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Introduction

On 7 June 1789, one month after the opening of the Estates General at Versailles, the first service of the new French Reformed Church in Paris was held in temporary premises, in the back room of a wine-seller's house in the rue Mondétour, just near the central market. The congregation was small, since Protestant religious services were still illegal: only in August 1789 would the new National Assembly proclaim freedom of religion in France. Nevertheless, the Reformed services continued, and at the end of June the new church opened a baptismal register. Almost a year later, in May 1791, it moved into more spacious premises in the former Catholic church of Saint-Louis-du-Louvre, in the heart of Paris.[1] Ever since early 1788, when limited civil rights had finally been granted to the 'Huguenots' – a derogatory name given to the French Protestant minority by their Catholic enemies, which they later defiantly adopted for themselves[2] – Paris Protestants had been campaigning to have their own church in the city. Their leaders were of mixed background and origins. Most were French-born, though one was from Berlin and another probably Swiss. A number came from the provinces, but quite a few bore names that had been common among Huguenots in Paris in the seventeenth century: Dargent, Doucet, Guillerault, Lemaistre, Ourry, Raimbault. All were educated, though not all were wealthy.[3]

[1] Armand Lods, *L'Église réformée de Paris pendant la Révolution (1789–1802)* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1889), p. 15. 'Premier Exercice public du culte réformé à Paris en 1791', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* [henceforth *BSHPF*], 36 (1886), 512.

[2] The so-called 'Edict of Toleration' of 1787 was not registered by the Parlement of Paris until early 1788. For possible origins of the term 'Huguenot' see Didier Boisson and Hugues Daussy, *Les Protestants dans la France moderne* (Paris: Belin, 2006), pp. 5–6.

[3] For the members of the first consistory see Francis Garrisson, 'Genèse de l'Église réformée de Paris (1788–1791)', *BSHPF*, 137 (1991), 25–61 (60–1). Several were also members of the consistory in 1803 and their background is given by Michel Richard, 'Notices sur les membres laïques du consistoire de l'Église réformée de Paris de 1803 à 1848', *BSHPF*, 125 (1979), 449–90.

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The inauguration of the new Protestant church was the culmination of two intersecting stories. One was that of a persecuted religious minority who despite the combined efforts of the Catholic Church and the French state had for more than a century maintained the traditions of 'the Christians who follow the reform of Calvin', as a plaque on the door of the new church put it.[4] The second story was that of the amazing change in religious attitudes in Paris, a city long renowned for its hostility to the Huguenots. Between the late seventeenth and the late eighteenth century, much of the Catholic population had come to accept the presence of Protestants, and many now saw toleration of this religious minority not as an unfortunate necessity but as something positive. This book traces these two stories, asking first how the Paris Huguenots survived, and in many cases prospered, in such a hostile environment; and second, how and why the change in the sentiments of the Catholic population came about. Neither story can be told independently of the other.

The Huguenots were followers of the Reformed Church, like most of the Swiss and Dutch Protestants, observing a broadly Calvinist faith. This derived, as its name suggests, from the theology of John Calvin, the sixteenth-century Geneva-based reformer, but it was modified across the seventeenth century by his successors and by Swiss, Dutch and French Reformed pastors.[5] It differed both from Lutheranism and from Catholicism in emphasising predestination, the idea that salvation depended solely on God, who planned all things in advance, and did not rely on human actions. In practical terms, perhaps the greatest difference between the Reformed Churches and the Catholic Church lay in the latter's emphasis on the cult of saints and of the Virgin, which Calvin described as at best superstitious and, at worst, sacrilegious, replacing God and Christ with a host of minor deities to whom people prayed.[6] Calvinist churches were stripped of all the statues, pictures and symbols that filled Catholic ones, since nothing should distract from the believer's focus on God. An undecorated communion table replaced the altar and there was no organ or other musical instruments. Nor, naturally,

[4] 'Premier exercice public du culte réformé'.

[5] For excellent brief surveys see Menna Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism, 1541–1715* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 1–14; Dale K. Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560–1791* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), pp. 22–4; and especially Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 77–114.

[6] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols. (London: SCM Press, 1960), 2: 878–81.

