cévennes becomes emblematic of a countryside forced to choose between submission and defiance. The book remains descriptive rather than dramatic, keeping attention on human costs and institutional change.

A significant strand follows departures from France and the fate of those who stayed. Smiles traces routes through frontier provinces and seaports, noting how families divided, trades relocated, and reputations traveled. He points to the impact on specific manufactures and skills, while observing the shrinkage of certain French towns and guilds. Within France, he depicts the reconfiguration of community life under surveillance, and the persistence of memory through local records and recollections. The emphasis lies on continuity as much as loss, showing how networks of kin, credit, and craft adapted, and how policy left durable marks on regional economies.

In closing, *The Huguenots in France* situates a religious minority within the larger fabric of French state-building and economic change. Smiles's treatment, companionable with his writings on industry and character, underscores how conscience, institution, and work shape one another across generations. The book's broader resonance lies in its documentation of the practical effects of intolerance and the tenacity of civil society under pressure. Without forcing

conclusions, it invites comparison with other migrations and confessional settlements, and prompts reflection on the terms by which pluralism can be sustained. Its careful accumulation of lives and places gives enduring weight to a contested past.

Historical Context

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Samuel Smiles's *The Huguenots in France* (published 1874) examines the French Reformed community from the sixteenth century through the eighteenth, situating them within a kingdom dominated by a Catholic majority, a centralizing monarchy, and judicial bodies like the Parlements. Rooted in Calvinist theology disseminated from Geneva, French Protestantism spread among urban artisans, merchants, nobles, and parts of the south. Its congregations organized consistories, synods, and schools, fostered by printing houses and cross-border networks. Smiles frames this setting to explore how doctrine, discipline, and enterprise intersected with royal policy, episcopal authority, and municipal life in cities such as La Rochelle, Nîmes, and Lyon.

The narrative traces the French Wars of Religion, opened in 1562 after the massacre at Vassy ignited conflict between Huguenot and Catholic factions. Catherine de' Medici's Edict of Saint-Germain (1562) had tentatively permitted limited Protestant worship, but violence and political rivalries overwhelmed it. The Peace of Saint-Germain (1570) offered concessions, yet the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572) shattered trust and thinned leadership. Smiles highlights Henry of Navarre's trajectory—culminating in Henry IV and the Edict of Nantes (1598)—as institutionalizing restricted toleration through specified places of worship, legal safeguards, and special courts

(Chambres de l'Edit) that mediated disputes between communities under royal supervision.

Seventeenth-century consolidation reshaped that settlement. Under Cardinal Richelieu, the Crown dismantled Huguenot political strongholds while waging external wars. The siege and capitulation of La Rochelle (1627–1628) ended the principal Protestant enclave's autonomy. The Edict of Alès (1629) confirmed freedom of conscience and some worship but abolished fortified places and political assemblies. Later, under ministers like Colbert, Huguenots remained prominent in commerce, textiles, metallurgy, and finance, within a mercantilist framework of guilds, privileges, and royal manufactories. Smiles presents these decades as a precarious balance: economic utility and civic integration coexisting with surveillance by intendants, episcopal missions, and Catholic confraternities.

Louis XIV's reign tightened pressure through administrative and legal attrition. Restrictions closed temples, barred Huguenots from many offices, targeted mixed marriages, and encouraged conversion of minors. From 1681, dragonnades—billeting soldiers on suspected Protestants—aimed to compel abjurations. The Edict of Fontainebleau (1685) revoked Nantes, outlawed public worship, ordered temple demolition, banned emigration, and imposed harsh penalties, including galley sentences for men caught at clandestine gatherings. Despite prohibitions, many fled via frontier routes to the Dutch Republic, England, Brandenburg-Prussia, and Switzerland, while others conformed outwardly. Smiles uses these measures to

illustrate how confessional absolutism sought unity at the cost of social trust and human capital.

In the Revocation's aftermath, the 'Church of the Desert' sustained clandestine worship in forests, farms, and mountain valleys, especially in the Cévennes. Prophetic outbreaks and repression culminated in the Camisard war (1702-1705), a guerrilla conflict quelled by royal commanders and punitive expeditions. Thereafter, persecution persisted but evolved: field assemblies continued, pastors were smuggled in, and family networks maintained catechesis. Reformers like Antoine Court reorganized discipline from the 1710s, convened secret synods, and trained ministers abroad, notably at Lausanne. By the later eighteenth century, figures such as Paul Rabaut advocated endurance and prudence, preceding the Edict of Toleration (1787) and revolutionary civil equality.

