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The fiscal reformation in rural France, 1598-1685

Christopher Michael McFadin
University of Iowa

THE FISCAL REFORMATION IN RURAL FRANCE, 1598-1685

by

Christopher Michael McFadin

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Thesis Supervisor: Professor Raymond A. Mentzer

Graduate College
The University of Iowa
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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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PH.D. THESIS

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This is to certify that the Ph. D. thesis of

Christopher Michael McFadin

has been approved by the Examining Committee for
the thesis requirement for the Doctor of Philosophy degree
in History at the May 2015 graduation.

Thesis Committee: _____
Raymond A. Mentzer, Thesis Supervisor

_____
Constance A. Berman

_____
Kathleen C. Kamerick

_____
Michael E. Moore

_____
Kristy Nabhan-Warren

To Ashley

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ABSTRACT

How did French Calvinists pay the pastor's salary, maintain a physical worship space, and provide poor relief programs for their members without help from secular authorities? Scholars have for a long time studied the broad consolidation and secularization of urban poor relief during the late-medieval/early modern period. In response to rising popular levels, municipal governments organized and systematized the secular administration of assistance to the urban poor. French Calvinists present a unique and unstudied challenge to this narrative because much unlike other mainstream Protestants, the French Reformed Churches adopted John Calvin's ideas to the situation in France. Relying on the authority of their Christian religion, Huguenot leaders across France created a new fiscal policy in which they determined how much their members should pay and, using these funds in combination with the consistory, enforced what historians now call social discipline. My project focuses on how one church in a small town called Montagnac developed this system in an age of secularization and religious persecution.

PUBLIC ABSTRACT

How did French Calvinists pay the pastor's salary, maintain a physical worship space, and provide poor relief programs for their members without help from secular authorities? Scholars have for a long time studied the broad consolidation and secularization of urban poor relief during the late-medieval/early modern period. In response to rising popular levels, municipal governments organized and systematized the secular administration of assistance to the urban poor. French Calvinists present a unique and unstudied challenge to this narrative because much unlike other mainstream Protestants, the French Reformed Churches adopted John Calvin's ideas to the situation in France. Relying on the authority of their Christian religion, Huguenot leaders across France created a new fiscal policy in which they determined how much their members should pay and, using these funds in combination with the consistory, enforced what historians now call social discipline. My project focuses on how one church in a small town called Montagnac developed this system in an age of secularization and religious persecution.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADG	Archives départementales de Gers (Auch, France)
ADL	Archives départementales de Lot-et-Garonne (Agen, France)
AN	Archives Nationales (Paris)
BPF	Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français (Paris)
BSHPF	*Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*
CO	*Ioannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*
NL	Newberry Library
OE	Les ordonnances ecclésiastiques (1541)
OS	*Johannis Calvini Opera Selecta*
SC	*Supplementa calviniana: Sermon inédits*
SCJ	*Sixteenth Century Journal*

TRANSCRIPTIONS AND CITATIONS

The transcriptions in this dissertation maintain the original spelling of words and sentence structure as closely as possible while still following the scribes' original intent. Misspellings and grammatical mistakes are preserved in my transcriptions, but modern lettering is given where appropriate. Accent marks, punctuation and capitalization similarly only appear in my transcriptions if they also appear in the original text unless it is absolutely essential for meaning. For example, the grammatically incorrect phrase "*à le ville*" remains "*à le ville*" but "*le iour*" becomes "*le jour*."

The original spelling of proper nouns is also maintained in transcriptions, but the modern equivalent of place names is used in my text. For instance, the scribes refer to their town as *Montaignac* but I use the modern spelling of Montagnac. The small hamlet of *Moncaup* similarly becomes Moncaut. Proper names are slightly more difficult to transcribe because spellings can change from document to document and even from line to line. In these cases I have tried to find the most common spelling of names for my text while preserving the original spelling in my citations. For example, the most common spelling of the name of Montagnac's pastor from 1622 until 1633 was "Lazare Casaux," but his name occasionally appears in my transcriptions as "Lasare Cazaux."

All citations follow the Chicago Manual of Style. When citing a published primary source, I note in the bibliography both its original and current publication dates. Citing archival resources is trickier, especially when the call number refers to a massive book lacking pagination. I cite the archive, the document's call number, and whenever possible the date of authorship. "ADG, H 25, 19 June 1624" for example refers to the Archives départementales du Gers, série H, call number 25, entry dated 19 June 1624. If the document lacks a specific date, I cite a brief title where appropriate.

NOTE ON MONETARY VALUES

There are many paleographic challenges inherent to working with account books. It was common for scribes to alternate between Arabic and Roman numerals, so the marks "ii" might mean either "two" or "eleven." Sometimes the scribe makes his intention clear by writing "*deux*" or "*onze*," but not always. It was also a common practice for scribes to keep a running total of sums at the bottom of each page, but simple addition was not always practiced with the exactness one would expect from a modern accountant. All figures given in this dissertation should therefore be understood as approximations. In any case, these figures are still useful because they give us an idea of the relative value spent on competing priorities, like the pastor's salary and monetary assistance to the poor.

These problems are compounded by the idea of "monies of account." All prices in this dissertation are given in moneys of account, namely 1 livre tournois equals 20 sous equals 240 deniers. The actual coins in circulation did not match their value in the moneys of account despite the fact that transactions were recorded in this way. For instance, the coin in circulation in France in 1574 was the *teston*, which was worth thirteen sous. A debt of sixty-five livres might therefore be paid with 100 *testons*.[1] The chief scholaries on prices and the many different coins in circulation in France explain moneys of account in this way: "A money of account is thus a scale, a measure. It makes possible the classification of prices and creates a continuous accounting procedure."[2] To complicate matters more, Henry III issued an ordinance in 1577 to replace the livre tournois as a money of account with the écu (sometimes written as *écu d'or* or *en or*), which was valued at three livres. Each écu was a real coin called an "*écus d'or au soleil*." This only lasted until 1602 when inflation caused

[1] F.P. Baudel, and F. Spooner, "Prices in Europe from 1450 to 1750," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe, Vol. IV: The Economy of Expanding Europe in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. E. E. Rich and C. H. Wilson (Cambridge University Press, 1967), 378.

[2] Ibid., 379.

one écu to be worth much more than three livres.[3] Although the face value of the écu quickly changed, its use as money of account remained in force throughout the seventeenth century regardless of the physical coins it represented. One therefore finds "20 escus" when the scribe meant "60 livres."

I should add one further note of clarification for how I adopt the Chicago Manual of Style guidelines on numerical figures. In general, the text spells out any number less than 100, including monetary values (two sous) but excluding percentages (10%). This rule is suspended, however, when a series of spelled-out numbers might prove too cumbersome or distracting to the reader (10 livres 2 sous 6 deniers). As always, I hope my editorial decisions provide the best way of communicating the content and meaning of esoteric financial documents.

[3] Ibid., 381. An account book of a pastor's salary lists the value of "un escu au soliel" in 1617 at 3 livres 16 sous. Archives Départementales du Gers, Hospice de Condom, Série H 28 (hereafter abreviated as ADG, H 28), n.d., 1617.

PROLOGUE

On 17 April 1615, the consistory of the French Reformed Church at Montagnac sent one of its elders, Monsieur Avance, to the Condomois colloquy meeting held at Layrac.[4] Avance's task was to receive permission from the colloquy to re-appropriate revenue from a farm bequeathed to the consistory several years earlier. The donor had originally wanted the farm's revenue to support the education of a Reformed student, but now the consistory wanted to use the money to pay for its pastor's salary. The colloquy at Layrac could not determine if this was permitted, so the issue was sent on to the provincial synod of Basse-Guyenne held at Sainte-Foy the following year. The delegates to Sainte-Foy eventually found that the consistory could, in fact, disregard the testator's original intent and re-appropriate funds. On 20 November 1616, when this decision was finally relayed back to the consistory at Montagnac, the elders claimed that it was "entirely necessary" to re-appropriate the funds to their "extremely poor pastor." Without this decision, they "knew of no other way" to pay his salary.[5]

Did they?

[4] ADG, H 25, 17 April 1615.

[5] ADG, H 25, 20 November 1616: "Lesdits assemblés ont déclaré d'une commune voix, sans contradiction d'aucun, qu'ils approuvent ladite permission et autres données sur ce suject tant du colloque du Condomois tenu à Lairac le 29 jour d'Avril 1615 que de la cour de monsieur le Senescha d'Armagnac éante à Lectoure, estimant entièrement nécessaire que lesdits deniers soient employés à l'entretien dudit sieur Pasteur, lequel ladite église, pour son extrême pauvreté ne savoir autrement entretenir."

INTRODUCTION

Scholars have traditionally divided the history of French Protestantism into four broad phases, each demarcated by a seminal event in European history. The Reformation first became a matter of critical national concern after the Affair of the Placards on 18 October 1534, when people in several major French cities woke up to discover the sudden appearance of anti-Catholic posters. This marked the beginning of a long and bloody struggle for religious hegemony that would last for the entire sixteenth century. The second phase began with the end of hostilities in 1598 through the Edict of Nantes, a royal decree that built on a series of previously unsuccessful edicts to legalize Calvinism in France and recognize the rights of a new religious minority, the Huguenots. This legal toleration slowly eroded with each passing generation, and by the mid-seventeenth century the situation had become increasingly dangerous for Calvinism in Catholic France. The third phase, commonly referred to in French scholarship as *le désert*, began with Louis XIV's Edict of Fontainebleau (1685), which again made Protestantism illegal and ushered in a period of intense persecution and Huguenot migration abroad. The fourth phase finally began with the secularization of French society in the Revolution, which guaranteed the private religious rights of all citizens after 1789.

The second phase of French Protestantism, beginning with its legalization in 1598 and abolition in 1685, gives us a tidy narrative for how events unfolded in the seventeenth century. After a long period of open warfare and popular violence, the administration under Henry IV forced the Catholic state to recognize the rights of the French Reformed Churches. Legal recognition brought with it a royal subsidy for the maintenance of Huguenot ministers, students, and military garrisons. But these payments were overpromised and under-delivered, and during Louis XIII's reign they ceased entirely. The Wars of Religion flared again in the late 1620s, and this time the crown smashed Huguenot strongholds across the country, most notably La Rochelle in 1628. The terms of the subsequent peace treaty prohibited Huguenots from maintaining their own garrisons. The gradual marginalization of

Huguenots continued under Louis XIV and led to a slow but unstoppable impoverishment of a religious minority with fewer and fewer rights. Huguenot migration accelerated in the later years of Louis XIV's reign, leading to a massive exodus of French Protestants from the country in 1685. Forced to establish new communities around the world, the Huguenots eventually assimilated into other societies and ultimately disappeared as a distinct immigrant minority. To put it simply, an era of official toleration gave way to an increasingly hostile environment for a religious minority that became poorer as time went on.

I do not seek to challenge the narrative of Huguenot decline. With the exception of a few rare cases where Huguenots remained in the majority with a secure financial footing, I generally concur with this trend of events. Oversimplifications have nevertheless dominated the treatment of Huguenot fiscal policy. Geoffrey Treasure writes:

> In their temples, bare and unadorned, Huguenots did not have to bear the costs of Catholic ornaments and ceremonies. Without benefit of tithe or, generally, resources from church endowments or civic funds, their income was derived mainly from church collections, and increasingly from bequests, and allocated by consistories. In a society characterized by 'chronic morbidity,' when 'medicine was helpless in the face of even the most common ailments,' care for the sick and crippled was a heavy charge… Of course demands on the consistory purse were always greater than could be met and there were other claims besides the usually meager salary of the minister.[6]

Treasure's work should not be taken as a serious scholarly project grounded in primary source research, but there is a general sense in the literature that many of his generalizations are accurate. Gregory Hanlon, whose outstanding work on Layrac partly provided the inspiration for this project, similarly writes: "None of the eight churches I have studied in Aquitaine—not even the urban establishments dominated by lawyers and others having a sense of contractual obligations and responsibilities—ever paid its ministers in full, and on

[6] Geoffrey Treasure, *The Huguenots* (Yale University Press, 2013), 296.

time, all the time."[7] Hanlon then cites Montagnac as one of these congregations along with those in Nérac, Agen and Castelmoron-sur-Lot. Hanlon's remark is technically true, as we will see, but it obscures more about pastoral maintenance than it reveals. This dissertation asks how the fiscal policies of the French Reformed Churches responded to the challenges of a hostile environment and why they adopted these responses. It is unsurprising that the Huguenots became poorer over the seventeenth century. But how did a biblically-based Christianity like French Calvinism adapt to this environment? Did church collections function like a tithe, although in a different name? How was money used to bind the community together at the international, national, and local levels? How did the Huguenots try to resolve their difficult financial problems, and how did they structure their fiscal priorities? Answering these types of questions requires more than a simple narrative of decline.

The first three chapters of this dissertation focus on the formulation of Reformed fiscal policies at the intellectual and national levels. The first chapter establishes the relevance of this research for a number of scholarly fields. It describes the need for this study, the questions that need to be answered, and the types of interdisciplinary approaches that will be used to answer them. The second chapter addresses the intellectual origin of the fiscal policies in the French Reformed Churches. John Calvin and his project of reform in Geneva loomed as the ideal Christian city for many French Calvinists. This discussion of Calvin's economic ideas is far from comprehensive, but it serves the purpose of setting the stage for the third chapter on the fiscal policies of the French national synods. Since delegates to the synods found themselves in a situation very different from the one in Geneva, they had to adapt Calvin's ideas to the realities of a religious minority living under a hostile government. Many of Calvin's original ideas were maintained, some were changed to fit France, and others were abandoned.

[7] Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France: Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 128.

Chapters four through seven contain the heart of the dissertation. Chapter four introduces a case study of the rural Huguenot community at Montagnac, a small town southwest of Agen in the Garonne River Valley. Evidence from a variety of sources indicates a particular kind of confessionalization in the French Reformed Church of Montagnac. The unique circumstances of this congregation and the experiences of its slowly declining population serve as the background for the rest of the project. Calvin's ideas and the policies of the national synods are fleshed out in chapters five, six, and seven. Chapter five describes the specific fiscal history and financial policies that Montagnac's elders developed to run their congregation. Much like how the Catholic Church held most of its wealth in land, the Reformed consistory tried to establish a permanent endowment for the congregation by managing a number of income-generating properties. Their efforts relied directly on the support of local noblemen and were determined by outside events beyond anyone's control. How the consistory managed to provide for the pastor's salary is the subject of chapter six. It describes how the consistory rented out land to tenant farmers, invested in other revenue generating annuities, and taxed the local population. The seventh and final chapter concentrates specifically on the operation of Montagnac's social welfare programs. It pays close attention to the types of people the consistory deemed worthy of assistance and the reasons why. Comparisons are made throughout the last four chapters with other published case studies to determine the extent to which the situation at Montagnac was shared among the French Reformed Churches.

CHAPTER 1: QUESTIONS AND CONTEXT

I. Relevance of Research

Joseph Schumpeter once described fiscal history as the ultimate lens through which historians can study the past:

> The spirit of a people, its cultural level, its social structure, the deeds its policy may prepare—this and more is written in its fiscal history, stripped of all phrases. He who knows how to listen to its message here discerns the thunder of world history more clearly than anywhere else.[1]

This dissertation accordingly draws insights from and contributes new ideas to a number of different fields of scholarship, most notably the religious history of French Protestantism, early modern social welfare reform, confessionalization of early modern churches, religious tolerance in Reformation Europe, and historical fiscal sociology.

a. The History of French Protestantism

Conducting a study on the fiscal policies of the French Reformed Churches has the potential to yield several new insights into Huguenot identity and the social history of early modern France. In many ways it is surprising that no study addressing this issue at length has appeared. Money was a critical issue for the Huguenots, who only agreed to end the Wars of Religion when the crown promised to grant them an annual subsidy for their ministers, universities, and garrisons. The fact that Henry IV agreed to do so but in secret illustrates how sensitive the topic continued to be for Catholics. This money supported the maintenance of troops in Huguenot strongholds, effectively guaranteeing their religious rights for at least the first years of the seventeenth century. Money also provided for the repair and construction of temples, the upkeep of pastors, support for a steady supply of students, and underwriting the regular operation of poor relief programs. The national synods went to great lengths spelling out exactly how the king's funds were to be transferred

[1] Joseph A. Schumpeter, "The Crisis of the Tax State," in *The Economics and Sociology of Capitalism* (Princeton University Press, 1991), 101.

within the French Reformed Churches. And anyone who has read a consistory's register knows how often elders discussed their congregation's funds and how frequently pastors complained about not receiving their salaries.

When the fiscal history of the French Reformed Churches is mentioned, it is usually only in passing as a small piece of a larger case study on the religious life of a particular community or province.[2] Exceptions to this general rule fall into two categories: either they focus on large congregations in big cities with thousands of adherents, or they take an entire province as the frame of reference. An excellent and rare example of the former comes from Philippe Chareyre's *thèses d'état* on the congregation at Nîmes.[3] Chareyre describes at length the development of financial institutions in the Reformed Church at Nîmes, the types of people who became deacons, the differences between ordinary and extraordinary expenditures, and the long-term financial challenges facing the consistory. An example of the latter category can be found in Céline Borello's book on the Protestants of Provence.[4] She concentrates her attention on the levels of monetary assistance given to the poor and the challenges facing many Provençal churches in paying their ministers. The author stresses the relative poverty of Provence compared to the other provinces and the efforts made at the national level to send money to Provence. No effort is made to go beyond or reach below this descriptive effort to show how Provence's precarious finances affected the religious life of the Huguenots living there.

[2] For example, see Alain Joblin, *Les protestants de la côte au XVIIe siècle (Boulonnais, Calaisis*) (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012), 48-52. Philip Conner never mentions financial matters in his *Huguenot Heartland: Montauban and Southern French Calvinism during the Wars of Religion* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002).

[3] Philippe Chareyre, "Le consistoire de Nîmes, 1561-1685," 4 vols. (Thèse d'état, Paul Valéry University, Montpellier III, 1987), 106-170, 269-334 and 630-679.

[4] Céline Borello, *Les protestants de Provence au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: H. Champion, 2004), 172-188.

The social welfare programs of the Reformed Churches have received more attention in the literature than any other financial topic.[5] This is especially true for the congregations in major cities like Nîmes, Bordeaux, London, and Emden.[6] Unsurprisingly, Geneva has attracted the most attention.[7] Municipal authorities were already reforming poor relief by the time Calvin returned to the city in 1541. According to Jeannine Olson, Calvin institutionalized these changes through the creation of a permanent general fund for poor relief.[8] In an attempt to emulate the early Christian church, Calvin charged deacons with taking money from the *Bourse française* and using it to feed the poor.[9] Using the account books that these deacons maintained over the years, Olson identifies the type of people who donated and those who received assistance, most notably a large number of French refugees. She convincingly demonstrates how deacons used the distribution of funds to coerce people into correct moral behavior. In other words, here we can see a fiscal policy functioning as a

[5] A great example of this trend can be found in a collection of articles on Huguenot society and culture. See Martin Dinges, "Huguenot poor relief and health care in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 157-174.

[6] For Nîmes, see Raymond A. Mentzer, "Organizational endeavour and charitable impulse in sixteenth-century France: the case of Protestant Nîmes," *French History* 5, no. 1 (1991), 1-29. For Bordeaux, see Philippe Loupès, "L'assistance paroissiale aux pauvres maladies dans le diocèse de Bordeaux au XVIIIe siècle," *Annales du Midi* 84 (1972), 37-61; Paul Butel, "Une paroisse bordelaise et ses pauvres sous la révolution," *Revue historique de Bordeaux* 29 (1982), 33-46; Martin Dinges, "L'assistance paroissiale à Bordeaux à la fin du XVIIe siècle. L'exemple du consistoire protestant (1660-1670)," *Histoire, Économie et Société* 5 no. 4 (1986), 475-507. For London, see Andrew Spicer, "Poor Relief and the Exile Communities," in *Reformations Old and New. Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change, c. 1470-1630*, ed. B. Kümin (Brookfield, VT: Aldershot, 1996), 237-255. For Emden, see Timothy G. Fehler, *Poor Relief and Protestantism: The Evolution of Social Welfare in Sixteenth-century Emden* (Brookfield, VT: Aldershot, 1999).

[7] For a dated but still useful summary of this topic, see Robert M. Kingdon, "Social Welfare in Calvin's Geneva," *The American Historical Review* 6 no. 1 (1953), 55-67. For the intellectual history driving these developments, see Elsie Anne McKee, *John Calvin on the Diaconate and Liturgical Almsgiving* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1984). For the literature on Geneva's deacons, see Robert M. Kingdon, "The Deacons of the Reformed Church in Calvin's Geneva," in *Mélanges d'histoire du XVIe siècle offerts á Henry Meylan* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970), 81-90; Jean-Francois Gergier, "Salaires des pasteurs de Genève au XVIe siècle," in ibid., 159-178.

[8] Jeannine Olson, *Calvin and Social Welfare: Deacons and the Bourse Française* (London: Associated University Presses, 1989).

[9] Ibid., 30.

key tool in the Reformed project of confessionalization. Interestingly, Olson also goes into detail about the expenditures the fund undertook in sending Reformed literature back into France, especially Psalters. She suggests that the *Bourse* played a significant role in the evangelization of France throughout the sixteenth century, after which it "pulled back into its social welfare role."[10]

Studies on the social welfare programs of French Reformed Churches outside of Geneva have reached many of the same conclusions. They demonstrate how a rationalized poor relief system could still be fundamentally religious in nature.[11] The consistory at Nîmes, for instance, operated a program under the control of deacons that was perennially underfunded. Demand for assistance from the poor always outstripped the available funds. As a result, the deacons needed to maximize their resources by spreading money as thinly as possible across the population. These works provide a needed counterbalance against the overriding secularization narrative that dominates the historiography of early modern social welfare reform.

Scholars concerned with the fiscal operations of Calvinist churches outside of France have similarly concentrated on urban areas. Charles Parker's work on social welfare and Calvinist charity in Holland provides a representative example.[12] Focusing on the relationship between the diaconate and municipal poor relief agencies in six major cities, he finds three distinct trends: cities either (1) subjugated the diaconate under municipal poor relief institutions, (2) split poor relief along secular/confessional lines, or (3) allowed the diaconate to take over poor relief for the entire city. Parker demonstrates how the conflicts between municipal authorities and church leaders informed the development of a Dutch

[10] Ibid., 183.

[11] For an excellent overview of this topic, see Martin Dinges, "Huguenot poor relief and health care in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 157-174.

[12] Charles Parker, *The Reformation of Community: Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572-1620* (Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Calvinist identity. After Calvinism became legal in France in 1598, Huguenots experienced many of the same types of conflicts with municipal governments, many of which remained Catholic. But unlike their counterparts in Holland, Huguenots had to contend with a monarchy that repeatedly demonstrated its interest in monopolizing poor relief programs. How did Huguenot leaders navigate this tricky relationship?

The overriding focus on urban Huguenot communities is understandable. Given their size and location, these communities generated thousands of easily accessible and detailed documents. Sources from the countryside are comparably scarce and more difficult for the historian to uncover.[13] Urban welfare programs are also worthy subjects of study given their importance in French history, especially considering the relative prestige of congregations like the one in Nîmes among other French Reformed Churches. It should be noted, however, that the majority of Huguenots lived outside major cities, even outside provincial cities like Montauban. These studies therefore provide us with a relatively limited view of fiscal policies in Reformed France. None of them address the fiscal history of French Protestantism in a comprehensive way. That being said, I adopt many of the methodologies and asks many of the same questions as these studies. The result of this effort, however, is a fresh analysis of a topic that touched on every aspect of the social history of the Huguenots.

b. Social Welfare Reform

The opening decades of the sixteenth century proved particularly difficult for Europe's poor. Just as cities were returning to population levels not seen since the Black Death, waves of warfare, famine, and disease caused unprecedented numbers of rural people to flock into urban areas. The sharp increase in the urban poor placed strenuous demands on institutions that had traditionally provided assistance. One of the first historians to study the responses to these pressures was Natalie Davis, whose work on the establishment of Lyon's

[13] I should note that perhaps another reason is that graduate students prefer to study in cities like Paris instead of venturing outside of the captal city into provincial towns to do their research.

Aumône-Générale influenced later historians.[14] Lyon remained a predominantly Catholic city with a sizable Protestant minority in the sixteenth century, but despite this division Davis argues that Protestants and Catholics worked together on poor relief.[15] Men like Santo Pagnini and Jean de Vauzelles argued that distributing alms through a centralized organization with permanent officials and funding through a general tax assessment would cost less than distributing alms privately. How could a donor be sure that beggars truly needed their charity? By sending officials out into the poor population of the city, the Aumône-Générale assured donors that their contributions would go directly to those most in need, resulting in an increase in efficiency that appealed to both Protestants and Catholics. Davis thinks that the situation in Lyon was replicated across Europe, and she concludes that cities with different religious compositions "initiated rather similar reforms, usually learning from each other's efforts."[16]

Scholars have been quick to test Natalie Davis' assertion that the situation in Lyon was typical of other urban areas. Barbara Davis for example extends the analysis of urban poor relief reform to the provincial city of Toulouse.[17] In the beginning of the sixteenth century, lay confraternities or religious orders staffed the city's nine hospitals, creating overlap and inefficiencies in distributing alms. The city government responded by decreasing the number of hospitals to five, including a new hospital "financed exclusively from municipal funds" to care only for plague victims.[18] But Toulouse does not offer a clear

[14] Natalie Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism, and Heresy," in *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (Stanford University Press, 1975), 27. Protestantism became most popular in the early 1560s when one out of three people in the city converted. Lyon has received a lot of attention: Jean-Pierre Gutton, *La Société et les pauvres: l'exemple de la généralité de Lyon, 1534-1789* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1971); Richard Gascon, "Economie et pauvreté aux XVI et XVIIe siècles: Lyon, ville exemplaire et prophétique," in *Etudes sur l'histoire de la pauvreté,* ed. M. Mollat (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1974), 747-760.

[15] Except for a few years, only laymen staffed the Aumône-Générale. Davis, "Poor Relief," 60.

[16] Ibid., 59.

[17] Barbara Davis, "Poverty and Poor Relief in Sixteenth-Century Toulouse," *Historical Reflections* 17, no. 3 (1991): 267-296.

[18] Ibid., 279.

example of secularization because churchmen soon took charge of many of these ostensibly secular institutions. Davis argues that this did not constitute a "re-sacralization" of poor relief, but that it demonstrated the church's enduring contribution to civic life. Barbara Davis thinks that the sporadic nature and slow implementation of these reforms made Toulouse different from Lyon. In fact, both cities experienced a comparable centralization and laicization of poor relief.

Historians have studied many mid-sixteenth-century poor relief reforms from several other cities. These studies—of cities with different sizes, geographic locations, political relationships, religious identities, and economies—ultimately reveal differences in timing and motivation, but not in kind.[19] The consensus among these scholars is that sixteenth-century poor relief became increasingly centralized and laicized under the control of municipal governments.[20] Robert Kingdon summarizes this point when he writes, "City after city adopted general plans to coordinate all charitable activities into a single rational structure."[21] European cities experienced the same problem in the first third of the sixteenth century and they employed similar strategies in alleviating poverty. My dissertation complicates this narrative of secularization because rural Huguenot communities extracted revenue and centralized their poor relief programs without the help of secular authorities. This work will reemphasize the importance of religion in determining a distinctly modern fiscal policy.

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[19] For an excellent overview of this topic, see Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 100-142. For the major studies that concur with this assessment, see Cissie C. Fairchilds, *Poverty and Charity in Aix-en-Provence, 1640-1789* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); Timothy G. Fehler, *Poor Relief and Protestantism: The Evolution of Social Welfare in Sixteenth-Century Emden* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1999); Leslie Goldsmith, "Poor Relief and Reform in Sixteenth-Century Orleans" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1980); Linda Martz, *Poverty and Welfare in Hapsburg Spain: The Example of Toledo* (Cambridge University Press, 1983); Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State* (Harvard University Press, 1971); Lee Palmer Wandel, *Always Among Us: Images of the Poor in Zwingli's Zurich* (Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[20] Kathryn Norberg's analysis of wills from Grenoble is unique in this respect, though her findings focus on charity in the Catholic Counter Reformation. *Rich and Poor in Grenoble, 1600-1814* (University of California Press, 1985).

[21] Robert M. Kingdon, "Calvinism and Social Welfare," *Calvin Theological Journal* 17 (1982): 215.

c. The Confessionalization Thesis

Returning home after spending six years traveling around Europe, the great English poet John Milton wrote in 1641:

> There is not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of man than is discipline. The flourishing and decaying of all civil societies, all the movements and turnings of human occasions are moved to and fro upon the axle of discipline… Discipline is not only the removal of disorder, but if any visible shape can be given to divine things, the very visible shape and image of virtue.[22]

Calvinist leaders across the continent would have easily understood the importance Milton attached to discipline. Closely linked to what Norbert Elias calls the "civilizing process," discipline served as the basic mechanism through which elites tried to rationalize, control, and regulate society.[23] As Philip Benedict notes, the association between church discipline and state building can be seen in those places where the Reformed Church gained the government's official protection. Benedict writes: "[T]he triumph of a Reformed reformation was followed time and again by harsher civil laws against certain violations of the divine commandments."[24] Civil magistrates and Protestant church officials often worked together to root out vices and instill social discipline, both of which were critical ingredients for the growth of the modern nation state.[25]

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[22] John Milton, "The Reason of Church Government Urged against Prelaty," in *Prose Works of John Milton*, vol. 2, first published 1641, (London: Bohn Edition, 1848), 441-442.

[23] Elias links the civilizing process with the growth of modern centralized nation states, which had a self-evident interest in controlling a pacified citizenry. See Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: State Formation and Civilizations*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1994), 131-148.

[24] Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (Yale University Press, 2002), 482.

[25] Gerhard Oestreich first made this insight into how social discipline caused a behavioral shift in early modern Europe. See his *Neostocism and the Early Modern State*, ed. Brigitta Oestreich and H.G. Koenigsberger and trans. David McLintock (Cambridge University Press, 1982).

One reason for this shift in the rise of discipline can be found in a broader trend in early modern European history called confessionalization. Heinz Schilling and Wolfgang Reinhard first began developing the confessionalization thesis in the late 1970s and 1980s.[26] The thesis contends that, from the Peace of Augsburg in 1555 to the beginning of the Thirty Years' War in 1618, the three major branches of Christianity (Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Catholicism) all underwent similar patterns of development in which the churches transformed religion into a central marker of identity. This roughly sixty-year period saw a widespread consolidation and "hardening" of beliefs through close cooperation with the state, especially in the German imperial orbit. One scholar summarizes the utility of the confessionalization thesis by stating how it sheds light on "the paradigm of state building, the investigation of power relations and the apparatus of rule, the regarded philosophies on the role of state, and the intellectual impact of the reform movements on the popular mind, the study of *mentalités*."[27]

The best example of a confessionalized city-republic in the Reformed world was John Calvin's Geneva. Part of the reason has to do with the emphasis John Calvin placed on the ability of a congregation to understand sermons. He designed Geneva's educational system with this goal in mind. Along with a regular rotation of educated ministers, Calvin delivered sermons every Sunday and Wednesday.[28] Children were expected to attend catechism

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[26] Walter Zeeden made the initial insight into what he called "confession building" in his book: *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen. Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1965). Wolfgang Reinhard, "Konfession und Konfessionalisierung in Europa," in *Bekenntnis und Geschichte. Die Confessio Augustana im historischen Zusammenhang* (Munich: Vogel, 1981), 165-189; ibid., "Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassement," *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989): 383-401; Heinz Schilling, "Nation und Konfession in der frühneuzeitlichen Geschichte Europas," in *Nation und Literatur im Europa der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Gaber (Tübingen, Germany: M. Niemeyer, 1989), 87-107; R. Po-chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe, 1550-1750* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

[27] C. Scott Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528-1603* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 103.

[28] Calvin added Wednesday to the liturgical week as a special day of prayer. See Elsie McKee, ed., "Weekday Worship in Calvin's Geneva," in *Writings on Pastoral Piety* (New York: Paulist Press, 2001), 135-177.

classes, and Calvin himself published a Reformed catechism on faith, law, prayer, and the sacraments.[29] To become full members of the church, young people needed to memorize specific parts of the catechism and pass an examination by the pastor.[30] One finds the same type of educational programs implemented in Huguenot communities, which typically used catechisms structured in a "father-child" dialogue.[31]

After educating its members, Geneva's consistory then went about policing moral behaviors and disciplining wrongdoers. Scott Manetsch characterizes this activity in his recent work on the Company of Pastors. Manetsch analyzes the variety of reasons that the consistory would suspend people from communion from 1536 to 1609. He finds that under Calvin, the consistory focused primarily on eliminating sexual sins (23%), quarrels (13%), and Catholic behavior (12%).[32] In the decades after Calvin's death, the consistory began suspending people from communion for quarrelling at a much higher rate (31%), while sexual sins and Catholic behavior declined (to 13% and 4%, respectively).[33] Moreover, after Calvin's death in 1564, Theodore Beza sharply reduced the number of people called before the consistory, declining to sixteen people each week from thirty-four under Calvin.[34]

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[29] John Calvin, *Instructions in Faith (1537)*, trans. and ed. P.T. Fuhrmann (Louisville, TN: John Knox Press, 1992).

