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MEMOIR

OF THE

FRENCH PROTESTANTS,

WHO

SETTLED AT OXFORD, IN MASSACHUSETTS,

A. D. MDCLXXXVI ;

WITH

A SKETCH OF THE ENTIRE HISTORY

OF THE

PROTESTANTS OF FRANCE.

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PREFACE.

THE incidental discovery of an event, in the early settlement of our country, which had scarcely been noticed by any of our historians, and which had nearly passed into oblivion, was the occasion of this Memoir. It was at first designed solely for an account of the French settlement at Oxford;—an occurrence, which is entitled to notice in our early history, and which is peculiarly appropriate to our Historical Collections. An investigation of the subject, with reference to the settlers of Oxford, naturally led to a particular examination of the cause of their exile. The Edict of Nantes, by Henry IV, allowed the toleration of Protestants; the Edict revoking it, by Louis XIV, deprived them of their liberty. This Edict of Revocation was one of the most extraordinary acts recorded in the pages of history; and its effects were the most calamitous and the most extensive of any, perhaps, that can be ascribed to a single act in the administration of any government, either in ancient or in modern times. Beside the many thousands whom it drove from France into all parts of Europe, one Frenchman of distinction, we are told by M. Aignan, went, at the head of his family, even to the Cape of

Good Hope, to found a colony there. It brought, we know, great numbers to America. In tracing the origin and the operation of this disastrous Edict through the French and English historians, it was difficult to resist the inclination to present it in its most prominent character and effects, in connexion with the humble and insulated history of the Exiles of Oxford, and to incorporate even *their* history with that of the Protestants of France. The Memoir, thus insensibly extended, was offered to the MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY; and will appear in the second volume of the third Series of its Collections, now in the press.

Cambridge, 25 April, 1826.

MEMOIR
OF THE
FRENCH PROTESTANTS.

AMONG the numerous emigrations from Europe to New England, since its first settlement, that of the French Protestants has been but slightly noticed, and is now almost forgotten. The history of these emigrants, humble as it may seem, is entitled to preservation. The simplest narrative of the causes and circumstances of their emigration, and of their previous and subsequent fortunes, were enough to render it interesting to every descendant of the early settlers of our country, especially to the descendants of the pilgrims of New England.

Nearly a century and a half ago, these Protestants came from France, to seek an asylum in America. The same cause, which brought our forefathers to these shores, brought them. Both, holding the strictest tenets of the Reformation, were denied the privilege of professing and openly maintaining them. In the one instance, conformity to the requisitions of the Protestant Episcopal church was exacted; in the other, to those of the Roman Catholic. It was to

the last of these that the Huguenots of France were subjected; and when to the distant fulminations of the Vatican succeeded the intolerant edicts of their own princes, they fled, in all directions, from a country where life was insecure, and repose impossible.

The French Protestants, from the first, adopted the principles of that eminent reformer, JOHN CALVIN, who was a native of France. The title of *Reformed* was first assumed by them; and afterwards became the common denomination of all the Calvinistical churches on the Continent.* “The doctrine of their churches was Calvinism, and their discipline was Presbyterian, after the Genevan plan.”† Of this discipline, the judicious Hooker, with no less candour than discrimination, says: “A Founder it had, whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wisest man that ever the French church did enjoy, since the hour it enjoyed him.”‡ This was a just tribute of respect to Calvin, to whom the Church of England, in common with all the Protestant *Reformed* churches, is more indebted for the purity of her doctrines, than to any other single reformer. Although the English church and the New England church rejected his discipline, neither were insensible to the merits of this truly great man, nor forgetful of the eminent service, which he rendered to the cause of truth, and to the Protestant interest.

Notwithstanding the barbarous persecutions of the Albigenes and Waldenses by the Roman Catholic church, “there was not a total extinction of the truth. It was suppressed, but not destroyed. Its professors were dead; but the truth lived; it lay concealed in the hearts of the children of these martyrs, who groaned for a reformation.”§ When learning revived

* Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, iv. 356. Tr. Note.

† Robinson's Memoirs of the Reformation in France, prefixed to his translation of Saurin's Sermons.

‡ Hooker's Eccles. Politie, Pref.

§ Quick's Synodicon in Gallia Reformata, Introd. 2 vols. fol. Lond. 1692.

in France under Francis I. the Reformation revived in that kingdom. Luther began it in Germany, and Zuinglius in Switzerland; a little while after, Calvin was "called forth to be a glorious instrument of it in France. And the Lord owneth him," says the English historian of the French synods, "and his fellow servants, notwithstanding all the storms of Popish rage and fury against them in this great work; insomuch that the whole kingdom is enlightened and ravished with it, and many of the most eminent counsellors in that illustrious senate, the parliament of Paris, do profess the Gospel openly, and in the very presence of their king Henry the Second, though to the loss of honour, estate, and life. It was now got into the court, and among persons of the highest quality. Many nobles, some princes of the blood, dare espouse its cause. The blood of the martyrs proving the seed of the church, and, as Israel of old, so now, the more the professors of the Gospel are oppressed and persecuted, the more are they increased and multiplied."*

The Reformed Protestants in France formed themselves into regular church assemblies; and "it was the great care of the first Reformers to preach up sound doctrine, to institute and celebrate pure evangelical worship, and to restore the ancient primitive discipline."

The Bible was translated by Olivetan, an uncle of Calvin, a minister in the vallies of Piedmont, from the original Hebrew and Greek into the French language; and it "was read in their solemn meetings in the great congregations." It was perused and studied by the nobles and peasants, by the learned and the illiterate, by merchants and tradesmen, by women and children, in their houses and families; and they thus became wiser than their Popish priests, and

*Quick's Synodicon.

most subtle adversaries. Clement Marot, a courtier, and a man of wit and genius, by advice of M. Vatablus, Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Paris, translated fifty of the Psalms of David into French metre ; Beza, the other hundred, and all the Scripture songs ; and Lewis Guadimel, a most skilful master of music, composed those sweet and melodious tunes, to which they are sung even to this day.* Sacred music, thus revived, charmed the court and city, the town and country. The psalms, thus brought home to men's bosoms, and adapted at once to their understanding and taste, were sung in the Louvre, as well as in the Pres des Clercs, by the ladies, princes, and even by Henry the Second himself. To this sacred ordinance alone may be greatly attributed the decline of Popery, and the propagation of the gospel, in France. It so happily accorded with the genius of the French nation, that all ranks and degrees of men practised it in the temples and their families. Children and youth were now catechised in the rudiments and principles of the Christian religion, and could give a good account of their faith, and a reason of their hope. Their pious pastors thus prepared them for the communion table, where they partook in both kinds, the bread and the wine, according to the primitive institution of Jesus Christ.

Although the French Reformed churches were internally improved, and became multiplied throughout the kingdom ; yet they were subjected to the severest trials. So early as 1540, an edict was passed, interdicting the exercise of the Reformed religion, and prohibiting the giving of an asylum to those who professed it, on pain of high treason.

The complaint of Justin Martyr to the Roman emperor, that the Christians were punished with torture and death, upon the bare profession of their *being*

* Quick's Synodicon.

such, might have been made by the Protestants. To be a Huguenot, was enough to ensure condemnation. Whoever bore this name, were imprisoned, arraigned for their lives, and, adhering to their profession, were condemned by merciless judges to the flames. Some of this name and character were murdered in cold blood, and massacred without any legal forms of justice.

Amidst these barbarous cruelties, and in sight of these horrid executions, the pastors of the several churches were inspired with zeal and courage to meet and consult together about the arduous concerns of the Reformed religion. It was in these circumstances of peril and dismay, that the first National Synod was called, and held its session in the metropolis of the kingdom, and at the very doors of the court. This council published a confession of their faith, that the king and the kingdom might know what they believed and practised. It was entitled, "The Confession of Faith, held and professed by the Reformed Churches of France, received and enacted by their first National Synod, celebrated in the city of Paris, and year of our Lord, 1559."* By this Confession, and the Canons of Discipline then framed and adopted, were regulated the faith and practice of these illustrious churches, which embraced very numerous exemplary members, and a vast multitude of faithful martyrs.†

* This Confession is preserved entire in Quick's Synodicon, and in Laval's History of the Reformation in France. Quick says, there were twenty-nine National Synods during the space of one hundred years; the first was at Paris, 25 May, 1559; the last, at Loudun, 10 November, 1659; but he published his work in 1692. Walch, in *Neueste Religion's geschichte*, 1777, says, their National Synods seldom meet. Their last meeting was in 1763. Erskine's *Sketches of Church History*, 1797. ii. 217. Fleury [xxi. 235.] thought it probable, the Confession and Discipline were composed by Calvin.

† The Reformed church in France had more members and martyrs, and of greater quality, than any one of the Reformed churches in Europe. In the National Synod of Rochelle, in 1571, of which Beza was president, the Reformed could count above 2150 churches, and in many of these, above 10,000 members, and in most of these, two ministers, in some, five. In 1581, it

In 1560, admiral Coligny, in the name of the Calvinists of Normandy, presented to the king a petition for the free exercise of their religion. He was the very first nobleman in all France, who dared to profess himself a Protestant, and a patron of the Protestants. In 1561, the king published an edict, purporting that ecclesiastics should be judges of heresy; that whoever were convicted of it, should be delivered over to the secular arm, but that they should be condemned to no higher penalty than banishment, until such time as the General and National Council should determine.* This same year, it was expressly ordered, that the Protestant ministers and preachers should be banished out of the kingdom, and every body prohibited to use other rites and ceremonies in religion, than what were held and taught by the Roman church.† In 1562, war broke out between the Catholics and Protestants, and was carried on with mutual cruelties, under the names of *Royalists* and *Huguenots*.‡ The duke of Guise was assassinated; the king of Navarre was killed at a siege; and 50,000 Protestants were slain.§

This same year, 1562, admiral Coligny attempted to settle a colony of French Protestants in America,

was computed, that their martyrs, within a very few years, had been upwards of 200,000. In 1598, only twenty-seven years after the National Synod of Rochelle, the Protestants had only 706 churches remaining of the 2150, which were flourishing at the time of the Synod.

* Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* xxi. l. 154, § 89, 90. Du Pin, *Eccl. Hist.* (*Abr.*) iv. 94. De Thou, lib. 25.

† Davila, *Hist. of Civil Wars of France*, i. 85.

‡ There are various conjectures concerning the origin of this word. Dr. Maclaîne, the translator of Mosheim, supposed it to have been derived from a French and faulty pronunciation of the German word *eidgnossen*, which signifies *confederates*; and which had been originally the name of that valiant part of the city of Geneva, which entered into an alliance with the Swiss cantons, in order to maintain their liberties against the tyrannical attempts of Charles III, duke of Savoy. "These confederates were called *eignots*, and from thence, very probably, was derived the word *huguenots*." Abbe Fleury was of the same opinion:—"y furent appelés *Huguenots*, du nom des *Eignots* de Genève un peu autrement prononcé." Count Villars, in a letter to the king of France from the province of Languedoc in 1560, calls the Calvinists of the Cevennes, *Huguenots*; and this is the first time that this term is found in the registers of that province, applied to the Protestants. Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 384, *Note d.* Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* xviii. 603.

§ Davila, *ut supra*, and Robinson's *Memoirs*.

where he hoped to provide for them an asylum. Before the commencement of hostilities he had been desirous of securing to them that liberty of conscience in the New World, which was denied to them in the Old. In 1555, by his influence, an attempt was made by the French Protestants, in concert with those of Geneva, to settle a colony at Brazil; and, the following year, fourteen missionaries were sent out by the church of Geneva, to plant the Christian faith in those regions of America. At their arrival, they were received with great joy, and, soon after, their church was formed according to the constitution and usage of Geneva; but through the perfidy of the chevalier de Villegagnon, to whom Coligny had committed the conduct of the enterprise, the project was frustrated. The few French, who remained at Brazil, were massacred by the Portuguese in 1558.* The same design was now revived. In 1562, admiral Coligny, with the permission of Charles IX of France, sent over a small number of Protestants, under Jean Ribault, to Florida. After exploring the southern coast, they entered Port Royal, still known by that name in South Carolina, not far from which they built a fort, which they named Fort Charles; but they soon after abandoned it, and returned to France. In 1564 and 1565, the admiral renewed the attempt to form a settlement at Florida, at the river of May [St. Augustine]; but his colony of French Huguenots were principally massacred, a few only escaping to France.†

A peace had been concluded in 1563; but in 1567, the Protestants, whose rights were daily violated by

* De Bry, AMERICA, P. III. Thuanus. Mezeray. Charlevoix, *Nouv. France*, i. 35. Lescarbot, liv. 2. Fleury, *Hist. Eccles.* xiv. 38—41. Alcedo's *Geog. and Hist. Dictionary*, *Art. JANEIRO*. Brown's *Hist. Propag. Christianity*, i. 3. *Plutarque Français*, tome iii. *Art. VIE DE L'AMIRAL DE COLIGNI*.

† Hakluyt's *Voyages*, iii. 308—362; where are original accounts of these voyages and transactions. Purchas, vols. i. and v. Mezeray's *Hist. of France*. *Plutarque Français*, *Art. VIE DE L'AMIRAL DE COLIGNI*.

new edicts, were compelled to take up arms again, in their own defence. The city of Rochelle declared for them; and it served for an asylum sixty years. They were assisted by queen Elizabeth of England, and the German princes; and, at the conclusion of this second war, 1568, they obtained the revocation of all penal edicts, the exercise of religion in their families, and the grant of six cities for their security.*

War broke out again the same year. Queen Elizabeth aided the Protestants with money; the count Palatine, with men; the queen of Navarre parted with her rings and jewels to support them; and, the prince of Conde being slain, she declared her son, prince Henry, the head and protector of the Protestant cause. She caused the New Testament, the Catechism and the Liturgy of Geneva, to be translated, and printed at Rochelle. She abolished Popery, and established Protestantism in her own dominions. After many negotiations, a peace was concluded in 1570, and the free exercise of religion was allowed in all but walled cities; two cities in every province were assigned to the Protestants, who were to be admitted into all universities, schools, hospitals, public offices, royal, seignioral, and corporate; and to ensure perpetual peace, a match was proposed between Henry of Navarre, and the sister of king Charles. These articles were accepted; and the queen of Navarre, her son king Henry, the princes of the blood, and the principal Protestants, went to Paris to celebrate the marriage, 18 August, 1572.

A few days after the marriage, on Sunday, the 24th of August, St. Bartholomew's day, the horrible plot for exterminating the Protestants was executed. The king called his council together in the queen mother's closet. In the apprehension, that, if the admiral escaped, they should fall into greater perplex-

* Davila, A. D. 1562. Robinson's Memoirs.

ities than ever, it was concluded that both he and all the Huguenots, excepting the king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, should be despatched. They then gave out orders to execute their resolution that same night; and the duke of Guise was made the chief manager. About ten o'clock at night, he sent for the Swiss captains of the five small cantons, and some of the French companies, and ordered them to put themselves all in arms, and to John Charon, Prevost des Marchands, as also to Marcel, who was recently out of that employment, to arm the citizens and first draw them together within some houses, then bring them into the market places, to light flambeaux in all their windows, to wear a white scarf or linen on their left arm, and a cross of the same size upon their hats; and when they were in readiness, then to begin the butchery, at a signal given them by ringing the great bell, belonging to the palace, which was not wont to be used but upon some extraordinary occasion of rejoicing. The orders being given, the duke returned to the Louvre, where the queen's mother, the duke of Anjou, Nevers, and Birague, used their utmost endeavours to resolve the king's mind; for the nearer he came to the moment of execution, the more he was troubled in his soul, so that the very sweat ran down his forehead, and his pulsation was like one in a fever. They had much difficulty to force a positive and precise consent from him; but as soon as ever they had obtained it, the queen mother hastened the signal above an hour, and caused the bell to be rung at St. Germain de l'Auxerrois. When the king heard the signal bell, and the report of some pistols fired at the same time, he was so affected, that he sent orders, they should forbear a while longer. But word was brought back, that they had proceeded too far; and indeed the duke of Guise had caused both the admiral, and Teligny, his son in law, to be massacred in their lodgings;

“and the fierce wolves,” to use the words of Mezeray, “being unchained, and let loose, ran to every house, and filled all with blood and slaughter.” The admiral, inattentive to the presages and premonitions of his firmest adherents, refused to leave Paris, and was himself the first victim of this infamous massacre. He had, only two days before, been wounded by a hired assassin, as he was returning from the Louvre. It was never doubted, says Sully, but that the wound which the admiral received, came from the house of Villemur, preceptor to the Guises; and the assassin was met in his flight, upon a horse belonging to the king’s stable. He was now, on account of that wound, confined to his room, when a party, headed by his implacable enemy, the duke of Guise, broke open the door where he was sitting. At their entrance into his chamber, he showed no signs, either of surprise or terror. His language was becoming a great man, conscious of integrity, and worthy of a Christian, expecting, yet fearless of death. Besme, one of the duke’s domestics, approached him with a drawn sword. “Young man,” said the undaunted, but disabled Coligny, “you ought to respect my age, —but act as you please, you can only shorten my life a very few days.” The barbarian pierced him in many places, and then threw his body into the street, where it was exposed for three days to the insults of the populace, and then hung by the feet on a gibbet. A nobler example of a Christian martyr is rarely to be found in the annals of the church.*

The scene of spoliation and destruction in the city was such, as might better have been expected from Goths or Vandals. Seven hundred houses were pillaged, and five thousand persons perished in Paris.

Of this horrible massacre, Mezeray gives the fol-

*The admiral lodged in the street Betisy in an inn, which is called at present the Hotel S. Pierre. The chamber where he was murdered, is still shown there. *Note*, by the editor of Sully’s Memoirs.

lowing description. "It lasted seven whole days; the three first, which were from Sunday, the Feast of St. Bartholomew, till Tuesday, in its greatest fury; the other four till the Sunday following, with somewhat more of abatement. During this time, there were murdered near five thousand persons, by divers sorts of deaths, and many by more than one; amongst others, five or six hundred gentlemen. Neither the aged, nor the tender infants, were spared, nor women great with child. Some were stabbed, others hewn in pieces with halberts, or shot with muskets or pistols, some thrown headlong out of the windows, many dragged to the river, and divers had their brains beaten out with mallets, clubs, or such like instruments. Seven or eight hundred had thrust themselves into the several prisons, hoping to find shelter and protection under the wings of justice; but the captains appointed for this execution, caused them to be hauled out and brought to a place near la Valeé de Misere (the Valley of Misery), where they beat out their brains with a pole axe, and then cast them into the river."*

The rage for slaughter spread from Paris to the provinces; and, according to Sully, the number of Protestants massacred, during eight days, over all the kingdom, amounted to seventy thousand.†

The duke of Sully, then in his twelfth year, afterwards the prime minister of Henry IV, was an eyewitness of the massacre of Paris, and narrowly escaped with his life. His own description of it is terrible. "I was in bed, and awaked from sleep three hours after midnight, by the sound of all the

* Mezeray's Chronological History of France, tr. by J. Bulteel, fol. Lond. 1683. P. Daniel says, about 3000 were slain; others say, 10,000. Rapin's Hist. Eng. ii. 102, tr. Strype's Annals, ii. 158.

† Sully's Memoirs, b. 1. p. 31. Robinson and others give a less aggregate number. I follow Sully, who may be presumed to have had the best means of information, at the time. An exact account of the number massacred, either in the city, or in the entire kingdom, could not, perhaps, be ever obtained.

bells, and the confused cries of the populace. My governor, St. Julien, with my valet de chambre, went hastily out to know the cause; and I never afterwards heard more of these, who, without doubt, were sacrificed to the public fury. I continued alone in my chamber, dressing myself, when, in a few moments, I saw my landlord enter, pale, and in the utmost consternation. He was of the Reformed religion, and, having learned what the matter was, had consented to go to mass, to save his life, and preserve his house from being pillaged. He came to persuade me to do the same, and to take me with him. I did not think proper to follow him, but resolved to try if I could gain the college of Burgundy, where I had studied; though the great distance between the house where I then was, and the college, made the attempt very dangerous." Having disguised himself in a scholar's gown, he put a large prayer-book under his arm, and went into the street; where he was seized with inexpressible horror, at the sight of the furious murderers, who, running from all parts, forced open the houses, and cried aloud, "Kill! kill! massacre the Huguenots!" and the blood, which he saw shed, redoubled his terror. He was repeatedly in the most extreme danger; but he arrived at last at the college of Burgundy, where, after imminent peril of his life, the principal of the college, who tenderly loved him, conducted him privately to a distant chamber, where he locked him up. Here he was confined three days, uncertain of his destiny; and saw no one but a servant of his friend's who came from time to time to bring him provisions. At the end of these three days, the prohibition for murdering and pillaging any more of the Protestants being published, he was suffered to leave his cell.*

* *Memoirs of Maximilian de Bethune, duke of Sully, prime minister to Henry the Great* Translated from the French. 3 vols. 3d edit. Lond. 1761. This great man adhered to his religious principles to the last. "My parents,"

For this horrible achievement, a jubilee was appointed at Paris; and solemn thanks were returned to God, as though the sacrifice had been acceptable to him.