Smiles pays particular attention to social fabric and industry. Huguenot communities featured literate artisans, merchants, physicians, and manufacturers whose consistorial records show mutual aid, schooling, and moral discipline. Regional economies—silk production in Languedoc, metalwork in the south and east, printing in cities, and specialized trades—linked them to Atlantic and continental markets. Guild regulations, internal church discipline, and kinship networks structured careers and apprenticeships. While many emigrants carried skills abroad, those who remained adapted under constraints, sometimes operating through Catholic intermediaries or nominal conformity. Smiles assembles biographies from

family papers and official registers to show continuity of skill, devotion, and civic contribution.

As a Victorian liberal moralist, Smiles writes with a clear preference for religious liberty, conscientious labor, and civic responsibility. He mines royal edicts, provincial archives, memoirs of pastors and laypeople, and earlier histories to reconstruct policy and personal experience. His case studies illuminate how law shaped daily life—inheritance, marriage, education, and trade—and how local authorities enforced or mitigated decrees. The work's British perspective is evident in comparisons with toleration in England and the Netherlands and in attention to refugees' reception abroad. Yet its core focus remains the French setting, emphasizing documentary corroboration and the interplay between central power and provincial society.

The book thus reads as a critique of confessional absolutism and a vindication of tolerant governance. By cataloging restrictions, resistance, and eventual rehabilitation, Smiles argues that coercion impoverished France culturally and economically while fortifying the character of conscientious minorities. His portrait of steadfast congregations, practical philanthropy, and industrious families engages nineteenth-century debates on civil rights and national prosperity. The narrative closes in a France where legal recognition precedes revolutionary declarations, linking private endurance to public reform. Without romantic excess, it reflects its era's confidence that liberty of conscience, supported by law, is compatible with order and beneficial to society.

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PREFACE.

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In preparing this edition for the press, I have ventured to add three short memoirs of distinguished Huguenot Refugees and their descendants.

Though the greatest number of Huguenots banished from France at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes^[1] were merchants and manufacturers, who transferred their skill and arts to England, which was not then a manufacturing country; a large number of nobles and gentry emigrated to this and other countries, leaving their possessions to be confiscated by the French king.

The greater number of the nobles entered the armies of the countries in which they took refuge. In Holland, they joined the army of the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III., King of England. After driving the armies of Louis XIV. out of Ireland, they met the French at Ramilies, Blenheim, and Malplacquet, and other battles in the Low Countries. A Huguenot engineer directed the operations at the siege of Namur, which ended in its capture. Another conducted the siege of Lille, which was also taken.

But perhaps the greatest number of Huguenot nobles entered the Prussian service. Their descendants revisited France on more than one occasion. They overran the northern and eastern parts of France in 1814 and 1815; and last of all they vanquished the descendants of their former persecutors at Sedan in 1870. Sedan was, prior to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the renowned seat of Protestant learning; while now it is known as the scene of the greatest military catastrophe which has occurred in modern history.

The Prime Minister of France, M. Jules Simon, not long ago recorded the fateful effects of Louis XIV.'s religious intolerance. In discussing the perpetual ecclesiastical questions which still disturb France, he recalled the fact that not less than eighty of the German staff in the late war were representatives of Protestant families, driven from France by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The first of the appended memoirs is that of Samuel de Péchels, a noble of Languedoc, who, after enduring great privations, reached England through Jamaica, and served as a lieutenant in Ireland under William III. Many of his descendants have been distinguished soldiers in the service of England. The second is Captain Rapin, who served faithfully in Ireland, and was called away to be tutor to the young Duke of Portland. He afterwards spent his time at Wesel on the Rhine, where he wrote his "History of England." The third is Captain Riou, "the gallant and the good," who was killed at the battle of Copenhagen. These memoirs might be multiplied to any extent; but those given are enough to show the good work which the Huguenots

and their descendants have done in the service of England.

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INTRODUCTION.

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Six years since, I published a book entitled *The Huguenots: their Settlements, Churches, and Industries, in England and Ireland*. Its object was to give an account of the causes which led to the large migrations of foreign Protestants from Flanders and France into England, and to describe their effects upon English industry as well as English history.

It was necessary to give a brief *résumé* of the history of the Reformation in France down to the dispersion of the Huguenots, and the suppression of the Protestant religion by Louis XIV. under the terms of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Under that Act, the profession of Protestantism was proclaimed to be illegal, and subject to the severest penalties. Hence, many of the French Protestants who refused to be "converted," and had the means of emigrating, were under the necessity of leaving France and endeavouring to find personal freedom and religious liberty elsewhere.