[30] Calvin required the education of Geneva's children as a condition for his return to the city in 1541. See Robert M. Kingdon, "Catechesis in Calvin's Geneva," in *Educating People of Faith: Exploring the History of Jewish and Christian Communities*, ed. John Van Engen (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007), 294-313.

[31] Raymond A. Mentzer, "The Printed Catechism and Religious Instruction in the French Reformed Churches," in *Habent sua fata libelli. Books Have Their Own Destiny. Essays in Honor of Robert V. Schnucker*, ed. Robin B. Barnes, Robert A. Kolb and Paula L. Presley (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1998): 93-103.

[32] Scott Manetsch, *Calvin's Company of Pastors: Pastoral Care and the Emerging Reformed Church, 1536-1609* (Oxford University Press, 2012), 210-211.

[33] One finds a similar lack of emphasis on sexual sins in the consistory records from Montaubon. Raymond A. Mentzer, "Morals and Moral Regulation in Protestant France," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31, no. 1 (2000): 14.

[34] Manetsch, *Calvin's Company*, 211.

Manetsch argues these same trends can be seen in other francophone Reformed communities. They indicate a broad shift "to promote social holiness and establish their moral identity in distinction from their Catholic neighbors."[35] Although Manetsch acknowledges that ministers never understood themselves as "quasi-agents of the state," to my mind his work provides a clear example of successful confessionalization.[36]

The extent to which the confessionalization thesis applies to France remains an open question. James Farr notes the similarities between the Catholicization policies of the French crown and other state-sponsored churches in Europe.[37] The situation was more complicated for the French Reformed Churches, which were always a minority and never had the support of the increasingly hostile Catholic central government. Philip Benedict distinguishes between strong and weak confessionalization: the former relies heavily on state institutions to enforce religious behavior, while the latter only implies a hardening of group identity.[38] One can observe weak confessionalization happening in France, for example, in Raymond Mentzer's work on how the Reformed consistory of Nîmes developed a system of shaming rituals. Because intermarriage between confessions was thought to be particularly dangerous, Calvinists in open relationships with Roman Catholics were publicly denounced. Less serious offenses like repeatedly cursing or dancing often resulted in private excommunication, a sanction that could be lifted after seeking forgiveness on one's knees during a consistory meeting.[39] Overall, the Nîmes consistory excommunicated at least one

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[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., 96.

[37] James R. Farr, "Confessionalization and Social Discipline in France, 1530-1685," *Archive for Reformation History* 94 no. 1 (2003): 291.

[38] Philip Benedict, "Confessionalization in France? Critical Reflections and New Evidence," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 48.

[39] Raymond A. Mentzer, "Marking the Taboo: Excommunication in the French Reformed Churches," in *Sin and the Calvinists: Morals Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 1994), 97-128.

out of every 120 people. Mentzer concludes that the penalty functioned as a way for Huguenots to "cement their identity and community" in an environment surrounded by Catholics who had the backing of the state and a wide array of identity-forming rituals.[40] As Mentzer puts it, confessionalization did not occur in France "in the usual sense" but instead can be seen behind the actions of the consistory, which "worked tirelessly to inculcate a strong sense of confessional identity among the faithful."[41]

Mentzer thinks the confessionalization thesis can be adopted to help explain developments in the French Reformed Churches, notably in how "a reformation of lifestyle complemented the reformation of doctrine."[42] Can we see the effects of this "lifestyle" change in France? Despite the problems French Huguenots pose to the confessionalization thesis, scholars have identified several key areas to look for answers. Gregory Hanlon argues that long into the seventeenth century, familial identity remained more important than confessional identity in the French countryside. He bases this argument on his analysis of inter-marriages and wills, which crossed confessional lines more often than ministers from either side liked to admit.[43] Keith Luria sees burial practices in Poitou, where Calvinists and Catholics shared cemeteries, as indicators of both confessional strength and religious toleration.[44] Other scholars have looked to baptismal records and the names that parents gave to their children for evidence of confessional identity. Old Testament names meant parents rejected the Catholic practice of naming their children after saints.[45] Philip Benedict

[40] Ibid., 128.

[41] Ibid., "Fashioning Reformed Identity in Early Modern France," in *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555-1700*, ed. John M. Headley, Jans J. Hillerbrand and Anthony J. Papalas (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), 243.

[42] Ibid., "Morals and Moral Regulation in Protestant France," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 31 no. 1 (2000): 5.

[43] Hanlon, *Confession and Community*, 111-113.

[44] Keith P. Luria, "Separated by Death? Burials, Cemeteries, and Confessional Boundaries in Seventeenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 24 no. 2 (2002): 185-222.

[45] Old Testament names seem to have declined in time in both Geneva and France. See Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed*, 504-506.

has shown that before the Reformation, only 2% of infants in Geneva were given Old Testament names and 32% had saints' names. By the 1560s the proportion was almost exactly the opposite with 33% given names from the Old Testament and 2% from saints.[46] Another valuable approach can be found in a study on English Protestantism concerning signs of lingering Catholic sentiment based on the frequency of baptisms on feast days.[47]

This dissertation makes several new contributions to this debate on the confessionalization thesis. Examining the baptismal registry for a small rural town like Montagnac brings fresh evidence to many questions. The extent to which parents gave Old Testament names to their children is tested alongside the length of time they waited to have their children baptized. Analyzing the types of offenses that came to the attention of Montagnac's consistory also shows how the elders tried to discipline the population. Most importantly, the large and growing body of literature on Reformed shaming rituals fails to fully take into account the financial resources consistories used to police the moral conduct of their congregations.

Scholars who have studied the pastoral activities and poor relief programs in the Reformed world often leave the confessional implications of their work unexplored. If the consistory excommunicated someone, then he or she could no longer participate in the Lord's Supper (*le cène*) or receive any kind monetary assistance from the consistory. An argument can be made that these pressures within a pre-modern society would have been more intense in a rural environment than in a city like Nîmes. Cities provided the poor excommunicant other options for survival, but the possibilities were much more limited in the countryside. The consequences in a small community of having the consistory revoke its assistance would have been particularly dangerous for many people. These factors suggest confessionalization

[46] Ibid, table 15.1.

[47] P.M. Kitson, "Religious Change and the Timing of Baptism in England, 1538-1750," *The Historical Journal* 52 no. 2 (2009): 269-294.

was more intense in the countryside despite the enduring importance of familial ties across religious boundaries.

d. Religious Coexistence

The popular violence and civil warfare that France experienced during the sixteenth century was extraordinary. The violence of early modern France rightly deserves attention from historians for several reasons, not the least of which is that France represents the first country to conduct an experiment in official religious coexistence with the Edict of Nantes in 1598.[48] Over the past two decades, however, scholars have increasingly produced studies documenting strategies of conflict resolution and toleration that existed throughout the early modern period.[49] This work has demonstrated a wide array of official and unofficial arrangements for coexistence, including the segregation of opposing faiths, the regulation of public rituals, and other legal systems designed for religious ambiguity.[50]

A common theme historians have identified across Europe is the distinction between public and private religious celebrations. Jesse Spohnholz studies the situation in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Wesel, a town located in northwestern Germany near the

[48] The triumph of religious toleration through the Edict of Nantes is the traditional and overly simplistic narrative of French history. Several works were produced for its quatercentenary in 1998 that confirmed this narrative. See Thierry Wanegffelen, *L'édit de Nantes: Une histoire européenne de la tolérance du XVIe au XXe siècle* (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1998) ; Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton University Press, 2003).

[49] Jean Quéniart, *La Révocation de l'Édit de Nantes: Protestants et catholiques en France de 1598 à 1685* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1985); Elisabeth Labrousse, *"Une foi, une loi, un roi?" Essai sur la Revocation de l'Édit de Nantes* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1985); Michel Grandjean and Bernard Roussel (eds.), *Coexister dans l'intolérance: L'édit de Nantes (1598)* (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1998); Keith Cameron, Mark Greengrass and Penny Roberts (eds.), *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France: Papers from the Exeter Conference, April 1999* (Oxford University Press, 2000).

[50] Special mention should be made of a fascinating case study concerning a Hospitaller commandery and a Reformed community at Loudon. Both sides shared the commandery as worship space during the French Wars of Religion, and the repairs made to the structure by the Huguenots ensured its survival until the Edict of Fontainebleau (1685). See Edwin Bezzina, "Where Two Crosses Met: Religious Accomodation between a Reformed Protestant Community and a Commandery of the Order of Malta (Loudun, circa 1560-1600)," *Church History* 81 no. 4 (2012): 815-851.

Netherlands.[51] A very high number of immigrants—approaching half the town's population at one point—meant that municipal authorities had to be careful not to offend religious minorities. These included Catholics who received official protection from the duke, a majority of Lutherans who had always lived in the town, and Dutch Calvinists who supplied the town with much needed tax revenue through their cloth-making businesses. Officially Lutheran, the town's leaders deliberately struck an ambiguous balance in its public worship, allowing some churches to require public confession before communion but not others. A law to require Wesel's citizens to confess Lutheran beliefs was never enforced. Spohnholz concludes that religious toleration in Wesel depended to a great extent on a "shared religious culture" and the separation between public and private belief.[52] Religious minorities like Catholics and Mennonites could practice their faith as long as they did so in private.

Benjamin Kaplan finds a similar dichotomy between public and private worship across Europe. A number of cities made arrangements for Catholic parades on feast days to proceed along specific routes, allowing their Protestant neighbors to avoid the area.[53] Other Catholic cities required Protestants to leave town to attend their services, demonstrating again the importance of physical location in sparking violence or protecting the peace. Catholics living in the Low Countries built "house chapels" to attend Mass, structures that appeared like other buildings on the outside but had an interior decorated like any other Catholic Church. As long as religious observance remained private or at least out of sight, then coexistence was a distinct possibility for many places in Europe.[54]

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[51] Jesse Spohnholz, *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2011).

[52] Ibid., 226.

[53] Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Harvard University Press, 2010), 73-98.

[54] Ibid., 176-186.

The studies presented here emphasize disengagement and more or less peaceful conflict resolution. In doing so, they rely on a particular understanding of religious tolerance aptly explained by Kaplan:

> Despite the arguments of the philosophes, most Europeans continued to the very end of the early modern era to use the word *tolerate* in its traditional meaning: to suffer, endure, or put up with something objectionable. It was a pragmatic move, a grudging acceptance of unpleasant realities, not a positive virtue.[55]

My dissertation offers a counterpoint to this understanding of religious tolerance by using Keith Luria's work on sacred boundaries. Luria rejects the idea that there was a "normal state of affairs" between Huguenots and Catholics, whether violent or peaceful.[56] The attitudes between these two sides constantly changed, and at any point in time historians can identify varying degrees of hostility, coexistence, or indifference. Luria's highly empirical approach to the idea of toleration also challenges another popular dichotomy among historians: "The dynamic behind the construction of confessional relations was thus simultaneously local and national, and any sharp distinction between the two is misleading."[57] My dissertation adds another point of comparison to this sliding scale of identities in its analysis of cooperation between the consistory and Catholic village consuls. As Natalie Davis showed for the Catholics and Protestants of Lyon, this dissertation highlights how the ubiquitous problem of poor relief cut across confessional lines and presented an opportunity for opposing faiths to work together.

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[55] Ibid., 8.

[56] Keith Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early Modern France* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), xxiii.

[57] Ibid., xxii.

An overview of the work on religious tolerance again reveals a tendency among scholars to focus on cities.[58] One can justify the privileged status of the Reformation in urban areas over that of the countryside for a number of different reasons. Churches that controlled the cities often also enjoyed political hegemony, making cities the frequent center of religious warfare and popular violence. From a practical perspective, historians can generally find more sources concerning cities because urban inhabitants created more documents which then had a greater chance of surviving until today. It is worth pointing out, however, that most French people continued to live in the countryside long into the nineteenth century.[59]

e. Historical Fiscal Sociology

The relationship between John Calvin's economic thought and the development of Western capitalism has long been a subject of heated debate. Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* is probably the most widely read work on social theory and, perhaps, one of the most controversial. Originally published in two essays in 1904 and 1905, Weber's thesis contends that the Protestant Reformation directly contributed to the rise of Western capitalism and the economic success of northern Europeans. Weber thinks that the Reformation changed our common understanding of work and the world. He begins with the premise that Calvin's doctrine of predestination left mankind in a profoundly lonely position unable to change his ultimate fate: "In what was, for the man of the age of the

[58] Robert Sauzet, *Contre-réforme et réforme catholique en Bas-Languedoc: le diocèse de Nîmes au XVIIe siècle* (Lille: University de Lille III, 1979); Louis Châtellier, *Tradition chrétienne et renouveau catholique dans le cadre de l'ancien diocèse de Strasbourg (1650-1770)* (Paris: Ophrys, 1981); Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford University Press, 1991). A number of useful case studies have appeared as dissertations along these lines. See Eric Dursteler, "Identity and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean: The Venetian Nation in Constantinople, 1573-1645" (PhD diss., Brown University, 2000); Sean Dunwoody, "Conflict, Confession, and Peaceful Coexistence in Augsburg, 1547-1600" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2012); Scott Marr, "Urban Encounters and the Religious Divide: Catholic-Protestant Coexistence in Saumur, France, 1589-1665" (PhD. Diss., Boston University, 2012).

[59] In fact, more than half of all French citizens lived in the countryside until the 1930s. Britain achieved this rate roughly eighty years earlier. Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000-1944* (Harvard University Press, 1985), 220-221.

Reformation the most important thing in life, his eternal salvation, he was forced to follow his path alone to meet a destiny which had been decreed for him from eternity. No one could help him…"[60] This new disposition foreshadowed the rise of a capitalist mentality that framed work and profit-making behavior as an inherently positive activity.

Weber's thesis received significant criticism in the years immediately after its publication—first from Karl Fischer who denied Weber's *post hoc ergo propter hoc* assertion of a causal relationship between the rise of Protestantism and capitalism, and second from Felix Rachfahl who pointed to Calvin's emphasis on Christian charity over making profits.[61] To be fair, *The Protestant Ethic* drew most of its conclusions from later Calvinist writers, like the English Puritans, not from Calvin himself. One of Weber's most famous critics, R.H. Tawney, argued that Weber's work described the relationship between Protestantism and capitalism backwards. Material necessities caused the capitalist revolution in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and new religious creeds like Calvinism found "a congenial soil" in which to grow.[62] Protestantism's rejection of superstition and supernatural causes of normal phenomena complemented the capitalist drive to rationalize the world. Weber's thesis continued to spark debate throughout the twentieth century, causing, for instance, Hector Robertson to echo Tawney's work by highlighting the origins of capitalism in pre-Reformation Italy.[63] With the benefit of hindsight, Hans Blumenberg characterized the reactions to Weber's thesis:

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[60] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Scribner, 2001, originally 1958), 60-61.

[61] Weber in turn responded to his critics, initiating what Lynn White called an "academic 'Thirty Years War.'" Lynn White, "The Iconography of *Temperantia* and the Virtuousness of Technology," in *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Assays in Memory of E.H. Harbison*, ed. Theodore K. Rabb and Jerrold E. Seigel (Princeton University Press, 1969), 197. For English translations of Fischer and Rachfahl's responses and Weber's replies, see David J. Chalcraft and Austin Harrington (eds.), Austin Harrington and Mary Shields (trans.), *The Protestant Ethic Debate: Max Weber's Replies to His Critics, 1907-1910* (Liverpool University Press, 2001).

[62] R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism: A Historical Study* (London: John Murray, 1926), 74.

[63] Hector Robertson, *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism: A Criticism of Max Weber and his School* (New York: Kelley & Millman, 1959), 33-56.

> While the response of historians to this thesis was predominantly negative, that of theologians was predominantly positive, for the latter perceived the thesis through the medium of self-denying affirmation of responsibility for Christianity's eschatological complicity, which did not hesitate to verge on a magical negation of the world.[64]

In other words, historians who follow an empirical approach to research have tended to reject Weber's work as too prescriptive.

For one thing, historians of the Catholic Reformation argue that Tridentine Catholicism engendered many of the same self-disciplinary qualities as Calvinism. Catholicism retained the practice of private confessions, a powerful method of self-discipline analogous to the consistory. Philip Benedict recognizes how the city of Liège had a morals police consisting of two assistants who helped the parish priests report rumors of misbehavior to the bishop's representative.[65] Benedict also notes the resurgence of the Inquisition in parts of Italy and Spain, where the power to apply corporal punishment for offenses like heresy and blasphemy was divided between religious and secular authorities.[66] This highlights the broader tension between the confessionalization and Weberian theses. If each of Europe's three major churches underwent the same parallel changes, including the development of social discipline, then how could Calvinism be responsible for the rise of capitalism?

There nevertheless remains a strong sense among social scientists that Calvinism prepared the way for the rise of capitalism and centralized nation states. Max Engammare's work on the relationship between Calvinism and our modern conception of punctuality is a

[64] Hans Blumenberg, *The Legitimacy of the Modern Age*, trans. Robert M. Wallace (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1983), 118.

[65] Benedict, *Christ's Church Purely Reformed*, 430. For more on the morals police in this city, see Leon-E. Halkin, "Réforme catholique et police ecclésiastique dans la principauté de Liège au XVIe siècle," *Revue de l'Histoire de l'Eglise de France* 75 (1989): 21-33.

[66] Benedict, *Christ's Church Purely Reformed*, 430.

case in point. By abolishing the Catholic Mass in favor of the sermon and enforcing attendance through the consistory, the reformers in Geneva created a new sense of the importance of being on time and paying attention. Engammare shows how every major humanist thinker hated to waste time, but the reformers in Geneva were the first ones who "actualized this aversion."[67] The implications for capitalists interested in maximizing the output of their workers are clear. Philip Gorski similarly argues the "core" of the world-system emerged during the early modern period through what he calls a "disciplinary revolution."[68] Religious and secular institutions in these areas implemented a series of "rapid and fundamental social transformations" that reduced the costs of maintaining social order, making it possible for elites to cement their position at the top of society.[69]

The case study on Montagnac provides an opportunity to test many of the key assumptions underlying much of this debate. The Huguenot social elites in this small town managed to convince their followers to contribute resources and submit to discipline voluntarily without the threat of secular punishment. Removing the link between Gorski's "disciplinary revolution" and state-building reveals a more interesting story about confessional identity and religious affiliation. The consistory at Montagnac managed to

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[67] Max Engammare, *On Time, Punctuality, and Discipline in Early Modern Calvinism*, trans. Karin Maag (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 81.

[68] Philip S. Gorski, *The Protestant Ethic Revisited* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2011), 39. The great world systems theorist Immanuel Wallerstein argues that the disciplinary apparatus of the modern state was only one among three factors contributing to the rise of capitalism. The other two factors were the expansion of the world's economy through the discovery of the New World and a division of labor between the "core" and the "periphery." Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, 4 vols., originally published 1974 (University of California Press, 2011), especially 37-42. This raises larger questions related to world history theorists, like Kenneth Pomeranz who asks why capitalism grew out of the West and not elsewhere, like Asia. Pomeranz finds that there was nothing special about Calvinism or other circumstances in the West, and in fact capitalism was *more likely* to develop in coastal China. Europe only "diverged" from China after 1800 due to its unique access to New World raw materials. See Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy* (Princeton University Press, 2000), 4.

[69] Ibid., 43.

extract revenue from its followers and instill a Weberian ethic of punctuality despite the economic decline of the seventeenth-century French countryside.[70]

The heirs to Weber's thesis are more interested in questions related to how fiscal policies shape society (and in turn how societies determine fiscal policies).[71] Under the banner of historical fiscal sociology, this growing body of literature is keenly interested in how secular governments compel their citizens to pay taxes. Part of the answer comes from the ways in which authorities can use propaganda to leverage fear in promoting tax compliance.[72] My dissertation makes an intervention into this emerging cross-disciplinary field by drawing attention to a religious minority that relied on a moral regime to conduct its fiscal policies. Ministers employed a number of public shaming rituals to coerce members to contribute their resources to the church. They similarly used this money to ensure that recipients of their aid belonged to the Reformed Churches, confessed specific beliefs, and adhered to certain moral requirements. The relationship between the consistory and recipients of aid went in both directions: poor people often times used their acceptance of these requirements to secure assistance in the future. I hope my work presents fiscal sociologists with a unique case study in which the dynamic relationship between fiscal policy and society plays itself out absent a central government.

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[70] Renewed attention has also been paid to Calvin's work as it relates to Weber's thesis in light of the credit crisis and the Great Recession. The restrictions Calvin placed on usury, discussed below, could be helpful as Western countries continue to restructure its overleveraged banking system. See J.J. Graafland, "Calvin's Restriction on Interest: Guidelines for the Credit Crisis," *Journal of Business Ethics* 96 no. 2 (2010): 223-248.

[71] For a detailed discussion of the rise of this new field, see Isaac William Martin et al., "The Thunder of History: The Origins and Development of the New Fiscal Sociology," in *The New Fiscal Sociology: Taxation in Comparative and Historical Perspective*, ed. Isaac Martin et al. (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1-27.

[72] Agencies like the IRS rely not only on the actual process of auditing taxpayers, but also on the public's fear of being audited. In other words, the IRS depends on deterrence to ensure tax compliance more than its actual methods of enforcement. Carolyn Jones, "Mass-based Income Taxation: Creating a Taxpaying Culture, 1940-1952," in *Funding the Modern American State, 1941-1995*, ed. W. Elliot Brownlee (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 107-147.

II. The Sources

Given how fiscal policies affected almost every aspect of French Reformed life, it should be unsurprising that the amount of source material available to the researcher is enormous. From the national synods to the local consistory, Huguenots had a demonstrable self-interest in keeping track of how they received money and where they spent it. Given this wealth of sources, the researcher must limit the inquiry for a manageable project that provides a limited though meaningful picture of Reformed fiscal policies. Keeping this in mind, the types of sources this dissertation utilizes have been selected for both qualitative and quantitative reasons.

The intellectual history of Calvin's ideas, especially his economic thought, can fill an entire library. Most of his work has now been transcribed and published in French, Latin, or English, and I have focused my efforts on a broad range. For a long time scholars tended to ignore the content of Calvin's sermons because they ostensibly represent extemporaneous and repetitive lessons for the general populace. According to this line of reasoning, only Calvin's commentaries contain his polished ideas because he had the time to systematize and carefully edit his thoughts. But Calvin's sermons provide access to his thoughts as he explained the Reformation to a public audience. He thought the sermon was a critical component of Reformed Christianity. Consider how Calvin preached his last sermon in Geneva on Easter Day 1538 before he was sent into exile; when he returned to the city in September of 1541 he famously began preaching again on the very next verse.[73] Preaching was at the heart of his view of Reformed Christianity, and it was essential to his personal ministry in Geneva.

It should be stressed that Calvin preached within the context of an established weekly meeting of the Company of Pastors of Geneva in which all of the available ministers from the

[73] Calvin wanted to make a point: "After this preface, I took up the exposition where I had stopped, indicating by this that I had only temporarily interrupted my office of preaching and not given it up entirely." Quotation taken from CO 11.365-366 and cited in T.H.L. Parker, *Calvin's Preaching* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1992), 60.

city gathered to discuss scripture. Conducted somewhat similarly to a modern graduate school seminar, the pastors would take turns discussing scripture and correcting each other's interpretations. Calvin's sermons should not be seen as extemporaneous expositions of scripture, but more as a collaborative effort between different preachers.[74] Many of his sermons no longer exist due to a truly catastrophic desire for extra space in Geneva's public library in the early nineteenth century.[75] Denis Raguenier worked as the scribe who recorded the majority of Calvin's sermons from 1549 to 1560, and if we take his catalogue of sermons as accurate then we now have just over half of Calvin's approximately 2,500 known sermons.

Calvin's public sermons and biblical commentaries are supplemented by a number of other relevant works written throughout his lifetime. First published in 1536 but then revised multiple times over the course of the sixteenth century, Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* is widely regarded as a definitive statement of Reformed Christianity. Calvin provides a comprehensive description of correct belief and takes up a number of theoretical and practical questions, including his thoughts on the diaconate, benefices, almsgiving, and church property. Calvin also helped publish a set of laws called *The Ecclesiastical Ordinances* detailing how he thought the church should operate. His correspondence and other published essays are also used in this dissertation, especially where Calvin answers particular questions regarding economic issues.

Scholars are fortunate to have multiple versions of the records from the French Reformed national synods. John Quick first published an English translation of the national

[74] Erik de Boer, *The Geneva School of the Prophets: The congregations of the Company of Pastors and their Influence in 16th-Century Europe* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2012), especially 35-69.

[75] The library sold Calvin's sermons as scrap paper before most of them could be published. The librarians later tried to buy back many of these sermons, but a great number were lost. As recently as 1995 Max Engammare found 243 previously lost sermons on Isaiah in the French Protestant Church of London, simply sitting unmarked on a shelf. See Max Engammare, "Calvin Incognito in London: The Rediscovery in London of Sermons on Isaiah," *Huguenot Society Proceedings* 26 (1996), 453-462; Parker, *Calvin's Preaching*, 68-69.

synod records in 1692, followed by Jean Aymon's French version in 1710.[76] Despite the fact that it is in English, Quick's translation is generally considered to be the more authoritative version.[77] I have therefore used Quick's version of the records while noting where the two accounts differ in any significant way. Quick's and Aymon's texts might disagree on relatively small matters, like the exact amount of money distributed to a province during a national synod, but overall the differences are minor and do not detract from the arguments set forth in this dissertation.

Seeing exactly how Calvin's ideas and the mandates from the national synods were applied requires a case study. Micro-histories imply a number of potential shortfalls but also unique possibilities. On the one hand, archival sources from any individual consistory are inherently untypical in the sense that they have survived over the centuries. The vast majority of records from small rural towns like Moncaut and Montflanquin were lost in one way or another. The documents from Montagnac survived only because royal officials gave them to the General Hospital in Condom, a Catholic institution that preserved the records until the creation of departmental archives after the French Revolution.[78] The property belonging to the French Reformed Churches in the Garonne River Valley was also transferred to the General Hospital at the request of the bishop in Condom in 1697.[79] In other words, whatever conclusions one might draw from these sources might only apply to the consistory of Montagnac, but not other locations.

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[76] John Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata: Or, The Acts, Decisions, Decrees, and Canons of Those Famous National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France* Vol. I-II (London: T. Parkhurst and J. Robinson, 1692). Jean Aymon, *Tous les synodes nationaux des Eglises Réformées de France* Vol. I-II (The Hague: Chez Charles Delo, sur le Cingel, à l'Esperance, 1710).

[77] This is Glenn Sunshine's opinion, which is informed by his many conversations with Bernard Roussel who has examined nearly all the extant manuscript records of the French National Synods for the early modern period. See Glenn Sunshine, *Reforming French Protestantism: The Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1557-1572* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2003), 8.

[78] Raymond A. Mentzer, "La mémoire d'une 'fausse religion': les registres de consistoires des Eglises réformées de France (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)," *BSHPF* 153 (2007): 469.

[79] Jean-Michel Hornus, "L'exposition d'Agen," *BSHPF* 112 (1966): 195.

On the other hand, there is nothing to suggest that the situation in Montagnac was exceptional. The history of the consistory and the experiences of the people who lived there broadly match those of the surrounding towns. The congregation initially formed in a wave of proselytizing in the early 1560s, and the earliest consistory records date from 1594. The Reformed community then suffered alongside other Protestant communities in the south under the scourge of pestilence and warfare in the 1620s, followed by a period of stabilization in the subsequent decades. The records from Montagnac abruptly end with the passage of the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685, when many Huguenots converted to Catholicism, went underground with their beliefs, or left the town to migrate abroad. Over the seventeenth century the Huguenots at Montagnac responded to national events and local problems in their own way, and a case study of this congregation provides us with the best way to see how their fiscal policies developed.

The goal of the case study is to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the religious life of Montagnac's Huguenots, paying close attention to the congregation's fiscal history. All of the available source material has been consulted, including the account books of the consistory's social welfare programs, receipts from the pastor's salary, and testaments that left money or property to the consistory. Elders also spent a lot of time pursuing debtors that they believed owed the consistory money. To this end, they took up court cases across the region, especially in Agen and Toulouse. Their efforts generated an enormous amount of correspondence and internal deliberations, all of which gives us a glimpse into why they believed they had a case to be made. These sources are complemented by the other material remaining in the Archives Départementales du Gers. Montagnac's baptismal registry covers nearly every year from 1610 to 1684. This is an invaluable source because it allows us to see how the population changed over the years and how different families forged alliances with important people in the community. The baptismal registry is critical to this dissertation because the marriage registry is much sparser and covers the years from 1612 to 1616 and

1682 to 1684, with only a handful of entries for the intervening years.[80] Perhaps the most important source of all is the consistory register in which elders and the pastor conducted church business. Not only did they deliver account books detailing their activities and discuss issues related to the financial health of the church, but they also policed the moral behavior of the laity. This dissertation carefully weighs each of these sources to describe how the consistory implemented Calvin's ideas and met the requirements of the national synods.

III. Research Methods

Like other French Reformed Churches, Montagnac generated a wide variety of sources, including a consistory register, account books of the consistory's finances, and correspondence with other Reformed Churches. The first step in processing this enormous body of material involved critically reading the consistory register where elders debated financial priorities and discussed matters of social discipline. This allowed me to sketch the broad outlines of the major themes important to the elders, local politics, personalities, and the topics the consistory considered worth debating. This step also revealed the conflicts within the congregations and the types of behaviors that ministers especially wanted to eliminate. It also provided a general sense for the economic cycles that Montagnac went through over the decades.

The second step in this research involved constructing a database of the relevant financial information available from Montagnac. Elders were accountable for all the money they received and spent, so they meticulously tracked their transactions. Processing this information was tedious, but it shed light on the broader picture of Reformed fiscal policy, namely how much money the consistory collected and spent year to year. This step generated the hard data to complement the qualitative information from the first step. One

[80] ADG, H 27. The marriage entries are generally scattered throughout the baptismal registry. One has the impression that marriages were only recorded for the nobility or other prominent figures, like the pastor.

can see exactly how far behind the consistory fell in paying the pastor's salary and the different types of income-generating properties the consistory owned. My initial goal was to break down incomes and expenditures by type and across time, paying close attention to how income was linked to particular expenses.[81] I found this was only true in the years immediately following the acquisition of a new property or investment. A piece of land might be given to the consistory for the maintenance of the pastor, but over time the lands were absorbed into one of the consistory's general endowments to generate income for any number of expenses.

The third step was to construct a prosopographical database for each person in the town. Baptismal entries typically include the date, the baby's birthday, given name, parents, godparents, the name of the minister, and the location of the baptismal ceremony. Marriage entries similarly record the date, the names of the parents, and the minister. Other demographic and employment information about people is contained in the consistory register, wills, and notarial contracts. Modern technology can be applied to the paleographic challenges in deciphering the names of people written in all of these documents. In a small town where parents were strongly urged to give their children Old Testament names and infants typically took the name of a godparent, it can be difficult to be sure which person is marrying another.[82] France remained a predominantly oral culture long into the seventeenth century, and words and names never really had a static spelling even for the same scribe working on the same page. A common woman's name like Jeanne might be written as

[81] This is easier to accomplish in some cases, where individual donors and donations were transcribed on the left side of an account book, and the names of recipients on the right. Other donations were given for specific purposes, like the care of the poor in town.

[82] The idea for parents to only use Old Testament names originated with John Calvin, who met significant resistance from powerful families in Geneva that preferred traditional names. This was an enduring problem for Calvin throughout the 1550s. The French national synods then followed Calvin's lead and found as early as 1562 that ministers should reject names belonging to old "paganism" (i.e. Catholic) traditions. See William G. Naphy, "Baptisms, Church Riots and Social Unrest in Calvin's Geneva," *SCJ* 26 no. 1 (1995), 87-97; Jeffrey R. Watt, "Calvinism, Childhood, and Education: The Evidence from the Genevan Consistory," *SCJ* 33 no. 2 (2002): 439-456. For legislation on this issue in the French context, see Synod at Orléans (1562), 2.21.

Jeanne, Jehanne, Jehane, or Jane in reference to the same person. After transcribing the exact spelling of names into a single Microsoft Excel document, a program called Windows Power GREP allowed me to reconcile differences between names through the use of regular expressions. These are basic text commands to search for any number of different letter combinations in an enormous body of text. As I found similar matches, I used my best judgment on a case-by-case basis to determine if alternate spellings were really the same person. This allowed me to construct an accurate database of the relationships between all of the Huguenots in Montagnac.

The fifth and final step in my research process involved combining these various analytical lenses to arrive at a comprehensive picture of fiscal policies in Montagnac. A qualitative reading of Calvin's ideas, their application though the national synods, and their manifestation in a local consistory revealed how Huguenot ministers thought about their fiscal situation in relation to their religious positions in the community. Consistories used their financial power to exert control over their followers; people who were called before the consistory for immoral behavior could have their financial assistance revoked. This, in turn, related to the social status of members within the community, their proximity to the consistory, and their relationship with the town's elites. Historians have already confirmed that consistories were partial to one's social standing, but they have not shown how these power dynamics informed fiscal policy.[83]

[83] See for example Judith Pollmann, "Off the Record: Problems in the Quantification of Calvinist Church Discipline," *SCJ* 33 no. 2 (2002): 423-438.

