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EMOTION, EXCLUSION, EXILE

The Huguenot experience during the French religious wars

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Exile, in particular the so-called refugee crisis, is the headline issue of our time. The mixed emotional response of host communities, including compassion and suspicion, sympathy and fear, loom large in the discussion. As I write, BBC Radio 4 is having its 'World on the Move' day, featuring specialist broadcasts on the topic, including historical precedents. One of those being considered is the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which effectively made the practice of Protestant worship illegal in France and prompted a significant Huguenot diaspora known as the Refuge. This event and its consequences have been widely studied; such works are mainly concerned with the communities of exiles that established themselves abroad, primarily in England and the Dutch Republic, as well as further afield.¹ Another focus of scholarly attention has been the clandestine churches of the so-called *Désert* up to the Revolution, which marked a partial return to the time prior to the Wars of Religion, before public worship was first permitted by the crown in 1562. Less consideration has been given to the exiles from the sixteenth-century French religious wars, whose communities were not so established, not least because persecution was much more sporadic and interspersed by lengthy periods of official toleration. It is also notable that such studies tend to look at the issue from the perspective of the host communities, or at least from the other side of the border.² With the presence and increasing influence of John Calvin and other French ministers in Geneva from the 1540s, and the predominantly merchants and artisans from France who followed them there, not to mention the contribution of other important refugee centres such as Strasbourg and Lausanne, the exile experience was at the heart of the Reform movement.³ Essentially, too, Geneva was the French Reformed Church in exile, and this fact profoundly shaped the approach of Calvin and his fellow ministers to the situation in France.⁴ Yet, the variable

contours of the exile experience in these circumstances have hardly been explored by historians, especially with regard to the practical and emotional impact on individuals and the clandestine activities in which, as a consequence of their displacement, they inevitably became involved.

Despite the intense focus on the violence and brutality of the French religious wars, which has shaped so much of our understanding of the conflict, a specifically emotional history is yet to be written. That is not to say that historians have been disinterested in the impact of the wars both on the kingdom and on individuals. From the anguish of a whole nation to personal trauma during the St Bartholomew's Day massacre and the self-examination of Montaigne, the psychological experience of elements of the conflict has been closely analysed.⁵ But these partial contributions need to be expanded further. The emotional language and tone of many such accounts is palpable, such as the fifty-page remonstrance from the Protestant nobility of Maine to the King and the Marshal de Vieilleville, listing the atrocities and 'horrible excesses' that their coreligionists in the region had suffered during the two years following the 1563 edict of pacification, which should have protected and safeguarded their interests.⁶ Nevertheless, the resulting catalogue of heinous crimes and official connivance deals largely with second- or third-hand accounts. A more sensitive approach can, however, extract evidence of more nuanced experiences. The record, of course, can only ever be partial, since few participants wrote down how they felt during, and as a consequence of, these disturbing acts. Perhaps, then, we might look elsewhere for direct experience of the emotional impact of the wars, but in doing so we may have to look in unexpected places, as Susan Broomhall has demonstrated with the petitions of paupers for poor relief describing the distressing effects of the wars.⁷ Another source of trauma, to be considered here, is the displacement and loss felt by those who were forced to leave their homes to seek an uncertain future in exile.

Nicholas Terpstra has recently reminded us that 'the Reformation stands out as the first period ... when the religious refugee became a mass phenomenon'.⁸ The burgeoning interdisciplinary field of memory studies also draws our attention to the resilience and fortitude of the survivors of traumatic episodes, which seems peculiarly apt for a volume dealing with the issue of emotion and exile.⁹ From many accounts, it is clear that the sorts of ordeals experienced by Huguenots must have had severe emotional repercussions: some became exiles after they witnessed such actions, others struggled to deal with the knowledge of them from afar. In turn, this must have led to a sense of guilt, as well as justification or affirmation of their departure. Frustratingly though, we know very little about what the responses were to such experiences as witnessing the brutal death of relatives and friends; surviving an attack themselves; having a child torn away to be baptized; they themselves being forced to abjure. Of course, these were the very experiences many exiles sought to avoid by fleeing from their homes. As already noted, such trauma is often reported at third hand in chronicles and memoirs or in the correspondence of noble leaders with each other

and the crown. Reports of tears and laments, courage and defiance, but also shame and fear emerge, but the descriptions are often quite generic in form. Ultimately, therefore, there is very little to be heard of the voices of the exiles themselves. Nevertheless, while reconstruction may be difficult, it remains both worthwhile and instructive. Exiles were more likely than most to reflect on their circumstances and, indeed, to provide the vital written record needed through correspondence with family, colleagues, and friends. While letters are the most direct primary source we have for evidence of the emotional impact of exile, other documents also need to be examined for the effect of persecution on the emotions of not only those who left, but also those who stayed, and those who eventually returned once the conflict had subsided.

