

Christianity under the Ancien Régime, 1648–1789

In the middle of the seventeenth century religious belief and practice were intrinsic parts of everyday life and very difficult to escape. Professor Ward offers a brief, but comprehensible, account of Christianity in Europe between the Westphalia settlements 1648 and the French Revolution in 1789. The focus of the book, however, is not on the religious institutions themselves, but on policy, that is to say those things which conservatives and reformers, revivalists and missionaries, statesmen and peasants sought to change or preserve in their religious heritage. The book is organised around large European regions, for instance, central and north-western Europe (including Britain), southern Europe, and northern and eastern Europe, and within each chapter the political, social and intellectual events and influences of the times are discussed, thus allowing the reader to understand changes in policy in context. With its maps, glossary and guide to further reading, this will be a major aid to students of Christianity under the *Ancien Régime*.

W. R. WARD is Emeritus Professor of Modern History at the University of Durham. He has contributed to several journals and has written a large number of books including *Faith and Faction* (1993) and *The Protestant Evangelical Awakening* (1992).

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W. R. Ward



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Preface

To outline the religious history even of Christianity alone among religions in Europe in the century and a half between the Westphalia settlements and the French Revolution in a volume of modest compass, and to provide at the same time the basic introductions to the politics and the religious technicalities of the period which modern students need, involve a great exercise in leaving important things out and carry the risk of a somewhat importunate virtuosity in general judgments; the reader is entitled to know what the author thinks, though (within the limits of space) not always to the grounds on which opinions are based. It is well therefore to come clean at the outset as to strategy adopted. A history of Christianity in this period ought in my view to be primarily a history of religious belief and experience, and, while not neglecting the history of the churches, has less to do with a history of the churches than those bodies commonly claim. Thus a major institution like the papacy appears here as an engine of policy rather than as an institution; and the same is true of the principal feature of its institutional growth, Propaganda Fide. Religious belief and experience are, however, deeply affected by the churches' political involvement. It would be nice to feature an *Alltagsgeschichte* of popular religious observance and its significance, but for huge areas of Europe nothing of this kind is available; and where a good deal of work has been done its value has been diminished by the rashness of historians in adopting a rather amateur anthropology for the occasion. Nevertheless where the evidence permits *mentalités* make their appearance. At the other end of the social scale eighteenth-century writers raised many important questions about the grounds of Christian belief, and some of these are approached in the longest chapter of the book. It would here be an advantage to have found more space for the history of biblical studies but this has not proved possible. Overseas missions, already altering the European churches, perforce appear only by implication or by side-winds. Nor has it been possible in this study to remedy the great neglect by historians of doctrine of eighteenth-century theology except as slanted towards questions thrown up by the Enlightenment.

There would be little virtue in attempting a study of this kind as a collection of encyclopaedia-style articles by nation or denomination (which are in any case available elsewhere). It is possible to treat the history of ideas from a single point of view; but on broader themes it has seemed best to work with large regional blocks, which have in the main to be politically defined. Even so a God's-eye view or even a pan-continental perspective is out of reach, and the book is largely written round an axis from Britain to central Europe. This is due partly but not mainly to the bias of the author's studies. It has the pragmatic justification that one distinguished contribution to this theme has been made by Sir Owen Chadwick from an Italian base, that the well-worn series produced by Fliche and Martin are written from a French viewpoint, and that a major history of the French church is expected from Professor McManners soon after this book is due to go to the publishers. Moreover the Cambridge University Press itself is contemplating a volume by another hand devoted to the French Revolution and the Church. Another angle therefore seems advantageous. The drawback with the standpoint adopted is that it is more suitable for the study of Protestantism than of Catholicism (then as now the majority party); but I think it is also true that in this period, as the Counter-Reformation ran into the sands, more new things were happening on a local basis in the Protestant world than the Catholic, and that many of the new Catholic developments can be profitably observed from a German standpoint.

The book therefore attempts to illustrate the balance between lethargy and vitality in eighteenth-century Christianity by sampling various aspects of religious life and attempting to sketch the main outlines of its history on a regional basis. One unwritten aspect of its history which might well prove to be an indicator of a much wider field is the fate of mysticism in the eighteenth century; grounds of space have compelled its abandonment here, but I hope to return to it later.

A book of this kind profits from the labours of many scholars, and the suggestions of friends and colleagues; it is proper here to thank the anonymous readers of the Cambridge University Press, who would doubtless have written a very different kind of book themselves, for much valiant assistance in remedying the limitations of the author's knowledge. To the Bishop Bell Foundation are due best thanks for encouragement and for financial assistance to a student excluded by retirement from many of the usual sources of research subvention. My wife, as always, has put up with the entire project with exemplary patience.

Glossary

Almost all the technical terms used in the text are explained on the first occasion they appear; a few which are explained on a later occasion may be traced through the index. The following terms, many of them referring to topics which it has not been possible to discuss in the text, fall outside both categories.

Apocalypse, apocalyptic A vision of the future, like that of the Revelation of John in the New Testament; a genre of prophetic writings, including the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament, but not confined to the Bible.

Armageddon The site of the last decisive battle on the Day of Judgment (Rev. 16: 16); hence a final contest on a great scale.

cabbalism The cabbala was the oral tradition handed down from Moses to the rabbis of the Mishnah and the Talmud; here it is the most important school of Jewish mysticism which flourished in Christian Europe from the late twelfth to the nineteenth century.

Cartesianism The mathematical and metaphysical doctrines of René Descartes (1596–1650).

chiliasm The view that Christ will reign with his saints for 1000 years before the end of world history.

curia The papal court and government; hence curialism and anti-curialism.

diocese The sphere of jurisdiction of a bishop.

eschatology The doctrine of the four last things – death, judgment, heaven and hell, first treated on a substantial scale in the Lutheran tradition by Abraham Calov (1612–86). Whereas apocalyptic reflects on the way to the New Age, eschatology is concerned with the end of the Old Age.

Laodicea According to Rev. 3: 15 the Church at Laodicea was neither cold nor hot; it became the archetype of lukewarm religion.

neo-stoicism The influence of Roman writers such as Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, came in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to exceed that of all ancient philosophers with the exception of

Aristotle. Neo-stoicism was given academic shape by Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) and his pupils, and continued to be important right through to the Enlightenment.

Paracelsianism Doctrines derived from the Swiss physician, chemist and natural philosopher, Philippus Aureolus Paracelsus (1490–1521). His view of the universe as a complex of sympathetic relationships long attracted alchemists, mystics, Pietists and Quietists who resisted mechanical views of human nature.

Remonstrants Members of the Arminian party in the Dutch church whose views opposing absolute predestination were condemned at the Synod of Dort (1618–19). Stripped of their offices and banished, they formed a Remonstrant Brotherhood which still exists.

Rosicrucian A member of a society alleged to have been founded by Christian Rosenkreuz in 1484, but actually appearing in 1614 in the circle of Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654), a court chaplain and General Superintendent of Württemberg. Members claimed secret and magical knowledge; more substantially they looked for a renewal of church, state and society on a Paracelsian basis. In a later phase in which the English alchemist and astrologer, Elias Ashmole (1617–92), was prominent, the movement became an influence upon freemasonry.

Socinianism A sixteenth-century anti-Trinitarian doctrine propounded by Laelius and Faustus Socinus (or Sozzini), Italian theologians, uncle and nephew. They denied the divinity of Christ, his atonement and the doctrine of original sin. Socinians were numerous in Poland and Transylvania in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and were voluble in England from the 1690s.

Theosophy Any speculative system which bases a knowledge of nature on that of the divine nature. Apparently anticipated in 1 Cor. 2: 10, it is used in this period mostly with reference to Böhme and the complex of Paracelsian, Rosicrucian and cabalistic ideas which attracted many opponents of Protestant Orthodoxy.

1 Peace and conflict: church and state in central and north-western Europe

Christian and non-Christian belief

In the middle of the seventeenth century religious belief and practice, by no means all of it Christian or confessionally organised, was interwoven with most aspects of life and was very difficult to escape. There were no doubt few who had Luther's vivid sense of the immediate and terrifying presence of God, but the time when a fine mystical soul like Gerhard Tersteegen (1697–1769), a slightly older contemporary of Wesley, could devote much of his ministry to assisting his fellows to 'realize the presence of God' (his most famous hymn in Wesley's translation begins 'Lo! God is here, let us adore') had not yet arrived. Many agricultural routines could be made to fit to the church calendar; many guilds were in one aspect religious associations with their own saints, banners, altars and processions; and if life could hardly be lived without some practice of religious rituals, formal or informal, death, which God had in store for everyone, was the crown and test of all that had gone before. Like matrimony, death, the great reaper, was not to be undertaken lightly or wantonly.

Between birth and death, the European peoples, Catholic and Protestant, found authority driving the parish harder, and seeking to break up the congenial mixture of religion and magic which had sufficed in the later Middle Ages. To get rid, in the one case, of superstition, and in the other of Catholicism and superstition, required a continual clerical pressure which was something new. In each case church furnishings were exposed to the new broom. One of the objects of Catholic pressure was to secure individual confessions, and the confessional box became the norm. On the Protestant side there was a determined attempt to concentrate the devotions of the people on the preaching service, and, by purging the churches of the familiar Catholic appeals to the senses, to exalt the Word of God read and preached. Over much of Protestant Europe this required almost three generations to complete, and was then often undone and recommenced as parishes changed hands during the wars. What was never completed was the effort to turn the family into an *ecclesiola* (a miniature church); much of what English Puritans called 'visiting' was

devoted to this, even to the reintroduction of confession by the back door. The Protestants, especially in Lutheran lands, reinforced their congregational solidarity with hymn-singing; but it illustrates the limits of our knowledge of the realities of popular worship, that congregations are known to have substituted their own less edifying lyrics for those in the hymn-books, a practice now impossible to assess. And if parish worship, slowly subsiding into a Protestant rut, became less of an entertainment than of yore, the rival entertainments of drinking, dancing, swearing, profligacy and rowdiness flourished invincibly.