CHAPTER 2: JOHN CALVIN'S ECONOMIC THOUGHT

I. Introduction

One underlying cause for the European Reformation was the idea that at some point in the centuries after Jesus' lifetime, the Christian church drifted from the core elements of true religion. Moral corruption combined with a variety of different human inventions to pollute the true message that Jesus wished to impart to his followers. For John Calvin, the humanist lawyer and reformer from Noyon, the central problem with the Christian church of the sixteenth century was that it taught beliefs inconsistent with the Bible. Christians were demoralized and suffering under the despotic rule of the papacy, an entirely superstitious institution at odds with scriptural Christianity.[1] Like all humanist scholars of his era, Calvin wanted to return to the sources (*ad fontes*) and eliminate any beliefs or practices without a strong biblical foundation. The Bible therefore became the central authority in which Calvin grounded his social and economic thought.

As one Reformation historian puts it, Calvin "was not the first or last to find that 'the simple teachings of Scripture' might need a little glossing."[2] For one thing, returning to a purely scriptural view of Christianity meant rejecting the entire corpus of post-Nicene Trinitarian theology, a belief unmentioned in the Bible. This would have aligned Calvin with some of the Protestant Reformation's more extreme sects and certainly doomed his chances of emerging as a powerful theologian in sixteenth-century Geneva. Calvin sketched a more moderate view of Reformed Christianity, incorporating some elements of traditional beliefs but rejecting other innovations, especially those practices related to the papacy. Calvin

[1] The accusation of "superstition and idolatry" was a favorite trope for Calvin and his followers. See Jean Delumeau, "Les réformateurs et la superstition," in *Actes du Colloque: l'Amiral de Coligny et sons temps* (Paris: Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, 1974), 451-487. Cited in Raymond A. Mentzer, "The Persistence of 'Superstition and Idolatry' among Rural French Calvinists," *Church History* 65 no. 2 (1996): 220.

[2] Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Calvin: Fifth Latin Doctor of the Church?" in *Calvin and His Influence, 1509-2009*, ed. Irena Backus and Philip Benedict (Oxford University Press, 2011), 36.

nevertheless tried to find a solid scriptural foundation for his understanding of Reformed Christianity, which in turn informed his thoughts on financial matters.

Calvin's economic ideas inevitably conjure thoughts related to Max Weber's work on the rise of Western capitalism. Although Weber's primary focus remained on the Puritans, his description of the relationship between religion and economics in the course of European history is helpful because it focuses attention on the new ideas Calvin proposed concerning fiscal policy. Calvin's distinction between charging interest on loans and usury legitimized an activity that was already happening, and it gave the Huguenots the ability to rebuild church endowments lost during the French Wars of Religion. By reinventing the diaconate and trying to implement a biblically-sound method for managing social welfare, Calvin demonstrated how rationalized poor relief systems need not necessarily be secularized. Calvin's rejection of the Catholic Church's system of benefices theoretically reoriented capital to productive landowners. As we will see in later chapters, the reality of carrying out the Reformation in France caused many of Calvin's original ideas to be compromised or changed.

II. The Diaconate in Calvin's Ecclesiology

When Calvin returned to Geneva in 1541 after a three-year period of exile, one of his top priorities involved the reorganization of the city's ecclesiastical institutions. The publication of the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* (1541) followed by the Edict of the Lieutenant (1542) and the Ordinances on Offices and Officers (1543) fundamentally restructured the church in Geneva and its relationship with civic authorities.[3] These three works indisputably placed Calvin at the forefront of the Genevan Reformation, and the *Ecclesiastical*

[3] See the two papers delivered by Robert M. Kingdon, "Calvin et la constitution Genevoise," in *Actualité de la Réforme*, vol. 12 (Geneva: Labor et Fides, 1987), 209-219; idem, "Calvinus Legislator: The 1543 'Constitution' of the City-State of Geneva," in *Calvinus Servus Christi*, ed. Wilhelm H. Neuser (Budapest: Ràday-Kollegium, 1988), 225-232.

Ordinances in particular provided a model that would be adopted in France.[4] The *Ordinances* described the operations of the Genevan Company of Pastors, a weekly meeting where pastors debated the meaning of the scriptures. They also defined the role of the consistory and how it should go about disciplining the population. A major point of contention between Calvin and the civic authorities concerned the power of excommunication. Could the consistory excommunicate people from the community independently, or did it need the permission of the civic authorities? Calvin's political opponents, the Perrinistes, believed he usurped too much power in reserving the authority over excommunications for the consistory. The issue was only resolvedin 1555 after a riot swept the Perrinistes from power and left the consistory in charge.[5]

The *Ordinances* also described the four offices within the church: minister, doctor, elder, and deacon. Calvin defined these offices strictly in terms of their functions. The elders (*les anciens*) possessed a slightly different function: they were called to discipline the faithful through the application of God's word. Working together with the minister, the elders staffed the consistory and policed the behaviors of people in their churches.[6] They investigated rumors of sinful behavior and called witnesses to deliver testimony in private. The *Ordinances* provided elders with a variety of ecclesiastical penalties, ranging from private censure to public denunciation and full excommunication. Consistories in Geneva and France never possessed the ability to administer secular punishments like prison sentences; in Geneva, the Small Council always handled criminal matters. In France,

[4] Unless otherwise noted, I refer to the 1541 edition transcribed in "Les ordonnances ecclésiastiques" (hereafter OE), OS 2: 325-389.

[5] Robert M. Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva* (Harvard University Press, 1995), 18-21. Geneva's Small Council eventually reasserted its power over excommunication in the early seventeenth century. See Thomas A. Lambert, "Praying, Preaching, and Policing the Reform in Sixteenth-Century Geneva" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1998), 255-256; Robert M. Kingdon, "Social Control and Political Control in Calvin's Geneva," *Archive for Reformation History* (special volume, 1993), 530-531.

[6] "Leur office est de prendre garde sur la vie dun chascun, dadmonester amyablement ceulx quilz verront failir ou mener vie desordonnee, et la ou il en seroit mestier faire rapport a la compaignye qui sera deputee pour faire les corrections fraternelles et les faire avec les aultres." Ibid., 339.

consistories might deliver miscreants whose actions were criminal to civil magistrates for secular punishment, but only in towns controlled by Protestants. To serve in this important body required men who were upstanding and honest members of the community who led lives beyond reproach.[7]

Doctors were called to study and teach the Word of God in universities; these were the professors of ancient Greek and Hebrew. Although doctors were an important part of Calvin's ecclesiology, they did not figure prominently in his economic thought. Pastors (also called ministers) were charged with reading the Word of God and exhorting their followers to correct moral behavior. Calvin thought they should undergo a two-part examination, first of their knowledge of Christian doctrine and second of their moral character. This examination took four separate steps outlined in both Calvin's *Institutes* and the *Ordinances*. First, other Reformed clergymen nominated men whom they deemed worthy of joining their ranks. Then their names were sent to the Genevan Small Council, and if they were approved, the men were presented to a local parish. Having been accepted by all three levels of the Genevan church, the ministers swore an oath to uphold their office.[8] Ministers had to be able to deliver sermons without any obvious errors or mistakes, a standard upheld in Geneva through the weekly Bible study sessions of the Company of Pastors. The *Ordinances* also list the types of crimes that would be absolutely intolerable for a pastor to commit, including heresy, schism, "rebellion against the church," blasphemy, and simony.[9] They further require regular surveillance over the city's pastorate to ensure ministers upheld their duties.[10]

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[7] "…gens de bonne vie et honeste, sans reproche et hors de toute suspection, sur tout craignans dieu et ayanbs bonne prudence spirituelle." Ibid.

[8] For a more thorough description of this process, see Scott M. Manetsch, *Calvin's Company of Pastors: Pastoral Care and the Emerging Reformed Church, 1536-1609* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 81.

[9] The exact phrase Calvin uses: "rebellion contre lordre ecclesiastique." OE, OS 2: 333.

[10] Two other ministers would visit each parish once per year "… pour savoir si le Ministre est diligent tant à prescher comme à visiter les malades, et admonester en particulier ceux qui en ont besoin…" Ibid., 336.

As stated earlier, deacons were responsible for administering the church's property and serving the poor. They belonged to an active office that needed to be engaged in the community and capable of maintaining accurate account books of the church's finances. To place the office of the diaconate in its proper context, it will be helpful to pause and consider Calvin's basic conception of church property. Several times throughout his life in both his sermons and written works, Calvin stresses how everything the church owns ultimately belongs to the poor. He writes in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* that church officials "should remember that they are not handling their own goods but those appointed for the need of the poor; and if in bad faith they suppress or waste them, they shall be guilty of blood."[11] He also notes how Gregory the Great advocated for the church to maintain four accounts: one for the maintenance of the bishop and his modest household, a second for the clergy, a third for the poor, and a fourth for the physical repair of churches.[12] But since the church's property ultimately belonged to the poor, in dire circumstances all other expenses would come second to caring for the poor. Calvin repeatedly and approvingly cites a number of examples when prominent churchmen like Cyril and Ambrose melted down the church's chalices and sold them to care for poor during times of extreme difficulty.

To Calvin's mind, the Catholic Church lost sight of the poor. The early Christian church understood the basic biblical foundation of the diaconate, a topic that will be covered at length shortly. But the enrichment of the church and the growth of the papacy caused deacons to become distracted from the original purpose of their office. Instead of administering the poor relief funds of the church, Catholic deacons spent all of their time assisting at sacraments, helping the priest during Mass, and reading the Gospel to the

[11] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed. John T. McNeill and trans. Ford Lewis Battles, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960), 4.4.6.

[12] Calvin looked for support of his ideas from Gregory the Great on more than a few occasions. Calvin's strategy was to use Gregory's writings to discredit the papacy. See Lester K. Little, "Calvin's Appreciation of Gregory the Great," *The Harvard Theological Review* 56 no. 2 (1963): 145-157.

church.[13] Calvin reiterates this characterization of the Catholic deacon over and over again in his writings and sermons. In his commentary on Acts 1:1-6, he states that Catholic deacons are concerned solely with the "paten and chalice," in contrast to the Reformed Churches where deacons are only "stewards for the poor."[14] According to Calvin, when Catholic deacons take money from the faithful, they do not use it for the poor's benefit but instead spend it on nefarious and sinful things. This makes a mockery of the office.[15]

Even worse, by the sixteenth century the diaconate in the Catholic Church had become a purely transitional office to the priesthood. Men only became deacons for a brief period of time before they left to be elevated to the priesthood. For Calvin, this was a total abnegation of the biblical mandate for the diaconate. Moving immediately to the priesthood allowed deacons to further rob the church. He writes again about deacons in the *Institutes*: "For, as thieves slit men's throats and divide the spoils among themselves, so these men, after putting out the light of God's Word, as if slitting the church's throat, supposed that everything dedicated to holy uses was laid out for booty and spoils."[16] According to Calvin, the Catholic Church's practice of ordaining deacons to then elevate them to the priesthood is unfounded in the Scriptures.[17] The diaconate for Calvin is an end in itself, not the first rung on the church's hierarchy.

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[13] Ibid., 4.19.32.

[14] Calvin's Commentary, Acts 6:1-6, *Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles*, vol. 36, ed. Henry Beveridge (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1957), 234.

[15] Calvin writes that this "est une mocquerie… mais c'est pour recepvoir ce qu'on viendra jecter dedans le bassin, et que cela s'en alle à ces gouffres insatiables pour nourrir leurs putains, leurs maquaureaulx et toute leur sequele." John Calvin, "Sermon on Acts 6:1-3," in SC, ed. Williem Balke and Wilhelmus H.Th. Moehn, 201.

[16] Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.5.15.

[17] Calvin allowed the elevation of deacons to a higher office, but he did not recommend it. See his commentary on 1 Tim 3:8-13, especially section 13, *Commentaries on the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1948), 87-88.

To understand how Calvin believed the diaconate should operate, it is necessary to first study a passage from the New Testament in Acts 6:1-6.[18] These verses will receive more attention shortly with respect to their implications about almsgiving, but it is in this passage that Calvin sees the creation of the first deacons. Acts 6:1-6 describes how the rapid growth of the early church caused the Greeks to "murmur" against the Hebrews. The Greeks believed the Apostles were treating their widows unfairly in the distribution of alms. The Apostles responded by holding a conference among all the disciples, noting they should not be forced to abandon preaching and studying to work directly with the poor. The need for a more practical solution to a growing problem was evident, so the Apostles selected reputable members of the community to administer relief to the poor, giving themselves more time to devote to prayer and preaching. The creation of this new office placated the Greeks.

Calvin begins his commentary on this passage by explaining an implicit tension in the story: why did it take God so long to bring about the diaconate, an office that in Calvin's opinion is "so excellent and so necessary in the Church"?[19] His answer is God did not want to establish the diaconate before the need for its existence became obvious to the Apostles. This would have meant creating an office in the church without an immediate rationale. Instead, Calvin writes, "It was requisite that the faithful should be [convinced] by experience, that they might choose deacons willingly…"[20] The Apostles simply did not possess the ability to both instruct the faithful and care for the poor. "For it is as if they should say, 'If thou wilt enjoy our ministry in the preaching of the gospel, deliver us from the charge of the poor, because we are not able to do both.'"[21]

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[18] Many historians have argued that Calvin's ideas on the diaconate were strongly influenced in this respect by Martin Bucer, who unsuccessfully tried to place deacons in charge of the poor relief programs in Strasbourg. For a good discussion of the connections between Bucer and Calvin, see Miriam Usher Chrisman, *Strasbourg and the Reform: A Study in the Process of Change* (Yale University Press, 1967), 275-283.

[19] Commentaries on Acts 6:1-6, *Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. Christopher Fetherstone and ed. Henry Beveridge, vol. 36 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1949), 229.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., 233.

Looking back to the early church for inspiration, Calvin thinks there are two kinds of deacons. The first kind cares for the poor by effectively managing the church's property. Calvin thinks this type of deacon needs to have simplicity to faithfully administer the alms given to him. He raises funds from the community and distributes them fairly to the poor, making sure to keep track of the distributions, which requires some knowledge of accounting procedures and business acumen. These deacons also check to ensure only the deserving poor receive the appropriate amount and type of aid. According to Calvin's thinking, the only real interaction this type of deacon should have with the poor is through the distribution of alms. The second type of deacon works more directly with the poor to "attend to their condition."[22] He visits the sick in the hospital to offer prayers and encouragement, and he helps widows and orphans in whatever ways possible.[23] Calvin reasons that the diaconate should function in this bipartite way because, just like the Apostles, bishops in the early church could not possibly manage all of the church's property in their dioceses. Tasked with acting in the bishops' name, deacons:

> …received the daily offerings of believers and the yearly income of the church. These they were to devote to proper uses, that is, to distribute some to feed the ministers, some to feed the poor, but according to the decision of the bishop, to whom they rendered an account annually of their distribution.[24]

[22] Commentary on Romans 12:8, *Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, trans. and ed. by Rev. John Owen, vol. 38 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1948), 463. Calvin makes this distinction several times, including in his sermon on Acts 6:1-6 where he states: "Or il y en avoit deux sortes en l'Eglise chrestienne. Les uns avoient la charge et administration des aulmosnes et des beins qui estoient donnez pour subvenir aux pauvres. Les aultres avoient le soing de faire les affaires domestique et privées, de penser les malades et de faire tout ce qui est du mesnage, qu'on appelle." SC 8:197 (10 August 1550).

[23] The *Ordinances* make this distinction as well. "Il y en a eu tousiours deux especes en leglisse ancienne, les ungs ont este deputez a recevoir, dispenser et conserver les biens des pouvres, tant aulmosnes quotidiannes que possessions, rentes et pensions. Les aultres pour soigner et penser les mallades et administrer la pitance des pouvres, laquelle coustume nous tenons encorres de present,. Car nous avons procureurs et hospitalliers." OE, OS 2: 340.

[24] Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.4.5.

Calvin thinks it is critical for deacons to remember "that they are not handling their own goods but those appointed for the need of the poor; and if in bad faith they suppress or waste them, they shall be guilty of blood."[25]

How did Calvin's ideas about the diaconate take shape in sixteenth-century Geneva? The city underwent a wide ranging reorganization of its social welfare program before Calvin began his ministry there in earnest. In 1535, the city government assumed control over the General Hospital, making the care of the poor a secular activity financed through taxation.[26] Calvin proposed his two-part diaconate borrowing terms from the General Hospital: procurators were charged with raising money and managing the hospital's property, and hospitaliers specifically worked with the poor. Calvin subsequently began referring to these officers as deacons, in effect attempting to re-sacralize a secular institution.[27] The extent to which Calvin was successful in his efforts remains an open question, but his influence on the Reformation of the diaconate in France is undebatable.

III. Calvin's Economic Thought

Historians have long considered the sixteenth century a critical period in the treatment of the poor in Western society. Secular impulses to control and systematize poor relief efforts met a new energy in the Protestant Reformation to care for the less fortunate. For his part, Calvin rooted his understanding of almsgiving in the scriptures where he looked to discover how Christians should think about and help the poor. His thoughts on almsgiving formed the original foundation upon which the French Reformed churches built their fiscal

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[25] Ibid., 4.4.6.

[26] Elsie Anne McKee, *John Calvin on the Diaconate and Liturgical Almsgiving* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1984), 106-113.

[27] Robert M. Kingdon makes this argument in his "Calvin's Ideas about the Diaconate: Social or Theological in Origin?" in *Piety, Politics and Ethics: Reformation Studies in Honor of George Wolfgang Forrel*, ed. Carter Lindberg (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1984), 167-180. Elsie Anne McKee argues that Calvin's ideas developed organically. See McKee, *Calvin on the Diaconate*, 195-200.

policies. His ideas are therefore critical to setting the context for later developments in France.

a. Almsgiving

The working premise behind much of Calvin's thought is that humans are totally dependent on God for everything they have in the world. Every possession that we own according to Calvin should "be applied to the common good of the church," and only secondarily for one's own benefit.[28] Calvin then takes this idea a step further with an analogy of the human body. Each part of the body only acts in the interests of the body as a whole. Ideally, Christians should act the same way. Keeping this in mind, when a Christian gives alms he should do it from a place of sincerity in his heart. This is the right, or as Calvin puts it, "true" way of distributing alms.[29] Almsgiving is so central to Calvin's conception of Christian identity that he groups it together with the Word of God, praying, and the Lord's Supper. The church cannot truly come together without each of these four things.[30]

The Reformer uses another analogy to help us understand his reasoning. Almsgiving is very similar to prayer because Christians typically give assistance and pray for the people they know. God commands generally that Christians take care of the poor, but we all have finite resources. It is therefore good and acceptable to give alms to people whose needs we know personally and intimately. This satisfies God's command to take care of the poor. Similarly, we can pray for individuals whom we personally know. Prayer and almsgiving are different, however, in that we can only give alms to people "whose poverty is visible to us."[31]

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[28] Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.7.5.

[29] Ibid., 3.7.7.

[30] Ibid., 4.17.44.

[31] Ibid., 3.20.39.

Prayers can be directed to "all children of God" wherever they are in the world, even if we do not know or recognize their circumstances.[32]

Calvin fleshes out the implications of his view on almsgiving in his explication of the Bible, both in his sermons and commentaries. Each individual conscience is implicated in the requirement to give alms, which Calvin calls a "mark of the children of God."[33] Failure to uphold this Christian duty carries serious consequences, as the story about Ananias in Acts 5:1-6 makes clear. Ananias and his wife Sapphira sold their belongings and gave only a portion of the profit to the church, keeping some of the money for themselves. This came to Saint Peter's attention, so he rebuked Ananias for having lied to God. These harsh words caused Ananias to instantly collapse and die, instilling fear in everyone who saw what happened. Because Calvin thinks that everything we have in the world really belongs to God—and everything in the church really belongs to the poor—he sees Ananias's selfishness as a lack of concern for the poor.[34] We are to contribute our wealth voluntarily and without compulsion, and a failure to do so risks the judgment of God.

It is perfectly acceptable according to Calvin to give alms to the poor in private, a long standing tradition dating back to the early church.[35] But God also conveniently provided the church with a public office to coordinate almsgiving: the diaconate. Deacons' first priority in managing the church's property should be to pay the pastors their salaries and provide for students studying for the ministry. But the diaconate's main responsibility is to efficiently manage the church's property and ensure the poor are helped in appropriate ways.

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[32] Ibid.

[33] John Calvin, Sermon 15 (8 June 1550), SC 8: 121: "…une vraye marque des enfans de Dieu."

[34] Ibid., 123. "Nous possedons les biens que Dieu nous donne en ce monde."

[35] See Calvin's sermon on the creation of deacons from Acts 6:1-6, SC 8:205, in which he states: "Et cependant encores ne nous point contenter de cela et des aulmosnes qui seroient faictes par les mains des diacres. Mais nous debvrions faire des aulmosnes en nostre particulier. Car n'estimons pas, qu'en l'Eglise entienne ung chacun ne regardast à ceulx qui avoinet necessité pour leur soubvenir oultre ce qu'il leur estoit distribué par les mains des diacres."

Indeed, the only real purpose in Calvin's mind for the diaconate is to care for the poor.[36] They coordinate the public almsgiving activities of the church and are responsible for keeping accurate accounts of their work. The ultimate goal for deacons is to bring about harmony and unity within the church.[37]

This is not the place to discuss the large and ever growing body of literature concerning Calvin's understanding of justification through faith alone. Calvin's ideas about almsgiving can only be viewed, however, in direct contrast to the Catholic teaching that works affect salvation. Calvin answers this challenge in his sermon on Deuteronomy 16:16-17, a passage in which God commands the Israelites to come before him three times each year bearing a gift.[38] Catholic theologians locate their belief in the effect of works on salvation in this passage: to merit God's blessing, we must, for example, give alms to the poor. Calvin acknowledges that these two verses are actually a command to give alms to the poor, but he rejects the idea that "bearing gifts" in the Catholic Mass qualifies as a work that can affect salvation. God's command is more pressing than the Catholic position of giving alms only in the offertory of the Mass. The requirement applies to Christians every single day of the year, not only those days in church.[39] Almsgiving is in fact just the beginning of what we ought to offer God as a sacrifice.[40] Indeed, even the poor are expected to contribute whatever they can.[41]

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[36] See Calvin's sermon on 1 Timothy 3:8-13, CO 53:297. "... le bien d'Eglise maintenant soit employe comme il doit: premierement pour la nourriture des pasteurs, pour entretenir les escoles, et pour subvenir aux povres, afin que tousjours on face aumosne entre les enfans de Dieu, et que ceux qui sont en necessité, soyent secourus du mieux qu'on pourra."

[37] God brought forward deacons only after "grumbling" about the distribution of alms described in Acts 6:1-6.

[38] For Calvin's sermon on this passage, see CO 27:397-408.

[39] CO 27:407. "...et toutesfois cela ne seroit point pour nous exempter tout le reste de l'annee de faire aumosnes…"

[40] Ibid. "Et ce ne sont pas seulement les aumosnes qu'il accepte pour sacrifices: mais nous le devons servir et adorer, et de nos pensees, et de nos desirs et affections, et de tous nos membres."

[41] Ibid., 408. "... il est dit par Moyse en ce passage, que les estrangers, les vefves, et les orphelins s'esiouyssent avec ceux qui se presenteront ainsi à Dieu pour luy faire offrande."

b. Usury

The prohibition of making money on a loan originated in the Old Testament, which stipulated that Jews should not charge interest on loans to other Jews (Deuteronomy 13:20). Passages from the New Testament similarly describe how Christians should lend their money and expect nothing in return (Luke 6:35). The Council of Nicaea (325) likewise denounced ministers who lent their money and charged interest.[42] This teaching subsequently gained importance throughout the medieval period until the Second Lateran Council (1139) prohibited all forms of illicit gain. It is worthwhile at this point to stress the distinction between a theological teaching on charging interest and the actual elimination of its practice. By the dawn of the Reformation, Western Europeans had long participated in a commercial economy that necessitated the borrowing of money at interest. That being said, before John Calvin, the commonly accepted view among theologians was that charging interest on loans was illicit.[43] To circumvent this traditional teaching on usury, Calvin first had to go back to the original sources and reevaluate the scriptural injunctions against usury in light of recent economic developments. His efforts ultimately provided the rationale behind a core piece of Reformed fiscal policy: *rentes* and short-term loans.[44]

Calvin addresses the topic of usury at length in his *Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses Arranged in the Form of a Harmony* (commonly referred to as the *Mosaic Harmony*).[45] Published in 1563 one year before his death, the *Mosaic Harmony* attempts to

[42] For a discussion of what the early church councils taught concerning usury, see David W. Jones, *Reforming the Morality of Usury: A Study of Differences that Separated the Protestant Reformers* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2004), 30-34.

[43] One argument contends the medieval church benefited from the prohibition of usury. See Robert B. Ekelund et al., "How the Church Gained from Usury and Exchange Doctrines," in *Sacred Trust: The Medieval Church as an Economic Firm* (Oxford University Press, 1996), 113-130.

[44] *Rentes* functioned as reverse annuities. A lender gave a large sum of money to a borrower who then agreed to make smaller payments in perpetuity, though these payments never decreased the principal. These *rentes* were secured by property and could only be annulled if the borrower repayed the entire principal.

[45] John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Four Last Books of Moses Arranged in the Form of a Harmony*, ed. and trans. Rev. Charles William Bingham, 4 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1950), 126-133.

synthesize the last four books of the Pentateuch (Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy) in much the same way as other commentators have organized the three synoptic gospels. This innovative approach to the Pentateuch represents what one scholar calls "the crowning achievement of Calvin's exegetical work."[46] Generally speaking, Calvin tries to remain brief and to the point in his commentaries, unlike his sermons where he typically offers multiple illustrative examples and extensive remarks.[47] His treatment of usury is a perfect example of this approach.

Exodus 22:25 records a commandment to never lend money to God's people (that is, the poor) while charging interest.[48] The Reformer begins his treatment of this passage by highlighting how the reader should interpret this passage as an instruction to always remain generous to the poor. Giving money to the poor is always "perilous" because they "cannot make a return in kind."[49] This is an essential theme in the scriptures that Calvin returns to over and over: "…since humanity is not to be denied even to strangers, much more is assistance to be given to their brethren."[50] With this "rule of charity" as his guide, Calvin asserts that laws related to usury are inherently political.[51] According to Deuteronomy 13:20, God allowed the Jews to charge interest to gentiles, but not to each other. The difference for Calvin between the context of these Old Testament restrictions and the current situation is that "the wall of partition, which formerly separated Jew and Gentile, is now broken

[46] Raymond A. Blacketer, "Calvin as commentator on the Mosaic Harmony and Joshua," in *Calvin and the Bible*, ed. Donald K. McKim (Cambridge University Press, 2006), 45.

[47] Ibid., 31-32.

[48] Exodus 22:25: "If thou lend money to my people, that is, to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him; ye shall not oppress him with usury."

[49] Calvin, *Commentaries on the Four Last Books*, 127.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

down…"[52] This means that the strictures of the old law are no longer relevant when it comes to formulating a view on lending money.

Calvin then proceeds to make a distinction between lending money and extortion. He points out that these are not the same thing, and the laws against "usury" only apply to the latter.[53] Demonstrating his familiarity with ancient Greek philosophy, Calvin rejects Aristotle's notion that charging interest is unnatural. Aristotle thought that money in itself cannot create more money. But Calvin's understanding of the economy demonstrates how this is untrue: "If any rich and monied man, wishing to buy a piece of land, should borrow some part of the sum required of another, may not he who lends the money receive some part of the revenues of the farm until the principal shall be repaid?"[54] This is Calvin's ideal scenario because he thinks that the poor should never need to repay a loan. The rules are necessarily different for a wealthy man who lends money to another wealthy man.

He takes a similar approach whenever he confronts a passage prohibiting usury. At first glance, Jesus seems to prohibit lenders from charging interest on loans. Jesus instructs his disciples in Matthew 5:42 to give to those who ask and always lend money to people who ask to borrow it. Luke 6:34 similarly quotes Jesus: "And if you lend to them of who, you hope to receive, what thank have you?" Judging from his commentaries and other published works, Calvin takes these verses to mean simply that the apostles were supposed to be quick to help those in need. There is nothing here specifically about usury or charging interest on a loan.[55]

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[52] Ibid., 128.

[53] Calvin's exact terminology is a little more concise. He employs the term "usury" to refer to any practice of lending money, but distinguishes between usury that leads to "unjust gains" and usury that fairly compensates a lender for "his loss." Ibid., 130-131.

[54] Ibid., 131.

[55] For more on Calvin's approach to these passages, see André Biéler, *Calvin's Economic and Social Thought*, ed. Edward Dommen and trans. James Greig (Geneva: World Alliance of Reformed Churches, 2005), 401-402.

Other aspects of Calvin's thoughts on usury can be found in several different places, most famously in a letter to his friend Claude de Sachin in 1545. Sachin asked Calvin to explain his position on usury and outline his reasoning, and in response Calvin retraced many of the same logical steps described above. He spends a little more time, however, describing what André Biéler calls "commercial or industrial lending."[56] First of all, Calvin thinks that the Hebrew word for usury (which the Old Testament repeatedly condemns) connotes fraud or some other dishonest practice by which money-lenders take advantage of the poor. In other words, there is no general biblical injunction against lending money at interest in all circumstances.[57] More to the point, money becomes "sterile" if it is not actively invested.[58] Putting money to a productive use would actually benefit the entire community, which would be better served, for instance, by developing an extra farm or building a new mill.[59] Calvin thinks these uses of capital are inherently good and categorically separate from the prohibitions against usury.

André Biéler describes how this was a revolutionary position for Calvin to take after centuries of theological tradition against usury.[60] One historian describes Calvin's view of usury: "Stemming from covetousness and avarice, it spill[s] over into fraud, extortion, and slander until it [breaks] the bonds between neighbors and even brothers."[61] Calvin is therefore quick to make a series of exceptions to his view on usury. After all, lending money could still potentially lead to the sin of usury. The poor should never be charged interest to

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[56] Ibid., 405.

[57] CO 10:245-254, here 246. "Mais le mot Hebraique veu que generallement il signifie fraude il se peust aultrement exposer." Calvin's letter to Sachin appears in the original French here: "Quaestiones Iuridicae."

[58] Ibid., 247. "Certes je confesse ce que les enfans voyent, ascavoir que si vous enfermes largent au coffre il sera sterile."

[59] Ibid. "Quand on aschepte un champ, ascavoir si largent nengendre pas largent?"

[60] Biéler, *Calvin's Economic and Social Thought*, 403.

[61] Mark Valeri, "Religion, Discipline, and the Economy in Calvin's Geneva," *SCJ* 20 no. 1 (1997): 126.

borrow money, and lending money should never come at the expense of almsgiving. Interest rates should always remain reasonable and never rise higher than what the lender would accept for himself. Here and in his biblical commentaries, Calvin goes to great lengths to stress that money-lenders should not be allowed to make their living off of charging interest. This would be contrary to his understanding of the way the world works: Christians are supposed to work. Those who exclusively lend money to make a living are essentially unproductive members of society in that they derive their well-being from the efforts of other people.

If charging interest on loans was morally permissible, then could ministers participate in this activity? François Morel posed this question directly to Calvin, who responded with a note of caution.[62] He first refuses to issue a general condemnation of ministers who lend out their own money, but he thinks they need to be very careful.[63] It would be ideal if ministers did not need to make any more money and only had enough income to support themselves with a reasonable standard of living. It would therefore serve ministers well to never lend out their money in the first place.[64] Calvin then goes on to write that ministers can in fact lend their money to reputable men, provided they follow the laws of the secular government and the general rule of charity.[65]

Setting aside the long debated consequences of Calvin's thought on the expansion of capitalism in the Western World, his justification of moneylending carried several important consequences for the development of fiscal policies in the French Reformed world.

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[62] Morel was the president of the first national synod (Paris, 1559) and then served as a pastor in Geneva. Manetsch, *Calvin's Company of Pastors*, 330, fn. 61.

[63] Calvin's response to Morel can be found here: CO 19:245-246. "Car de condamner simplement une tell facon de prester, il y auroit une trop grande rigueur et qui pourroit engendrer beaucoup de repliques."

[64] Ibid., 245. Le plus seur et expedient seroit de ne point entrer en telles pratiques ou contracts."

[65] Ibid., 246. "... ie ne voy point pourquoy le fait doive estre condamne en general. Mais ce pendant ie vouldroye bien quon se contentast en baillant son argent a quelque marchant homme de bien, de se rapporter a so foy et loyaute a ce quil en fist profit equitable, selon que Dieu feroit prosperer son labeur."