The refugees found protection in various countries. The principal portion of the emigrants from Languedoc and the south-eastern provinces of France crossed the frontier into Switzerland, and settled there, or afterwards proceeded into the states of Prussia, Holland, and Denmark, as well as into England and Ireland. The chief number of emigrants from

the northern and western seaboard provinces of France, emigrated directly into England, Ireland, America, and the Cape of Good Hope. In my previous work, I endeavoured to give as accurate a description as was possible of the emigrants who settled in England and Ireland, to which, the American editor of the work (the Hon. G. P. Disosway) has added an account of those who settled in the United States of America.

But besides the Huguenots who contrived to escape from Franco during the dragonnades which preceded and the persecutions which followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, there was still a very large number of Huguenots remaining in France who had not the means wherewith to fly from their country. These were the poorer people, the peasants, the small farmers, the small manufacturers, many of whom were spoiled of their goods for the very purpose of preventing them from emigrating. They were consequently under the necessity of remaining in their native country, whether they changed their religion by force or not. It is to give an account of these people, as a supplement to my former book, that the present work is written.

It is impossible to fix precisely the number of the Huguenots who left France to avoid the cruelties of Louis XIV., as well as of those who perforce remained to endure them. It shakes one's faith in history to observe the contradictory statements published with regard to French political or religious facts, even of recent date. A general impression has long prevailed that there was a Massacre of St. Bartholemew in Paris in the year 1572; but even that has recently been denied, or softened down into a mere political

squabble. It is not, however, possible to deny the fact that there was a Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, though it has been vindicated as a noble act of legislation, worthy even of the reputation and character of Louis the Great.

No two writers agree as to the number of French citizens who were driven from their country by the Revocation. A learned Roman Catholic, Mr. Charles Butler, states that only 50,000 persons "retired" from France; whereas M. Capefigue, equally opposed to the Reformation, who consulted the population tables of the period (although the intendants made their returns as small as possible in order to avoid the reproach of negligence), calculates the emigration at 230,000 souls, namely, 1,580 ministers, 2,300 elders, 15,000 gentlemen, the remainder consisting almost entirely of traders and artisans.

These returns, quoted by M. Capefigue, were made only a few years after the Revocation, although the emigration continued without intermission for many years later. M. Charles Coquerel says that whatever horror may be felt for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew of 1572, the persecutions which preceded and followed the Act of Revocation in 1685, "kept France under a perpetual St. Bartholomew for about sixty years." During that time it is believed that more than 1,000,000 Frenchmen either left the kingdom, or were killed, imprisoned, or sent to the galleys^[5] in their efforts to escape.

The Intendant of Saintonge, a King's officer, not likely to exaggerate the number of emigrants, reported in 1698, long before the emigration had ceased, that his province had lost

100,000 Reformers. Languedoc suffered far more; whilst Boulainvilliers reports that besides the emigrants who succeeded in making their escape, the province lost not fewer than 100,000 persons by premature death, the sword, strangulation, and the wheel.

The number of French emigrants who resorted to England may be inferred from the fact that at the beginning of last century there were not fewer than *thirty-five* French Protestant churches in London alone, at a time when the population of the metropolis was not one-fourth of what it is now; while there were other large French settlements at Canterbury, Norwich, Southampton, Bristol, Exeter, &c., as well as at Dublin, Lisburn, Portarlington, and other towns in Ireland.

Then, with respect to the much larger number of Protestants who remained in France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, there is the same difference of opinion. A deputation of Huguenot pastors and elders, who waited upon the Duc de Noailles in 1682 informed him that there were then 1,800,000 Protestant *families* in France. Thirty years after that date, Louis XIV. proclaimed that there were no Protestants whatever in France; that Protestantism had been entirely suppressed, and that any one found professing that faith must be considered as a "relapsed heretic," and sentenced to imprisonment, the galleys, or the other punishments to which Protestants were then subject.

After an interval of about seventy-five years, during which Protestantism (though suppressed by the law) contrived to lead a sort of underground life—the Protestants meeting by night, and sometimes by day, in caves, valleys,

moors, woods, old quarries, hollow beds of rivers, or, as they themselves called it, "in the Desert"—they at length contrived to lift their heads into the light of day, and then Rabaut St. Etienne stood up in the Constituent Assembly at Paris, in 1787, and claimed the rights of his Protestant fellow-countrymen—the rights of "2,000,000 useful citizens." Louis XVI. granted them an Edict of Tolerance, about a hundred years after Louis XIV. had revoked the Edict of Nantes; but the measure proved too late for the King, and too late for France, which had already been sacrificed to the intolerance of Louis XIV. and his Jesuit advisers.