There was less immediate change on the Catholic side, though besides the Council of Trent, zealous local reforming authorities were continually leaving their mark, and weeding out customary scenes which were now held to be damaging to the church. The Mass continued to be the centre of Catholic worship, though those who communicated more than three times a year were considered religious virtuosi. But just as the Catholic system depended less on the parish than the Protestant, so more of it went on outside the church than the Protestant. The veneration of saints was a Catholic characteristic at every level from the household to the nation, and in France the cult of relics reached extraordinary proportions. The church became more cautious in recognising the sanctity of individuals, but new religious orders were noteworthy for pushing hard in the corridors of canonisation. Pilgrimages also united all social classes and were great corporate celebrations. They had their Catholic critics, but limitation rather than abolition was the watchword. Places of grace were especially dear to the Catholic people. But all the time Catholic devotional practices were being subjected to clerical control, and Roman influences were supplanting regional peculiarities. And whether the institutionalisation of approved channels of grace, a process on the whole congenial to the modern state, would in the long run strengthen or weaken the faith of the flock remained to be seen.

Confessionalism and politics

Religious belonging, however, could never be solely a matter of the faithful and the parish. Israel had bequeathed to Christian Europe notions of corporate, covenantal, fidelity to God in which the symbolic role of the temple at Jerusalem had passed very fully to the various local religious establishments. Hardly any of these were efficient, but even the tiniest, like some of the minute establishments of Protestant Germany or of small Swiss cantons, were public statements of the relation of the community to God, and, as such, might at any time become a political issue. There was less difference on this point between Catholic and

Protestant states than appeared at first sight. The Catholic churches all acknowledged the universal headship of the Pope, and included religious orders with an international constituency; but all had conceded considerable rights to kings and princes, and city and cantonal governments, as the senior lay members of the congregation, while the popes themselves exercised secular authority over territories in central Italy. This inevitably embroiled them in the struggles of Habsburg and Bourbon for supremacy in the peninsula. And within the Catholic pantheon, different states adopted different celestial patrons, Poland the Virgin, Bohemia St John of Nepomuk and so forth. It was, moreover, Catholic states which had borne the brunt of the armed defence of Christendom against its external enemies, Spain against the Moors and Moriscos, Spain and the Republic of Venice against the Barbary pirates, Poland-Lithuania and the Holy Roman Empire against the Ottoman Turks; Poland against a Christian enemy external to western Christianity, Russian Orthodoxy. And, surmounting the cathedrals in the Kremlin fortress, the cross standing above the crescent still testifies to the ancient mission of Muscovy to put down Islam in the interests of Orthodoxy and Russian power. Nor were these conflicts, in which political interests and ideology could hardly be separated, a matter of the past. The Turks laid siege to Vienna in 1683; a fifteen-year struggle to force them back enabled the Habsburgs to lay the foundations of the Austro-Hungarian empire, and the final triumph of Prince Eugene over the Turks, sealed by the Peace of Passarowitz in 1718, had deep implications for the religious situation right through the Holy Roman Empire; the Habsburgs could not only continue a bitter struggle for the recatholicisation of Hungary with very little distraction from the south, they had enormously increased their political patronage and their ability to provide settlements for German peasantry, Protestant and Catholic. Moreover a great release of energies was accompanied by a powerful if covert temptation to turn away from the confessional divisions of the Holy Roman Empire to the creation of a dynastic empire in the Balkans. At the same time the power of Lutheran Sweden, which had reached its apogee in a great rescue operation on behalf of German Protestantism in the Thirty Years War (1618–48), was finally broken in a desperate attempt to supplant a nerveless Poland as a barrier against Russian expansion, an expansion short-sightedly assisted by the very Protestant states in north Germany Sweden had helped to save.

Confessionalism and coexistence

Thus politics and religion in the confessional sense could be mixed in very various proportions; but, whatever the proportions, it was very difficult

for any state to tolerate religious dissidence at home, and, when full-scale confessional conflict occurred, as it had in the Empire in the Thirty Years War, the prospects of restoring peace were undermined by the fact that the interests of *raison d'état* and confessional survival were frequently at odds. In the Westphalia settlement (the treaties of Münster and Osnabrück) in 1648 a pacification was painfully achieved, the pain of the achievement being fully matched by the discord among posterity as to its worth. In particular the initial relief at the conclusion of a disastrous conflict rapidly gave way to a cacophany of mutual accusations that the terms of the settlement were being abused in confessional interests.

Two factors made a religious agreement hard to reach. The Lutherans stood out for the principle of equality, that is, equal status not for individuals but for the estates of both confessions in the Empire; this the Catholic party were determined not to grant, and the Lutherans had not only to swallow their disappointment, but to allow the recognition of the Reformed faith as one of the three religions of the Empire. The chief representatives of this last were the Elector Palatine, who had precipitated the outbreak of the Thirty Years War by his disastrous attempt to seize the crown of Bohemia from the Habsburgs, and the Elector of Brandenburg the Reformed ruler of an overwhelmingly Lutheran state. The second problem in getting a settlement arose from the extraordinary fluctuation in the fortunes of war. After the Protestant debacle at the battle of the White Mountain in 1620 a decade of disasters followed which, but for Swedish and French intervention, seemed certain to lead to the downfall of the whole Protestant interest, and led in fact to the recatholicisation of many territories. The diplomatic device of the peace settlement was to select a 'normal' year and guarantee that the religious profession of every territory should be for the future as it had been in that year. After immense wrangling the year 1624 was agreed, a date on the whole favourable to the Catholics, and it was possible to bring a fearful and destructive conflict to an end. This agreement has been described as 'the establishment of Protestantism', and it undoubtedly meant that if the armed might of the Counter-Reformation had been unable to dislodge the Protestants hitherto, it would be unable to do so again.

Limitations to the Protestant guarantees

There were, however, four very substantial limitations to this guarantee. In the century between the outbreak of the Reformation and the beginning of the Thirty Years War, events had on the whole gone the Protestants' way; in the century commencing with the White Mountain, the reverse was true, and to this the Westphalia settlement made little differ-

ence. The early successes of the Reformation had encouraged princes to climb on to a successful bandwagon; now they had every inducement to climb off. The chances of mortality brought to an end the Protestant line in the Palatinate in 1685, and the succession passed to a Catholic branch. Protestant princes unable to attain royal status within the Empire looked for crowns elsewhere; Brandenburg, Hesse and Hanover found them in East Prussia, Denmark and Great Britain without surrendering their Protestantism; but the head of the *Corpus Evangelicorum* (the Protestant fraction in the Imperial Diet), the Elector of Saxony, successfully pursued the crown of Poland, and, in order to get it was received into the Catholic Church in 1697 (retaining his headship of the Protestant body). The duchy of Württemberg passed to a Catholic in 1733. By the beginning of the eighteenth century almost every Protestant princely house in the Empire had one or two converts to Rome. The Protestant church establishments showed great tenacity in holding their ground when the princely house changed confession, and were assisted by the Westphalia provision about the 'normal' year; but the whole point of establishment was that the forces of authority should stand together, and an establishment without the head of state looked threadbare.

The second great limitation lay in the local implementation of the peace settlement. Even in an atmosphere of goodwill it would not have been easy to work legislation by reference to a date already a generation past when the peace treaties were signed. In fact the bitter Protestant experience was that, as at more exalted levels, the tide went pretty consistently against them, and even a century later, an enormous amount of the time and energy of the public authorities in Germany was still taken up with trying to implement what was supposed to be the fundamental law of the Empire. The constant disputes over petty local matters of status and convenience were among the things which generated a mentality of conservatism and pessimism in the German Protestant churches; they had sought security in an internationally guaranteed status, had hardly found what they hoped for, and could not see where to turn next. That their fears were not illusory was demonstrated in 1719. The scene (appropriately) was the Palatinate, now governed by a Catholic line. The great church of Heidelberg, the church of the Holy Spirit, was a mirror image of conditions in the Electorate as a whole. The choir was owned by the Electors who were buried there, and for forty years it had been used by the Catholics and separated from the rest of the building by a wall from top to bottom. This wall was now pulled down, and the Reformed were turned out, with specious promises designed to induce them to forego their internationally guaranteed status, and, prospectively, that large part of the ecclesiastical revenues of the Palatinate attached to the church.

Moreover, concluding that the glosses to the eightieth question of the Heidelberg catechism to the effect that the Mass was 'abominable idolatry' were not part of the original catechism that he was bound to maintain, the Elector seized all the copies he could find notwithstanding that his arms appeared on the title page. Politicians, especially in England and Hanover, were deeply convinced that the affair had been worked up by the papal curia to get the Emperor out of Italy and embroil him with England in Germany. This international dimension forced a local dispute to the very brink of war. At the brink the Elector yielded and the Palatine Protestants regained their rights. This retreat proved to be the end of the Catholic advance which had been going on for a century, unhalted by the Westphalia settlements. But this was more clearly perceived in the Chancelleries than among the faithful; among them the spectre of the ultimate Armageddon between Catholic and Protestant still struck fear to the end of the Seven Years War.

The third limitation upon Protestant satisfaction with the peace settlements was the confessional price which had to be paid. In effect the huge number of Protestants in the great triangle between Salzburg, Transylvania, and Poland were abandoned to the tender mercies of the Counter-Reformation. The Emperor was not prepared to make concessions in his family lands. In Silesia where there was a Protestant majority, Protestant worship was to be permitted in the duchies of Brieg, Liegnitz and Münsterberg-Oels, and the town of Breslau, three new 'grace' churches (i.e. churches built by special permission of the peace settlement) were to be built elsewhere, and the Protestant Silesian nobility of other duchies together with their subjects (and the remnant of the Protestant nobility of Lower Austria) were not to be required to emigrate on account of their adherence to the Augsburg Confession. They might attend services at frontier churches in neighbouring territories where the Protestant faith was established, hence the wearisome journeys in summer for communions abroad, and the line of frontier churches on the Saxon side of the Silesian border. These concessions proved to have an unexpected importance in the survival of Protestantism throughout the region, but they were all that were to be had. For Protestants in Salzburg, in Austria, and in Poland (once the land of liberty achieved) there was nothing. Nor was this simply a problem for those who had to endure it; in eighteenth-century New England Jonathan Edwards reckoned that the Protestant world as a whole had been reduced to half its peak strength. Why God should apparently desert his Zion was a mystery, and when 'showers of blessings' were finally encountered, not least in Edwards's own parish, they were greeted with relief as well as joy.