Huguenots not only had permission to lend money to each other at reasonable interest rates, but ministers could also take advantage of credit networks. A logical question to pose to Calvin—but one that he never addressed, to my knowledge—is whether churches may lend out their money and charge interest for it. The de-stigmatization of charging interest opened a new conceptual framework in which the Reformed churches could envision building and managing their own church endowments. A more immediate question for Calvin and his generation of reformers, however, concerned whether a Christian might continue to hold and profit from the revenue of a Catholic benefice.

c. Benefices

The best place to begin a discussion of Calvin's thought with respect to benefices is with his view of how the Catholic Church works. He explains his position most clearly in his *Institutes,* where he starts by pointing out the uselessness of deacons whose only concern is with "chalice and paten."[66] Calvin thinks priests are generally uneducated and unable to truly understand the implications of the office they are assuming. Even the Catholic ordination ceremony is a sham to Calvin. According to the Catholic Church's liturgy, the bishop asks his assistants if they think the men before him are prepared for ordination. The assistants invariably respond in the affirmative even when they have never before seen these candidates.[67] In any case, he believes that most people become priests either because they are already rich and can pay for the ordination, or because they have a familial connection to the church and want to assume the office to make money. And the Catholic Church makes its money through a system of benefices.

Calvin sees several problems with the way the Catholic Church sustains itself through benefices. First of all, they require too much attention and distract from pastoral ministry: "Today the courts resound with more lawsuits over priestly offices than almost anything else,

[66] Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.5.4

[67] Ibid.

so that you may say that they are little more than prey cast to dogs to hunt."[68] It is also problematic that people hold multiple benefices (pluralism) without any pastoral responsibilities (absenteeism).[69] He states that it is not uncommon to find young people with seven benefices. "But I say that these are both monstrous abuses, which are utterly contrary to God, nature, and church government—that one robber occupy several churches at once, and that a man be named pastor who, even though he wish to, is unable to be present with his flock."[70] Calvin then goes on to condemn the practice of passing on benefices from generation to generation, pointing out how absurd it is to have a child serve as an abbot. But he then turns to the practice of secular priests who sell their services to make a living. He says that these men cannot do anything else with their lives: "What else than to prostitute themselves to gain in a selfish and shameful manner, especially amid such a great multitude as now overruns the world?"[71] In fact, these priests make a sacrifice "not to God but to demons."[72]

Throughout Calvin's time in Geneva he never really compromised from this unequivocal condemnation of benefices. He repeated his opinion in a letter to a number of French Reformed Churches that had sought his advice on a variety of subjects. When it came to keeping "the benefices of the papacy" or "carry[ing] on business related to them," Calvin advised that this "must be condemned altogether, without any debate."[73] He went so far as to write: "For someone to defile himself with such sacrileges is clearly a crime

[68] Ibid., 4.5.6.

[69] It should be noted that Calvin received a benefice when he was twelve years old at Noyon. He held it from 19 May 1521 until he resigned it on 4 May 1534. Ibid, fn. 17.

[70] Ibid., 4.5.7.

[71] Ibid., 4.5.9.

[72] Ibid.

[73] John Calvin, "On various subjects," in *Calvin's Ecclesiastical Advice*, trans. Mary Beaty and Benjamin W. Farley (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1991), 156. For a Latin version of this undated letter, see CO 10:258-262.

inconsistent with Christianity."[74] There remained a practical matter for Calvin to address: if Reformed Christians should reject their benefices: what should they do with the money they already made from them? Calvin elaborates:

> If I must give advice on a matter which is still unsettled, I would say that I think it is not permissible to hold any priesthoods in the papacy, no matter how specious the pretext may be. Every penny collected from such priesthoods would be stained with sacrilege. However, if anyone has come away with a profit, out of ignorance and error, I do not see that he should be concerned to give it back.[75]

Notice the care Calvin uses to discuss Christians who already had benefices but have since converted to Reformed Christianity. Calvin actually owned a benefice in his early adulthood that paid for his education, and he was therefore open to an accusation of hypocrisy for condemning any and all income related to benefices. Provided that Christians derived income through benefices only out of "ignorance and error," he thinks they would not be obligated to repay the benefice.

IV. Conclusion

Calvin formulated his view of Reformed Christianity from his unique position as moderator of the Company of Pastors. Although he faced opposition to his religious changes and never managed to secure complete control over the city for himself, his economic ideas fundamentally changed the Genevan church. One can see how the specific circumstances of Geneva limited the possibilities of Calvin's ideas. The diaconate is a case in point. Calvin looked to the ancient church and found two types of deacons with the same division of labor as the administrators of the Genevan hospital. When other economic issues like almsgiving,

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[74] Ibid.

[75] John Calvin, "Response to a Question," in *Calvin's Ecclesiastical Advice,* 146. Letter dated 1 September 1560.

usury, and benefices came to his attention, Calvin similarly looked to the scriptures to justify his ideas. Scholars have debated the implications of these changes for understanding the broader development of Western capitalism, but much less attention has been paid to their consequences for the Reformation in France.

CHAPTER 3: FISCAL POLICIES IN THE FRENCH REFORMED CHURCHES

I. Introduction

Even during Calvin's lifetime, observers regarded Geneva as the model city for Protestantism. The Scottish reformer John Knox famously wrote in a letter to Anne Locke on 19 November 1556: "Geneva is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in this earth since the days of the Apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion to be sincerely reformed, I have not seen in any other place."[1] Referred to as the Protestant Rome, Geneva underwent such a rapid and apparently successful program of reform that Calvin himself worried about his idolization.[2] The symbol for the Academy of Geneva was the sun with emanating rays, a sign that could be found in French Reformed Churches like Nérac, where it appeared on the bell tower and communion tokens (*méreaux)*.[3] Geneva supplied much more than symbols to the French Reformation, however. Missionaries flocked to Geneva to receive training before streaming into France. Genevan printers supplied many of the clandestine psalters and bibles that would be used to win converts across France. And John Calvin and his colleagues provided ideas and direct guidance as the Reformation unfolded in Europe.

There were, however, several significant differences between the Reformation in Geneva and France. To begin, Geneva was never a theocracy, and Calvin never held an institutional position other than moderator of the Company of Pastors. The city was ruled by an executive committee called the Small Council, an institution with twenty-five members who controlled the day-to-day functions of the church. The Small Council hired pastors,

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[1] David Laing (ed.), *The Works of John Knox Vol. 4* (Edinburgh, 1855), 240. Quoted in Elsie Anne McKee (ed.), *John Calvin: Writings on Pastoral Piety* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2002), 336-337, fn. 22.

[2] Calvin wrote to the French refugees in London in 1552: "Je dy cecy pource que jay entendu quon leur a reproche qyuilz vouloient faire ung idole de moy." CO 14: 363. Cited in Rodolphe Peter, "Genève dans la prédication de Calvin," in *Calvinus Ecclesiae Genevensis Custos*, ed. W.H. Neuser (Frankfort: Frankfort am Main, 1983), 29, fn. 29, and Thomas A. Lambert, "Preaching, Praying and Policing the Reform in Sixteenth Century Geneva" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1998), 482-483.

[3] G. de Lagrange-Ferrêgues, "La Mérau-sceau de la ville de Nérac," *BSHPF* 105 (1959): 70.

assigned them to specific parishes, and paid their salaries. The Council approved religious legislation and, until 1555, controlled the use of excommunication.[4] The Council was also responsible for punishing criminals and appointing pastors to serve on the city's consistory.[5] The situation in France could not have been more different. The French Reformed Churches lacked a central controlling institution, so the synods developed their own mechanisms managing the practical details of organizing a church. The process of hiring and firing pastors needed to be described in depth, and the ways in which disputes between congregations (and between pastors and consistories) required more than what Calvin's Geneva could offer. The synods proceeded on a case-by-case basis to spell out the rules of how the consistories would resolve their own problems.

An overview of the institutions that developed in France demonstrates how Calvin's ideas were implemented outside of Geneva. With the exception of the doctors, the offices Calvin envisioned became commonplace in French Reformed Churches. French consistories modeled their behavior on Calvin's Geneva. A similar phenomenon happened as the national synods remained true to some of Calvin's ideas but compromised on others. Churches were allowed to invest their poor relief funds and charge a fair rate of interest. Benefices, which were strictly though ironically condemned by Calvin, were eventually permitted under certain conditions. The national synods were also required to explore new territory in their interactions with the French king, who had promised to transfer funds to the Huguenots every year. How the national synods allocated these funds reveals the theoretical equality between churches was not matched by equal funding mechanisms, despite the best efforts of the delegates. A similar trend occurred in reverse over time, where the synod levied taxes on provinces in disproportionate ways.

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[4] See Chapter 2, page 36.

[5] Thomas A. Lambert, "Preaching, Praying, and Policing the Reform in Sixteenth-Century Geneva," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1998), 222-224.

II. French Reformed Ecclesiology

The first National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France met in Paris in 1559 under the cover of secrecy. The names of delegates to the synod were not recorded out of fear they would be discovered by the French crown and punished for holding an illegal assembly of an outlawed religion. French Protestantism had remained an amorphous movement without a clearly defined set of beliefs. It was within this context that the delegates approved two critical documents in the development of the ecclesiastical institutions of French Calvinism: the Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France and the Confession of Faith.[6] The Discipline in particular is an important document for this study because it described the development of French Reformed ecclesiology, which in turn determined how money and decisions regarding fiscal policy flowed between local, regional, and national levels.[7] A brief overview of the organizational levels of the French Reformed Churches sheds light on how the Huguenots responded at these different economic pressures throughout the seventeenth century.

The Reformed Churches of France organized themselves along three levels: national, provincial, and colloquy. It took some time for national synods to develop a clear scope for their authority. Starting with the very first meeting, the delegates elected a moderator who would call on representatives when it was their turn to speak and maintain an orderly voting procedure. These included voting on controversial matters on which provincial synods

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[6] The Genevan reformers had a role to play in the development of the French Reformed Churches from the very beginning. The 1559 Confession of Faith seems to have been written in Geneva and sent to Paris for approval. See Philip Benedict, *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (Yale University Press, 2002), 135.

[7] The Discipline did not appear *ex nihilo* at the first National Synod. It was based on an earlier common set of principles called the *Article polytiques*, published in: Eugème Arnaud, ed., *Documents protestants inédits du XVIe siècle: Synode général de Poitiers 1557, synodes provinciaux de Lyon, Die, Peyraud, Montélimar et Nîmes en 1561 et 1562, assemblée des états du Dauphiné de 1563, etc.* (Paris: Grassart, 1872). Subsequent national synods frequently amended and altered. For the purposes of this work, especially given my focus on seventeenth-century developments, I use the final completed and annotated text from John Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata: Or, The Acts, Decisions, Decrees, and Canons of Those Famous National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France, Vol. I* (London: T. Parkhurst and J. Robinson, 1692), xvi-lviii.

disagreed, like the excommunication of individuals or the drawing of provincial boundaries. Meetings were supposed to be orderly, with a celebration of the Lord's Supper and prayers for the welfare of the entire church.

Every province was supposed to send representatives to national meetings under the pain of severe censure, but delegates did not always attend meetings for a number of reasons, not the least of which was the financial cost of travelling across the country.[8] Decisions from the national synods were frequently sent out to the provinces for further review and debate. Important decisions were frequently brought up again at subsequent synod meetings after provincial assemblies had a chance to gather additional advice from their members.[9] This was likely done to encourage consensus building with respect to important matters that affected other churches, like questions concerning benefices and paying ministers.[10] Over the course of the seventeenth century, national synods became the loci of large-scale fiscal policy making and the last word on a host of financial disputes. Eventually meeting every few years during peacetime and occasionally with the advice of representatives from Geneva, the national synods were the highest level of ecclesiastical decision-making in the French Reformed world.

Unfortunately, historians know much less about the development of provincial synods, the second institutional level sitting below national synods.[11] The number of provinces changed with the territorial movements of the French kingdom: initially with

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[8] The first synod (Paris, 1559) had delegates from every church that could attend, but the second synod (Poitiers, 1561) changed this practice to include only one or two representatives from each province. See Glenn S. Sunshine, *Reforming French Protestantism: The Development of Huguenot Ecclesiastical Institutions, 1557-1572* (Truman State University Press, 2003), 47-49.

[9] Ibid., 53-55.

[10] Sunshine argues that provincial synods acted as "gatekeepers" for the national synods by controlling its agenda. Ibid., 57.

[11] For an overview of how the provincial synod in Dauphiné conducted its meetings, see Eugène Arnaud, *Histoire des protestants du Dauphiné aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Vol. II (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970),199-206.

fifteen provinces, the addition of Béarn in 1620 brought the total to sixteen. The exact boundaries of these synods did not, however, perfectly match those of the kingdom, and from time to time the synods had to adjust their limits.[12] Provincial synods were comprised of representatives from every church under its authority, and they were supposed to meet at least once each year and perhaps a second time if needed, but these meetings were subject to periods of interruption due to warfare, pestilence, or famine.

Every pastor and at least one elder from each consistory in the province were responsible for attending the provincial synods. One historian describes the provincial synods in the second half of the sixteenth century as "the basic unit of the collective government of the churches."[13] They handled much of the administrative work related to the assignment and movement of pastors, including disputes between consistories and pastors and disagreements between communities. They would eventually become an important nexus in the flow of money between the national synods and local churches. Despite their importance for the functioning of the French Reformed Churches, provinces were still too big to handle all of the organizational issues and problems that arose in the sixteenth century. The churches needed a smaller and more local organizational unit for this work.

Generally speaking, we have even less information about colloquy meetings. Officially established after the eighth national synod (Nîmes, 1572), the *colloques* were the smallest unit of ecclesiastical governance in the French Reformed Churches.[14] The entire kingdom of France typically had about fifty different colloquies, each comprised of somewhere between about five and twenty-five individual congregations. The Province of Lower Guyenne, for example, contained five colloquies comprising a total of seventy-one

[12] Ibid., 50-51.

[13] Ibid., 43.

[14] Colloquies certainly existed before 1572 but only on an ad hoc basis. The national synod at Nîmes set out many of the rules that would determine the powers and procedures of colloquies.

churches in 1626. The colloquy of Condom, to which Montagnac and Layrac belonged, counted sixteen churches all grouped in the countryside south of Agen.[15]

Situated directly above local churches, colloquies constituted the first collective form of governance Huguenots relied on to settle disputes. Colloquies were part of the appeals process for handling disagreements between churches, but they acted more like an independent body than a sub-unit of the provincial assemblies.[16] One can see this in how the national synods thought the colloquies should operate as mediators of disputes between churches and pastors. As early as the second National Synod (Poitiers, 1561), there was a consensus that churches needed to first be warned if they failed to pay the pastor's salary.[17] Subsequent synods fleshed out the process through which a pastor could legitimately leave his congregation, especially if he first obtained the consent of at least two pastors from nearby communities.[18] This provided for a decentralized system of arbitration that emphasized the inherent equality among the churches in the Reformed world.

It is at this point that we reach the local level of ecclesiastical organization. Calvin asserted the existence of four offices in the church: ministers, doctors, elders, and deacons. Ministers, or pastors, were the select few who were commissioned through the laying on of hands to preach the Word of God and serve specific churches. Unlike the Catholic Church where priests might live apart from a physical community, pastors always served a defined location. Doctors were responsible for studying and teaching the correct Christian doctrines, always using the Bible as their authority. Elders were respected lay representatives within the community charged with overseeing the day-to-day functions of the consistory and—

[15] Synod at Castres (1626), Chapter 27.

[16] It is helpful to remember that churches sent representatives directly to both colloquies and provincial assemblies. Provinces in turn sent representatives to national assemblies. This system developed over the course of the first several national synod meetings but was in place after the synod at Nîmes (1572). Sunshine, *Reforming French Protestantism*, 91-93.

[17] Synod at Poitiers (1561), Article 4.

[18] Synod at La Rochelle (1571), 3.12. Also see the Synod at Montpellier (1598), 3.4.

working with the pastor—the application of discipline to the congregation. All things being equal, the Discipline of 1559 concentrated most of the power in church governances in the hands of the consistory. The consistory could remove a minister from the community for various offenses, and they had to give permission to ministers to abandon the church.[19] The consistory was also responsible for paying the pastor's salary.[20] We will see how in the case of Montagnac the consistory behaved as if it controlled the labor of its pastor and required recipients of his ministry to pay their fair share of his wages.[21]

According to Calvin, when Reformed Christianity first began to organize in a new town the community would vote for the initial group of men who would serve as elders on an official board, called the consistory. After this initial election took place, the only way for new members to be added to the consistory was through their election by current elders. This process of self-perpetuation is called co-optation. The office of the diaconate was covered at length in the previous chapter, but it should be stressed that deacons were tasked with overseeing the church's property. Deacons specifically distributed alms from the church to the poor and visited the sick and dying, but unlike in the Catholic Church this was not supposed to be a transitory position leading to a higher office. Because it would be rare to find a deacon living in a small town like Montagnac, the consistory elected elders to fulfill these administrative functions.

The consistory quickly became the central institution in every French Reformed congregation, a situation borrowed directly from Calvin's Geneva. Historians have long understood that the French Reformed Churches generally looked to the Genevan consistory as a model, but they have only recently been able to study how it actually operated. This is

[19] Discipline of 1559, articles 11, 19 and 20.

[20] To make matters more complicated, pastors were eventually included as members of the consistory when it came to discipline. The seventh national synod (La Rochelle, 1572) specifically states that ministers were in the consistory. La Rochelle (1572), Chapter 7, Article 3 (hereafter noted as 7.3).

[21] The term "labor" is used here not to belittle the work of pastors. It is meant as a term of convenience to describe how the consistory essentially shared responsibility for his services with other communities.

partly the result of the sloppy handwriting of Genevan writers. The scribe who recorded the minutes of the Genevan consistory wrote very quickly and in a very difficult script. Given the paleographic difficulties in reading his handwriting, for many years scholars relied on the selective transcription of Frédéric Auguste Cramer, whose work focused only on the more salacious stories.[22] Over the last twenty years there has been an effort to transcribe and publicize the entire consistory record during the life of Calvin, and we now have eight volumes covering the years from 1542 to 1554.[23]

Staffed by both pastors and laymen elected as elders by the Small Council, the consistory's first order of business was to ensure that Genevans believed the correct things. This included calling people into the consistory to make sure they could recite the creed in French, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. The consistory's second priority was to regulate immoral behavior and punish malefactors. Offenses that came to the body's attention included things like fighting, sexual misconduct, and dancing or drinking at taverns. The consistory had a scale of possible punishments at its disposal for these offenses, ranging from private censures to public denouncements and full excommunication from the community.

When this ecclesiastical structure began to take shape in France in the sixteenth century, Huguenots were faced with a number of pressing questions regarding fiscal policy. Should the consistory admit someone to the Lord's Supper if he also received income from a benefice? Could a Reformed believer in good conscience rent a farm from a Catholic institution like a monastery when he knows that his rent will pay for the saying of Masses? Could a pastor maintain an alternative source of income when the consistory could not afford to pay him? How should deacons handle extra poor relief funds? In answering these

[22] Frédéric Auguste Cramer, ed., *Notes extraites des registres du Consistoire de l'Eglise de Genève, 1541-1814* (Geneva, 1853).

[23] Thomas A. Lambert et al. (eds.), *Registres du Consistoire de Genève au temps de Calvin*, vol. I-VIII (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1996-2014).

questions, the national synods developed a unique understanding of Reformed fiscal policy. This can be seen in how the delegates specifically rejected those practices that implied an underlying Catholic belief and compromised some of Calvin's original ideas to fit the early modern French economy.

III. Reforming the Church's Property, 1559-1598

a. Benefices

The current Code of Canon Law defines a benefice as "a juridical entity established or erected in perpetuity by competent ecclesiastical authority, consisting of a sacred office and the right to receive the revenues connected with the office."[24] To the minds of medieval historians, the term "benefice" denotes an economic relationship granted by some sort of governing institution, like a king, nobleman, or consul. Over the course of the medieval period as papal power grew, benefices became increasingly associated with the pope.[25] The holder of a benefice was entitled to a share of the profits from a revenue-generating piece of property, like a farm. A generous benefice in the mid-sixteenth century might provide 100 livres every year, usually with the stipulation that the holder perform some sort of spiritual reciprocation, like the saying of Masses. These sources of income were heritable and transferable, meaning they could be passed down between generations or mortgaged between different holders. Consider this hypothetical scenario: the holder of a benefice generating 100 livres in annual income needs a large sum of money in the near future. He decides to mortgage the benefice for ten years to another person—in effect giving him the right to collect 1,000 livres—in exchange for an immediate payment of 950 livres. The cost of this

[24] Canon 1409. Cited in Alfred H. Sweet, "Papal Privileges Granted to Individual Religious," *Speculum* 31 no. 4 (1956): 62. Cf. T. Slater, S.J., "Property Rights of Parish Priests," *The Ecclesiastical Review* 62 (1920): 545-550.

[25] This gradual process accelerated during the Avignon Papacy of the fourteenth century. See Barbara W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* (New York: Random House, 1979), 22.

mortgage is therefore 50 livres, or 5% of the loan.[26] At the expiration of the ten-year period, the benefice will revert back to the original holder or, in the event of his death, to his heirs. In the meantime the benefice can change hands again, enmeshing each new holder in an economic relationship.

The spread of Protestantism raised several key objections to this economic system. As discussed in the previous chapter, Calvin condemned benefices without exception. He decried the practice of giving benefices to children who did not have a real need for them, and he strongly disapproved of benefices that supported priests who had no pastoral responsibilities. This position left the Reformed Churches in France with the need to find a moderate position between the extremes of condemning all benefices and permitting a critical element of the agrarian economy. As a consequence, the national synods went about finding this middle ground through a series of individual cases, slowly but eventually finding the limits of moral behavior with respect to benefices.

The evolution of Reformed policy toward benefices took some time, but it began with the first National Synod (Paris, 1559). The question before the assembly was straightforward: was it lawful for the faithful to administer (or "lawfully farm") the revenues of monks and priests? The synod initially took a hardline position similar to Calvin and strictly prohibited benefices because they implicated Reformed Christians in idolatry. The synod at Orléans (1562) explicitly decided the faithful could not purchase a benefice from the Catholic Church under any circumstances lest "by this means they should be entangled with some kind of Idolatry."[27] The same synod permitted Reformed Christians, however, to work a piece of land belonging to a benefice, just as they would if these monks or priests were "Temporal Lords" over them.[28] The exclusion of "beneficed persons" also meant bishops

[26] This is admittedly a simplified example of what often became complex financial arrangements. For instance, sometimes the estimated annual income (100 livres in this case) understated the actual expected income from the property, which allowed the lender to further obscure the real interest rate.

[27] Synod at Orleans (1562), 2.13.

[28] Synod at Paris (1559), 3.9.

and curates could not, in good conscience, be admitted to the Lord's Supper without first renouncing their benefices.[29]

Another related issue concerned the conversion of priests and monks to the Reformed religion. Many of these converts still held their benefices and were unwilling to forfeit them. This proved particularly problematic for the national synods. The second synod (Poitiers, 1560) decided that monks would be prohibited from returning to their properties if they received them through a papal dispensation.[30] Catholic priests who supported themselves through benefices were also strictly forbidden from entering the Reformed ministry without first renouncing their benefices.[31] This raised an obvious way that some priests who wanted to convert tried to avoid the prohibition. Why not simply sell the right to a benefice for a large sum of money, convert to Reformed Christianity, and then renounce the benefice? The same synod at Poitiers declared: "[They] shall not be received unto the Lord's Table, unless [they] will protest never to touch or take a Farthing of that Sum, and for the Fault committed by [them] in selling [their] Benefice, [they] shall do Penance before the Consistory."[32] This loophole around the prohibition was no longer an option.

These declarations against the acceptance of beneficed persons into the Reformed ministry, and the general disapproval of benefices, seem to have met some resistance. At the fourth National Synod (Lyon, 1563), representatives from Normandy asked the assembly to reconsider its stance on the exclusion of beneficed persons from the ministry. The synod refused to do so.[33] At the same meeting, however, delegates began to make a critical distinction between the revenue a benefice could generate and the Catholic customs

[29] Synod at Orleans (1562), 2.4.

[30] Synod at Poitiers (1560), 6.5.

[31] Ibid., 6.17.

[32] Ibid., 6.5.

[33] Synod at Lyon (1563), 16.3.

traditionally associated with it. Could it be possible to receive income from a piece of land originally granted by the pope, but now without respecting his authority? Could the same type of economic relationship take place without all the trappings of a "benefice"? The assembly at Lyon concluded this was possible. Reformed Christians who were beneficed and held church lands could be admitted to the Supper provided they first removed all elements of superstition from their business.[34] The synod declared: "Gentlemen or others renting Benefices from Priests, where Idolatry is not as yet purged, shall be seriously admonished to abstain from so doing within a certain fixed time; and in case of final Disobedience to this Admonition, they shall be cut off from Communion at the Lord's Table."[35]

How should a Catholic beneficed person, wishing to enter the Reformed religion and be admitted to the Supper, "purge" the idolatry associated with a benefice? One could throw away or burn the papers describing a benefice to demonstrate an authentic change of heart. Consider the abbot who appealed to the synod of Lyon (1563) the decision of a local church to bar him from the Supper. He had prohibited the singing of the Mass in his monastery for the last six years and had refused to engage in any other forms of "Popish worship." In fact, he had burned all of the "Deeds and Evidences" of his benefices, an action that terminated any legally enforceable claim he could have made to the revenue. The synod found this abbot worthy of admittance to the Lord's Table.[36] This was exactly the sort of irrevocable renunciation of Catholicism that the synod wanted to see. The abbot's convictions contrast with an abbess whose case also made it to the synod. Like the abbot, she similarly retained her nuns and wanted to be admitted to the Supper after rejecting Catholicism. But she also

[34] Ibid., 16.4.

[35] Ibid., 16.17. Another case from 1583 involved a man who renounced his benefice by giving it to another Catholic official, who in turn paid him a smaller annual pension. The twelfth synod (Vitré, 1583) found this to be unacceptable as well: 4.21. Also see the prohibition against "farming" benefices found in the synod meeting at La Rochelle in 1581.

[36] Ibid., 16.43.

continued to collect the revenues for her convent from the benefices she had collected over the years. The synod rejected her plea.[37]

The circumstances under which someone could hold a benefice but still be admitted to the Lord's Supper were further elaborated by the next national synod held at Paris in 1565. The synod seems to have had two major objections to the traditional practice of benefices. First, the collector relied on the pope's authority to establish initial possession of the benefice and to collect its revenue. Second, these documents were strongly associated with making money for the specific purpose of paying for "idolatry," namely the saying of Masses. The synod determined that after burning all the documents associated with the pope's authority, a beneficed person could continue to collect money provided he spent the revenue on "holy uses." These "holy uses" included relieving the poor, paying for ministers in Reformed Churches, funding the academies, and giving scholarships to deserving students. The synod recommended that for a benefice to be considered acceptable, then the holder should contribute at least one-third of the revenue for these endeavors.[38]

A subsequent case from the thirteenth National Synod (Montauban, 1594) described exactly what the French Reformed Churches found to be "idolatrous" in the administration of benefices. The question before the synod concerned whether or not it was permitted to enter into a new contractual agreement to farm on a piece of property belonging to a Catholic ecclesiastical institution. Leasing land from the Catholic Church was quite different from holding a benefice—the former implies a level of effort and labor not applicable to a benefice. But it is helpful for this analysis because the synod objected to the religious symbolism of the economic relationship, not the relationship itself. The tenant in question received permission to farm the land belonging to the Catholic Church, but he was forbidden

[37] Ibid., 16.50.

[38] Synod at Paris (1565), Chapter 4.

from doing any superstitious things to accomplish the arrangement. The synod specified these things "as the carrying of Incense, Wax to make Torches, and other such-like things."[39]

Different cases rose to the attention of the national synods over the course of the sixteenth century, eventually finding the absolute limits of what was permitted. In an interesting example from the eighth National Synod (Nîmes, 1572), the delegates debated whether it was permitted for someone to hold an office in the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and receive a benefice while still participating in the Supper. The synod upheld the guidelines established by previous assemblies and admitted him to the Reformed community provided he held his position only through the king, not the pope, and that he did so without any hint or superstition of idolatry.[40] To put it simply, the national synod allowed a beneficed Knight of St. John to receive the Lord's Supper. This decision sharply contrasts with the general prohibitions of earlier synods. It highlights the tenuous position of Protestantism in France in how it accommodated the economic needs of a religious minority in a predominantly Catholic country.

b. Ministers

Another issue the national synods from the late sixteenth century explored at length concerned the right for ministers to receive compensation. It is worth pointing out that delegates to these assemblies were typically pastors who earned their living preaching the Word of God to their congregations. They received an annual income raised from the funds of the church and delivered to them by the consistory. It should come as no surprise that the national synods were particularly focused on defining and enforcing the right of pastors to get paid. This involved establishing circumstances under which a pastor might legitimately leave his congregation and the protocols through which he could establish himself in a new

[39] Synod at Montauban (1594), 4.43.

[40] Synod at Nismes (1572), 6.15.

community. On the other hand, the national synods also tried to outline the responsibilities the pastor had to his flock and the activities he was barred from undertaking.

The earliest instance in which the national synod permitted a pastor to leave his church occurred in 1563 at the synod in Lyon. A minister from Dombes in southeastern France complained that the consistory could not pay his salary, so the synod removed him from the community and left it to the provincial synod to find a new place for his ministry.[41] Abandoning one's church was a serious action that a minister could never do on his own authority. The sixth National Synod (Vertueil, 1567) made it clear that pastors typically needed to receive permission from the colloquy before leaving their congregations.[42] A subsequent synod at Figeac (1579) declared consistories had to pay their pastors three months in advance for their work, a lofty goal that was undoubtedly difficult to meet in poorer areas. If a pastor waited three months and still had not received an initial payment for his wage, then he could submit a formal complaint to the consistory. If the consistory still refused to pay its minister, then he needed to consult with two fellow pastors from neighboring churches. They had to agree that the situation was grave and that the minister could withdraw his ministry from the consistory. The assembly at Figeac carved an important caveat into this process, however: before the minister in question could become pastor in a new church, he needed to wait for the entire colloquy to approve his transfer.[43] In the meantime, the "ungrateful" church that failed to pay its former minister was deprived of a new minister until it settled accounts with the previous one.

Consistories were not only responsible for paying the wages of their ministers, but they also had to find the money to reimburse ministers who travelled to colloquy and synod meetings. The national synods repeatedly treated the failure to pay for travel expenses as the

[41] Synod at Lyon (1563), Chapter 57.

[42] Synod at Verteuil (1567), Chapter 5.

[43] Synod at Figeac (1579), 3.33.

same thing as the failure to pay the minister's salary.[44] The thirteenth National Synod (Montauban, 1594) declared that if a pastor had to attend two synod meetings at his own expense, then this was grounds for the minister to leave the church. The same meeting also found a pastor who failed to show up to synod meetings on two occasions was automatically suspended from the ministry.[45] Full attendance at every provincial synod, though it was certainly hard to enforce, was obviously a high priority for the national assembly. Showing up to the meeting meant sending both an elder and the minister, which could be a prohibitively expensive undertaking for small churches in periphery of the country.[46] Synods often received letters complaining of the poverty but expressing the consistory's wishes with respect to matters before the assembly. Sometimes the national body accepted these letters as a substitute for a community's physical representatives, but other times they ignored the appeals or even censured the absent members.[47]

In any case, the national synods held the communities that could not afford their ministers in very low esteem. These churches were repeatedly described as "ungrateful" communities for their lack of commitment to the preaching of God's word. The synod at Montauban (1594) apparently heard so many reports of underpaid ministers that delegates believed the practice was "more notorious than ever, and that this crying sin threatens the Churches with a total dissipation." The synod continued: "After mature deliberation we do decree, that in case these ungrateful Wretches having been several times admonished by their Consistory do persist obstinately in this their sin, their Consistory shall deprive them of Communion with the Church in the Sacraments."[48] The fifteenth National Synod

[44] Synod at Perigord (1578), 3.13. This blanket condemnation of the practice allowed ministers to leave their churches after the first unpaid journey.

[45] Synod at Montauban (1594), 4.26.

[46] Synod at Figeac (1579), 2.7

[47] This happened frequently. For one example, the fifteenth synod (Montpellier, 1598) censured the provinces of Normandy, Anjou, and Vivaretz for not sending delegates. Synod at Montpellier (1598), Chapter 1.

[48] Synod at Montauban (1594), 4.8.

(Montpellier, 1598) eventually made the distinction between "ingratitude and inability." The delegates found that in the case of a congregation's poverty, the articles concerning lack of pay would not be enforced.[49]

The synods were also careful to respect the rights of the faithful, especially when it came to their private property and their right to demand adequate attention from their ministers. The synod held at Vitré (1583) found that churches could never seize the property belonging to ungrateful believers to provide for the ministers or the poor.[50] At this same meeting, deputies from Ile de France wanted to know what they should do with "ungrateful persons" who failed to contribute resources to the church. The synod advised they should be exhorted and reproached, and, if necessary, in front of the heads of household in the church. Importantly, however, the synod declared: "They shall not for this be kept from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper."[51] To put it simply, ministers were allowed to publicly shame the faithful for not contributing enough money, but they could not forcibly take the money from them.

Pastors had their own responsibilities when it came to ministering to their churches. This involved first contributing all of one's energy to the preaching of God's Word and not devoting any time to other tasks.[52] National synods repeatedly forbade pastors from engaging in work other than ministering to their flocks, even if the consistory struggled to pay their salaries. For example, a minister from Jarnac named De la Croix had some skill in administering medicine. His consistory complained to the provincial synod that his medical practice was taking time away from his duties as minister. The provincial synod agreed with this assessment, but De la Croix apparently appealed the decision to the twelfth National

[49] Synod at Montpellier (1598), 3.4.

