THE INFLUENCE OF THE PHILOSOPHERS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT UPON THE FRENCH HUGUENOTS IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
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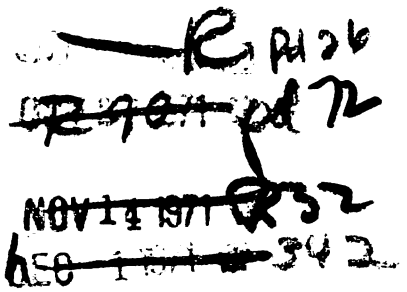

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By

John D. Woodbridge

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

THE INFLUENCE OF THE PHILOSOPHERS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT UPON THE FRENCH HUGUENOTS IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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The French Huguenots in the latter half of the 18th century found themselves in a paradoxical position. They were no longer persecuted as intensely as their forebears under Louis XIV, for a popular sentiment for religious toleration was gradually sweeping through France. Many Calvinists were becoming socially respectable as literate and financially solvent individuals. Yet there were increasingly frequent signs that something was amiss in the Huguenot Church. As harbingers of danger several Calvinistic pastors gave warnings concerning the growing spirit of irreligion in the Calvinist ranks. Church membership was on the decline as many Huguenot parishoners discovered that this secular world had much to offer, now that persecution was abating. The Calvinistic Church was in the throes of a change.

It is interesting to note that this metamorphosis commenced almost exactly with the inception of an Huguenot "alliance" with the French philosophers of the Enlightenment, or the "philosophes." This "alliance," instituted for the purpose of combatting religious intolerance, came about in the famous Calas Case of 1762-1765 during which Huguenots and "philosophes" worked together in a common cause--the exculpation of the name of one Jean Calas, a Calvinist, convicted and executed for the supposed murder of his son.

John D. Woodbridge

The purpose of this study is to examine the relation between the Huguenots and "philosophes" to see what influences the philosophers exerted upon the Calvinists. Our means of discovering these various influences is by an evaluation of several types of primary and secondary source materials: 1. The "philosophes'" correspondence 2. The correspondence of both Calvinist pastors and church members 3. The Huguenot pastors' extant sermons 4. The records of Calvinist synods 5. The books and articles of learned scholars.

From our analysis we learn that the "philosophes'" influence upon the Calvinist Church was one of several causes of the paradoxical condition of the Huguenots on the eve of the French Revolution. At that time the Calvinists won at last a formal victory over intolerance in the Edict of Toleration of 1787. However the value of this victory was greatly diminished in that the Calvinist Church found itself in serious straits on that great occasion. It is indeed an interesting fact that the "philosophes'" influences contributed both to the "victory" and "decline" of the Huguenot Church on the eve of the French Revolution.

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CHAPTER I

THE "ALLIANCE" FORMED BETWEEN THE FRENCH HUGUENOTS AND PHILOSOPHERS OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

One of the marks which distinguished French society in the latter half of the 18th century was the presence of a group of writers and thinkers variously called the "philosophes," or "lumières." A roll-call of the members of this group reads like a Who's Who of important French "philsophers:" Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, Baron d'Holbach, d'Alembert, and Montesquieu to name but a few.

The era with which the "philosophes" were associated was known as the Enlightenment. In their view, the Enlightenment represented a breakthrough from the darkness of ignorance and superstition to the bright day of rationality and hope concerning man's perfectability.

The influence of the "philosophes" permeated much of French society. Many members of the nobility, some teachers in the universities, and even a small portion of the Roman Catholic clergy were attracted as if by a magnet to the new thinking.[1] Yet it is the purpose of our study to determine what if any influence the "philosophes" exerted upon a pariah class of French society, the Huguenots, during the latter half of the 18th century.

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[1]Camille Rabaud, "Lasource, Député à la Législative et à la Convention," Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme francais, XXXVIII (1889), 27. Hereafter cited as BPF.

It shall be our methodology to attempt to validate by sound documentation three theses concerning the influence of the "philosophes" upon the Huguenots. The theses are: 1. The French Calvinists were indeed significantly influenced by the philosophers of the Enlightenment. 2. Although there were several factors which seemingly made an "alliance" between the Huguenots and "philosophes" appear unlikely, the "philosophes" gave both indirect and direct aid to the Calvinists in the initial phase of their struggle for religious toleration and civil rights. 3. Dazzled by the brilliance of the Enlightenment, Protestant pastors often trafficked in "philosophic" inquiries, little realizing the dangers this practice would bring to their religion. In conclusion, our methodology dictates that we respond to the pivotal question: What was the impact of the "philosophes" influence upon the French Calvinist Church in the latter half of the 18th century?

But before we begin it is necessary to lay some groundwork for our discussion by clarifying what we mean by the word "philosophe." To define the term "philosophe" can be a rather challenging business. Perhaps a more worthwhile clarification is accomplished by a description of what the "philosophes'" chief concern might be. According to Sir Isaiah Berlin, the central dream of the "philosophes" was a demonstration that everything in the world moved by mechanical means, that all evils could be cured by appropriate technological steps, that there could exist engineers both of human souls and of human bodies.[2]

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[2]Sir Isaiah Berlin, The Age of Enlightenment: The 18th Century Philosophers (New York, 1956), p. 29.

In a different vein the Enlightenment scholar, Renée Waldinger, makes another necessary clarification when she cautions that the French "philosophes" were not philosophers per se who formulated definite coherent philosophical systems.[3] Rather, most of them were concerned with the immediate problems of disgraces to human dignity under the Ancien Régime--problems which caused their pens to move with new fury. One such issue was to be that of toleration for Huguenot worship and civil liberties.

The impact of the philosophers' thinking struck deep into the heart of French society. Horace Walpole, the English parlimentarian, remarked in 1765, "Almost everyone in Paris is a Philosophe."[4] The great German writer, Goethe, expressed similar sentiments in a statement to Eckermann, "You have no idea of the influence which Voltaire and his great contemporaries possessed in my youth, and how they dominated the whole civilized world."[5]

The reign of the "philosophes" had begun in 1748 when Montesquieu's Esprit des Lois was published.[6] At first the philosophers were distasteful to conservative French society. Their writings were considered

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[3]Renée Waldinger, Voltaire and Reform in the Light of the French Revolution (Genève, 1959), p. 15.

[4]G. P. Gooch, Louis XV, the Monarchy in Decline (London, 1956), p. 267.

[5]Ibid., p. 268.

[6]Ibid.

dangerous and provocative of social unrest. However, after mid-century an Enlightenment thinker or publicist was rarely molested because he believed in toleration, progress, and man's rational capabilities.[7] The reign of the "philosophes" lasted some thirty or forty years. France was wonder-struck by the brilliance of the Enlightenment which the "philosophes" proferred to her.

But, as stated, it is our intention to see whether the "philosophes," who so thoroughly influenced French society, likewise affected the fortunes and thinking of the French Calvinists, or Huguenots. These latter individuals composed a second-class citenzery which most Frenchmen simply tried to ignore. They were remnants of the Protestant minority whose blood along with Roman Catholic blood had stained French soil red during the 16th century religious wars. As a minority religion in a country where the monarch Francis I declared that there would be one king, one law, and one religion, the French Huguenots were a persecuted and unwanted group. The central theme which recurred in their history from the 16th century through the 18th was their plea for toleration. From the 16th century high nobility of France with its outstanding leader Gaspard de Coligny, the stern Calvinist, to the backward shepherdess girl of Crest leading peasant worship during the War of the Camisards (1702-1704), to Rabaut Saint-Etienne, the eloquent Protestant pastor of the French Revolution--the theme reverberated, a call for freedom of worship. Except during a respite of less than one hundred years, 1598 to 1685, or the Edict of Nantes to its Revocation, the Huguenots possessed no

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[7]Gordon Wright, France in Modern Times, 1760 to the present (Chicago, 1960), p. 35.

religious liberty. And yet by the turn of the second half of the 18th century, these Huguenots possessed a population of nearly 600,000 individuals, living mainly as peasants in the peripheral regions of southern France where there had long been a tradition of antagonism to Roman Catholicism.[8] Toleration was essential if these Protestants were to emerge as useful citizens of France and as free individuals to worship God in their own peculiar way without fear of reprisal. What influence would the "philosophic" authors of the Enlightenment have upon this war-weary tribe of political and religious out-castes which composed but one-fortieth of the total French population?

Whereas the status of the "philosophes" was climbing rapidly at the commencement of the second half of the 18th century, the general position of the Huguenots remained that of a people still unwanted. As David Bien has noted in his book, The Calas Affair, the Huguenots possessed a toleration of indifference but not one of doctrine.[9] The Huguenots possessed this toleration of indifference for several reasons. The bloody persecution of the first half of the 18th century had caused no overwhelming Roman Catholic victory. Rather than passing into oblivion, the Protestant Church was experiencing a revival of sorts even though it remained quite weak. Furthermore the French monarchs in the eighteenth century really had no desire to force the religious unity which Louis XIV had so desperately attempted to achieve.

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[8]N. Weiss, "Statistique du Protestantisme francais en 1760," BPF, XXXV (1886), 473.

[9]David B. Bien, The Calas Affair (Princeton, 1960), p. 28. Hereafter cited as Bien.

The responsibility for keeping the religious equilibrium desired by the state was in the hands of the secretary of state in charge of the département des affaires générales de la religion pretendue réformée.[10] For some fifty years, 1725-1775, the vacillating, inept, Saint Florentin attempted to keep the religious struggle to a simmer in France. His instructions to the intendant sent into Languedoc indicated the conciliatory nature of his containment policy. "The rule which you ought to hold in regard to the 'religionnaires' ought to be tempered with firmness and condescension. You must contain them without having them revolt, using authority without compromising it, dissimulating opportunity, more threatening than punishing, and in a word, reverting back to the means which were employed during the last war of which the success has justified its wisdom. . ."[11] Moderation with firmness was to be the policy of the state.

The fact that the government was more lenient with the Calvinists was recognized by observers. Rousseau wrote on May 18, 1764, to Monsieur Foulquier, a member of the Protestant committee of Lausanne, that, "It seems to me that for some time the government of France, enlightened by good writings, has drawn fairly near a tacit tolerance in favor of the Protestants. . ."[12] Evidently Rousseau believed that for some time the government secretly approved a pseudo-toleration for the Calvinists.

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[10]Charles H. Pouthas, "Guizot et la tradition du Désert," La Revue Historique, 169 (Janvier-Juin, 1932), 55.

[11]"Les Protestants sous Louis XV," BPF, XVIII (1869), 435.

[12]"Correspondance inédite de J.-J. Rousseau Au sujet des protestants de France persécutés, 1764," BPF, III (1855), 328.

It is interesting to evaluate the reason Rousseau thought the government allowed this token toleration. According to him, it was because the state was enlightened by good writings--most assuredly referring to his own and those of other "philosophes." In other words Rousseau assumed that the "philosophes" were to a certain degree responsible for a reduction of the intensity of Protestant persecution. However, as we shall see, the "philosophes" were to give more direct aid in the famous Calas Case. But it is important to recognize this preliminary indirect influence--our first example of the "philosophes" influence upon the Huguenots.

Moreover there were other good reasons which caused the government to be wary of treading too heavily upon the Protestants. The Calvinists of the 18th century France were not as a group the powerful insurgents as were their forebearers during the sixteenth century who sought to render France Calvinistic. They had learned through bitter experience that the road of sedition lead to destruction and consequently they were loathe to undertake rebellion once again. In fact, Protestants of mid-eighteenth-century France repeatedly affirmed their allegiance to the King. When Louis XV was very ill in 1744, the Calvinists prayed en masse for his recovery.[13] In consequence the monarchy wanted to let well enough alone without upsetting the religious peace. It tried to ignore the Protestants, treating them as unlovely relatives. The monarch's last calculated purge of the Protestants had ended by 1752.

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[13]Charles Dardier, "Le Centenaire de l' Édit de Tolérance de 1787," BPF, XXXVI (1887), 508.

Nonetheless the Calvinists, although not intensely persecuted, were still subject to restrictions which made their lives miserable. A list of these restrictions demonstrates the difficulty of their condition. An ambiguity which was encompassed in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes had been eliminated by a more harsh edict of 1715.[14] This latter edict declared that any person who lived in France, by virtue of living there, was a Roman Catholic since Roman Catholicism was the only religion allowed in France. Consequently any Frenchman who did not receive the last sacrament could suffer the indignity of having his body desecrated and his property confiscated. Other laws declared that Calvinist pastors could lose their lives if they were caught bearing arms at the outlawed Protestant religious gatherings. Men could be and were sent to the galleys for attending Protestant services. Public office, the law and medical professions, were closed to Protestants. The Calvinists lived under the constant fear that the laxness with which this anti-Protestant legislation was enforced might be suddenly replaced by a tougher policy.[15]

The focus of anti-Protestant rulings centered upon the institution of the family.[16] The only marriages which were valid in France were those upon which the Roman Catholic Church placed its stamp of approval. A valid marriage in the eyes of the law was one performed by a priest. Thus, couples married by a Protestant pastor were living in sin. The offspring from these marriages were considered bastards and had no legal

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[14]Edmund Hugues, Les Synodes du Désert, Vol. I (Paris, 1891), pp. 355-356.

[15]Dardier, BPF, XXXVI, 512.

[16]Ibid., p. 506.

right of inheritance. It was required by law that these babes be baptized by a Catholic priest within 24 hours. They could be taken away from their parents for what the state considered proper Christian rearing. Furthermore the Declaration du Roy. . . le 14 mai, 1724, stipulated that when a Protestant child was of age, his family was held responsible for his daily attendance at Catholic schools and Sunday mass.[17]

Perhaps a concrete illustration of the way this legislation affected the lives of some Protestants who fell under its sway would be appropriate at this time. It was not until that the Tour de Constance, a favorite repository of Protestant heretics, was emptied of its prisoners.[18] Two years earlier one Chevaliercle Bouffleus visited the Tour where he found fourteen women, the youngest of whom was 50 years old. The condition in which these poor wretches lived was abominable. One Marie Durand had been imprisoned for thirty years merely because she was the sister of a pastor, Pierre Durand, who back in 1730 had been captured and executed at Montpellier.[19] Bouffleus discovered scratches on the shaft opening to the lower room of the Tour. Tradition says that Marie had inscribed these letters there with a knitting needle -- "R.E.C.I.S. T.E.Z." Although mis-spelled they sum up the sentiments of the Calvinists of the first half of the 18th century, who although untaught,

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[17]Burdette C. Poland, French Protestantism and the French Revolution, A Study in Church and State, Thought and Religion, 1685-1815 (Princeton, 1957), p. 72. Hereafter cited as Poland.

[18]Henry M. Baird, The Huguenots of the "Desert," A Report to the Huguenot Society, November 15, 1888. (State Historical Society of Wisconsin), p. 25.

[19]Ibid.

persecuted, and maligned for their faith, stood firm for the traditions of their Calvinistic fathers. It will be interesting to note what stance their counterparts took in the latter half of the 18th century as times became easier for Calvinists and the influence of the "philosophes" made its impact upon their thinking.

Yet, in general, persecution was definitely subsiding.[20] The last execution of a Protestant in France occurred in 1762 when Jean Calas was put to death in Toulouse. It was Voltaire's post-mortem defense of Calas which rocked France and helped the Protestants in that legislation against them was even less rigorously enforced. We shall comment later on the Calas Case for it was the first concrete instance in which "philosophes" directly aided the Huguenots and influenced their bid for toleration.

There were several significant stages to this subsidence of persecution. In 1767 Pastor Berenger was condemned to death in Grenoble, but the growing stirrings for toleration among the town officials brought about his release.[21] The year 1770 witnessed the freeing of the Protestant prisoners from the infamous galleys of Toulon where many a Protestant young man had spent his youth shackled in iron--the muscle power for the King's ships.[22] Three years later another minister, Pastor Broca, was arrested but was freed because the spirit of toleration was

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[20]Charles Coquerel, Histoire des églises du désert, chez les protestants de France depuis la fin de Louis XIV jusqu'a la révolution francaise, Vol. II (Genève, 1841), pp. 510, 533. Hereafter cited as Coquerel.