It should be emphasized that, although there was much shared emotional experience in the ordeal of exile, it was often evoked in very individual and personal ways. The trauma was deeply felt and internalized as well as publicly expressed. It involved both physical hardship and psychological stress, as well as a sense of abandonment and betrayal, and the questioning of an individual's identity. Staying put or going back was not a simple choice; after a time, exiles might feel that they belonged nowhere, treated with sympathy but also suspicion in their place of refuge, but fearful of what response awaited them if they went home. The experience of exile both changed and marked those who left, so that returning could be fraught with anxiety, due as much to the ambivalent response of others as to their own sense of displacement at the changes that had occurred in their absence. While exile was a refuge from the threat posed by the actions of the authorities that might compromise one's faith, others might look askance at the decision to leave family and friends behind. Often believing that they had no choice but to leave, exiles had to justify this important decision continually to themselves as well as to others.

The reluctance of those forced to flee across the border of the French kingdom, by land and by sea, was aroused by fear of the possibly imminent adversity and misfortune on leaving their homeland. On 3 August 1595, the lawyer and memoirist Nicolas Pithou, aged seventy-one, wrote his last will and testament.¹⁰ He had recently returned to his native town of Troyes in Champagne after twenty-seven continuous years abroad in exile. As a committed Huguenot, he had been forced to choose between his home and his faith at the age of forty-four. Like many others, he had brief spells away, initially as waves of persecution ebbed and flowed in 1560s, and finally leaving at the beginning of the third war in 1568. While lamenting the time and money he had spent moving around here and there for more than three decades, he thanked God for keeping him safe, conserving him from 'so many perils and dangers, misfortunes and calamities'. Finally, he gave tribute to the two people who had been closest to him in his life, his 'well-loved' twin-brother Jean and his 'dearly beloved' wife Perrette, 'constant companion' on his travels. He entrusted Perrette to Jean's care, trusting that he would extend to her the same 'intimate friendship' the brothers had shared. Of course, being so close to a twin or to a spouse was not unusual, but

such emotional familial ties must only have been reinforced and strengthened by the adversity and hardship of exile. Nicolas's experience, like that of other exiles, torn between his native and adopted homes, was reflected in his endowments, which were divided between the poor of the Genevan Church and the poor of Troyes. He would die three years later in 1598, leaving behind him not only his grieving brother and wife, but also a 500-folio-plus memoir chronicling the history of the Reformed Church in Troyes.¹¹ His twin, Jean, died four years later in 1602, still in exile in the Swiss town of Lausanne.

A period of exile could, however, afford fortuitous opportunities, not only to the individuals concerned, but to those they had left behind, in building networks and seeking external support. Another refugee from the third war was Odet de Coligny, Cardinal of Châtillon, elder brother of the better-known Huguenot leader, Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, first victim of the 1572 St Bartholomew's Day massacre. His was a very high-profile exile indeed, as reflected in a number of letters he wrote to King Charles IX in the days during and after his flight. The first was written on 5 September 1568, as he made his way to the Channel coast to take a boat to England, and two others repeated much the same information in the days following his arrival (suggesting, as for many such correspondents, that he was anxious about the information getting through):

Having received several warnings one after another of the plots against me, and the traps to surprise me in my home... and knowing that those who have long declared themselves the enemies of me and mine... (5 Sept).¹²

To my very great regret, I have been forced at my age [he was fifty-one] to abandon my house, my homeland and your realm, where I have always been honoured to have been well treated by its kings, in order to conserve my life and to keep myself from injury and oppression from those who have always shown themselves to be enemies of the public peace, and particularly of my whole House (14 Sept).¹³

Conscious of the rebellious appearance of such an act, the Cardinal assured Charles that 'no plots, intelligence or sharp practice have led me to this country where I had never even thought of coming three hours before my departure from my house and the warning I received that I should move out immediately' (14 September). In particular, he emphasized that he remained the young king's loyal servant: 'believe that, in whatever place I am, I would never fail in any way to uphold the obedience, fidelity, subjection and loyalty I owe you', and that his only purpose was 'to serve God, pray for your prosperity and health, and to deliver your kingdom from the miseries, calamities and desolation' it was facing (5 September). He wrote to express his extreme distress, tinged with not a little resentment, at being so treated. Nevertheless, six months later, Odet was condemned in his absence for 'rebellion, felony, (and the) crime of lèse-majesté',

deprived of all his honours and possessions, and fined a hefty 200,000 *livres* for 'common offence' against the king.¹⁴ He would die, still in exile in England, on 30 March 1571, as he waited at Canterbury for a suitable boat to take him back to his native France.