This massacre of the *Protestants*, which, among Catholics is but another name for *Heretics*, was considered as a fit subject of joy and triumph at Rome. The pope and cardinals instantly repaired to St. Mark's, to thank God for so great a favour conferred on the see of Rome, and appointed a jubilee over the whole Christian world, for this slaughter of the heretics in France.* A medal, struck by pope Gregory XIII, to consecrate the remembrance of it, presents, on one side, the portrait and name of this pontiff, and, on the other, the destroying angel, armed with a sword and a cross, massacring the Huguenots, with a legend, signifying, "The slaughter of the Huguenots."† In the Vatican, at Rome, there is a tablet, on which is represented the massacre of St. Bartholomew, with an inscription, declaring the pope's approbation of the death of admiral Coligny.‡

The third day after the admiral's death, while the persecution was still, in some measure, carried on against the Huguenots, the king, attended by all the princes and lords of his court, went to the parliament; and though he had at first, both in his speeches and letters, imputed the whole affair to a popular tumult, yet he there avowed it as his own doing, and ex-
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says Sully, "bred me in the opinions and doctrine of the Reformed religion, and I have continued constant in the profession of it; neither threatenings, promises, variety of events, nor the change even of the king, my protector, joined to his most tender solicitations, have ever been able to make me renounce it." *Memoirs*, b. 1.

* Thuanus, iii. 140, 152.

† "L'ange exterminateur armé d'une croix et d'une épée, massacrant les Huguenots. Autour on lit ces paroles: Huguenotorum strages." 1572. M. Aignan.

‡ "Ce qu'il y a de bien certain, c'est qu'il a à Rome dans le Vatican un tableau où est représenté le massacre de la Saint-Barthelemi, avec ces paroles: *Le pape approuve la mort de Coligni.*" *Essai sur les Guerres Civiles de France*, prefixed to "La Henriade."

See NOTE I, at the end of this Memoir.

tiated, in a long discourse, upon the reasons why he had commanded all those perpetual rebels (as he styled them) against his person and government to be destroyed. He then enjoined them to proceed, by the examination of the prisoners, against the memory of the dead, to lay open the enormity of their rebellion, and to brand them with infamy, in such a manner as was prescribed and directed by the utmost severity of the law. The parliament willingly accepted the commission, and founded a judicial process against the Huguenots, upon the depositions of the prisoners. They condemned Brequemant and Cavagnes, who were confined in the palace, to have their flesh publicly torn off with red-hot pincers, and their bodies quartered ; commanding also a statue of the admiral to be broken in pieces and burnt, declaring him a rebel, a disturber of the kingdom, a heretic, and an enemy to all good men. Not content with thus cruelly stigmatizing the memory of this great and good man, they ordered his house at Chastillon to be razed to the very foundation, and all his posterity to be deprived of nobility, and rendered incapable of enjoying any office, or possessing any estate in the kingdom of France. The remains of the admiral's body, after receiving the most shocking mutilation and abuse from the populace, were stolen away in the night by two servants of the marshal de Montmorency, and secretly buried at Chantilly. " Thus," says Davila, " died the admiral Gaspard de Coligny, who had filled the kingdom of France with the glory and terror of his name for the space of twelve years."*

* Davila, i. 312. Fleury's Hist. Eccles. xxiii. A. D. 1572.

This great and good man is thus panegyricized in the *Henriade* :

Coligni, plus heureux et plus digne d'envie

Du moins, en succombant, ne perdit que la vie ;

Sa liberté, sa gloire au tombeau le suivit.

The loss of admiral Coligny's papers is extremely to be regretted ; for they would have thrown great light upon the history and the affairs of the Protestants. More than a century and a half after his death, a financier, having purchased some land which had belonged to him, found in the park, several

This massacre threw all the Protestants in Europe into the utmost consternation, especially when they knew that it was openly approved of at Rome. In France, it was followed by internal discord, and civil war.

During these troubles, king Charles IX died at the castle of Vincennes, in the most exquisite torments, and bathed in his own blood. The cruel massacre of St. Bartholomew's day was always in his mind, and he continued to the last, by his tears and agonies, to show the grief and remorse he felt for it.*

Henry III so far favoured the Protestants, that they obtained an edict in 1576 for the free exercise of their religion ; but it was of no avail against the power of a league, formed the same year against the

feet below the surface, an iron box full of papers, which he threw into the fire, as useless. Papers, it is declared, were found, among which was a history of the times, and many memoirs of public affairs ; but all, it is presumed, were suppressed or destroyed. " Mais il est sûr qu'on porta sa tête à la reine, avec un coffre plein de papiers, parmi lesquels était l'histoire du temps, écrite de la main de Coligni. On y trouva ainsi plusieurs memoires sur les affaires publiques " La Henriade, *Notes*, Du Chant. II.

*Sully's Memoirs, b. 1. p. 35. Charles IX died in 1574, in the 25th year of his age. It is affirmed, that soon after the massacre, he was attacked with a strange malady, which carried him off in about two years. His blood constantly flowed, and issued through the pores. It was considered as a divine judgment. " Peu de temps après, le roi fut attaqué d'une étrange maladie qui l'emporte au bout de deux ans. Son sang coulait toujours, et perçait au travers des pores de sa peau : maladie incompréhensible contre laquelle échoua l'art et l'habilité des médecins, et qui fut regardée comme un effet de la vengeance divine." Essai sur les Guerres Civiles de France.

Voltaire dilates upon the fact, in the Henriade :

" Bientôt Charles lui même en fut saisi d'horreur ;
Le remords devant s'eleva dans son cœur.

Le chagrin vint flétrir la fleur de ses beaux jours ;
Une languer mortelle en abrégé le cours :
Dieu, déployant sur lui sa vengeance sévère,
Marqua ce roi mourant du sceau de sa colere,
Et par son châtement voulut épouvanter
Quiconque à l'avenir oserait l'imiter.
Je le vis expirant.

Son sang, à gros bouillons de son corps élançé,
Vengeait le sang Français par ces ordres versé."

NOTE upon this passage, in Chant. III. " Charles IX fut toujours malade depuis la Saint Barthélemy, et mourut environ deux ans après, le 30 Mai 1574, tout baigné dans son sang, qui lui sortait par les pores."

Protestants ; and three civil wars raged during this reign. Henry III annulled the *arrets*, that had been decreed against several of the most distinguished Protestants ; re-established their memory ; and permitted their heirs to enter into possession of their estates. It is grateful to find, that this justice was done to the memory, and the heirs, of admiral Coligny.*

In 1589, Henry III was assassinated. He was succeeded by Henry IV, who had been educated a Protestant, and had been protector of the Protestants. Yielding to the necessity of the times, he professed the Roman Catholic religion before his coronation. It was necessary that he should receive absolution for his previous heresy ; and the pope gave it.† It was this king who granted the Protestants the justly celebrated EDICT OF NANTES. This Edict, which was called “perpetual and irrevocable,” granted to the Protestants liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of religion ; many churches in all parts of France, and judges, of their own persuasion ; a free access to all places of honour and dignity ; great sums of money to pay off their troops ; an hundred places, as pledges of their future security ; and certain funds to maintain their preachers, and their garrisons. It was signed at Nantes, on the 13th of April, 1598, and afterwards sent to be registered in parliament, which published it on the 25th of February, 1599.‡

* Sa Majesté y déclaroit qu'elle n'avoit eu aucune part à la journée de la S. Barthelemi, et qu'elle en étoit très-affligée . . . cassa et annulloit les arrêts portés contre la Mole, Coconas et Jean de la Haye lieutenant de Poitou, réhabilitoit leur mémoire, permettoit à leurs héritiers de rentrer dans leurs biens, et étendoit la même grâce à l'amiral de Coligni, de Briquemaut, de Cavagnes, le comte de Montgomeri, et du Pui-Montbrun. Fleury, xxiv. 45.

† See NOTE II.

‡ Sully's Memoirs, v. i. b. 9. p. 460. Du Pin, Hist. Church, c. 25. Robinson's Memoirs. History of the Life and Reign of Lewis XIV. Lond. 1742, ii. 228. Quick's Synodicon, i. § xv. where the Edict of Nantes is preserved. It contains 92 Articles, and fills 25 folio pages. Mezeray, 866.

France was now in peace, and the free toleration, secured by this Edict, was auspicious to the kingdom. The Protestants applied themselves to the care of their churches; and, having at this time many able ministers, they flourished and increased during the remainder of this reign. "Their churches were supported by able pastors; their universities were adorned with learned and pious professors, such as Casaubon, Daillé, and others, whose praises are in all the Reformed churches; their provincial and national synods were regularly convened; and their people were well governed."* Great pains were taken with the king to alienate him from his Protestant subjects; but in vain. He knew their worth, and protected them until his death. This great prince, who was hated by the popish clergy, was stabbed in his coach by Ravailac, on the 14th of May, 1610. A judicious French historian† thus delineates his character: "France never had a better nor a greater king than Henry IV. He was his own general and minister: in him were united great frankness and profound policy; sublimity of sentiments and a most engaging simplicity of manners; the bravery of a soldier and an inexhaustible fund of humanity. And what forms the characteristic of a great man, he was obliged to surmount many obstacles, to expose himself to danger, and especially to encounter adversaries worthy of himself. In short, to make use of the expression of one of our greatest poets, *he was the conqueror and the father of his subjects.*"‡

Louis XIII, not nine years of age, succeeded his father Henry. The first act of the queen mother, who had the regency during his minority, was, a confirmation of the Edict of Nantes; which was confirmed

* Robinson's Memoirs.

† Henault.

‡ The historian evidently refers to these lines in the *Henriade*:

"Tout le peuple, change dans ce jour salulaire,
Reco' nait son vrai roi, son vainqueur, et son pere."

again, in 1614, by Louis, who promised to observe it inviolably. It was not long, however, before the king, under the influence of cardinal Richelieu, began to make encroachments upon the Protestants, who, though they had resolved, in a general assembly, to die rather than submit to the loss of their liberties, were yet obliged to bear daily infractions of edicts from their oppressors.* Richelieu at length determined, by getting possession of Rochelle, to extinguish their hopes. The city was besieged, both by sea and land. After a long and resolute resistance, the besieged, who had lived without bread for thirteen weeks, were overcome by famine; and of eighteen thousand citizens, not above five thousand were left. This disastrous event, by which the strength of the Protestants was broken, occurred in 1625.

The cardinal suffered the edict to be infringed every day, in the determination not to stop until he should have established uniformity in the church. The affairs of the Protestants were daily becoming more afflictive and perilous. They saw and dreaded the approaching storm; but knew not how to evade it. Some of them fled to England, but found no peace there. Laud, in conjunction with other high churchmen, drove them back, "to the infinite damage of the manufactures of the kingdom," in 1634. Richelieu, in the name of Louis XIII, having, after a seven years' war, taken from the Protestants and destroyed the places that had been given them by the Edict of Nantes as pledges of their future security, they were ever after without any places of refuge, or leader, being divested of all their troops and strong holds.

* Voltaire says, The Huguenots were always quiet, until their adversaries demolished their temples: "Les Huguenots même furent toujours tranquilles jusqu'au temps où l'on demolit leurs temples." *Siecle de Louis XIV.* iii. 30.

Cardinal Richelieu died in 1642. The king died in 1643. The Protestants had greatly increased in number during this reign, though they had lost their power. They were now computed to exceed two millions.* Richelieu had at length become more favourably inclined to toleration, and had formed a project to conciliate the Protestants, and to put an end to the dangerous dissensions between them and the Catholics; but his death prevented its execution.†

Louis XIV succeeded his father. During his minority, the queen was appointed sole regent. The Edict of Nantes was confirmed by the regent in 1643, and again by the king, at his majority, in 1652. No sooner did the king take the management of affairs into his own hands, in 1661, than, following the advice of cardinal Mazarine, of his confessors, and of the clergy about him, he made a firm resolution to destroy the Protestants.‡ In prosecution of his purpose, he excluded the Calvinists from his household, and from all other employments of honour and profit; ordered all the courts of justice, erected by virtue of the Edict of Nantes, to be abolished, and, instead of them, made several laws in favour of the Catholic religion, which debarred from all liberty of abjuring

* Robinson's Memoirs. Hist. of Life and Reign of Lewis XIV, ii. 229. The device for the seal of the National Synods of the Reformed churches of France was taken from the vision of Moses, when feeding his flock under the mount of God: A bramble bush in a flaming fire, having the name of God, *JEHOVAH*, engraved in its centre, with this motto in its circumference, *Consumo non consumor*. "With this seal those venerable councils sealed all their letters and despatches:—a sacred emblem," says Quick, "of their past and present condition." Synodicon, A. D. 1692.

† M. Aignan. "Richelieu avoit formé projet de gagner les Protestans . . . il se promettoit d'effacer dans l'église et dans l'état toute trace de dangereuses dissidences: la mort vint l'arrêter à milieu de cet heureux dessein." M. Aignan, having mentioned as a well known fact, that the French Academy, founded by Richelieu, had conciliated the *literals* of the two religions, affirms it to be not less true, but less generally known, that Richelieu had serious thoughts of separating France from Rome, by the creation of a patriarchate.

‡ M. Aignan says, the clergy, as appears from the papers of their assemblies, had the ruin of the Protestants in view from 1665 to 1685: "Le clergé, comme l'attestent les cahiers de ses assemblées, de 1665 à 1685, s'y prit de loin, par l'entremise de Louvois et de Le Tellier, pour consommer la ruine des Protestans."

the Catholic doctrine ; and restrained those Protestants, who had embraced it, from returning to their former opinions, under severe punishments. He ordered soldiers to be quartered in the houses of Protestants, until they should change their religion. He shut up their churches, and forbade the ministerial function to their clergy ; and where his commands were not readily obeyed, he levelled their churches with the ground.

Those cities, which had given the strongest proofs of their zeal and loyalty for their late king, were first assaulted. On very slight pretences, the assailants fell instantly upon Rochelle, Montauban, and Milhaud,—three towns where the professors of the Reformed religion had most distinguished themselves for the interests of the court. Rochelle was vexed “with an infinite number of proscriptions ; her best citizens driven out and exiled ; and her temple demolished. Montauban and Milhaud were sacked by soldiers.” The king, at last, on the 8th of October, 1685, revoked the Edict of Nantes, and banished the Protestants from the kingdom. In consequence of this revocation, the public exercise of the Reformed religion was entirely abolished in France ; its ministers were obliged to withdraw themselves ; their churches were pulled down ; and all the king’s subjects were obliged either to abjure, or to depart out of the kingdom ; so that, in a short time, there was no other public religion in France, but that of the Catholic church.*

Bishop Burnet was in France this very year, and witnessed the calamities that preceded, and the still more disastrous calamities that followed, the revocation. “I saw,” says the bishop, “that dismal tragedy, which was at this time acted in France. . . .

* Quick’s Synodicon, where this Edict of Revocation is preserved. Robinson’s Memoirs. Du Pin’s History of the Church. Histoire de l’Edit de Nantes. See NOTE III.

The king of France had been for many years weakening the whole Protestant interest there, and was then upon the last resolution of recalling the Edict of Nantes.—M. de Louvoy, seeing the king so set on the matter, proposed to him a method, which, he believed, would shorten the work, and do it effectually : which was, to let loose some bodies of dragoons, to live upon the Protestants, on discretion. They were put under no restraint, but only to avoid rapes, and the killing them. This was begun in *Bearn*.” The people here were thrown into such distress and terror, that, perceiving they must be either starved or imprisoned, and being only required to promise to reunite themselves to the church, and having no time for consultation, they universally complied. Their compliance so animated the court, “that the same methods were taken in most places of Guienne, Languedoc, and Dauphinè, where the greatest numbers of the Protestants were. Upon which the king, now resolved to go through with what had been long projected, published the edict repealing the Edict of Nantes, in which (though that edict was declared to be a perpetual and irrevocable law) he set forth, that it was only intended to quiet matters by it, till more effectual ways should be taken for the conversion of heretics. He also promised in it, that though all the public exercises of that religion were now suppressed, yet those of that persuasion who lived quietly, should not be disturbed on that account, while, at the same time, not only the dragoons, but all the clergy, and the bigots of France, broke out into all the instances of rage and fury, against such as did not change upon their being required in the king’s name to be of *his* religion ; for that was the style every where.

“Men and women,” proceeds the bishop, “of all ages, who would not yield, were not only stript of all they had, but kept long from sleep, driven about

from place to place, and hunted out of their retirements. The women were carried into nunneries, in many of which they were almost starved, whipt, and barbarously treated. Some few of the bishops and of the secular clergy, to make the matter easier, drew formularies, importing that they were resolved to reunite themselves to the Catholic church, and that they renounced the errors of Luther and Calvin. It must be acknowledged, here was one of the most violent persecutions that is to be found in history. In many respects, it exceeded them all, both in the several inventions of cruelty, and in its long continuance. I went over the greatest part of France," says the bishop, "while it was in its hottest rage, from Marseilles to Montpellier, and from thence to Lyons, and so to Geneva. I saw and knew so many instances of their injustice and violence, that it exceeded even what could have been well imagined; for all men set their thoughts on work to invent new methods of cruelty. In all the towns through which I past, I heard the most dismal accounts of those things possible; but chiefly at Valence, where one Dherapine seemed to exceed even the furies of Inquisitors. One in the streets could have known the new converts, as they were passing by them, by a cloudy dejection that appeared in their looks and deportment. Such as endeavoured to make their escape, and were seized (for guards and secret agents were spread along the whole roads and frontier of France), were, if men, condemned to the galleys, and, if women, to monasteries. To compleat this cruelty, orders were given that such of the new converts, as did not at their death receive the sacrament, should be denied burial, and that their bodies should be left where other dead carcasses were cast out, to be devoured by wolves or dogs. This was executed in several places with the utmost barbarity. And it gave all people so much horrou, that, finding the ill

effect of it, it was let fall. This hurt none, but struck all that saw it, even with more horreur than those sufferings that were more felt. The fury that appeared on this occasion, did spread itself with a sort of contagion : for the intendants and other officers, that had been mild and gentle in the former parts of their life, seemed now to have laid aside the compassion of Christians, the breeding of gentlemen, and the common impressions of humanity. The greatest part of the clergy, the Regulars especially, were so transported with the zeal that their king showed on this occasion, that their sermons were full of the most inflamed eloquence that they could invent, magnifying their king in strains too indecent and blasphemous to be mentioned by me."