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did Calvinists wear or honour crucifixes or observe the feast days of the saints that proliferated in the Catholic calendar.[7]

The Reformed Churches also differed fundamentally from Catholicism over the nature of the sacraments. Whereas Catholic theology insisted that the wine of the Eucharist was physically transformed into the blood of Christ and the bread into his body, Calvinists saw this as a form of idolatry, turning mere objects into magical substances. To them the sacraments were, as Calvin put it, 'tokens' of God's promises, although he did see the Eucharist as having spiritual power. Nevertheless, Reformed theologians did not accept the Catholic belief that the acts of baptism, marriage, confession, taking communion and the last rites actually made a difference to the fate of the soul.[8] This in turn had a direct impact on religious customs. The Reformed Churches tended to delay baptism, seeing it merely as a promise that the child would be raised within their community, whereas Catholics feared that the soul of an unbaptised child might go to hell. Calvinists also, in order to prevent any veneration of the dead, in theory held no funeral services, not even prayers by the grave, and there was no thought that cemeteries were sacred ground. After people died their soul left their body and was in God's hands. For Catholics, on the other hand, the prayers of the living might still be effective, and funerals and masses to assist them to reach heaven were central religious practices.[9]

The Reformed Churches held communion only four times a year, at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and the beginning of autumn, whereas in the Catholic Church masses were available every day. In between communion days, religious services in Calvinist churches consisted mainly of Bible readings, sermons and the singing of psalms, designed to reaffirm the faith of the congregation and to educate them. There were

[7] Michel-Edmond Richard, *La Vie des protestants français de l'Édit de Nantes à la Révolution (1598–1789)* (Éditions de Paris, 1994), pp. 31–4.

[8] Calvin, *Institutes*, 2: 1281. Marguerite Soulié, 'Signes et sacrements dans la théologie de Jean Calvin', in *Les Signes de Dieu aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, ed. Geneviève Demerson and Bernard Dompnier (Clermont-Ferrand: Publications de la Faculté des Lettres, 1993), pp. 27–36. Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, p. 86.

[9] On baptism, Philip Benedict, 'The Huguenot Population of France, 1600–1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 81, no. 5 (1991), i–ix, 1–164 (22–7). On funerals, Keith Luria, *Sacred Boundaries. Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), pp. 118–19, and Bernard Roussel, '"Ensevelir honnestement les corps": Funeral Corteges and Huguenot Culture', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 193–208. See also Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Ghosts, Kin and Progeny: Some Features of Family Life in Early Modern France', *Daedalus*, 106 (1977), 87–114.

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no processions, and nor was pilgrimage deemed to have any particular value.[10]

The French Reformed concept of the Church was also very different from the Catholic one. Drawing on the model of the early Christian churches, it saw each congregation as a community equal to the others. Each one was governed by a consistory, comprising one or more pastors and twenty or so male elders elected by the congregation in a secret ballot. The consistory looked after the finances of the church, organised poor relief and oversaw the morals of the population, with the power to summon people to repent publicly or even to suspend them from communion for serious sins. The pastor was considered an expert in spiritual matters and a leader, but in his absence an elder could preside at religious services. Doctrinal matters were determined at synods attended by senior members, both laymen and pastors, from the different churches.[11] There were no bishops and no centralised, hierarchical structure.

In the 1660s, there were probably around 800,000 Huguenots in France as a whole, mainly concentrated in rural areas in the south, although their number was declining, partly because of accelerating official discrimination. In 1680, some 8,000–10,000 Huguenots lived in Paris, representing around 2 per cent of the city's population.[12] They had long suffered from the hostility of the Catholic population. From the early days of the Reformation there had been riots and lynchings by Catholic mobs, although the violence was not solely on the Catholic side. Later there were executions and state violence. In 1572, Paris witnessed one of the most notorious examples of extreme religious violence in sixteenth-century Europe, the St Bartholomew's Day massacre of several thousand Huguenots. Subsequently, in the late 1580s and early 1590s, the city's reputation as a Catholic stronghold was consolidated by the

[10] This and what follows draws on Richard, *La Vie des protestants français*, pp. 21–39. On the importance of psalms for French Protestants, Barbara B. Diefendorf, 'The Huguenot Psalter and the Faith of French Protestants in the Sixteenth Century', in *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800). Essays in Honour of Natalie Zemon Davis*, ed. Barbara Diefendorf and Carla Hesse (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993), pp. 41–63.

[11] On the consistories and synods see Élisabeth Labrousse, 'France 1598–1685', in *International Calvinism, 1541–1715*, ed. Menna Prestwich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), pp. 287–91, and Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, pp. 135–6, 460–89. For the working of an early eighteenth-century French consistory see Hubert Bost (ed.), *Le Consistoire de l'église wallonne de Rotterdam, 1681–1706* (Paris: Champion, 2008).