[50] Synod at Vitré (1583), 2.15.

[51] Ibid., 2.24.

[52] Ibid., 4.10.

Synod (Vitré, 1583). He advocated for his medical practice, stating that there was a real need for his work in the town, and that he needed extra income on account of his family. But the national synod did not accept these reasons either and commanded him to stop practicing medicine.[53] The minister's labor fully belonged to the consistory that paid his salary.

It is worthwhile to explore a dispute from the early seventeenth century that underscores the duties and responsibilities for both the consistory and the pastor, and how the ecclesiastical bodies of the French Reformed Churches determined the outcome. There was a pastor named Petit who served as minister in 1607 at Barbezieux, a small town north of Bordeaux. At one point the consistory stopped paying his salary, and Petit wanted to leave. After receiving permission from his colloquy, the provincial synod assigned him to a new congregation at Saintes for a period of one month. One presumes the provincial synod wanted to give Barbezieux a little time to find the money to pay his salary. But Petit then entered into a long-term contract with the consistory at Saintes on his own accord. This was a clear violation of the Discipline.

In a subsequent meeting the provincial synod determined he should return to Barbezieux, but Petit openly refused to do so. He even stopped attending colloquy meetings despite the fact that his colloquy wanted to examine his account books to determine how much money he was owed. In any case, he decided to remain at Saintes until the national synod took up his case. Declaring that Barbezieux was a notoriously ungrateful church, the synod nevertheless "sharply censured" Petit for having joined a new church against the will of his colloquy.[54] Both Barbezieux and Saintes were severely censured, the former for its "ill treatment" of the pastor and the latter for depriving a church of its rightful minister.[55] Pastor

[53] Ibid.

[54] Jean Aymon's version states: "Sr. Petit a été fortement censuré." *Tous les synodes nationaux des Églises Réformées de France*, vol. 1 (The Hague: Chez Charles Delo, sur le Cingel, à l'Esperance, 1710), 323.

[55] Ibid. "L'Église de Xaintes a été jugée très censurable d'avoir usé de Pratiques entierement illegitimes… & celle de Barbesieux pour l'avoir si mal traitté."

Petit was therefore removed from both churches. One church lost the Gospel "for their sin of ingratitude in demanding work, and enjoying the labours of their Minister, and denying him bread, by which he and his poor Family might live."[56] The other church was also at fault "because they endeavored to rob another church of its Pastor, and would get him by unjust and unlawful means, quite contrary to the Canons of our Discipline."[57] Following this decision, Pastor Petit made it known to the national synod that he regretted his actions and sought reconciliation with the churches. The synod therefore moved to restore his position at Saintes, provided he strictly follow the Discipline from then on.[58]

c. Deacons

Sitting just below the ministers and elders were the deacons, an office Calvin considered essential to the functioning of the church. According to Calvin, an ideal church would have a pastor who preached the Word of God, elders who administered discipline, and deacons who controlled the church's property and poor relief programs. The reality was more complex. The erosion of the diaconate in the French Reformed Churches is clear in how the national synods permitted deacons to fill additional roles in the church. By the mid-seventeenth century many French Reformed Churches either did not have any deacons or they combined the offices of deacon and elder in the same person.

One can find differences between Calvin's ideal diaconate and the situation in France long before the first National Synod (Paris, 1559). The *Articles polytiques*, a common set of documents predating the Discipline of the Reformed Churches, described many roles for deacons. These included taking on liturgical responsibilities, like reading from the Bible while people gathered in the temple but before the pastor began preaching.[59] The *Articles*

[56] Synod at La Rochelle (1607), 9.19.

[57] Ibid., 9.19.

[58] Ibid., 10.43.

[59] Arnaud, *Documents protestants inédits*, 2.3.7. Cited in Glenn S. Sunshine, "The Development of the French Reformed Diaconate," *SCJ* 26 no. 2 (1995): 335, fn. 23.

polytiques also describe deacons as catechists who conducted weekly classes instructing students in the requirements of Reformed Christianity.[60] Deacons also examined people who wanted to convert to the church and maintained the registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials.[61]

The Discipline of 1559 allowed deacons to fulfill the responsibilities of the pastor with the exception of preaching whenever he was absent or unable to fulfill his office.[62] The first National Synod ambiguously asserted that while deacons were not allowed to administer the sacraments or preach the Word of God, they could "assist" preachers in these things.[63] The fourth synod (Lyon, 1563) specifically decided that deacons could help the pastor distribute the consecrated bread and wine at the Lord's Supper if it was impractical for the minister to do so.[64] The seventh synod (La Rochelle, 1571) summarized the findings of previous synods by allowing deacons to teach catechism classes.[65] To put it simply, there were several differences between Calvin's theoretical division of pastoral and diaconal duties and the realities facing the French Reformed Churches. One historian attributes these differences to the need for liturgists in France and the enduring influence of the Catholic diaconate.[66] Similar to the treatment of beneficed persons, realities of life in the French Reformed Churches determined the course of the diaconate's reformation.

For all practical purposes, the diaconate seems to have declined in France by the beginning of the seventeenth century, at least in rural congregations. This broad and slow

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[60] Arnaud, *Documents protestants inédits*, 4.7.

[61] Ibid., 8.9.13 and 5.8.

[62] Synod at Paris (1559), Article 25.

[63] Ibid., Article 24.

[64] Synod at Lyon (1563), 21.4. Elders were also permitted to help the pastor in this respect.

[65] Synod at La Rochelle (1571), Chapter 3.

[66] Sunshine, *Reforming French Protestantism*, 110, 117-119.

disappearance of the diaconate can be seen in several case studies.[67] For instance, only a few references to deacons can be found in Provence from the entire seventeenth century, a province that was noted for its lack of resources and pastors.[68] That being said, a few notable exceptions like Boulonnais and Nîmes had deacons long into the seventeenth century.[69] It should be noted that the elders in Nîmes played a prominent role in developing the list of people to be admitted onto the poor relief roles, a responsibility Calvin would have reserved for deacons.[70] For its part, the church at Montagnac rotated between elders who would administer the poor relief programs and read from the Bible during church services. An elder always served as *la lecteur*, and he usually received a small pension from the church, about 12 livres per year.[71] I have also found two occasions in which two elders, both with the surname Boudon, signed their names in official consistory documents followed by "*diacre*." In the vast majority of cases the Boudons simply wrote "*ancien.*"[72] This suggests the distinctions between elder and deacon were often blurred beyond recognition in Montagnac's Reformed community.

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[67] Sunshine cites several examples in his *Reforming French Protestantism*, 139. Solange Bertheau, "Le consistoire dans les Eglises Réformée du Moyen-Poitou au XVIe siècle," *BSHPF* 116 (1970): 513. Janine Garrisson-Estèbe, *Protestants du Midi 1559-1598* (Paris-Toulouse: Privat, 1980), 99-100.

[68] Céline Borello, *Les protestants de Provence au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: H. Champion, 2004), 205-206.

[69] Joblin, *Les protestants de la côte*, 50-52.

[70] Raymond A. Mentzer, "Organizational Endeavour and Charitable Impulse in Sixteenth-Century France: The Case of Protestant Nîmes," *French History* 5 (1991): 1-29. Also cited in Sunshine, *Reforming French Protestantism*, 138.

[71] These payments to *la lecteur* are recorded in various account books. The elders reimbursed their pastor 6 livres in 1614 for paying *la lecteur* his wage (ADG, H 25, 6 June 1614). The elders raised a general collection on the entire congregation to pay their *lecteur* in 1617 (ADG, H 25, 5 September 1617). An elder named Rasteau received 26 livres for promising to read the Bible ("ce qui luy à esté promis de la lecture au temple") from 1624 and 1625 (ADG, H 28 "Estat de ce qui est deu au Sieur de Casaux"). Another elder Jean Boudon received 12 livres in 1639 for *la lecture* and maintaining the poor relief records (ADG, H 27, 14 June 1639).

[72] ADG, H 26, 20 March (?) 1651 and 19 January 1680. This was clearly not the same man over forty years later. The baptismal registry indicates Boudon was a fairly common family name in Montagnac with multiple branches of the clan producing children throughout the seventeenth century. Other elders often signed their names in the registry followed by the word "assistant."

d. Investing Poor Relief Funds

The synods felt strongly that local consistories had control over the administration of their poor relief funds. This included the authority to decide which poor people deserved aid, and which people could be told to find assistance elsewhere.[73] We saw in the previous chapter how Calvin permitted lenders to charge interest. He cautiously permitted ministers to participate in this activity, provided the circumstances met a certain set of criteria. One issue that remained unaddressed in this discussion was the extent to which the consistory could lend out money and expect a reasonable interest rate in return. It is critical to keep in mind that the French Reformed Churches lacked many of the resources available to Catholic ecclesiastical institutions, which had long-established endowments dating back to the medieval period. Calvin's positions on usury and lending gave the national synods the tools to build their own new endowments.

The national synods in the late sixteenth century were frequently asked to settle issues related to the administration of church property. Of special interest to this study is the treatment of general poor relief funds. The issue came to the attention of the National Synod held at Montauban (1594) and the following two assemblies. What should consistories do with the money belonging to the poor relief fund when there was no immediate need for the money? Should elders simply hold onto the money in a locked chest? Or should the consistory put it to a productive purpose and lend it out at interest? Considering how Calvin already affirmed the morality of lending money out at interest, the synod found no problem with lending poor relief funds: "The Deacons may put it out to Interest upon good security, and receive such profit for its Loan as allowed by his Majesties Laws, and those of Charity, but with this Proviso, that both the Deacons and Consistory do immediately call it in, whenas there is special need of it."[74] This declaration essentially allowed churches to build their own endowments by investing money in land and other revenue-generating ventures.

[73] Synod at St. Maixant (1609), 6.10.

[74] Synod at Montauban (1594), 14.12.

Interestingly enough, records from the next synod in Saumur (1596) indicate that this particular canon was brought up again and overturned.[75] Was this a controversial idea that seemed to mimic the Catholic Church too closely? It is impossible to say for sure, but the following synod held in Montpellier (1598) reinstated the practice of lending out the consistory's poor relief funds. This time, the delegates framed the decision in terms of the best interests of the poor. Investing money and putting it to productive uses would eventually generate more money:

> And it being their Duty who govern the Church, by all lawful means to procure the benefit and advantage of their Poor, this Assembly ordaineth, That whenas they shall be any considerable Sum of Moneys belonging to the Poor in the Deacons hands, they may warrantably put it out to Interest, that so in case of great necessity the Poor may receive the more and greater Relief and Comfort.[76]

This line of reasoning said nothing about the type of investments that consistories should use, nor did it recommend any protections for the poor during times of economic hardship when these investments lost money.

A final word remains to be said about the ways in which the national synods responded to individual appeals for assistance. From time to time throughout the synod records, individuals and local consistories pled their cases before the national assembly, hoping for a one-time extraordinary distribution of funds. There were no defined rules for the types of cases before the synods, but they typically came from people living nearby the meeting place. Other times, a consistory would make a special appeal for additional funds on account of some pressing issue. Except for a few rare instances, the synod records only contain descriptions of cases where the delegates agreed to send money. The omission of failed appeals—where people asked for money but did not receive any—requires a little

[75] Synod at Saumur (1596), 4.5.

[76] Synod at Montpellier (1598), 7.3.

caution when drawing conclusions about these extraordinary cases. Widows, orphans, people suffering in famine-stricken areas, and those churches devastated by warfare, repeatedly stand out as deserving special consideration of their hardship.

IV. Financing Legalized Protestantism, 1598-1631

The national synods always met with some measure of secrecy until the Edict of Nantes (1598) guaranteed the rights of Huguenots to organize their churches. It should come as no surprise that this seminal moment in French history also marked the start of a critical new phase in the trajectory of Reformed fiscal policy. Most substantially, the Edict of Nantes promised the Huguenots an annual subsidy from the French crown called the *deniers du roy*. These funds were specifically intended to pay for the maintenance of Huguenot ministers and their training at academies, and in return Huguenots had to pay the traditional Catholic tithe. But the Edict of Nantes also permitted the French Reformed Churches to develop their own financial institutions. Legal recognition brought with it the ability to receive bequests and pursue debtors in the court system. The growth of Huguenot academies produced new ministers who, in turn, owed services to specific churches. During this period the national synods also tried to exert more formalized control over the fiscal policies of French Reformed Churches. As we will see, these efforts eventually ran up against the limited resources of a religious minority whose promises from the crown became increasingly less reliable over the seventeenth century.

a. The Edict of Nantes (1598) and Building Endowments

The Edict of Nantes is a long and complex document. The main body of the text consists of ninety-two articles that provide for a legal recognition of Protestantism in France and the restoration of Catholicism in certain parts of the country. The document also contains an additional fifty-six "secret" articles specifying exactly how the pacification efforts will be carried out in different cities. The Edict also contains two more documents, or

"royal brevets," though these were never published out of fear that the crown was conceding too much to the Huguenots.

The Huguenots received several concessions through the Edict of Nantes. They were guaranteed the right to maintain their congregations in those places where the Reformed religion existed before 1597. They could establish up to two new churches under the oversight of a royal commissioner in each bailliage. The Edict also recognized the governing structure of the churches from the colloquy to the national synod, provided that these assemblies never concerned themselves with political matters. Other important aspects of Reformed worship were confirmed, including the right to use their own cemeteries, to not decorate their houses on Catholic feast days, and to own their own bells. Huguenots were also promised access to the court systems, and parents were guaranteed the right to raise their children in the Reformed faith.[77]

Thanks to the Edict of Nantes, the French Reformed Churches could legally inherit property and enforce their rights in the court system. Huguenots now possessed the tools to build their own endowments and ensure the long term survival of their churches. The eleventh National Synod (La Rochelle, 1607) took an important step in formalizing the ways in which testators could bequeath their property to the church. In establishing these parameters, the synod did not want to infringe on an individual's liberty to do what he wished with his property, but the delegates wanted to recommend how testators could pass on their property in the most expeditious way possible. The synod began by including a provision permitting the consistory, colloquy, provincial, or national synod to change the terms of the testament if the need arose. For example, if the Reformed religion was suppressed or warfare disrupted the normal course of events, then the colloquy would retain

[77] For an overview of the Edict of Nantes and the extent to which it fulfilled Huguenots' goals after the Wars of Religion, see Raymond A. Mentzer, "The Edict of Nantes and its Institutions," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 98-116. For an argument that the Edict provided for coexistence in France, see Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France* (Catholic University of America Press, 2005), 1-10.

the power to transfer the person's testament to a nearby consistory or some other worthy cause, like poor relief in a different town.[78]

The same synod went on to recommend that testators try to bequeath money to the congregation, if possible, and not "stock." The idea here was that "Moneys may be laid out in purchase of some yearly rent."[79] The synod wanted to invest the money in revenue-generating properties, for example in houses in cities like Montauban, Montpellier, or Nîmes. The consistory was to ensure that this money was invested in houses and other structures and the local notary was charged with drawing up contracts specifying the exact terms by which rent will be paid. The consistory was also tasked with overseeing the execution of these terms, and to take whatever steps necessary to ensure that the properties actually generated income for the congregation. Given the widely varying customs of the practice of transmitting property across the entire kingdom of France, the national synod went as far as to recommend specific language that testators could include in their wills to provide for all these provisions. In this sense, one can see how the national synod thought elders could serve as property managers on behalf of the congregation.

b. Spending the *deniers du roy*

The Huguenots were required to make some concessions in exchange for these legal protections. Perhaps one of the most signification requirements, at least in the minds of the reformers in Geneva, was the stipulation in Article 25 that the Huguenots continue to pay the Catholic tithe. This tax specifically went to the Catholic Church to pay for the saying of Masses and the maintenance of priests and monks. Paying the tithe implicated the Reformed conscience in subsidizing what Calvin called "idolatry." Why did the Huguenots accept this provision? One historian points out that the tithe was "so intricately bound to property ownership in French communities that it would have been difficult to exempt Huguenots

[78] Synod at La Rochelle (1607), Chapter 13.

[79] Ibid., 13.3

from it."[80] This may have been the case, but part of the answer can be found in one of the royal brevets. The French Reformed Churches were required to pay the tithe but in return they were promised a substantial annual subsidy from the French government in the amount of 135,000 livres.[81] This money was specifically to be used to pay for the education of Reformed ministers and their living expenses in congregations across the country.

The national synods invented a theoretical way to distribute these funds using a system of "portions."[82] A province could claim a portion of the *deniers du roy* for each pastor and student (called a *proposan*) under its jurisdiction.[83] Vacant churches and retired ministers remaining on the church's payroll also counted as portions. A professor in an academy might receive a portion, or sometimes only a half-portion. Interestingly, individual consistories and pastors could lobby the national synod to receive additional portions above the normal allowance. For instance, the pastor of Castillon, which belonged to Basse-Guyenne, complained to the national synod at La Rochelle in 1607 that he had lost his father's estate because of his religion. The delegates responded by giving him an extra portion in 1607 and an additional two portions in 1609.[84] The national synods then took the entire amount they expected to receive and divided it by the total number of portions assigned to each province. After earmarking money to the academies and *collèges*, a portion usually came out to between 50 and 100 livres, a substantial sum.

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[80] Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 6.

[81] This amount was levied on specific cities: 24,000 livres from Bordeaux and Poitier; 18,000 livres from Paris, Rouen and Limoges; 12,000 livres from Orléans and Tours; and 9,000 livres from Caen.

[82] Scholars have long understood how the synods distributed these funds. See Janine Garrisson-Estèbe, *Les protestants du Midi: 1559-98* (Toulouse: Privat, 1988), 326. Recent work, however, has emphasized the role of smaller assemblies in overseeing their administration. See Emma Lorimer, "Huguenot General Assemblies in France, 1579-1622," (PhD diss., Magdalen College, 2004), 182-189.

[83] In 1601 the synod awarded one portion for each church, but this rule was changed to each pastor in 1603.

[84] Synod at La Rochelle (1607), Chapter 6 and 10.39, and Synod at St. Maixant (1609), 12.11.

There were a few different incentives in operation when the national synod made these decisions. Individual pastors and churches clearly had an incentive to add their names to the list of extraordinary disbursements. Larger provinces had an obvious interest in limiting the number of extra portions added to the records because this decreased the amount each portion was worth. Taking a look at the number of extraordinary portions taken from the *deniers du roy* reveals that two provinces in particular regularly drew more portions than they were due: Burgundy and Vivarais [See Figures 1 and 2]. Haut-Languedoc received the greatest number of regular and extraordinary portions, while Brittany and Provence continually struggled with the least number of portions. For its part, Basse-Guyenne remained in the upper tier of recipients with the other major strongholds of Protestantism in southern France, including Bas-Languedoc and Dauphiné.

The king picked an official (referred to interchangeably as a *trésorier, receveur,* or *commis*) to receive and distribute the *deniers du roy*. Sieur Raymond de Viçose served as the first treasurer after the Edict of Nantes.[85] Viçose collected the sums issued by the king in quarterly installments and handed them over to the provinces according to the national synod's instructions. This exchange of funds occurred at a pre-ordained time and place; Lower Guyenne received its money in Bordeaux.[86] At some point in the early seventeenth century, Viçose was replaced as treasurer by Isaac Ducandal, who was assisted by Jean Pallot. He would serve as the treasurer for the French Reformed Churches until the *deniers du roy* stopped flowing in 1631. Ducandal experienced some initial difficulties in satisfying the national synods with his accounts of the money. At La Rochelle (1607) he was called before the synod for failing to maintain accurate account books of the distributions he made to the provinces. His records were critical for ensuring that the churches received the money

[85] Viçose was said to have fought bravely at the Battle of Ivry during the French Wars of Religion before becoming Councilor and Secretary of State for Henry IV. See David C. A. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France, Chiefly in the Reign of Louis XIV*, Vol. II (London: Reeves, 1886). Also see Janine Garrisson-Estèbe, *L'Édit de Nantes. Chronique d'une paix attendue* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard, 1998), 407.

[86] This was mentioned specifically at the Synod at La Rochelle (1607), Chapter 6.

they were due according to the Edict of Nantes, and according to the synod the churches were still owed over 50,000 livres. The synod accepted his claim that he never expected the provincial synods to ask for the account books and question the extent to which he delivered the requisite sums. The synod stressed, however, this was a one-time exception and that it should never happen again.[87]

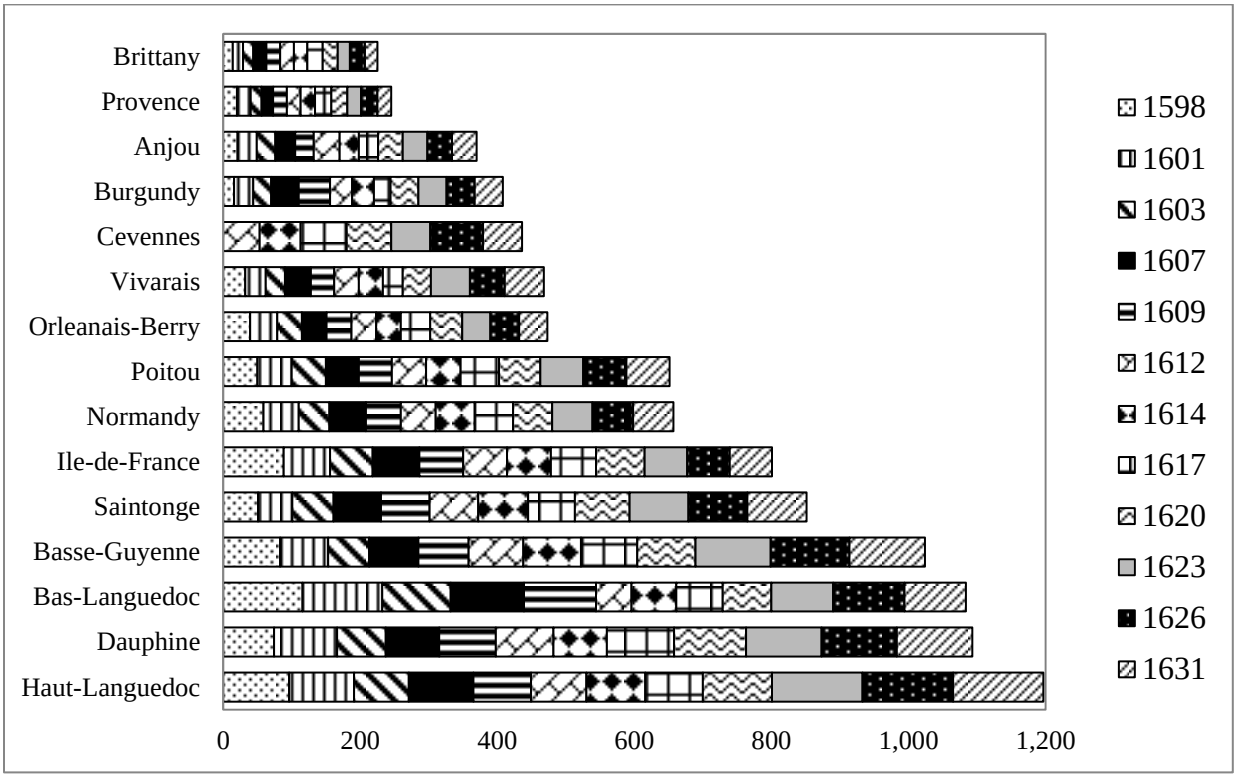

Figure 1: Portions of the *deniers du roy*, 1598-1631

[87] Synod at La Rochelle (1607), Ch. 15.

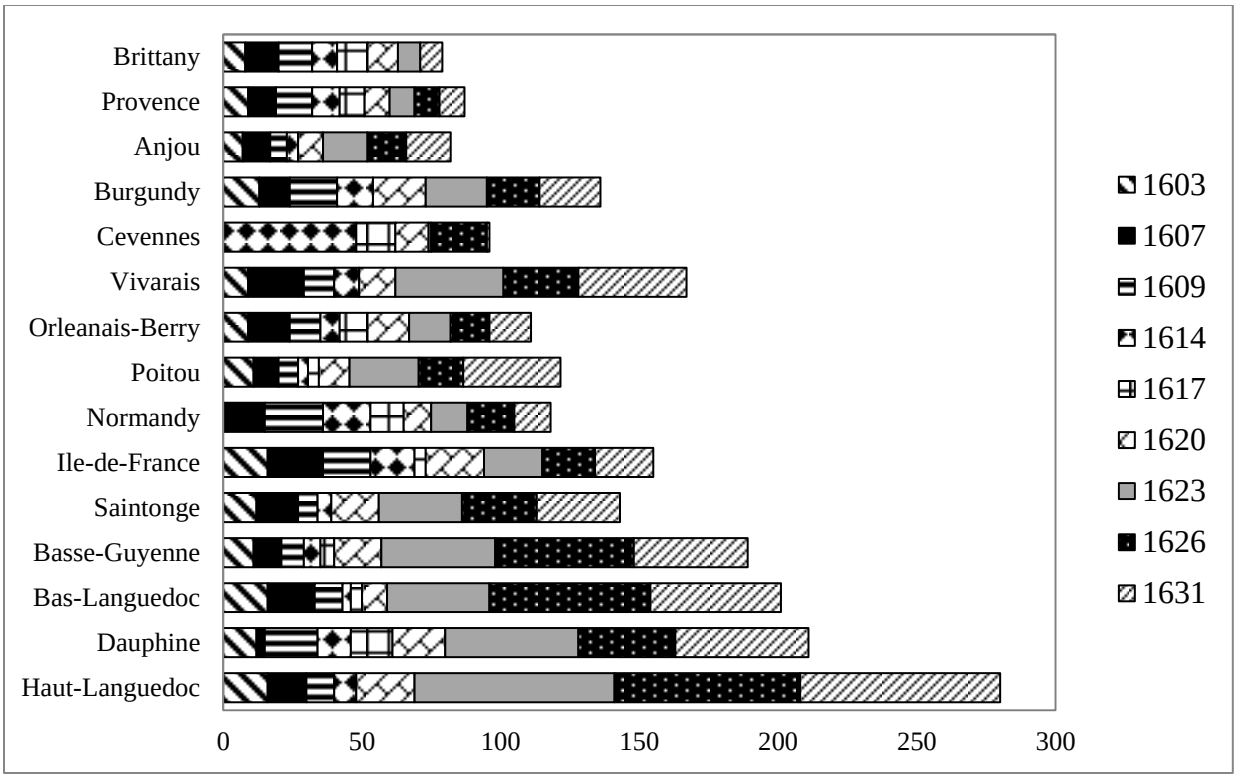

Figure 2: Portions without Pastors, 1603-1631

There are a few caveats to keep in mind when looking at these data. First, I have excluded the province of Béarn from these calculations for the sake of clarity. Second, the national assembly shifted boundaries between certain provinces at various points in time. This causes what at first glance seems to be statistically significant movement in the data. For example, the synod created a new province in Cévennes in 1612 from Bas-Languedoc. In 1609 Bas-Languedoc received 105 portions, but the following synod it received only 52 with Cévennes taking in the other 53. Third, all of the data has been gathered from John Quick's English translation of the synod records with the sole exception of 1623, which came from Aymon's version.[88] For whatever reason, Quick's work does not have a full dataset; Aymon's list fits the context of the previous and subsequent years' data.

[88] Jean Aymon, *Tous les synodes nationaux des Eglises Réformées de France* Vol. II (The Hague: Chez Charles Delo, sur le Cingel, à l'Esperance, 1710), Synod at Charenton (1623), Chapter 24.

A number of other methodological challenges pertain to the actual disbursement of funds. Henry IV promised to annually pay the Huguenots 135,000 livres beginning in 1598, but by the next national synod in 1601 he was already falling far short. In fact, according to the national synods the French crown never paid its full share owed to the Huguenots in the Edict of Nantes. As a result, the synods tried to keep track of three things: the money they were owed, the actual funds they received, and plans for how to divide money in the future. Louis XIII actually raised the subsidy to 180,000 livres in 1611, and then 225,000 livres a short time later. We therefore see an ever-growing negative balance owed from the French king to the Reformed Churches, and budget projections that assumed the churches would eventually be paid in full.[89] It would be impossible to say how much money actually made its way down to the provincial level without extensive archival research, but it seems that the money stopped flowing in 1627. Louis XIII then promised a one-time payment of 60,000 livres, but even this sum was not paid in full.[90] In any case, it is unhelpful to know the exact amount that any individual province received. What really matters for this analysis is the proportion of money that theoretically went to different provinces, and why the national synods wanted to divvy up the *deniers du roy* in this way.

Records from the national synods include the names of pastors for each church in the kingdom. This is true for every synod meeting held during the period under discussion except the three assemblies in 1598, 1601, and 1612. We also have a list of pastors from the national synod held in 1637, but this was after the *deniers du roy* had stopped flowing to the Huguenots. It is therefore possible to illustrate the relationship between the number of extraordinary portions and the total number of pastors in France. Graphing these two pieces of data demonstrates how the number of extraordinary portions increased as the number of

[89] The national synod at Tonneins recorded that the crown owed over 24,000 livres for 1604, 1605 and 1606; see Synod at Tonneins (1614), 12.1-5. By the following synod in Vitré (1617), the Reformed Churches were owed over 175,000 livres; see Synod at Vitré (1617), 14.9-10. The synods still made plans for how to spend the full amounts for the following years.

[90] Arnaud, *Histoire des protestants*, 207.

pastors decreased. Poor churches that lacked ministers were evidently still included in the list of assigned portions. The divergence between the number of pastors in the realm and the rate of extraordinary portions accelerated after 1620, a phenomenon attributable to the devastation visited upon southern France in the last part of the religious wars.

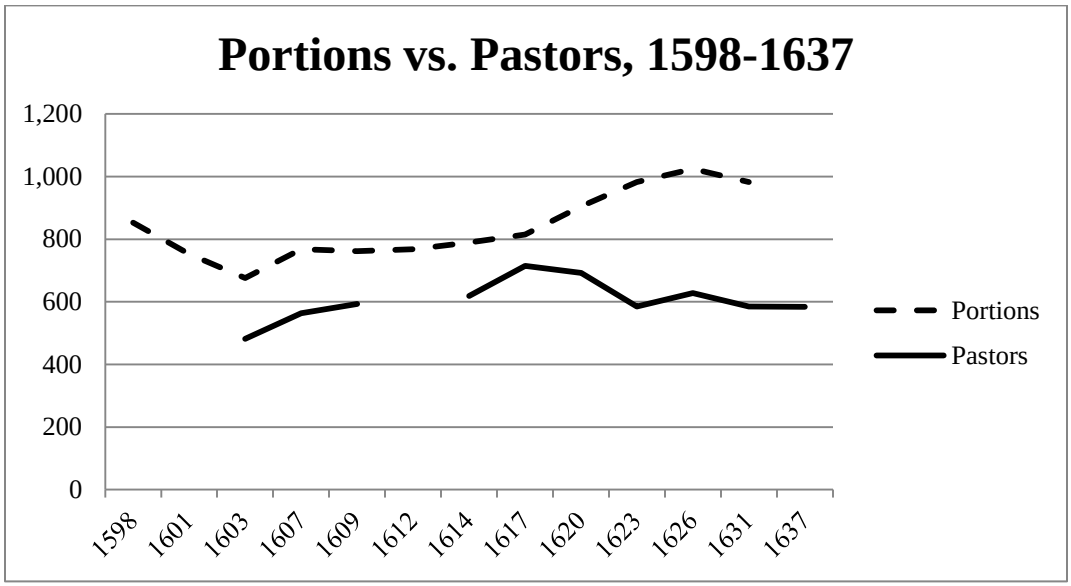

Figure 3: Portions vs. Pastors, 1598-1637

c. Appropriations for Huguenot Academies

As mentioned earlier, the synod counted students studying to become ministers in the number of ordinary portions assigned to the provinces. Provincial synods and specific churches were the ones responsible for paying the students' tuition and living expenses. Sometimes churches complained about the requirement to pay for scholarships. The consistory in Lyon appealed a decision to the eighteenth National Synod (La Rochelle, 1607), which required the consistory to spend one-fifth of its poor relief funds on scholarships handed down by the Provincial Synod of Burgundy. The national synod found that the consistory could control how it spent its money, but the synod wondered "whether

they can keep a good Conscience in neglecting a work of so great necessity."[91] In return for their scholarships, students had an obligation to repay the province or church with a period of service after the successful completion of their studies. Students who failed to graduate were required to repay the scholarships they had used.[92] A common complaint voiced in national synod meetings concerned the students who studied under the sponsorship of one church, then entered the ministry in another church. This violated a key principle of equity between the Reformed Churches, and the consequent disputes could become quite complicated. Consider, for instance, the complexity of a case brought before the nineteenth National Synod (Saint-Maixant, 1609). The consistory at Chalon-sur-Saône complained that it had helped pay for the books of a minister named le Blanc while he was in school. But now that he had graduated, le Blanc had only spent a brief period of time as pastor of Chalon before leaving to become a pastor for a church in Lyon. The synod found that the consistory in Lyon had to repay Chalon the fifty livres for le Blanc's books. Chalon would never see the money, however, because they had in the meantime hired a different pastor whose services were owed to a congregation in Dijon. The consistory in Dijon, however, was in debt to a family for unspecified reasons. The fifty livres were therefore sent from Lyon on behalf of Chalon to Dijon, where it was paid to the heirs of a man named Paillard who was owed money from the consistory.[93]

Including the funds for students, provinces received approximately 90% of the *deniers du roy*. The other 10% of the funds went directly to the French Reformed academies.[94] Controlling the education of young men who wanted to serve in the ministry was critically important for the Reformation in France. The Jesuits, a newly created religious

[91] Synod at La Rochelle (1607), 9.17.