Fourthly and finally the Westphalia settlements did not preserve the

central European heartlands of the Protestant world from the depredations of even one of the contracting powers. Louis XIV, who assumed personal government in France in 1661, pursued a long course of aggression along his eastern frontier, inspired at least in part by a desire to balance the gains ultimately made by the Habsburgs in Hungary; these gains left him with a dreadful reputation in the Empire. In 1689 the French ran amok in the Palatinate, and remained till the peace settlement of Ryswick in 1697. Behind the French troops the building of Catholic churches in this Protestant state recommenced, and in places Catholics were permitted to use Protestant church buildings. This was to use duress to make a nonsense of the normal year of the Westphalia settlement, and was held by Protestants to be not binding in conscience; the Catholics replied menacingly that Westphalia itself was an act of force in which they had been pillaged by the Protestants with foreign assistance from France and Sweden. This bitter confrontation poisoned the atmosphere of the Empire for half a century, and the Catholics substantially got their way. Clause IV of the peace of Ryswick provided that in the places the French now gave up Catholicism should retain its present status.

Peace and the papacy

This episode drove home the fact that the principal player on the Catholic side, the papacy, had been as bitterly dissatisfied with the Westphalia settlements as any Protestant, and had consistently refused to recognise them. The papacy had been abandoned by the German Catholic powers and so cut out of the most important peace settlement of modern times. From a Protestant viewpoint the Pope could still be a thorough diplomatic nuisance. Pope Innocent XII gave total support to Clause IV of the Ryswick treaty, and his successor, Clement XI, determined to uphold it at any cost in the next great peace negotiations at Utrecht (1713). His agent, Passionei, was prepared to buy off British backing for the German Protestants by dropping demands for the relief of Irish Catholics, but the Pope, still protesting against the Westphalia treaties, would have no compromise. In 1715 the Pope held a consistory to inform his cardinals of the balance of advantage and disadvantage to the Church. He found especial pleasure in the maintenance of Clause IV and especial pain in the failure of the Stuarts to regain the British crown, the confirmation of Westphalia, the recognition of a ninth electoral dignity (in the choice of the Emperor) in favour of Protestant Hanover, and the royal title of Prussia to the Hohenzollerns; most of all he complained that the suzerainty of the Holy See over Naples and Sicily had been overridden. His rallying-cry for combined action against the Turks fell on deaf ears. The papacy was of course often less

aggressive in political practice than in diplomatic claim; but this consistory only confirmed the view of many hard-pressed Protestants that the Pope was indeed the Man of Sin who held the agreements which secured the peace of Europe as of small account beside the advantage of the church.

Confessional Armageddon?

The Catholic powers could not do without papal authority in the management of their churches, but continued to act independently of, or even against, the papacy. The paradox was that at a time when all the great churches offered a systematic theology guaranteed watertight against the attacks of opponents (what was known among continental Protestants as Orthodoxy), and, if possible, supported by the state, the course of events was inexorably undermining the absolute claims made by the confessional programmes. The Thirty Years War, an ostensibly confessional conflict, had shown innumerable examples of what was then known as 'indifferentism', as troops changed sides for pay, irrespective of their religious profession; and the peace treaties giving legal standing to the Catholic, Lutheran and Reformed churches, produced the situation, still characteristic of Germany, that it was possible to pass straight from a parish adorned with all the street furniture of Catholic devotion into one where no such thing was to be seen. Rulers continued to force or induce their subjects to change their religious profession; but as long as the Catholic world was riven by the rivalry of Habsburg and Bourbon, the nightmare of Protestant imagination, a fight to the finish between Protestant and Catholic, would remain a dream. Each side had to pick up allies from the other to meet the needs of the moment.

Protestants had indeed tied themselves in theological and metaphysical knots over this question at the Synod of Dort in 1617. The question there in debate, the issue between supralapsarianism and infralapsarianism (an issue which even in the Reformed world was, before the end of the eighteenth century, being admitted to be incapable of resolution), obtained its urgency from the demands of foreign policy. Dutch independence was still at that date threatened by Spain; that threat might be eased by alliance with France, but the French monarchy was itself at loggerheads with its Reformed subjects whose toleration was always precarious. Was it right to save the Reformed cause in the United Provinces by alliance with a power which would dearly love to end the Reformed cause in France? The supralapsarians held that God's gracious decree of election had been made before the Fall, and, in a sense, in anticipation of human waywardness; if therefore the object of creation from the begin-

ning had been the fine flower of the elect Reformed congregations of the saints, then it would be sacrilege of the worst kind to treat the French Reformed as a diplomatic pawn to be sacrificed for the greater good of the Dutch Reformed. The infralapsarians, holding that God's decree of election was made after the Fall of Man, took the view that even the plan of salvation exemplified how God himself had (so-to-speak) to make the best of a bad job when confronted by human sinfulness, and, if God, why not the United Provinces? Perhaps mercifully, the Bible offered no absolutely cogent evidence for either of these views; nor did Calvin, since he had never been pressed on the matter. The upshot was that the Dutch fought their own corner, including three wars against Protestant England, but at the same time kept up generous financial and other support to struggling Reformed congregations in the Rhineland, the American colonies and elsewhere far down the eighteenth century.

The reconstruction of the Church of England

The Dutch also had a hand in undermining the wilder claims of the one great Protestant success story of the late seventeenth century, the reconstruction of the Church of England. During the civil wars (1640–60) the head of the Church, Charles I, and Laud, the Primate, were both beheaded, and Presbyterianism was introduced under pressure from Scottish armies, themselves later routed by Cromwell's troops. Bishops, cathedral chapters, church courts and the Book of Common Prayer were all abolished by parliamentary action, and in a purge of 'scandalous' and 'malignant' clergy, between a quarter and a third of parish priests were replaced by men of Puritan convictions. The tone was set by Cromwell's ideas of reform and toleration, and the bishops who were left kept a low profile and allowed their line almost to die out. It was not at all clear when Charles II was restored in 1660 who could speak for the (very Protestant and Reformed) Church of England of pre-civil-war days.

The decisive group were clergy and lay advisers, prominent among them Edward Hyde, later Lord Clarendon (1609–74), who had gathered round Charles II in exile in the Netherlands. They would have nothing to do with foreign Protestants, constantly warned the king against alliance with Presbyterians, and sincerely believed that nothing which destroyed the mitre could save the crown. Their dominant influence at the Restoration led to the adoption of a narrow Act of Uniformity in 1662, and the ejection of 1,700 ministers. With the political backing of a high-Tory Cavalier Parliament an exclusive settlement was created and made to work, and life was hard for dissenters. But none of the props of

the new system was as secure as it looked. Some two-thirds of the clergy from the Interregnum continued to serve; they were not turncoats, but showed less initiative than either their predecessors or their successors in developing professional associations to further their work. This was serious at a time when the general public would attend church when there was a government drive to make them do so, and stayed away in droves when there was not. Lay magistrates in the counties would enforce the legislation against dissenters as long as they feared a sectarian uprising; but when they began to be alarmed at the international advance of Catholicism it was a different story. Moreover the Church had begun as a religious monopoly symbolised by the godly prince at its head. But Charles II left much to be desired as a godly prince, not least in his intention to secure indulgence for Roman Catholics and others, and the necessities of polemic against papists and Protestant dissenters began to edge the dominant party in the church towards the view which triumphed in the nineteenth century, that the bishop was the sacred symbol and that there was no reason why the boundaries of church and state should be coterminous. Moreover, although the Restoration had given rise to much imprudent veneration of the Divine Right of Kings, it had been an Erastian, parliamentary, settlement, and in 1689 Parliament was to exercise its own dispensing power in the Toleration Act. And when James II finally fathered an heir to the throne, the political parties, faced with the prospect of an indefinite Catholic succession, got rid of him in a remarkably slick operation; but only one bishop, Compton, signed the invitation to William of Orange to come to save the Protestant cause, while six bishops and 400 clergy were speedily ejected for refusing the oaths to the new government. There were snags with apostolic bishops as well as with kings by divine right.

The Protestant succession

But if in William III the Church of England now had a joint head (with Queen Mary) who was a Dutch Presbyterian, he vigorously put down a Catholic rebellion in Ireland and secured an exclusively Presbyterian establishment in Scotland. The position now was that the sovereign was an Anglican in England, and a Presbyterian in Scotland, and there was also a second-class establishment in England of those dissenters who were prepared to make the undertakings required under the Toleration Act. (For those who were not, such as Socinians and Roman Catholics, there was still no toleration.) But for the Church of England, with its apologetic awkwardly built on the Divine Right of Kings and episcopacy, there was

worse to come. Queen Anne (1701–14) was acceptable as a loyal Anglican and a Stuart, but could not produce a surviving heir; the succession passed by the Act of Settlement to the Lutheran George I, Elector of Hanover; many clergy were guilty of treasonable talk and some became treasonably involved with the Stuarts, who would no longer dissemble their Catholicism. The fiction that James II had abdicated, and that his son and heir had not been born to him, but inserted into the royal bed in a warming-pan was now fully exposed; too many clergy were prepared to gamble on a Catholic monarch.