[12] For an excellent overview see Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution*, pp. 22–5. Benedict, 'The Huguenot Population of France'. For the Paris population, Orentin Douen, *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à Paris*, 3 vols. (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1894), 1: 161–2. The figure of 10,000 is accepted by Georges Dethan, *Paris au temps de Louis XIV: 1660–1715* (Paris: Hachette, 1990), p. 179.

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activities of the League, which campaigned against Henri of Navarre, heir to the French throne, because he was a Protestant.[13] Despite armed resistance from Paris, Henri eventually did become king, thanks in part to his conversion to Catholicism. He was able to bring a precarious religious peace with the Edict of Nantes of 1598, which accorded a measure of religious freedom to France's Protestants.

Nevertheless, Henri's successors remained highly suspicious of the Huguenots, whose history of conflict with Catholics and of occasional revolt against the Crown, together with their rejection of the established Church in France, made them suspect to a monarchy that depended heavily on a hierarchical Church and on an ideology of sacral absolutism. Their enemies accused them of republicanism, a charge facilitated by the relatively democratic structure of their churches, since they elected their pastors and were governed by lay elders who were also elected by the congregation. Louis XIV was strongly hostile to the Huguenots, and after 1661, when he was old enough to assume personal control of the government, he multiplied measures against them. By the 1680s a swathe of kingdom-wide discriminatory legislation had greatly limited their rights and there were widespread forced conversions, including the first *dragonnades*: the stationing of soldiers in Protestant communities and houses with instructions to achieve conversions by any means. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, which put an end to the reluctant toleration of the Reformed churches, was part of a long process.[14]

After 1685 the persecution accelerated, with mass forced conversions, confiscations of property and denials of civil rights. Many Huguenots fled to Switzerland, Holland, England and various German states. The anti-Protestant laws continued to be enforced after Louis XIV's death in 1715, although increasingly sporadically and unevenly across the country. Only after the mid 1760s did the persecution come to an end in most of the kingdom, although not until 1787 was the existence of French Protestants recognised in law, and that still did not include the freedom to practise their religion in public.[15]

[13] Arlette Jouanna, *La Saint-Barthélemy: les mystères d'un crime d'État, 24 août 1572*, Paris: Gallimard, 2007. Barbara B. Diefendorf, *The St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 2009). Robert Descimon, *Qui étaient les Seize? Mythes et réalités de la Ligue parisienne (1585–1594)*. Mémoires de la Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Paris et de l'Île-de-France 34 (Paris: Fédération des sociétés historiques et archéologiques, 1983).

[14] For this and what follows, see particularly Janine Garrisson, *L'Édit de Nantes et sa révocation: histoire d'une intolérance* (Paris: Seuil, 1985), and Élisabeth Labrousse, *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes. Une foi, une loi, un roi?* (Paris: Payot, 1990). Further references are given in Chapter 1.

[15] For overviews of eighteenth-century French Protestantism see Geoffrey Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685–1787. The Enlightenment Debate on Toleration*

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Paris, right under the eye of the monarch, was perhaps the last place where one would expect to find a continuing Protestant presence in the eighteenth century. Louis XIV was insistent that his capital, of all the cities in the kingdom, must become entirely Catholic, and the Revocation was followed by measures to force the Protestant inhabitants of the city to convert. Yet many Huguenots did remain in the city, and their numbers grew significantly across the eighteenth century. As a result of their illegal status we have quite a lot of information about them. For thirty years after 1685 the police watched them closely, and there were denunciations and arrests. Police spies monitored the chapels of the Protestant ambassadors, officially open only to foreigners but in practice frequented by French Protestants as well. We have scattered reports on those attending the Dutch chapel as late as 1766. Incomplete records survive from the Anglican, Swedish and Dutch chapels, and some of these concern Huguenots resident in Paris. There were also many Protestants who refused the Catholic last rites when they died, which meant they could not be buried in the parish cemeteries. Several hundred official permissions for burial in non-consecrated ground, sought by next-of-kin or friends, lie scattered through the voluminous archives of the local police officials. In addition to those born in Paris, migrants from the Low Countries, from Switzerland and from Germany included many members of the Reformed churches, some of them children of refugees who now returned. Huguenots also came from other parts of France. All these groups intermarried, to varying degrees, with the local Protestants, and their children quickly became little Parisians. Once we know who they were, of course, it is possible to trace some of them in the notarial and other archives.