[21]Ibid., p. 511.

[22]Ibid., p. 540.

making such headway in France. Broca was the last pastor to be arrested in France before the Revolution.[23] However until 1783 Protestant children were put in Roman Catholic schools against the wills of their Protestant parents.[24]

Why were there even these vestiges of persecution against the Huguenots if the Monarchy was satisfied to give them tacit toleration? The answer to this question centers in the heated opposition which the Roman Catholic clergy offered to the Calvinists. The Calvinists remained utterly despicable in the eyes of some prelates who constantly urged their extirpation. At the General Assembly of Paris, the very influential Archbishop Loménie de Brienne of Toulouse as late as September 19, 1775, asked Louis the XVI to initiate the final stroke of Protestant eradication. "You disapprove the counsel of a false peace, the systems of an unworthy peace. We entreat you concerning it, Sire, do not defer to remove by error the hope among us of temples and of altars; add to the work that Louis le Grand had undertaken and Louis le Bien-Aimé has continued. It is reserved for you to strike the last blow at Calvinism in our States; order that they disperse their Protestant schismatic assemblies; exclude the sectaries without distinction from all branches of public administration, and you will assure among your subjects the unity of a veritable Christian culture."[25] This type of sentiment, yet quite prevalent, necessitated that the Protestants continue their open campaign for toleration.

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[23] Ibid., p. 534.

[24] Dardier, BPF, XXXVI, 516.

[25] Coquerel, II, 536.

A difficult question loomed large in the Huguenots' thinking at this point. How were they to gain the last excruciating step in their centuries' old struggle for religious toleration? It had become apparent that the endless petitions the Calvinists addressed to the royalty had precipitated no positive program of reform in behalf of the Huguenots. Although Louis XV allowed some toleration to the Huguenots in order to keep peace in his realm, he was not their true friend.

The Huguenots needed outside assistance--someone or group to plead their cause in France. It would have to be a unique activating body which could gain a hearing in the courts of royalty, in the salons of the nobility, and in the cities. The candidates for this position were few. As already noted, both the monarchy and the Roman Catholic Church were disqualified. Almost by chance the lot was to fall to the French "philosophes." In consequence, secular philosophers and God-oriented Calvinists formed warm friendships joined by a common cause.

But how was it that this "alliance" came about? Although the philosophers represented themselves as foes of all intolerance, they did not possess a tradition of friendship with the Huguenots. In fact, many French Huguenot pastors were openly antagonistic to them and not without cause. For Roman Catholic scholars had employed arguments deleted from Montesquieu's Esprit des Lois and Voltaire's Siècle de Louis XIV in which these authors associated Protestantism (Calvinism) with the republican spirit--or the spirit of rebellion against the king. To demonstrate that Protestantism was associated with republicanism, Montesquieu, in his Esprit des Lois remarked that "toute religion qui est réprimée, devient elle-même reprimante"--all repressed religion

becomes itself repressive.[26] If an oppressed religion, such as Calvinism, frees itself, it will attack the dominant religion. In addition, Montesquieu declared that the leader of a state may either accept a new religion or reject it. Since the Religion Pretendue Réformée or Calvinism was not established, the King could utterly reject it if he so desired. Conjoined, these two principles gave excellent ammunition for Catholic clergymen to hurl at Calvinist heretics in order to gain a more strenuous persecution.

In like manner Voltaire aligned Calvinism with the republican spirit. In the Siècle de Louis XIV, Voltaire wrote, "Calvinism inevitably stirred up civil wars and shook the foundation of states."[27] The Roman Catholic Bishop of Alais, M. de Montclus, proceeded to act upon the practical implications of these principles by causing the desolation of Languedoc, a heavily Protestant province, in 1753.[28]

Naturally Protestants developed some hostility and bitterness toward Voltaire and Montesquieu. Pastor Paul Rabaut, a leading spokesman for the Calvinist Church of the Désert, wrote a scathingly critical diatribe in this regard. He remarked in a letter to Pastor Moultou of Geneva, "You know, Monsieur, the Age of Louis XIV of the celebrated Voltaire; I do not know if this author wished to woo France, but I have seen with chagrin in his work that without regard to the sincerity which history requires, without notice to that which he himself had said in

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[26]Montesquieu, Esprit des Lois, Tome 5, Livre 25 of Ouevres Complètes de Montesquieu, ed. Édouard Laboulaye (7 vols,; Paris: 1877), p.174.

[27]Voltaire, The Age of Louis XIV (London, 1926), p. 416.

[28]Alice Wemyss, Les Protestants du Mas-D'Azil, Histoire d'une résistance 1680-1830, (Toulouse, 1961), p. 372. Hereafter cited as Wemyss.

the historical summary which he had put at the head of his Henriade without fear of drawing new persecution to some people who have suffered so much--the greatest injustice of the world, he has spread upon us the bile of the most malignant satire. It is that which he wrote principally in the article on Calvinism. The greater the reputation of the author, the more his work is read, and the more it is important that he is refuted and that it is done in a triumphant manner."[29] Although admiring Voltaire, Rabaut did not hold any strong sympathy with the future protector of the Huguenots at this time (1755).

Yet an event was to occur in the southern city of Toulouse which was to transform completely the relationships between the Protestant pastors and some of the "philosophes." It was an event which afforded the opportunity for Calvinists and philosophers to lock hands in common cause against intolerance.

Located in the lush farmlands of the province of Haute Garonne, Toulouse was a focal point for religious intolerance. In this commercial city of picturesque buildings lived one Jean Calas whose business was printed muslins and calicoes for ladies' dresses and soft furnishings. Calas was a Huguenot living with his wife, four sons, and two daughters, in a strongly Roman Catholic city.

Calas' first-born son, Marc Antoine, had a love for books but disliked the world of commerce. Marc aspired to be called to the Bar. Before he could do so, he needed to obtain a certificate of his Catholicity. His request was refused by the Roman Catholic Church in that his

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[29]Coquerel, II, 197.

family background was Huguenot, an evidence of anti-Protestant legislation lingering in the year 1761. Nonetheless Marc remained a nominal Protestant rather than disavow his Calvinistic faith. One of Marc's younger brothers, Louis, did not remain in the Protestant fold. Upon reaching manhood, Louis apostacized his religion and became a Roman Catholic. Marc and Louis were to play important roles in the Calas tragedy which was to shake France.

On October 13, 1761, several guests of the Calas' boys had come to visit the family. After eating the evening meal, Pierre, another Calas son, suggested that the guests take an evening stroll. By chance, Pierre ventured into the storeroom of the house before leaving on the walk. To his horrified amazement, he saw, hanging from a rope attached to some folding doors, the lifeless form of his brother, Marc Antoine, clad in a shirt and breeches.[30]

The death of Calas' eldest son stirred Catholic Toulouse. In brief, Jean Calas along with other members of his family were arrested for the murder of Marc Antoine. According to Roman Catholic officials the motive was this. Calas, the Calvinist, feared that Marc would forfeit his faith as his brother Louis had previously done, in order to gain access to a career of good standing. Calas had conspired with other members of the family to murder Marc so that Marc would not have the opportunity to perjure his faith.[31] In the trial the defense suggested to no avail that Marc Antoine had in reality committed suicide.

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[30]Edna Nixon, Voltaire and the Calas Case (New York, 1961), p. 36. Hereafter cited as Nixon.

[31]Theodore Besterman (ed.), Voltaire's Correspondence, XLVIII (Geneve, 1959), Letter 9622, 210. Hereafter cited as Besterman (ed.).

The Calas incident could not have occurred at a worse time for Protestant fortunes in Toulouse. Two months previously a Calvinist pastor, Rochette, had been executed there along with two friends. In consequence a storm of antagonism boiled up against the Huguenots. Tried in a city where intolerance against the Calvinists was at a fever pitch, Calas' fate could be but one. On March 9, 1762, a day in which no Protestant dared show his face in the streets, Jean Calas bravely met his death on the wheel.[32] It was this trial and execution in which the guilt of the accused was never conclusively proven, that brought the indefatigable energy and fertile mind of Voltaire to the side of the Huguenots in their bid for toleration.

As already indicated, many Huguenot pastors had no strong liking for Voltaire although some of them read his works with increasing interest. Voltaire reciprocated these sentiments for he did not cherish the representatives of the Calvinist faith. Half-jokingly, Voltaire noted that he could not like men who were the enemies of the theatre--who contributed nothing to the Enlightenment which was dear to his soul.[33]

In a letter to the Protestant Pastor Debrus, Voltaire let fly with some rather pointed barbs at the Calvinists. "I will say more, this affair (Calas) is very likely to cause you Huguenots to obtain a toleration such as you have not enjoyed since the Revocation of the Edict

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[32]Bien, pp. 21-23.

[33]A. J. Grant, The Huguenots (London, 1934), p. 218.

of Nantes. I know very well that you will be sent to perdition in another world; but there is no reason for your being persecuted in this world."[34] On another occasion, he wrote to one Louis René de Caradeuc de la Chatolais that, "I know very well the quality of the Huguenot, that he will be damned; but in waiting for this, he ought to have his money in this world."[35] Acerbity glossed these expressions of Voltaire deriding the Huguenots.

Two important questions arise at this juncture. Why should Voltaire take such a negative attitude toward the Calvinists other than the fact that they were not theatre goers? Secondly, if he did have a negative attitude toward them, why did he aid them in their bid for toleration? Both of these queries are enigmatic, but we will attempt to give some insight into their important answers.

To reply to the first question it is again necessary to analyze the goals or principles of the philosophers of the Enlightenment. Carl Becker, in his work, The Heavenly City of the 18th Century Philosophers, asserted that the philosophers of the Enlightenment possessed their own religion which for them replaced traditional Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. According to Becker, the principles of the enlightened religion could be stated thusly: "1. man is not naturally depraved; 2. the end of life is life itself, the good life on earth instead of the beatific life after death; 3. man is capable guided solely by the light of reason and experience, of perfecting the good life on earth; and 4. the first and essential condition of the good life on earth is

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[34]Besterman (ed.), L,Letter 10056, 209.

[35]Ibid., IL,Letter 9790, 130.

the freeing of men's minds from the bonds of ignorance and superstition, and of their bodies from the arbitrary oppression of the constituted social authorities."[36] Homocentric and this-world oriented, the new religion offered the hope of a brighter tomorrow right here on earth.

It takes little discernment to recognize that this new religion was antithetical to the Calvinistic traditions of the Huguenots. Where the "philosophes" declared that man was not naturally depraved, Calvinistic theologians asserted that man is bound to do evil, inheriting this propensity from Adam's fall. Where the Calvinists affirmed that man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy Him forever, the "philosophes" avowed goal was to create the good life on earth through human effort. However,the supreme point of discord between the two philosophies was the "philosophe's" rejection of Jesus Christ as the revealed Son of God and Redeemer of mankind through the atonement. No balm could sooth this point of friction for orthodox Calvinists. Thus, the emphases of the Enlightenment and Calvinism were diametrically opposed.

Consequently,in response to our first question, one reason Voltaire possessed a negative attitude toward the Huguenots was that his "creed" differed with the Calvinists'. He did not trust the authority of the Bible because it contained too many inconsistencies.[37] Rather Voltaire found his authority in man's reason, this reason being enlightened by man's senses.[38] Imagination and emotionalism were blind leaders.

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[36]Carl L. Becker, The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers (New Haven: 1932-1963), pp. 102-103.

[37]John Viscount Morley, Voltaire (London, 1923), p. 247. Hereafter cited as Morley.

[38]Besterman (ed.), LXXI, Letter 14469, 40.

Furthermore, the "philosophe" disdained individuals who claimed supernatural revelation, labeling them fakers.[39] Those who believe them are dupes. A tragedy occurs in that the believers are not employing their rational capabilities, but are pathetically fideistic.

Nonetheless Voltaire was a deist--wavering in the winds of doubt and skepticism. God was the Supreme Being, the author and preserver of all beings which compose the sensory world. Pragmatically speaking, a belief in God was useful in that it kept an equilibrium in a society. In essence Voltaire's naturalistic and deistic religion was to make an impact upon the Huguenots as we shall see.

Others of the "philosophes" tended towards a drastic atheism which was far more subversive to traditional Christianity than Voltaire's vestigial theism. Formerly a deist, the "philosophe" Baron d'Holbach drifted into atheistic beliefs. He declared that all religious principles are an affair drawn from pure imagination of which reason and experience have no part. Those unfortunate individuals who believe in God do so in opposition to the multitude of cogent proofs which negate the possibility of a Supreme Being's existence.[40] So sure was d'Holbach of his nonbelief, he founded a group whose members reveled in their bold repudiation of theism.

A second reason Voltaire disliked the Calvinist faith was because its dogmatism and superstitution nearly matched that of the Roman Catholic Church or what he called "l'infame."[41] For him John Calvin was just as

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[39]Morley, pp. 223, 243.

[40]Pierre Naville, Paul Thiry D'Holbach et la philosophie scientifique au XVIII^e siècle (Gallimond, 1943), p. 338.

[41]Besterman (ed.), XLVIII, Letter 9637, 232.

bad as Ignatius Loyola. The dogmatism and intolerance demonstrated by both of these individuals affronted Voltaire's sense of toleration and justice.[42] Furthermore it was difficult for any Frenchman to forget the bloodshed and wanton cruelty associated with the Protestant Civil Wars against the Roman Catholics during the last few centuries. The reputation for fanaticism associated with this backward faith which somehow always affected a disruptive influence in France, repelled many of the "philosophes."

Perhaps in these two reasons could also be found the true motivation for Rousseau's refusal to aid the Protestants other than giving them advice. Unlike Voltaire and like several of his other "philosophic" colleagues, Rousseau sought to avoid becoming embroiled in a touchy conflict which might mar his reputation and jolt his egotism. Monsieur Foulquier, a Calvinist from Geneva, had asked Rousseau to assist the Huguenots in the Rochette and Calas cases. Likewise, M. Jeremie de Pourtales, another Protestant, appealed in a most pressing and flattering way for Rousseau's aid. Rousseau responded politely, but negatively to the former, M. Foulquier, on December 25, 1764. "I am, Monsieur, so pressed, so overwhelmed, so overburdened with letters, that I am unable to throw out some ideas to you except with the greatest rapidity. I would like to be able to undertake a report (concerning the Huguenots) but that is absolutely impossible and I have great regret about it, for other than the pleasure of doing well, I would find it one of the most worthwhile subjects which could honor the pen of an author."[43]

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[42]Ibid., XLVIII, Letter 9596, 178.

[43]Théophile Dufour (ed.), Correspondance Générale de J. J. Rousseau, XI (Paris, 1930), 166.

A few months earlier the author of the Social Contract had been more explicit in detailing his refusal to M. Jeremie Pourtales' request. "I like saying useful things," stated Rousseau, "but I do not like to repeat them; and those who must absolutely have restatements need only to provide themselves with several copies of the same written work. The Protestants of France are now enjoying a rest to which I may have contributed, not by vain declamations, as so many others have done, but by good political reasons well set forth; yet here they come and press me to write in their favor. This is making too much account of what I can do, or too little of what I have done. They admit that they are tranquil, but they want to be better off than well; and after I have served them with all my strength, they reproach me for not serving beyond my strength."[44]

Several observations concerning this last letter would be appropriate. In the first place we notice that Rousseau again acknowledged that the Protestants were not being as acutely persecuted as before. Secondly, in the same breath, he continued by remarking that he may have and probably did have some part in bringing about this tacit toleration. In other words Rousseau re-iterated what we have already outlined--that the persecution of Calvinists was subsiding and that he at least, as a "philosophe," had given indirect aid in bringing about this condition.