This fractious temper was born of a series of disappointments in the practical working of the Protestant constitution since the Revolution of 1688. The Toleration Act, limited as it was, put statute law and canon law (which aspired to bind the whole nation) out of step, and severely impaired the ability of the church courts to compel church attendance; and the lapsing of the Licensing Acts in 1695 and the total ineffectiveness of the Blasphemy Act of 1697, though not creating a free market in news and opinion, made possible open challenges to religious orthodoxy, and were among the things which created the impression in Germany that English scholars were of unusual critical boldness. Moreover in the first twenty years of the Toleration Act, more than 2,500 dissenting places of worship were licensed, and these confronted the clergy with the spectacle of an organised and dynamic schism. Add to this the facts that after the Toleration Act the business in the church courts – matrimonial, probate and tithe causes apart – declined rapidly, but bishops found the courts increasingly useful as a device for disciplining the clergy; that campaigns against occasional conformity and dissenting education proved fruitless; that a great Anglican counter-reformation planned to coincide with the beginning of the Tory Parliament of 1710 obtained very little parliamentary support; and that the clergy were among the financial losers as the bills came in for the great continental wars commenced (primarily for Dutch benefit) by William III, and one may understand why the clergy became restive. Moreover the accession of George I in 1714 brought home the perils of combining an apologetic for a national church with that of a godly prince by divine right. He was in the pocket of the Whigs. Many of the Whigs' wider ambitions fell victim to divisions within their own party, but their intentions were as unmistakable as the use they made of their patronage. Convocation was suspended and the high-church party which had made the most exclusive claims for the church went down before a faction which believed that neither ecclesiologically nor diplomatically could the Protestant cause survive in isolation from the Protestant world abroad.

Church and State in France

There was much in common between the churches of England and France, not only in their social make-up, but in the Erastian relations of Church and State. The liberties of the Gallican church were invoked as often in France as was the primitive character of the Church of England across the Channel, but what they meant in practice was the right of various privileged bodies to unimpeded access to the higher patronage of the church, and these interests varied with time. For the king there was no escape from church affairs. The revenues of the church, estimated in the later seventeenth century at 270 million *livres tournois*, were much greater than those of the state, and the clergy, whatever their mutual rubs and social differences, had a cohesion which the nobility lacked. They met in their own assembly every five years to vote the king a *don gratuit* in lieu of their exemption from ordinary taxes (the English clergy surrendered their right of self-taxation in 1664, and with it the main reason for existence of Convocation). Moreover the monarchy had been granted by Pope Leo X the appointments not only to the bishoprics, but to 700 of the richest abbeys; these were an enormous fund to keep the nobility quiet. Under Louis XIV's predecessors major statesmen like Richelieu and Mazarin had built up tremendous fortunes from this fund; Louis wanted no more over-mighty churchmen (they made a comeback in the eighteenth century), but he had no scruple in easing his budget by treating the upper ranks of the church as a nursery of great diplomats. There was clearly room for considerable trade-off here among king, pope and clergy. The clergy were always rabid against the limited toleration still retained by the French Protestants, and here they were assured of the sympathy of king and papacy. On the other hand royal covetousness of church revenues might not be complacently received in Rome, notwithstanding that monarchy and papacy were generally at one in hostility to theological deviance. All parties in France were willing to plead old customs against the authority of Rome when it suited them, and the French church, which was undergoing one transformation under the pressure of Counter-Reformation zeal and another under the pressure of royal despotism and war, was curiously ready to cover its changes by an appeal to old liberties. Thus there were at various times and in various combinations an episcopal gallicanism, a gallicanism of parish priests (or Richérism), a royal and a parliamentary gallicanism. Whether Louis himself changed is a question. A simple-minded Catholic who, like most of his contemporaries of whatever confession, had little notion of toleration in any modern sense, his view of what was due to God combined easily with the need to consolidate his

realm behind the rising trajectory of his power in Europe. Protestant, Jansenist, even the pope, might suffer if they got in the way of the cause.

Regalian rights

Take the case of regalian rights. In 1673, after the conclusion of one phase of expansion by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), Louis set out to extend his episcopal rights to his new territories, seeking the nomination to certain women's abbeys, and to benefices without cure of souls in the gift of a bishop when the see was vacant. These were spiritual regalian rights and were new. Moreover, he wished to claim the revenues of vacant bishoprics, either for the benefit of the royal treasury or for pious works such as the conversion of Protestants. These were temporal regalian rights, long exercised by the monarchy in older parts of the realm, and had long occasioned friction between the clergy who disliked them, and the Parlement of Paris which wanted to see them universalised. For his part the king claimed as absolute monarch the complete disposal of all the property in the country, lay or ecclesiastical, and began to extend his rights by declaration, even nominating several abbesses without the agreement of the Holy See. He had extraordinary success in manipulating the clergy to submit. Two bishops, however, Alet and Pamiers, resisted and appealed to the Pope, and by the end of the 1670s Louis was in open conflict with Innocent XI, an opponent who proved worthy of his steel. The Pope would neither accept the theological backing for the king's position provided by the clergy (the Four Articles) nor institute bishops on Louis's terms. By 1688 thirty-five sees were vacant, and the clergy were exposed to a painful dilemma as to which master to serve. The French violated papal property in Rome and Avignon. Only under the next Pope, Alexander VIII, when war in the Netherlands was going badly for Louis XIV, did the king agree to a settlement: the Four Articles were not to be taught, the members of the assembly that produced them must write an apology to the Pope. In fact temporal regalian rights were extended to most of the country, and Gallican doctrines continued to be taught. Royal and episcopal gallicanism seemed in the ascendant; Parliamentary Gallicanism remained to give trouble in the eighteenth century.

The affair of regalian rights was in the end a matter of mostly domestic consequence, a by-product of the rise of royal power; though the interest of the papacy in the matter, and the aggressiveness of French foreign policy gave it an international dimension. The issues raised by the Protestants, Quietists, and Jansenists, however, had a very broad bearing; and it is important not to succumb to a Franco-centric view of them all.

The Huguenots

The clash between Louis XIV and the Huguenots was implicit in the relations between organised religion and public life in Europe generally in the later seventeenth century, and it was made the more certain by Louis's personal unwillingness to brook dissidence of any kind, by his conviction that what France needed was a fierce monopolistic national Catholicism of the Spanish style, and by the calculation that anti-Protestantism was a platform on which pope, king and church could happily act together. Moreover, in 1629 the Protestants had lost the defences which had made them something of a state within a state; they should therefore be a softer target than of yore. And on a broader view, the Reformation in France had not so much failed as achieved a measure of success in the fringes of the country, not least in territories lately annexed to the body of the old kingdom of France. If, therefore, national union was to be the order of the day, Protestantism must be squeezed out. What Louis could not know, but has been made plain by the religious and political cartographers of the last two generations, is that in the long run it was precisely in these fringes of the country that religious practice, Catholic *and* Protestant, was to be most vigorous; and that in the establishmentarian territories of the old kingdom that it was to be most fragile.

In 1662 Protestant loyalty during the Fronde was rewarded in a royal declaration promising to preserve the full toleration granted in the Edict of Nantes. But Louis counted upon the increasingly stringent administrative application of the edict, rewards for conversions to Catholicism, and draconian penalties for conversions or relapses to Protestantism, not to mention the apologetic power of his own spokesmen, Bossuet prominent among them, to destroy the heart of the Protestant community. But even this did not satisfy. A 'Declaration of 40 Articles' in 1669 has been described as a real 'counter-edict' and formed the legal basis for the destruction of meeting-houses, restrictions on Protestant worship, marriages and burials, and administrative harrying of every kind. After the peace of Nijmegen (1679) Louis was at the peak of his power, and shed all inhibitions to embark on a course of savage violence, a course which enabled him as early as 1685 to revoke the Edict of Nantes on the ground that the 'best and greatest part' of his Protestant subjects had embraced the Catholic faith.

Huguenot reactions

How did the Protestant community react? Even before the final blow fell, many, as the King expected, professed conversion to Catholicism, from whatever motives. Many also emigrated while there was yet time. But very

many had no skill or capital they could take abroad with them, and they had little option but to stay whatever the hazard; prominent among these were the Protestant peasantry of the Midi, who enjoyed more community solidarity than the business and professional elites of the Protestant movement, were tied to the land, and henceforth constituted a far more important part of that movement than they had ever done before. Each of these groups attained a considerable international importance.

Those who conformed exposed a problem of conscience which could never have been far from the minds of those threatened by French expansion into the Rhineland, and was debated in the United Provinces between two of the exiles from the moment of the Revocation. Pierre Poiret (1646–1719), who will concern us later as a universal salesman of mysticism, was the son of a cutler of Metz, and later a pastor in the Palatinate. Building upon an important mystical tradition, his ‘charitable advice’ to Huguenots exposed to compulsory conversion was to adapt to Catholic worship. Confessional hostility was not the will of God; the essence of the faith was love of God and self-denial; enough had already been sacrificed on the altar of Reformed shibboleths. Though a Huguenot and a war refugee, Poiret was not strictly a victim of Louis’s persecution; his opponent, Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713) was all three. The son of a Reformed pastor and grandson of a theology professor at the Reformed academy at Sedan, where he himself became a professor in 1674, he had become increasingly anti-Catholic rather than anti-royalist as persecution had sharpened. On the devotional side Jurieu was a great advocate of the ‘practice of piety’ in the Puritan tradition, but he was a stout confessionalist and hoped to awaken the new converts to the virtues of Reformed corporate life as it was exemplified in the Reformed *assemblées* in the Languedoc. The increasing desperation of the confessional struggle in France drove Jurieu towards chiliasm as ferocious pounding drove the Reformed in Hungary. Within three years Louis XIV would be converted to Protestantism. From Poiret’s viewpoint this was to crown error with absurdity.

The emigrants who had to escape by night, estimates of whose numbers vary wildly, have been the central feature of the traditional picture. They have been credited with ruining the economy of France to the benefit of the host countries, especially the United Provinces, Brandenburg and Switzerland, and with creating an international political mafia which blackened the name of Louis XIV, and helped to create the Grand Alliances which finally contained his power. Their interest really lies elsewhere. French luxury industries did not always thrive in the colder climate of north Germany, and some at least of the Reformed advisers with whom the Great Elector surrounded himself were justly suspected

by the Lutheran Orthodox as being men of very little religion. The Dutch could not maintain their commercial and maritime supremacy with Huguenot assistance, and would have gained their supremacy in the international gathering of news without it. The Swiss, whose generosity in assisting persecuted brethren in the faith was legendary, did not care for some of the theology or some of the social airs which the Huguenots brought with them.