Unlike Nicolas Pithou, Odet was protected by his aristocratic status and royal favour, and after only two and a half years of this first experience of exile, he was heading back to France on the resumption of peace. Like Pithou, his wife (his former mistress whom he had married in 1564 after his excommunication by the pope) accompanied him, as well as a formidable entourage of some thirty people who made up his aristocratic household. During his enforced exile, he maintained regular, if often clandestine, correspondence with his family and followers back in France, and was warmly welcomed at Queen Elizabeth's court. At the same time as he was appealing to the charity of Charles IX, he was writing to convince his new host and protector of the justness of his actions, and indeed how providential the situation was in allowing him to meet and kiss the hands of 'the most virtuous princess of this century'.¹⁵ The flattery did not stop there, as he referred to England as 'the asylum and refuge' for all those persecuted and pursued because of their 'piety and religion', stating that her actions in offering them shelter and hospitality were pleasing to heaven and would be noted by posterity. Indeed, a sizeable Huguenot community, of which Odet de Coligny was only briefly a member, had already established itself as one of the primary 'stranger churches' in London. The support network that they offered to those fleeing persecution was invaluable, for 'they quickly became the institutional centre of the whole foreign community of the city'.¹⁶ Such networks were, indeed, a vital consideration for those choosing whether, and where, to contemplate a future in exile.

During his period of enforced exile, Odet was able to act as an effective go-between for the Huguenots with Elizabeth, successfully seeking both material and financial assistance for them. In doing so, he was able to play on the sufferings of his coreligionists back in France. In a lengthy report he wrote for Elizabeth's chief minister, William Cecil, detailing the mistreatment of the Huguenots, he states that he 'cannot recount without tears the inhumanities (and) barbarities' suffered by them.¹⁷ The 'innocence' and 'loyalty' of the Huguenots in the face of so much injustice and inhumane treatment is repeatedly contrasted with the 'unfaithfulness' and 'cruelty' of their opponents. Amid the accounts of murders, rape, and pillage, the Cardinal made a point of exonerating the actions of his brothers, who might be seen as rebels by some, but who were, he claimed, only acting in self-defence, they and their families having been directly threatened. It was a self-justification for his own actions, too, in fleeing the realm and seeking exile abroad. Odet's was not an experience of isolation or uncertainty to the same extent as other refugees, but, like them, it was detrimental to his wealth and well-being, to his status and influence, as well as arguably to his health. His sudden and unwelcome departure from France, and the arduousness of the Channel crossing, no doubt took its toll on frayed nerves and an ageing constitution. How much worse must it have been for those who

could not afford and were not offered the means of transport, places of residence, and networks of support that Odet's rank was able to secure, and upon which he was able to rely.¹⁸

As reflected in both the Coligny and Pithou examples, it is worth remarking that the experience of exile during the French religious wars was often brief, sporadic and, therefore, less established than that of other groups, such as the Iberian conversos or indeed the Huguenots' post-Revocation descendants in the 1680s. Individuals and groups headed mainly to Protestant strongholds in the Swiss Confederation and the Empire, but also to England and increasingly, after the establishment of the United Provinces, to the Netherlands. The Genevan *Livre des habitants* and the registers of other refugee centres record this diaspora during waves of persecution, notably in the 1550s before official toleration was introduced, the early 1560s at the beginning of the wars, in 1568 following the outbreak of the third war, and especially after the St Bartholomew's Day massacres of 1572.¹⁹ Listed alongside the names of refugees were their places of origin, their occupations, and sometimes the names and ages of family and household members, including servants, who had travelled with them. In later years, Geneva required witnesses to vouch for those registering, drawn from the existing inhabitants, often relatives or former acquaintances. On arrival, exiles naturally sought out others they knew in the community or those who shared a trade or other status with them. Such groupings often became tight-knit and mutually supportive. Equally, however, we know that while some settled, others returned home as soon as it was safe (at least officially) to do so. In general, it was often unclear how long a period of exile might last, and few probably expected it to be permanent. Common to early modern exile experience were notions of homeland and homelessness: being wrenched away from your home as penance for faith had biblical overtones, as had the desire for, and expectation of, return. As a consequence, stories of the circumstances of an individual's or group's departure or flight accrued an important, even mythological status, to be recounted down the generations and used to solicit sympathy (as in the case of Odet de Coligny) from would-be hosts.²⁰