[92] Ibid., 5.36.

[93] Synod at St Maxient (1609), 5.8.

[94] Solange Deyon, "Les Académies protestantes en France," *BSHPF* 135 (1989): 80-81.

order that specialized in education and Counter-Reformation apologetics, operated schools across France with papal or royal permission.[95] Jesuit schools were often regarded as the best places for students to receive an education, and Reformed ministers went to great lengths to forbid parents from sending their children there.[96] Sending students abroad to study for the ministry was a possible alternative, but places like Geneva simply did not have the facilities to train enough men.[97] Reformed *collèges* and academies also gave the Huguenot authorities a chance to preserve the doctrinal purity of their ministers and ensure a steady supply of new recruits to the ministry. One historian writes that the "increasing interest in direct oversight was a result of the growing institutionalization of the Huguenot church."[98]

Establishing Reformed academies across France was a gradual process that unfolded in two waves. The first occurred with the rise of French Protestantism in the 1560s, and the second in the years after the Edict of Nantes (1598).[99] These new institutions had a few different possible sources of income. First, they charged tuition to students who, as mentioned earlier, were supported on scholarships from provinces and churches across France. Second, the Reformed Churches relied on the nobility to supply large sums of money or other sources of revenue. The academy at Orthez in Béarn looked repeatedly to the

[95] Theodore Beza saw this as a serious threat to the Reformed Churches of France in the late sixteenth century, especially since there were more churches than available ministers. See Scott M. Manetsch, *Theodore Beza and the Quest for Peace in France: 1572 – 1598* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2000), 341.

[96] The Synod at St. Maxient (1609) discussed how parents could be excommunicated for sending their children to Jesuit schools. Cited in Karin Maag, "The Huguenot academies: preparing for an uncertain future," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World: 1559-1685*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 153, fn. 61. The consistory at Montagnac actually censured one its elders for sending his son to a Jesuit *collège* in Agen. He refused to recall him until the end of the school term on the grounds that he had already paid the tuition. ADG, H 26, 20 May 1614.

[97] Maag, "The Huguenot academies," 140-141.

[98] Ibid., 141.

[99] Here are the years each major academy was established: Nîmes (1562), Orthez (1566), Orange (1573), Montpellier (1596), Saumur (1598), Montauban (1598), Sedan (1602) and Die (1604). Dates provided in *idem*, 139, fn. 1.

house of Navarre for financial support, receiving several benefices as a form of endowment.[100] Third, academies like the one in Montpellier looked to their city governments for money, though this funding model depended on the changeable religious makeup of the city's administration.[101]

A fourth source of money for the academies was the *deniers du roy*. From the very beginning of legalized Protestantism in 1598, the national synods divided the funds between the academies in unequal ways. Figure 3 illustrates how the academy in Saumur received by far the most money, followed by Montauban and Sedan. The academies at Die and Montpellier meanwhile received comparably less money. Very little information survives in the national synod records to explain these differences, and it is beyond the scope of this project to undertake the necessary archival research to offer a complete answer. Part of the reason may be that some academies had secure financial support through other means and did not need to rely on the national synods for the *deniers du roy*. Another possible explanation would have to do with the relative size and perceived importance of these institutions. The national synod at Montpellier specifically created the academies in Saumur and Montauban, which became known as the "synodal academies," perhaps making them the first priority when it came to dividing funds.[102] Once the synod established a funding level, however, subsequent synods typically followed precedent and divided the *deniers du roy* the same way.

[100] Ibid., 144.

[101] Ibid., 146.

[102] Deyon, "Les Académies protestantes," 78.

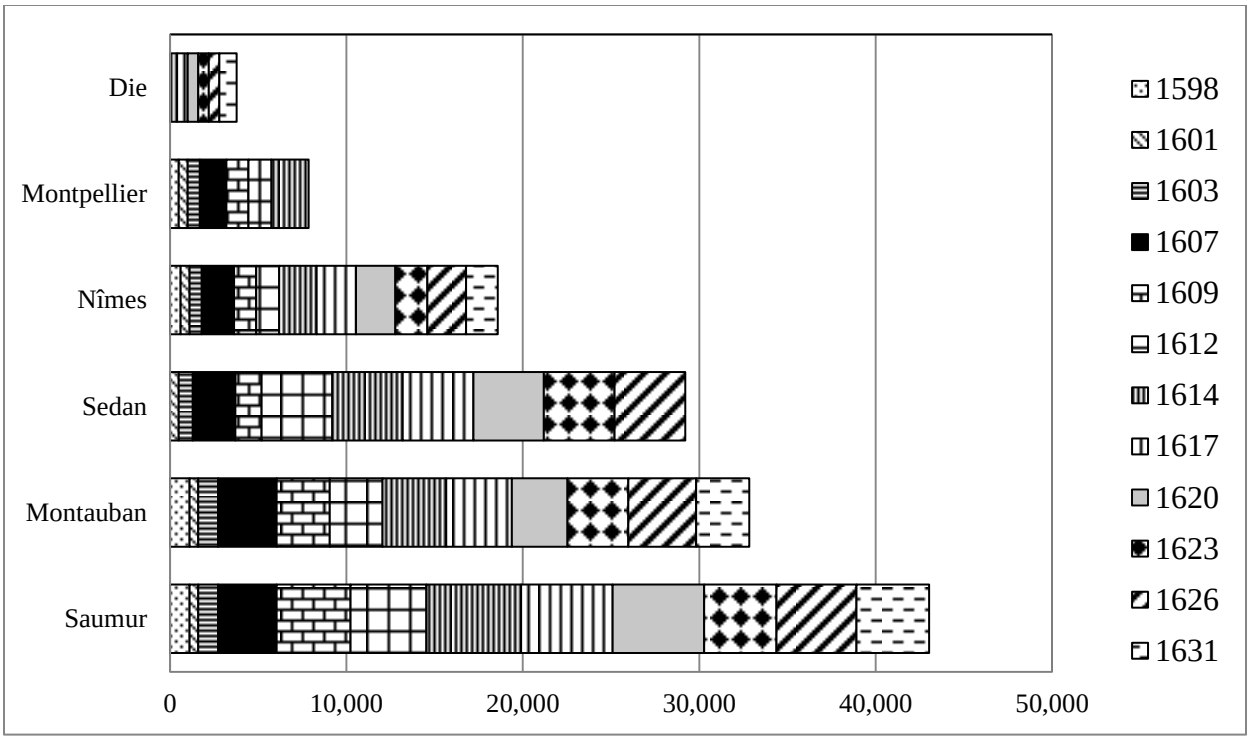

Figure 4: Funding Huguenot Academies, 1598-1631

The national synods quickly found that operating their own Reformed academies was prohibitively expensive. The *deniers du roy* were very scarce, and the synods complained from time to time that the money was being wasted. The issue was raised at Loudon (1659): "The Deputies of several Provinces complained of the great Rates that Scholars paid for their Diet, Lodging, and Washing in the Towns of our Universities; and that Professors and Regents did demand of them over and above their Salaries, for Lectures and Tuition."[103] The synod declared that the academies should be more careful in how they spent their money. On multiple occasions the synods debated if they should consolidate the number of academies to save money. The records from Maixant (1609) provide a glimpse into the thinking that ultimately prevailed: the synod decided against closing any academies and to prohibit the

[103] Synod at Loudon (1659), 12.3.

establishment of new institutions, except a new *collège* (secondary school) at Bergerac. Otherwise Reformed children would have to go to a Jesuit school.[104]

Evidence from the national synods suggests the delegates had good reasons to question the management of their academies. For a province or an academy to receive money from the synod, the synod expected in return an account of how the money was spent. Synods would then appoint committees to audit the account books to make sure the money was well-spent. Despite stern warnings from the synods, many academies failed to provide adequate records of their accounts, and a number of times they failed to provide any documentation. Representatives from Montauban, Nîmes, Montpellier, and Sedan were all severely censured at La Rochelle (1607) for not bringing any account books to the synod, and they were each threatened with a fine if they failed to produce the right documents.[105] The synod even threatened that "they shall forfeit their privileges of being Universities."[106] The same issue resurfaced in Privas (1612) where Saumur joined Montauban, Nîmes, and Montpellier on the list of academies whose charters might be revoked.[107]

d. The Last *deniers du roy*

One reason the synods divided the *deniers du roy* into portions was the fact that the payments were always overpromised. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to describe exactly where and when the crown fell behind, but synod records indicate that it only took a short while after the Edict of Nantes. As mentioned earlier, the churches felt they were due over 50,000 livres by 1607, and the situation worsened over the next two decades.[108] More

[104] Synod at Maixant (1609), 7.6.

[105] Synod at La Rochelle (1607), 4.10. Montauban would have to pay 500 livres, but the other three would only pay 250.

[106] Ibid., 7.9.

[107] Synod at Privas (1612), 14.20.

[108] Synod at La Rochelle (1607), Chapter 15.

than 40,000 livres were missing from payments made in 1610 and 1611.[109] My general sense from the synod records is that the *deniers du roy* became increasingly rare after the ascension of Louis XIII in 1610 until all discussion concerning the funds stopped after the synod of Charenton (1631). As mentioned earlier, the last payments occurred earlier in 1627 when Louis XIII finally eliminated the last vestiges of the Huguenot "state within a state."[110] By that point the delegates could still count on much smaller payments from the king for 16,000 livres to offset the cost of holding a national synod.[111] These funds were disbursed among the provinces according to their number of delegates, but for all practical purposes the royal subsidy for Reformed ministers and students had ceased.

The disappearance of the *deniers du roy* coincided with a new period of royal supervision over the national synods. Since the end of the sixteenth century, the French crown sent its representatives directly to Huguenot centers of power. In 1588, Henry III created a new Secretary of State (*Secretariat d'État*) to serve as the king's liaison with the French Reformed Churches in the southeast.[112] The Huguenots, in turn, sent their own general deputies to represent the interests of the French Reformed Churches at the king's court.[113] Louis XIII established a new office in 1623 to represent the king's desires at national synod meetings and ensure that the delegates avoided politics, one of the key promises underlying the Edict of Nantes. Louis XIII's new commissioner (*commissaire*)

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[109] Synod at Privas (1612), Chapter 18.

[110] The effort to eliminate Protestantism's threat to royal power is associated with the rise of an "absolutism" in France, though that term is problematic. See James B. Collins, *The State in Early Modern France* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), 36-70.

[111] 2nd Synod at Charenton (1631), Chapter 31; Synod at Alençon (1637), Chapter 21; 3rd Synod at Charenton (1645), 4.14; Synod at Loudon (1660), Chapter 15.

[112] Solange Deyon, "Secrétaire d'État de la Religion Prétendue Réformée," in *Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Régime*, ed. Lucien Bély (Paris: Presses Universitaire de France, 2002), 1142. Cited in Dénes Harai, *Pour le "bien de l'État" et le "repos du public" : Agusute II Galland (1572-1637), conseiller d'État et commissaire de Louis XIII aux synodes des Églises réformées de France* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012), 42.

[113] Ibid., 43.

would report to the king about the synod's proceedings and intervene in any disputes. Under the first *commissaire,* Auguste II Galland, the office became a permanent institution to which Huguenots turned for direct arbitration when synod meetings were not in session.[114] Delegates to the national synods complained bitterly about this new type of supervision over their assemblies, but their inability to do anything about the *commissaire* reflected the increasingly powerless position of the French Reformed Churches.[115]

The cessation of the *deniers du roy* also marked a shift in the financial powers of the national synods. When the money stopped flowing from the crown through the provinces to local churches, the national synods were forced to find revenue elsewhere. Churches were now required to pay their ministers without regular outside assistance, but academies still needed financial support. The synods always had the ability to raise money for specific causes. For instance, the synod at La Rochelle (1607) started raising funds for refugees from the Marquisate of Saluzzo.[116] Control of this territory was under dispute between the French crown and the Duke of Savoy at the end of the sixteenth century. An eventual peace settlement in the Treaty of Lyon (1601) gave the territory to Savoy and created a refugee crisis among the Protestants living in the area. The national synods raised money to help and by 1609 the French Reformed Churches had collectively sent at least 1444 livres.[117] Some provinces closer to the refugee crisis gave money directly to the exiles of Saluzzo, including over 2,200 livres from Dauphiné.[118] After the *deniers du roy* stopped, the synods went from

[114] Ibid., 45-50. Auguste II Galland professed to be Huguenot but remained loyal to the king, raising serious questions about the authenticity of his faith.

[115] Ibid., 51-65.

[116] 800 livres came from La Rochelle and another 400 from Bordeaux. Synod at La Rochelle (1607), 10.23 and 10.24.

[117] Synod at St. Maixant (1609), 11.1. The exiles from Saluzzo were still seeking and receiving extra funds from the national synod in 1620 to attract a pastor at Guillestre in southwestern France. Synod at Alais (1620), 13.12.

[118] Arnaud, *Histoire des protestants*, 209.

urging churches to send money for charitable causes to levying taxes for the academies. These amounts ranged in size in 1637 from 1,500 livres (from the province of Normandy) to 250 livres (from the province of Cevennes) for a total amount of 11,166 livres.[119] In 1645, the synod at Charenton found that the provinces owed more than 27,000 livres to the academies.[120] The national synods had been transformed from a source of revenue for the churches to a taxing authority.

V. Conclusion

The spread of Protestantism in France raised several questions for how Calvin's ideas would be put into practice. In many cases, the synods found an easy agreement between the Genevan ideal and the fiscal realities in France. Calvin's insistence that ministers receive a fair wage for their efforts spurred the creation of mechanisms through which ministers could assert their rights. At other times, however, synods had to make exceptions to Calvin's rigid beliefs. Synods found an intractable problem in the prevalence of Catholic benefices, eventually deciding that Reformed believers could still hold them under certain conditions. Synods also allowed consistories to invest poor relief funds in revenue-generating properties. This permitted the churches to build their own endowments while also exposing them to new risks if the effort failed. The central role of deacons in Reformed life similarly ran into a chronic shortage of ministers, forcing elders and ministers to assume responsibilities Calvin reserved for deacons.

By the middle of the seventeenth century, the national synods had come full circle. In the years after the Edict of Nantes, delegates went about dividing the theoretical amounts paid by the king according to each province's "portions." The crown never paid most of this

[119] Synod at Alençon (1637), 19.15.

[120] Synod at Charenton (1645), Chapter 17. Basse-Languedoc alone owed almost 12,000 livres, probably because it was one of the most populated provinces. Records from the Synod at Loudon (1660), Chapter 12, appear to be incomplete but still list more than 11,500 livres in debt to the academies.

money. In 1645, the delegates were again assigning theoretical funds from the provinces to the academies. Again, the provinces never paid most of this money. This is not to suggest that these negotiations were insignificant. In fact, they could have serious consequences at the local level for individual churches with very limited resources. Extra funds from the *deniers du roy* meant the difference between keeping a pastor and slipping into financial ruin. It is to a case study from this type of small congregation that we now turn.

CHAPTER 4: INTRODUCTION TO MONTAGNAC: ITS CONTEXT AND FISCAL HISTORY

I. Introduction

As one approaches the small farming village of Montagnac-sur-Auvignon from a distance, the only confirmation of the town's presence is the bell tower belonging to the Église de Notre-Dame, a visual reminder of the eventual victory of Catholicism in the Diocese of Condom. Montagnac has only three streets, and most of the 497 townspeople work in agriculture or a small tourism sector related to a few surrounding Gascogne castles.[1] Sitting on top of a small hill, the bell tower allows the observer to see the farms far off into the Lot-et-Garonne countryside. Montagnac lies about sixteen kilometers to the southwest of Agen in the Aquitaine region, approximately halfway between Bordeaux to the northwest and Toulouse to the southeast. A series of creeks and small streams link the town to the Garonne River, a major thoroughfare for trade that originates in the Pyrenees Mountains and connects Montagnac with the broader French economy.

Local government in a small town like Montagnac during the early modern period consisted of two important bodies.[2] First, the members of the consulate made executive decisions about the operation of the town. Montagnac had four consuls in the seventeenth century, two of whom belonged to the Reformed Church until the 1620s, after which point Catholics monopolized the consulate.[3] Second, the deliberative assembly of landowners, or

[1] "Montagnac-sur-Auvignon," accessed August 25, 2014, Cassini.ehess.fr/cassini/fr/html/fiche.php?select_resultat=23047. Montagnac absorbed the nearby hamlet of Saint Loup in 1831, the location of many farms belonging to the consistory of Montagnac.

[2] Gregory Hanlon writes that the "mechanics of this system of government were almost universal in towns across southwestern France." Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France: Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 39.

[3] As late as 1627 at least one of Montagnac's Huguenots, Joseph de Ranse, remained a town consul. Ranse simultaneously served as an elder and received complaints from the Catholic regarding the construction of a new temple. ADG, H 26, 21 March 1627. Huguenots were able to reassert their place on the consulate in Layrac after the 1620s, but they were again excluded after the Fronde in the 1650s. See Hanlon, *Confession and Community*, 43.

jurade, approved candidates to and consulted with the consulate. Both assemblies ultimately reported to a local baron who maintained the right to execute justice in his or her jurisdiction.[4] Like other small towns, Montagnac experienced a very high degree of social inequality and stratification. Hanlon's analysis of nearby Layrac describes how town dwellers owned most of the countryside's arable land.[5] The situation was undoubtedly the same in Montagnac.

Calvinism first reached Montagnac in 1561 as part of the widespread adoption of the Reformed religion that swept across southern France.[6] There was a flood of Reformed missionaries trained at and sent from Geneva into France between 1555 and 1562, peaking in the two years from 1557 to 1559.[7] Communities of Reformed Christians in towns like Agen, Nérac, and Calignac welcomed these pastors from Geneva. The Reformation had many early converts among the provincial elite. Antoine de Bourbon, the governor of the province, briefly converted to Calvinism in 1558 and offered to protect the congregations in his province.[8] His wife, Jeanne d'Albert, Queen of Navarre, was a steadfast Calvinist who remained faithful to the religion after her conversion.[9] Many of their subordinates in important judicial positions also converted to Calvinism in the years before the French Wars

[4] For an excellent flow chart of these various offices and their relationship with the crown, see ibid., 46.

[5] Ibid., 32-34.

[6] Samuel Mours, *Les églises réformées en France: Tableaux et cartes* (Paris: Librairie Protestante, 1958), 85. Montagnac was one of the 363 Reformed Churches officially established in 1561. See "Introduction," in *L'organisation et l'action des églises réformées de France*, ed. Philip Benedict and Nicolas Fornerod (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2012), ix.

[7] Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming Wars of Religion* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1956), 145.

[8] Robert R. Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite: The Provincial Governors of Early Modern France* (Yale University Press, 1978), 139.

[9] Ibid. See also Nancy Roelker, *Queen of Navarre Jeanne d'Albert 1528-1572* (Cambridge University Press, 1968), Ch. 5-7.

of Religion.[10] The governorship of Guyenne remained in the Bourbon family, but as we will see local petty nobles determined the course of events in Montagnac.[11]

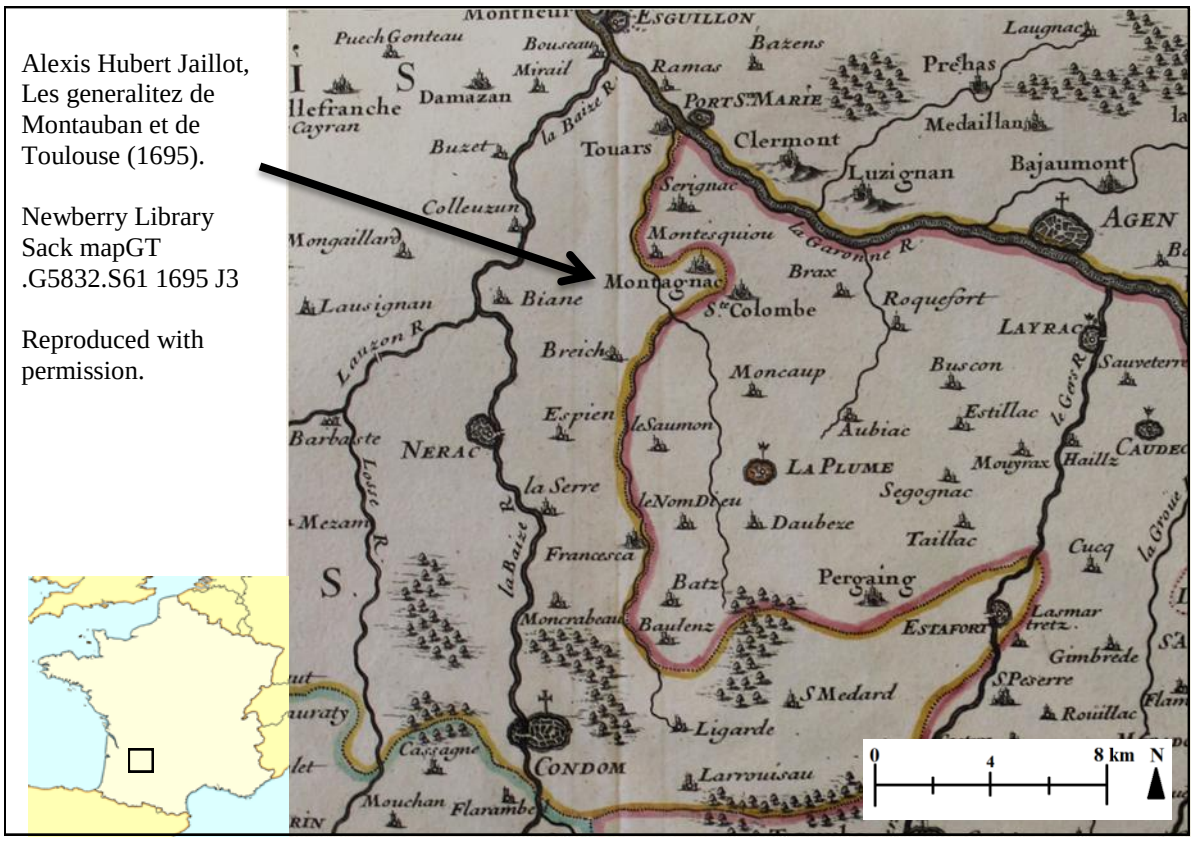

Figure 5: Montagnac and its Surroundings

Montagnac was one piece of a larger web of small towns with a significant Protestant presence in the Garonne River Valley. The largest and most important church in the immediate vicinity was Montagnac's neighbor to the west, Nérac, which had a large Calvinist community dating to the 1570s. The town had the privilege of hosting from time to

[10] Harding, *Anatomy of a Power Elite*, 139.

[11] Ibid., 129.

time Catherine de Bourbon, the openly Protestant sister of King Henry IV. She kept in contact with the consistory at Nérac and wrote to reassure the pastors and elders in 1598 that she remained loyal to the Reformation.[12] How large was the Huguenot population in Nérac? A list of assessments or *taux* from 1612 contains the names of 690 Calvinist families living in the town.[13] The *taux* obviously failed to count many people, especially the poor, but it demonstrates that at least 4,000 Calvinists called Nérac home.[14] This was large enough to support more than one minister and a *collège*.[15]

A large community of Protestants, like the one at Nérac, typically attracted unwanted attention from the French authorities, especially as the seventeenth century wore on. These later investigations shed light on the long history of Protestantism in southwestern France. In 1663 the Bishop of Condom conducted an investigation into the origins of Nérac's church bell. Seeking to determine if the bell had been taken from a Catholic church, the bishop's representative arrived in the town in 1665 and inspected the temple. He reported that the door to the temple contained a simple inscription from 1576.[16] Nérac also had a tower attached to its temple dating from 1606 and a bell cast in 1622. According to the bishop's investigation, both the tower and bell displayed images of the sun and its rays. The Protestants claimed that the sun was a symbol marking their fidelity to Calvin's Reformation. In fact, the Academy of Geneva used the same insignia. It also appeared on the small tokens,

[12] Catherine de Navarre, "Lettre inédite de Catherine de Navarre aux ministres de l'église réformée de Nérac," *BSHPF* 3 (1850): 279-280.

[13] Félix Meillon, "Archives de l'Eglise de Nérac," *BSHPF* 88 (1939): 165.

[14] The *collège* had to close in 1648. Samuel Mours, "Essai sommaire de géographie du protestantisme réformé français au XVIIème siècle," *BSHPF* 111 (1965): 195.

[15] This was especially true after the Edict of Nantes in 1598. Two pastors from Nérac, Charles Daubus and Aaron Tinel, became pastors at Montagnac for a brief period of time after serving at Nérac. Given the proximity of these communities and the frequency of colloquy meetings, pastors from the Agenais countryside would have been very familiar with each other. See Ferd, Teissier, ed., "Listes de pasteurs: Nérac (1558-1685)," *BSHPF* 48 (1899): 318-319.

[16] "Ceste porte est au seigneur / Les justes entreront par icelle. / (Ps. 118 Ver. 20.)." G. de Lagrange-Ferrègues, "La Mérau-sceau de la ville de Nérac," *BSHPF* 105 (1959): 70.

or *méreaux,* that elders distributed to the congregation as a sign of their admittance to the Lord's Supper.[17] In other words, Geneva continued to be the ideal example of a Reformed community long into the seventeenth century even in the minds of rural ministers in southwestern France.

Another nearby town with a substantial Protestant presence was Layrac, a major case study in Gregory Hanlon's work on toleration in early modern France. Hanlon estimates that Layrac had about 750 Huguenots and 2,500 Catholics at the end of the sixteenth century, a proportion that changed to 250 Huguenots compared to 4,000 Catholics by the Edict of Fontainebleau (1685).[18] Relations between these two groups proved peaceful for most of the seventeenth century because, according to Hanlon, there was an absence of inter-confessional conflict and "an intense sociability enclosing most inhabitants in a cocoon of mutual relations."[19] Members of both churches transmitted property to heirs across confessional boundaries. Catholics and Huguenots also married one another at far greater rates than one would expect for a town divided along confessional lines.[20] Layrac's families intermarried and supported each other long before the Reformation brought new people (and ideas) to the town. Given the level of cooperation between Protestants and Catholics in Layrac, Hanlon's work suggests that the essential dichotomy through which one can study these rural towns is "insiders and outsiders." In other words, it was difficult for confessionalization to reach a small town like Layrac.

Hanlon's study on Layrac challenges early modern historians to rethink the totalizing project of the confessionalization thesis. It also provokes a number of questions concerning the extent to which Layrac's coexistence was typical of small southwestern French towns.

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[17] Ibid., 71-72.

[18] Hanlon, *Confession and Community*, 33-34.

[19] Ibid., 12.

[20] Ibid., 106-116. The same cannot be said for bi-confessional baptisms until after 1685, when everyone was technically Catholic.

Does one see similar numbers of Catholic godparents in Montagnac's baptismal registry? Did Huguenots transmit their property without referring to the confessional identity of their heirs? Complete answers to these questions might never be possible because many sources available to Hanlon for Layrac no longer exist for Montagnac. In particular, Catholic baptismal registries and notarial wills make a comparative analysis of bi-confessionalism entirely speculative. There remain a few hints scattered throughout Montagnac's cache of records, however, that suggest the existence of confessional conflict in the town. At the very least, whatever cooperation occurred in Montagnac must have existed below the surface in ways that never made it into the documents.[21]

When thinking about the place of these rural Protestant communities in Catholic France, it is important to stress how the countryside was closely divided between confessions. Most of the towns in southwestern France continued to have at least a nominal Catholic presence, and in Montagnac's case, the Catholic population repeatedly caused problems for the Reformed Church. Layrac's consistory competed with a locally renowned shrine where believers could be cured of certain ailments.[22] Agen, by far the largest town in the area, remained staunchly Catholic although it had an active Reformed congregation and consistory.[23] Hanlon likens the religious geography of this part of southern France to "islands of an archipelago in a sea of hostile or at best indifferent peasants."[24]

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[21] The one exception may be with poor relief programs. The consistory had to render accounts to the town's consuls, most of whom remained Catholic.

[22] This was a Marian shrine that drew visitors from around the area, including Montagnac. See Hanlon, *Confession and Community*, 157; idem, "Piété populaire et intervention des moines dans les miracles et les sanctuaires miraculeux en Agenais-Condomois au 17e siècle," *Annales du Midi* 2 (1985): 115-127.

[23] Agen was a point of contention in the religious wars. It was conquered by Protestant forces in April 1562 but later became a center of Catholic strength with Toulouse. See Kevin Gould, "The Contest for Control of Urban Centres in Southwest France during the Early Years of the Wars of Religion," in *The Impact of the European Reformation: Princes, Clergy and People*, ed. Bridget Heal and Ole Peter Grell (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), 95. Also see Philip Conner, *Huguenot Heartland: Montauban and Southern French Calvinism during the Wars of Religion* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002), 102.

[24] Hanlon, *Confession and Community*, 127. Cited in Conner, *Huguenot Heartland*, 20-21.

At the risk of taking Hanlon's analogy too far, the waves of hostility from the Catholic peasantry threatened catastrophe for Montagnac twice. The first period of instability occurred during the 1620s in the final episode of the French Wars of Religion, culminating with Louis XIII's elimination of Protestant garrisons in 1629. The second period of real danger flared in the mid-seventeenth century with the Fronde, a five-year period of civil war ending in 1653 that also devastated parts of southern France. The final devastation, of course, came with the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685, which led to the destruction of all Huguenot temples and congregations and the confiscation of their lands and records. An analysis of Montagnac's efforts to establish ties to local noblemen, build and maintain a temple, and organize its finances demonstrates how the community's financial health followed the trajectory of these national events.

II. Financial Dependence on Local Barons

It was legal to establish a Reformed Church in France only in those places where it had existed before the Edict of Nantes and where a local nobleman possessed the right to administer justice. From as early as the late sixteenth century, elders in Montagnac understood their dependence on the baron of their town for their right to exist as Calvinists in France, let alone for financial assistance and patronage.[25] The sources give the impression that the lords of Montagnac across multiple generations could be counted on to provide the consistory with financial assistance and to intercede on its behalf in other ways, like acquiring properties or providing legal protection. In exchange for these benefits, the elders provided the baron with some autonomy in making decisions for the community, including where and how the pastor preached sermons.

[25] ADG, H 25, 3 July 1603. The Reformed Church in Montagnac remained in a very precarious position throughout the 1590s and was only reestablished with some permanence with the agreement of the baron of Montagnac in 1603.

In seventeenth-century France, a town's baron functioned as its chief executive. He or she had the right to administer justice, collect certain kinds of taxes, and influence the selection of consuls.[26] The seigneury over Montagnac originally belonged to Francoise de Lomagne in the early sixteenth century. She passed the position on to her daughter, Catherine de Lomagne, who in 1530 married Mathieu de Labarthe and passed the title on to their fourth daughter, Paule de Labarthe.[27] As we will see shortly, both Francoise and Paule made a number of significant decisions and donations to the congregation at Montagnac during the 1580s. Both women were evidently strong Calvinists who wanted to establish a permanent endowment for the consistory and its social welfare activities. Paule de Labarthe in turn married a staunchly Protestant nobleman named Michel d'Astarac, the governor of Lectoure and a lieutenant general in Henry IV's army.[28] After Labarthe's death at the end of the sixteenth century, the seigneury passed to the Dupuy family where it remained for most of the seventeenth century. The Berbières family then took over the position toward the end of the time period under discussion. Most importantly, every baron of Montagnac in the seventeenth century belonged to and strongly supported the French Reformed Churches.

The congregation at Montagnac depended to a great extent on the benevolence of Francoise de Lomagne and Paule de Labarthe. Francoise supported the spread of Calvinism in its early period of evangelization across southwestern France in the 1560s. In 1567, she supplied the very first piece of the consistory's endowment in the form of a donation worth

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[26] Sometimes the consuls and baron actually wrote out the specific details of their relationships, which was probably helpful in a confessionally split town like Montagnac. For an example of such an agreement from 1645, see Archives Départementales de Lot-et-Garonne, série E, AA 2 (hereafter abbreviated as ADL, E AA 2), 1645.

[27] P. Anselme, Augustine Déchaussé and M. du Fourny, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, vol. 8 (Paris, 1733), 213. See also Gabriel O'Gilvy, M. O'Gilvy and Pierre Jules de Bourrousse de Laffore, *Nobiliaire de Guienne et de Gascogne revue des familles d'ancienne chevalerie ou anoblies de ces provinces, antérieures à 1789, avec leurs généalogies et armes* (Bordeaux, 1856), 240.

[28] Paule was his second wife. For biographical information on Michel d'Astarac, see the introductory remarks in Tamizey de Larroque, "Une Lettre de Michel d'Astarac, baron de Fontrailles," *Revue de Gascogne: Bulletin mensuel de la société historique de Gascogne* 12 (1871): 556-560.