Bishop Burnet remained at Paris until the beginning of August, and then went to Italy. He staid at Rome, until he received an intimation, that it was time for him to go ;— when he " returned to Marseilles, and then went through those southern provinces of France, that were at that time a scene of barbarity and cruelty."*

The retrospect of Saurin, a son of one of the Protestant refugees, and a celebrated preacher at the Hague, is at once eloquent and historical. " A thousand dreadful blows," said the preacher, " were struck at our afflicted churches, before that which destroyed them ; for our enemies, if I may use such an expression, not content with seeing our ruin, endeavoured to taste it. One while edicts were published against those, who, foreseeing the calamities that threatened our churches, and not having power to prevent them, desired only the sad consolation of not being spectators of their ruin. Another while, August, 1669, against those, who, through their weakness, had denied their religion, and who, not

* Burnet's History of his own Time ; apud An. 1685. Referring to the Edict of Revocation, bp. Burnet says, " As far as I could judge, the affairs of England gave the last stroke" to it. In February, king James declared himself a Papist.

being able to bear the remorse of their consciences, desired to return to their first profession. One while, May, 1679, our pastors were forbidden to exercise their discipline on those of their flocks, who had abjured the truth. Another while, June, 1680, children of seven years of age, were allowed to embrace doctrines, which, the Church of Rome allows, are not level to the capacities of adults, June, 1681. A college was suppressed, and then a church shut up, January, 1683. Sometimes we were forbidden to convert infidels; and sometimes to confirm those in the truth, whom we had instructed from their infancy; and our pastors were forbidden to exercise their pastoral office any longer in one place than three years. Sometimes the printing of our books was prohibited, July, 1685, and sometimes those which we had printed, were taken away. One while, we were not suffered to preach in a church, September, 1685, and another while, we were punished for preaching on its ruins; and at length, we were forbidden to worship God in public at all. Now, October, 1685, we were banished; then, 1689, we were forbidden to quit the kingdom on pain of death. Here, we saw the glorious rewards of some who betrayed their religion; and there, we beheld others, who had the courage to confess it, a haling to a dungeon, a scaffold, or a galley. Here, we saw our persecutors drawing on a sledge the dead bodies of those who had expired on the rack. There we beheld a false friar tormenting a dying man, who was terrified, on the one hand, with the fear of hell, if he should apostatize, and, on the other, with the fear of leaving his children without bread, if he should continue in the faith: yonder, they were tearing children from their parents, while the tender parents were shedding more tears for the loss of their souls, than for that of their bodies or lives.”*

* Saurin, in Robinson's Memoirs. The father of Rev. JAMES SAURIN WAS an eminent Protestant lawyer at Nismes, who, after the Revocation of the

The exclamation of the same preacher, in another sermon on some public occasion, bewailing the miseries of his exiled countrymen, reminds us of the "Lamentations" of the prophet over Jerusalem and his captive brethren at Babylon. The apostrophe to Louis XIV is admirable. "Are our benedictions exhausted? Alas! on this joyful day can we forget our griefs? Ye happy inhabitants of these provinces, so often troubled with a recital of our afflictions, we rejoice in your prosperity; will you refuse to compassionate our misfortunes? And you, *fire-brands plucked out of the burning*, sad and venerable ruins of our unhappy churches, my dear brethren, whom the misfortunes of the times have cast on this shore, can we forget the miserable remnants of ourselves? O ye groaning captives, ye weeping priests, ye sighing virgins, ye festivals profaned, ye ways of Zion mourning, ye untrodden paths, ye sad complaints, move, O move all this assembly. *O Jerusalem, if I forget thee, let my right hand forget her cunning. Not remember thee! Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy! O Jerusalem, peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions' sake, I will now say, peace be within thee!* May God be moved, if not with the ardor of our prayers, yet with the excess of our afflictions; if not with our misfortunes, yet with the desolation of his sanctuaries; if not with the bodies we carry all about the world, yet with the souls that are torn from us!

Edict of Nantes, retired to Geneva. His son, then at the age of ten years, went with his father into exile; and, having finished a liberal course of study, under very eminent instructors at Geneva, visited Holland and England. He staid in England nearly five years, and preached with great acceptance to his fellow exiles at London. In 1705, he returned to Holland, when a chaplainship to some of the nobility at the Hague was offered him, which he accepted. The French church at the Hague afterwards inviting him to become one of its pastors, he accepted the call, and continued in his office till his death, in 1730.

“ And thou, dreadful prince, whom I once honoured as my king, and whom I yet respect as a scourge in the hand of Almighty God, thou also shalt have a part in my good wishes. These provinces, which thou threatenest, but which the arm of the Lord protects; this country, which thou fillest with refugees, but fugitives animated with love; these walls, which contain a thousand martyrs of thy making, but whom religion renders victorious, all these yet resound benedictions in thy favour. God grant, the fatal bandage that hides the truth from thine eyes may fall off! May God forget the rivers of blood, with which thou hast deluged the earth, and which thy reign hath caused to be shed! May God blot out of his book the injuries, which thou hast done us, and, while he rewards the sufferers, may he pardon those who exposed us to suffer! O may God, who hath made thee to us, and to the whole church, a minister of his judgments, make thee a dispenser of his favours, an administrator of his mercy!”*

M. Claude,† a distinguished defender of the Reformed church, referring to the “ dragoons,” who were sent to the Protestants to extort from them an abjuration, says: “ They cast some into large fires, and took them out when they were half roasted. They hanged others with large ropes under the armpits, and plunged them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce their religion. They tied them, like criminals, on the rack, and poured wine

* Id. Sermons, v. 255—257.

† “ The famous Mr. Claude, pastor of the church at Charenton, near Paris, wrote a *Defence of the Reformation*, which all the clergy of France could not answer. The bishops, however, answered the Protestants all at once, by procuring an edict which forbade them to print.” Robinson. An English translation of Claude’s work was printed at London, in 4to. 1683.—Among the eminent divines and men of learning, who were ornaments to the French Reformed church in the seventeenth century, may be reckoned Cameron, Chamier, Du Moulin, Mestrezat, Blondel, Drelincourt, Daillé, Amyrault, the two Cappels, De la Place, Gamstole, Croy, Morus, Le Blanc, Pajon, Bochart, Claude, Allix, Jurieu, Basnage, Abbadie, Beausohre, Lenfant, Martin, De Vignoles, &c.

with a funnel into their mouths, till, being intoxicated, they declared that they consented to turn catholics. Some they slashed and cut with penknives; others they took by the nose with red hot tongs, and led them up and down the rooms till they promised to turn catholics."

These tremendous cruelties compelled eight hundred thousand Protestants to quit the kingdom. The Protestants of other states and kingdoms opened their arms to receive them.* Abbadie, Ancillon, and others fled to Berlin; Basnage, Claude, Du Bosc, and many others, to Holland; Allix, with many of his brethren, to England; very many families, to Geneva; and no inconsiderable number, to America.

It was while the storm was bursting upon them, in the year preceding the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, that the Protestants of Rochelle looked towards America, for an asylum. At an earlier period, indeed, they had applied to the Massachusetts government for this purpose; and, although they did not then avail themselves of the liberty given them, they were *now* encouraged by the remembrance of it. So early as the year 1662, "John Touton, a French doctor and inhabitant of Rochel in France, made application to the court" of Massachusetts, "in behalf of himself and other protestants expelled from their habitations on account of their religion, that they might have liberty to inhabit there, which was readily granted to them."† Their state, it would seem, was tolerable at that time, and they endured it; but, at the time of the revocation, it was evidently insupportable. As they drew nigh that crisis, there were harbingers of "the windy storm and tempest." A declaration against the Protestants in 1681, was the forerunner of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.‡

* See NOTE IV.

† Hutchinson's Hist. Massachusetts, i. c. 2.

‡ Hist. of Lewis XIV. b. 13.

In 1682, the Assembly of the clergy of France issued a "warning to the pretended Reformed," for so they styled the Huguenots, "to return to the bosom of the church."* This menace, with the portentous indications accompanying and following it, must have been sufficient to warn the Protestants of the impending danger, and to incite them to concert measures for escaping it. The asylum, which had been solicited and promised twenty years before, was again sought, and a renewed application made for it, in New England.

By a "Letter, written from Rochel, the 1st of October 1684," to some person in Massachusetts, it appears, that some Protestants in that city were robbed, their temple razed, their ministers banished, their goods confiscated, and a fine imposed; that they were not allowed to become "masters in any trade or skill;" that they were in daily expectation to have soldiers put in their houses, and their children taken from them. The writer observes, that this country, New England, was in such high estimation, that many Protestants were intending to come to it; inquires, what advantage they can have here, and particularly "the boors," who were accustomed to agriculture; and suggests, that the sending over of a ship to transport the French Protestants, would be a profitable adventure.†

* Du Pin, iv. 363. This paper is preserved in *Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes*, v. 139—144. It is entitled, "AVERTISSEMENT PASTORAL de l'Eglise Gallicane assemblée à Paris par l'autorité du roi, à ceu de la R. P. R. pour les porter à se convertir, et à se reconcilier avec l'Eglise." Towards the close of this "warning," is this monitory sentence: "Qui si vous refusez . . . parce que cette dernier erreur sera plus criminelle en vous que toutes les autres, vous devez vous attendre à des malheurs incomparablement plus épouvantables et plus funestes, que tous ceux que vous ont attirés jusqu'à present votre revolte et votre schisme."

† MS. An extract from this letter I discovered among the MSS. in the New England Library, collected by Rev. THOMAS PRINCE, and given by him to the Old South Church in Boston. It is now among the valuable MSS. deposited by that Church in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. See APPENDIX, A.

Whether a vessel was sent, or not, we are unable to determine. The difficulty of escaping from the kingdom, by any means whatever, must have been extreme, and attended with the utmost peril. Every attempt must have been made in the very face of the edict, which prohibited a departure from the realm on the severest penalties. One of the articles of the edict of revocation was: "And we do most straitly again repeat our prohibitions unto all our subjects of the pretended Reformed religion, that neither they nor their wives nor children do depart our kingdom, countries, or lands of our dominion, nor transport their goods and effects, on pain, for men so offending, of their being sent to the gallies, and of confiscation of bodies and goods for the women."

It is certain, however, that a considerable number of Protestants by some means effected their escape from France, and came over to America; and authentic papers, in our possession, seem to imply, that their transportation and settlement were provided for by men of the first distinction in New England.

By the records of the town of Oxford, it appears, that, in the year 1682, the General Court of Massachusetts granted to Joseph Dudley, afterwards governor of the province, William Stoughton, afterwards lieutenant governor and commander in chief, major Robert Thompson, and their associates, a tract of land in the northwesterly part of the province, now known by the name of OXFORD, in the county of Worcester. This tract was "of eight miles square, and situated in the Nipmug country," so called from a tribe of Indians, of that name, in its vicinity. Soon after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the proprietors "brought over thirty French Protestant families into this country, and settled them upon the easternmost part or end of the said tract of land."*

* Oxford Town Records. These Records, reciting the grounds of forfeiture in 1713, say: "The said Joseph Dudley and their associates, in the year

In an original MS. "Delineation of the 'Town of Oxford," lying before me, it is laid out in lots in the names of the original proprietors. Between eleven and twelve thousand acres, at the east end, were "severed, granted, and sett apart for a village called Oxford, for the said Families."*

These imperfect notices are all that we have been able to discover, of the time and the manner of the transportation of the French Protestants to New England. How long they continued on their plantation, what were their occupations, and what their progress in improvements, we have not been able precisely to ascertain. It appears, however, that the united body of settlers continued ten years at least, on the plantation; that they erected fortifications upon it; that they set up a grist mill and a malt mill; that they planted vineyards and orchards—remains of which are still to be seen; and that they acquired the right of representation in the provincial legislature. Of this last fact, the public records preserve the evidence; for in the year 1693, an act was passed by the Massachusetts government, empowering Oxford to send a representative to the General Court.†

Every thing concerning this interesting colony of exiles has hitherto been learnt from tradition, with the illustrations derived from scanty records and original manuscripts. Many of these manuscripts, which are generally written in the French language, were in the possession of Mr. Andrew Sigourney, of Oxford, and the rest were principally procured by Mr. Sigourney for the compilation of this Memoir.‡

168, brought over 30 French Protestant families," leaving the year uncertain. The Rev. Mr. Whitney, in his History of the County of Worcester, says, it was "in the year 1686."

* See APPENDIX, B.

† Mr. Whitney, who takes a very slight notice of the French settlement in Oxford, mentions this act, as appearing "by the records in Secretary's office of the Commonwealth."

‡ Mr. ANDREW SIGOURNEY is a descendant from the first of that name, who was among the original French settlers of Oxford. To his kindness I

The oldest Manuscript that I have seen, is an original paper, containing "Articles of Agreement between Caleb Church of Watertown, mill-wright, and Gabriel Bernon of Boston, merchant," concluded in March, 1689, by which the said Church covenants and agrees to "erect a corn or grist-mill, in the village of Oxford." This instrument was sealed and delivered in presence of J. Bertrand Du . . . [obscure.]

"THO. DUDLEY."

Church's acknowledgment of a receipt "in full following our bargain," is signed at "Boston, 4th Februarii, 168 $\frac{2}{10}$," the witnesses of which were Peter Basset and Gabriel Depont. The Paper is endorsed, "Contract de M^r. Church pour le Moulin de New Oxford."

We can clearly trace the French plantation down to the year 1696; at which time it was broken up by an incursion of the Indians. By original manuscripts, dated that year and at subsequent periods, it appears, that Gabriel Bernon, a merchant, of an ancient and respectable family in Rochelle, was undertaker for the Plantation, and expended large sums for its accommodation and improvement. An original paper in French, signed at Boston, in 1696, by the principal settlers, certifies this fact in behalf of Mr. Bernon; and subjoins a declaration, that the massacre of Mr. Johnson and of his three children by the Indians was the melancholy cause of his losses, and of the abandonment of the place.*

Upon the dispersion of the French settlers from Oxford, it appears, that many, if not most of them, came to Boston. From the distinction which many

am indebted for nearly all my materials for this part of the Memoir. After giving me every facility at Oxford, in aid of my inquiries and researches, he made a journey to Providence for the sole purpose of procuring for me the Bernon papers, which he brought to me at Cambridge. These papers were in the possession of PHILIP ALLEN, Esq. of Providence, who married into the Bernon family; and who has since indulged me with the MSS. to the extent of my wishes.

* See APPENDIX, C.

of the families attained in the metropolis, it may be fairly inferred, that they approved themselves to the citizens, whose hospitality they experienced, and to whose encouragement and patronage they must have been greatly indebted for their subsequent prosperity. They appear to have adhered to the principles, and, so far as they were able, to have maintained the institutions, of religion, according to the Reformed church in France. It was *for* their religion that they suffered in their native country; and to enjoy its privileges, unmolested, they fled into the wilderness. While at Oxford, they enjoyed the ministrations of a French Protestant minister.* Of their religious affairs, however, we have no distinct account, until their settlement in Boston, after the Indian massacre in 1696.

It is well known that the French refugees had a church of their own in Boston, where they, for many years, attended divine service. The Rev. Peter Daillé was their first minister; and he was highly esteemed. He was succeeded by the Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, who is described as "a worthy character." He was the author of "The Church History of Geneva, and a Political and Geographical Account of that Republic," printed at Boston in 1732. By intermarriages and otherwise, it appears that, in process of time, the French families became so blended with the other inhabitants of the town, as to render a separate and distinct religious service either unnecessary, or impracticable; for, in the life time of Mr. Le Mercier, their church was, for some years, unoccupied, and, at length, sold for the use of a new Congregational church.†

Whether the French exiles never dared to return to the plantation from which they fled in such terror and dismay, or whether they became so advantage-

* See APPENDIX, D.

† See APPENDIX, E.

ously settled in Boston as not to wish to return, or whatever were the cause, they never did, as a body, return to Oxford. Permanent inhabitation, it may be presumed, had been a condition of the grant; for the lands of that township reverted to the original proprietors. By the Records of the Town, under the date of 1713, it appears, that the French settlers had "many years since wholly left and deserted their settlements in the said village;" that, upon public proclamation, they had refused to return; and that most of them had voluntarily surrendered their lands. The proprietors, having recited these facts, and farther stated, that "there were sundry good families of her majesty's subjects within this province, who offer themselves to go and résettle the said village, whereby they may be serviceable to the province, and the end and design of the original grant aforesaid be answered and attained," proceed to grant and convey these lands to several persons and others, their associates, "so as their number amount to thirty at least." The instrument of this conditional grant is dated the 8th of July, 1713. The requisite number of associates was obtained; and, about a year and a half after the above date, a distribution was made by lot among the thirty families.*

There are but few relics, or memorials, of the French settlement, now to be found in Oxford. Of these the most interesting are to be seen on a very high hill, which lies in the southwest part of the town, and commands a beautiful and extensive prospect. The village of Oxford beneath, and the rural scenery around, are delightful. The hill is about a mile south of that part of the village, at which is the junction of two great roads leading from Boston, one through Westborough and Sutton, and the other through Marlborough and Worcester; and, after

* See APPENDIX, F.

uniting in one at Oxford, passing through Dudley, Woodstock, Brooklyn, and other towns, to Norwich, in Connecticut. It is called Mayo's Hill, and sometimes Fort Hill, from a fort, built on its summit by the French Protestants. The farm, on which the remains of the fort are, is owned by Mr. John Mayo, whose grandfather, of Roxbury, was the original purchaser. The fort is a few rods from the dwelling house. It was evidently constructed in the regular form, with bastions, and had a well within its enclosure. Grape vines, in 1819, were growing luxuriantly along the line of the fort; and these, together with currant bushes, roses, and other shrubbery, nearly formed a hedge around it. There were some remains of an apple orchard. The currant and asparagus were still growing there. These, with the peach, were of spontaneous growth from the French plantation; but the last of the peach trees were destroyed by the memorable gale of 1815.*

Of the French refugees, who settled in the other American colonies, we have but imperfect accounts. It is well known, that many of them, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and afterwards, settled in New York, Virginia, and Carolina.†

New Rochelle, in the state of NEW YORK, was settled by French Protestant emigrants from Rochelle, in France. A French Protestant Episcopal church was founded in the city of New York by the French Huguenots, soon after the Revocation. Between these refugees and those who came to Massachusetts, it appears by the Bernon papers, there was some correspondence. The historian of New York, about the middle of the last century, says, "The French church, by the contentions in 1724, and the disuse of the language, is now reduced to an inconsiderable handful. The building, which is of stone, nearly a

* See APPENDIX, G.

† See NOTE V.

square, plain both within and without. It is fenced from the street, has a steeple and a bell, the latter of which was the gift of sir Henry Ashurst of London.”* M. Pierre Antonie Albert was a rector of this church in our day. He died in 1806, in the forty-first year of his age.

In 1690, king William sent a large body of French Protestants to VIRGINIA; to whom were assigned lands on the banks of James river, which they soon improved into excellent estates.

Among the colonies in America, which reaped advantage from the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, CAROLINA had a large share. Many of the French refugees, having purchased lands from the proprietors, embarked with their families for that colony, and proved to be some of its best and most industrious inhabitants. These purchasers made a settlement on Santee river; others, who were merchants and mechanics, took up their residence in Charlestown, and followed their different occupations. Carolina had begun to be settled but fifteen years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and these new settlers were a great acquisition to that colony.† It is worthy of remark, that, more than a century before, admiral COLIGNY had attempted a settlement of French Protestants in the territory now called Carolina, then Florida; and that, at length, under the auspices of the English, this same country became an asylum for them, as it had been originally intended by COLIGNY.

It should heighten our respect for the French emigrants, and our interest in their history, to be re-

* Smith's New York. On the front of the church is the following inscription:

ÆDES SACRA
GALLOR. PROT.
REFORM.
FVNDA. 1704.
PENITVS
REPAR. 1741.

† Smith Hist. New York. Allen's Biog. Dict. *Art.* ALBERT. Beverly's Hist. Virginia. Hewatt's S. Carolina, i. 94. Ramsay's Hist. S. Carolina, i. 10.

mind of the distinguished services which their descendants have rendered to our country, and to the cause of civil and religious liberty. Gabriel Manigault, of South Carolina, assisted this country, which had been the asylum of his parents, with a loan of \$220,000 for carrying on its revolutionary struggle for liberty and independence. "This was done at an early period of the contest, when no man was certain, whether it would terminate in a revolution or rebellion." Of the nine presidents of the old congress, which conducted the United States through the revolutionary war, three were descendants of French Protestant refugees, who had emigrated to America in consequence of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. These were, HENRY LAURENS, of South Carolina, JOHN JAY, of New York, and ELIAS BOUNDINOT, of New Jersey.

What became of the Protestants, who remained in France after the catastrophe of 1685, every lover of truth, every philanthropist, every friend to the Protestant church and to pure religion, must be desirous to know. To resume, then, the thread of their history :

By an edict of Louis XV, in 1724, all marriages, not celebrated by priests of the Church of Rome, are declared concubinage, and the children of such marriages, bastards. The laws of France also ordain, that before marriage the parties shall confess, and receive the Lord's supper. As Protestants could not do this without renouncing their religion, and as, since the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, they had been deprived of their churches ; their marriages were solemnized in the open fields, and hence called *Marriages of the Desert*.