The Paris Huguenots were present throughout the eighteenth century, therefore, but aside from a handful of specialist articles we know little

(Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1991); Boisson and Daussy, *Les Protestants*; Jacques Dedieu, *Histoire politique des protestants français (1715–1794)*, 2 vols. (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1925); Philippe Joutard, ‘Pour les protestants, gérer la longue durée de la clandestinité’, in *Du roi Très Chrétien à la laïcité républicaine (XVIIIe–XIXe siècle)*, ed. Philippe Joutard (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1991), pp. 50–61; vol. III of *Histoire de la France religieuse*, 4 vols., ed. Jacques Le Goff and René Rémond (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1988–1992); Robert Mandrou *et al.*, *Histoire des protestants en France. De la Réforme à la Révolution*, 2nd edn (Paris: Privat, 2001. First edition 1977); John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth Century France*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 2: 565–657; Jeffrey Merrick, *The Desacralization of the French Monarchy in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge and London: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), pp. 135–59; John Pappas, ‘La Répression contre les protestants dans la seconde moitié du siècle, d’après les registres de l’Ancien Régime’, *Dix-huitième siècle*, 17 (1985), 111–28; Richard, *La Vie des protestants français*; Brien E. Strayer, *Huguenots and Camisards as Aliens in France, 1598–1789. The Struggle for Religious Toleration* (Lewiston, NY, Queenston, ON and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2001).

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about them.[16] From general histories of French Protestantism, one has the impression that they disappeared almost entirely. This is indeed the message conveyed by the erudite and comprehensive late nineteenth-century study of the Revocation in Paris by Orentin Douen, who concludes that all but a handful either departed or converted.[17] The same impression emerges from Herbert Lüthy's magisterial study of French Protestant banking, which acknowledges the continuing presence of a few old Huguenot families, but stresses the arrival of new ones, particularly from Geneva.[18] Only in the second half of the eighteenth century do Paris-based Protestants reappear on the main historiographical stage. At that point a small number of writers, bankers and merchants, mostly new immigrants or descendants of French refugees, become a major part of French history. There is Antoine Court de Gébelin, author of one of the classics of the French Enlightenment, a nine-volume history of languages entitled *Le Monde primitif* (1773–82), and the chevalier de Jaucourt, who wrote many articles for the *Encyclopédie*. Among the Swiss who lived in the city were of course Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who was there from 1742 to 1756, the doctors André Tissot and Théodore Tronchin, and Jacques Necker, the banker who became French Finance Minister and who played a vital role in the lead-up to the Revolution.[19]

[16] There is quite a body of work on Protestants in seventeenth-century Paris, including many unpublished *mémoires* directed by Jean-Pierre Poussou and Michelle Magdelaine. For the eighteenth century, the main studies are Garrisson, 'Genèse de l'Église réformée'; Francis Garrisson, 'Le Mariage à la campagne: une échappatoire pour les familles protestantes au XVIIIe siècle', *BSHPF*, 155 (2009), 469–99; Francis Garrisson, 'Les Infirmeries protestantes de Paris au XVIIIe siècle', *BSHPF*, 145 (1999), 31–87; Jacques Grès-Gayer, 'Le Culte de l'ambassade de Grande-Bretagne à Paris au début de la Régence (1715–1720)', *BSHPF*, 130 (1984), 29–46. Gwenaëlle Léonus-Lieppe, 'La Chapelle de l'Ambassade de Hollande à Paris au XVIIIe siècle: instrument du maintien du culte réformé à l'époque du Désert', in *Les passions d'un historien. Mélanges en l'honneur de Jean-Pierre Poussou*, ed. Reynald Abad, Jean-Pierre Bardet, Jean-François Bunyach and François-Joseph Ruggiu (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2010), pp. 1585–615; Gwenaëlle Léonus-Lieppe, 'La Chapelle de l'ambassade de Hollande à Paris au XVIIIe siècle. Vecteur de soutien aux protestants de France', in *Entre Calvinistes et Catholiques. Les relations religieuses entre la France et les Pays-Bas du Nord (XVIe–XVIIIe siècle)*, ed. Yves Krumenacker, with Olivier Christin (Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2010), pp. 367–88; and Gwenaëlle Léonus-Lieppe, 'Justice déléguée, justice retenue: les modalités de l'application de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à Paris', in *Justice et protestantisme*, ed. Didier Boisson and Yves Krumenacker ([Lyons]: RESEA-LARHRA, 2011), pp. 81–95. Léonus-Lieppe is currently undertaking a thesis on the Paris Protestants.