Furthermore, according to Natalia Muchnik, exile 'incarnated the dilemma' between the earthly and the spiritual, between material possessions and faith, with the diaspora seen as a transitory state, a test, an act of penitence, before the return to the promised land and redemption.²¹ Only gradually, therefore, did groups of exiles integrate fully into their new surroundings, their host society; traditions and customs were often long perpetuated. The much-discussed Calvinist international, therefore, involved a sense of common destiny, a collective struggle as well as a sense of community, and, through correspondence, a sharing of a 'virtual' diaspora with those left behind. However, views of the homeland could also be conflicted, especially such as in France where persecution intensified, sharpening the contrast with the spiritual and material support of the host country. The many Huguenots who left, but soon after returned to their native communities during the course of the wars, often faced a hostile

reception as town gates were reluctantly reopened to admit them, and resentment towards them continued when their seized property was returned. Sometimes they were forced to allow the rebaptism of their children, and they often experienced continual intimidation and harassment, in the most extreme cases leading to murder. It is notable that several of the victims of the St Bartholomew's Day massacres in the provinces had previously gone into exile, an act perhaps marking them out as targets, and certainly heightening the danger involved in their decision to return.

One of the most high-profile cases of those who escaped and fled into exile during the 1572 massacre in Paris was Gabriel de Lorges, Count of Montgomery, probably best known as the man who inflicted the fatal blow on Henry II during a joust in 1559.²² He was also a leading Huguenot commander during the wars, and an intermittent exile in England and the Channel Islands. Despite his dramatic escape, he was captured on returning to the wars in France, and subsequently tried and executed for treason in 1574, despite being offered a safe-conduct by the crown. In addition, his many children were subsequently deprived of their noble status and inheritance, which could only have added to the emotional turmoil they already felt at his swift dispatch. The authorities took the view that his continuing presence whether at home or abroad was too dangerous for the polity to allow him to survive. Montgomery's decision to return from exile to continue the fight for the Huguenot cause would cost him his life.

Indeed, it is worth underlining that for many Huguenots, exile abroad was not a feasible or desirable option, certainly not in the long term, and they had to face the many challenges posed by staying put in a hostile environment that, historians have argued, formed its own sort of exile. Christopher Highley discusses the phenomenon of interior or internal exile for those who stayed behind in England but might have felt like strangers in their own land due to their political and cultural (and arguably social) marginalisation.²³ The experience of interior or internal exile is also found in the case of France. Nicolas Pithou's account of the history of the Reformed Church in his native Troyes reveals an often-concealed phenomenon in our record of Huguenot experience when he recounts the story of his half-sister, Ambroise. The story is worth examining in detail. In September 1562, after two months of intense persecution and murders of Protestants in Troyes, Ambroise was registered, together with her husband and sister and many other Huguenots, as a refugee in Strasbourg, just over the border in the Empire.²⁴ But in 1562 she returned to Troyes with her maid and two daughters in secret, in order to give birth to a third child. Subsequently, she was ejected from her mother's house for refusing to abjure or go to mass, thereby risking the family's safety. In desperation, Ambroise then returned in secret to her own house that had been locked up and where she could stay hidden until she gave birth. However, the midwife informed the authorities (as she was legally obliged to do), who then sent soldiers to take the baby boy to be baptized. Thereafter, Ambroise made it appear as if she had left town, only

going out at night, and sustaining herself and her children by making and selling tapestries. Despite her straitened circumstances, her mother and the rest of her family refused to help her out unless she conformed. She left the town shortly afterwards.²⁵

The next time that we meet up with Ambroise Pithou in her brother's chronicle is in 1573, a time fraught with danger for the Huguenots following the St Bartholomew's Day massacres. She had fled this time to Ligny-en-Barrois, on the French border with Lorraine, in order to meet up with some other women from Troyes who, like her, were planning to join their husbands in exile. On this occasion, she was accompanied by two daughters, one only twenty-one months old (it is not stated what had become of the son whose birth she had striven so hard to conceal in 1562). At Ligny, she trusted in the protection of the Count of Brienne, who had provided members of her family with a refuge in the past, but she was refused entry and was abused by guards on the city gates. At great risk, Nicolas Pithou tells us, she had to plead for her life with soldiers who had been ordered to murder her. The courage Ambroise demonstrated in these circumstances is reminiscent of her defiant stance over her child's baptism and her own attendance at Mass in 1562. Her experience, twice left to fend for herself and her children in the face of extreme adversity while her husband was in exile, also reminds us that the widows of the wars were not the only people who had to cope on their own.²⁶ Ambroise went on to explain to her would-be captors the emotional pain this rejection by her family had caused her, as cited by her half-brother: 'It has deprived me of the company of my husband, the presence of my daughter whom I was forced to abandon and all that is mine'.²⁷