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[44]"Correspondance inédite de J.-J. Rousseau Au sujet des protestants de France persécutés, 1764," BPF, III (1855), 326.

But again the excuses which Rousseau proferred to the Calvinist representatives were just that--excuses. We hazard the guess that behind the polite facade, Rousseau along with other "philosophes" could not stomach the thought of succouring the Protestant cause overtly. The Calvinistic Church still bore the onus of fanaticism and intellectual sophistry.

If this be the case, our second question becomes much more crucial to our story. Why did Voltaire break lances with other "philosophic" brethren to come to the aid of the Huguenots in the Calas Case. A passage in one of his letters to a Calvinistic pastor, Ribote, seems to make the answer clear. Voltaire declared that "one would have to be a tiger not to protect these unfortunates (the Calas family) when the injustice of their sentence has been demonstrated."[45] An injustice had been perpetrated by Roman Catholic officials, representatives of a church which Voltaire did not totally despise, but whose authoritarian and reactionary spirit held back the Enlightenment. Justice was Voltaire's all important theme but Jean Calas had quite possibly suffered an injustice. It was for this reason that the Patriarch of Ferney came to the aid of the Huguenots, not because he had sympathy for the beleaguered Calvinists' religion.

A secondary motive which compelled Voltaire to undertake the rehabilitation of the Calas name was the "philosophe's" fear that France would gain a bad reputation for allowing injustice in her courts. A few quotations would not be amiss in this connection. Writing to Charles

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[45]"Affair de Calas: Une lettre inédite de Voltaire," BPF, XVII (1868), 399.

Augustin Feriol, comte d'Argental, and Jeanne Grace Bosc du Bouchet, comtess d'Argental, Voltaire stated his case this way. "You will ask of me perhaps my divine angels, why I am so strongly interested in this Calas who was put to death on the wheel. It is that I am a man, it is that I see all foreigners indignant, it is that all your Swiss Protestant officers say that they will not fight with great heart for a nation which breaks upon the wheel their brothers without proof."[46] On the same day, March 27, 1762, Voltaire very graphically set forth the same thoughts to Espeir de Chazel. "Here Monsieur is what they say, what they write, and that which fills all foreigners with indignation and pity. They remember so many disturbing judgments which slaughtered innocence with the poignard of justice. They cry out that we are an odious, intolerant, and superstitious nation, as atrocious as frivolous, which passes from St. Barthelomew's Massacre to the comic opera, which knows how to break the innocent on the wheel and which knows how to struggle neither upon the sea nor upon the land."[47] Once again corresponding with Augustin Feriol, comte Argental, a few months later, May 15, 1762, Voltaire re-iterated his concern for France's damaged reputation, but continued by giving his own personal call to action. Referring to the Calas Case, Voltaire asserted, "All that is so unlawful, and the spirit of faction, makes itself felt to such a degree in this horrible

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[46]Besterman (ed.), XLVIII, Letter 9590, 171.

[47]Ibid., XLVIII, Letter 9592, 174.

adventure, foreigners are so scandalized, that it is inconceivable that M. the Chancelor did not repudiate this strange arrest. If ever the truth ought to be enlightened, it is, it seems to me, in such an occasion."[48] As we shall briefly outline, Voltaire's response to his own call was to be swift and skillful. His efforts affected a further improvement in the Calvinist situation in France.

The Calas tragedy reached its anti-climatic nadir on March 9, 1762, when Jean Calas' hapless body was broken on the wheel. There is some debate as to which party first informed Voltaire of the incident, but we find his first allusion to Calas' death in a letter written two weeks later. It was addressed to Cardinal Francois Joachim de Pierres de Berness on March 25, 1762. In essence, Voltaire asked the Cardinal for the details of the case in that he had heard conflicting reports and was undecided as to where the guilt for the tragedy lay. "It is that they claim here that he was very innocent and that he took God as his witness when dying. They claim that three judges protested against the arrest. This adventure grips me to the heart; it saddens me in my pleasures; it taints them. It is necessary to regard the Parlement of Toulouse or the Protestants with eyes of horror."[49] Unsure although quite concerned, Voltaire penned this first of hundreds of letters in the three year battle for the Calas family in particular and for the family of man in general.[50]

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[48]Ibid., XLVIII, Letter 9646, 241.

[49]Ibid., XLVIII, Letter 9587, 166.

[50]Ibid., LXVII, Letter 13665, 214.

Voltaire's indecision concerning the locus for guilt in the Calas Case was to be short-lived. He quickly gathered evidence and sifted it carefully in order to come to a position of certitude. One of his main sources of information proved to be the youngest Calas son, Donat--a mere boy of fifteen. Voltaire, the investigator, interviewed the young lad who had journeyed to Geneva. His description of this encounter is quite touching. "I asked for young Calas to be brought to me and I expected to see the sort of fanatic his part of France so often throws up. But instead there stood before me a simple child, ingenuous, with the most gentle and interesting cast of features, who tried in vain to restrain his tears."[51] The "philosophe" would not be moved by mere tears. He painstakingly weighed Donat's interpretation of what had happened that tragic night in Toulouse with other accounts of the incident. An opinion was being formed.

By the month of April, 1762, Voltaire wrote to his good friends the d'Argentals in this manner. "I believe that you have said that father Calas was sixty-nine years old and that the son which they claim he hung, named Marc Antoine, a twenty-eight year old boy, was five inches taller, very robust, the most adroit (young man) of the province. I add that the father had very weak legs for the last two years, that which I learned from one of his children (Donat) . . . A young vigorous man (Marc Antoine) does not let himself be taken in such a way. . ."[52]

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[51]Nixon, p. 133.

[52]Besterman (ed.), XLVIII, Letter 9622, 210.

Two months later in June of 1762, all lingering doubts had been dispelled. Again to the d'Argentals, Voltaire declared, "My divine angels, I am persuaded more than ever of the Calas' innocence and of the cruel good faith of the Parlement of Toulouse which has made the most disturbing verdict upon the most doubtful evidence."[53] The issue was settled.

Now began the battle, one which was to last for three years. Voltaire labored "sans arret" for justice to the widow and the descendants of the Calas. It is reported that his loyalty to the Calas cause evoked this expression: "During that time not a smile escaped me without my reproaching myself for it, as for a crime."[54] In essence, Voltaire's assistance took two major forms--publicity and pecuniary aid. The first, his publicity campaign against the injustice of the court of Toulouse, was outstandingly successful. Through the vehicle of prolific letter writing, Voltaire made France and other portions of Europe aware of the Calas incident, all this within a very short time. Even by April 27, 1762, the French court knew the story of sadness in that no less a person than Madame Pompadour alluded to the Calas Case with real feeling.

> You are right M. le Duc, the affair of this unfortunate Calas makes one shudder.
> It is regrettable that he was born a Huguenot, but that was no reason for treating him like a highwayman.
> It seems impossible that he could have committed the crime of which he was accused. It is contrary to Nature.

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[53]Ibid., IL, Letter 9718, 37.

[54]Morley, p. 16.

> Nevertheless he is dead, and his family is dishonoured, and his judges show no signs of repentance.
>
> The kind heart of the King has much suffered on hearing about this strange adventure, and all France cries out for vengeance.
>
> The poor man will be revenged but cannot be brought back to life. These people of Toulouse are hot-headed and have more religion in their fashion than is necessary in order to be Christians. Please God, they, may be converted and made more humane.
>
> Adieu, Monsieur le Duc, with my sincere friendship--
>
> La Marqse de Pompadour.
> Versailles, April 27, 1762.[55]

However, this early recognition of an injustice did not mean an immediate victory for the Calas or Voltaire. The judges of Toulouse were unmoved by external pressure for a reversal of their decision. In consequence it was necessary for Voltaire to give aid in another way--that of dipping into his own pocket for money in order to sustain the campaign against intolerance. Throughout his voluminous letters we find numerous remarks concerning the financial aspects of the undertaking.[56] Finally, after three years of arduous labor and the outlay of large sums of money, the Calas Case fell under the jurisdiction of one of France's most powerful courts, the Maîtres des Requetes. This body at last helped restore France's reputation for impartial justice in that the Calas family and friends were exculpated of the accusations brought against them.[57] Voltaire rejoiced.

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[55]Besterman (ed.), IL, Letter 9864 (trans. Edna Nixon), 220.

[56]Ibid., IL, Letter 9741, 65; Letter 9749, 71.

[57]Nixon, p. 193.

Voltaire had good reason to be joyful. The victory of right over wrong, which he modestly attributed to philosophy alone rather than to his own efforts, had been dearly won.[58] By no means was the struggle over Protestant toleration concluded, but a giant step had been traversed in the right direction. Voltaire himself was to follow up the Calas Case by assisting other Huguenot causes such as those of Pastor Rochette, the Grenier brothers, and the Sivren brothers. Rochette was the Calvinist pastor who had been executed in Toulouse along with his would-be liberators, the Grenier brothers, just a few months before Jean Calas' death. The Sivren brothers likewise were victims of religious intolerance in France whom Voltaire defended. Although the Patriarch of Ferney never lived to see the promulgation of the Edict of Toleration of 1787 for the Huguenots, he, a "philosophe," had prepared the way for that edict.

The Huguenots were not unappreciative of the philosopher's travail in their behalf. Many of the Protestant pastors were effusive in their heartfelt thanks. Pastor Gal-Pomaret, an individual whose career we shall treat quite specifically in Chapter II, summed up the several contributions which Voltaire had made in behalf of the Huguenots and humanity. His letter was dated in the fall of 1767. "The triumph of the Calas, your treatice on tolerance, your philosophical works, your inimitable poems are some monuments which will teach it (tolerance) to future posterity, that which ought even to conquer the present nations. Here is the great man . . . "[59] Another pastor, Paul Rabaut, who had

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[58]Ibid.

[59]Besterman (ed.), LXVII, Letter 13665, 214.

previously criticized Voltaire because the latter had associated Calvinism with republicanism in the Siècle de Louis XIV (see above, p. 13), made a complete about face as to his opinion of Voltaire. Writing to Pastor Paul Moultou of Geneva, Rabaut commented, "Having had the pleasure of reading some extracts from some letters which you have written to Montpellier, you will be desirous that I give witness to you that no one feels more vividly than I do, the obligations which we have to Monsieur Voltaire. If the hand which was overwhelming us has been released, if we enjoy some tranquility in our country, it is to this great man that we are in debt."[60] Rabaut realized that the peace which the Huguenots enjoyed was due to the efforts of the great "philosophe." Thus Voltaire's labor had not gone for nought--a wrong had been righted, and the friendship and esteem of an outlawed and forsaken people had been gained.

In sum we have observed that the Huguenots were indeed influenced by the "philosophes," even entering into what David Bien has called, an "unnatural alliance," with them.[61] The Huguenots and "philosophes" were joined in this "alliance" for the common purpose of combatting religious intolerance, not because there was any tradition of friendship between the two groups. In fact, it was pointed out that the "philosophes'"

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[59]Besterman (ed.), LXVII, Letter 13665, 214.

[60]Ibid., LXVIII, Letter 13860, 173.

[61]Bien, p. 25.

assistance was rather surprising, for they possessed philosophies alien to Calvinistic beliefs. Nor did the philosophers particularly cherish the Calvinists whom they considered to be still fanatical and intellectually stagnant. Yet in aiding the Huguenots both indirectly and directly, the "philosophes" exerted a positive influence upon the Calvinists. However, the philosophers were to exert other influences upon the Huguenots, a people who so valiantly resisted the efforts of Roman Catholicism and the French Monarchy to subvert their faith. It is incumbant upon us to analyze these influences also.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF THE "PHILOSOPHES" UPON THE HUGUENOT PASTORS

We have noted that the "philosophes" supported the French Protestants in achieving a considerable alleviation of the rigor of persecution of the Calvinists. However, in consonance with our goal--that of analyzing the influence of the "philosophes" of the Enlightenment upon the Huguenots--we must examine other aspects of the "philosophe"--Calvinist relationship.

In this regard several issues present themselves. First, was the "philosophic" thought of the Enlightenment to invest itself in Huguenot thought? Secondly, by what means did Enlightenment philosophy gain entree into Protestant life and vocabulary? Thirdly, what were to be the effects or influence of this thinking upon the Calvinistic churches and pastors in the fifteen years following the Calas Case?

Before we undertake to answer these questions, something must be said as to the advance of Enlightenment thought in the mother country of Calvinism--Switzerland. The Protestant churches of France had been traditionally dependent upon Swiss seminaries for the training of French pastors during the period of intense repression when no French seminaries existed. Thus, a life giving spiritual intercourse existed between France and Switzerland. Therefore, the trends in Swiss Protestant thought tended to influence the Huguenots of France.

Again the wily Voltaire is the central figure of our story of "philosophic" influence upon Calvinist Protestants. After a disappointing stay of nearly three years at the Court of Frederick the Great, the "philosophe" made his way in December of 1754 to the lovely city of Geneva, since he still remained "persona non grata" at the Court of Louis XV. Perhaps to compensate for his exile from his beloved Paris, Voltaire built a new home, Les Délices, as he called it, overlooking the city and lake. This stately mansion was to become a Walden retreat for the intellectual liberals of Geneva, achieving the title "le palais d'un philosophe avec les jardins d'Epicure."[1] But a few years later he established another residence at Ferney, just within the French border, but near enough to afford ample contact with the citizens of Calvin's republic.

Enigmatic as it may first appear, Voltaire was to receive a warm welcome for his "philosophic" ideas from a most unlikely source--several of the Calvinist pastors of Geneva. The names of his closest friends among this kindred group were Pastors Jacob Vernet, Jacob Vernes, and Paul Moultou. These individuals were second and third generation descendants of French and Italian dissidents who had come to Geneva for freedom of conscience.[2] Under the influence of the liberal theologian, J. A. Turretini, the pastors had repudiated to a certain degree Calvin's hardrock dogmatism and were susceptible to the deism of the Enlightenment.[3]

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[1]Nixon, p. 120.

[2]Ibid., p. 122.

[3]Ronald Grimsley, Jean D'Alembert (1717-1783) (Oxford, 1963), p. 54. Hereafter cited as Grimsley.

Voltaire and d'Alembert were quite sure that the "learned Christians of Geneva" were spiritual brothers to the philosophers of France, because both groups were concerned more with outward acts than with conformity to creeds.[4]

The manner in which Voltaire addressed these pastoral friends indicated the extent to which the philosopher assumed that the ministers were "philosophic" allies. Writing to Pastor Vernes in 1757, he alluded to the "philosophic" spirit of the pastors: "It is not Calvin who made your religion. He had the honor of being received there, and you have in your midst some spirits more philosophical and more moderate than the ones who honor your republic."[5] Elsewhere he wrote to Vernes, "I find it to be a hundred times more sweet in the company of some friends enlightened like you than in all my vain works."[6] But Voltaire went too far when he exclaimed, "Locke's Christianity of reason is the religion of nearly all the pastors . . ."[7] Nonetheless, it is evident that the ministers of Geneva were caught in the wake of the growing Enlightenment surge throughout Europe.

Jean d'Alembert, the renowed mathematician, and Voltaire's close "philosophic" friend, precipitated a storm of controversy when he declared quite specifically the true nature of the Protestant pastors' beliefs in his article entitled "Genève," Volume VII of the Encyclopédie.

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[4]Nixon, p. 122.

[5]Theodore Besterman(ed.), Voltaire's Correspondence, XXXII (Genève, 1953), Letter 6835, 249.

[6]Ibid., XXXI, Letter 6431, 27.

[7]Nixon, p. 122.