2,000 livres. This large plot of land generated 150 livres (or 7.5%) on an annual basis, of which Francoise wanted 100 livres to pay for the dowries of poor girls and 50 livres to feed and clothe the town's orphans. Francoise also agreed to a second donation of 100 livres per year to pay for the costs of sending a student to a Reformed academy.[29] This donation eventually formed the basis for what would become the *métairie des pauvres* in Montagnac, a property that the elders rented to poor farmers and which, in turn, generated revenue for the town's poor. But Francoise required Montagnac to split the revenue from her donation with two other towns, Calignac and Fieux. We will see shortly how the consuls from Fieux enforced their right over this revenue at exactly the worst possible moment for Montagnac's congregation.

Francoise de Lomagne's granddaughter, Paule de Labarthe, similarly demonstrated her preference for the Reformed Church at Montagnac with a series of generous donations. In one of the most significant financial decisions in the congregation's history, in 1584 Labarthe spent 1,000 livres to purchase the right to collect Catholic tithes in Montagnac from the diocese of Condom. In 1593, she gave the revenue from the Catholic tithe to the Reformed congregation specifically to pay for the maintenance of its pastor.[30] Chapter 3 described how the Edict of Nantes (1598) required French Protestants to pay the tithe and, in exchange, Henry IV promised in secret to subsidize the Reformed Churches. Thanks to Labarthe's endowment the Huguenots at Montagnac were exempt from making any tithe payments. As we will see in Chapter 6, their pastor still received money from the crown, resulting in a highly beneficial financial arrangement for the Reformed congregation. It is difficult to know for sure, but I strongly suspect this situation was highly unique for Protestants living in France.

[29] ADG, H 30, 1567. Copies of the original testament date from 1581.

[30] ADG, H 32, 15 January 1584.

The elders clearly understood the value of their exemption from the Catholic tithe.[31] In 1603, they began discussing how they might be able to re-sell it for a large sum of money.[32] They heard through a lawyer named Colomb that Labarthe's successor in Regoulièrs might be interested in the investment, so the elders asked for 1,020 livres as their opening bid.[33] It should be stressed this was an unimaginably large sum of money for a small town like Montagnac, especially since the Reformed Church clearly experienced problems from what must have been disinterested Catholic farmers. But Colomb was evidently uninformed about his client's intentions. The baron's rejection of the consistory's offer indicated that he was, in fact, totally opposed to the purchase.[34]

Paule de Labarthe also made another highly significant donation to the Reformed community at Montagnac in the form of a mill (*moulin*) at Lectoure about thirty-five kilometers to the southeast.[35] I suspect this was a watermill given Lectoure's position on the Gers River. Similar to her donation of the tithe, the elders apparently tried to sell the mill to

[31] They specifically required an elder to secure a copy of both Francoise de Lomagne's and Paule de Labarthe's wills. ADG, H 25, 1 May 1609.

[32] ADG, H 25, 3 July 1603. "Pour le fait de la revente du disme il est bon de s'y gouverner par conseil et envoyer soudain à Thoulouse les actes qui se sont passes et cependant se disposer à jour toujours du disme, à la jouissance duquel sera nécessaire que tois les anciens se tiennent conjointement et y rapportent leur aide, de quoi on escrira à monsieur de Ranse, absent." See also ADG, H 25, 28 July 1603.

[33] ADG, H 25, 6 November 1603. "A esté advizé que puisque la vente di disme a esté faicte au prix de mille livres et vingt par dessus pour raison des intérestz ou despens, que les vingt livres qui n'ont pas esté payees encores seront demandées à Jean Simart procureur et en default de payer se plaindre aux arbitres qui sont monsier d'Arlens et Lachesne son beaufils."

[34] ADG, H 25, 13 May 1604. "Monsieur Colomb estant de retour de la part de Monsieur de Regoulièrs nous a dit que ledit sieur n'entend pas acheter pour aucun prix le Moulin à vent et quant aux fruitz il ne pretend pas les avoir perdus ni aussi de la disme de Saint Loup ni de la mettairire des povres, n'ayant affermé à son procureur que son droit. A dit aussi qu'il pensoit estre dans peu de jours ici à Montaignac pour communiquer de cest affaire..."

[35] Paule de Labarthe also left the revenue from a large estate for the poor to be split between Montagnac, Fieux, Calignac and a few other small towns. This eventually found its way into the endowment for the poor at Montagnac called the *bourse des pauvres*. ADG, H 32, 15 May 1593.

the new baron of Montagnac in Regoulièrs for the astonishingly high price of 2,100 livres.[36] He rejected the offer at the same time he refused to purchase the town's tithe obligations. His rejection actually benefited the financial development of the church's endowment because it secured a steady source of income for several years. A detailed account book from 1606 to 1617 describes how the consistory only invested about 240 livres in the mill's upkeep but regularly received between 200 and 300 livres in annual income.[37] The elders used this income to pay for a range of expenses, including the pastor's salary. More importantly, they repeatedly reinvested the mill's revenue into other income-generating farms closer to Montagnac, in effect providing for the long-term financial stability of the congregation.[38] The same account book contains a contract between the consistory and one of its elders, Joseph de Ranse, to sell the mill to him for 1,000 livres in 1622.[39] The account book ends in that same year, but Ranse continued to make payments on a debt of 1,000 livres in his annual contributions to support the pastor.[40] It therefore seems very likely that the mill—originally intended to support a student—eventually found its way into the congregation's endowment for its pastor.

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[36] ADG, H 25, 9 May 1604. "Le consistoire de l'église de Montagnac estant assemble a esté de l'advis d'entendre à l'accord duquel les parties nous font parler touchant le moul à vent pourveu que par mesme moyen et par l'entremise d'arbitre on traite d'accord des arreraiges qui sont deus de la disme de Saint Loup et de la merrairie des povre… afin d'estre informé de sa volonté et monsier de Colomb s'est offert d'en aller parler à monsieur de Montagnac à Régulières spécialement pour le différent du moulin de quoy nous l'avons aussi prié et déclarer à monsieur de Montagnac que moyenant la somme de sept cens escus l'eglise quittera le moulin et les fonds…"

[37] ADG, H 28, fol. 42, "L'estat de la rente provenante du Moulin a vent legué par feu Madame de Fouerailles." The consistory maintained a three-year contract with Jean Simard who lived closer to the mill and managed it on the church's behalf. The consistory deducted any repairs he made from the annual rent he paid to run the mill. The terms of Simard's contract evoke late-medieval agricultural arrangements in that he agreed to pay the consistory every year at "la Noel."

[38] Ibid. For example: "Le 7 Septembre 1611 ledit Simard a paye la somme de trois cent livres laquelle a este prestée a monsieur de Conquere comme apert par obligation faicte le 11 de Janvier 1612 retenant par [illegible name] notaire royal de Mon^{ac}."

[39] Ranse agreed to make payments for the mill in the following years, but the account book ends in 1622. Ranse continued to play a prominent role in the congregation long into the seventeenth century.

[40] ADG, H 28. Ranse's payments are recorded in Lazare Casaux's *quittance* on 21 October 1624, 22 August 1625 and 1 October 1626. See also the payment Ranse made to Casaux on 23 August 1632 in Appendix B.

The Dupuy family assumed control over the seigneury of Montagnac at some point in the early seventeenth century, and like their predecessors, their support of the consistory in Montagnac was critical. The congregation never received such substantial gifts from the Dupuys, but the elders consistently looked to the family to provide material and political support. Consider the story of a bell in the town of Longuetille about twenty kilometers to the northwest. It began with a simple request in July 1614 from the elders to Dupuy to contribute the necessary funds to pay the pastor's salary. According to the consistory, he initially refused to provide any assistance and forced the consistory to send an elder to remind him of his responsibilities under the requirements issued by the Colloquy of Condom to support the pastors in his domain.[41] Taking a different attitude when an elder sent two pastors to visit him in person at an assembly in Bergeac in August 1614, Dupuy informed the elders that Montagnac was in fact his favorite congregation of all.[42] To make this clear, he promised to execute his father's testament to donate a bell to the church.[43] One historian of the French Reformation writes, "Reformed Christians regarded the use of bells as a reflection of dignity and honor."[44] Dupuy offered to give Montagnac a bell from Longuetille that they could sell, an offer the elders readily accepted.[45] They therefore decided to ask Dupuy to sell

[41] ADG, H 25, 17 July 1614. "Veu le refus que monsieur de Montagnac fait de contribuer à l'entrètenaient du saint ministère en cette église, ledit Sieur Bonhomme a esté chargé de faire exhorté ledit seigneur soit par le colloque, soit par quelques pasteurs en particulier de nous vouloir départir quelque charitable subvention."

[42] ADG, H 25, 3 August 1614. "Le sieur Bonhomme nous ayant faict entendre que par l'advis de quelques pasteurs il auroit employé deux pasteurs pour parler à monsieur de Montaignac… duquel il auroit recue response qu'il viendroit bien tost de pardeca pour s'accomoder avec nous. A esté trouvé bon lorsque ledit seigneur viendra de le prier toutz en corps de voulour préférer ceste église à toute autre pour luy donner le légat faict par feu monsieur Dupuy, son père a l'eglise a laquelle il se rangera et de plus de nous vouloir gratifier de la cloche qu'il a à Longuetille."

[43] ADG, H 25, 23 January 1613. "Monsieur de Montaignac, la première fois qu'il viendra nous visiter sera prié par le consistoire d'employer son authorité à nous jouir de la cloche qui nous a esté donnée par ses prédécesseurs."

[44] Raymond A. Mentzer, "The Reformed Churches of France and the Visual Arts," in *Seeing Beyond the Word: Visual Arts and the Calvinist Tradition*, ed. Paul Corby Finney (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 219.

[45] Dupuy was also baron over Longuetille. See Soirées archéologiques aux archives départementales, Société archéologique du Gers, vol. 7 (Auch, Franc, 1898), 52.

it on their behalf for between 150 and 200 livres.[46] Dupuy initially reported he could generate 225 livres for the bell, but money from Longuetille was never forthcoming.[47] In September 1616 the elders were still requesting 135 livres.[48] Regardless of its provenance, a church bell eventually arrived in Montagnac to the great satisfaction of the congregation.[49]

The relationship between the nobility and the consistory certainly went both ways. The elders relied on Dupuy to support the congregation through his personal wealth, which he and his successors did throughout the seventeenth century. The baron repeatedly donated money for the pastor's salary and regularly provided the pastor and his family with a house, sometimes allowing the pastor to live in his own chateau.[50] The Dupuy family also regularly gave substantial sums of money to the consistory to be distributed to the poor, again illustrating their generosity.[51] Chapter 6 will describe how the nobility received certain benefits in return from the consistory. Pastors were required to travel and preach in their households on a regular basis. The nobility were also welcome to attend consistory meetings in Montagnac, especially when the congregation needed to make important decisions. By the 1670s, a baron named J. Berbières formally became an elder in the consistory. The record always lists his name second in the list of attendees—only second to that of the pastor but

[46] ADG, H 25, 12 January 1615. "Monsieur de Montagnac sera prié d'obtenir par son autorité de la Jurande une cottization des deux cents livres ou du moins de cinquante escus pour la cloche qui nous est dheue."

[47] ADG, H 25, 12 February 1615. "Par l'entremise de Monsieur de Montagnac les papistes nous ayant accordé quarante-cinq écus taillables sur toute la communauté pour nous faire une cloche, a esté trouvé bon de nous en contenter."

[48] ADG, H 25, 29 September 1616. "A esté ordonné que Messieurs les anciens tacheront de retirer les 45 écus promis à l'église par la jurande pour une cloche et d'accommoder l'affaire du régent."

[49] An account book from 1632 records a transaction for a "batan de ladit cloche." ADG, H 47, August 1632.

[50] ADG, H 25, 20 November 1613. "Messieurs de Rance et La Cave one esté priés d'aller trouver monsieur de Montagnac pour le prier de la part de tout le consistoire de contribuer quelque charitable subvention pour l'entretènement du ministre."

[51] For an early example, see ADG, H 25, 30 March 1617. In 1670, the baron of Montagnac, now called Berbières, paid more than half the pastor's annual salary. ADG, H 26, 2 February 1670.

always before any of the other elders.[52] An example from nearby Layrac demonstrates how barons were undoubtedly welcomed into the congregation with special reverence. When the Comte de Lusignan visited the town to meet with the consistory in 1611, the elders arranged a special meal of lamb, chicken, wine, and cheeses.[53] The bill for the entire meal came out to over thirteen livres, a very high figure when one considers how the poor received only a few sous per week to purchase bread.

The barons of Montagnac not only made their personal wealth available to the elders, but they also used their influence and connections to further the congregation's interests. The barons regularly intervened in business transactions or to persuade someone to make a contract with the consistory. In 1617, for example, the baron tried unsuccessfully to facilitate the sale of a house in town to the consistory for the purposes of housing its pastor.[54] The elders had more success in using the baron's power to secure a different house for the construction of a new temple, a project that took many years and which will be treated in more detail below.[55] Barons also represented the congregation at court to pursue debtors to and to enforce the congregation's right to exist according to the Edict of Nantes.[56] Successive generations of the Dupuy family also made room for the consistory in their wills. In 1656, Jean-Francoise Dupuy left the consistory a property valued at 300 livres to be used

[52] ADG, H 26, 2 March 1673. This is a typical example in which the scribe notes the date of the assembly, followed by the list of elders in attendance: "Assambles en consistoire monsier le Franc ministre, Monsieur de Berbières, Seigneur de la present ville messieurs de Combret, Serige, Fita et Conquer entiens." The baron always signed his name before the other elders as "Berbières ancien."

[53] The consistory kept an itemized receipt of their expenses for the meal. ADG, H 85, 14 April 1611.

[54] ADG, H 25, 19 May 1617.

[55] ADG, H 25, 29 November 1617. The elders turned to the baron for help after having sought "plusieurs propositions" from the congregation. They then agreed to ask the baron "d'employer son pouvoir pour faire bailler la place qui est au fond de la ville joignant la maison de monsieur de Ranse et de Rozeilles pour y bâtir."

[56] ADG, H 26, 21 March 1627.

for raising money for the poor.[57] Much later in 1680 his son decided to buy the property back from the elders.[58]

All of this suggests the congregation remained dependent to a great extent on the financial patronage and goodwill of the barons of Montagnac. The nobility provided the resources to establish the church's endowment both through the donation of land and the revenue of a watermill. A baron also added to the prestige of the congregation through a donation of a church bell. Over the decades, barons continued to provide financial, legal, and political support to the congregation, allowing the community to pay its pastor and enforce its right to maintain a public worship space.

III. Constructing a Worship Space

A central component of any organized religion is the construction and maintenance of a worship space. Paying the pastor's salary and attending colloquy meetings only mattered to the Huguenots of Montagnac if they had a physical structure in which to practice their faith. Building a suitable temple in this small town involved a number of serious financial decisions that the elders negotiated with the barons of Montagnac and the population at large. These decisions also implicated the consistory in the broader national efforts among the French Reformed Churches to enforce their rights under the Edict of Nantes. An investigation into Montagnac's long struggle to build a temple sheds light on how it balanced competing financial obligations in an increasingly persecutory national environment. Over the course of the consistory's history, events beyond any one person's control aligned against the consistory to bring about a series of setbacks and, ultimately, disaster for the Huguenots in Montagnac.

[57] ADG, H 26, 29 June 1656.

[58] ADG, H 26, 23 June 1680.

In the late sixteenth century Montagnac's consistory probably held its sermons in a series of different semi-temporary locations. The elders did not usually record where they held their meetings or conducted the Lord's Supper, but my general impression from the sources is that the temple was a donated house (*maison*). In any case, the elders convened their consistory meetings in various places around town, and not usually in the temple. In November 1599, for example, the consistory met in a house belonging to Jeanne de Laval to discuss disciplinary actions against a man who had his infant baptized by a Catholic priest, and a woman who had missed multiple sermons.[59] The consistory register gives the general impression the elders met and discussed official church business in one of their many properties around the village.

The elders must have realized very early in the seventeenth century that they needed to establish a permanent physical structure for their congregation. This would serve to strengthen the confessional identity of Montagnac's Huguenots in a variety of different ways. First, as mentioned earlier, the Edict of Nantes in 1598 only permitted the Reformed religion in those places where it had already been established. Without a physical structure, it would become increasingly difficult over the course of the century to prove the right of Huguenots to openly practice in Montagnac. Second, a permanent worship space provided an important counterweight against the Catholic Church in the local competition for followers. The elders picked the location of their temple with this in mind. And third, the temple provided a specific location where the Reformed community could gather and receive or donate their resources. As we will see, travelers belonging to the Reformed religion often stopped by the temple looking for a handout on their way to another town. In other words, constructing a permanent worship space strengthened the identity of Huguenots within Montagnac and established the village within the larger international order of Reformed congregations.

[59] ADG, H 25, 7 November 1599. "Le dixseptiesme Novembre mil cinq cens nonante neufz, dans la maison de demoiselle Jeanne de Laval..."

The earliest evidence of this drive to establish a permanent worship space occurred on 12 June 1613. One of the elders named Monsieur de Lart made an offer to the consistory to donate one of his houses located in the public square across from the Catholic Church. The community would need to pay to refurbish the structure to turn it into a temple, but the elders were willing to impose a special general collection, or *cotisation*, to make the necessary improvements.[60] A *cotisation* involved making a personal appeal to the community to contribute their own money on a voluntary basis for a shared project. The elders might decide to have a *cotisation* to make up for a shortage of funds to pay the pastor's salary, but it was most common for these appeals to revolve around building the community's temple. In this particular case, there are no records indicating exactly how much money they were able to raise or if they ever used Lart's house.

By the following summer, the elders were already in the market for a new temple. In an indication of their willingness to actually spend money to obtain a structure of good quality, they entered into a contract to buy a house from another elder named Jean Sarraute for 200 livres.[61] This substantial sum of money required the involvement of the local notary, who, in turn, created the contract both parties signed.[62] It is unclear exactly what happened to this arrangement, but a passing reference two years later in 1616 indicates the consistory was not actually using Sarraute's refurbished house as their temple. Instead, the elders called two men to appear before the consistory for having missed sermons "in the chateau" (*dans le*

[60] ADG, H 25, 12 June 1613. "Mr. De Castaing ayant représenté que Mr. de Lart est en volonté de nous accommoder d'une de ses maison qui confronte à une place publique qui joint le temple des papistes pour nous server de temple a este resolu qu'on entrera en marché avec ledit sieur de Lart et que il sera faite une cotisation tant pour l'achat que pour la reparation de la maison."

[61] ADG, H 25, 31 August 1614. "Sarauste nous ayant offert sa maison pour mous server de temple a esté résolu qu'on en viendra en marché avec luy en présentera au dernier mot jusqu'à la somme de deux cents livres. A esté ceste maison acheptée, dont le contrat est retenu par Fita, notaire."

[62] I have not personally seen this contract. It is listed in the archival inventory as ADG, H 26, 7 December 1614 but it has since been moved to another archive.

chasteau).[63] At first glance, this might be a reference to a separate arrangement described in Chapter 6 in which Montagnac's pastor agreed to preach sermons in the home of Moncaut's baron. It seems more likely the pastor was working out of a small chateau belonging to the baron of Montagnac while they worked to refurbish Sarraute's old home into a temple. They drew up a contract in May 1616 with an elder named Labene to complete the necessary work.[64]

Apparently the elders soon discovered the house they purchased was not actually suitable as a temple. In November 1616, the consistory decided to sell Sarraute's house to a soldier named Pierre Courtiade for the frustratingly vague reason that it was in a "bad location" (*en lieu mal propre*).[65] The consistory sold this home for the same amount they paid (200 livres) minus whatever funds they paid to have it repaired in the meantime.[66] The pastor probably then went back to preaching sermons from the baron's home while the elders began looking for a new structure. In September 1617, they decided to build a new temple

[63] ADG, H 25, 1 April 1616. "Messieurs de Saffin et Cerase sont charges de parler a messieurs d'Avance, Gacherie et autres qui s'abstiennent de venir au presche dans le chasteau a cause du différent qui s'est ci-devant entre eux et Monsieur de Lacave et de leur dire de la part du consistoire qu'ils ne doibvent point s'en absentir ainsi, estant question de service de Dieu..."

[64] ADG, H 25, 18 May 1616. "Il a esté trouvé bon, sur quelque rapport que nois avons eu ci-devant, que Monsieur de Labene pourroit nous bastir un temple pour la maison que nous avons acheptée pour cest usage que messieur de Saffin et d'Avance parlent audit sieur Labene afin que sachantz sa resolution nous puissions de l'advis de toute l'église convener avec luy des conditions de cest affaire."

[65] ADG, H 25, 20 November 1616. "A esté aussi advise lesdits assembles que la maison acquise par ladite église pour le bastiment d'un temple estant en lieu mal propre pour cest usage il seroit bon la vendre pour achepter quelque autre place et ayant esté rapporté que Pierre Courtiade, me harquebusier, désiroit s'en accomoder, a esté ordonné par les susnommés qu'elle luy sera vendue pour la somme de deux cens livres apprès une soigneuse recherche des moyens que ledit Courtiade peut avoir pour l'asseurance de ladite somme."

[66] The situation was actually more complicated than this and became the subject of a lawsuit between the consistory and another man named Blanc from Lavardac. It seems Courtiade changed his mind about the sale, so the consistory exchanged houses with another elder named Castaing. The consistory then tried to sell this second home to Blanc who then sued perhaps because he thought it was a different house. ADG, H 25, 13 April 1618. "Le sieur de Cerase ayant rapporté que du Blanc, de Lavardac, a appellé le consistoire en desistat de la maison que Monsier de Castaing a baillé à nostre église en contreschange de celle qui avoit esté acheptée de Sarauste, ledit Sieur de Castaing a promis de prendre la cause pour le consistoire au premier jour de Cour, ce qui a esté accepté par ledit consistoire et a esté´prié ledit sieur Cerase de recouvrer les contract d'achapt de la maison de Sarauste et d'eschange faict avec ledit sieur Castaing qui sont entre les mains de Fita."

by sending one elder to speak with a mason and a carpenter, and another to raise money from the entire congregation. Interestingly enough, the latter elder was permitted to take two sous for his own salary out of every livre he collected, or 10%.[67] It remained an open question, however, about where the elders would locate their temple.

The elders turned to the baron of Montagnac to help resolve almost every difficult issue their congregation faced. In the fall of 1617, they again asked the baron to provide for the community by using his power to designate an appropriate location for their worship space. The consistory apparently had a lengthy debate regarding the issue, but the elders ultimately decided the back of the town offered the best location. There was an empty lot right next to a house belonging to Joseph de Ranse, a prominent member of the Reformed Church and long-standing elder with strong ties to the surrounding countryside. The elders were so impatient to move forward that they agreed to lend 300 livres up front for the project while they worked to collect the necessary sums from the congregation.[68] I suspect these funds came directly from the elders who consequently received reimbursement from the consistory over the following years, but it is impossible to say for sure. All of this activity successfully established a physical structure for the Reformed Church at Montagnac, and the situation stabilized for at least the next few years.

Momentum to build a new temple began yet again in 1625 when the pastor of Sainte-Affrique, another small village in southwestern France, showed up in Montagnac with a donation of twenty livres left by his grandmother. The pastor explained how his

[67] ADG, H 25, 5 September 1617. "Monsieur de Ranse a esté prié de parler à un masson et un charpentier pour faire le marché du bastiment du temple et le sieur Cerase a esté chargé de faire la levee des deniers cottise pour cest effect don't il recevre pour son salaire deux sols pour livre."

[68] ADG, H 25, 29 November 1617. "Pour prendre une ferm resolution après plusieurs propositions ci-devant faictes touchant le bastiment du temple, a esté trouvé bon de prier Monsier de Montaignac d'employer son pouvoir pour faire bailer la place qui est au fond de la ville joignant la maison de monsieur de Ranse et de Rozeille pour y bastir, ce que réussissant selon nos désirs, la maison que nous avons sera vendue pour nous server de l'argent qui en proviendra à notre bastiment. Autrement le temple sera basti en la place de nostre dite maison et afin que l'affaire ne soict trop longuement retardé a esté delibéré d'emprunter la somme de cent escus en attendant que la cottisation soict entièrement levée."

grandmother wanted her legacy to go toward building a new temple, and the elders gladly thanked him for thinking of Montagnac.[69] The following year, the elders received a second offer from Lart, who stilled owed the congregation 300 livres. In exchange for forgiveness on this loan, Lart again promised to give the consistory a house inside the town.[70] Interestingly enough, there is no evidence that Lart belonged to the Reformed church: he does not appear in the baptismal or marriage registries and the consistory never had any other interactions with him. In fact, another man named Monsieur de Bourg facilitated the agreement with Lart, again suggesting that he belonged to the Catholic Church.[71] The elders believed his proposal was fair, so they organized a general collection from the congregation to make the necessary refurbishments.

The elders embarked on this effort to construct a new worship space at one of the worst possible moments for the French Reformed Church of Montagnac. Royal troops started moving through parts of the Garonne River Valley in the early 1620s. There can be no doubt that Montagnac's economy and the town's Reformed congregation suffered as a result of these developments, but evidence suggests that the physical temple structure survived these years intact. The elders met a concerted Catholic opposition, however, to

[69] ADG, H 25, 27 April 1625. "Monsier de Perery, Pasteur de Saint Affrique, estant present à la compagnue, luy a dit qu'ayant appris qu'elle voulait bastir un templeil l'advertissoit que Mademoyselle de Carbon, sa grand mere, avoit légué pour cest effect vingt livres qu'il estoit prest de payer en cas on s'en voulut disposer en bastiment dudit temple, sur quoy il a esté remercié par ladit compagnie et charge donnée à Messiers de Casaux et de Ranse de parler à Monsieur de Lard sur l'affaire que l'église a avec luy et le [illegible] si on se pourroit accomoder avec luy du prix de sa maison pour cest effet."

[70] ADG, H 26, 22 November 1626. "Assemblés en concistoire les susnommés Pasteur et Anciens, a esté résolu que Dimanche prochain, à l'isseue du presche, les chefs de famille seroyent arrestés pour leur fair entendre l'accort intervene par le moyen de Monsieur du Bourg, entre le concistoire et le sieur de Lart, par lequel ledit sieur de Lart se seroit oblige de la some de cent escus et outré celà auroit pour l'entier payement cede une maison avec un chay joignant… ledit concistoire jeugeoit à propos de convertir ladite maison à l'usage d'un temple..."

[71] ADG, H 26, 29 November 1626. "Conformément a l'arresté precedent, les chefs de famille ont esté arrestés a l'isseue du presche le 29 novembre 1626, jour de Dimanche, et ont tous unanimement approuvé tant l'accort intervene avec Mr. De Lart que le dessain de fair un temple de la maison cédée par ledit sieur de Lart pour partie du payement, promettant aussi de se cottiser volontairement affin de mettre ladite maison en l'estat qu'il faut pour un tel usage et chascun de bailler argent suivant leurs facultés es mains des susnommés par le concistoire."

their plans of building a new worship space in early 1627. The local Catholic priest raised significant objections to the project and enlisted the Bishop of Condom in his efforts to stop the consistory. In particular, the priest objected to the use of a church bell to summon the congregation.[72] The Huguenots had used a bell for several years, so the priest's complaint was likely motivated by hostility to the new structure and a growing anti-Protestant sentiment across France. The priest raised the issue directly with Joseph de Ranse, an elder on the consistory and a consul for the town. He subsequently notified the consistory of trouble brewing with the Catholics. The consistory predictably turned to the baron for protection and asked him to pursue the consistory's right to build a new structure in the nearby court at Agen. The elders did not wait for this litigation to resolve itself before moving the temple to Lart's old house.

In the meantime, the consistory struck a deal with the baron of Montagnac. The elders still owned Lart's house, and, as we will see in Chapter 6, the baron allowed the pastor to live in two of his houses for free.[73] The elders proposed, in early 1628, to give the baron only part of Lart's house, the storefront (*chay*), in exchange for ownership of the two houses

[72] This entry in the consistory register is worth quoting at length, given its pivotal role in the history of Montagnac. ADG, H 26, 21 March 1627. "…Le sieur de Casaux a représenté que sur l'advis certain [illegible] avoit esté donné tant à luy qu'au sieur de Ranse que le prestre de ceste ville, au nom de Mr. l'Evesque de Condom, vouloit former opposition tant au son de la cloche qui sert à assembler l'église qu'au dessait prins de bastir un temple et que pour cest effet il se devoit adresser audit sieur de Ranse comme estant Ancien de l'église et à présent consu, ledit sieur de Ranse et luy, de l'advis de Monsieur de Montagnac, auroyent esté hyer à Agen pour prendre advis de ce qu'ils auroyent à faire en telle occurrence duquel ayant fait rapport, la compagnie délibérant a approuvé ce qui avoit esté fait par lesdits sieurs conformément au conseil que leur avoit esté donné a dicté audit sieur de Ranse la response qu'il devoit faire au prestre sur ladite opposition, promettant au nom de toute l'église de le relever indemne de tout ce qui luy en pourroit arriver et le prians avec ledit sieur Casaux de continuer comme ils ont commencé tant à prendre conseil sur les occurrences d'un si important affaire qu'à le pratiquer ensuit et faire toutes les diligences et requestes aux communs frais de toute l'église."

[73] This is correct: Lazare Casaux lived in two houses, though I believe the quality and size of a home in Montagnac may have left someone of his social standing using that much living space. ADG, H 26, 2 January 1628. "… Ayant esté rapporté que Monsieur de Montagnac apres diverses solicitations et prières vouloit bailer les deux maisons que le sieur de Casaux occupe pour le chay que l'église a acheté du sieur de Lart qui est joinant le temple et pour les cent escus que ledit sieur de Lart doit à église, a esté résolu qu'on en communiqueroit Dimanche prochain à tout le corps de l'église pour en evoir consentement et approbation sans quoy on ne passeroit outre." The subsequent entry from 9 January 1628 indicates the congregation approved of this decision.

their pastor occupied.[74] The baron eventually agreed to this arrangement after several requests, and the two sides entered into a contract the following month.

Disaster finally struck the Reformed Church of Montagnac in August 1628. The very last embers left over from the long sixteenth-century Wars of Religion flared again across southwestern France from 1627-1629. First La Rochelle fell to Louis XIII in 1628, followed shortly afterward by other Protestant holdouts like Privas and Alès. The city of Montauban, probably the second most powerful Protestant stronghold in France after La Rochelle, finally surrendered in 1629.[75] A wave of anti-Protestant violence swept across the region during this time of instability, and Montagnac suffered as a direct consequence. Acting with the approval of the crown, the Bishop of Condom orchestrated the demolition of the town's Reformed temple in August 1628 and the prohibition of Protestant services in the vicinity.[76] This clearly violated the terms of the Edict of Nantes (1598), which had guaranteed Huguenots the right to practice their religion in places where it already existed. For the time being, the pastor could only preach at Moncaut, an arrangement that will be described in greater detail in Chapter 6. Despite the intercession of a consul in Nérac and the elders'

[74] There is some ambiguity regarding the term *un chay*. There is a modern French word, *chai*, meaning a wine and spirit store, but the term from the consistory record cannot otherwise be found.

[75] Julius Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe* 1500-1800 (Cambridge University Press, 2001), 67. Raymond A. Mentzer, "The Edict of Nantes and its institutions," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 101.

[76] Again, this excerpt is worth quoting at length. ADG, H 26, 10 August 1628. "Assemblés en concistoire les Pasteur et Anciens susnommés, assistés extraordinairement de Monsie Perery, pasteur, de Messiuers de Moncaup, de Montagnac, lecture ayant esté faite de l'ordonnance de Monsieur le Prince portant commendement de démolir le temple fait et construe depuis peu et interdiction des ministaires dedans Montagnac forts qu'au chateau pour le seigneur et ses domestiques, ouis assi en suite les sieurs de Casaux et de Ranse, revenans de Cadilhac de devers Monsie le Duc d'Espernon sans aucun effect raportans pareillement l'inutilité des diligences utes Monsieur le premier président de Nicolie et mondit seigneur le Prince résident en ladite ville et revoullant faire aucune considération des tiltres et droitz de ceste église et comme enfin le temple avoit est´démoli et les matériaux, pour le mons tout le couvert et charpente emportés par le curé de ces ville, la compagnie après une meure délibération de toutes choses et notamment ayant esgard au temp jaçoit que ceste église ait autant de droit et de privilège que toute autre du Royaume, a néanmoins arresté que pour quelque temps il ne serois point presché en ceste ville et que ledit sieur Casaux se contenteroit de continuer son ministaire au chasteau pour le seigneur et ses domestiques et pour toute l'église de Moncaut puisqu'il plaisoit au seigneur d'offrir volontairement sa maison..."

appeals to a court in Catholic Agen, the situation remained tense in Montagnac.[77] But then a subsequent edict from the Parlement of Toulouse similarly prohibited the pastor from preaching in Moncaut, effectively banning and dismantling the Reformed religion around the countryside of Montagnac.