On the other hand the recruiting of the Huguenot diaspora created precedents for states which considered themselves underpopulated to recruit oppressed religious minorities, and familiarised states in the west with the need to mount rescue missions, a need which, in the next fifty years, recurred all too frequently. And whether these policies at a high level encouraged negotiations for church union (to help avoid the horrors of confessional brutality) or led to the reception of alien populations, the edge of confessional exclusiveness was blunted. The forcible (or even peaceful) assimilation of religious minorities – one of the main functions of religious establishments everywhere – was clearly much more difficult than governments and church managements thought. The result of Huguenot immigration in England is particularly instructive. Freed from the worst pressure, these irreconcilables found various routes into English society, some under the aegis of the church, others through the (mainly Anglican) religious societies, others as French Reformed. It is interesting that many were picked up by Wesley in his original stamping ground of the old East End of London; just as at a later date many of the next wave of Reformed refugees, the Palatines, were picked up by him in their settlements in Southern Ireland. In both cases great differences of confessional and theological tradition were readily overcome by the congenial ethos of a movement which was native but not hidebound.

Apocalypse and resistance

The final section of Louis XIV's dissenters were those who remained in France but refused to conform. The toughest of these were the mountain population of the Cévennes. Here Calvinism had penetrated early and deep, and those who adhered to it were prepared to make a fight. They were not *politiques*, were not led by politicians from the upper crust, and had already acquired from Jurieu's grandfather, du Moulin, an interpretation of the Revelation of John which explained their sufferings and offered imminent salvation to those who stood firm. Du Moulin calculated that the persecution of the True Church by the Beast (the Pope) would end with the resurrection of the two witnesses of Revelation 11 in 1689. This scheme could be readily adapted to include the Revocation of

the Edict of Nantes, which marked the death of two witnesses, who would lie unburied for three-and-a-half years before their resurrection in 1689. These views were elaborated by Jurieu and clandestinely circulated in the Languedoc. What was happening there was to happen all over Europe where Protestant minorities came under the hammer; the people had to find some substitute for the church which was taken away from them, and in the Cévennes they found it, not at first in the family and small group religion which proved to be the key to survival in most places, but in illicit assemblies addressed by lay preachers who served very well, and in a continuity of religious experience, an experience now strongly tintured by apocalyptic expectation.

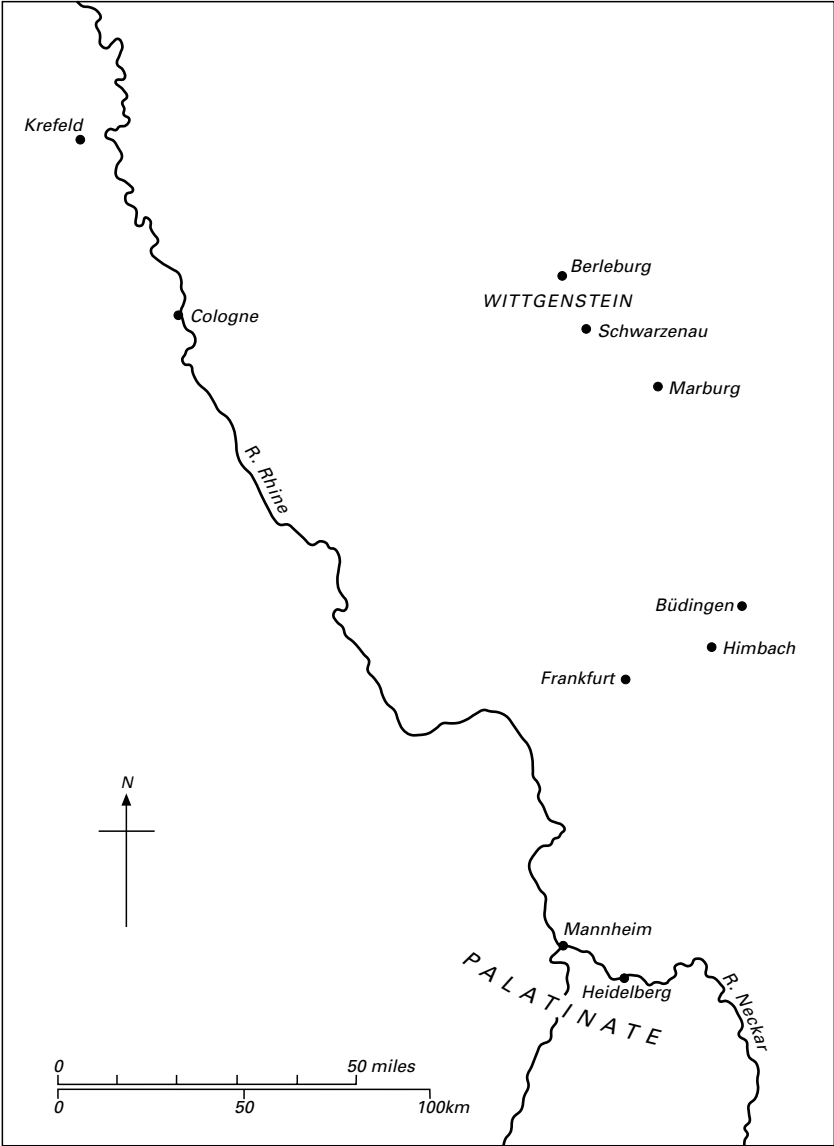
The surprise they sprung left an indelible mark on the revival movements of the eighteenth century. In 1688 prophets appeared among them, a sign that the end of persecution was at hand; and they were children. To complete the guarantee of innocence they prophesied in their sleep. In thus embodying the dead-but-not-dead state of the two witnesses of Revelation they were figures of the true church; as their deliverance drew near their bodies became agitated. The first of these prophets was a sixteen-year-old shepherdess in the Dauphiné, Isabeau Vincent, the daughter of a new convert to Catholicism who had returned to the original faith of her parents. She sang, prayed and preached while asleep, and had no memory next day of what had passed. Soon there were many more like her, embodying, like the lay preachers, a continuity with the past, and prefiguring, as the preachers hardly could, dramatic new hopes for the future. Those hopes were continually deferred. 1689 came and went; the peace of Ryswick (1697) contained no concessions for Huguenots. But in 1701 there was a great revival of prophecy; hundreds of prophets were at work, many of them children with no recollection of normality in the Reformed world. When the dreadful revolt of the Camisards broke out in 1702 they were attached to the Protestant commandos who tied up 20,000 French troops for years, prophesied whether prisoners should be taken or killed, and committed acts of violence against persons and property. Although the revolt took place in the early stages of the War of the Spanish Succession its effects were religious rather than military. Governments did not much care for supporting rebels against their enemies, and although the allied navies were operating in the Mediterranean within reach of the Camisards for most of the war, it was not till 1710, when the revolt was petering out, that a miserably small detachment was landed to assist them. Prophecy produced a sharp division of spirits first among the Huguenots, then in the Protestant world at large. Their eschatology was what eighteenth-century English critics understood by 'enthusiasm', that is, the pursuit of ends without

consideration of means. And when resistance was finally crushed, and the prophets were scattered to Geneva, the United Provinces and England, rejection was mainly their fate. On the other hand, the 'revolt of the children', that curious revival in the wake of Charles XII's invasion of Silesia in 1708, was a clear demonstration-effect of the child prophets of the Cévennes, and children were to play a prominent role in religious revival right down the eighteenth century. The 'Inspired' too, though numbering but a few hundred, had an amazingly prolonged after-history.

The Inspired

For the strange psychic phenomena and prophecies made under Inspiration proved almost indefinitely reproducible. In England they were still disturbing the early outdoor meetings of Wesley's ministry in the late 1730s. In Germany respectable theologians would not exclude the possibility that revelation might be mediated by such means; a notable fringe of doctors, professionally interested in the understanding of dreams and miracle cures, attached itself to the movement, and odd psychic gifts, like second sight, seem to have persisted among the German Inspired. When Max Goebel was carrying through the first major investigation of the movement in the late 1840s and almost all the Inspired were in America, he was astonished to find the American brethren sending home, twelve months in advance, modestly circumstantial prophecies of what was to happen in Germany in the revolution of 1848, which none of the German brethren believed would take place. In Scotland there was another circle (to be encountered shortly) of Protestant, episcopalian and Jacobite devotees of the French Quietist, Mme Guyon, and the Belgian enthusiast Antoinette Bourignon, whose own experience of persecution was a milder version of that of the Camisards. There it was discovered in 1709 that Bourignon had herself foretold the Prophets, and in due course the Scottish Quietists assimilated the inspirations and agitations of the French Prophets while the latter assimilated Quietist attitudes towards worship and prophecy.

Yet because the Prophets were soon rejected even by the French Reformed and the Quakers in London, they had to form a fellowship of their own, and in 1711 undertook a burst of missionary activity in the United Provinces and Germany, aiming first at scattered colonies of French emigrés. With these too they had little success, but they did much better with mystical groups, and aroused a good deal of interest among Pietists. Nevertheless the rival interest of the police and *Lumpenproletariat* drove them back into a little group of Reformed principalities in the Wetterau, near Frankfurt, where toleration was to be had for cash, and



Map 1 The Wetterau

where various groups of Pietists who had fallen under the ban of anti-Pietist edicts at home, had taken refuge. As in Scotland, cross-fertilisation took place. Inspiration not only gave a new impulse to the separatists of the Wetterau, but countered their isolation and individualism; and led to the formation of prayer-fellowships with public and proselytising functions, which encouraged hymn-singing and writing. The result was that the Inspired not only left a considerable literary monument, the *Berleburg Bible* and a journal which interpreted the signs of the times, the *Geistliche Fama*, but undertook strenuous itinerant evangelism with a view to gathering in all the children of the Prophets, from among all sects and peoples. These took them right across Swabia and into Switzerland. Prophecy had now been transformed into revival, and the original hope of delivery from the tyranny of Louis XIV was transformed into the (equally illusory) expectation that the structure of authority in central and northern Europe had been so undermined that outbreaks of revival might be expected anywhere. But the importance of the French Prophets to the general history of religion in the eighteenth century lies not in the accuracy of their prophecies, nor even in the fact that they form a historical bridge between the millenarian sectaries of mid-seventeenth century England and eighteenth-century revivalists and Shakers. It is that in the geographical range of their activity they reveal the existence of a very widespread vein of millenarianism, even in circles like the Scots episcopals where it would not have been expected. The eighteenth century was never the Age of Reason exclusively, and, in spite of alarms, was not yet the Age of Reason in any great degree.