Speaking of the Genevese clergy, he said, "Several no longer believe in the divinity of Christ. . . . To say all in one word, several pastors of Geneva have no other religion than a perfect Socinianism."[8] Continuing, d'Alembert claimed that deism was in vogue among the Calvinists. "In Geneva the progress of disbelief is less to be deplored than elsewhere, and this is not surprising for religion there is reduced to the worship of a single God, at least as far as all that are not the common people is concerned; respect for Jesus Christ and for the Scriptures is perhaps the only thing that distinguishes the Christianity of Geneva from pure deism"[9] Self-righteous and fearful, the pastors of Geneva were galled by these accusations. They asked Voltaire to request d'Alembert to retract them. Yet d'Alembert remained resolute and the article about Geneva stayed in tact in the Encyclopédie. Such was the outrage of the consistory of Geneva that it sought for and gained the support of the Sorbonne to censor the Encyclopedists. The resulting furor gave Louis XV one more reason for his prohibition of the Encyclopédie the following year, 1759.

Although Voltaire and d'Alembert probably over-estimated the extent to which the Enlightenment was incorporated by the Protestant clergy of Geneva, it may be safely propounded that a liberal Christianity if not an outright deism had sunk its roots deep into Genevan soil as early as the 1750's with the French "philosophes" somewhat responsible.[10] Even ten years later Voltaire's appellations were received without retorts by the Protestant pastors. In a letter to Pastor Jacob Vernes

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[8]C. Avezac-Lavigne, Diderot et la Société du Baron D'Holbach--Etude sur le XVIIIe Siècle (Paris, 1875), p. 59.

[9]D'Alembert and Diderot (editors), Encyclopédie, VII (Paris, 1757), 578.

[10]Grimsley, p. 54.

dated 1767, Voltaire declared, "I send to you, my dear Huguenot philosopher, a small philippic which I have been obliged to make."[11] This same figure Jacob Vernes, was to publish a catechism in 1776 which was censored for possessing in two or three places, "inaccurate and indeed Socinian expressions."[12] Addressing Pastor Moultou, "mon cher philosophe," Voltaire asked the Protestant to write an article for an Encyclopedic journal.[13] In summary, a segment of the Protestant pastors of Geneva were very sympathetic to the Enlightenment, some even enamored with deism.

In rapture, Voltaire and other "philosophes" rejoiced that the Enlightenment was spreading so rapidly throughout Europe to rid humanity of its superstition and religious bigotry. An epistle penned by Voltaire to a "philosophic" colleague, Claude Adrien Helvetius, in 1762, reveals the degree to which Voltaire envisioned the dissemination of the Enlightenment. "If we have no mariners in France, we commence to have some philosophers, their number increasing by the very persecution; they have only to be wise, and especially united. Realize that they will triumph; the fools dread their scorn, the people of the mind will be their disciples, the light will spread in France as in England, Prussia, Switzerland, and Italy."[14] Voltaire was quite confident that the liberating rays of the Enlightenment were being diffused into the stygian darkness of man's inhumanity.

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[11]Besterman (ed.), LXXVII, Letter 13499, 1.

[12]Grimsley, p. 54.

[13]Besterman (ed.), LXXIV, Letter 15153, 90.

[14]Ibid., IL, Letter 9834, 182-183.

The background to our first question is now clear. Europe was being "enlightened;" and even Switzerland, the traditional source of life-blood for the persecuted Calvinistic churches of France, showed signs of deistic infiltration. Were the "philosophes," the protectors of the Calas, to influence also the Huguenots of France in the same way as their Calvinist counterparts in Switzerland? This is our pivotal first query.

The answer to the question is categorically in the affirmative. Evidently even by the 1750's and 1760's the spread of an irreligious spirit and deism in France disturbed both French and Swiss pastors alike. For it seemed that not only were the "philosophes" ushering in an era of comparative religious calm and toleration, but that their philosophies were beginning to undercut the Huguenot faith as well. So concerned was the Calvinist committee of Lausanne, Switzerland, about this influence, that it sent representatives into France to inquire as to the state of the Protestant churches.[15] Several of these representatives traveled into Languedoc--a Protestant stronghold in le Midi. The reflections about the religious condition of the churches there, by one of these representatives who hid under the name of Fries, are found in a letter of 1761 to Pastor Paul Rabaut. "Everywhere that I go, I see that the people here are equally frivolous and suspicious, and I am confident that it is that which you designated. I have sought the cause of it in this; more attached to religion by party spirit than by feelings of the heart, they treat it on the whole as a dry rule and as

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[15]Coquerel, II, p. 353.

a deathly practice, than as a force of God which grips the heart with spirit and life. It also suffices to say that if one makes an application of religion to the heart, it renders him suspect of innovation and exposes himself to suspicions of heresy and fanaticism."[16] A head knowledge of doctrine was beginning to supercede a heartfelt faith for many of the Protestants of France according to this observer.

Elsewhere a contemporary townsman in the city of Montpellier, once the focal point for rabid religious controversy between Roman Catholics and Protestants, noted a change in the climate of intellectual activity. "As to the philosophical spirit of the city, it is no longer a question of dispute over Calvinism, Molinism, and Jansenism. One cannot but agree that in their place the reading of philosophic books captivates the minds of most people to such an extent, especially among the young, that no one has ever seen so many deists as there are here today. They are peaceful in this, to be sure, and adopt the cults of any kind of religion whatsoever, without really embracing any, believing that it is enough to practice moral virtues in order to be a virtuous man (un honnête homme)."[17] This was the year 1768. Voltaire was correct--France, the rest of Europe, and even the outlawed Huguenots were beginning to be influenced by the Enlightenment and its ever present moon, deism.

At this point we should ask ourselves our second important question: what was the methodology whereby the influence of the "philosophes" permeated Huguenot thinking? The logic of the methodology which we will

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[16]Ibid.

[17]Poland, p. 100.

seek to demonstrate is as follows: 1. In due time the teachings of the Enlightenment imperceptably affected the Protestant churches, wearing away the firm convictions to which members of the congregations adhered. 2. The "unnatural alliance," as David Bien calls it, between the Protestants and "philosophes" signified by joint efforts in the Calas Case, re-enforced the growing trend toward Protestant toleration under the Ancien Régime.[18] (3.) Calvinist pastors felt a debt to Voltaire and other "philosophes" for their aid in the struggle for toleration. This feeling of gratitude subconsciously opened wide the aperture through which the philosophy of the Enlightenment entered the stream of Huguenot thought. 4. No longer harassed as severely, comparatively free from the efforts merely to survive, Huguenot pastors began to traffic in "philosophic" inquiries as the subsidence of persecution gave them new freedom. 5. The results of these "philosophic" endeavors influenced the pastors in several ways, some rejecting the new philosophy, others attempting to reconcile their Calvinist Christianity with the Enlightenment, while still others falling dizzily into a moderate deism. Although this is a rough schemata and undoubtedly admits to exceptions, we believe it to be in essence the manner by which"philosophic" influence permeated Huguenot thinking.

Let us turn to the pastors of France themselves to demonstrate the validity of this analysis. In attempting to elucidate the means by which the "philosophes" influenced the Huguenots, the pastors' correspondence offers perhaps the best available tool for evaluating the pastors' experiences in this regard.

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[18]Bien, p. 25.

Our attention is drawn to one of their most distinguished members--Pastor Gal-Pomaret of Ganges, whose voluminous correspondence gives us excellent insights into the workings of Calvinism at that time. Ordained in 1748, Gal-Pomaret was an eloquent preacher of upstanding character and a wide erudition which Voltaire appreciated.[19] Although an ardent Calvinist, Gal-Pomaret initiated a lengthy writing relationship with Voltaire which was to last some eleven years, 1767-1778. It is from these letters in addition to those with other pastors that we discern the prevailing theological and philosophical winds in Protestant France.

Gal-Pomaret was an outstanding Huguenot spokesman and Christian. He was widely esteemed by his fellow pastors in that the last national synod meeting in 1763 charged him to draw up the table of Scriptures which would be read each Sunday throughout the assemblies in France. Beloved by his own people, the good pastor left in the mountains of his birth a reputation for homiletical excellence associated with a warm regard for humanity as manifested in his belief in tolerance. Death took him to his eternal reward on the 17th of April, 1790, after forty-two years of apostolic works in the Church of the Desert.[20] The years of his ministry witnessed both heartening and disheartening changes for the Huguenots. In a word, Gal-Pomaret's credentials re-enforce his selection as a worthy example for the verification of our theories.

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[19]Charles Dardier, "Letters écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, XVIII (1869), 335.

[20]Ibid.

What was to be Pastor Gal-Pomaret's experience? His experience represented that of a minister caught in the flux of shifting opinions without any sure guideposts as to which road to follow. Along with other ministers Gal-Pomaret possessed the internal tension of realizing that the "philosophes" were both the Huguenots' friends and deadly enemies at the same time. Recognizing the benefits of the "philosophe"-Calvinist relationship or "alliance," Gal-Pomaret wrote this poem to Voltaire in the latter's honor. We quote but the last few lines: "All good Frenchmen ought to subscribe to his; Religion is nothing. And the Protestants of France would be, without doubt, ungrateful, If from a good heart, they do not love the Apostle of tolerance, And the protector of the Calas."[21] To Soulier, his good pastor friend at Sauve, Gal-Pomaret wrote in 1774, "You see after that, how many are the great obligations which we owe to him (Voltaire)."[22] Elsewhere to Soulier, the pastor spelled out a definitive statement concerning Huguenot toleration coming from the "philosophes'" influence, a concept we previously sought to demonstrate. "I speak well because I believe it is due principally to the writings of the philosophes that we owe the toleration which we enjoy."[23] Although this toleration was only "tacit" as Gal-Pomaret described it to Voltaire, yet conditions were improving because of the "philosophes" efforts.[24] Thus the Huguenots felt a debt to Voltaire and

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[21]Besterman (ed.), LXVII, Letter 15627, 169.

[22]David Benôit, "Les pasteurs et l'échafaud révolutionnaire, Pierre Soulier, de Sauve," BPF, XLIII (1894), 579.

[23]Ibid., 571

[24]Besterman (ed.), LXVIII, Letter 13773, 69.

other "philosophes" for help in the Calas, Rochette, and Sivren cases, and for showing France the way to toleration through their writings. This sense of obligation, perhaps unknown to the pastors themselves, made them more susceptible to the Enlightenment's teachings.

On the other hand, the Huguenot pastors feared the influence of the "philosophes" upon their own congregations and themselves. They were aware that the philosophy of the Enlightenment had already penetrated deeply into the Protestant churches, and were frankly worried. Along with others, Gal-Pomaret was a true Calvinist and disdained the implications of the Enlightenment, although he increasingly became influenced by them himself. Confirming his own theological stance, Gal-Pomaret testified of his faith to M. Oliver Desmons of Bordeaux, a pastor in a city where by 1773 deism was quickly winning the day. "At first I sought to convince myself of the divinity of the Gospel. . . I heeded Jesus Christ as my Master; I formed just ideas of that which He wishes me to believe, to do and to hope; and I would know how to tell you that I have been so much at peace since then."[25] With such a vital testimony, it is little wonder that Gal-Pomaret, the devoted Christian, was quite concerned about the inroads of the deistic emphases of the Enlightenment.

A series of letters written by Gal-Pomaret to Pastor Desmons demonstrate the fears which Gal-Pomaret harbored in his heart about Voltaire and the Enlightenment. "We are living in a philosophic age, but do you think that the philosophy which is so much in vogue works to the advantage

[25]"Letters écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, XVIII (1869), 342.

of Christianity. I believe the contrary. Already our own flocks are teeming with unbelievers. What will we do when we will have more philosophy?"[26] A year later, in 1773, to the same Pastor Desmons, the minister from Ganges wrote,"If I were younger and more clever, I would form precise ideas of M. Voltaire's system and I would seek to heap there the same ridicule which he sought to spread upon ours; would you not be able to undertake this work there? This great man treats Christianity without any letup in his new philosophical works. I fear that he will render the whole world deistic."[27] Even the recipient of these letters, Pastor Desmons, a man of wavering faith as we shall see, was worried about the spread of the "philosophic" influence. In a letter to the members of the Committee of Lausanne in July of 1773, Desmons, the pastor from Bordeaux remarked, "I will be very happy if I am able to preserve anyone from the contagion of the age. . ."[28] Yet the paradox occurs in that while these men were both decrying the"philosophic" spirit of the age with its deism, each was carrying ona friendly correspondence with the "philosophes"--a correspondence which showed that they, the pastors, were becoming followers of the"philosophes." In fact, soon the pastors' actions became tantamount to an attempt to reconcile Calvinistic theology with the philosophy of the Enlightenment.

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[26]Ibid., 336.

[27]Ibid., 339.

[28]"Lettre d. M. Desmont aux in.m. du comité de Lausanne,BPF, XXXI (1882), 407.

Not all the pastors were to be swept into the swift running currents of the Enlightenment's tide. The rationale for opposition to the onslaught of the Enlightenment by Pastor Pierre Alard, showed real discernment and portended bad times to come for the Calvinist churches. In a letter to Pastor Desmons in the year 1773, Alard,with the insight of a soothsayer,related how the philosophy of the Enlightenment might and eventually would worm its way into the Huguenots' thinking. According to the pastor, the fulcrum through which the "philosophes" influence gained leverage was the"philosophes'" help in winning a measure of Protestant toleration.

> The spirit of toleration has won the world, and I do not believe that we ought to fear that the horrors of fanaticism once more will reign. It is true, Monsieur,that the spirit of toleration does not give issue from a good principle, indifferentism and irreligion being the foundations of it, and we ourselves ought to defy strongly virtues which draw their origin from so corrupt a source. The vain philosophy of which so much noise is made, is able to lead to some excesses perhaps yet more deadly to humanity than fanaticism and persecution. Oh, that men would be happy in this; to be well instructed in the precepts of the Gospel; evaluating themselves from the perspective of pleasing God and increasing in well doing. This is the Christian charity which is the principle of true tolerance; it is the capital virtue of true reform; it is from having neglected it that men who dared to take the name of a Reformed Christian have abandoned themselves to excesses which make the true disciple of Jesus Christ blush.[29]

We have quoted a large portion of this letter because it gives us several astute observations concerning the state of the Protestant Church as one pastor saw it in 1773: 1. Alard believed that the principle for toleration was contradictory to Calvinist doctrine. 2. The pastor postulated,

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[29]"Letters écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, IXX-XX (1870-1871), 36.

that the excesses of the new philosophy of the Enlightenment could be more deadly to the Huguenot Church than actual persecution. 3. Alard noted that many of his Calvinist colleagues had already by 1773 compromised their faith in such ways as to render themselves inimical to the Huguenot Church. Again the discernment of this prescient pastor who raised his voice against the compromising proclivities of his fellow ministers is remarkable. He spoke of the evil days which were beginning to break upon the Huguenot Church in France as a result of the "philosophes'" thinking.

What was Pastor Alard so upset about? Simply spoken, he was concerned that the Huguenots were beginning to lose their grip upon the cherished tenets of their faith by compromising them in the face of the Enlightenment. A fuzziness in vision, caused by the withering of spiritual discernment, was beginning to blind the eyes of the Protestant leaders to the dangers to their faith of the philosophy of the Enlightenment. On the other hand, the "philosophes" believed that the pastors were not shutting their eyes, but rather they were opening them to the dazzling prospects which the Enlightenment offered. It was all a matter of opinion.

Alard had good reason to fear. The relaxation of persecution partly attributed to the "philosophes" did indeed allow the Huguenot pastors a new freedom to dip into other fields of inquiry as a pastime other than Biblical exigesis. Naturally many ministers turned to the philosophy of their "benefactors," the"philosophes," which challenged their intellects and vivified their imaginations. Thus the aid of the "philosophes" prepared the way for the investment of "philosophic"

thinking in Huguenot thought--a chain reaction of sorts. This means of entree distrubed Pastor Alard along with its results.