After all the sufferings of France—after the cruelties to which her people have been subjected by the tyranny of her monarchs and the intolerance of her priests,—it is doubtful whether she has yet learnt wisdom from her experience and trials. France was brought to ruin a century ago by the Jesuits who held the entire education of the country in their hands. They have again recovered their ground, and the Congreganistes are now what the Jesuits were before. The Sans-Culottes of 1793 were the pupils of the priests; so were the Communists of 1871.^[1] M. Edgar Quinet has recently said to his countrymen: "The Jesuitical and clerical spirit which has sneaked in among you and all your affairs has ruined you. It has corrupted the spring of life; it has delivered you over to the enemy.... Is this to last for ever? For heaven's sake spare us at least the sight of a Jesuits' Republic as the coronation of our century."

In the midst of these prophecies of ruin, we have M. Veuillot frankly avowing his Ultramontane policy in the *Univers*. He is quite willing to go back to the old burnings,

hangings, and quarterings, to prevent any freedom of opinion about religious matters. "For my part," he says, "I frankly avow my regret not only that John Huss was not burnt sooner, but that Luther was not burnt too. And I regret further that there has not been some prince sufficiently pious and politic to have made a crusade against the Protestants."

M. Veuillot is perhaps entitled to some respect for boldly speaking out what he means and thinks. There are many amongst ourselves who mean the same thing, without having the courage to say so—who hate the Reformation quite as much as M. Veuillot does, and would like to see the principles of free examination and individual liberty torn up root and branch.

With respect to the proposed crusade against Protestantism, it will be seen from the following work what the "pious and politic" Louis XIV. attempted, and how very inefficient his measures eventually proved in putting down Protestantism, or in extending Catholicism. Louis XIV. found it easier to make martyrs than apostates; and discovered that hanging, banishment, the galleys, and the sword were not amongst the most successful of "converters."

The history of the Huguenots during the time of their submergence as an "underground church" is scarcely treated in the general histories of France. Courtly writers blot them out of history as Louis XIV. desired to blot them out of France. Most histories of France published in England contain little notice of them. Those who desire to pursue the subject further, will obtain abundant information, more particularly from the following works:—

ELIE BÉNOÎT: *Histoire de l'Édit de Nantes*. CHARLES COQUEREL: *Histoire des Églises du Désert*. NAPOLEON PEYRAT: *Histoire des Pasteurs du Désert*. ANTOINE COURT: *Histoire des Troubles de Cevennes*. EDMUND HUGHES: *Histoire de la Restauration du Protestantisme en France au xviii. Siècle*. A. BONNEMÈRE: *Histoire des Camisards*. ADOLPHE MICHEL: *Louvois et Les Protestantes*. ATHANASE COQUEREL FILS; *Les Forçats pour La Foi, &c., &c.*

It remains to be added that part of this work—viz., the "Wars of the Camisards," and the "Journey in the Country of the Vaudois"—originally appeared in *Good Words*.

S.S.

LONDON, *October*, 1873.[\[Back to Contents\]](#)

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CHAPTER I.

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REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes was signed by Louis XIV. of France, on the 18th of October, 1685, and published four days afterwards.

Although the Revocation was the personal act of the King, it was nevertheless a popular measure, approved by the Catholic Church of France, and by the great body of the French people.

The King had solemnly sworn, at the beginning of his reign, to maintain, the tolerating Edict of Henry IV.—the Huguenots being amongst the most industrious, enterprising, and loyal of his subjects. But the advocacy of the King's then Catholic mistress, Madame de Maintenon[2], and of his Jesuit Confessor, Père la Chaise[3], overcame his scruples, and the deed of Revocation of the Edict was at length signed and published.

The aged Chancellor, Le Tellier, was so overjoyed at the measure, that on affixing the great seal of France to the deed, he exclaimed, in the words of Simeon, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen the salvation."

Three months later, the great Bossuet, the eagle of Meaux, preached the funeral sermon of Le Tellier; in the course of which he testified to the immense joy of the Church at the Revocation of the Edict. "Let us," said he, "expand our hearts in praises of the piety of Louis. Let our acclamations ascend to heaven, and let us say to this new

63 A historic Christian movement in the Alpine valleys, associated with Peter Waldo from the late 12th century; the Waldensians (Vaudois) maintained a simple, Bible-centred worship, suffered repeated persecutions, and later became associated with Reformed Protestantism.

64 Short for the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, a Roman Catholic institution founded in the early 17th century (1622) to oversee missionary activity and the spread/defence of Catholicism.

65 A mid-17th-century agreement (referred to in sources from the 1650s) that allowed surviving Vaudois to return to their homes under specified conditions after English diplomatic intervention; its protections were temporary.