So late as the middle of the last century, the Catholic clergy, attended by bailiffs, broke into houses in the night ; destroyed every thing ; tore children, who had reached four years of age, from the

bosoms of their parents, and placed them under the direction and government of monks; the parents being obliged to defray the charge of educating them in a religion which they detested. If children escaped, the father was forced to pay an enormous fine, or to pine away in a gloomy dungeon. From 1751 to 1753, there were many barbarous transactions in France. In 1751, the intendant of Languedoc enjoined, that all children, baptized by Protestants, should be rebaptized in the Roman church; and that the marriages of Protestants should be rendered legitimate only by the priests' subsequent blessing. Men present at religious assemblies were punished with the gallies; women, with perpetual imprisonment; preachers, with the halter. The severe laws, from which these evils arose, remained unrepealed; and the execution of them depended on the humour of bishops and intendants.

Great efforts were made to prevent emigration; yet such multitudes fled from France to avoid these persecutions, that at last the court found it necessary to restrain them; and, from about the year 1763 to the French revolution, the situation of the Protestants became more favourable. "Since that time," says Dr. Less, "the bloody laws which remain in force have not been executed. Protestants are suffered to attend their worship; and their marriages and children are acknowledged legitimate." Before the late Revolution, however, the French Protestants had no preachers, nor religious assemblies in the capital; "for as their freedom of worship rests on indulgence, in opposition to law, they venture not to violate the law, in the presence of the court." Their only public worship in Paris was in the chapel of the Dutch ambassador, where they had two preachers. "Many of the bishops," it was affirmed, "favour liberty of conscience. The present king [Louis XVI] loves his subjects, and hates persecution. The bigot-

ry of the archbishop of Paris, and of some ministers of state, is the chief hindrance of their obtaining a legal toleration; which, by encouraging their marriages, and recalling refugees, would increase the commerce and manufactures of France, and unite the strength of the kingdom.”*

What will be the ultimate influence of the French revolution, and of the restoration of the Bourbon family to the throne of France, upon the cause of civil liberty and religious toleration, it is not for us to predict. The massacre of the Protestants on St. Bartholomew’s day in former time, and the massacre of the Catholics in France in our own day, present lessons to kings, alike instructive and monitory. The last I give in the first words of a Catholic historian: “One hundred and thirty-eight bishops and archbishops, sixty-four thousand curates or vicars, driven from their sees, their parishes, for refusing to take an oath, by which they must have incurred the guilt of perjury and apostasy; all the clergy, all the religious of both sexes robbed of the patrimony of the church, and forced from their retreats; the temples of the Lord converted into capacious prisons for the reception of his ministers; three hundred of his priests massacred in one day, in one city; all the other pastors, who remained faithful to their God, either sacrificed or banished their country, seeking through a thousand dangers a refuge among foreign nations: such is the spectacle exhibited to the world by the French revolution.”†

A more easy and delightful lesson is furnished—if we may be permitted to say it—by our own country. While we reflect with gratitude on that portion of our history which shows, that it has in former time

* Lesse, State of the Protestants in France. Erskine’s Sketches of Church History, ii. Nos. V. and VI.

† History of the Clergy during the French Revolution. By the Abbé BARRUEL. “An impious and wily philosophy had refreshed the remembrance of the history of that terrible night [St. Bartholomew] over which Religion weeps, and Humanity must shudder.” Barruel.

furnished an asylum for the persecuted Protestants, we cannot but highly estimate the constitutions and laws of our commonwealth and of the United States, which secure to all persons, of whatever nation or language, entire liberty of conscience. Nor, while we reflect on the important services which the descendants of the French refugees rendered to us, in the vindication of our liberties, can we forbear to express a wish for the recovery of theirs in the parent country. The disastrous revolution in France, which had nearly prostrated all religion with the throne and the altars, may, by an overruling Providence, be made promotive of the cause of religious liberty. We do hope in God, that the toleration, nominally afforded to Protestants in the present constitution of the French government, is the harbinger of their future freedom. Of our own free constitutions it does not become us to boast ; but, while we are grateful for them, we may be allowed to express the hope, that their *tolerant* principles will be adopted by other nations, whatever may be the form of their government.*

The recent presence in our country of a native of France, who from earliest life has been a zealous and disinterested friend to rational liberty, may justly heighten our sympathies with our Protestant brethren of his nation, as well as our interest in the subject of this Memoir. M. de LA FAYETTE unites the Old world with the New—"nexus utriusque mundi." In both have his patriotic services been devoted to the cause of freedom ; and in neither will the remembrance of them be ever obliterated. The half century celebration of the epoch of our liberties has been a commemoration of his virtues : and the monument, which

* " Il [France] avait sous les yeux l'exemple des Etats-Unis d' Amerique, le seul pays de la terre où fleurisse véritablement la liberté religieuse." Aignan. For a concise account of the state of the French Protestants from the XVth century to the year 1818, the reader is referred to a recent and valuable work, entitled, "De l' Etat des Protestans en France, depuis le XVI siècle jusqu' a nos jours, Avec des Notes Eclaircissemens Historiques ; Par M. AIGNAN, de l' Académie Française. Deuxième Edition. Paris, 1818.

we are erecting in memory of our patriots and heroes, will be a memorial of him.

It is in reference to the cause of the Protestants, that the name of La Fayette is here introduced. On his return to France in 1784, after the successful termination of the American war, Congress resolved, that a letter be written to his most Christian majesty, expressive of the high sense which the United States in Congress assembled entertain of the zeal, talents, and meritorious services of the marquis de la Fayette, and recommending him to the favour and patronage of his majesty. During the year following his arrival in France, finding the minds of his countrymen greatly agitated on questions of political rights, he took part in some of their perilous discussions at once ; on others, he delayed ; but, on all, his opinions were openly and freely known, and on all he preserved the most entire consistency. He very soon united his efforts with those of Malesherbes to relieve the Protestants of France from disabilities, and place them on the same footing with other subjects ; but the time for their freedom had not yet arrived, and his endeavours at this early period were unsuccessful. La Fayette was the first Frenchman, who raised his voice against the slave trade ; and he attempted to form a league against the Barbary pirates.*

While busily engaged in these interests of philanthropy, in February, 1787, the Assembly of the Notables was opened. Of this Assembly La Fayette

* The conduct of this young warrior, in returning from America with his military laurels, and espousing the cause of the oppressed in his own country, is strikingly represented by M. Aignan. The object of La Fayette and his associates, he says, was to obtain permission for the Protestants to be born, to marry, and to die. " Un jeune guerrier qui rapportait d' Amérique des lauriers avoués par la philosophie, un homme par qui toutes les nobles routes du patriotisme nous ont été frayées, M. de la Fayette, s' était concerté avec M. de Malesherbes et avec M. de Breteuil pour qu' il fût permis aux Protestans de naître, de se marier et de mourir.—Mais ces généreuses tentatives étaient prématurées Cependant l' assemblée des notables offrit bientôt à M. de la Fayette l' occasion de renouveler en faveur des Protestans ses patriotiques efforts."

was a member ; and the independent, yet temperate tone, which he held throughout its session, “ gave a marked character to its deliberations.” He proposed the suppression of the arbitrary and odious *lettres de cachet* : HE PROPOSED THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE PROTESTANTS.*

It was not until the reign of Louis XVI, under the ministry of Malesherbes, that the government discovered any disposition to alter the law which respected those who were called “ Non-Catholics.” In 1787, Rabaut de St. Etienne, a Protestant minister, was at Paris. Supposing that something might then be effected in the relaxation of the laws against the Protestants, he applied to the ministry, and received a favourable answer. He was soon after invited, and received in public, as a Protestant clergyman ; and obtained an edict favourable to the Protestants. Upon this acknowledgment of the Reformed church, an immense number ranged themselves under its banners. Nearly a million of people came forward to profess their faith, and to register before the local governments the baptisms and marriages, which had been secretly performed. At the meeting of the States General, in 1789, some Protestants were returned as representatives ; and a decree was passed, that no one should be interrupted in his religious opinions, if the manifestation of them did not break in upon the public peace ; and soon after, all Non-Catholics were permitted to hold civil and military employments in common with other citizens. In 1790, that portion of the confiscated property of Protestants, which had

* North American Review, 1825, *Art.* LAFAYETTE. Aignan. In 1764, La Fayette was at Nismes, where resided Paul Rabaut, a minister, considered as at the head of the Protestants, father of Rabaut de St. Etienne. How sublime the *Dimittis* of this venerable old man, embracing the friend of Washington and cheered with the hope of Protestant Liberty, when contrasted with that of the ferocious Tellier, on sealing the Edict for its extinction, a century before ! “ Le vieillard touchait au terme d’une vie orageuse ; il embrassa comme un sauveur l’ami de Washington, et prononça dans ses bras un *Nunc dimittis* expiatoire de celui du féroce Le Tellier.”

remained unsold after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in the hands of the government, was restored to the heirs of the former possessors.

The government of the National Assembly, which assumed the authority in 1792, declared itself hostile alike to all ministers, who would not disavow the principles of their own profession, and assist in establishing an atheistical system, and partake in the acts of that age of terror.

It was not until 1802, that Christianity could be said to be publicly recognised by the government of France. It was in the consulate of Bonaparte, that the churches were repaired, and religion publicly re-established. Upon reports on this subject, presented by his direction to the different members of the state, was founded a religious establishment, which, while it gave to the Catholics a pre-eminence in the state, afforded to the Protestants a free worship and equal political rights. At that time the dominion of France extended far beyond the limits of the old, or of the present government. It included a vast population of Protestants, principally of the Confession of Augsburg, and also of the Reformed church, belonging to the city of Geneva, and the vallies of Piedmont. In the registry made of the ministers in the empire, it was found that there were 557 attached to the Reformed, and 481 to the Lutheran church, in all 1038 ministers of the two communions; to both of which the same privileges were secured. During the reign of Bonaparte, many of the old and dilapidated churches, which had belonged to Catholics before the Revolution, were given for the Reformed worship; and, as numbers were gathered into this communion, principally from the scattered remains of those which had survived the persecution to which the church had been subjected, new ministers were appointed and paid by the government. The number of these, both in France, and in other parts formerly dependent

upon it, but now separated from it, is stated to have very much increased since the year 1802. No other change of importance has occurred in the situation or circumstances of the Reformed church since the time of Bonaparte. The provisions that had been adopted for its support and security, were included in those fundamental laws, which formed what is called the *Charter*, and which were solemnly recognised when the Bourbons reascended the throne.

There are several circumstances in the present condition of the French Protestant church, which afford an encouraging prospect of its increase and improvement. These are: Its comparative toleration by law; the increasing distribution, within it, of the Word of God; the soundness of its institutions; the large number of its ministers; the extension of its adherents over the whole kingdom—amounting, it is supposed, to upwards of a million; and the influence of Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies.* If the reign of the present king of France shall be as distinguished by justice, as the reign of the king, whose name he has assumed, was by cruelty, to the Protestants; the memory of Charles Xth will be perpetuated with glory. Should the hopes of our French Protestant brethren be not fulfilled; if the fiery ordeal must again be passed; our prayer for them is, that they may have the “good will of HIM who dwelt in the bush,” and that, with the faith of their forefathers, they may resume their seal, with its appropriate motto, I BURN, I AM NOT CONSUMED.

*“History, present Condition, and Prospects of the French Protestant Church,” in the *Christian Observer*, vol. xxv, for the year 1825.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

NOTE I. p. 13.

MASSACRE AT PARIS, 1572.

A RESPECTABLE German, who visited Rome about the middle of the last century, describing the paintings in one of the apartments of the Vatican, says: "Here is also Vasari's piece of the perfidious massacre of Paris; which has its name from St. Bartholomew's day, on which it was perpetrated. Formerly these words were inscribed under it: *Strages Hugonotorum*, 'The slaughter of the Hugonots;' and on the other side: *Necem Coligni Rex probat*, 'The king approves of killing Coligni.' But Rome itself seems to be ashamed of that execrable inhuman procedure; this inscription having some years ago been covered with a little gilded border. This, however, will remain in history as an indelible blot on Gregory the Thirteenth's character, namely, that he applauded those bloody nuptials of Henry of Navarre, by a medal he caused to be struck, which on one side had this legend: *Ugonottorum Strages*. Under a smaller picture (near that mentioned above) where the wounded admiral is carried along, these words are still legible: *Caspar Colignius Amiralus accepto vulnere domum deferitur*. *Gregorio XIII. Pontif. Max. MDLXXII*. Over against this is a person half naked, which was without doubt intended for Henry IV. of France, in a submissive posture before the pope. Some of the inscription under this picture has likewise been erased; all that remains of it now is,

"*Gregor . . . Ecclesia . . . supplicem et penitentem absolvit.*"
Travels through Germany, Italy, &c. By J. G. Keyser, F. R. S. Lond. From the German, Lond. 1757, v. ii. *Art. ROME*.—Medals were struck, having on one side the king sitting on a throne, and treading on dead bodies, with the motto, *Virtus in rebelles*; and on the reverse, the arms of France crowned between two columns, and *Pietus excitavit Justiciam 24 Augusti 1572*. There is a print of this medal in P. Daniel, tom. viii. 786.

NOTE II. p. 16.

ABSOLUTION OF KING HENRY IV.

Keyser observed, at Rome, a memorial of the absolution of Henry IV. During the ceremony, the staff in the hands of the

pope was used in a very uncourteous manner upon the shoulders of the king's representatives, and of the cardinals du Perron and d' Ossat, "who were kneeling at his feet." Though cardinal d' Ossat often repeated, "that nothing passed in the absolution in the least derogatory to the king's prerogative, few impartial readers will take his word for it. His delay in sending an account of this singular circumstance betrays some fears of the censures that might be passed on it; and that he would have been much better pleased, if it could have been entirely concealed from the *French*. It was, however, publicly known in France, with all its ignominious circumstances, before the papal court had published the narrative of this extraordinary absolution.

"In the area before the church of St. Anthony is a cross of oriental granate, with a crucifix of brass on it; and at its side the Virgin Mary, of the same metal, under a canopy supported by four granate pillars. This is a memorial of the mass celebrated in this church by Clement VIII, on the conversion of Henry IV, king of France, to the Romish religion. On the pedestal of this pillar there was formerly this inscription:

D. O. M.

Clemente VIII. Pont. Max.

Ad memoriam absolutionis

Henrici IV. Franc. et Navarr.

Regis Christianissimi.

Q. F. R. D. xv. Kal. Octobris.

MDXCV.

But about twelve years since it has been thought fit to erase this inscription." Keysler, *ut supra*.

An oration was pronounced at Rome before pope Gregory XIII, by Antony Muretus, in praise of Charles IX, in which he blesses that memorable night in which this accursed slaughter was committed; extols the king, the queen-mother, and the brethren of the king, for the share they had in this execrable work; and calls the pope himself *most blessed Father*, for his going in procession to return thanks to God and St. Lewis for the welcome news when brought to him.*

* "O noctem illam memorabilem, et in fastis eximie alicujus note adjec-tione signandam! . . . Qua quidem nocte stellas equidem solito nitidius arbi-tror, et flumen Sequanam majores undas volvisse, quo illa impurorum homi-num cadavera evolveret et exoneraret in mare. O felicissimam mulierem Catharinam regis matrem, que cum tot annos admirabili prudentia parique sollicitudine regnum filio, filium regno conservasset, tum demum secura regnantem filium adspexit! O regis fratres, ipsos quoque beatos!—O diem denique illum plenum letitie et hilaritatis, quo tu, Beatissime Pater, hoc ad te nuncio allato, Deo immortalis, et Divo Hludovico regi, cujus hæc in ipso pervigilio evenerant, gratias acturus. . . . Quis autem optabilior ad te nuncios adferri poterat? aut nos ipsi quid felicius optare poteramus principium pontificatus tui?"

NOTE III. p. 20.

EDICT OF REVOCATION, 1685.

Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes, contenant les choses les plus remarquables qui se sont passées en France avant et après sa publication à l'occasion de la diversité des Religions; et principalement les Contraventions, Inexecutions, Chicanes, Artifices, Violences, et autres Injustices, que les Reformez y ont souffertes jusques à l'EDIT DE REVOCATION, en Octobre 1685. Avec ce qui a suivi ce nouvel Edit jusques à present. 5 vols. 4to. Printed at Delft, 1695. In this History, a copy of the original is inserted, entitled, "Edit du Roi, qui revoque celui de Nantes, et tente ce qui s'est fait en consequence, et defend tout tous exercice public de la Rel. P. R. dans le Royame."—At the close of the Edict: "Donné à Fontainebleau au mois d'Octobre, l'an de grace 1685, et de nôtre regne le 43. Signe, LOUIS. Et a côté: Et sur le repli visa, LE TELLIER. Et a côté: Par le Roi, COLBERT. Et sealées du grand Seau, de cire verte, sur lacs de soye rouge et verte." The author of this "Histoire" demonstrates, that the Edict of Nantes was to be irrevocable, and ought to have been perpetual. Le Tellier, the high chancellor of France, expressed extreme joy when he put the seal to the Edict of its Revocation. But it was the last act of his life; "for no sooner did he return from Fontainebleau to his own house, but he fell sick, and died in a few days."—Quick's Synodicon. Voltaire recites the fact, and makes this just reflection; that he knew not he had sealed one of the greatest evils of France: "Le vieux chancelier le Tellier, en signant l'edit s'écria, plein de joie: *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum.* Il ne savait pas qu'il signait un des grands malheurs de la France."—Siccle de Louis XIV, ch. 36. Dr. Maclaine observes, that some late hireling writers, employed by the Jesuits, have been audacious enough to plead the cause of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; but that, to the honour of the French nation, those impotent attempts to justify the measures of a persecuting and unrelenting priesthood, have been treated almost universally at Paris with indignation and contempt. NOTE to his Translation of Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. v. 354. But at what time he made this observation does not appear. The first edition of his Translation is dated "Hague, Dec. 4, 1764;" my copy is "London, 1803." Dr. Maclaine was pastor of the English church at the Hague, where he married the daughter of Mr. Chais, the minister of the French Protestant church. He continued at the Hague till the troubles of 1796, when he went over to England, and retired to Bath, where he died in 1804. For a true state of the losses which the French nation sustained by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, we are referred to "État de la France,

extrait par M. le Comte de Boulainvilliers des Memoires dressée par les Intendans du Royaume, par l'ordre du Roi Louis XIV, à la sollicitacion du duc de Bourgogne :” and, for an account of the conduct of the French court towards the Protestants at that dismal period, to the incomparable memorial of the learned and pious Claude, entitled, “*Plaintes des Protestans de France.*”

NOTE IV. p. 27.

FRENCH REFUGEES, 1685.

The number of exiles, or refugees, is variously stated by different historians. Hume says, “Above half a million of the most useful and industrious subjects deserted France, and exported, together with immense sums of money, those arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom.—Near fifty thousand refugees passed over into England.” *Hist. Eng.* c. 70. One hundred and fifty of the exiled ministers went to London. Voltaire says, one of the suburbs of London was entirely peopled with French workers in silk. It is an observation of Robinson: “Had England derived no more advantage from its hospitality to the refugees than the silk manufacture, 1698, it would have amply repaid the nation.” To the honour of the English government and people, they have always been hospitable and generous to distressed Protestants. Even in the reign of king James the Second, large collections were made for the French refugees; and at the Revolution, William and Mary, who, while they were the prince and princess of Orange, had been bright examples for that charity, were distinguished for it after they became monarchs of Britain. At king William’s accession, the parliament voted fifteen thousand pounds sterling annually to be distributed among such of the French fugitives, as either were persons of quality, or were, through age or otherwise, unable to support themselves. To the French refugees, Anderson says, England owes the improvement of several of its manufactures of slight woollen stuffs, linen, paper, glass, and hats; the silks, called *alamodes* and *lustrings*, were entirely owing to them; also *brocades*, *satins*, and other silk fabrics, and black velvets; also watches, cutlery ware, clocks, surgeons’ instruments, &c.