Like many such accounts (notably those in the longer compilation of the *Histoire Ecclésiastique*), there is an air of the martyrology about the tale of Ambroise's brave words and fortitude in the face of extreme danger. Women were seen as particularly effective and emotive exempla of the trials of upholding a persecuted faith; the perils for women of both leaving and staying put were highlighted in all cases.²⁸ One such story is that of a woman known as *la Glée*, who went to her death willingly, indeed joyfully, only pausing briefly to weep when confronted by the sight of the children she was leaving behind.²⁹ Another involves the extreme and prolonged bouts of torture suffered by a sixty-year-old widow, Castille Rocques, in the town of Sorèze near Castres in Languedoc, when she refused to denounce or waiver from her religion.³⁰ So, what evidence is there of the real emotion of such experiences rather than simply a cultural repertoire of how such events should be described? In Nicolas Pithou's case, he is at less of a remove than many of his fellow memorialists from his half-sister's experience. The amount of detail and its individual facets lend it an air of veracity that some other accounts lack; indeed, Ambroise's story is in many ways suggestive. It was not unusual for Protestant women to remain behind to maintain the household rather than seek temporary exile alongside their husbands. Like Recusant women in England, they could find themselves in a hostile environment, viewed as suspect within their

own communities.³¹ As a result, they were forced to rely on the safety net provided by existing ties and support networks, the resilience of which was repeatedly put to the test in an increasingly uncertain world. The Pithou family's rejection of Ambroise and subsequent withdrawal of protection and support was no doubt painful for Nicolas to have to recount. Separation from a spouse and children was not unusual but was clearly painful to endure. In addition, the regulations of French synods prevented women from marrying again even if their husbands were away for years. Indeed, they were obliged to follow their husbands into exile if they were to be absent for a prolonged period, just as men were forbidden to abandon their wives—to prevent couples from using exile as a convenient excuse for a separation.³²

This discussion of the effective 'internal exile' of Huguenots might be expanded still further. It is unclear whether others remained cowering in their apparently empty houses as Ambroise did. Certainly there are references to houses locked up and left for long periods by Huguenots whose neighbours did not know when or if they would return, including several in Troyes during a house-to-house poll conducted by the municipal authorities in 1563.³³ Even during periods of official peace, while Huguenots were not to be molested for matters of conscience or private prayer within their homes, they were forced out far beyond the town gates for the more public acts of collective worship and reception of the sacraments. This effective expulsion from the community made them vulnerable to attack at the gates themselves or elsewhere on their journey to and from services. The Huguenot sense of ostracization and marginalization was reinforced by being forced to worship far away from the heart of the community. When fighting between the faiths broke out at the designated site for worship in January 1566, the authorities at Tours locked the gates and the returning Huguenots were even forced to spend the night outside the town.³⁴ Furthermore, refugees would leave and return through the town gates during periods of temporary exile with each declaration of war or subsequent peace. Those who had left, later to return once the persecution they had been fleeing died down, might find that their coreligionists who had stayed behind and suffered viewed them with resentment. Reference to the place of refuge might also be a cause of friction, as Nicolas Pithou was to find when he returned from his first visit to Geneva in 1561. When his intervention was rebuffed in a consistory meeting, and it was stated that what he had said 'would be very good in a Genevan church but we do not govern that way in France', he retorted, 'Please God, that all things went as well in all French churches as they do in those of Geneva'.³⁵ Exiles in some senses were always caught between two places, home and refuge, as well as between two communities, challenging both their sense of belonging and their identity.

The letters, wills, petitions, chronicles, and other documentary sources used here demonstrate that exile was far from an easy choice. The emotional impact of persecution was not displaced, but often added to, by the turmoil of leaving possessions, loved ones, and homeland behind. Weighing up the relative balance

of the danger to be faced at home with the unknown adversity to be found in a place of refuge was itself a leap of faith as well as a leap for the preservation of faith. During the French religious wars, many returned when that balance seemed to shift, notably in the 1560s, while others fled for good when hope of lasting toleration had faded, especially after 1572. New waves of diaspora ensued with the rise of the Catholic League forcing royalists out, while Henry IV's reign, even after his conversion, offered a new reprieve. Thus, we should recognize more openly how fear, hope, guilt, remorse, grief, and anger formed a fraught emotional backdrop accompanying the fluctuating fortunes of the politics of the religious wars.