Thus it was that Gal-Pomaret imbibed his first draughts of the Enlightenment's philosophy which were to be both sweet and bitter. The influence of the "philosophes'" upon Gal-Pomaret came from two sources: 1. the pastor's own direct correspondence with the "philosophes;" 2. the pastor's own reading in "philosophic" works. In 1767 Gal-Pomaret penned his first letter to Voltaire while the flush of newborn optimism from the exculpation of Jean Calas still infused the Protestant pastor. "How I myself dare, an obscure minister of the Cevennes, who knows only how to speak a very bad patois, to take the liberty of enlightening you, you who enrich the French language every day, and who by the sublimity of your thoughts, and the beauty of your expressions, enchanted, that is to say the whole world."[30] In the same letter the grateful pastor thanked Voltaire for all his undertakings in behalf of the Calas and the Huguenots. Throughout the correspondence which followed, Gal-Pomaret adopted a more "philosophic" outlook as the shrewd Voltaire wooed him with the promise of the Enlightenment. In addition Gal-Pomaret was influenced by the philosophers through the means of reading their works. To his close friend, Pastor Soulier, Gal-Pomaret declared that he had been spoiled by reading Locke, whom Voltaire called the "Father of the Enlightenment."[31] To Desmons, he noted that he

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[30]Besterman (ed.), LXXVII, Letter 13665, 214.

[31]David Benôit, "Les pasteurs et l'echafaud révolutionnaire," BPF, XLIII (1894), 569.

sought his consolation in Montagne, Charon, and Rousseau.[32] According to his own witness, he never failed to thank God that there were so many good men of letters living in his own age. Elsewhere to Desmons, Gal-Pomaret indicated his Catholic interests: "I want to know what people are writing and what is going on in the world; consequently I have renewed my subscription to the Journal Enclopédique and I hope to receive it any day."[33] There was nothing innately wrong with these new studies allowed by the lessening of persecution, but almost imperceptably they opened the floodgates to"philosophic" influence, so contrary to Calvinism.

Although we are using Gal-Pomaret as the prime example in this discussion, his experience was duplicated by many other Huguenot pastors such as his brother Pastor La Deveze, Pastor Desmons, Pastor Barre, Pastor Soulier, Pastor Rabaut, and others. However,the next generation of Huguenot pastors would not be content merely to dabble in Enlightenment philosophy in order to reconcile it with Calvinism. This next generation was to rush headlong into a classical deism which undercut the moorings of the Huguenot Church completely on the eve of the French Revolution. Gal-Pomaret and his friends made the way easy for the latter group of pastors by their trafficking in "philosophic" inquiries, little realizing the dangers of this endeavor. Thus we have answered our second question by showing the means by which Enlightenment philosophy gained access into Huguenot life and vocabulary.

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[32]"Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, XVIII (1869), 343.

[33]"Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, XVII (1869), 336.

We turn at this juncture to our third query. What were to be the effects of Enlightenment philosophy upon the Huguenot pastors themselves in the period following the rehabilitation of the Calas name? Again Pastor Gal-Pomaret's experience furnishes a starting point for our search for the first effect. As Gal-Pomaret became more infatuated with his "philosophic" studies, he became less disposed to performing the regular duties associated with tending his flock. Bemoaning the task of formulating sermons, he commented to Pastor Desmons, "I am making, Monsieur, hardly any more sermons. Eh! Why more sermons?"[34] It is not mere coincidence that the pastor of Anduze, Jacques Barre, expressed the same sentiments to the same Pastor Desmons in the year, 1773. "You are fortunate, my dear brother, in being able to dispose with making sermons and to employ your time in more useful occupations. I am writing as few as possible, but these few are too many for me. In the long run such work bores one and prevents one from acquiring the aptitudes necessary of good compositions."[35] By inference we grasp the fact that Pastor Desmons himself was not inclined to fulfill the weekly task of preparing messages for his congregation. What was more alluring to these pastors--writing compositions, reading Locke and Rousseau, and corresponding with the "philosophes" themselves. Consequently, in the first place, an attraction for Enlightenment learning sometimes supplanted the pastors' desires to fulfill their ministrial duties.

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[34] Ibid., p. 340.

[35] "Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, XIX-XX (1870-1871), 34.

A second effect is demonstrated by both Gal-Pomaret and his close friend Soulier. Pastor Soulier was a young colleague of Gal-Pomaret whom the latter probably treated as the Apostle Paul treated his spiritual son, Timothy. Like Gal-Pomaret, Soulier commenced his pastoral career with evangelistic ferver, determined not to compromise his faith. For the text to his installation sermon, Soulier chose the passage I Timothy 4:16: "Take heed unto thyself, and unto the doctrine; continue you in them: for in doing this thou shalt both save thyself, and them that hear thee." Throughout this installation sermon of 1767, Soulier reproached the Calvinistic pastors in the churches of France, who through negligence were sending men to eternal damnation.[36]

Yet the correspondence of these two gentlemen, Gal-Pomaret and Soulier, discloses the fact that both of them began to rely upon what we might call a "philosophic" spirit, for lack of a better designation. In a letter to Soulier dated December, 1770, Gal-Pomaret told the young clergyman that a priest was in Ganges, Gal-Pomaret's village, and that the priest was attempting to win a following there. As for combatting the priest's efforts, the elder pastor suggested this: "His principles are very philosophical and we would be able to refute them only by thinking of principles more philosophical than his own. I am presently searching for them."[37] Likewise when there was fear that an intense

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[36]David Benôit, "Les pasteurs et l'échafaud révolutionnaire," BPF, XLIII (1894), 563.

[37]Ibid., 572.

persecution might resume in 1771, Soulier wrote to Gal-Pomaret, "Why should one revive some penal laws which lead only to the devastation of States? Good policy opposes it and the immense progress of philosophy in enlightening the mind and in humanizing hearts give other hopes."[38] As with other pastors, both Gal-Pomaret and Soulier began to lean upon the "philosophic" movement for support in their pastoral enterprises--a second effect of the Enlightenment upon them.

A third effect of the Enlightenment's influence revolved around the fact that many Calvinist pastors slowly lost their ability to discriminate between the friends and foes of Christianity. After ten years of association, Gal-Pomaret had become so enamored with the Enlightenment that he was completely blind to its dangers to his faith. In 1782 he arranged to put Soulier in contact with Baron d'Holbach--a "philosophe," an atheist, and an out-and-out foe of Christianity of any stripe or variety. These were Gal-Pomaret's words to Soulier on that occasion: "I have wished to procure for you the opportunity of meeting with a very cordial philosopher, and it is for that I have asked to give two words to you. Admire in him that which is admired in all great men. He is a baron; he is known in the capital, in the provinces, especially in the republic of letters; nevertheless he has an affability, an air of philanthropy which puts all sorts of men at their ease with him."[39] One can scarcely imagine the insensitivity Gal-Pomaret must have posessed in order to have come to this position. A renowed French scholar, David

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[38]Ibid., 576.

[39]Ibid., 578.

Benôit, re-iterated this observation when he remarked that the Protestants had a spurious confidence to rely upon the dangerous help of the "philosophes."[40] If the "philosophes" made advances to the Protestants it was because they saw in the Huguenots sure auxiliares in their struggle against the dominant religion, Roman Catholicism, with which they so often confused Christianity in toto. Thus it was that Gal-Pomaret put Soulier in contact with Holbach, who according to Benôit, had nothing in common with the pastors of the desert, but the pastors' new "philosophic" interests.

The almost evolutionary process by which the influence of the Enlightenment anesthetized Gal-Pomaret's discernment was accompanied by a fourth effect of the Enlightenment upon the French pastors--the ministers' attempt to reconcile Calvinistic christianity with the antithetical philosophy of the Enlightenment. We recall that Gal-Pomaret had been awed by the "philosophes" aid in the Calas Case, that he had begun correspondence with Voltaire in 1767, but that as late as the year 1773, he was horrified to think that Voltaire might perhaps render the whole world deistic. Yet in the same year, 1773, he wrote to Pastor Desmons of Bordeaux, "A man who spent several weeks with the philosopher of Ferney, and who presented me with his portrait, assured me that he makes a great case for my Religion. If that is so, he is than a Christian."[41] Voltaire, a Christian--this was quite an admission if not a gross error for a Calvinist pastor to make and one which shows the confusion nestled in Gal-Pomaret's mind. Nor did Gal-Pomaret hesitate to

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[40] Ibid.

[41] "Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, XVIII (1869), 339.

give precedence to Voltaire's efforts above those of his fellow pastors, 'What a difference is there not between you, Monsieur, and the great number of our men of the Church! They preach Christianity and they crowd it mainly with duties. You seem to combat them and yet you seem to do their works."[42] Even though he had an inkling that Voltaire was unfriendly to the pastors, Gal-Pomaret continued to heap praise upon the "philosophe."

A key letter of Gal-Pomaret to Voltaire in the year 1776 demonstrates the fact that the pastor believed that a reconciliation between philosophy and Christianity was possible. With a sanguine familiarity which characterized all their correspondence, the pastor confessed that both of them had been incorrect in their evaluation of one Ganganelli, a writer. "Permit me to say this, we were both mistaken, you and I, when we were saying that Gangenelli did nothing of importance. I actually read his letters in two volumes, and I was enchanted with them! He was a true Christian philosopher . . ."[43] Here was an important plateau in the "evolutionary" process. By 1776 Gal-Pomaret was no longer fearful of Voltaire's influence through philosophy upon Huguenot theology. Now the good pastor spoke rather enviously of the name of a new Protestant status symbol--"the Christian philosophe."--a name we remember that Voltaire had utilized in addressing the Calvinist pastors of Geneva.

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[42]David Benôit, "Les derniers pasteurs du Désert," BPF, XLVIII (1899), 503.

[43]"Lettre inédite de Gal-Pomaret à Voltaire, et réponse de Voltaire, 1776," BPF, VIII (1859), 485.

But what did the term, "Christian philosophy," mean to Gal-Pomaret when translated into practical theology? It meant a redefinition of Calvinism put in the "philosophic" framework of the day. Now Pastor Gal-Pomaret declared that true religion "consists of submitting our body to our spirit, to do unto others that which we wish they do unto us, to regard God as our supreme good, and to turn to him all our thoughts, all our affections and all our confidence."[44] This expression was not in itself deistic, but its stress on morality and its concept of man's relationship to God resembled deistic emphases. A synthesis was being formed between Calvinism and philosophy. Another generation of Protestant pastors would make the step from this synthesis to a full fledged deism.

The apogee of Gal-Pomaret's drift toward "philosophic" thinking can be seen in the tender eulogies which he addressed to Voltaire on the eve of the "philosophe's" death. The Patriarch of Ferney with the pen that had stirred the world with its denigrating powers, its dexterity, and delicacy, neared his end. It was the year 1776--two years before Voltaire's death. Gal-Pomaret's remarks on this occasion are interesting in terms of what they reveal about both men. John Calvin would have been shocked by them for Gal-Pomaret, the Calvinist, inferred emphatically that the arch-enemy of Christianity must of all things be a Christian. We are not trying to pass judgment upon Voltaire's eternal state, but from the Calvinistic perspective it could be but one. Nonetheless Gal-Pomaret writes, "To contemplate death approaching without

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[44]Charles H. Pouthas, "Guizot et la tradition du désert," Revue Historique, 169 (Janvier-Juin, 1932), 75. Hereafter cited as Pouthas.

fear and to receive it without emotions, one must in my opinion, believe the truths of the gospel; and I do not doubt that you are in them. It is true that you have formed against them several difficulties, but one is able to make some without being incredulous and more yet without being impious. When you are in the beautiful walks where you found Numa, Pythagorus, Zoraster, and Jesus Christ, our Savior . . . You will see Jesus Christ in his glory, and you will share in his blessedness. He will show himself harsh only to hyprocrites, and you were assuredly never a hypocrite. . ."[45] Moved by his sincere devotion to Voltaire, Gal-Pomaret wrote this expression of assurance. Nonetheless the letter showed to what extent the pastor had lost his ability to recognize that Voltaire was a crafty opponent of Christianity of any sort.

Le vieux malade, as Voltaire called himself in his latter days, responded to Gal-Pomaret's epistle in a characteristic Voltairian manner--a sugary cordiality covering an unyielding intransigence towards Christianity. "I approach the point where all ends, and I shall finish my career regretting of traveling so much of the road without enjoying seeing you. I shall die near the region where the brave Zwingli died, who thought that Numa, Socrates, and the others whom you name were all very honest people."[46] We cannot help but notice that Voltaire refrained from alluding to Gal-Pomaret's emphasis upon Jesus Christ. Rather Voltaire simply catalogued the founder of Christianity under the phrase--" les autres." Voltaire's detestation for Christianity followed him to the grave.

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[45]"Lettre inédite de Gal-Pomaret à Voltaire, et réponse de Voltaire, 1776." BPF, VIII (1859), 485.

[46]Ibid., 486.

Perchance we have stressed the life of Gal-Pomaret too heavily in our discussion of the influence of the "philosophes" upon the Protestant pastors in the fifteen or so years following the rehabilitation of the Calas name or until 1780. But our rationale is hopefully just in that Pastor Gal-Pomaret was recognized by his contemporaries as one of the outstanding Huguenot spokesman in this particular period. However, to bolster our arguments that "philosophic" thought and deism were affecting the French pastors, let us turn to other members of the pastoral community to evaluate their experiences. In so doing, we note a fifth effect occasioned by the Enlightenment--that of a perilous slide by the pastors toward a flaccid Calvinism or even deism.

The prosperous city of Bordeaux located on the Garonne River furnishes us with the setting for an incident which dramatizes the growing proclivity away from stauch Calvinism to a watered-down version of Calvin's religion among the Calvinist pastors. As we recall, a representative from the Committee of Lausanne had reported in 1761 that a dry spirit of irreligion was being spawned among the Protestants in the area of southern France including Bordeaux. When a young Calvinist pastor, Etienne Gibert taught the full counsel of the Gospel in the latter part of the decade--1760's, his congregation in Bordeaux rose up and demanded his dismissal from the pastorate. Evidently Gibert preached the depravity of man and the need for a personal reconciliation with God through Christ--ever so irritating to man's ego but traditionally Calvinist doctrines. The startling feature of the incident was that both the local consistory and provincial synods backed the congregation's action during hearing of 1769 and 1770.[47] The consistory first

[47]"Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, XXXI (1882), 401.

forbade Gibert to preach on matters of salvation and man's sinful condition, but when this failed, it resorted to relieving Gibert from his position and calling a more philosophically inclined pastor, Desmons, to the Bordeaux church.[48]

Pastor Gibert's open defense to his church is quite touching for he loved his flock dearly. The address reveals the charges which were leveled at him. Writing in October, 1770, the pastor painfully sought to refute the accusations. It is noteworthy that Gibert had incurred his congregation's wrath by stating that philosophy was useless in religion. "I suffered grief for having said that man is incapable of doing any good without having faith, and that philosophy is useless in religion. I proved that what I taught conformed to our confession of faith. . ."[49] The philosophy which the congregation cherished could be nothing but that of the Enlightenment. And what effect did that philosophy have upon the congregation? The answer to this question comes to us in a letter written three years later by Pastor Barre to Pastor Desmons, Gibert's successor. In passing, Barre commented, "the matters which you wish to treat are very essential. I think that you have an infinite number of decided deists in your town. I judge this by the small place which we inhabit."[50] The philosophy of the Enlightenment so inextricably involved with deism had swept into this Calvinist church. Furthermore, Gibert suffered defamation because he repeatedly

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[48]Poland, p. 245.

[49]"Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, XXXI (1882), 399.

[50]"Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, IXX-XX (1870-1871),34.

preached the same subject, that being Jesus Christ.[51] It is little wonder that Gibert was deeply grieved that he had lost his congregation's backing on such grounds.