An account of the truly Christian reception of the French refugees at Geneva, and in the electorate of Brandenburg, may be found in *Le Mercier’s Church History of Geneva*, and “*Histoire de l’Etablissement des François Refugiez dans les Etats de son Altesse Electorale de Brandebourg;*” Berlin, 1690. The prompt and liberal measures of the elector Frederick William, in behalf of the refugees, entitle him to the high commendations, bestowed

upon him in the last named work. He instantly provided not merely for the safety of their persons, but for the supply of their wants. By the XIth article of the edict passed by his electoral highness in the same month of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (29 Oct. 1685), it is declared, that they shall have the exercise of their religion, according to the customs and with the same ceremonies which had been practised among them in France: "Que les François feront l' exercise de leur Religion, selon les coûtumes et avec les mêmes cérémonies qui se sont pratiquées parmi eux en France." They were even invited into his electorate: "Il les apellez et a pourvû à leurs besoins." Anderson says, "The great elector William allowed them a yearly pension of forty thousand crowns." The author of "Histoire de la Republique des Provinces-Unies des Pais-Bas" says, England, the United Provinces, the elector of Brandebourg, and the landgrave of Hesse, signalized themselves among all the Protestants by their great efforts to receive an immense number of people [une infinité de gens] who had taken refuge among them in this extremity, iv. 381. The two first kings of Prussia caused collections to be made for them throughout their dominions; settled stipends on their clergy; built them churches; and granted them immunities from taxes and offices. These wise and liberal princes even placed their agents on the confines of France for conducting the refugees to Brandebourg, "bearing their expenses all the way." The States General of the United Provinces settled a fund for an incredible number of pensions to military officers, gentlemen, and ministers, and for supplies to virgins and ladies of quality. Great sums were also raised for supporting their poor, for whom liberal collections were made in all their towns and villages; and the prince and princess of Orange were eminently exemplary in this office of Christian charity. Hist de l' Edit de Nantes. Anderson Hist. Commerce. Voltaire, Siecle de Louis XIV. The Jesuit historian Petavius extols the humanity of the foreign Protestants on this occasion. "Protestantes certatim diffugere incipiebant. Sed rex, solitudinem regni metuens, ne quis discederet, sub gravissima pœna prohibuit. Vel sic tamen multa hominum millia subduxerunt, qui ab Protestantibus exteris summa cum humanitate excepti et adjuti sunt." Rat. Temporum, A. D. 1672—1688.

The "strict and cordial union" between the French and Dutch churches, in faith and discipline, must have had a kindly influence in favour of the refugees. These churches mutually signed their confessions and discipline at the National Synod at Vitre in Brittany, in 1583; and for some time sent their deputies reciprocally to their National Synods. In 1618, the French deputies, Chamier, Du Moulin, Chauve, and Rivet, were on their way to the Synod of Dort; but "they were frightened back again by a prohibition issued out against them by the king then reigning,

Louis XIII. These National Synods paid a very great deference to the church, pastors, and professors of Geneva, and embraced their councils." Quick's Synodicon, i *Introd.* and 143. Synod XII. Quick says, Calvin first drew up the confession of the French Protestant church.

The effect of the Revocation was felt, in its greatest severity, by the Protestant ministers. On the same day that the Edict was registered (Oct. 23), they began to throw down the temple of Charenton. The oldest minister of the Reformed church was commanded to leave Paris in twenty-four hours, and immediately to depart the kingdom. "This was that excellent minister of God, M. Claude, who afterward died at the Hague. His colleagues met with a little better treatment; for they had forty-eight hours given them to quit Paris, and upon their parole for so doing, they were left to shift for themselves. Accordingly," says Quick, "Monsieur Maynard, Allix, and Bertau, come for England, and are here exercising their ministry [1692].—The rest of the ministers were allowed fifteen days for their departure; but it can hardly be believed to what cruelties and vexations they were exposed. . . . There was hardly any kind of deceit, and injustice, and troubles, in which these worthy ministers of Christ were not involved. And yet," adds the English historian, "through rich mercy, very few revolted; the far greatest number of them escaped, either into England, Holland, Germany, or Switzerland; yea, and some are now settled in New England." Synodicon, *Introd.* § 52.

NOTE V. p. 34.

FRENCH FAMILIES THAT CAME TO AMERICA.

BAUDOIN. The ancestors of the Bowdoins were Protestants, inhabitants of Rochelle, in France. They were of honourable descent, and possessed a fair inheritance there. On the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Pierre Baudouin, who is said to have been a physician at Rochelle, fled from France to Ireland, and soon after came thence to America. An original letter in French, of his writing, dated "at Casco," 2 Aug. 1687, is in the possession of James Bowdoin, Esq. of Boston, one of his descendants, a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Pierre Baudouin came first to Casco bay, where this letter was dated. He writes, that his family with him consists of ten persons. He was the grandfather of governor Bowdoin, whose name is distinguished in the annals of New England. The ancestor, in the letter abovementioned, wrote his name Baudouin; but, like many other French names, it was afterwards changed. The father of the

late governor Bowdoin, who was an eminent merchant, was born in France, and probably accompanied his father Pierre to America. He removed from Falmouth (Casco bay), now Portland, to Boston, in 1690. "By his industry, economy, and integrity, he accumulated a very ample fortune; and possessed so much of the esteem and respect of his fellow citizens, that he was chosen a member of the council for several years before his death." His son James was educated at Harvard college, of which he was a bright ornament, and a liberal benefactor. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences was formed under his influence. He was its first President; and "A Philosophical Discourse," delivered at his induction into office, is printed in the first volume of the memoirs of the Academy. To this institution he bequeathed one hundred pounds, and his valuable library. He received the degree of doctor of laws from the university of Edinburgh and was elected a member of the royal societies of London and Dublin. He was governor of Massachusetts in the years 1785, and 1786; and died in 1790, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. His character is given in Dr. Thacher's funeral sermon, Judge Lowell's eulogy, inserted in the memoirs of the American Academy, and Eliot's and Allen's Biographical Dictionaries.—Governor Bowdoin left one son, the late honourable James Bowdoin, and one daughter, the lady of sir John Temple, late consul general of Great Britain to the United States. The son, who was minister plenipotentiary at the court of Madrid, and a distinguished benefactor to Bowdoin college in Maine, died 25 October, 1811. At his decease, an eulogy was delivered by Rev. William Jenks, then a professor of the oriental languages at Bowdoin college.

The name of *Baudouin* repeatedly occurs in French history. At the time of the synod of Castres, A. D. 1626, Sebastian Baudouin was a pastor of one of the Reformed churches in the Colloguy of St. John d' Angely. At the time of the Synod of Alanson, 1637, John Boudouins was a pastor of one of the Reformed churches in the Colloguy of Caux. Quick's Synodicon, ii 234, 383. François Baudouin, an eminent advocate, is mentioned by Fleury, as conducting with great integrity, in refusing to give counsel to the duke of Anjou, to justify the St. Bartholomew massacre. "Le duc d'Anjou, encore plus intéresse que le roi à justifier la saint-Barthelemi, voulut employer le secours et la plume du célèbre jurisconsulte François Baudouin, qui étant passé en Allemagne, avoit enseigné le droit dans les plus célèbres universités; mais Baudouin, qui détestoit véritablement cette action, s'excusa . . . conduite digne d'un homme de bien." . . . Histoire Ecclésiastique, xxiii. 562. A. D. 1572. The first version of Davila into French was by I. Baudouin, a native of France, in 2 volumes folio, 1642; for which cardinal Richelieu, then prime minister of that kingdom, promised him a pension of 12,000 crowns, but died the December following, "before he had per-

formed it." Davila, i. p. v. In the "liste" of persecuted French Protestants, in 1685, 1686, &c. preserved in *Histoire de l'Edit de Nantes*, is "Baudoin . . . tuez."

BERNON. Gabriel Bernon was undertaker for the plantation at Oxford. See APPENDIX, E. This name is mentioned by Baron La Hontan, as of Rochelle. "The merchant that has carried on the greatest trade in Canada, is the Sieur Samuel Bernon, of Rochel, who has great ware-houses at Quebec, from which the inhabitants of the other towns are supplied with such commodities as they want. It is true, there are some merchants at Quebec who are moderately rich, and fit out ships upon their own bottom, that ply to and again between France and Canada; and these merchants have their correspondents at Rochel, who send out and take in every year the cargoes of their ships."—La Hontan was at Quebec in 1683, and left Canada for France in 1692. In his *Account of the Government of Canada*, subjoined to his *Voyages*, he makes the following remarks upon the wretched policy of the late measures of his government. "I wonder, that instead of banishing the Protestants out of France, who, in removing to the countries of our enemies, have done so much damage to the kingdom, by carrying their money along with them, and setting up manufactories in those countries—I wonder, that the court did not think it more proper to transport them to Canada. I am convinced, that, if they had received positive assurances of enjoying a liberty of conscience, a great many of them would have made no scruple to go thither. . . . If the Council of State had followed my scheme, in the space of thirty or forty years, New France would have become a finer and more flourishing kingdom than several others in Europe." *New Voyages to America*, written in French by the baron La Hontan, lord lieutenant of the French colony at Placentia in Newfoundland. i. 255, 268, 269.

BOUDINOT. This name appears in the memoirs of Oxford. See APPENDIX. It appears, that a family of this name came to Boston; but it probably removed to New York, or one of the middle colonies. The late Elias Boudinot, LL. D. whose memory is precious to our churches and country, was born in Philadelphia. He was a descendant of one of the Protestants, who, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, fled from France to America. In 1777, he was chosen a member of congress; of which, in 1782, he was chosen president. On quitting his station in congress, of which he continued a member six years after the adoption of the Federal constitution, he was appointed by president Washington director of the national mint. After remaining twelve or fourteen years in this office, always acting in it with ability and exemplary fidelity, he resigned it, and withdrew into private life, and spent the remainder of his days at Burlington, New Jersey. He was a distinguished benefactor to the college of New Jersey, of which he was a trustee; and to the Presbyterian church, of

which he was a member. He made a donation of lands to the general assembly of the Presbyterian church; and left a testamentary donation for the theological seminary at Princeton, and for missionary purposes. He extended his beneficence to foreign missions; to institutions for the relief of the deaf and dumb; to the society for colonizing and Christianizing the Jews; to several societies for educating youth for the ministry; and to many other pious and humane associations. He is considered as the father of the American Bible Society, to whose funds he made the most liberal donations. Of this important society he was chosen the first president, and he continued in that office until his death. He died at Burlington in 1821, in the 82d year of his age.

In Quick's Synodicon, "Monsieur Elias Boutonnet, a merchant of Marans near Rochell," is mentioned, among other Protestants, as "martyred by these bloody miscreants."

DAILLE. The Rev. Peter Daillé was a minister of the French Protestant church in Boston. Among the churches and ministers in New England in 1696, Dr. C. Mather mentions, as of Boston, "a French congregation of Protestant *Refugees*, under the pastoral care of Monsieur Daillé." His name, with the addition of "ministre," appears in the French paper (1696), inserted in the Appendix, C. In the Bernon [MSS. ib. E.] there is a letter from M. Daillé dated at Boston, 11 April, 1707. M. Daillé continued to be pastor of this church till his death, 1715. He was "a person of great piety, charity, affable and courteous behaviour, and of an exemplary life and conversation: much lamented, especially by his flock. By his will he required, that his body should be "decently interred" according to the discretion of his executor, Mr. James Bowdoin, with this restriction, that there be no wine at his funeral, and no mourning to his wife's relations, except gloves. All the ministers of the town, together with Mr. Walter, are presented with gloves and scarves. His books are given to form a library for the church; £100 for the benefit of the minister, and £10 to be put to interest, until the church should erect a meeting-house, when it was to be appropriated towards the expenses of the same. He remembers his brother 'Paul Daille Vaugelade in Amsfort in Holland,' and signs himself *Daille*, omitting his baptismal name of Peter.—History of Boston, 201. He died in 1715, and was interred in the Granary burying yard in Boston. His grave is nearly in the centre of the yard; and from its headstone I copied the following epitaph:

Here lies ye Body of ye
Reverend Mr. Peter Daille
Minister of the French Church in Boston,
Died ye 21st of May 1715
In the 67 year of his Age.

Near his own grave is that of his wife, with this inscription on her grave stone :

Seyre Daille
Wife to ye Reverend Mr. Peter Daille
Aged about 60.*

Around these graves are many others, apparently French : Basset, Mian, Garrett, Paliere, Sabin, Berrey, &c. The Franklins lie buried near them. Three paces distant from M. Daille's grave is that of Josiah Franklin, the father of Dr. Benjamin Franklin, inscribed,

J. F. born 1655. d. 1744.

A. F. b. 1667. d. 1752.

The name of Daillé appears in the history of the French Reformed church. In 1660, M. Daillé, then pastor of the church at Paris, was moderator of the synod at Loudun. He was a most learned and eloquent preacher, and a very respectable author. His "Right use of the Fathers" was translated into English, and highly valued.

FANEUIL. The family of Faneuil was among the French Huguenots that fled from France to America, on the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The house in Boston, now occupied by the honourable William Phillips (late lieutenant governor), was built by Andrew Faneuil; and the summer-house attached to it bears a grasshopper vane, similar to that on Faneuil hall. After Andrew's death, Peter Faneuil lived and died there. In 1740, Peter Faneuil, Esq. made an offer to build, at his own expense, a complete edifice on the town's land in Dock square, "to be improved for a market, for the sole use, benefit, and advantage of the town, provided that the town would pass a vote authorizing it, and lay the same under such proper regulations as should be thought necessary, and constantly support it for the said use." A vote of thanks to Mr. Faneuil was immediately passed. The work was commenced in September of that year, and finished 10 September 1742, on which day the key of the house was delivered to the selectmen by his order. The thanks of the town were given him by a vote at a town meeting, 13 September, 1742. After a pertinent preamble, specifying the donation of Mr. Faneuil, and the great accommodations which it furnished for a market place, 'a spacious and most beautiful town hall, over it, and several other convenient rooms,' it was voted, "That the town do, with the utmost gratitude, receive and accept this most generous and noble benefaction;" and a committee was appointed to wait upon Peter Faneuil esq. and in the name of the town, to render him their most hearty thanks for so bountiful a gift, with their prayers, that this and other expressions of his bounty and charity may be abundantly recompensed with the divine blessing."

*By a letter of G. Bernon it appears, that she died in 1696.

It was also voted, that, in testimony of the town's gratitude to Peter Faneuil esq. that the hall over the market place be named Faneuil Hall, and at all times hereafter, be called and known by that name. And as a further testimony of respect, it was voted, that Mr. Faneuil's picture be drawn at full length, at the expense of the town, and placed in the hall. It was accordingly placed there, but did not escape the ravages of the revolution. This and the portraits of general Conway, and colonel Barre, it is supposed, were carried off by the British. Another portrait of Mr. Faneuil has been placed in the hall, and now remains there, surrounded by portraits of Hancock, Adams, and the most distinguished revolutionary patriots and heroes. Faneuil hall has been emphatically called "The Cradle of Liberty." The building is of brick, two stories high, and measuring 100 feet by 40. "It was esteemed one of the best pieces of workmanship, and an ornament to the town. The hall would contain 1000 persons; there were convenient apartments for the offices of the town, besides a room for a naval office, and a notary publick."

Mr Faneuil died suddenly, 3 March, 1743; and at the next meeting of the inhabitants in the hall, 14 March, a funeral oration was delivered by Mr. John Lovell, master of the south grammar school. As the first specimen of eloquence uttered in the hall, and as a tribute due to the memory of Faneuil, this oration, "a precious relick," is inserted in the History of Boston.

HUGER. This was a French Protestant family. The name of Francis K. Huger, of Charleston, S. C. son of a patriot of the American revolution, is memorable for the daring and adventurous effort which he made while in Austria, in conjunction with Dr. Bollman, a Hanoverian, to liberate La Fayette from the dungeon of Olmütz. See a well written and very interesting Memoir of La Fayette in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for January 1825.

JAY. The honourable John Jay, a descendant from the French Protestant refugees, was one of the commissioners for the treaties of peace with Great Britain, and other European powers at the close of the revolutionary war; and sole commissioner for the treaty with Great Britain in 1795. He has sustained the offices of governor of the state of New York, and of chief justice of the United States. Although he has lived many years in retirement, he has taken such an interest in the greatest work of Christian benevolence which distinguishes our age, that, on the death of the hon. Elias Boudinot, he was chosen president of the American Bible Society. "The memory of these illustrious men is embalmed in the hearts of their countrymen."* Mr. Jay still lives—"Familix præsidium, et columen Reipublicæ."

* Address of Governor Clinton to the American Bible Society, in the absence of the President, 1825.

A person of this name, Guy Michel le Jay, was an advocate of the parliament of Paris. He printed, at his own expense, a beautiful Polyglott Bible, in 10 volumes folio, containing the Syriac and Arabic versions, which are not inserted in the Polyglott of Ximenes. He died in 1675.

LAURENS. The ancestors of Henry Laurens were French Protestant refugees. They first settled in New York; but afterwards removed to Charleston, South Carolina. This descendant was an ornament to his family, and to his adopted country. He was one of the first presidents of Congress. His eminent character, his services and sacrifices in the cause of freedom, are well known; as well as the valour and patriotism of his son, colonel John Laurens, who was killed in a skirmish just at the close of the revolutionary war. The characters of both are faithfully delineated by Dr. Ramsay, in his History of South Carolina. The same historian has given, in an interesting and instructive volume, "Memoirs of the Life of MARTHA LAURENS RAMSAY, the wife of the biographer; a work, which presents an example of intellectual improvement, of polite accomplishments, and of Christian virtues and graces, worthy of the imitation of her sex. Mrs. Ramsay was the daughter of Henry Laurens. "By the father's side, she was of French extraction. Her great grandparents were born in Rochelle, and suffered in the famous siege of that place." They were Huguenots, or Protestants. Compelled by the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes to leave their native country, they came to America in the latter part of the 17th century."

The name of Laurens appears in the History of the French Protestant Church, in 1620. The National Synod of Alez, that year, out of sums due to the Synod, ordered £300 to be paid "to Monsieur Laurens, pastor of la Bastide in Vivaretz." Quick's Synodicon, ii. 69.

MANIGAULT. Gabriel Manigault, of South Carolina, was born in 1704. Both his parents were French Protestant refugees, who came to America soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Their son was distinguished for his integrity and benevolence. "He generally had pensioners, who received his bounty at stated periods." In the course of a long and useful life he acquired a large fortune. At his death, he left to the South Carolina Society of Charleston a legacy of £5000 sterling; from the interest of which the society has been enabled to add very considerably to the number of children educated on its bounty. He was treasurer of the province; and for some time a representative of Charleston in the provincial house of commons. "Being descended from French parents, he was by birth a member of the Calvinistic church in Charleston, of which he was always a most zealous supporter; yet he was a steady communicant and regular attendant on divine service in St. Philip's church." It was this man, who, at the commencement of the

American war, made the generous loan to the state of South Carolina. Peter Manigault, the only child of Gabriel Manigault, was distinguished for his zeal and patriotism, his scholarship and eloquence. He died in 1773, the year when the tea was destroyed at Boston. A letter written in French by Judith Manigault, the wife of the first Peter Manigault, "the worthy founders of the family of that name," is preserved in an English translation in Ramsay's History of South Carolina; and it gives an affecting description of the sufferings of the refugees. This lady left France, and embarked for Carolina by the way of London, when she was about twenty years old, in the year 1685, and arrived at Carolina the following year. She died in 1711, seven years after the birth of her son Gabriel.

MARION. This is among the names of respectable families of French refugees in South Carolina. The first emigrants of this family settled on Cooper river, near Charleston, whence the father of general Marion removed to the vicinity of Georgetown, where he resided, "occupied in cultivating his plantation," during the remainder of his life. Francis Marion was a colonel in the regular service, in the revolutionary war; and a brigadier in the militia of South Carolina. He assisted at the battle of Sullivan's Island, in 1776. In 1780, he received the commission of brigadier general. After performing many gallant and successful enterprises, at the head of a small corps, he joined the main army under general Greene, a short time before the battle of Eutaw Springs, and received the thanks of Congress for his intrepid conduct in that action. After the British evacuated Charleston, he retired to his plantation, where he resided until his death. Of the partizan officers he was one of the ablest, and one of the most successful. He seldom failed of taking his enemy, and almost always effected his purpose by surprise. "His courage was the boldest, his movements were the most rapid, his discipline was severe, and his humanity, the most exemplary." He died in February, 1795, "leaving behind him an indisputable title to the first rank among the patriots and soldiers of our revolution."