[17] Douen, *La Révocation*.

[18] Herbert Lüthy, *La Banque protestante en France de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à la Révolution*, 2 vols. (Paris: SEVPEN, 1959–61).

[19] Madeleine Morris, *Le Chevalier de Jaucourt: un ami de la terre, 1704–1780* (Geneva: Droz, 1979).

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The focus of research on the eighteenth-century Huguenots, understandably, has not been on Paris but on areas of France with the largest Reformed populations, as well as on those who fled to form vibrant expatriate communities all over the world and who made significant contributions to the economy and culture of the places where they found refuge.[20] Yet the lack of interest in the Huguenots of eighteenth-century Paris has other causes. After all, we have excellent studies of the smaller Lutheran population of eighteenth-century Paris, largely composed of people who originally came either from Alsace or from Germany or Scandinavia.[21] The Paris Huguenots have been neglected partly because their story is not particularly dramatic, and partly because it fits less neatly into the heroic story that until recently French Protestant historians told of their persecuted ancestors. There is nothing in Paris to compare with the bloody guerrilla resistance of the Camisards in the Cévennes or the courageous defiance of Protestant gatherings in the 'Désert', in rural areas mainly in the south. Few Paris Protestants suffered the appalling conditions on the galleys in the Mediterranean, and the well-publicised injustices done to Jean Calas and Pierre-Paul Sirven took place in southern France. (Calas was accused, tortured and executed for the murder of his own son, and Sirven was similarly accused of killing his daughter. Both were defended by Voltaire.)[22] In Paris, by contrast, Huguenot resistance to persecution was very muted. In the second half of the century, when the Reformed churches were being covertly reorganised in France, the 'Messieurs de Paris', as the leaders of the Protestant community there came to be called by their more radical coreligionists, opposed any action they feared might provoke a new round of persecution. As a result,

[20] Recent regional studies include Didier Boisson, *Les Protestants de l'ancien colloque du Berry de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à la fin de l'Ancien Régime (1679–1789), ou l'Inégale Résistance des minorités religieuses* (Paris: Champion, 2000); Janine Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi* (Toulouse: Privat, 1980); Yves Krumenacker, *Des protestants au Siècle des Lumières. Le modèle lyonnais* (Paris: Champion, 2002); Yves Krumenacker, *Les Protestants du Poitou au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1998); Jacques Marcadé, *Protestants poitevins de la Révocation à la Révolution* (La Crèche: Geste Éditions, 1998); Marc Scheidecker and Gérard Gayot, *Les Protestants de Sedan au XVIIIe siècle. Le peuple et les manufacturiers* (Paris: Champion, 2003). Also of direct relevance to this book is Didier Boisson and Christian Lippold, 'La Survie religieuse des communautés protestantes du Centre de la France et du Bassin parisien de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à l'Édit de Tolérance (1685–1787)', *Histoire, économie, société*, 21 (2002), 227–54.

[21] Janine Driancourt-Girod, *Ainsi priaient les luthériens. La vie religieuse, la pratique et la foi des luthériens de Paris au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992); Janine Driancourt-Girod, *L'Insolite Histoire des luthériens de Paris. De Louis XIII à Napoléon* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1992).

[22] David Bien, *The Calas Affair: Persecution, Toleration, and Heresy in Eighteenth-Century Toulouse* (Princeton University Press, 1960). Janine Garrisson, *L'Affaire Calas. Miroir des passions françaises* (Paris: Fayard, 2004). Graham Gargett, *Voltaire and Protestantism* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1980).

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older Protestant histories either ignore or denigrate these 'timorous' and 'bourgeois' Paris Huguenots.[23]

The continued presence of French Protestants in the capital raises a host of questions. Who were they? How numerous were they? Above all, how did they survive and even prosper in this notoriously Catholic city, despite draconian laws against them and in the face of a hostile population? How did they retain their faith and pass it on to their children? This book suggests that while the survival of the Paris Huguenots as a religious minority depended in the first instance on their own determination to resist, it was also made possible by de facto toleration on the part of the authorities. But their continued existence always also depended crucially on the attitudes of the far larger Catholic population, which had it been resolute in its hostility could have denied them work, threatened them physically or systematically denounced them to the authorities. Even before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Paris was legally classified as a Catholic city. Protestants could live there, but not maintain a church or practise their religion publicly, so they were forced to build a new temple at Charenton, some distance outside the city. This arrangement probably reduced religious conflict in Paris, although across the seventeenth century there was sporadic Catholic violence against the Huguenots, including a number of quite serious riots. Not only were there violent attacks, but in the 1660s and 1670s many trades explicitly excluded Protestants from membership.[24]