What is perhaps more portentious in terms of the total Calvinist Church was that no one came to Gibert's aid. Not a pastor raised his voice in Gibert's behalf during the various synods. The letters of several pastors indicate that they were aware of the case but totally apathetic to it.[52] We can assume that Gibert's old fashioned Christianity did not measure up to the intellectual stimulus and allure provided by the new philosophy. Gibert wrote to Pastor Desmons in this regard in 1774, from his new home in London. Referring to a letter in which Desmons had called Gibert's teaching "matières oubliées," Gibert exploded: "I am not able to persuade myself that you call that some forgotten matters; of if they are forgotten, Christianity is in a sad state: for it is here the summary of the doctrine of Saint Paul, that we are saved by grace, by faith, and that not of ourselves, but it is the gift of God. We are saved only by grace: to forget the matter of grace is to forget the only way to salvation."[53] If Gibert's case stood alone, we might remain unconvinced as to the existence of a movement away from traditional Calvinist doctrines. However, Pastor Monod of Lyons was also removed from his pastorate because he preached concerning dogma rather than waxing eloquent on the popular and safer grounds of morality--a "philosophic" theme song.[54]

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[51]"Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, XXXI (1882), 400.

[52]"Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, IXX-XX (1870-1871),34.

[53]Ibid., 72.

[54]Poland, p. 245.

But again we must remember that a great number of pastors remained content in the difficult game of reconciling Christianity with the philosophy of the Enlightenment during the ten to fifteen years following the recouping of the Calas fortunes in 1765. Perhaps their plight was far worse than the pastors and congregations whose sympathies were outwardly deistic, for men such as Gal-Pomaret seemingly little realized the dangers of the Enlightenment philosophy for Calvinism. Compromise and reconciliation was his solution. He wrote to Pastor Desmons of Bordeaux in May of 1773 that,"We are in an age when it is necessary to sacrifice the little forts in order to defend the big forts. . ."[55] Compromise was also the key word for Pastor Paul Rabaut who could proclaim in 1768, "In this age more than in any other, it is necessary to simplify, to cast aside all accessories, this done, it will be to the tastes of the philosophes and be within the reach of the people, who are not at all capable of comprehending, and still less of discussing, that multitude of articles of which religion is composed and to which most are foreign."[56]

Then there was probably a remnant of little known pastors whose letters have not survived for posterity's perusal, but who diligently aspired to hold true to their Calvinist faith with all the vigor they could muster. Such was often a difficult task when their neighboring colleagues, perhaps more eloquent and respected, yielded to the allure of the "philosophy" of the Enlightenment which was sapping the vitality

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[55]"Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs," BPF, XVIII (1869), 341.

[56]Pouthas, Vol. 169, 75, footnote 3.

of the Calvinist Church in France. Overall the Enlightenment did act as a catalyst for our fifth effect--a shift in doctrine away from staunch Calvinism by the Huguenot pastors.

In summary, we have noted several types of "philosophic" influence thus far in our analysis. In Chapter I, it was pointed out that the "philosophes" influenced the Protestants directly through the Calas Case and others, and indirectly through their writings on toleration. The net effect of this influence was positive in that it tended to foster greater liberty for the Huguenots. In this chapter we sought to show that in addition to bringing "de facto" toleration for the Calvinists, the "philosophes" also ushered in an era during which Protestant pastors drank deeply of Enlightenment philosophy. Then we noticed that at least five effects of this influence had subversive effects upon Calvinist pastors. This influence of the "philosophes" during the fifteen years following the rehabilitation of the Calas name was of negative value. It now remains to discover the results of these two contradictory developments upon the Huguenot Church on the eve of the French Revolution.

CHAPTER III

THE INFLUENCE OF THE "PHILOSOPHES" UPON THE HUGUENOT CHURCH ON THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

As we have seen, Enlightenment philosophy began to affect the Huguenot Church at about the same time the Church gained "de facto" toleration from the government. The transitional period to which we refer began about 1757 after which the Huguenots experienced no furthere intense persecutions. Times were improving.

Nor were the Huguenots to endure always even this moderately repressive situation under "de facto" toleration. Through the efforts of several disciples of the "philosophes" such as Malesherbes, Breteuil, Lafayette and Rabaut St. Etienne, the Calvinists approached the glorious moment when they would have governmental recognition. The heroic struggles of many generations were to be capped by the ultimate symbol of victory over intolerance--the Edict of Toleration of 1787. However the pathetic condition of the Protestant church upon the eve of and following the Edict of Toleration robbed the sweetness of the victory. It revealed the enervating quality of the "philosophes" influence upon the Calvinists of France apart from their positive contributions in winning toleration. It is the chronicle of the "victory" and "decline" of the 18th century Huguenot church which we seek to relate in this phase of our study.

In this regard, several questions confront us: 1. Briefly, how was the Edict of Toleration of 1787 accomplished in Roman Catholic France? 2. What was the condition of Huguenot church life from the days of the Calas Case to the Edict of Toleration and thereabouts? 3. Recognizing that the "philosophes" had greatly influenced the pastors of France, did the influence of the philosophers have any causal relationship with the poor condition of the Protestant church on the eve of its "victory?" A concluding evaluation of our findings will round out our discussion of these questions.

Our first query, the otherwise perplexing question--how was the Edict of Toleration of 1787 achieved in Roman Catholic France?--is not so enigmatic when one understands that France of the 1780's was a more tolerant place than even fifty years before. The "philosophes" had done their work well and in general the French public had been won to the concepts of toleration and fraternity.[1] Notwithstanding the hostility of a portion of the Roman Catholic clergy, the way was prepared for the official governmental recognition of the Huguenots.

But one major hurdle blocked this last step. Through some means Louis XVI had to be persuaded that such a move for toleration would be advantageous to Royal self-interest. To create the rationale for such persuasion, a coterie of individuals with "philosophic" learnings coalesced. The major figures of this group were Lamoignon de Malesherbes, le baron de Breteuil, the Marquis de Lafayette and Pastor Rabaut St. Etienne.

Of these, Malesherbes' role was most important. A man who liked to think of himself as a moderate disciple of the "philosophes," Malesherbes

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[1]Charles Dardier,"Le centenaire de l'Édit de Tolérance de 1787." BPF, XXXVI (1886), 523.

knew much about the Protestant predicament for in 1775 he had replaced Saint Florentin as secretary in charge of the religious problems of France.[2] As a theorist, Malesherbes sought to win the King's approval of toleration by sagely propounding the thesis that Louis XIV never meant to render all Protestants without civil liberties by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Rather Louis' intentions had been diverted by the devious tactics of his over zealous advisors--his Jesuit confessor, Père le Tellier, and his military leader, Louvois.[3] This thesis was ennuciated in Malesherbes' work, Mémoires sur le mariage des protestans (1785). The purpose of the thesis was to suggest that Louis XIV would have been dismayed to survey the Huguenot situation of the 18th century, for the "Sun King" had wanted to eliminate the Protestants as a state within a state--not to make them outlaws of society.[4] If such were the case, then Louis XVI would merely be righting a wrong if he approved an Edict of Toleration. However specious the argument, there is no doubt that Louis XVI was influenced by it.

As Louis XVI began to succumb to Malesherbes' reasoning and that of Breteuil, another cabinet minister who expounded similar arguments, the time approached for more direct action. Lafayette, the French hero of the American Revolutionary War, was to inaugurate this final phase

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[2]John C. Allison, Lamoignon de Malesherbes: Defender and Reformer of the French Monarch, 1721-1794 (New Haven: 1938), p. 14.

[3]Poland, pp. 77-78.

[4]Charles Dardier, "Le centenaire de l'Édit de Tolerance de 1787," BPF, XXXVI (1886), 523.

of the struggle. A confidential letter, written in 1785, to his war-time colleague, General George Washington, reveals how seriously Lafayette involved himself in the Huguenot problem. "The Protestants, they say, have been submitted to an intolerable despotism. Although at present there is no open persecution, they depend on the caprice of the King, of the Queen, of Parlement, or of a minister. Their marriages are not legal, their testimonies carry no force before the law, their children are considered bastards, their persons worthy of the gallows. I wish to bring about a change in this situation. . . It is a work which demands time and which is not without inconvenience for me, because no one would give me written opinions or sustain any support whatsoever. I am running a chance. . . Do not make any comments about this, other than the fact you have received my letter in code brought by M. Adams (John Adams)."[5] Lafayette had another cause. He must have been quite happy.

With Malsherbes' concurrence, Lafayette traveled south to Nîmes where he conferred with Pastor Paul Rabaut and his son, Pastor Rabaut St. Etienne. In secret arrangements, Pastor St. Etienne, a man thoroughly engrossed by the writings of the "philosophes," agreed to represent the Huguenot church in the last rounds of the struggle for toleration.[6] The stage was set for the final push. The year was 1786.

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[5]Pierre Grosclaude, Malesherbes, témoin et interprète de son temps (Paris, 1963), p. 568.

[6]Ibid., p. 569.

Back in Paris, Lafayette went to work immediately. He re-echoed an earlier appeal of Robert de Saint Vincent, by asking for Protestant toleration in the Assembly of Notables of which he was a member. His motion was approved and submitted to Louis XVI. After a vacillation, Louis conceded and appended his signature to the Edict of Toleration on November 17, 1787--an edict drawn up by Malesherbes with the aid of Lafayette, Breteuil, and Pastor Rabaut Saint Etienne. The edict was registered by the Parlement of Paris the next January.[7]

At last the Protestants were to have a token measure of governmental recognition, for the preamble to the Constitution accorded to the Huguenots the rights that no one could refuse them their civil state or the right to register their births, marriages, and deaths.[8] Although many Protestants did not believe the Edict to be liberal enough in its guarantees, yet the disciples of the "philosophes"--for such were Malesherbes, Breteuil, Lafayette, and Pastor Rabaut St. Etienne--had created the opportunity for this piecemeal guarantee of freedom. "Victory" was achieved in Roman Catholic France, but it was to be a victory marred by elements of deep discord and dismay, a subject of our second question.

In approaching our second question--what was the condition of church life from the days of the Calas Case to the Edict of Toleration in 1787?--we understand that we have partially answered it in the foregoing discussion which described the influence of the "philosophes"

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[7]Charles Dardier, "Le centenaire de l'Édit de 1787," BPF, XXXVI (1886), 524.

[8]Ibid., p. 525.

upon the Protestant pastors. It was shown that the pastors were infected with the philosophy of the Enlightenment and manifested this condition by attempting to reconcile Christianity with philosophy. Yet as far as the actual state of the church synods and congregations, we have said little. Just what was the situation? Until the year 1760 the instructions of synods to Calvinist assemblies were usually characterized by requests for days of prayer and fasting to indicate the submission of Protestants to temporal authority and to beseech God for the deliverance of the Church from persecution. But after that date, the complaints were unending concerning the "extreme corruption which is creeping into the Church."[9] This change in conditions is very interesting in that it coincides almost perfectly with the relaxation of persecution and the creation of the"alliance" between the "philosophes" and the Huguenots. It is not being implied that the philosophers of the Enlightenment were wholly responsible for the downward slide of the Church, but there are some relationships to be drawn as will later be demonstrated.

There is little doubt that the Protestant church was undergoing a metamorphosis of a harmful nature in terms of its sustenance as a vibrant Calvinist body. Although the amelioration of persecution allowed open assemblies, the regular meetings of the synods of each province, an increased wealth among the middle-class parishoners, and an opportunity for new intellectual explorations, problems were springing up which could not be overlooked.

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[9]Poland, p. 224.

One of these problems was the spread of the spirit of irreverence and irreligion. As early as March 10, 1763, the Synod of Bearn reported, "it has been noticed that a great deal of irreverence and lack of devotion have manifested themselves in our assemblies during the reading of Holy Scriptures, the singing of psalms, and the recital of catechisms. The Assembly, deeply concerned at these abuses, exhorts and beseeches the faithful to mend their ways. . . "[10] Evidently the symptoms of the problem were quite widespread. Jeannette Philippine Leclerc, a Huguenot woman raised in Germany, visited the Reformed Church in Montauban in 1773. Her observations, both amusing and poignant, portrayed many features of a Protestant worship service which a Frenchman would not have noticed. "I was scandalized at the lack of decency which reigned in this assembly; they speak very loud in spite of the censors of two or three of the elders. It is impossible to quiet these people, the greatest chatterers there are in the world. Old people got on their feet to embrace others who arrived, and in rising, they walked on the feet of the unfortunate ones who found themselves in their way. I was stepped on five or six times without daring to complain. . . These people do not know how to keep quiet; chatterers they are born, chatterers they live, chatterers they die."[11] Although some of these comments appear petty, they indicate that the fervor of religious devotion was diminishing at least in these areas.

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[10] E. Hugues, Synods du Désert, II, 288.

[11] "Montauban en 1773-1774, Trois Lettres de Jeannette-Philippine Leclerc," BPF, LII (1903), 65-66.

The reasons for this perilous change were many but one prime reason stood out over the others in some pastors' minds. These pastors realized that the Church had bought tranquility at a dear price--the inevitable relaxation of religious devotion and morality. In consequence several pastors were deeply concerned by the encroachment of levity and irreligion accompaining the new toleration. Pastor Paul Rabaut wrote to Chiron in 1776,that "this liberty, which so many of our people have desired, I fear it as much as I desire it."[12] Seven years later Pastor Desmons of Bordeaux told a friend in England that "it would be true to say that the recent calm has been more baleful for us than the persecution of old. . . In fact, the more favors the Church has received from the government, the less piety there has been within it . . .Persecution purifies the faith of the congregation, and the blood of martyrs has always been the seed of the Church."[13]

But the silly noisiness of a few parishioners as described by Jeannette Leclerc should not have evoked such drastic statements. Some other more debilitating forces must have been at work to warrant them. Indeed such was the case. The repetition of prescriptions in the Calvinist synods is proof of this: there were multiple sanctions against blasphemes, immodesty, baptismal and marriage disobediences.[14] The Consistory of Nîmes, a Protestant stronghold, had to adopt on September 12, 1782, rules for combatting the abandonment of church services and also for eliminating the bad example given "to the flock" by "the people

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[12]Pouthas, Vol. 77, 169 (Janvier-Juin, 1932), 77.

[13]Poland, p. 221.

[14]Poulthas, Vol. 169, p. 77.

of first degree."[15] Times were becoming so loose that it was even necessary to remind pastors to wear their robes when officiating at services. Many of the consistories throughout France had degenerated to the point that their members envisioned the day when their services would no longer be needed. The synods were in such bad shape that even Paul Rabaut, a leading Calvinist spokesman, despaired as early as 1775 whether the synods would survive. He lamented, "The court will never recognize our synods which are so tumultuous and which can become so easily political assemblies. But what value do they have for us? Did they make the happiness or the security of our fathers? Do they make our happiness? What will our churches win by conserving them?"[16] Surely the Church was in a dangerous condition if both its spiritual and organizational under-pinnings were being swept away.

Another grave problem, of a more telling nature, was a thinning in the ranks of the Huguenot Church. Again Madame Leclerc's observations elucidate the situation for they show that the prosperous middle-class was abandoning the church as early as 1773. "The people of the middle-class--there are many of them--have for the most part abandoned the exterior acts of the divine cult to the common people; they believe that they degrade themselves to commune in public . . .but they believe themselves wronged forever if they lack a card game or the comedy, which by parenthesis is said to be very evil."[17] Elsewhere Madame Leclerc

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., pp. 77, 78, Footnote 4.