PRIOLEAU. The Rev. Elias Prioleau, "the founder of the eminently respectable family of that name," came from France to America soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and brought with him a considerable part of his Protestant congregation. He was the grandson of Anthoine Prioli, who was elected doge of Venice in the year 1618. Samuel Prioleau was among the citizens of Charleston, who, in 1780, were "shipped off for St. Augustine," for refusing to become subjects of Great Britain. Thomas G. Prioleau, M. D. is a professor in the medical college of South Carolina.

Benjamin Priolo, born of a noble family in Venice, was author of a good Latin history of France, from the death of Louis XIII, 1643 to 1664.

Dr. Ramsay records the following names of French Protestants, who, soon after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, came to Carolina, and were heads of respectable families there :

Bonneau	Dutarque	Guerin	Neufville
Bounebeau	De la Consiliere	Gourdine	Prioleau
Bordeaux	De Leiseline	Horry	Peronneau
Benoist	Douxsaint	Huger	Perdriau
Boiseau	Du Pont	Jeannerette	Porcher
Bocquet	Du Bourdieu	Legare	Postell
Bacot	D' Harriette	Laurens	Peyre
Chevalier	Faucheraud	La Roche	Poyas
Cordes	Foissin	Lenud	Ravenel
Couterier	Faysoux	Lansac	Royer
Chastaignier	Gaillard	Marion	Simons
Dupre	Gendron	Mazyck	Sarazin
Delyse	Gignilliat	Manigault*	St. Julien
Dubose	Guerard	Mellichamp	Serre
Dubois	Godin	Mouzon	Trezevant.
Deveaux	Girardeau	Michau	

We regret, that more justice cannot be here rendered to those, to whom it is due. An account of all the communities, and distinguished individuals, of the French Protestants, that have settled in our country, and contributed to its population and prosperity, is very desirable. Lawson, who came to America in the year 1700, and was in Carolina eight years, says, in reference to Charlestown : " There is likewise a *French* church in town, of the Reformed religion." Of the French who first settled at James river, he says : " Most of the French who lived at that town [Mannakin] on James river, are removed to Trent river in North Carolina, where the rest were expected daily to come to them, when I came away, which was in August, 1708."—That respectable individuals and families of French Protestants, in the United States, are not mentioned in this Memoir, is not doubted. It should be remembered, that no distinct history of them, within the writer's knowledge, has ever appeared ; and that this article for the Historical Collections was originally intended solely for the French settlers of OXFORD. We indulge the hope, that the very respectable writers in VIRGINIA and the CAROLINAS, and the assiduity of the NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, to which our literary Republic is already so much indebted, will, in due time, give us the history of the French Protestants in their respective States. I cannot close this Note without adding, from an obliging correspondent : " My useful and highly respectable friend John Pintard is a descendant from the Huguenots." It is a pleasure to me to subjoin, that JOHN PINTARD, Esq. is Recording Secretary of the New York Historical Society. *Etni non prouunt singula, juncta iuuent.*

[] Page 49. The number of P. Baudouin's family, I find, was six : " Pierre Baudouin—et sa famille qui sont au nombre de six." The copyist, whom I followed, probably read it *dix*. The hand writing of P. Boudouin's letter, though perfectly French in its appearance, is remarkably good.

* Page 55. G. Manigault was born in 1704.

APPENDIX.

[Many words in this Appendix are incorrectly spelt. It will be remembered, that the articles containing them are taken from MSS. chiefly original, written by persons, all of whom were very imperfectly acquainted with our language, and some of whom, unless their language was provincial, appear to have forgotten their own. For deciphering some of the most obscure French words, I am indebted to the kind assistance of FRANCIS SALKS, Esq. Instructor of the Spanish and French languages in our University; also, for M. Aignan's History of the Protestants.]

A.

[Page 28.]

An Abridgement of the Afflictions of the French Protestants, and also their Petition, extracted from a Letter written from Rochel, the 1st of October, 1684.

“God grant that I and my family were with you; we should not been exposed to the furie of our enemies, who rob us of the goods which God hath given us to the subsistence of our soule and body. I shall not assume to write all the miseries that we suffer, which cannot be comprehended in a letter, but in many books. I shall tell you briefly, that our temple is condemned, and rased, our ministers banished forever, all their goods confiscated, and moreover they are condemnaed to the fine of thousand crowns. All t' other temples are also rased, excepted the temple of Ré, and two or three others. By act of Parliament we are hindered to be masters in any trade or skill. We expect every days the lord gouvernour of Guiene, who shall put souldiers in our houses, and take away our childeren to be offered to the Idol, as they have done in t' others countrys.

“The country where you live (that is to say New England) is in great estime; I and great many others Protestants intend to go there. Tell us, if you please, what advantage we can have there, and particularly the boors who are accustomed to plough the ground. If some body of your country would hazard to come here with a ship to fetch in our French Protestants, he would make great gain. All of us hope for God's help, to whose Providence we submit ourselves, etc.”

B.

[Page 30.]

The Paper containing the “Delineation of the Town of Oxford” is endorsed, “Papiers qui regarde New Oxford.” The chirography is evidently French. With the delineation there is an account of the village and town, in the following words: “Oxford

Village, or the general Plantation, containing 11,245 acres, whereof the proprietors common Way 265 acres, and Mauchaug in deficient, 172 . . . 437. Rest 10808 acres.—The Town of Oxford, including its village, called the General Plantation, contains 41245 acres, viz. the five grand lotts. On the W. side of the dividing line, each 3000 . . . 15000, and on the East side thereof . . . each 3000 . . . 15000.

The Village Plantation . . 11245. The 41245 general.”

Nipmuck river (called by the English settlers of New England, *Blackstone*) takes its rise in Sutton, and receiving several tributary streams in its course, falls into Providence river just below Providence. It is there called Pawtucket. When the French settled Oxford, there was a town of praying Indians at Hassanamesitt [Grafton], about two miles to the eastward of Nipmuck river, “and near unto the old road way to Connecticut,” consisting of about twelve families, and about sixty souls. “Here,” says Gookin,* “they have a meeting house for the worship of God, after the English fashion of building, and two or three other houses after the same mode. In this town was the second Indian church (Natick being the first) gathered in 1671; and three years afterwards there were in full communion in this church, and living in the town, about sixteen men and women; and about thirty baptized persons, and several other members living in other places. This church had a pastor, Tackuppawillin, a ruling elder, and a deacon. In 1674 the Rev. John Eliot and general Gookin visited “the new praying towns in the Nipmuck country. The first of these,” says Gookin, “is Mauchage [Oxford], which lieth to the westward of Nipmuck river about eight miles, and is from Hassanamesitt, west and by south, about ten miles; and it is from Boston about fifty miles. To it belongeth about twelve families and about sixteen souls. For this place we appointed Waaberkamin, a hopeful young man for their minister. There is no land yet granted by the general court to this place, nor to any other of the praying towns. But the court intendeth shortly, upon the application and professed subjection of those Indians unto the yoke of Christ, to do for them as they have done for other praying Indians.” Gookin’s Hist. Collections of the Indians in New England, printed in Coll. Mass. Hist. Society, in 1792.

C.

[Page 31.]

Nous sousignes certiffions et atestons que Mons^r. Gabriel Ber-
non a fait une despance [depense] considerable a new oxford

* A. D. 1674.

pour faire valoir la Ville et encourager et ayder les habitans. et quil [qu' il] a tenu sa maison en etat jusques a ce que en fin les Sauvages soient venus masacrer et tuer Iohn Johnson et ses trois enfens [enfants] et que netant [n' etant] pas soutenu Il a ete obligé et force d' abandoner son Bien. en foy de quoy lui avons signe le present Billet, a Baston le 4^e Septembre 1696 :

Jermons	Baudouin	Benja faneuil
Jacques Montier		Nous attestons ce qui est desus et
† marque		[est] veritable.
× marque depaix cazaniau		
		Mousset Entien [Ancien]
▷ marque de abraham Sauuage		
* marque de la vefue de Jean Jeanson		Jean Rawlings Ancien
		P Chardon
	Charle Jeanson	Entien

Nous certiffions que ce sont les marques de personnes susdites.

	Daillé ministre	Baudouin
Jacques Montier		Barbut
Elie Dispeux		André Sigournaÿ
Jean Maillet		Jean Millet ant.

Nous declaron que ce dessus fort veritable et que John Johnson et ses trois enfans ont ete tué le 25^e. Auost [Août] 1696 : en foy de quoy avons signé

Montel	Dispeux	I B marque de Jean baudoin
Jacques Depont		Philip English
Jermont		René Grignon

Je connois et Je le sais d' experiance que m^r. Gabriel bermon a fait ses efforts pour soutenir notre plantation, et y a depancé pour cet effet un bien considerable.

Bureau L'ainé [The elder or senior.]
Peter Canton.

We underwritten doe certifie and attest that m^r. Gabriel Bermon hath made considerable expences at Newoxford for to promote the place and encourage the Inhabitants and hath kept his house until the s^d. 25^e. August that the Indians came upon s^d. Plantation & most barbarously murdered John Evans John Johnson & his three childrens. Dated Baston 20th Septemb. 1696.

John Usher

John Butcher	W ^m . Stoughton
Laur. Hammond	Increase Mather
	Charles Morton
	Jer. Dummer
	Nehemiah Walter min ^r .

W^m. Fox.

D.

[Page 32.]

That the French settlers at Oxford had a minister of their own, appears from a letter, written by him to some person in authority [probably gov. Dudley], complaining of the sale of rum to the Indians, "without order and measure," and of its baneful effects. The date is lost, with a line or two at the beginning; but is endorsed, "Mr. Dan^l. Bondet's Representation referring to N. Oxford July 6th. 1691." He mentions it as upon "an occasion which fills my heart with sorrow and my life of trouble, but my humble request will be at least before God, and before you a solemn protestation against the guilt of those incorrigible persons who dwell in our place. The rum [rum] is always sold to the Indians without order and measure, insomuch that according the complaint sent to me by master Dickestean with advice to present it to your honour. The 26 of the last month there was about twenty indians so furious by drunkenness that they fought like bears and fell upon one called remes who is appointed for preaching the gospel amongst them he had been so much disfigured by his wounds that there is no hope of his recovery. If it was your pleasure to signifie to the instrumens of that evil the jalousie of your authoriti and of the publique tranquility, you would do great good maintaining the honour of God in a Christian habitation, confortng some honest souls wich being incompatible with such abominations feel every day the burden of afflixion of their honorable perigrination aggravated. Hear us pray and so God be with you and prosper all your just undertakins and applications tis the sincere wish of your most respectuous servant

D. BONDET

minister of the gospel in a
French Congregation at newoxford. "

The government probably interfered, and took measures to prevent the repetition of the evil complained of. The above paper was found in the Secretary's office, and shown to me by Mr. secretary Bradford, who, at my request, searched the government papers, in aid of my inquiries. The "representation of the minister may have induced the government to appoint him a missionary to the natives in the neighbourhood of Oxford; for, in another communication, Mr. Bradford informed me: "In 1695, Mr. Bondet, a French Protestant minister, preached to the Nipmug Indians . . . in the south of Worcester county."

E.

[Page 32.]

FRENCH CHURCH IN BOSTON.

The French who settled at Oxford were, probably, but a part of the emigrants who arrived, about this time, at Boston. Dr. Bentley, in his History of Salem [Coll. Hist. Society, vi. 265.] says, "In September, 1686, twenty-six pounds were contributed for the relief of the French Protestants, who came to New England. Whole families associated in Boston, but not any families in Salem. The greater part went to the southern states, particularly to South Carolina." From the time of this contribution, with another coincident fact, discovered in the diligent researches of Dr. Snow, this recent writer infers, "that those who arrived here probably came in the summer of 1686." He observes, that, beside the circumstance of the contribution at Salem, "we also find in Cotton Mather's MS. notes of sermons, under dates of Sept. 12, and Oct. 7, minutes of discourses of a Mr. Laurie, from the tenour of which it is apparent that he was of the number." History of Boston, 1825. Of Mr. Laurie I have met with no other notice. Whether he accompanied, or followed, the settlers of Oxford, and preceded Mr. Bondet in the ministry there, or whether he remained in Boston, and preceded Mr. Daille in the ministry, I know not. The first notice we have of Mr. Daille is in 1696; the year of the breaking up of the French settlement at Oxford, when there was, doubtless, a considerable accession to the little society in Boston. Dr. C. Mather [Magnalia, b. i. c. 7.], in his account of the "Christian congregations" in New England, "at this present year 1696," thus closes the list of "The County of Suffolk Ministers," in the town of Boston: "And a French Congregation of Refugees under the pastoral cares of Monsieur Daille." The historian of Boston, referring to this passage in Mather, says, "the first notice we discover of the [French] church in this place is in the Magnalia." The congregation assembled for worship in one of the large school houses of the town, for several years. By a communication from my worthy friend Rev. Isaac Smith of Boston, I find, that the land for the erection of the French church in Boston was purchased for that purpose in 1704 (eight years after the abandonment of Oxford). The minutes, "copied from the Register of Deeds office in Boston," by Mr. Smith, are as follow: "Original deed from Jas. Mears, hatter, to John Tartarien, Fra. Bredon, and John Dupuis, elders of the French Church, in consideration of the sum of £110 current silver money of N-E. all that tract or parcel of land, bounded northerly by School house land so called, where it measures in front 43½ feet, easterly &c. 36 feet, westerly 88½

feet, southerly 35½ feet, to erect and build a church upon for the use of the French Congregation in Boston aforesaid, to meet therein for the worship and service of Almighty God, according to the way and manner of the Reformed churches in France.”

“Given Jan. 4. 1704.”

It appears by the History of Boston, that the above named elders of the French church “petitioned the select men for license to erect a wooden building for a meeting-house of 35 by 30 ft. on that piece of land. It was judged ‘not convenient to grant the same, since they have the offer of the free liberty to meet in the new school-house, as they had for some years past done in the old, and that being sufficient for a far greater number of persons than doth belong to their congregation.’” About twelve years afterwards, a small brick church was built upon this land, in School street. “The descendants of the founders of this house,” says Mr. Pemberton, the late respected antiquary of Boston, “as they formed new connexions, gradually dropped off. Those who remained were few in number, and the support of a minister was an expense they could not well continue. The Rev. Andrew Le Mercier, a worthy character, desisted from officiating as minister, and the house was for some years unoccupied. A large folio Bible in French, with a commentary, was presented to the French Protestant Church by Queen Anne. It was purchased at the sale of the late Dr. Byles’s library, and we are told, is now in possession of a gentleman in this town, retained as a curiosity, and is the only remaining relick of the Protestant French Church.”

In 1748, some persons who separated from other churches in the town, formed themselves into a distinct society, and occupied the Protestant French Church, one or more of them having purchased the building of its former proprietors. The following is an extract from the deed, copied by Mr. Smith at the Register’s office. “Stephen Boutineau,* the only surviving elder of the said French Church, Andrew Le Mercier, Clerk, Minister of said Church, Zechariah Johonnot, John Arnault, John Brown, Andrew Johonnet, Ja^s. Packenett, W^m. Bowdoin and Andr^w. Sigourney, proprietors of s^d church, made over their right and interest in it to Tho^s. Fillebrown, James Davenport, W^m. Hickling, Nath. Proctor, and Tho^s. Handyside Peck, trustees for the new Congregational Church, whereof Mr. Andrew Crosswell is pastor, for the sum of £3000, in good bills of public credit, of the old tenor, for the sole use of a Protestant Church, from henceforth and forevermore.”

“Signed May 7, 1748.”

* He married a daughter of Pierre Baudouin [Bowdoin], a sister of the late governor Bowdoin. Rev. Mr. JENKS’ Eulogy on Hon. JAMES BOWDOIN.

The Rev. Andrew Crosswell was installed as their pastor in 1748. He died April 1785, aged 77. The house was next used as a Roman Catholic chapel. Mass was performed in it for the first time, November 2d, 1788, by a Romish priest. The Rev. John Thayer, a native of Boston, having embraced the Roman Catholic religion, and received orders at Rome, began his mission here in 1790. In 1792, the Rev. Dr. Francis A. Matignon arrived at Boston, and in 1796 was joined by Rev. John Cheverus, now bishop of Montauban, in France. Upon their united application to the Protestants, a generous contribution was made; a lot was purchased in Franklin Place, and a Roman Catholic church built, which was dedicated in 1803. Pemberton's Description of Boston, Coll. Hist. Society, iii. 264. Snow's History of Boston.—The French church in School street has been taken down, and a Universal church built near the place where it stood. "Tempora mutantur." What consecrated ground has sustained such changes, in one century! It is very remarkable, that the same church, which was originally built for French Protestants who had fled from the persecution of the Roman Catholics, was the first to receive the Roman Catholics who fled from the persecution of the Jacobins of France.

LETTERS AND PAPERS FROM THE BERNON MSS.

IN THE POSSESSION OF PHILIP ALLEN, ESQ. OF PROVIDENCE.

GABRIEL BERNON, in a letter to his father, dated "A Baston le 29^e Decemb. 1696," writes, he had mentioned in his last, that M. De la Tour had been taken going from Piscataqua, which had given them much trouble and loss. . . . "que mons^r. De la Tour avoit été arrêté sortant de Piscataqua, ce qui nous a donné beaucoup d' embarras et perte, ces gens icy nous ayans fait toutes les injustices que leur malice (et envie contra nous) a peu suggerer" &c.—In this letter he mentions the death of Mrs. Daillé: "La pauvre Mad^{le}. Daillé est morte depuis quinz jours ce qui a beaucoup affligé et embarrassé Mons. Daillé pour tous vous. Autres Amis se portent fort bien comme aussi tout le famille "

Among these MSS. is "Memoire, présenté a mylord Belamon Gouverneur de Boston et de la Nouvelle York," without date. Also, a letter endorsed, "Answer of the Gentlemen of French Church in York to G. Bernon." It is dated "York le 22^e May 1699," and appears to be a vindication of the French refugees at New York against the charge of disloyalty to the British government under the administration of lord Bellamont. . . . "Cet

homme suppose comme vous aicéz veu dans la copie de la lettre qu' il vous a remise que nous sommes ennemis du Roy traîtres au Gouvernement et violateurs du respect qui est deu a monseigr. Le Compte de Bellamont" &c. The letter fills three folio pages, and is subscribed,

"Votre &c.

Peiret—ministre
Jean Barberie
Elie Boudinot
Paul Drouillet
Gabriel le Boyteulx."

COPY OF A LETTER FROM LORD BELLOMONT TO G. BERNON.

De la Nouvelle York le 23^e Novembre 1698.

Monsieur,

Je suis fâché d' apprendre, que vous avez quitté la nouvelle Angleterre, pour venir habiter dans Rode Island. C' est une Nouvelle que Mr. Campbel me dit et qui m' afflige beaucoup, puis que J' avez [avois] de vous faire toute l' amitié possible lors que Je serais arive a Boston.

J' ay de la honte de ne vous avoir pas escrit plutost, mais je vous assure que cel n' a été faite d' estime, mais seulement pour avoir été continuellement occupe aux affaires de mon gouvernement. Si vous tronvez a propos de vous venir etablir icy dans cette ville, Je feray tout mon possible de vous donner de l' encouragement. Je n' oublira pas le recommandation de Monsieur Le Comte de Gallway en votre faveur et sans compliment Je suis fort disposé d' y repondre pas toute sorte des bons offices. Je seray bien ayse de vous voir ici, a fin de discourir avec vous sur de certaines affaires, qui regarde [regardent] le service du Roy.

Je suis avec une veritable Estime et Amitié

Votre tres humble Serviteur

BELLOMONT.

For Monsieur Bernon
a French Marchand
In Rode Island.

In this Collection of MSS. there is a letter of introduction, dated "D' Orange; Octobre 1699," and signed "De la Velliere."

There is also a letter in French, from Elias Neau to G. Bernon, dated "Newyork the 25^e. of Juin 1701." The object of this letter is, to encourage Bernon in the sacrifices which he had made, and was still making, in the cause of the French refugees, especially in their religious concerns; and to recommend the distribution of religious books . . . "des livres pour faire distri-

buer gratis qui sont d' un grand secours aux pauvres, et aux ignorans" &c.

There is a letter from P. Chasseloup to " Mons. Bernon march. à Boston."

" A Londre 4e Avril 1699.