Louis XIV and Quietism

If the history of French Protestantism was to show the limits of what could be accomplished by even a powerful and brutal state against religious dissidence, how did Louis fare in dealing with deviation within the Catholic fold? If the problem of the Huguenots, like that of the Protestants in central Europe excluded from the protection of the Westphalia treaties, was how to manage without a church, there were intellectually important minorities in Catholic France whose problem was having too much church, and especially too much church backed by too much state. It was this which brought the Quietist and Jansenist crises to a head in France, but the problems to which they sought a solution were so general as to give each of these movements an international resonance entirely beyond the reach of Louis XIV.

The theological polemic generated by the great controversies of the sixteenth century had led both Catholics and Protestants to develop a

systematic and closely integrated presentation of Christian doctrine, hopefully guaranteed against the onslaughts of the other side, but in each case generating religious problems by its very complexity. The heavy (and verbose) dominance of the Word in the Protestant world sapped the vitality generated by the original rediscovery of the doctrine of justification by grace through faith independent of works, and evoked not merely the silent worship of Quakers but other ways of simplifying the union of the believing soul with Christ. On the Catholic side Tridentine Orthodoxy proved to be a burden on the great flowering of Counter-Reformation religious life, and a new impetus to finding ways of lightening or circumventing the weight of the church as a supernatural but institutional dispenser of the means of salvation. There was a great rebirth of mysticism, especially of the practical as distinct from the speculative variety; and within the field of practical mysticism was the growth of the view that meditation and discursive knowledge and the practice of the outer works commended by the church might improve the believer but not unite him with God; whereas the perfection of the Christian life, the union with God, was the fruit of contemplation (or intuitive knowledge). What was needed was the exclusive, disinterested love of God; even vocal prayer was an external work and a likely impediment. The ideal was continual contemplation. The roots of this direct route to God are to be found in the reform of Spanish monasteries in the sixteenth century; in the seventeenth century it had followers in north Italy; and in 1664 a blind Frenchman, François Malaval, published a kind of Quietist work, *La Pratique facile pour élever l'âme à la contemplation*, which called for the suppression of the believer's thoughts, affections, will and speech in the interests of listening to God.

But the real beginning of the Quietist movement came with Michael Molinos (1628–1717), a Spanish priest who spent most of his life in Italy. His fame rested on the instant success of his *Spiritual Guide* (Rome, 1675) which in six years went through twenty editions, appearing in Spanish, Italian, French, Latin, Dutch and German, and was circumstantially reported on in England in letters appended to a travel book by Bishop Burnet. The extent of the demand for the guidance Molinos offered was revealed when the Roman Inquisition raided his private archive of 22,000 letters. The raid itself was characteristic of the roller-coaster history of Quietism. For Molinos enjoyed the favour of the devout Pope Innocent XI, and cardinals beat a path to his door. Unfortunately he also incurred the hostility of the Jesuit order, whose asceticism was of a quite different kind and of prelates who did not care for the way groups of Quietists made light of ordinary props to devotion. Hence Molinos was arrested by the Inquisition in 1685; two years later sixty-eight propositions from his

works were condemned, and he was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment. Thus from the beginning Quietism raised the question not only of the way to God, but of who should set the tone of Catholic piety in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In the France of Louis XIV the close relations between the King and his Jesuit confessors in matters of religious policy guaranteed that Quietism would raise questions of authority in the state as well as in the church, the more so as a hapless woman, Mme Guyon (1648–1717), showed some capacity to pull wires at court. Alas! the modern interpreters of Mme Guyon, literary, theological or psychiatric, have achieved no more agreement than her contemporary critics.

Her life was one of almost unrelieved tragedy. Born Jeanne Marie Bouvier de la Motte to well-to-do parents, both of whom were in their second marriage, she was married at fifteen to a man of thirty-seven, and at twenty-eight was left a widow with three children. This was, however, the least of her troubles. M. Guyon had, not surprisingly, been perplexed by a wife who in 1672 contracted a spiritual marriage with the child Jesus, and endeavoured within marriage to live the religious life in the technical sense; and after his death his family did not take to the idea that the disinterested love of God justified the abandonment of her children. If she took refuge in the reconstructed diocese of Geneva, where the bishop was struggling to convert Huguenots and educate 'new Catholics', she found him unwilling to add a nest of Quietists to his burdens. If she migrated to Paris there was more trouble, violent attacks from Bossuet, the great preacher of his day, and prison sentences (including a spell in the Bastille); appeals to the king's consort, Mme de Maintenon, did not help. Mme Guyon was not without friends, but Fénelon, who stood up for her, found twenty-three of his propositions condemned in Rome. Only in 1701 did the French hierarchy decide that there was no purpose in imprisoning her further, and she soon settled in pious retreat near Blois till her death in 1717. Indeed one of the curious images of the early eighteenth century is that of Mme Guyon at the very end of her life holding court to Protestant episcopalian Jacobites from the north-east of Scotland. And this was mainly on the strength of appearing a victim of Papal and Bourbon tyranny, and a modest corpus of works, principally *The short and very easy method of prayer* (1685), *Spiritual Torrents* (1688) and her posthumously published autobiography (1720).

There was nothing particularly distinctive about Mme Guyon's formulation of Quietist doctrine. God enjoyed perfect rest in himself, and rejoiced in the contemplation of his own beauty and glory. It was to share this joy that he had created man for himself. The great grace of creation was not that it was created out of nothing, but that man being created in

the image of God's son, must, like him, be the object of God's most perfect love, and framed to enter God's perfect rest. The highest stage of the life of prayer was the wordless prayer of the heart, the pure effect of the spirit of God within. There was no single route to this state of grace, but *Spiritual Torrents* envisaged three general stages of the spiritual pilgrimage. The first was not specially passive: it embraced the active pursuit of religious truths, strictness of life, and the exercise of works of mercy. The end-product would be a religious life based on rule and method, not unlike that of the young Wesleys. But some would penetrate by passive contemplation to the second stage, where they would be joined by those who from the beginning had had the spirit of God in their hearts, without recognising what the object of their love was. For the distinction between divine and human love was that the latter was directed to external things, while the former could be found within in the recognition of the grace upon grace, the gift upon gift which God had granted. In the third stage, reached by some elect souls, God himself revealed within the believer the distance separating him from the object of his desire; and God finally ended the confusion and anxiety caused by this discovery by revealing that the treasure sought by the believer was indeed within him and not far away where he had sought it. Ecstatic astonishment followed. In all this Mme Guyon continued to regard herself as a good Catholic, communicating every three days, but there is no doubt that she had found a way of circumventing the institutional Catholicism of her day. Fénelon himself solicited doctrinal judgment on the Quietists, and in 1694 got a good deal more than he bargained on. Mgr Godet des Marais found her guilty of four grave errors in asserting that human perfection was attained by a continual act of contemplation and prayer; that in this state resorting to acts of charity was of no avail; that the state of total indifference to all that is not God was legitimate; and that perfection consisted in extraordinary prayer, at which every Christian should aim. Mme Guyon in short was breaking free from the tried and trusted channels. Recent conservative Catholic opinion has doubtless gone to excess in charging her modest blow for liberty with some responsibility for both the growth of eighteenth-century libertinism and the rigour of Jansenism. It has taken a contemporary Carmelite to point out that only Mme Guyon's *Short way* suffered serious official condemnation, that from a mystical standpoint pure contemplation is preferable to action, and that interior prayer and entire devotion to God's will are Christian attributes.

It was Protestants who took up the bait the Quietists offered and that for three principal reasons. The heavy emphasis on the Word and the forensic understanding of the doctrine of justification might seem to seal Protestantism off from the mystical tradition, but they had not produced

all the results hoped for. Many were on the watch for new springs of spiritual vitality, their alertness sharpened by the creaking system of theological censorship which prevailed over much of Europe. In 1687, for example, August Hermann Francke, later the leading name of the second generation of Pietists but not yet converted, in order to assist a disputation on Quietism at Leipzig translated Molinos's *Spiritual Guide* and *Daily Communion* from the Italian into Latin, still the technical language of Protestant theology. Francke did not owe his conversion to Molinos, but he did approve his emphasis on Christ as the sole way to salvation, and his treatment of spiritual temptations. Moreover Molinos reinforced the vein of mysticism with which Francke had already made contact in the impeccable Lutheran source of Arndt, and sharpened his awareness of the vein of mysticism in Luther. What Molinos clearly did not do was to tempt Francke into ecstasy, melting into God, or self-emptying. For him the biblical images remained dominant.

Jakob Böhme

There were two other ways in which Quietism might find a Protestant reception. There were both dissident and conformist streams of mystical piety in the Protestant world. The first found its spokesman in Jacob Böhme (1575–1624), the shoe-maker of Görlitz, whose life was a protest against the Orthodoxies – Lutheran, Reformed and Catholic – which were fighting over the body of Upper Lusatia, and who died when it was finally incorporated into Lutheran Saxony. Böhme dabbled in Paracelsianism and offered an alternative science, religion and philosophy to those of the powerful Orthodoxies. That Protestant Orthodoxy could react against his mysticism and against Quietism quite as fiercely as the Jesuits, was illustrated in 1690 by the huge polemic of the Lutheran Ehregott Daniel Colberg, on *Platonisch-Hermetisches Christentum*, attacking the 'fanatical spirits' in successive chapters on Paracelsianism, Weigelianism, and Rosicrucianism, on Quakers, Behmenists and Anabaptists, on the followers of Antoinette Bourignon (the Belgian mystic), Labadie (a pupil of the Jesuits, who joined the Reformed Church and then went into schism from it) and Molinos. What this showed was that Böhme had offered a way of looking at things which had spread right across Europe into the Netherlands and Britain, had taken off to Pennsylvania, was now taking into itself the Catholic mystics who had fallen foul of the Church, and was in fresh demand by those anxious for some defence against the menace of Cartesianism. These views were also current among the religious radicals of the Wetterau, who (as we have seen) had been influenced by the French

Prophets. The chief of Mme Guyon's followers here was also an émigré Huguenot, Hector de Marsay (1688–1753), who lived to fight off the blandishments of Zinzendorf, the founder of the renewed church of the Moravians, who also in the early 1730s was reading Mme Guyon to his followers. Marsay was a man of considerable influence, and as late as 1769 one of Tersteegen's followers noted that 'in his style of teaching he was very like dear Mme Guyon and also led souls upon the way of mere faith and pure love through a total sacrifice to God and His will and through a basic dying to all things under the guidance of the spirit of Jesus, who was his one and his all'.