However, as we saw in the case of Odet de Coligny, exile could also offer opportunities to those abroad set on continuing to support their coreligionists at home, especially when they were of such high rank. Before his period of exile, while his brothers were chiefly employed in Huguenot military affairs, Odet acted as a mediator with the monarchy and had a prominent role as a royal diplomat. He and his brothers had worked hard to gain official recognition for their cause and actively sought a peaceful reconciliation with the French crown. Notably, in 1568, Odet was central to the negotiations of the edict of pacification between the Huguenots and the monarchy, holding secret meetings with the Queen Mother, Catherine de Medici, with whom he seems to have had mostly good relations. From exile he also acted on her behalf as a go-between for the proposed marriage between Elizabeth of England and a French prince, the duke of Anjou (later Henri III), or possibly the Huguenot leader, Henry of Navarre.

But what of Odet's involvement in unofficial activities during his period of exile, for which, fortuitously, his forced departure provided him with the perfect platform? Making the most of his connections and status while in England, Odet was actively raising money and securing supplies in support of the Huguenot stronghold of La Rochelle in its campaign against the crown. Various exasperated reports from the French ambassador indicate the frustration with the favour shown to him when it came to supporting Huguenot troops with arms, gunpowder, and ships. The English ignored all French efforts to place a trade embargo on La Rochelle, as well as their complaints that French ships were being seized by authorization of the Cardinal. In particular, Odet requested that passports be provided for those carrying packets of correspondence and memoirs for him and his brothers, as well as for others on Huguenot business, including the wife of his minister who was intending to join her husband in exile in England.³⁶ He sought to retrieve intercepted packets of letters, assuring the English authorities that there was nothing sinister in them, but that they all concerned the Huguenot cause. Considering his connections with the leadership at La Rochelle, all this clearly and unsurprisingly points to Odet being closely involved with a clandestine network of information-gatherers, and perhaps even spies, operating between France and England.

Mark Greengrass has emphasized the importance of correspondence for nurturing a sense of belonging and vitality for French Protestantism, as well as

reinforcing and sustaining its unity and identity, and the emergence of a common purpose.³⁷ The French religious wars of the late sixteenth century provided a ready platform for the use of secretive means by which all parties transmitted messages and news across France and to their allies abroad. As has long been established, the nobility and foreign ambassadors played a key role in such activity; so, too, did high-ranking exiles like Odet. The crown was particularly concerned during the first decade of the wars with the activities of the Huguenot leadership and their allies abroad. Thus, their movements were spied upon and, in turn, their agents were arrested and their correspondence with coreligionists both within and without France intercepted. A crucial concern of the authorities was plots against the crown—in the case of France, not just by the Huguenots, but also by discontented Catholics opposed to the royal policy of toleration. It is unsurprising that exiles were particularly watched for evidence of conspiracy with associates abroad. In France itself, evidence of covert operations by Huguenots led to suspicion that they were fomenting sedition: meeting in synods, raising funds, and gathering intelligence. Several Huguenots were arrested and imprisoned because the documents they were in possession of linked them to the Protestant camp or to French exiles, most often in England. The fact that Huguenot ministers and nobles in exile were welcomed at the English court only reinforced Catholic fears. Nevertheless, the contents of the letters and packages intercepted seem to have been for the most part concerned with information and intelligence-gathering rather than plot-making. The survival of a cache of correspondence, like that Susan Broomhall discusses in Chapter 2 of this volume, is highly unusual. Yet, there are several parallels with that case, although it deals with exiles from the Dutch Revolt rather than France, including the search, detention, and interrogation of the individuals concerned.