66 Literally the 'Reformed Church' in France, this refers to the French Protestant (Calvinist) church historically associated with the Huguenots and the Reformation tradition.

67 A Swiss Protestant minister and missionary active in the 1820s who devoted himself to pastoral, educational, and social work among Alpine Vaudois communities; he died young, in his early thirties.

68 Refers to Jean-Frédéric Oberlin (an Alsatian pastor and social reformer, 18th–early 19th century) whose educational and philanthropic work in the Ban de la Roche inspired later missionaries and is often cited in missionary memoirs.

69 Cesare (Cæsar) Borgia, son of Pope Alexander VI, was a prominent Italian noble and military leader of the late 15th and early 16th centuries who received the title Duke of Valentinois and played a major role in Italian politics of the period.

70 Literally 'Pass of the Ladder,' a historical, steep mountain footpath (also called the Ladder) giving access to high Alpine valleys; described as dangerous and often impassable in winter.

71 A traditional Latin Christian hymn of praise ('Te Deum laudamus') used in both Catholic and many Protestant liturgies, typically sung on occasions of thanksgiving or solemn celebration.

72 A fortified plateau at the junction of the Guil and Durance rivers; its present fortifications were laid out by the engineer Vauban under French military direction and have long been regarded as a key pass toward Italy.

73 François de Bonne, Duke of Lesdiguières (1543–1626), a prominent Huguenot leader and soldier in Dauphiné who captured several Alpine strongholds and later became a high-ranking French noble and military commander.

74 Short for the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (1572), a major outbreak of violence in Paris against Huguenots that triggered related massacres and reprisals elsewhere in France.

75 Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban (1633–1707), the leading French military engineer of Louis XIV's reign, known for designing fortifications and defensive works across France.

76 A local nickname mentioned in the text for the Vaudois—rendered as 'mummers'—used by opponents as a derogatory term for the Protestant community.

77 A French military decoration awarded for distinguished service or bravery; in the 19th century it

became an established state honour and is referenced in the book as a withheld then later conferred award.

78 Literally 'Meadow of the Tower,' a naturally fortified amphitheatre and traditional stronghold of the Vaudois in the Angrogna valley where refugees gathered, made defenses, and where pastors (the 'barbas') instructed candidates for the ministry.

79 Nicolas Catinat (1637-1712) was a French marshal and general under Louis XIV noted for campaigns in Italy and against Savoy; here he commands forces attacking the Vaudois valleys.

80 A valley of the Vaudois (Waldensian) communities in Piedmont; in this context it refers to one of the mountain districts where Vaudois inhabitants lived and were attacked.

81 A Savoyard noble or military officer leading troops for the Duke of Savoy in the operations described; the title indicates he was a member or agent of the ruling house of Savoy.

82 Refers to Victor Amadeus II (1666-1732), Duke of Savoy, who ruled Piedmont-Savoy and issued the decree condemning the Vaudois in this period.

83 A Latin hymn of thanksgiving (Te Deum laudamus) traditionally sung in Catholic and some Protestant liturgies to mark victories or public rejoicings; the text says Te Deums were sung in Rome after the dispersion of the Vaudois.

84 A French Huguenot pastor and writer (c.1641-1717) who took refuge in England and authored 'History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont', cited here for his account of Vaudois desolation.

85 Paul Rapin de Thoyras (1661–1725) was a French Huguenot soldier and historian who emigrated to England, served in William III's forces, and authored a widely read multi-volume 'History of England' in the early 18th century.

86 A celebrated Roman cameo-glass vase (dating to about the 1st century AD) noted for its carved white figures on deep blue glass; long held in the collection of the Dukes of Portland and subsequently placed in the British Museum.

87 The Vaudois (also called Waldenses or Waldensians) are a Christian movement originating in the Alpine regions in the Middle Ages (from roughly the 12th century), later associated with Protestantism and repeatedly persecuted in France and Italy.

88 The 'wheel' or breaking-wheel was a form of capital punishment used in early modern Europe in which a condemned person's limbs were broken and displayed on a wheel; it was used for grave crimes and was phased out in most jurisdictions by the 19th century.

89 Refers to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by King Louis XIV in 1685, which withdrew legal toleration for Protestants (Huguenots) in France and led to renewed persecution and large-scale emigration.

90 A form of penal servitude in which convicts were condemned to row aboard oared warships (or perform related hard labour); galley sentences were used in early modern Europe and persisted in France into the 18th century, often for political or religious prisoners.

91 A handheld torture device used in early modern interrogations that crushed the fingers or thumbs to force