Monsieur & bon Amy

Je m' attendois d' avoir l' honneur de vous ecrire par Monsieur Depont The letter is upon Bernon's concerns—mentions "my lord Carmarthen" as desirous to know the value of the lands in the late plantation . . . "de la vailleur des dittes terres et de leur utilité" . . . and mentions the cruel treatment of their poor brethren in France. " Nos pauvres freres sont cruellement maltraités au France, plus que jamais. Vous devez celebrer, moyennant Dieu, une jeune emain pour implorer le secours Divin pour ces pauvres amis affligées." Also, a letter " A Chapell . . . près de Dublin, le 23 de Juillet, 1700," addressed to "Monsieur Gabriel Bernon, march^d. a Road Island, sur la côte de la Nouvelle Angleterre," signed "Bouheureau," and endorsed, "Passée à Londres, chez vôtres humble servir. Jn^e. Barbot le 28 Juillet 1700." A letter from Elias Neau to G. Bernon, dated "New York ce 30 de September 1701." A letter to do. signed "Daille, James L— [Le Blom] Sam^l. Baker, Henry Guionneau," dated "Boston ce 3^e Mars, 1704;" and another to do. from "Daillé," dated "A Boston, 11^e. April 1707." A letter from G. Bernon to governor Dudley, dated, "Providence 1 March 1710." In this letter M. Bernon complains of injuries and losses, and asks for redress or relief. . . "J' espere que Votre Excellence vous-trabien considerer que Mr. hoogborn a fait son possible pour ruiner mes Interes au dit Oxford. Il a fait abandonner Couper de Vieux Moulin et Thomas Atterton de mon autre maison &c. J' ay été traite apres avoir despence audis Oxford plus de 1500 pistolles le meilleur de mons temps pendent une possessions de plus de vint annee."

Letter from Gov. Dudley to G. Bernon, dated,

"Roxbury April 6, 1715."

"Sir,

We are now in a way to thrive at Oxford, and I particularly thank you for what you have done towards a Grist Mill in the Village, by giving the mill stones and irons to Daniel Eliot, conditionally that the mill should be built to serve the town within such a prefixed time which is now past and nothing done. I desire you to write to him to go forward immediately so as to finish the mill presently to the satisfaction of the Inhabitants, or that you will order the said mill and irons to be given to such

other person as will go forward in the work, that they may not be starved the next winter.

I pray you to take effectual order in the matter.

I am your humble servant,

J. DUDLEY."

Superscribed

"To Mr. Gabriel Bernon
Narraganset."

The answer of Mr. Bernon is dated "Kingstown 30 April, 1715." He writes, that, according to the letter from his excellency, he had "ordered Mr. Daniel Eliot to finish the Crist Mill at Oxford, or to let the town have the two mill stown to set the mill in a convenient place. It will be a great blessing to strive [thrive] after so much disturbance: And if I can but have the freinship and charity of your Excellency in my old time, with a young wife and a second family in this New World, I may be happy and blessed." In a petition, afterwards, to Gov. Shute, he says, . . . "being now near 80 years of age, and having several children by my first wife, and so seeing children of my children. I have since married an English woman, by whom also I have several children," &c. . . .

By a statement of G. Bernon, intended to prove his claim upon the plantation, it appears, that he considered "the Plantation of New Oxford" indebted to him for 2500 acres of land, beside the amount of expenses laid out by him upon the place. This claim appears to have been made about the year 1717, or 1720; for on his account there is a charge of interest "for above 30 years." The statement alleges, that 500 acres of the plantation were "granted by their Excellencys Mr. Dudley and Mr. Stoughton to Isaac Bertrand Du Tuffeau and Gabriel Bernon in the year 1687," and that 250 acres were "granted since, making in all 750 aikers;" and that "their Excellencys Mr. Dudley and Mr. Stoughton did grant to the said Mr. Bernon for his own use alone 1750 aikers more, which makes in all 2500 aikers, which Mr. Bernon justly claims, upon which he hath built a corn miln, a wash leathern miln, and a saw miln, and laid out some other considerable expences to improve the town of New Oxford, as he has made appear by the testimonys of several worthy gentlemen whose names he has hereto subjoined.

The four elders of
the French Church.

Mousset }
Railing } Daillie ministre
Chârden } of the French
Babut } Church.

William Fox
Benj. Faneuil
P. Jermon
Jacques Montier
Paix Cazaneau
Abraham Sauvages
Jacque Depau
Jean Beaudoin
Rean Grignon
Phelippe Emgerland

Governor Usher
William Stoughton
Increase Mather m^{re}.
Charles Morton m^{re}.
Jer. Dummer
Nehemiah Walter min^r.
John Butcher
Laurence Hammond.

By the Inhabitanc of New Oxford.

Montel	Ober Jermon
J. Dupen	Jean Maillet
Capt. Jermon	Andre Segourne
Peter Cante	Jean Milleton
Bereau Cainé	Peter Canton
Elie Dupeu	&c.

The Weidow Leveufe Jean Johnson of which her husband and three children was kil and murder by the Ingen."

By a plan of Mr. Gabriel Bernon's land in Oxford, taken in 1717, it appears, that it measured 2672 acres, "exclusive of M^r. Daniel Bondet's of 200 acres, and out of said 2672 acres must come out 172 acres of meadow in one entire piece, which M^r. Dudley and Comp^a. give to the village." The tract of land "within this Plan" was estimated by the selectmen of Oxford "to be worth one thousand pound;" and this valuation was certified by them on the plan, 11 January 1717. *Signed*, Richard Moore, Benoni Twitchel, Isaac Larned. Another certificate was given on the same paper by the selectmen of Mendon, concerning the justness of the above valuation, adding, "that we know nothing but the said Bernon hath been in the quiet possession of said land for or nere thirty years." *Signed*, Thomas Sanford, Robert Evans, Jacob Aldrich.

By another paper in the MS. Collection, it appears, that Mr. Bernon petitioned the king in council for certain privileges, which indicate the objects to which the enterprise of this adventurer was directed. It is entitled, "The humble Petition of Gabriel Bernon of Boston in New England." It states: "That being informed of your Majesty's pleasure, particularly in encouraging the manufactory of Rosin, Pitch, Turpentine &c. in New England, in which manufactory your Petitioner has spent seaven years time and labour and considerable sums of money and has attained to such knowledge and perfection, as that the said comodities made and sent over by him have beene here approved of and bought for your Majesty's stores; your Petitioner's zeale and affection to your Majesty encouraged him to leave his habitation and affairs (being a merchant) and also his family to make a voyage to England on purpose, humbly to propose to your majesty in how great a measure and cheap price the said Navall stores may be made and brought into any of your majesty's kingdomes to the great promotion and advantage of the Trade and Commerce of your majesty's subjects of New England, all which is most evident by the annexed paper." He prays his majesty to take the premises into consideration, and to grant him his royal patent or order for providing and furnishing his majesty's fleet with the said stores under the conditions his majesty in his royal wisdom should think fit, or otherwise to except him out of any patent to be granted for the said manufactory, that he "may have liberty to go on and continue in the said manufactory in any part of New England."

This paper is endorsed: "Petition Gabriel Bernon."

"Papiers qui regarde deux voyages de Londres pour les affaires a fabriques des Resme. Examine le premier Octobre 1719."

In 1720, Gabriel Bernon, "of New Oxford in New England," presented a petition to his excellency governor Shute, and to his majesty's council, and house of representatives in General Court assembled. In this petition he states, that he was "one of the most ancient families in Rochel in France; that upon the breach of the Edict of Nantes, to shun the persecution of France he fled to London; that upon his arrival, — Tefereau Esq. treasurer of the Protestant churches of France presented him to the honourable society for propagating the gospel among the Indians in New England; that Mr. Thompson the governor [president] offered to "instal him in the said society," and offered him land in the government of the Massachusetts Bay; whereupon Isaac Bertrand Du Tuffeau desired him "to assist him to come over to New England to settle a plantation for their refuge," that he did advance him such sums, as, "with the exchange and interest from that time, would amount to above one thousand pounds; that Du Tuffeau, arriving at Boston with letters of credit from major Thompson and himself, "delivered them to his late excellency Joseph Dudley Esq. and the honourable William Stoughton Esq. deceased, who granted to the said Du Tuffeau 750 acres of land for the petitioner at New Oxford, where he laid out or spent the abovesaid money." Mr. Bernon farther stated in his petition, that Du Tuffeau allured him by letters to come to Boston; that the said Du Tuffeau, "being through poverty forced to abandon the said plantation, sold his cattle and other moveables for his own particular use, went to London, and there died in an hospital." Mr. Bernon closed his statement by observing, that, excited by letters of Du Tuffeau, he shipped himself, his family, and servants, with some other families, and paid passage for above forty persons; that, on their arrival at Boston, he presented letters from major Thompson to Dudley and Stoughton, Esquires, "who were pleased (besides the 750 acres that were granted to Bertrand Du Tuffeau and the petitioner) to grant him 1750 acres of land more; and," he adds, "for a more authentick security his late Excellency and Honour was pleased to accompany me to Oxford, to put me in possession of the said two thousand five hundred acres, which I have peaceably enjoyed for better than these thirty years last past, having spent above two thousand pounds to defend the same from the *Indians*, who at divers times have ruined the said Plantation, and have murdered men, women, and children."

At the close of the petition he represents, that the inhabitants of New Oxford now disputed his right and title, in order to hinder him from the sale of said plantation, which would put him to the utmost extremity, "being now near eighty years of age,"

and having several children, all which have dependence, under God, for a subsistence on him, after he had "spent more than ten thousand pounds towards the benefit of the country, in building ships, making nails, and promoting the making of stuffs, hats, rozin &c." The object of this petition was, to obtain such titles, as would confirm to him and his family the said lands, "without any misunderstanding, clear and free from any molestation either from the inhabitants of New Oxford, or any pretensions of Bertrand Du Tuffeau."

Neither the merits, nor the success, of this claim are known to the writer of this Memoir.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH AT PROVIDENCE.

The Rev. Mr. Honeyman, with whom Mr. Bernon corresponded on this subject, was a minister of the Episcopal church in Newport, Rhode Island. He was appointed, by the Society in London for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the first missionary there, in 1704, and continued there many years. In 1712, a missionary was sent by the Society to three towns in Rhode Island; Freetown, Tiverton, and Little Compton. In 1720, there was no Episcopal church in Providence. The people at Narraganset had built a church about the year 1707; and in 1717, the Society appointed Mr. Guy a missionary there. "He resided at Narraganset, otherwise called Kingtown," until 1717, when he removed to South Carolina, and was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. McSparran. Mr. Honeyman was "instrumental in gathering the congregations at Freetown, and Tiverton, and, last of all, at Providence." He had, as early as about the year 1712, very earnestly represented the want of a missionary at Providence; and about the year 1722, he visited the place, and preached there, "to the greatest number of people that he had ever had together, since he came to America." He wrote to the Society at London, "there is a great prospect of settling a church here;" solicited "a missionary to the people;" and added, "the people are now going to get subscriptions to build a church." By their own contributions, and aid from abroad, "they raised a timber building for a church," in 1722; and, the next year, the Society in London appointed the Rev. Mr. Pigot missionary there. In 1722, the Society sent Mr. Orem a missionary to Bristol.—Humphreys' Hist. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Such was the rise and progress of the Episcopal church in Rhode Island, and such the state of it at the time of the ensuing correspondence; which begins with a letter from G. Bernon to Mr. Honeyman, in 1721, and closes with a letter from dean Berkeley to Mr. Bernon, in 1729.

Mr. Bernon went to Providence about the year 1698. Whether he had become disaffected towards the old inhabitants of the country by his misfortunes at Oxford; or was less attached than his brethren to the strictness of the Reformed churches; or had changed his sentiments in favour of the rites and ceremonies of the English church; or had found it impracticable to form and sustain a church in Providence without foreign aid—we are not informed. There was scarcely a Congregational church, at this time, in Rhode Island. The first in Newport was gathered in 1720. The doctrinal articles of the French Reformed church, it is well known, agree with those of the Church of England; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts had funds for the support of missionaries. Whatever were the cause, Mr. Bernon united himself to the English church, and applied to that Society for assistance. The papers on this subject, among the Bernon MSS. are thus marked on the envelope:

“Lettres et autres Papiers que justifie et regarde notre etablissement pour l’Eglise Episcopale de Providence.”

Some of the letters are in English. One from Mr. Bernon is, “Copy of a Letter to Mr. James Honeyman, minister of the Church of England at Newport in Roadisland, Septemb^r. 21, 1721.” In this he writes, “My last going to Roadisland was chiefly to be partaker of the communion and secondly to shew your honour how busy are the gentlemen of the government of Boston and Connecticut to establish the presbyterian church in our town of Providence. And also I was willing to shew your honour the letter that Mr. Joseph Morse minister of Dorchester has writ to me and my answer to him to the purpose, but your honour did not see cause to give me the opportunity to shew the said letters unto you &c. . . . Thirdly my intention was to propose unto you and Mr. Mac Sparran minister of Narraganset, some measure that your honours should not forsake our town of Providence to not let us destitutes and deprived absolutely from the Church of Englnd, when the other hands party are so actives to establish the presbytery church in our said Providence town,” &c. . . .

The letter, of which this was a copy, was enclosed to Mr. McSparran in a letter addressed to *him*, dated “Sept^r. 27, 1721.” In this Mr. Bernon writes, “Inclosed is a copy of my letter to the gentleman your colleague, for to trying and to promoting the Church. I may say since twenty years I have past by divers and several different and hard difficulty and circumstance that I desire with great passion to forget, for a better behaviour amongst us, and for the honour of the Church in the Government of Roadisland where I look Mr. Honeyman, and your selfe to be the two chief gentlemen and the two only minister for establishing the Church in the said Government, &c. . .

“Gentlemen It seems to me this is the time that we should shew our zeals for the propagation and setting the Church in

Providence town the principal and first town establish in the said government where yours honours are most belongs; for we can't slight or neglected what concerns salvation and happiness of . . . people &c." "Sir you have already done right well by goodness, promoting the true church in Bristol town, so it is hopes with great expectation of your generosity, you will do the same for our town of Providence were you have most interest being the like government and the same Diocese as Naraganset where you have your residence.

"When your honour will go from Narraganset to Bristol or Swansay, if you but be pleass to let me know, I shall do my best to meet you at Warik, or elsewhere &c." . . .

Mr. McSparran, in a letter to Mr. G. Bernon, dated "Kings-town July 2^d, 1721," writes: "Pursuant to your request and my appointment with Collector . . . I've determined to be at y^r house Monday night the 10th of this month and to preach and to baptize your children on Tuesday, so that you may notifie as many as you please, particularly Mr. Nathaniel Brown of Kettlepoint your messenger to me &c." . . .

In another letter, Oct. 5, 1721. "Narraganset," Mr. McSparran writes, in answer to G. Bernon: "I rejoyce you continue zealour and forward to promote a Church of England in your town." . . . and gives encouragement of assistance in the work. But he adds: "Mr. Honyman never mentioned any thing to me about it, nor is it practicable for me to begin such an affair, considering I'm become y^e mark of by the steps I have taken in y^e like affair at Bristol."

In the "Memoranda" of those, who might be consulted or written to, on ecclesiastical concerns, are: "Mr. Moore secretary for propagating the gospel in forreign parts &c. . . . Mr. Dummer, at the Temple Exchange Coffee house . . . at the Temple," &c. This gentleman, I presume, was Mr. Jeremy Dummer, the Massachusetts agent, who was at London in 1721, the last year of his agency.

Nothing effectual appears to have been done for several years after the last mentioned date, towards the settling of the Episcopal church in Providence. Difficulties occurred; and, at length, Mr. Bernon addressed a letter to dean BERKELEY, for his interposition and advice. This eminent man, afterwards bishop of Cloyne, was at that time at Newport, in Rhode Island, which was the place of his residence while in America. His letter, in answer to Bernon's is dated "Newport Avril 9, 1729." He excuses himself from any interference in the ecclesiastical concerns of Providence, in consideration that he is simply a passenger in this country, without any authority over the churches of that colony; and that all his jurisdiction was for the diocese of Londonderry in Ireland; but he assures him, that he has no doubt, the bishop of London, and the honourable society for propagating the Gospel,

would take just and wise measures for remedying the evils complained of; and that he shall not cease to pray to God to succour and protect the church at Providence. He concludes his letter with an apology for writing in a language, in which he was not accustomed to write.

. "Je ne suis qu' un simple passager dans ce pais sans etre revêtuë d' aucune autorité in jurisdiction sur les Eglises de cette colonie et que toute ma petite jurisdiction (telle qu' elle soit) est . . . [illegible] . . . pour la Diocese de London-Derry en Ireland. . . . Je puis cependant vous assurer que je ne doute gueres que Monseigneur l' Evêque de Londres et l' honorable Societè prendrent des mesures tres justes et sages pour y remedier. . . . Je ne laisse . . . pas pourtant de supplier le Bon Dieu de secourir et de proteger votre Eglise de Providence. Vous avois la bonté Monsieur de me pardonner ce que j' écris dans une langue que je n' ay pratiqué que tres rarement et de croire que je suis avec beaucoup de respect,

Monsieur

votre tres humble et tres obeissant
serviteur GEOR. BERKELEY."

F.

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SECOND SETTLEMENT OF OXFORD.

Copy of a Deed conveying the Lands in Oxford to the second Company of Settlers, 1713.

Extracted from the Records of the town of Oxford, at Mr. Campbell's, the Town Clerk, by A. H. 1817.

"To all people unto whom these presents shall come Joseph Dudley of Roxbury in the county of Suffolk and Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Esq. W^m. Taylor of Dorchester in the same county Esq. Peter Sergeant of Boston aforesaid Esq. and Mehetabell his wife, John Danforth of Dorchester aforesaid and Elizabeth his wife, John Nelson of Boston aforesaid Esq. and Elizabeth his wife, as they the said W^m. Taylor, Peter Sergeant, John Nelson and John Danforth are the heirs and executors of the Hon. W^m. Stoughton late of Dorchester Esq. deceased, send greeting: Whereas the General Court of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in the year One thousand six hundred and eighty two granted to the said Joseph Dudley, W^m. Stoughton, major Robert Tompson and their Associates a certain tract of land scituate in the Nipmug Country, of eight miles

square, for a Township &c. as may be seen more at large by the Records of said General Court, Pursuant whereunto and for the uses aforesaid the said Joseph Dudley W^m. Stoughton and their Associates in the year one thousand six hundred eighty and brought over thirty French Protestant Families into this country, and settled them upon the easternmost part or end of the said Tract of land, and severed, granted, and sett apart 12000 acres for a village called Oxford for the said Families, and bounded it as by a Platt upon Record will manifestly appear: But forasmuch as the said French families have many years since wholly left and deserted their settlements in the said Village, and the said lands as well by their deserting the same, and refusing to return upon publick Proclamations made for that end, as by the voluntary surrender of most of them are now reinvested in restored to and become the estate and at the disposition of the original proprietors their heirs and successors for the ends aforesaid And whereas there are sundry good families of her majesty's subjects within this province who offer themselves to go and resettle the said village whereby they may be serviceable to the province and the end and design of the original grant aforesaid be answered and attained: Now Know Ye, That the said Joseph Dudley, W^m. Taylor, Peter Sergeant and Mehetabell his wife, John Nelson and Elizabeth his wife, and John Danforth and Elizabeth his wife, for and in consideration and to the uses and intents above-mentioned, Have fully, freely, and absolutely and by these presents do give grant and confirm unto Samuell Hagbour John Town Daniel Elliott, Abiel Lamb, Joseph Chamberlin, Benj^a. Nealand, Benoni Twitchell, Joseph Rockett, Benj^a. Chamberlin, Joshua Whitney, Thomas Hunkins, Joseph Chamberlin jun. Oliver Collier, Daniel Pearson, Abram Skinner, Ebenezer Chamberlin, James Cotter, Isaac Learned, Eben^r. Learned, Thomas Leason, Eben^r. Humphry, Jon^a. Tillotson, Edmund Taylor, Ephraim Town, Israel Town, W^m. Hudson, Daniel Elliott jun^r. Nathaniel Chamberlin, John Chandler jun^r. John Chandle and others their Associates, so as their number amount to thirty families at least, All that Part of the s^d. Tract of Land &c. &c. . . . PROVIDED ALWAYS, That if any of the persons grantees above named or any of their Associates shall and do neglect to settle upon and improve the said land with themselves and families by the space of two years next ensuing, or being settled thereon shall leave and desert the same and not return to their respective habitations in the said Town upon due notice given, That then and in such case it shall and may be lawful to and for the rest of the Grantees and their Associates heirs or assigns respectively or the major part of them to seise upon and take the said Estate or Estates of such person or persons so deserting &c. . . .