In thinking about the exile experience, what should we make of Odet de Coligny's role and that of others like him? He was certainly a peacemaker and a pragmatist. As we have seen, he was instrumental in peace negotiations between the Catholics and Huguenots in France as well as diplomatic relations between the French and English crowns. He continued to protest his loyalty to the French crown even from exile. On the other hand, while in exile there is substantial evidence from intercepted letters that the Cardinal was at the centre of a clandestine operation, a communication network with his brothers, reporting on events in France. This is not itself evidence of treason *per se*, but was he working in the interests of his faith rather than his *patrie*, perhaps? The securing of funds and supplies from Elizabeth in support of the Huguenot forces against the crown appears still more damning. Yet, as peace was once again clearly being negotiated between the faiths in France by the spring/summer of 1570, and Odet showed a clear desire to return, he might well have been expected to have had his feet back under the royal council table as conspicuously as would his brother Gaspard. The peace of 1570 was much more robust than that hastily negotiated in 1568, but with the 1572 massacre, it is fairly certain that if Odet

had escaped with his life, he would have followed many other leading Huguenots, like Montgomery, once again into exile. Or, if captured, he might perhaps have been forced to reconvert like the princes of the blood, Navarre and Condé. Certainly, the tension between Odet's aristocratic expectations, his loyalty to his homeland, and the demands of upholding his true faith, would have continued. His experience, in effect, encapsulates much of the exile's dilemma. But it also highlights how essential social status was to that experience, and how many of the real dangers and risks were in fact run by others in the service of figures like Odet, as well as those left behind to fend for themselves in the face of persecution and ostracization. The emotional impact of exile and exclusion on those caught up in the sixteenth-century French religious wars, as for many such conflicts, was to be profound and long-lasting.

Notes

- 1 Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage: The History and Contribution of the Huguenots in Britain* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2000); Myriam Yardeni, ed., *Le Refuge Huguenot. Assimilation et culture* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002); Bertrand Van Ruymbeke and Randy J. Sparks, eds, *Memory and Identity: The Huguenots in France and the Atlantic Diaspora* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003); Jane McKee and Randolph Vigne, eds, *The Huguenots: France, Exile and Diaspora* (Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2014); David van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile: Huguenot Refugees in the Dutch Republic, 1680–1700* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015).
- 2 Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France, 1555–1563* (Geneva: Droz, 1956); Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement, 1564–1571* (Geneva: Droz, 1967); Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986); Andrew Spicer, *The French-Speaking Reformed Community and Their Church in Southampton, 1567–c.1620* (London: Huguenot Society, 1997).
- 3 See Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming*; Kingdon, *Geneva and the Consolidation*; William G. Naphy, *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994).
- 4 On Calvin as a refugee and Geneva as a place of refuge, see Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 150–52, 171–73.
- 5 Denis Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu: la violence au temps des troubles de religion (c.1525–c.1610)*, 2 vols (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 1990); Mark Greengrass, "Hidden Transcripts: Secret Histories and Personal Testimonies of Religious Violence in the French Wars of Religion," in *The Massacre in History*, ed. Mark Levene and Penny Roberts (New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 1999), 69–88; Michel de Montaigne, *Essays*, 1st ed. (Bordeaux, 1580), which was followed by multiple revised editions. The most commonly used translation is Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays*, trans. and ed. M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 2003).
- 6 "Remonstrance envoyée au Roy, par la Noblesse de la Religion Réformée du Païs & Conté du Maine ...," in *Mémoires de Condé ou Recueil pour servir à l'Histoire de France; contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus memorable dans ce Royaume, sous les règnes de Francois II & de Charles IX*, ed. Denis-François Secousse (London, The Hague: 1743) v: 277–327.
- 7 Susan Broomhall, "Reasons and Identities to Remember: Composing Personal Accounts of Religious Violence in Sixteenth-Century France," *French History* 27 (2013): 1–20, esp. 5–7.