[17] "Montauban en 1773-1774, Trois Lettres de Jeannette-Philippine Leclerc," BPF, LII (1903), 66.

sarcastically mocked the pseudo-worship of those prosperous Protestants who attempted to replace regular worship with what could be more aptly described as a religious "country club party." "Most of those who call themselves protestants, and there are many of them from the better families, go neither to the sermons nor to the masses, in that they fear the worship place with which they are associated. Some of them invite the ministers to their homes, and there, after having assembled 15 or 20 of their friends and having had supper together, the minister while all are digesting their food, delivers a sermon and gives them communion. You will confess that this is strongly edifying! In place of the assembly, they also commune in the afternoon so that they will not disturb the sleep of the devotees."[18] Likewise the General Consistory of Nîmes reported in 1782 that, "our religious assemblies have greatly diminished in the last few years; they are no longer frequented by persons of high standing at all, who at the most attend only on the days of solemnities."[19] The eminent American scholar, Burdette Poland, who has analyzed the Huguenot Church during this period, confirms the theory that church membership had begun to wane for he propounds the fact that the Protestant church in France had passed beyond the zenith of its spiritiual and numerical strength by the 1780's.[20] A few new churches were being built, but on the whole church attendance was beginning to dwindle.

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[18] Ibid., p. 69.

[19] Poland, p. 245.

[20] Ibid., p. 249.

The ground of statistics is quite soft in this regard for great disputes have raged concerning the number of Protestants apart from Lutherans who lived in France during the second half of the 18th century. Without narrating all the nuances of these debates it can be stated that, according to the most authoritative estimate of the Huguenot population in 1760, made by the editor of the journal, Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme, there were 593,307 Calvinists in France.[21] However by 1802 the minister of the interior for the Consulate estimated that there were 479,312 Calvinists in France within the 1789 frontiers.[22] Regardless of the probable inexactness of these figures, and remembering the trying Revolutionary experience of calculated dechristianization which the Huguenot Church endured, it is difficult to presume that the loss of 100,000 members could possibly reflect a progressive church from the year 1760 to 1787, the year of the Edict of Toleration. Burdette Poland sees no reason why the Church did not grow correspondingly with the French population during this period. Yet he gives no statistics or proof to re-enforce this theory, nor does the theory correspond with the testimony of contemporaries which we have already cited, or even with some of Poland's own remarks.[23] We conclude that the Huguenot Church on the eve of the Edict of Toleration was suffering at least some numerical decline in terms of its membership.

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[21]N. Weiss, "Statistique du protestantisme francais en 1790," BPF, XXXV (1886), 473.

[22]Armand Lods, "Notes statistiques: Paris, Mai 1681-Recensement officiel inédit de 1802," BPF, XXXIX (1890), 159-161.

[23]Poland, p. 286.

Nor were the leaders of the congregations, the pastors, faring very well at this time. Pastor Astier, a man with a blameless record and known for his sanctity, spoke out against the pathetic spiritual state of the pastorate just a few years after the Edict of Toleration. His charges were numerous: 1. Many pastors do not fulfill their duties, a great number of them being indolent and lax. 2. A large number of the present pastors have neither the abilities nor the virtues to acquit their duties with dignity. 3. Fathers and mothers are destining their children to the ministry with the sole purpose of securing an honorable position for them. 4. Many of the young people who are preparing for the ministry spent their youth as libertines or in consuming their time in learning that which they would never teach. 5. Yet many of the men presently in the ministry are plunged in crass ignorance of the Calvinist faith, listening not to the words of God, but rather teaching the commandments of men.[24] It took courage for Astier to make such an indictment when the tides of the sea were swelling against him.

Yet another feature of the Huguenot Church on the eve of toleration was its new attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church. This new attitude was one of reconciliation and toleration. The extreme bitterness between the Calvinist Protestants and Roman Catholics which had commenced during the Reformation and had been nourished on the religious wars, and had lingered through the greater portion of the eighteenth century, was largely dissipated. Of course there were some exceptions to this new policy of toleration particularly among the leaders of both clergies. Nonetheless a rather wholesome movement was afoot to end the

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24E. Arnaud, "Quelques Sermons du Désert de France," BPF, XXXV, (1886), 520.

bloody history of hostility. As early as 1770 Pastor Gal-Pomaret wrote to Voltaire that he was having some success in bringing tranquility to his religiously divided town. "Pastor as I am, Monsieur, in a village divided between Protestants and Catholics, I attempt with all my strength to reconcile them on the points of faith which divide them, for I know no other way to succeed but to establish at least among them a reciprocal commerce of good offices. I have even the satisfaction of seeing that I am not working uselessly and for me that is the most delightful of all spectacles."[25]

Evidently the trend toward conciliation between Protestants and Catholics continued for Monsieur Levy Schneider made an analysis of the movement and concluded that at the end of the ancien régime the Protestants had for the most part "abdicated all hatred against catholic society, and all thought of revolt against the royalty."[26]

While worthy in itself, this new toleration for Roman Catholics created yet another problem for the vitiated Protestant Church--a problem associated with the dwindling membership in the Church. According to Pastor Desmons, many of the Protestants were actually becoming Roman Catholics themselves--the lure of gaining acceptance and respectability pulling them to this estate.[27] Social respectability was of such a

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[25]Theodore Besterman (ed.), "Gal-Pomaret à Voltaire," Voltaire's Correspondence, Letter 15096, 74, 24.

[26]Francis Galabert, "Les sentiments des protestants au début de la révolution," BPF, LI (1902), 151.

[27]Poland, p. 250.

high premium for the new Protestant elite that they would go even to this extent --the abandonment of their faith--to gain it. As Alice Wemyss a British scholar noted in her doctoral dissertation, the more wealthy Calvinists' great ambition was to become "francais comme les autres," even if it meant becoming a Roman Catholic.[28]

Before 1760, marriage with Roman Catholics was considered anathema by most Calvinists. But as the trend toward better relations with the Roman Catholics gained momentum, there was an increasing number of mixed marriages as evidenced by the numerous prohibitions of the synods against these marriages.[29] The centuries old antipathy between the two Christian bodies was being worn away by the movement toward toleration.

Were not some of the old-guard pastors of France aware of the disasterous straits into which the Protestant church had fallen in the 1780's? They were most certainly. Pastor Gal-Pomaret on the eve of the Edict of Toleration had completely lost the optimism and joy which he had gained from the victory of the "philosophes" in the Calas Case. Rather the aged pastor of the desert, who had tasted the sweet fruits of toleration turn sour in his own mouth, bewailed the rampant apostacy. The year was 1786--twelve months before toleration--when he wrote, "Where is the religion of our divine Master? Who is motivated by his spirit? Who speaks his language? Who does his works? One sees in the Christian world a general apostasy when these diverse questions are asked. Oh! never have we ever had such a great subject to tell . . ."[30] Pastor

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[28]Alice Wemyss, Les Protestants du Mas-D'Azil (Toulouse:1961),p.187.

[29]Pouthas, Vol. 160, 77.

[30]D. Benoît, "Les Pasteurs et l'Échafaud Révolutionnaire, BPF, XLIII (1894), 584.

Desmons, a man of wavering faith, sadly declared, "The Protestants are neither persecuted nor free. It would seem that this state would preserve them from falling off. But ambition loses some: they seek (public) honors and they feign being Catholics. Lack of zeal takes the others, and they are Protestants without making an open profession of their faith; and at least they do not attend public worship, and they do not communicate."[31] Only two years after toleration was won he declared that "persecution is less deadly, a thousand times, than a treacherous tolerance which would furnish our enemies with the means of lulling us to sleep in a fatal secularity."[32] The conclusion is unavoidable that the Huguenot Church, while appearing outwardly prosperous because its members were becoming respected citizens of the French society, was suffering from a creeping decay.

We have scanned in brief fashion the bad state of affairs which characterized the Huguenot Church on the eves of both the Edict of Toleration and the French Revolution. It now remains to answer our third crucial question in relationship to our study: Recognizing that the "philosophes" had greatly influenced the pastors of France, did the influence of these same philosophers have any causual relationship with the poor condition of the Protestant Church? The answer to this question is definitely in the affirmative when the safeguard is added that other factors were also responsible for the "decline" of the Church.

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[31]Poland, p. 250.

[32]Ibid., p. 222.

The first of these other factors has already been mentioned--the inevitable relaxation of religious devotion and morality following a period of intense persecution when the faith of the faithful is all important. A second factor which was of perhaps more significance was the matter of an internal feud between the Calvinists over a plan for re-organization of ecclesiastical authority. In his excellent work, French Protestantism and the French Revolution, Burdette Poland described the nature of the dispute in this way: "As a concomitant to the social fissures within the Church there developed a growing conflict within the Church's administration between an aristocratic group on the one hand and a decentralized, lay, and democratic group on the other."[33] In the ensuing scuffle the egos of many Calvinist leaders were rankled, but the debate was not of a nature to subvert the whole Church. A third factor of high import was as R. R. Palmer classified it the growing allegiance of the Frenchman to the state.[34] The state was replacing the Roman Catholic Church and the Calvinist Church as the sole authority. According to Palmer the state was responsible for the new toleration in that it could deal with people most effectively, not as Catholics, Protestants, and Jews, but as citizens of France. If this were true, it would be but natural that Protestants, as they became more patriotic, would loosen their grip on Calvinistic tenets of theology and standards of morality in order to grasp the new religion of nationalism. Undoubtedly these three factors give some valid explanations for the "decline" of the Calvinist Church, but just as emphatically, they do not tell the whole story.

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[33]Poland, pp. 227-228.

[34]R. R. Palmer, Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France (Princeton, 1939), p. 10.

The fact of the matter is that the teachings of the Enlightenment must have furnished another and perhaps very important reason for the "decline" of the Church. Why is this so? Combining the total effect of the three factors we have enumerated above, they still would be unable to muster the force to demolish the Huguenot Church in such a way as happened during the twilight of the Ancien Régime. The mere relaxation of persecution, joined by the disruptive thrust of an internal feud, could not destroy the foundations of a well-weathered Church so rapidly. Nor could the power of a nascent nationalism be the sole explanation in that the Church was foundering some twenty years before the "souffle" of the Revolutionary spirit was engulfing most objects in its path. We propound the theory that again the influence of the "philosophes" played an important part in determining the fortunes of the Huguenot Church--and again in this instance the influence was negative.

The reasoning for our assumption develops from another condition of Calvinist society around the time of the Edict of Toleration, that of deism being expounded openly by Calvinist pastors. Simply spoken, many pastors of the Protestant community had adopted the deism of the Enlightenment. No longer were they content merely to attempt the reconciliation of Calvinism and Enlightenment philosophy as Gal-Pomaret, Soulier, Barre, Desmons, and others had been. Rather, many of the "new generation" pastors, ordained after the Calas Case, were out and out deists--thoroughly immersed in Enlightenment philosophy. These men were to see the dechristianization process of the French Revolution.

Examples of these individuals are numerous. Perhaps the best known was Rabaut St. Etienne who lead the Protestants in their last grueling struggle for toleration. A hero to the Calvinists, and an eloquent speaker, St. Etienne possessed beliefs which were complementary to deism. Listen to him preach a sermon entitled the"Superiority of Christianity." "The Christian religion is nothing more than natural religion revealed to mortals and confirmed by Jesus Christ."[35] Hear his prayer to reason: "Oh divine Reason, precious gift of God bestowed on man as the counterpoise to his weakness, you, whom the throng of mortals abandon and who dictate your peaceful lessons to dutiful Christians who listen to you, come preside in this assembly of Christians! Let your voice be heard in our midst, and let our hearts rally in throngs beneath your standards."[36] As for direction in life coming from the Holy Spirit, such a condition was not acceptable for Rabaut St. Etienne. Rather his reason was his conscience as Rousseau had postulated. "Our conscience is neither the secret voice of God which makes itself heard in our souls, nor a judge placed within us to whom our being should be submitted; it is nothing other than the judgment which our soul or our reason places in our actions, in such a manner that when one says that a man consults his conscience, it is as if he were saying that he consults his reason; when one says he acts in spite of the voice of conscience, he is saying that he acts against the counsels of his reason; when one says he experiences remorse, it is the same as saying that he

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[35]Pouthas, Vol. 169, 74.

[36]Ibid.

is reproached by reason. Once again our conscience is our reason."[37] From Rousseau we pass to Diderot's and Condillac's influence upon St. Etienne. "All our ideas come to us from our senses, that is to say, that our spirit has no other thought, no other reflection, no other sponsor than that which is given to it by the body."[38] No longer did Rabaut St. Etienne speak of the Calvinist doctrine of natural depravity for "our passions, criminal in their excess, are innocent in their principle." "Because our passions are no other things than our needs and that these needs which have been given by the creator, are inseparable from our nature."[39] As Charles Pouthas, a renowned French scholar has so aptly put it, Rabaut St. Etienne surrendered himself to the winds of thought of the century--the philosophy of the Enlightenment.

Nor was Rabaut St. Etienne alone in his sentiments for other pastors likewise possessed deistic frames of reference. Pastor Lasource of Roquecourbe provides another excellent illustration. Born on January 22, 1763, Lasource was raised in the Huguenot "Désert" and then went to seminary in Lausanne, Switzerland--a rather typical experience for Calvinist pastors. He later was to serve in the Legislative Assembly and the Convention during the Revolution.[40]

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[37]Pouthas, 74.

[38]Ibid., 75.

[39]Ibid., 75.

[40]Camille Rabaud, "Lasource, Député a la Législative et à la Convention," BPF, XXXVIII (1889), 27.

Lasource's sermons for all his talent generally lacked the Christian unction from on high. His messages bore the mark of an orthodoxy watered down by pure intellectualism and the reigning philosophy of the day. As one scholar Camille Rabaud described it, "The religion of Voltaire and of Rousseau, which became the general opinion, invaded even the sanctuaries themselves. Priests and pastors sacrificed more or less to the God of the day. A return to the rigid austerities of the old theology had been subverted on the deistic milieu. It is no longer any question than of the 'Supreme Being,' of the 'architect of the universe,' of the Grand Being."[41] Continuing Rabaud remarked that the Gospel had evaporated as a perfume from a vase since all the sermons of the age bore the same imprint stamped with the markings of Rousseau and Voltaire.[42]

Another minister, Pastor Molines, left the pastorate in 1790 to become the president of the revolutionary club of Ganges. This was one of his prayers which indicates what he must have taught during the years he was a pastor. 'Without temples, without altars, without priests, and without kings, we raise to you the prayer of free men who wish no other temple than the vault of heaven, no other altar than a pure soul, no other sacrifices than social virtues, no priesthood other than Reason, no masters other than the Law, no God but you the Supreme Being, and la PATRIE."[43]

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[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] "Priere de l'homme libre au Dieu de la Nature et de la Liberté. Ganges, 1790," BPF, XLVIII (1899), 244.

Yet another pastor, Jean Julien, confessed in 1793 that before he left his pastorate in Toulouse during the year 1789, "I have never had any ambition other than seeing the reign of Reason and Philosophy established on earth. Minister of a cult long proscribed by the barbarity of our laws, I openly preached the maxims of universal tolerance. As such I worked for the advancement of the torch of Reason which one day was to enlighten my fatherland, and I am pleased at having seen the day when beneficient Philosophy, mother of all social virtues, has made all Frenchman a nation of brothers."[44] For Julien as for other pastors the guiding beacons of philosophy and reason were the sole means of illumination on the path toward a more civilized and just society--not the Christianity of dogmatic Calvinism.

When the cataclysm of the French Revolution wrenched French society, it met little resistance from the Protestant clergy. The revolutionary partisans stress on the worship of reason complemented the emphasis of many Calvinists who had been well conditioned by the teachings of the "philosophes." In fact so strong were many pastors' sympathies with the Revolutionary movement that fifty-one pastors out of a church which possessed but a few more than a hundred pastors forsook the Protestant ministry because it still was thought to possess some vestiges of fanaticism and intolerance.[45] Admittedly, the strong pressures of patriotism and brute force had been brought to bear, but the Calvinist Church proferred little resistance to the popular deism

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[44]Poland, p. 212.

[45]Ibid., p. 206.

and atheism of the day. In fact resistance was impossible, for the Church's vitality had long been sapped by the philosophy of the Enlightenment and the deism associated with it.