In witness whereof the party abovenamed to these presents have hereunto interchangeably set their hands and seals the 8th.

day of July in the 12th. year of her Majesty's Reigne Annoq. Dom. 1713.

JOSEPH DUDLEY (SEAL.)
 WM. TAYLOR (SEAL.)
 &c.

"Boston July 15th. 1713 Rec^d. and Recorded with the Records of Deeds for the C^y. of Suffolk, Lib. XXVII^m. fol. 174 &c per Addington Davenport Register." [Attested by John Town, Town Clerk.]

Division of Land.

From Oxford Town Records.

The draft of y^e first Division of Land voted to be drawn on January. y^e 18th. 171 $\frac{2}{3}$ To each man of the 30 to his house lot—his choice according to the lot he draws each man's lot to be 60 acres.

Daniel Eliot jun.	1	John Coller	16
Eph ^m . Town	2	Joshua Whitney	17
Sam ^l . Hagbourn	3	Joseph Rocket	18
Benony Twichel	4	Eben. Larned	19
Isaac Larned	5	Joseph Chamberlin	20
Joshua Chandler	6	Thomas Hunkins	21
Eben. Humphry	7	Edmund Taylor	22
Daniel Pearson	8	Eben. Chamberlin	23
W ^m . Hudson	9	Nathl. Chamberlin	24
Benj ⁿ . Nealand	10	Jonathan Tillotson	25
Jos ^h . Chamberlin jun.	11	Oliver Coller	26
Daniel Eliot	12	John Chandler jun.	27
Abiel Lamb*	13	Benj ⁿ . Chamberlin	28
Thomas Gleason	14	Abram Skinner	29
John Town	15	Israel Town	30

G.

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ADDITIONAL NOTICES OF THE FRENCH SETTLEMENT AT OXFORD.

The lapse of a century since the resettlement of Oxford, by the ancestors of its present inhabitants, has nearly obliterated the remembrance of the fact of its original settlement by the FRENCH. A river, which runs through the town, does indeed bear up their name; but *why* it was so called, if known there, is scarcely known

* Died not many years ago, aged upwards of 90 years. He often "told about the Great Snow," which occurred when he was a boy [1717-18].

in the vicinity. This river runs about three quarters of a mile west of the great road that leads over Oxford plain, and falls into the Quinebaug in the town of Thompson, in Connecticut.* The Quinebaug I had known from early life, as passing through Oxford, and Thompson, and joining the Shetucket at Norwich; but this smaller stream, the bridge over which is at a considerable distance below the village of Oxford, had not attracted my particular notice. In passing it, nine years ago, seeing a boy near the bridge, I asked him, What is the name of this river? "French river," he replied. Why, I asked, is it called *French* river? "I believe," said he, "there were some French people once here"—pointing up the stream. On my arrival at the village, I inquired of Mr. Campbell, the innkeeper, who gave me sufficient information on the subject to excite farther inquiry, and to render all the subsequent labour of investigation delightful. Mr. Campbell was of the family of the Rev. Mr. Campbell, formerly a respectable minister of Oxford. Having married a daughter of Mrs. Butler, who was a descendant of one of the French settlers, he referred me for information to his wife, who, after telling me all that she knew, referred me to her mother. I waited upon Mrs. Butler, who obligingly told me all that she could recollect concerning the French emigrants.

Mrs. BUTLER was the wife of Mr. James Butler, who lives near the first church in Oxford; and, when I saw her, was in the seventy-fifth year of her age. Her original name was Mary

* The writer of an original history of the county of Worcester, in a late Historical Journal, corrects former mistakes respecting *French river*, which name, he says, "two streams formerly bore." French river, properly so called, has its principal source in Spencer, and receives waters from Leicester, Paxton, and Charlton; and, passing through Oxford and Dudley, "it enters the state of Connecticut, where it unites with the Quineboag," which also runs through Worcester county. "It afterwards takes the name of Thames, and enters into Long Island Sound, near New London." This Journal will be welcomed by all the lovers of history and antiquity in our country. It is entitled, "The Worcester Magazine and Historical Journal." It commenced in October last, and is publishing under the direction of an Historical Society, recently formed in the county of Worcester. The Corresponding Secretary, who obligingly sent me the numbers that had been published, writes: "It is intended to be the medium through which we shall present to the publick, our collections for a complete history of this county." The associates, who have pledged themselves to furnish this history, say: "To accomplish our objects in their full extent, all of these relics, within our reach, should be critically examined and carefully collated. Even our burying grounds, the sacred inclosures, where the venerable 'forefathers of our hamlets sleep,' should not pass unnoticed. The fading inscriptions of their monuments should be retraced with faithful diligence." That diligence may lead our fellow labourers to visit a place in their county, at the distance of twelve miles only from Worcester, and settled within one year of that now beautiful and flourishing town;—a place, where, if they shall find no monument, they may be induced to erect one. It is richly deserved; and whoever shall raise it, however simple its materials, may say with Horace,

EXECI MONUMENTUM ÆRE PERENNIOUS.

Sigourney. She was a granddaughter of Mr. Andrew Sigourney, who came over when young, with his father, from Rochelle. Her grandmother's mother died on the voyage, leaving an infant of only six months (who was the grandmother of Mrs. Butler), and another daughter, Mary Cazneau, who was then six years of age. The information which Mrs. Butler gave me, she received from her grandmother, who lived to about the age of eighty-three, and from her grandmother's sister, who lived to the age of ninety-five or ninety-six years.

Mrs. Butler's Reminiscences.

The refugees left France in 1684, or 1685,* with the utmost trepidation and precipitancy. The great grandfather of Mrs. Butler, Mr. Germaine, gave the family notice that they *must go*. They came off with secrecy, with whatever clothes they could put upon the children, and left the pot boiling over the fire. When they arrived at Boston, they went directly to Fort Hill, where they were provided for; and there they continued until they went to Oxford. They built one fort on Mayo's hill, on the east side of French river; and, tradition says, another fort on the west side. Mrs. Butler believed, they had a minister with them.

Mrs. Johnson, the wife of Mr. Johnson who was killed by the Indians in 1696, was a sister of the first Andrew Sigourney. Her husband, returning home from Woodstock while the Indians were massacring his family, was shot down at his own door. Mr. Sigourney, hearing the report of the guns, ran to the house, and seizing his sister, pulled her out at a back door, and took her over French river, which they waded through, and fled towards Woodstock, where there was a garrison. The Indians killed the children, dashing them against the jambs of the fire-place.

Mrs. Butler thinks, the French were at Oxford eighteen or nineteen years. Her grandmother, who was brought over an infant, was married, and had a child, while at Oxford. This fact would lead us to believe, that the SIGOURNEY family returned to Oxford after the fear of the Indians had subsided. It is believed in Oxford, that a few families *did* return. These families may have returned again to Boston in about nineteen years from the time of their first settlement in Oxford, agreeably to Mrs. Butler's opinion; in which case, the time coincides with that of the erection of the first French church in Boston, 1704-5. Mr. Andrew Sigourney, who furnished the written materials for this Memoir, still lives on or near the place that was occupied by his ancestors.

Mrs. Butler lived in Boston until the American revolution, and soon afterward removed to Oxford. Her residence in both places rendered her more familiar with the history of the emigrants

* Mrs. Butler's account was entirely verbal, according to her recollection. — Mrs. Butler died in 1823, *Ætat.* LXXXI.

than she would have been, had she resided exclusively in either. She says, they prospered in Boston, after they were broken up at Oxford. Of the memorials of the primitive plantation of her ancestors she had been very observant, and still cherished a reverence for them. Mrs. Shumway, of French extraction, living near the Johnson house, showed her the spot where the house stood, and some of its remains. Col. Jeremiah Kingsbury, about fifty-five years of age [1817], has seen the chimney and other remains of that house. His mother, aged about eighty-four years, told Mrs. Butler that there was a burying place, called "The French Burying Ground," not far from the fort at Mayo's Hill. She herself remembers to have seen many graves there.

French Families.

Mrs. Butler named, as of the first emigrants from France, the following families :

BOWDOIN and BOUDINOT came to Boston :—could not say, whether or not they came to Oxford.

BOWYER, who married a Sigourney.

GERMAINE :—removed to New York.

OLIVER :—did not know, whether this family came to Oxford, or not ; but the ancestor, by the mother's side, was a Sigourney.

SIGOURNEY. Andrew Sigourney, son of the first emigrant of that name, was born in Oxford, and died in 1763, aged sixty years. He was the uncle of Mrs. Butler, my informant ; of the late Martin Brimmer, Esq. of Boston, and Mr. Andrew Brimmer, still living ; and of the late Hon. Samuel Dexter, of Boston.

No branch of the Bowdoin family is known to have been settled south of New England. Governor Bowdoin left one daughter, the lady of Sir John Temple, some time consul general of Great Britain in the United States. Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John and lady Temple, was married to the Hon. THOMAS L. WINTHROP, Esq. of Boston, a member of the senate of Massachusetts, and now (April 1826) candidate for lieutenant governor. Mrs. Winthrop died in 1825. In that truly honourable lady were combined dignity with ease, intellectual with polite accomplishments, benevolence of temper with beneficence in action, Christian principles with the Christian graces. One of the sons, Francis William Winthrop, a young man highly distinguished as a scholar, and of very fair promise, was graduated at Harvard college in 1817, but died soon after he had finished his education. Another son, James, who, since the death of his uncle James Bowdoin, has taken his name, is the only representative of the Bowdoins, of that name, now living in New England.

Some future antiquary may perhaps trace the original name to the famous Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, who, according to French authority, spelt his name precisely as the first of this family in America, *Baudouin*. He died in 1118, and his remains

were deposited in a church on Mount Calvary. Fleury, in his *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, Edit. 1779, gives an account of nineteen eminent persons, from the "compte de Flanders," A. D. 862, to Baudouin, "jurisconsulte," A. D. 1561, whose names are uniformly written *Baudouin*.

The Hon. Samuel Dexter, senior, father of the late Mr. Dexter, who married a Sigourney, was a member of the first provincial congress in Massachusetts, and founder of the Dexter professorship of Sacred Literature in the University in Cambridge. Soon after the commencement of the revolutionary war, he removed with his family to Woodstock, in Connecticut. He had a large library, which attracted much attention at the time of its removal; and he was greatly devoted to the use of it in his retirement, to the close of his life. He was a gentleman of a highly respectable character, possessed of a handsome estate, and enjoyed, far beyond most literary men in our country, *otium cum dignitate*. He spent a few of his last years at Mendon, in Massachusetts, where he died in 1810; but his remains were interred, according to the directions of his Will, at Woodstock. I have seen the lot in which he was buried, not far from the first church in my native town; but no sign of his grave can be traced. It was his own direction, that his body should be interred in the exact centre of the lot, and the grave levelled on the surface, and the whole lot cultivated alike, that no distinction might be perceived. There is a good portrait of Mr. Dexter at the Library of our University. Mrs. Dexter I well remember while at Woodstock. She was a respectable lady, of dark complexion, with characteristic French features, and pronunciation.

Very soon after my visit to Mrs. Butler, I received a letter from her husband, expressing her regret, that she had not mentioned to me Mrs. Wheeler, a widow lady, the mother of Mr. Joseph Coolidge, an eminent merchant in Boston. Her maiden name was Oliver. She was a branch of the Germaine family, and related to "old Mr. Andrew Sigourney," in whose family she was brought up, and at whose house she was married. Mrs. Butler supposed, she must be between eighty and ninety years of age, and that, being so much older than herself, she had heard more particulars from their ancestors; but, on inquiry for Mrs. Wheeler in Boston, I found that she died a short time before the reception of the letter.

How much do we lose by neglecting the advice of the Son of Strach! "Μὴ ἀπόχαι διηγήματος γέροντων—Miss not the discourse of the elders; for they also learned of their fathers, and of them thou shalt learn understanding, and to give answer as need requireth."

Remains of the French Fort.

My first visit to Fort Hill in Oxford was 20 April, 1819. It is about a mile southerly of the inn, kept many years by the Campbell family, at the union of the two great roads from Boston and Worcester, about fifty miles from Boston. Mr. Mayo, who owns the farm on which the fort stands, believes, that his grandfather purchased it of one of the French families; and Mr. Sigourney, of Oxford, thinks it was bought of his ancestor, Andrew Sigourney. I measured the fort by paces, and found it 25 paces by 35. Within the fort, on the east side, I discovered signs of a well; and, on inquiry, was informed that a well had been recently filled up there.

On a second visit to the Fort, in September of the same year, I was accompanied, and aided in my researches, by the Rev. Mr. BRAZER, then a Professor in our University, who went over from Worcester, and met me, by agreement, in Oxford. We traced the lines of the bastions of the fort, and were regaled with the perfumes of the shrubbery, and the grapes then hanging in clusters on the vines, planted by the Huguenots above a century before. Every thing here, said Mr. Mayo, is left as I found it.

We next went in search of the Johnson place, memorable for the Indian massacre in 1696. Mr. Peter Shumway, a very aged man, of French descent, who lives about thirty rods distant from it, showed us the spot. It is at a considerable distance from the village, on the north side of the road to Dudley, and is now overgrown with trees. We carefully explored it, but found no relics.—The last year (1825) I called at Mr. Shumway's. He told me, that he was in his ninety-first year; that his great grandfather was from France; and that the plain, on which he lives, is called "Johnson's Plain."

While Mr. Brazer was prosecuting our inquiries concerning a second fort, and a church, that had been mentioned to me by Mrs. Butler, he received a letter (1819) from Mr. Andrew Sigourney, informing, that captain Humphrey, of Oxford, says, his parents told him, there was a fort on the land upon which he now lives, and also a French meeting house, and a burying ground, with a number of graves; that he had seen the stones that were laid on the top of them, as we lay turf, and that one of the graves was much larger than any of the others; that *they* were east and west, but *this*, north and south; and that the Frenchman who lived in this place, named Bourdine, had been dead but a few years.

In May, 1825, I visited captain Ebenezer Humphrey, and obtained from him satisfactory information concerning the place of this second fort, and the meeting house, and the burying ground. Captain Humphrey was in his eighty-fourth year. He told me, that his grandfather was from England, and that his father was from Woodstock, and came to Oxford to keep garrison. He

himself now lives where his father lived, about half a mile west from Oxford village. His house is near a mill, standing upon a small stream that runs on the left near the great road leading to Norwich. About fifty or sixty rods from his house, he showed me the spot where the fort stood, and, near it, the lot upon which were the meeting-house and burying ground. No remains of either were visible. He pointed to an excavation of the earth, where, he said, was a well, which had been filled up. It was at the place of the fort, and had been, probably, within it. In the lot there were apple trees, which, he told me, he heard his father say, "the French set out." His father must have been a competent witness; for he was seventy years old when he told him this, and he himself was then twenty years of age. The field was under fine cultivation; but I could not forbear to express my regret, that the memorials of the dead had not been preserved. He said, an older brother of his had ploughed up the field, and it was in this state when it came into his possession. He told me, that one of his oldest sisters said, she remembered the old horseblock, that stood near the French meeting-house. He said, he had seen the blood on the stones of the Johnson house; and that Mrs. Johnson, on the night of the massacre; went to Woodstock. Bourdillé* (so he pronounced it) lived near the brook, which runs by his house. The land of captain Humphrey, upon which were a French fort, and church, and burying ground, lies near the foot of Mayo's hill, on the summit of which stood the great Fort, whose remains are still to be seen.

Of this interesting place we feel reluctant to take leave, without some token of remembrance, beside the mere recital of facts, some of which are dry in the detail, while many others are but remotely associated with it. Were any monumental stone to be found here, other memorials were less necessary. Were the cypress, or the weeping willow, growing here, nothing might seem wanting, to perpetuate the memory of the dead. Any contributions of the living, even at this late period, towards supplying the defect, seem entitled to preservation. The inquiries and researches of visitants from abroad drew the attention of the villagers at home. In 1822, the writer of the Memoir received a MS. Poem on the French exiles, superscribed "Oxford;" anonymous, but apparently from a female pen. It was of considerable length, and not equally sustained throughout; but the tender and respectful regard shown by the writer to those excellent pilgrims, who left "not a stone to tell where they lie," and her just reflections upon the value of religious liberty, and the iniquity and horrors of tyranny, entitle her to high estimation. Many lines do honour to her genius, and all of them to her sensibility. If she is a descendant from the Huguenots, this is a tribute of filial piety; if not, it is an oblation of generous sympathy.

* Mr. Sigourney wrote it "Bourdine." The spelling and pronunciation of some French names, it is probable, are irrecoverably lost.

The same year, a letter was also received from a Lady, well known in our literary community, enclosing a poetical tribute to the memory of the Huguenots of Oxford, which is not less worthy of her pen, than of her connexion.* Her marriage with a worthy descendant of one of the first French families that settled in Oxford, fairly entitled her to the subject, which her pen will perpetuate, should the Memoir be forgotten. A leaf of the grape vine was enclosed in the letter, which has this conclusion : " We received great pleasure from our visit to Oxford, and as we traced the ruins of the first rude fortress erected by our ancestors, the present seemed almost to yield in reality to the past. I send you a leaf from the vine, which still flourishes in luxuriance, which, I am sorry to say, resembles our own natives of the woods a little too strongly. Something beside, I also send you, which savours as little of the Muse's inspiration, as the vine in question does of foreign extraction ; but if poetical license can find affinities for the latter, I trust your goodness will extend its mantle over the infirmity of the former."

ON VISITING A VINE AMONG THE RUINS OF THE FRENCH FORT AT OXFORD (Mass.)—supposed to have been planted by the Huguenots, who made settlements at that place, when they fled from their native country, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685.

SAY, did thy germ e'er drink the fostering dews
 Of beauteous Languedoc?—Didst thou unfold
 Thy latent fibre 'neath the genial skies
 Of smiling Rousillon?—or fragrant hang
 In purple cluster from some fruitful vine
 Of fair Rochelle?—Perchance thy infant leaves
 Have trembled at the bitter sigh of those
 Whom Tyranny oppress'd, or shuddering caught
 That silent tear which suffering Virtue sheds
 In loneliness,—that tear which witnesseth
 To the high Judge.—Not by rash, thoughtless hands
 Who sacrifice to Bacchus, pouring forth
 Libations at his altar, with wild songs
 Hailing his madden'd orgies, wert thou borne
 To foreign climes,—but with the suffering band
 Of pious Huguenots didst dare the wave,
 When they essay'd to plant Salvation's vine
 In the drear wilderness. Pensive they mark'd
 The everlasting forest's gloomy shade,
 The uncultur'd vale, the snow-invested heath
 Track'd by the vengeful native ; yet to rear
 Their temple to the Eternal Sire, and pay
 Unfetter'd homage to his name were joy,

* Mrs. L. HUNTLEY SIGOURNEY.

Though on their hymn of praise the desert howl'd.
The savage arrow scath'd them, and dark clouds
Involv'd their infant Zion, yet they bore
Toil and affliction with unwavering eye
Fix'd on the heavens, and firm in hope sublime
Sank to their last repose.—Full many a son
Among the noblest of our land, looks back
Through Time's long vista, and exulting claims
These as his Sires.—They sleep in mouldering dust,
But thou, fair Vine, in beauteous verdure bloom'st
O'er Man's decay. Wooing thy tendrils green
Springs the wild Rose, as if it fain would twine
Wreaths for its native soil.—And well it may;
For here dwell Liberty and laurell'd Peace
Lending to life new lustre, and with dews
Ethereal bathing Nature's charms. The child
Of Poverty feels here no vassalage, nor shrinks
From Persecution's scourge. The simplest hind,
Whether he homeward guide his weary team,
Beneath the evening star, or whistling lead
To pastures fresh with morn his snowy sheep,
Bears on his brow in deepen'd characters
“ Knowledge is Power.”—He too, with filial eye
Uncheck'd, undimm'd, marks blest Religion come,
In simple mildness, binding on the heart
Her law of love, gilding each gather'd cloud
Of varied sentiment, that o'er the dust
Of Earth's low confine hangs,—with beams serene
From that bright Sun which shall hereafter blend
All fleeting shades in one effulgent smile
Of Immortality.

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