- 8 Terpstra, *Religious Refugees*, 4. See also Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 2, citing 'the first generation of religious refugees'.
- 9 Philip Benedict, Hugues Daussey and Pierre-Olivier Léchot, eds, *L'Identité huguenote. Faire mémoire et écrire l'histoire (XVIe–XXIe siècle)* (Geneva: Droz, 2014); Jacques Berchtold and Marie-Madeleine Fragonard, eds, *La Mémoire des guerres de religion. La concurrence des genres historiques XVIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Geneva: Droz, 2007); Jacky Provence, ed., *Mémoires et mémorialistes à l'époque des Guerres de religion* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2015).
- 10 For the following, see E. Berthe, ed., *Le testament de Nicolas Pithou*, "Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français" 15 (1866): 109–10.
- 11 Nicolas Pithou de Chamgobert, *Chronique de Troyes et de la Champagne (1524–1594)*, ed. P-E. Leroy, 2 vols (Rheims: Presses Universitaires de Reims, 1998–2000). The original manuscript is also preserved: manuscrit Dupuy 698, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (hereafter BNF).
- 12 Reproduced in Ernest G. Atkinson, "The Cardinal of Châtillon in England, 1568–1571," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 3 (1892): 260–61.
- 13 Letter to Charles IX, 14 September 1568, MS Schickler 759, Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français.
- 14 "Arrest de la Cour de Parlement contre le Cardinal de Chastillon," [19 March 1569], MS français 2758, fol. 67, BNF.
- 15 Atkinson, "The Cardinal of Châtillon," 261–62.
- 16 On the establishment and consolidation of the churches in London, see Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 3; R.E.G. Kirk and Ernest F. Kirk, eds, *Returns of Aliens Dwelling in the City and Suburbs of London from the Reign of Henry VIII to That of James I* (Aberdeen and London: Huguenot Society Publications, 1900–1908).
- 17 Atkinson, "The Cardinal of Châtillon," 262–75.
- 18 On the material and personal sacrifice many faced, Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 225–29.
- 19 *Livre des habitants de Genève*, ed. Paul-F. Geisendorf, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1957–1963); "Liste des réfugiés français à Lausanne de juin 1547 à décembre 1574," ed. E. Chavannes, *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* 21 (1872): 463–78; Roger Zuber, "Les champenois réfugiés à Strasbourg et l'église réformée de Châlons: échanges intellectuels et vie religieuse (1560–90)," *Mémoires de la société d'agriculture, commerce, science et arts du département de la Marne* 79 (1964): 31–55.
- 20 On the construction of such narratives in the seventeenth century, see van der Linden, *Experiencing Exile*, 171–76; see also Terpstra, *Religious Refugees*, 289–94.
- 21 Natalia Muchnik, "'S'attacher à des pierres comme à une religion locale ...' La terre d'origine dans les diasporas des XVIe–XVIIIe siècles," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 66 (2011/12): 481–512, quotation 508.
- 22 For a full account of Montgomery's life, see Alain Landurant, *Montgomery le régicide* (Paris: Tallandier, 1988).
- 23 Christopher Highley, "Exile and Religious Identity in Early Modern England," *Reformation* 15 (2010): 51–61.
- 24 Zuber, "Les champenois réfugiés à Strasbourg," 53.
- 25 Pithou de Chamgobert, *Chronique de Troyes*, 1:471–79.
- 26 See also Merry Wiesner, "Nuns, Wives, and Mothers: Women and the Reformation in Germany," and Diane Willen, "Women and Religion in Early Modern England," both in *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Public and Private Worlds*, ed. Sherrin Marshall (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), 15, 154.
- 27 Pithou de Chamgobert, *Chronique de Troyes*, 2:762–68.
- 28 On women martyrs, see Terpstra, *Religious Refugees*, 147–49.
- 29 Theodore de Bèze, comp., *Histoire Ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France*, ed. G. Baum and E. Cunitz, 3 vols. (Paris, 1883–1889; repr., Nieuwkoop: B de Graaf, 1974), 2:699–700.

- 30 De Bèze, *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 3:216.
- 31 Willen, "Women and Religion in Early Modern England," 154.
- 32 For example, see John Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata: Or the Acts, Decisions, Decrees and Canons of Those Famous National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France*, 2 vols (London, 1692), 1:77 and 86–88. Also, on the issue of separation, Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 225–26.
- 33 Penny Roberts, "Religious Conflict and the Urban Setting: Troyes during the French Wars of Religion," *French History* 6 (1992): 259–78, esp. 273, 276–77.
- 34 David Nicholls, "Protestants, Catholics and Magistrates in Tours, 1562–1572: The Making of a Catholic City during the Religious Wars," *French History* 8 (1994): 27–28. For further discussion of this issue, see Penny Roberts, "One Town, Two Faiths: Unity and Exclusion in Sixteenth-Century France," in *Multi-confessionalism in the Early Modern World*, ed. Thomas Max Safley (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 265–85.
- 35 Pithou de Chamgobert, *Chronique de Troyes*, 1:318.
- 36 For examples, Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 70/105, fol. 41 (9 January 1569); 70/109, fol. 44 (13 December 1569); 70/107, fol. 72 (1 June 1569); discussed in Atkinson, "The Cardinal of Châtillon," 211–12, 224, 228, 231–33.
- 37 Mark Greengrass, "Informal Networks in Sixteenth-Century French Protestantism," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559–1685*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 78–97. For the vital role of correspondence for migrants in general, see also, Bruce S. Elliott, David A. Gerber and Suzanne M Sinke, eds, *Letters across Borders: The Epistolary Practices of International Migrants* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006).

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