There seems little doubt that when the Edict of Nantes was revoked, most of the Paris population either supported or was indifferent to the persecution. Madame de Sévigné's much-quoted reaction to the new edict reveals the attitude of many French nobles: 'Nothing is so beautiful … and no king has ever done anything more memorable, or ever will.'[25] The anti-Protestant measures were celebrated by writers, including Bernard Fontenelle, Jean Racine, Jean de La Bruyère and Madeleine de Scudéry: 'The king is achieving great things against the Huguenots', she wrote.[26] According to the historian François Bluche, the Revocation was wildly popular among the common people of Paris. Orest Ranum agrees: it 'must have been viewed by Parisian guildsmen and judges as

[23] Margaret Maxwell, 'The Division in the Ranks of the Protestants in Eighteenth-Century France', *Church History*, 27 (1958), 107–23 (112–16).

[24] Arie Theodorus Van Deursen, *Professions et métiers interdits. Un aspect de l'histoire de la Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes* (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1960), pp. 315, 20; Douen, *La Révocation*, 1: 314–16. The seventeenth-century background is examined below, in Chapters 1 and 6.

[25] Madame de Sévigné, quoted in Douen, *La Révocation*, 1:61.

[26] *Lettres de Mesdames de Scudéry, de Salvan, de Saliez, et de Mademoiselle Descartes* (Paris: Leopold Collin, 1806), p. 170 (28 September 1685).

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the fulfillment of their desires. The Revocation at last sanctioned what they had been doing all along. Hence, in the context of Parisian society, Louis XIV's decision must be seen as a popular act.'[27]

This is hardly surprising. Toleration, in the seventeenth century, was rarely viewed as a good thing: in essence, it meant allowing what one could not change. That was the view of French Catholic and Protestant leaders alike, since each saw the other as dangerously misguided but both sides recognised their inability to eradicate such error. 'Toleration' was therefore negative, not positive, since it meant putting up with people who represented a potentially serious threat to society.[28] In studying this period, too, it is important to distinguish between civil toleration and full religious freedom. Civil toleration primarily means freedom of conscience, state recognition of the right to be different, to be born, live and die in one's own faith. Most of the eighteenth-century proponents of toleration endorsed this policy, but in France, and indeed in most of Europe, few were prepared to argue for full religious freedom because that was seen to be a threat to the unity of the kingdom. The so-called Edict of Toleration of 1787 was consistent with this majority view, allowing 'non-Catholics' in France a legal status and freedom of conscience, but not the right to practise their religion.[29]

Nevertheless, in Paris the everyday situation had already changed dramatically, surprisingly early in the eighteenth century. As this study shows, by 1700 the government had all but abandoned efforts at conversion, and after 1710 the police stopped harassing the Protestants almost entirely as long as they kept a low profile. Huguenots opened businesses and interacted peacefully with Catholics as workers, clients and neighbours. As the century went on, there were fewer and fewer impediments to their participation in every aspect of urban life, and by the early 1780s Louis-Sébastien Mercier, in his best-selling *Tableau de Paris*, was able to claim that 'religious liberty is possible in the highest degree in Paris; you will never be asked about your beliefs … the Jews, the Protestants, the

[27] François Bluche, *Louis XIV* (Paris: Fayard, 1986), p. 609. Quotation from Orest Ranum, *Paris in the Age of Absolutism*, 2nd edn (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), pp. 251–2.

[28] Barbara de Negroni, *Intolérances. Catholiques et protestants en France, 1560–1787* (Paris: Hachette, 1996). Philip Benedict, '*Un roi, une loi, deux fois*: Parameters for the History of Catholic–Reformed Coexistence in France, 1555–1685', in *The Faith and Fortune of France's Huguenots*, 1600–85 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 279–308 (pp. 282–90). See also the valuable discussion in Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred. Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500–1700* (Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 1–5.

[29] Antonio Rotondò, 'Tolérance', in *Le Monde des Lumières*, ed. Vincenzo Ferrone and Daniel Roche (Paris: Fayard, 1999) pp. 71–85. On the broader debate in France, Adams, *Huguenots and French Opinion*; Negroni, *Intolérances*, pp. 90–4.

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