Peter Poiret

The Quietists, however, not only reinforced this kind of mystical underworld, they were taken up by the adherents of a major current of interdenominational piety. The key figure we have encountered in connection with the Huguenots; it was Peter Poiret. His search for religious certainty began by attempting to create a synthesis between Reformed theology and Cartesianism, a synthesis which creaked from the beginning. His first published work, *Rational Thoughts on God, the Soul and Evil in four Books* (Amsterdam, 1677), was a rather fragile attempt to use Descartes to combat thinkers such as Hobbes and Locke. Both in vocabulary and in substance mysticism began to show through, and already in 1676, before the book was in print, Poiret had been captivated by the Belgian mystic and separatist, Antoinette Bourignon, and was travelling with her to acquire her doctrine. When she died in 1680 he settled in Amsterdam, and when his own wife died in 1688 he removed to a small settlement of separatist Collegiants at Rijnsburg near Leiden, where he lived till his own death in 1719. This period was not, however, one of withdrawal. He published the works of Antoinette Bourignon in nineteen volumes, and wrote very successfully on a variety of subjects including the education of children. But he also developed his interest in Jakob Böhme, and above all in the French mystics. He avidly followed the great conflict between Bossuet and Fénelon, and published the complete works of Mme Guyon, clearly regarding himself as part of her defence after the defeat of Fénelon. But his output was enormous and underpinning it were his vast library of mystical authors and his index of their works, which was very nearly as complete as could be made at the time. Both were to be of first-class importance. They vastly enlarged his personal resonance, and put texts like the *Lives* of the Marquis de Renty, Gregory Lopez and Mme Guyon into the hands of readers as different in space and time as John Wesley, Suzanne von Klettenberg (who introduced the young Goethe to

pietism), or, in the nineteenth century, Mme von Krudener and Schopenhauer, each of whom quarried in his or her own fashion.

Poiret's library passed to the greatest of his later contacts, Gerhard Tersteegen, and underlay Tersteegen's two great achievements: a personal life in which charm, sanctity and learning were equally balanced, and his principal literary monument, his three huge volumes of *Select Lives of Holy Souls* (1733–54; 3rd edn Essen, 1784–86). These thirty-four lives, all of them Catholic and divided almost equally between pre- and post-Reformation saints, were at first sight an odd production for a Protestant with no great sympathy for ecclesiastical pretensions, but they catered for more than the popular milieu of Rhineland mysticism from which Tersteegen sprang. What he spoke to was the tradition of 'true Christianity'. This term was supplied by Johann Arndt whose *Four* (later *Six*) *Books of True Christianity* (1606) constituted him the most devotional of Lutheran theologians, and a significant sign of the times to boot. For it is now clear from bibliographical studies that the Protestant world had never generated enough devotional literature to meet the effective demand and that what seventeenth-century Protestants relied on to stay them through a century of terrible trials was not Orthodox polemic, but medieval mysticism; and that mysticism was mediated through three chief channels, Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*, the practical theology of English Puritanism, much of it also medieval in origin, and Arndt, who was very heavily dependent on the late medieval mystics. In Tersteegen's youth Gottfried Arnold in his famous *Impartial History of Churches and Heretics* (1699–1700) had endeavoured to demonstrate the historical basis of this 'true Christianity' among both the churches and the heretics they purged, the 'true Christianity' being the institutional possession of neither. What Christianity was all about, 'the essential truths of of the inward life – the complete denial of the world, dying to one-self, the basic virtues, God's leadings over his elect, . . . to unite them with himself, to reveal the miracles of his grace and love in them and through them . . . these are the truths of faith, based on God's word and on experience'. This last word was the key to the matter.

Poiret, Tersteegen and Arnold were none of them rich patrons indulging a whim to rescue a curious literature from neglect; they were catering for a market which was weary of the high orthodoxies, Protestant and Catholic, and ready for immediate reports of religious experience, however unfamiliar. If there was one thing calculated to make this kind of thing go with a swing in those circles in the west of the Empire where hostility to court mores in which the pace was set by French fashion was deeply ingrained, it was the combined brutality of church and state under Louis XIV against the devotees of experiential religion. There was a sense

in which Poiret, inconsiderable as politically he was, played his cards more skilfully than the great Sun King. If he was going to pursue his special vocation, he chose the right base in the United Provinces; Reformed Bern threw up barriers against mysticism as high as those in Catholic France. And as the eighteenth century proceeded, experiential religion (not, it is true, mostly in a mystical mode) became more than the great seventeenth-century systems could cope with. Louis XIV, on the other hand, put his weight behind vested interests in the French church which he could never quite dragoon, and which had limited spiritual vitality; and in so doing he increased the venom of his enemies abroad.

Jansenism

The character of Louis's relations with Jansenism bore many of the same features; deviance within the Catholic fold was contained, but had an extraordinary after-history. In this case Louis wanted papal cooperation in putting deviance down and did not always get it. For this there were three main reasons: successive popes did not always treat Jansenists in the same way; they were, however, steadily resolved to keep decisions on matters of doctrine in their own hands; and finally Louis's original ruthless behaviour towards the Holy See put paid to any goodwill in that quarter with which he might have begun. After a clash in 1662 between the Pope's Corsican guard and the French ambassador's suite in Rome, Louis refused all apology, invaded Avignon, and threatened the Papal States. The Pope was finally compelled in 1664 to erect a pyramid in Rome to mark his undertaking never again to employ Corsicans.

The Jansenist question generated more problems of conscience for Louis's Catholic subjects than anything else; yet Jansenism originated outside the country. Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypres, died in 1638, his *Augustinus* being published posthumously at Louvain in 1640 and Paris in 1641. The main effect of the work was in France, where his friend, the Abbot of St-Cyran, had been building up a reform party on the basis of disciplinary and ascetic ideas and a theology of Augustinian provenance. By 1640 the chief elements of the party were the Cistercian convent of Port-Royal, in which the parliamentary family of Arnauld was influential, and friends and admirers of St-Cyran, who favoured his attacks on the Jesuits and their laxist theology. In short, Jansenism, like Quietism, raised the question of who should set the tone in the Counter-Reformation, and for this reason incurred the inveterate hostility of the Jesuits. Still worse, a number of highly placed Jansenists were suspected of being involved in the Fronde, and not only did they believe that France should put the Catholic reconquest of Europe before the immediate interests of the

Bourbon dynasty, but Saint-Cyran opposed to Jesuit laxism a moral strictness which would have made Richelieu's foreign policy impossible. For this the great cardinal imprisoned him in 1638. Jansenism was not so much a party line as a way of approaching policy in the church; its adherents stressed the need for conversion under grace and (as a consequence) predestination. The moral force behind this view was provided by Antoine Arnauld's *Frequent Communion* (1643) which (again in opposition to the Jesuits) advocated abstention from communion until the penitent's contrition had been proved. Thus Jansenist and Jesuit took opposite sides in a quite serious problem of pastoral strategy. And although Jansen's *Augustinus* was condemned by a Papal Bull in 1643, the Jansenists as a group had support in the Parlement of Paris and minority backing in the Theology Faculty. The event was to show how difficult it was to put down an elite group even in a church with so powerful a central doctrinal authority as that of Rome.

In 1649 the syndic of the Faculty in Paris got his colleagues to censure a number of propositions, five of them said to have been drawn from the *Augustinus*, a decision endorsed, after further inquiry, by the Pope in 1653. A prolonged exercise of snakes and ladders in the church discipline followed. Jansenists replied that while the Church had authority in matters of doctrine, it had none in matters of fact, and that the condemned propositions were not in fact to be found in the *Augustinus*. To close that door fresh declarations in France and Rome were called for. The accession of Louis XIV began a period of severe persecution. Port-Royal still resisted; Louis, in a curious reversal of roles, asked the Pope in 1665 to provide a constitution and formulary and to command, *ex cathedra*, all ecclesiastics and nuns to sign it. This the Pope did by the Bull *Regiminis apostolici*, making it clear that the matter was one for him and not the French king and bishops to settle. It took a *lit de justice* to get the Paris Parlement to register the edict based on the Bull. Throughout the 1670s the Jansenist question burned low, while Louis's relations with Rome deteriorated on regalian issues, and when he began a fresh series of petty persecutions at the end of the decade, the Jansenists found themselves in the unfamiliar position of having the Pope Innocent XI and ultramontanes as allies, while Louis needed concessions from the Pope as the Pope did not need them from him. The king got the bishops to publish the Four Articles justifying his exercise of authority over the church and incorporated them into the theological teaching of the church in 1682. There were certainly many in the country who did not accept the articles, and all the more after Innocent XI had issued a scathing brief castigating the French bishops for their cowardice in surrendering the rights of the church, and began to block appointments to French bishoprics.