But for what reasons do we postulate that a belief in deism acted as an enervating agent upon the Huguenot Church? In the first place and very simply deistic doctrines were clearly not in consonance with Calvinist theology. Deism's stress upon an unknowable, impersonal God, who set the world in motion only to let it run on its own, was contrary to the Calvinist conception of a God who knows when the tiniest little sparrow falls to the ground and who correspondingly would be very concerned with the affairs of men's existence. Nor did the deists concur with Calvinists who propounded that God had revealed Himself in human form through the person of Jesus Christ. Furthermore the Calvinist positions affirming man's natural depravity, his need for reconciliation with God through spiritual rebirth, and the acceptance of divine inspiration for the Scriptures, were antithetical to the deists. Therefore it becomes readily apparent that if many Calvinist pastors became deists as was the case, then naturally they contravened their Calvinist theology to do so. Furthermore, major portions of congregations sometimes followed their pastors direction in this regard. Such was the case in the town of Mas-d'Azil where according to the foremost scholar concerning the Protestants in that area, Alice Wemyss, the whole society was deistic and fostered the preaching of morality in such vague terms that those remaining orthodox Calvinists would not be offended.[46]

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[46]Wemyss, p. 186.

Not only did deism subvert Calvinist theology, but it also paved the way leading to the other desperate conditions which characterized the Huguenot Church on eve of official toleration. The dangers from preaching moral platitudes by the pastors readily hastened the decline of church membership to which we earlier alluded. Since there were material disadvantages for being a Protestant, many Calvinists wondered what value there was in continuing in their religion when they could hear the same thoughts presented in literary salons or in revolutionary clubs.[47] Consequently some Protestants merely drifted away from the Church because it had nothing significant to offer them but economic and social disadvantages. In addition, as tolerance became the key word of the Enlightenment, marriage restrictions of a religious nature and issuing from seemingly fanatical prohibitions, appeared outdated. Thus arose the surge of Calvinist-Catholic marriages. As to the apparent decline of Calvinist Church's morality, it has also been attributed to the skepticism and deism of the Enlightenment by such scholars as Burdette Poland, Charles Pouthas, and others. The reasoning is that when church members no longer need to worry about the penalty of sin, God's watchful eye, or the Last Judgment--beliefs destroyed by deism--then a slide in terms of traditional morality was bound to occur. In short, we quickly discern that the deism which struck deep into the heart of the Calvinist Church dealt practically a mortal blow to the Huguenots at the moment of their greatest victory--the Edict of Toleration and the years which followed.

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[47]Poland, p. 249.

Furthermore, it is likely that our analysis of the influence of the "philosophes" upon the Huguenots has validity for great segments of the Calvinist population and not just for scattered local assemblies. The rationale for this statement is derived from the evidence already cited in this study--the warnings and reports in the national Calvinist synods concerning the perilous condition of Huguenot Church re-enforced by specific illustrations--and from the fact that the Huguenots possessed in their numbers perhaps one-half of all literate Frenchmen of the day.[48] As educated individuals they had easy access to the writings of the "philosophes."

An additional confirmation of the theory that the Huguenots were submerged in the new intellectualism garnered from their readings, comes from the descriptions of two leading scholars. A. Aulard describes the Huguenots as a body in these terms: "They (the Huguenots) were much valued in the intellectual society which today we would term liberal, in circles where the writings of the "philosophes" were read. . . they were, one may say, esteemed not only as martyrs, as victims of depotism, but as guardians of true evangelical morality, or as a kind of rationalistic Christians. . ."[49] On the other hand, Louis Mazoyer's analysis emphasizes both the Huguenots' new affluence and indoctrination by the "philosophes" which resulted in the loss of their faith's vitality.

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[48]Poland, p. 150.

[49]A. Aulard, Christianity and the French Revolution, translated by Lady Frazer (Boston, 1927), pp. 24-25.

"Thanks to the riches which their life of labor furnishes them, the middle-class Protestants are able to acquire a culture. The spirit of their religion is tolerant; their faith loses from day to day its flame; they have let themselves become penetrated by philosophical ideas."[50] It is difficult to deny that the Huguenots were influenced by the "philosophes" and that this influence was one of the main reasons the Calvinist Church "declined" during a period in which "victory" was to have been achieved. The prize of toleration was won but small was the remnant which could utilize it to increase their joy in worshipping the God of Calvinist theology. These Huguenots were a new breed.

Throughout most of our discussion we have noted two recurring strains of the "philosophes" influence upon the Huguenots--their aid in winning toleration and their investment of Enlightenment thought into Calvinist doctrine. The former benefited the Huguenots and the latter subverted their theology and morality, at least from the Calvinist perspective. Yet the Huguenots cross-bred both strains into their Church for it seemed that the two were almost inseparable. The net result could be but one--confusion and frustration. Therefore it is little wonder to discover the straits of the Calvinist Church on the eve of the French Revolution.

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[50]Louis Mazoyer,"Essai critique sur l'histoire du Portestantisme à la fin du XVIII siècle," BPF, LXXIX (1930), 40.

Perhaps a fitting way to demonstrate the confused condition of the Calvinist Church would be to recount the first exercise of the "cult réformée" at Paris in 1791.[51] Here we find lucidly presented both the strains of the "philosophes" influence--toleration and the religious manifestation of Enlightenment philosophy, deism. Again the result is confusion. An anonymous observer described the service in this way. The meeting was held in the abandoned church of Saint Louis du Louvre. At first the observer was startled by what he saw at the front of the building. On the frontispiece of the temple the Calvinists had written in great letters--"The Year of Jesus Christ 1791 and the Second of Liberty."[52] As he looked around, he noticed that the crowd was quite large there being many Calvinists, but that there were far more "philosophes" who were curious to enjoy the first act of tolerance. In the sermon, the minister leading the service, Pastor Marron, himself a deist, recalled all the good features of the Huguenot constitution, the intolerance of past centuries, the bad times and persecutions of the Reformed Church, and in particular his own family, for he had married the daughter of the unfortunate Calas. Then Marron praised the "philosophes" or "lumières" because through their efforts they had "undermined the empire of superstition and dealt a mortal blow to tyranny."[53]

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[51]"Premier exercise public du culte Réformé à Paris en 1791," BPF, XXXV, (1886), 512.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Armand Lods, "L'Église réformée de Paris pendant la Révolution, 1789-1809," BPF, XXXVIII (1889), 361.

In closing he addressed a prayer "à l'Être supreme," and the service ended. This service graphically symbolizes the influence of the "philosophes" upon the Huguenots, for in it we comprehend that a "Calvinist" pastor gave thanks for toleration to a deistic god. The "philosophes" influence was great indeed.

In summary, we have briefly related how the Calvinist "victory" was won in the Edict of Toleration of 1787. Then we surveyed the condition of the Huguenot Church on the eve of this "victory" and found that the "victory" was, for the main, abortive because the Church was splitting at its seams. Lastly we analyzed various explanations of the "decline" of the Huguenot Church and concluded that the influence of the "philosophes" was a major contributing factor for the confused station of the Church and even its decline. In closing, we shall evaluate our findings and draw some conclusions from the chronicle which has been presented.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis of the relationship between the Huguenots and "philosophes" has revealed two recurring strains of philosophic influence for the Calvinists. The first influence was one involving the "philosophes'" efforts to eradicate the religious intolerance under which the Calvinists were forced to live in France. The second revolved about the infusion of the "philosophes'" thought into the bloodstream of the Calvinist Church. We concluded that the first influence was positive whereas the second had negative implications for the Huguenot Church.

In regards to the second influence two comments of clarification would be appropriate. In the first place, our judgment that the influence of the "philosophes'" thinking upon Huguenot doctrine and life was negative, is formed from the Calvinistic perspective. In other words any variance from the orthodox Calvinist norm would naturally be viewed as of detrimental value from the Huguenot standpoint. However this does not imply that the "philosophes'" influence was in fact actually evil, for an evaluation of that sort is wholly dependent on one's own philosophical frame of reference. Thus those individuals who are in sympathy with the teachings of the Enlightenment would declare that the influence of the philosophers was in reality salutary, for it mitigated the strength of the Calvinists' dogmatism and propensity to fideism. But again, from the Calvinist position the intellectual influence was negative.

Secondly, the question arises in our mind whether it would have been more advantageous for the Huguenots to have disdained the "philosophes'" aid because this assistance created the entree for the other philosophic influence of an enervating nature. In response to this question two observations are relevant. First, it is recognized that speculative queries of this variety have little real significance in historical studies, but are asked nonetheless. Secondly, this question is compromised by the fact that the Calvinists could have scarcely hoped to have remained isolated from the "philosophes'" influence, for the impact of the philosophers' presence upon French society was immense and difficult to avoid. It was almost inevitable that the Huguenots, who as a body were quite literate, would become immersed in Enlightenment thought.

In conclusion, Charles Coquerel probably came closest to a correct evaluation of the paradoxical "philosophe"-Huguenot relationship when he wrote, "The principal interest of the churches (Calvinistic) then became that of defending themselves against the philosophes, who were excellent auxiliaries but uncomfortably domineering."[1]

As we have seen, the Calvinists paid a price for entering into this "unnatural alliance" with their "philosophic" allies. The price was that of a great weakening of the Huguenot Church. Was the cost too great? This question is left up to the reader for its answer depends on his own system of values.

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[1]Coquerel, II, 538.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Primary Sources:

The data for this study was drawn from both primary and secondary materials. Undoubtedly, the author's most valuable and frequently used source was the periodical, Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme francaise, 110-Vols. (Paris, 1853-). This periodical (cited in the footnotes as BPF) was created by the Société du Protestantisme francais in 1853, a group whose purpose was that of "collecting and making available to the public all unedited and printed documents bearing on the history of Protestant churches of the French language." As such the periodical, which is published on a quarterly basis (most recent volume, 109-110, 1963-1964), is indispensible for students of the French Huguenot Church.

For this paper the author researched both articles and primary source documents from the Bulletin. Of the primary materials the following collections proved most helpful: 1. Correspondence of the Calvinist pastors--"Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs, Au sujet des églises réformées de France," BPF, XVIII (1869), 333-345; "Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs, Au sujet des églises réformées de France," BPF, XXXI (1882), 398-407; "Lettres écrites par divers pasteurs, Au sujet des églises réformées de France," BPF, IXX-XX (1870-1871), 33-39; "Lettre inédit de Gal-Pomaret à Voltaire, et réponse de Voltaire, 1776.", BPF, VIII (1859), 484-486. 2. Observations of contemporaries concerning the Huguenot Church--"Correspondance inédite de J J.-Rousseau Au sujet

des protestants de France persécutés, 1764.", BPF, III (1855), 319-330; "Montauban en 1773-1774, Trois lettres de Jeannette-Philippine Leclerc," BPF, LII (1903), 59-72; "Premier exercise public du Culte Réformée à Paris en 1791," BPF, XXXV (1886), 512. 3. Religious expressions of the Calvinists--E. Arnaud, "Quelques sermons du Désert de France," BPF, XXXV (1886), 516-524; "Prière de l'homme libre au Dieu de la Nature et de la Liberté, Ganges, 1790." BPF, XLVIII (1899), 242-244; Francis Galabert, "Les sentiments des protestans au début de la révolution Addresse des non-catholiques de Montauban à l'Assemblée nationale (Janvier, 1790)," BPF, LI (1902), 151-157.

Another valuable primary source for information regarding the internal condition of the Huguenot Church was the set, Les Synodes du Désert, Acts et reglements des synodes nationaux et provincaux tenus au désert de France de l'an 1715 à l'an 1793," ed. Edmund Hugues, 3 vols. (Paris, 1891), which encompasses the records and promulgations of the Huguenot synods throughout most of the eighteenth century.

There are several excellent collections of the correspondence and writings of the "philosophes." The standard compilation of Voltaire's letters is found in a 97 volume work, entitled simply, Voltaire's Correspondence, ed. Theodore Besterman (Geneva, 1959). In this edition (cited in the footnotesas Besterman (ed.)) all of Voltaire's letters, numbering in the thousands, are arranged chronologically, allowing one to trace the development of Voltaire's thinking on almost any issue. For Rousseau's letters we turn to a multi-volume set, Correspondance Générale de J. J. Rousseau, ed. Théophile Dufour, 20 vols. (Paris, 1930). To gain some information into Montesquieu's thinking, the beautifully

bound edition, Oeuvres Complètes de Montesquieu, ed. Edouard Laboulaye, 7 vols. (Paris, 1877), is quite adequate. Mention must also be made of one of the Enlightenment's most prodigious works, the Encyclopédie, editors, Jean d'Alembert and Denis Diderot, 17 vols. (Paris, 1757), in which several of the "philosophes" subtly discussed a whole gamut of subjects including the French and Swiss Huguenots.

Secondary Sources:

The classic work written in French concerning the French Huguenots of the 18th century is Charles Coquerel, Histoire des églises du désert chez les protestants de France depuis la fin du règne de Louis XIV jusqu'à la revolution francaise (Geneva, 1841). Although tainted by the author's noticeable Calvinistic bias, Henry M. Baird, The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Vol. II (New York, 1895), remains the standard work in English on the same subject.

However for a more up-to-date study of the Calvinists, this writer turned to Burdette C. Poland, French Protestantism and the French Revolution, A Study in Church and State, Thought and Religion, 1685-1815 (Princeton, 1957). This is a thoroughly documented analysis of the Huguenot Church on the eve of and throughout the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era. This latter work acted as a catalyst for the formulation of some of the major concepts of this thesis.

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In regards to interpretative works concerning the Enlightenment, this writer's attention was first drawn to Carl Becker, The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers (New Haven, 1932-) for an understanding of a major historiographical controversy concerning the "philosophes." An attempted refutation of Becker's thesis that the philosophers of the Enlightenment "demolished the Heavenly City of St. Augustine only to rebuild it with more up-to-date materials.", was found in Peter Gay, The Party of Humanity (New York, 1964). Another

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For broad summaries of the Enlightenment this writer referred to four works, each written by superb scholars: G. P. Gooch, Louis XV The Monarchy in Decline (London, 1956), Isaiah Berlin, The Age of the Enlightenment, The Eighteenth Century Philosophers (New York, 1956), Charles

Frankel, The Faith of Reason (New York, 1948), and Gordon Wright, France in Modern Times,1760 to the present (Chicago, 1960). A workable understanding of the Enlightenment can be gained from reading any of these volumes. However, this writer found the first five chapters of Wright's France in Modern Times, 1760 to the present to be exceptionally valuable. They are five discouses dealing with the features and temper of the age from 1760 to 1799, thus furnishing an excellent background for this thesis. Wright has incorporated much interpretative analysis in the chapters so that one is aware of the historiographical ramifications of his reasoning. In sum this volume is a storehouse of knowledge for the student of the Enlightenment.

In conclusion, a selected listing of some of the more important articles of the Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme francaise should be made. Each one of these was consulted during the research for this thesis: 1. Concerning statistics relating to the Huguenot population--N. Weiss,"Statistique du protestantisme en 1790," BPF, XXXV (1886), 471-472; Armand Lods, "Notes statisque: Paris, mai 1681--Recensement officiel inédit de 1802," BPF, XXXIX (1890), 158-161. 2. Concerning broad descriptions of the 18th century Huguenots--Charles Dardier, "Le centenaire de l'Édit de Tolérance de 1787," BPF, XXXVI (1886), 505-530; "Les Protestants sous Louis XV," BPF, XVIII (1869), 429-435; Louis Mazoyer, "Essai critique sur l'histoire du Protestantisme à la fin du XVIII siècle, " BPF, LXXIX (1930), 33-56. 3. Concerning the Calvinist Church during the French Revolution--Armand Lods, "Les derniers pasteurs du Désert, BPF, XLVIII (1899), 501-504; D. Benoît, "Les pasteurs et l'échafaud révolutionnaire Pierre Soulier,

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