Innocent was equally unimpressed by Louis's claim to have extirpated Protestantism, and by press campaigns accusing him of favouring heretics in the shape of Quietists and Jansenists (though he had certainly considered making Arnauld a cardinal in 1680). At the beginning of 1688 Louis was secretly told that he was under sentence of excommunication. His response was to invade the papal territory of Avignon. France was not far from schism, but extreme measures were prevented by the death of Innocent XI in 1689 and Louis's involvement in a great European war. A compromise was reached under Innocent XII who extracted letters of apology from the French bishops and confirmed them in their sees. The King withdrew the order that the Four Articles be generally taught, and got most of his way with the *régale temporelle*. What now would happen to Jansenists who had been supported by the Pope and opposed the king's claim to regalian rights?

In fact the battle went on much as before, though (as was characteristic of Jansenism far into the eighteenth century) with different leaders and different issues. The reconciliation of the king with the Pope gave him ground for hope that Rome would support his efforts to put down the Jansenists and certainly put a final end to Port-Royal; in 1709 the Lieutenant of Police and his bowmen arrived to deport the last twenty-two contumacious old ladies, shortly followed by demolition squads and drunken grave-diggers (to get rid of the bodies in the graveyard) ostensibly to destroy the memory of the place for ever.

Harlay's successor as Archbishop of Paris was the Cardinal de Noailles, Wake's partner in the negotiations after the Utrecht peace settlement between the English and the Gallican churches, and also godfather to two of Zinzendorf's daughters. His appointment turned the conflict into a new course. In 1695 he had warmly approved a collection of *Moral Reflections on the New Testament* begun in 1671 by Pasquier Quesnel, a companion of Arnauld in exile. Quesnel was now found to be a moral and political danger, and in 1713 the Pope issued the notorious Bull *Unigenitus* which condemned 101 propositions from Quesnel's hoary work, not least his doctrines of irresistible efficacious grace and irreversible predestination. The Jansenists were not alone in objecting to a document which had condemned a book without the author being allowed to appear in its defence, by a Roman congregation, only one member of which understood the language in which it was written. Louis XIV had compromised the sacral character of the French monarchy by securing a condemnation of Jansenism as part of an implied bargain to put down Gallicanism in the French church. Protestants everywhere regarded the Bull as an attempt to make people affirm what they knew was not true, or repudiate what they knew was true; at all events the alliance of pope and

monarchy was now publicly on the line, and Jansenism now subtly changed with it, becoming a shibboleth of those opposed to monarchical and papal power, of parlementary Gallicans defending royal power against the Pope and his royal ally, and of lower clergy resisting the bishops. The attack on Quesnel seems to have been launched by Jesuits hoping to discredit Noailles, an objective continued down to the present by conservative historians seeking to present him as a vacillator promoted beyond his capacity for services to Bossuet in the Quietist controversy; certainly it gave the Jansenists a respectable ideological cover and the prospect of respectable allies in the church among moral rigorists and enemies of the Jesuits. Half a century later the alliance of Jansenists and the Paris Parlement still formed the hard core of opposition to the Jesuits, and, contrary to every probability, was able to plot and preside over the destruction of the Jesuit order in France.

After the death of Louis XIV in 1715 the Regent Orléans reacted against recent policies, and promoted Bossuet's nephew to the episcopate from which he had been kept for years by the Jesuits. Pope Clement XI tried to hold up the consecration to force compliance with the Bull *Unigenitus* and was met by threats which sounded like schism; the Regent found the young king a non-Jesuit confessor, who, as Cardinal Fleury, was to achieve a political significance of a quite unexpected kind. Four bishops appealed against the Bull and were subsequently supported by Noailles. The French clergy were now divided into appellants and constitutionaries, the former being denounced by the Pope. The tension in the French church in 1718 encouraged Wake, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to see whether some part of it might not be detached from the Roman obedience, a total pipe-dream as it turned out. Indeed, the alliance of papacy and monarchy reestablished itself. In 1725 under Benedict XIII the Roman council designated *Unigenitus* as a rule of faith, and in the following year a national council turned against both the appellant bishops and Le Courayer who had written a vindication of Anglican orders as part of the push for union. By the end of 1729 only three appellant bishops remained, and as they died they were replaced by strong constitutionaries. Fleury set about purging the religious orders and theological faculties, and control was speedily re-established in the French church. Jansenism, it appeared, was now really *Richérisme*, a policy embodying the dislike of the lower clergy for the upper clergy with secular support in the parlements. In the end in 1756 Benedict XIV was brought to ease the rub by refraining from expressly describing *Unigenitus* as a rule of faith and by discountenancing the way in which people had been refused the sacraments in these disputes. The one loophole for discontent which had not been plugged occurred, surprisingly, in a Paris cemetery.

Saint-Médard

On 1 May 1727, when the controversies over *Unigenitus* were at their worst, a Jansenist deacon of saintly reputation named François de Pâris died in Paris. Two days later, when he was buried in the parish cemetery of Saint-Médard, crowds of worshippers began to flock to his grave, most but by no means all from the rather dowdy area round about. Here they witnessed apparently miraculous cures of otherwise incurable conditions, from cancerous tumours to blindness, deafness and arthritis, posthumously performed by the holy man. The publicity given to these cures led to the development of an unauthorised religious cult and to great notoriety for a hitherto undistinguished *faubourg*. The cult attracted adherents from all over Paris and beyond. By the summer of 1731 the flood of visitors had become unmanageable, and the scenes at the tomb had developed from pious devotions and occasional miracles to the frenzied convulsions of people claiming to be inspired by the Holy Spirit through the intercessions of M. Pâris.

These events obtained their special significance from the *Unigenitus* affair. Saint-Médard provided a rallying-point for the Jansenist party and their lawyer friends, and the miracles, if authenticated, might indicate divine sanction for their cause. As Wesley put it thirty years later, 'if these miracles were real, they would strike at the root of the whole Papal authority, as having been wrought in direct opposition to the famous bull *Unigenitus*'. They also struck at the root of both long-term and recent developments in the church. The whole trend since the Council of Trent had been to eliminate paranormal phenomena, many of them doubtless superstitious, in the interests of the church's institutionalised channels of salvation and grace. Saint-Médard offered a religion of popular participation and unpredictability. Unfortunately the miracles of scripture and the early church had played a major role in the apologetic of both Catholic and Protestant, and were now beginning to fit awkwardly into a well-ordered Newtonian universe. To rubbish the miracles of Saint-Médard with too great abandon might well create apologetic difficulties of a fundamental order.

By the summer of 1731 church and state were too provoked by the cult to leave it alone. Restrictions were imposed and in January 1732 the cemetery was closed. This evidence of ill-will simply confirmed the belief of the convulsionaries, as they were now called, that they had a mission of social and spiritual regeneration, and their efforts to fulfil it let loose a great wave of religious enthusiasm in the French capital. The fate of this Catholic version of the Protestant French prophets was not unlike that of its predecessors. The force at the disposal of the government was never

enough to destroy the movement, which persisted throughout the century, but it was amply sufficient to prevent it from realising its aims. Repression had its usual effect of encouraging more eccentric behaviour, even what was called fanaticism in some quarters. The result was that the support which the movement had early enjoyed among opponents of the current policies of monarchy and papacy soon ebbed away, to reveal only too clearly that the convulsionaries were not seeking an alternative church, merely the old church broadened and revived; and without the backing of the influential that was not to be had.

Nevertheless the convulsionary cult revealed a number of important things about the Ancien Régime in France. Monarchical absolutism had not put an end to the overlapping of jurisdictions in France, and eventually the restiveness of privileged bodies seriously undermined the monarchy itself. The interaction of royal, papal and ecclesiastical authority, and attempts by church parties to manipulate the complicated system in sectional interests, had not helped the monarchy and had clearly created a popular impression that at the official level the redemption of the people was not a major object. It is thought that Louis's backing for church authority as he understood it, coming on top of the religious awakening of the early seventeenth century, produced a level of participation in Easter Communion in France higher than at any time before or since; but the scenes in Saint-Médard showed clearly enough the existence of a desire for a different sort of church. For all the force which the French state commanded, continued respect for its legitimacy depended in a large measure on general acceptance of shared myths and symbols; Saint-Médard showed this consensus wearing thin, and, two generations later, the Parisian districts where this kind of Jansenism was strong were stuffed with sansculottes.

Jansenism in the Low Countries

Meanwhile Jansenism of various sorts had established itself as an opposition force outside France, and especially in the Low Countries and the United Provinces. In the former Arnould and his friends had taken refuge, but Jansenism owed less to their influence than to the usual conflicts of jurisdiction. In the 1690s the prince-bishop of Liège, Joseph Clement, tried to replace so-called Jansenist teachers in his seminary by Jesuits, and let loose a violent pamphlet warfare. Here Canon Denys, the leading Jansenist, made no difficulties over *Unigenitus*, but preferred Austria to France. The bishop, who held four other sees by papal dispensation without ordination, acquired orders hastily in 1707 when the victories of the Duke of Marlborough were jeopardising his position;

conformity was required by both his foreign policy and his personal position. In the archdiocese of Malines, Humbert de Précipiano (1689–1711) ran a rather violent anti-Jansenist campaign, visiting convents, seizing books and generally trying to get rid of Jansenists. In the United Provinces, Archbishop Neercassel of Utrecht (1686), a rigorist theologian, had been a friend of Arnauld and an enemy of the Jesuits. His successor, Peter Codde, refused to sign the anti-Jansenist formulary, was summoned to Rome in 1699, and suspended in 1702. His chapter refused to accept the Pro-Vicar Apostolic, and the States of Holland forbade the latter to officiate in his territory. From that moment the Church of Utrecht, the Old Catholic Church which still exists, carried on independent of Rome, sympathetic bishops in Ireland and France ordaining its priests till in 1724 it was able to obtain the consecration of a new archbishop. Though it rejected *Unigenitus*, it regarded the crucial issue with Rome as one of jurisdiction. Thus once again Jansenism came to raise the question of ultimate authority in the Church. There was nothing progressive about the general Jansenist position, but having searched the Bible and Augustine to show that Christian doctrine breaks the canons of reason, they found themselves having to fight the battle of those who supported reason in another sense, against those who called for total obedience in Church and State. Thus by virtue of being in opposition they unwittingly contributed something to the great rational reappraisal of Christianity which was taking place elsewhere.