The elders convened a meeting in February 1629 to survey their options and once again discuss plans to build a new temple for their congregation. Most of the consistory's wealth at this time took the form of grain, and taken altogether the elders could only manage to put together about thirty livres. They still decided to contract with a mason and a carpenter to begin working on a new structure, promising to make payments from the church's future income.[78] The elders expected to receive payments from tenant farmers and they clearly anticipated financial assistance from other Huguenot congregations. By this time, the French Reformed Churches had a long history of raising and distributing funds between themselves on an as-needed basis to cover emergency expenditures. Montagnac

[77] ADG, H 26, 2 September 1628.

[78] The elders received about three livres from voluntary contributions and about 30 livres from in-kind resources. ADG, H 26, 8 February 1629. "Les sieurs de Casaux et Ranse ayant esté cy-devant chargés de procurer le bastiment d'un temple pour ceste église et ayant pout cest effect retire ce qu'ils ont peu de ceux qui se sont volontairement cottise pour ceste oeuvre, tant du corps de ceste église que des églises circomvoisines et avec celà basti de fond en comble ledit temple, ont esté ouis en la reddition de leur conte et iceluy ayant esté soigneusement examine, s'est trouvé qu'ils ont plus fourni que recue la somme de trois livres six sous huit deniers. [The entry then lists several people who owe payments to the church.]… La charge que l'argent qui est proven de vente du bois restant du bastiment montant à la somme de trentre trois livres et demy appartiendra audit sieur de Ranse et luy demeurera comme ayant fait des fournitures revenants à ceste somme a payment desdits masson et tuilier par dessus la recepte…"

contributed funds to other churches in the past, and now the elders expected to receive extraordinary assistance from other congregations as well.[79]

Unfortunately, other congregations did not have the ability to send financial assistance to the congregation at Montagnac. In fact, a Catholic consul from Fieux and a royal notary travelled to Montagnac in March 1629 and forced the consistory to pay a portion of the revenue from the *métairie des pauvres*, the major poor relief program.[80] The arrangement with Fieux will be discussed in Chapter 7, but as mentioned earlier, the towns shared the revenue from a farm dedicated specifically for the poor. The *métairie* was within eyesight of Montagnac but over ten kilometers from Fieux. Enforcing this preexisting agreement to split the revenue from the *métairie* only compounded the financial disaster for the Huguenots in Montagnac. A widespread and severe plague across southern France undoubtedly added pressure to the situation in Fieux. One historian even writes that in some towns of rural southwestern France, the plague of 1629-1630 "assumed the proportions of the medieval genocide."[81] This was undoubtedly the lowest point thus far in Montagnac's fiscal history.

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[79] In 1616 Pastor Estienne Saffin went door to door raising money for the congregation in Mas. ADG, H 25, 29 September 1616. "Sur la lecture de l'article du synode touchant la collecte pour l'église du Mas, a esté ordonné que Monsieur Saffin s'en ira de maison en maison pour demander à un chacun sa charitable subvention, à quoy il sera accompagné par quelqu'un d'entre les anciens tel qu'il trouvera à commodité." In 1623 the elders sent 10 livres to a goldsmith named Cochet of Lectoure because he was in prison. ADG, H 25, 21 December 1623. "Sur ce qui a esté représenté des afflictions et persécutions du sieur Cocher, maître orfèvre member de l'église de Lectoire et particullièrement de sa prison et de la cause d'icelle, la compagnie compatissant à ses maux et ayant esgard à sa grande famille, luy donne dix livres de l'argent des pauvres..." The next year the consistory donated 10 livres for the pastor of Pons, who was in jail at Bordeaux. ADG, H 25, 13 October 1624. "Ont aussi représenté qu'il avoit esté trouvé bon que chasque église contribua 10 livres pour assister Monsier Constans, Pasteur du Pons, à present prisonier à Bordeaux et souffrant pour justice..."

[80] ADG, H 26, 28 March 1629. "Arnaud de Brouce, consul de Fieux et Issac du Puy, notaire royal, députtés de la communauté de Fieux s'estans presentés au concistoire avec procuration de leur communauté pour recevoir quelque sommes pour leurs pauvres sur et tant moins de ce que leur peut estre deu de la Metairie des pauvres, le Sieur Seraze leur a delivré la somme de trente livres des deniers de ladite Metairie pour lequel effect un mandement desjà préparé et signé des Anciens..."

[81] Emmanuel Le Roy Laudurie, *The French Peasantry, 1450-1660*, trans. Alan Sheridan (University of California Press, 1987), 267. See also Tim McHugh, *Hospital Politics in Seventeenth-Century France: The Crown, Urban Elites and the Poor* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 142.

Things continued to worsen in April 1629 when Pastor Lazare Casaux asked the consistory to allow him to find a new congregation. He complained that the wars in Languedoc and the royal edicts prevented him from exercising his calling to preach the Word of God, and that another congregation would be better suited for his ministry.[82] The elders responded to Casaux's complaints by pointing out that he was still ministering within the households of both the barons of Montagnac and Moncaut. Although he could not legally preach in public, he still gave private sermons to the local nobility, who paid part of his salary. The consistory therefore rejected Casaux's request and asked him to remain at Montagnac.[83] With the consistory running out of money and its pastor thinking about moving to a new congregation, the consistory desperately needed things to change.

The situation finally improved slightly in August 1629 when the Peace of Alès specifically permitted the reestablishment of the Reformed Church in Montagnac.[84] The crown did not formally ratify the treaty until September, but public sermons were once again allowed in the town and surrounding villages. The most obvious and immediate problem facing the congregation remained the lack of a physical worship space. What options did the consistory have? Montagnac joined a number of other congregations around southwestern France in making an appeal directly to Cardinal Richelieu for reparations. The elders clearly wanted to portray their community as entirely loyal to the crown and victims of an unfair

[82] ADG, H 26, 25 April 1629. "Monsiuer Casaux représentans que la continuation de la guerre au Languedoc luy estoir l'espérance voir de longtemps révoquée l'ordonnance de Mr. Le prince touchant l'interdiction du ministère publique en ceste ville et un pareil effaict contre l'arrest du Parlement de Thoulouse pourtant mesme interdiction à Moncaut pour ceste éeglise et requérant qu'il luy fust loysible de se retirer ailleur et attacher à quelqu'autre église pour y exercer touts les parties de son ministère..."

[83] Ibid. "…l'a d'un commun accord très affectueusement supplié pour toutes ces considerations qu'au lieu de penser à les abandoner il veuille leur continuer les mesmes et semblables effaicts de son zelle qu'il leur a démonstré jusqu'icy et [illegible] demeurant parmi eux recercher ensemble tous les moyen propres pour le rétablissement de le liberté accordée par les edictz à quoy ils croyen qu'il leur est grandement utile..."

[84] ADG, H 26, 5 August 1629. "En vertu des articles de paix du 27 Juin 1629 dans la ville d'Ales, cette église s'est rétablie en l'usage du ministaire peublique, mais à cause de la demolition du temple et pour n'avoir lieu [illegible] proper en ville il a esté trouvé bon d'accepter les offer de Monsier de Montagnac et faire les exercises de Religion au chasteau, ce qu'on a commence de faire peubliquement le 5 d'Aoust 1629."

persecution.[85] They therefore sent their pastor to make a formal request for reparations to Montauban where the Cardinal planned to receive that city's surrender. It is unclear if the consistory ever received any money, but they did have to reimburse Casaux fifteen livres for his efforts.[86] The end to a miserable decade for Protestantism in the Garonne River Valley came in December 1629 when plague finally struck Montagnac in the wake of the war's destruction. The elders made a palpable public appeal for special prayers:

> La peste ravageant en divers endroits les églises et s'augmentant en plusieurs lieux, a esté résolu qu'en s'humilieroit extraordinairement en ce lieu par prières peubliques le jeudi matin et le Dimanche a soir. A esté aussi résolu que la sainte Cène seroit célébrée de Dimanche prochain en 15 jours et le Dimanche après et que le peuple en seroit adverti à l'isseue du presche d'auhourd'huy en 8 jours.[87]

In the meantime, Pastor Lazare Casaux simply continued his ministry for the town's Huguenots out of the baron's own home.[88] The consistory register makes no mention of a new building or efforts to purchase and refurbish an existing structure. Casaux continued to raise objections about the congregation's inability to pay his salary, and in April 1632 he formally asked the consistory again to permit him to find a new church. He suggested the elders take the opportunity of an upcoming provincial synod to search for a new minister, though he remained vague about the reasons he wanted to leave Montagnac. Clearly, the lack of full payment had something to do with his thinking, but there remained some

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[85] 19 August 1629. "Sur l'advis qui a esté donné ce mesme jour par Mr. Sylvius que Mr. Le Cardinal de Richelieu chef de conseil du Roym, avec plusieurs autres du conseils et officiers de la couronne devoit arriver à Montauban le mesme jour ou le lendemain, le sieur Casaux a esté prié d'y aller en diligence pour essayer de présenter une requeste tendente à obtenir quelque réparatuib de le démolition du temple, attendu que tous les membres de ceste église s'estoyent tousjoirs continués en toutes fidélité et obéeissance envers le Roy."

[86] ADG, H 26, 31 August 1629. No mention is made if Casaux succeeded, and there is no evidence that the consistory ended up receiving any money from the crown.

[87] ADG, H 26, 2 December 1629.

[88] A poor relief document from 1631 refers to the sermon taking place in the chateau "de Mousier de Mon^{ac}." See ADG, H 47, 17 August 1631.

unwritten "considerations" (*certaines considérations*).[89] Casaux ultimately remained at Montagnac for the following year before the consistory could find a replacement.

We have very little documentation concerning the congregation's temple in the two decades after Casaux's departure from Montagnac. The consistory register also contains a large gap between 1634 and 1649. An inventory for the Archives Départementales du Gers lists an apparently lost contract between the consistory and two masons from 8 September 1637, but I have not viewed it.[90] When the record does begin again, we read about a dispute in 1649 between women in the congregation regarding the location of their seats in the temple.[91] The consistory decided to rearrange the furniture to prevent women from assigning priority to one seat over another. It is therefore obvious that the consistory obtained a permanent structure for their worship space at some point in the 1630s or 1640s.

Problems continued to arise from time to time. The pastor's house, for example, became severely damaged in 1651 when a wall came crashing down. In an indication of how impoverished the consistory had become, the elders could not find the money to make the necessary repairs and instead had to sell a different house belonging to the consistory. The subsequent sale only generated thirty-six livres.[92] There is no clear evidence linking the

[89] ADG, H 26, 18 April 1632. "… il la vouloit poursuivre au sinode convoque à Duras le quatriesme du moys prochain, afin de donner charge à quelqun d'y rechercher un autre Pasteur et là-dessus s'estant retire en sa maison et les sieurs de Ranse et de Ceraze, anciens, ayant représenté que le fondement de ceste demande venoit selon leur jugement du process intanté à ceste église par lequel on prétendoit de leur oster le fond destine à l'entretien du ministère... il a respondeu que pour certaines considérations il ne pouvoit se despartir de sa reszolution signfié touchant la demande de con congé au sinode, de l'ordonnance duquel il veult neantmoins dépandre…"

[90] The contract is listed as ADG, H 63, 8 September 1637.

[91] ADG, H 26, nd. 1649. See Chapter 5, page 152.

[92] ADG, H 26, 21 December 1651. "Sur ce qui a esté représenté que la maison de l'église ou le Pasteur fait sa demure est fort ruinée a coté de la muraille de la ville et que pour esviter qu'elle ne se guate advantage il est nécessaire de réparer et de faire remetre une partie de la muraille qui est tombée et parce qu'il n'y a point de deniers pour faire ceste reparation, la compagnie avisera s'il ne seroit pas à propos de vandre une maison… à cause qu'elle est tout affait découverte et ruiné…. Pour employer la somme qui prouviendra de ceste vente à remettre la muraille qui est tombée et qu'elle se baillée à seluy qui en veut doner trente et six livres et en passeront contrat."

damage done to the pastor's house with the Fronde (1648-1653), a civil war that erupted in parts of France during the same time of the Franco-Spanish War (1635-1659). One immediate consequence of the war, however, was a famine that hit Montagnac particularly hard in the spring on 1651, causing the elders to make special distributions to the starving poor.[93] Once again, a series of crises in rapid succession caused the consistory's ultimate impoverishment.

IV. Fiscal Organization

The consistory register from Montagnac also sheds light on how the elders went about organizing the consistory's finances. To begin with, Montagnac's consistory always consisted of at least three elders selected from the community to administer the congregation's business.[94] Elders were typically elite members of society with at least some business savvy or legal expertise.[95] Like many other French Reformed Churches struggling to find enough money to survive, the elders were far more important in the church's organization than deacons. It therefore fell to the elders to make sure that the congregation could meet all of its financial obligations. Over the course of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, these obligations included paying the salary of the pastor, reimbursing the pastor and elders for attending colloquy meetings and provincial synods, maintaining a physical worship space, distributing assistance to the poor, paying part of the tuition of a theology student, and other overhead costs associated with revenue-generating properties.

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[93] ADG, H 26, 21 May 1651. "Au mesme instant ayant esté représanté que plusieurs pauvres souffrent à cause de la disette des vivres a esté délibéré que de l'argent qui provident de la méterie desdits pauvres la distribution leur en se faicte par monsier Lacabe, antien, de laquelle distribution il rapportera rolle audit concistoire."

[94] Other larger communities aimed to have twelve elders, a highly symbolic number. See Alain Joblin, *Les protestants de la côte au XVIIe siècle (Boulonnais, Calaisis*) (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2012), 48-52. The consistory of Montagnac would occasionally resort to electing "un ancien supernuméraire": ADG, H 25, 21 November 1612.

[95] See the next chapter for a detailed description of Montagnac's elders and their business dealings. Elders in other churches were also typically the wealthiest members. Joblin, *Les protestnats de la côte*, 49.

One can glimpse the basic structures of Montagnac's finances when the consistory rotated elders into new positions. For example, on 30 October 1600, the consistory took the time to spell out the specific functions and expectations assigned to each elder. Two elders, Blanc and Castaing, were assigned to generally "manage the affairs of the church… and its farms," a somewhat ambiguous charge that probably included decisions related to maintenance and land management.[96] Blanc was listed a second time as the only elder responsible for receiving money for the pastor's salary, which, among other things, included a subsidy from the French government called the *deniers de roy*. Blanc is then listed a third time again with Castaing and another elder, Ranse, as responsible for paying the pastor's salary in a timely manner.[97] Most importantly, Ramond Serige was the fourth and final elder charged only with distributing assistance to the poor. This system allowed the consistory to maintain a separation between the two major normal expenses for the church: the pastor's salary and aid to the poor. Theoretically, the consistory always intended for these funds to be kept separate, but as we will see this rarely happened.

The responsibilities of elders in the consistory—and the line between the consistory and the wider population—frequently blurred. The documents make it clear that the elders regularly acted in each other's capacity whenever the need arose. It was typical in almost all of Montagnac's expenditures for someone outside of the consistory to spend money out of his or her own pocket and then turn to the consistory for a refund. In 1603, the elders recognized that more than three other men held funds destined for the poor relief programs.[98] Much more will be said in the following pages about the informal networks of credit that emanated from the consistory into the population at Montagnac. Suffice it to say for now

[96] ADG, H 25, 30 October 1600. "Les dus nomes par tout le consistoyre pour poursuyvre les affères que l'église a anvers monsieur ou autres ces fermes son messieurs du Blanc et de Castaing…"

[97] ADG, H 25, 30 October 1600. "Pour le pasteur seront tenus de fère diligence le payer iceluy..."

[98] ADG, H 25, 6 November 1603. They are listed as Monsieur DuPont, Jean Bidous and Piette Forces "et autres."

that part of the reason why can be explained by how the consistory owned a variety of revenue-generating properties, including a mill and several farms. In 1612, the consistory decided to auction six parcels of land from part of the *métairie des pauvres* together with two debts belonging to tenant farmers.[99] The consistory operated a complex system of properties, and as we will see, these various properties required the elders and the other townspeople to cooperate and work together to manage everything.

A consequence of this large and decentralized system of investments was the cost of overhead. Records indicate that tenants held the consistory liable for damages to their farms or buildings and deducted any repairs (or improvements) they made to the property from their annual rent. Other times, the consistory had to spend its own money just to keep its properties running. Perhaps the greatest overhead cost associated with the consistory's revenue involved the actual collection of money. It was quite expensive to pursue court cases against debtors, especially so for rural Reformed Churches in Catholic France. As various court cases dragged on, the elders always added their expenditures to the final settlement they hoped to receive. They were often disappointed by the results.

One pervasive overhead cost for the consistory at Montagnac concerned the tenant farmers who actually made payments on time through intermediaries called "receivers" (*receveurs*). Almost every single account book refers to middlemen who worked between debtors and the consistory. These *receveurs* collected payments from the church's debtors and safely transferred them to the consistory, and in return charged a small percentage on the amount collected. I suspect this type of tax-farming may have served as a way for the Reformed Church to rent its lands to Catholic peasants. In any case, these *receveurs* clearly interceded between the consistory and members of the church, and at the low end they often

[99] ADG, H 25, 20 April 1612. The consistory turned to a notary named Fitta to draw up the receipt of sale.

took one sous per livres for their services.[100] Even this fee represented an automatic 5% drain on the consistory's revenue, and many *receveurs* charged much more. Even elders regularly took a portion of the funds they collected on behalf of the congregation.

Another reason for the ad hoc management of Montagnac's finances is that the elders were not always interested in carrying out their responsibilities to the church. In several instances throughout the history of Montagnac, one finds various elders called to task for neglecting their duties or missing consistory meetings. In 1596, the consistory became irritated enough at an elder named Arnaud Fita to reprimand him for skipping a consistory meeting that he had promised he would attend.[101] During the same meeting they also sanctioned another elder, La Cave, for neglecting his office in the church and his responsibilities to care for the poor.[102] Absentee elders who failed to uphold their responsibilities were a recurring problem at Montagnac, and the consistory as a whole consciously tried to correct its lax members.[103] Eventually, the consistory decided that four elders with the pastor would suffice to conduct business on behalf of the entire church.[104] Even this low standard for a quorum was not always followed.

The consistory had few tools at its disposal to force a recalcitrant elder to fulfill the charges of his office. Consider a series of episodes beginning on 25 April 1614, when the

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[100] For instance, a *receveur* charged one sous per livres to collect Pastor Estienne Saffin's salary in 1616. See Appendix A. "Le 6^{m} de juillet 1616 j'ay receu des mains de Jaques Bonhomme commis du consistoire vingt trois livres quinze sols des Intereste des cent escus dheus par Ducos Pousequell (?) et Labau le droict de sa recepte qui est un sol pour livres ayante este premiere an distraict."

[101] ADG, H 25, 23 February 1596. Fita is called "pour avoir rompeu le rang du consistoire, luy sera remonstré qu'il ne devait promettre de revenyr après dysner s'yl estoit en volonté de ne sy trouver poienct."

[102] ADG, H 25, 23 February 1596. "La Cave sera sanscuré pour mespriser la charge de l'église et des poubres."

[103] ADG, H 25, 11 November 1612. "Veu la négligence que nous avons apportée jusques ici à nous assembler en consistoire, avons trouvé bon de nous obliger touts par serment de nous assembler tous les jours sur sepmaine esquels il y aura prédication, l'après diner..."

[104] ADG, H 26, 23 January 1613. "D'autant qu'il advient souvent que quelqu'un d'entre nous est absent des assemblées du consistoire à raison de plusieurs affaires qui peuvent survenir à toute heure, a été arresté qu'au nombre de quatre anciens avec le pasteur on pourra procéder à touts les affaires comme si le consistoire estoit complet…."

consistory officially censured two elders for missing several meetings without a legitimate excuse.[105] In May of the same year the consistory exhorted Raymond Cerisier to either resign his position as elder or start attending consistory meetings with more regularity.[106] Two other elders then missed the consistory meeting on 24 August 1614 in which Cerisier finally resigned.[107] The consistory eventually decided in 1616 that it was necessary to pick the exact day and time of the following meeting every time they met.[108] If an elder then failed to attend the next meeting after having agreed to its time and place, he would be "grievously censured."[109] They further stipulated that each elder needed to sign his name at the conclusion of that day's meeting minutes, testifying to his contribution to the church's affairs.

Putting aside contemporary notions of accounting and fiduciary responsibilities, even some elders in the seventeenth century thought the administration of church finances was haphazard and lax. From time to time, the consistory recognized it had not received an official accounting of the expenses people were making on its behalf. In 1600, for example, it was noted that the consistory had not received an official account of the church's expenditures in quite some time.[110] Much like how the national synods required provinces and universities to submit receipts for the *deniers de roy*, Montagnac's consistory regularly compelled elders to submit their own documents for review. The results of these audits were then entered into the consistory's official register, giving us a yearly snapshot of the consistory's finances.

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[105] ADG, H 25, 25 April 1614. Pierre Castaing and Simon David missed several meetings "sans excuse valable et légitime." Castaing had another problem with the consistory: his son was attending a Jesuit *collège* in Agen

[106] ADG, H 25, 20 May 1614.

[107] ADG, H 25, 24 August 1614.

[108] ADG, H 25, 18 May 1616: "A cause des désordres qui sont en nos affaires pour négligence, a esté advisé et résolu que désormais. A chasque consistoire on choisira le jour et heure de la tenue du prochain consistoire..."

[109] ADG, H 25, 18 May 1616: "gruesvement censué."

[110] ADG, H 25, 11 November 1600. "…ce qui n'a pas été fait pour certaines occasions."

The types of documents that survive in the archives contain additional clues about how the consistory's auditing system worked. It was normally the elder's personal responsibility to keep track of his expenditures and submit an official account to the consistory. This "*syndic*" position rotated between the elders at various intervals, and how each elder went about tracking his expenses depended on personal preferences and the type of expenditure.[111] In 1622, Ranse and Rasteau, two elders charged with distributing aid to the poor, recorded each distribution of assistance on small scraps of paper and then transferred the information by their own hands to a clean account book.[112] It is far likelier for these clean account books to have survived, but there are a few instances where we only have the scraps of paper. In other cases, elders seemed to have turned these scraps of paper over to a notary, who then generated a formal copy for the consistory with the elder's signature. The local notary could at times be slow in handing documents back over to the consistory, forcing the elders to repeatedly remind him of his job.[113] In still other cases, the consistory submitted an audited account of their social welfare programs to Montagnac's consuls, generating another layer of documentation.[114]

The elders conceived of the consistory's fiscal policies in terms of the *deniers de l'église* and the *bourse des pauvres*. The former, which will be covered in Chapter 6, provided the funds for the normal operation of the church, including things like the pastor's salary, maintenance of the temple, and other miscellaneous expenses associated with its operation. The latter, which will be discussed in Chapter 7, delivered monetary assistance to

[111] It is difficult to generalize how the position of *syndic* worked. Sometimes the consistory changed *syndics* every year, but more often one elder remained the *syndic* for several years at a time.

[112] ADG, H 44.

[113] For example, the elders tried to have a notary named Fitta produce clean copies of their texts in 1612 (ADG, H 25). The original request to Fitta was made 20 April 1612, but they had to remind him on 1 March 1613, 23 April, and 2 August before he finally responded on 16 August.

[114] ADG, H 35 and H 36. This was the case when a rich noblewoman named Labarthe bequeathed her estate for the maintenance of the poor in Montagnac and three other villages. Montagnac's consistory had to split the revenue from her farm four ways and give an account of how they spent it.

the poor members of the Reformed church. These accounts were technically distinct but, as we will see, pastors and elders frequently took money from one or the other with promises to pay it back.[115] The best way to conceptualize the *deniers de l'église* and the *bourse des pauvres* is by thinking of them as theoretically separate endowments. Each fund had its own revenue-generating investments and sources of income, and they each had separate accounting procedures to keep track of the funds.

	Deniers de l'église	*Bourse des pauvres*
Income	• *Intérêt* payments • Local barons/nobility • *Taux* (individual assessments and general collections) • *Deniers du roy* • Bequests • Watermill	• *Métairie des pauvres* • *Intérêt* payments • Local barons/nobility • Bequests • *Plat des pauvres*
Expense	• The pastor's salary • Traveling to colloquies/synods • Building/maintaining worship space • *Lecteur* to read the Bible • Intermediary tax farmers • Prosecuting debtors in court • Assessments from provincial/national synods	• Weekly assistance to the poor (widows, orphans, the sick) • Extraordinary ad hoc payments to the poor • Burials • Travelers

Figure 6: Types of Income and Expenditures

The consistory usually appointed the same elder to manage both funds simultaneously. A quick glance at the documents the consistory produced reveals that the elders never thought in terms of "income received and expenses paid" that we would expect

[115] Janine Garrisson, *Protestants du Midi: 1559-1598* (Toulouse: Privat, 1980), 80; Martin Dinges, "Huguenot poor relief and health care in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 161.

from a modern organization. Instead, the elder in charge of the church's endowments submitted reports, or *comptes*, which tied revenue streams directly to their intended expenditure. In other words, it is impossible to describe the pastor's salary without also discussing the relevant farms and loans set aside for this purpose. These *comptes* contain a wealth of information, including the total sums of money collected and distributed on an annual basis, how much the consistory owed to the pastor, and other outstanding debts owed to the consistory.

The day-to-day operation of Montagnac's finances may have been slightly irregular, but there were a few safeguards put in place beyond the official audits to ensure the safety of the consistory's funds. They tried to create an accounting system that would prevent fraud, or at least make it much more difficult to steal from the congregation. One can see this in how the consistory strictly regulated access to the church's money and precious documents, which were always kept in a locked chest (*coffre*) located in an elder's house.[116] When the consistory decided to purchase a new chest in November of 1618 for nine livres, they decided to place it in Ranse's house. Ranse was not to be given one of the two keys to the chest, however. These were given to Pastor Saffin and another elder, Serase.[117] Given the fact that Ranse was a well-known landowner and relatively wealthy member of the local elite, his house would have been a safe place to keep the chest. A subsequent document from 27 February 1649 indicates that having the chest in one elder's house—but giving keys to two other elders—was standard practice at Montagnac.[118]

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[116] One finds brief descriptions referring to this practice in the consistory register. ADG, H 25, 1 November 1618. "Monsr de Ranse prendra en sa maison le coffre des pauvres avec les papiers qui seront inventorisés et rendra au prochain consistoire de deux clefs qu'il y a, l'une sera gardée par Monsr Saffin et l'autre par Monsr Cerase."

[117] They eventually sold the old chest. ADG, H 25, 1 November 1618: "Monsiuer de Ranse prendra en sa maison le coffre des pauvres avec les papiers qui seront inventoriés et rendus au prochain consistoire. De deux clefs qu'il y a, l'une sera gardée par Monsieur Saffin et l'autre par Monsieur Cerase. Il a esté achepté un coffre pour lesdits papiers qui couste neuf livres. Le vieux sera vendu."

[118] ADG, H 28, n.d. This second description of the chest and two keys is very similar to the first. It is contained in a list of payments made to the consistory from various farms for the poor relief programs.

V. Conclusion

This brief tour of Montagnac's fiscal history demonstrates how the elders developed a sophisticated program for funding their church. They needed direct and indirect support from local barons, especially during periods of persecution in the late 1620s and early 1650s. But the elders were also smart businessmen who understood how to negotiate contracts, pursue debtors, and make investments for the long-term. By taking advantage of the opportunities given to their congregation in the late sixteenth century, the local nobility and elders created a secure endowment for the Reformed congregation. The situation in Montagnac clearly reflected the agrarian methods of ecclesiastical finance popular in the late-medieval period. That being said, the elders wanted to deploy their resources to create a new society modeled on a biblical understanding of Christianity. In particular, they sought to educate, confessionalize, and regulate their congregation to root out the vestiges of Catholicism. Were they successful?

CHAPTER 5: DEMOGRAPHY AND CONFESSIONALIZATION IN MONTAGNAC

I. Introduction

A serious scandal occurred in the Reformed Church of Montagnac in November 1612 during the Lord's Supper. The congregation formed a line according to their rank and status in the community to receive the bread and wine. The pastor and elders went first, followed by the baron and town consuls, and then the heads of prominent families. Men always preceded women and children twelve or older normally went last, in effect reproducing the patriarchal social hierarchy of the town writ large. When it came time for the women to drink the wine, one woman realized at the last moment that she had been preceded by a woman from the Besandun clan. This was problematic because the Besanduns were members of the local community of so-called *cagots* or *capots*, outcasts who were likely the descendants of lepers.[1] Chaos erupted in the temple when the unnamed woman spat out (*vomit*) the wine and began a physical altercation (*meslée*) with the Besandun women. This caused an enormous scandal (*grand scandale*) for the entire congregation, forcing the elders to initiate an investigation into what happened and punish the malefactors.[2] The elders called men from the Besanduns to come before the consistory, but they initially refused.[3] When the

[1] See also Raymond A. Mentzer, "The Persistence of 'Superstition and Idolatry' among Rural French Calvinists," *Church History* 65 no. 2 (1996): 230-231. For more on the *cagots* or *capots*, see Françoise Bériac, *Des lépreux aux cagots. Recherches sur les sociétés marginaux en Aquitaine médiévale* (Bordeaux, 1990), pp. 299-351 and 382-397. G. Loubès, "Capots gersois à la fin du Moyen Age," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Gers*, 70 (1969): 204-216.

[2] ADG, H 25, 11 November 1612. "D'autant qu'à cause des Besandins en la dernière Cène il advent un grand scandale, c'est qu'une de leurs femmes s'estant meslée avec les aultres, cell qui vient après elle en ayant peu après esté advertise vomit ce qu'elle avoit pris, a esté ordonné qu'ils seront appelés au consistoire à Mercredi prochain par monsier de Lacave."

[3] ADG, H 25, 21 November 1612. "Les Besanduns ayant esté appelés par monsieur de Lacave suivant le rapport qu'il en a faict et n'ayant point compareu a esté ordonné qu'il les rappellera au prochain consistoire."

men finally showed up at the consistory, they were warned to control both their women and children, or else they would be excluded from the congregation.[4]

Vomiting the wine during a Super Service obviously represented a severe breakdown in confessional order. The heart of Reformed worship was always the sermon, where the congregation listened to its pastor explain the meaning of the Word of God and apply it to their daily lives. This required the introduction of pews in the "temple," a term that French Reformed Protestants deliberately used to evoke the early Christian church.[5] Focusing on the sermon also required the congregation to possess at least some level of prior understanding of their faith, not to mention the ability and discipline to remain quiet and not say any private Catholic prayers. All of this required the creation and steady deployment of new mechanisms through which social elites pacified the population and encouraged or curtailed certain behaviors. The confessionalization thesis is a useful tool for historians of the German Reformation because it helps them see the broadly simultaneous process of "hardening" belief systems in Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism. Linked closely with the idea of state building, confessionalization also provides an explanation for the rise of bureaucracies dedicated to tracking information like birthdays, baptismal dates, marriages, and deaths. To put it simply, churches wanted to ensure that the faithful remained untainted by another belief system.

Does the confessionalization thesis apply to Montagnac? Can it help us think about the development of their fiscal policies? A large and growing body of literature exists in which scholars take a case study of a specific town or church and apply a set of metrics to measure the extent of confessionalization. Baptismal records, for instance, provide insight

[4] ADG, H 25, 28 November 1612. "Les Besanduns ayant compare et faict response à la remonstrance qui leur a esté faicte que le scandale susmentionné estoit advenu par mesgarde, a esté ordonné que le privilege qu'il leur a esté ci-devant octroyé leur sera continue à condition qu'ils se donnent soigneusement garde de laisser commettre dors en avant de tells scandales ni à leurs enfans, ni à leurs femmes."

[5] Raymond A. Mentzer, "Masculinity and the Reformed Tradition in France," in *Masculinity in the Reformation Era*, ed. Scott H. Hendrix and Susan C. Karant-Nunn (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Oress, 2008), 130.

into how long parents waited to present their children for baptism, indicating if they rejected the "superstitious" Catholic notion that infants needed to immediately receive the sacrament or else risk an eternity in limbo. The rate at which parents named their children after Old Testament figures permits another way of judging confessional intensity. One might also look at the frequency with which Huguenots invited Catholics to serve as godparents, or the rate at which members of both churches married each other. Excluding members of the other church from one's testament could also be taken as a sign for confessional loyalty. It is possible to apply most of these metrics to the rich cache of source material from Montagnac, and doing so reveals mixed results. The elders struggled for several decades to root out Catholic belief, yet parents readily adopted Old Testament names at surprisingly high rates. The elders also rarely permitted Catholics to serve as godparents. Montagnac's Huguenots also waited longer to bring their children to baptism, but so did Catholics living in the same area. As we will see in the next two chapters, the fiscal history of Montagnac's Reformed Church can only be understood with a nuanced view of confessionalization.

II. Seasonal Conceptions and Population Decline in Montagnac

The French Reformed Churches were technically supposed to keep baptismal registries by law. The Edict of Villers-Cotterets in 1538 required that parish registers be sent every year to a clerk in the nearest *bailliage* or *sénéchaussée*.[6] The Huguenots generally seem to have ignored this edict, and there is no evidence to suggest that it was followed at Montagnac.[7] The Reformed Churches kept their own baptismal registries because the first national synod (Paris, 1559) required them to do so.[8] Churches were instructed to record the

[6] Cited in Jacques Levron, "Les Registres paroissiaux et d'état civil en France," *Archivum* IX (1959): 56-57.

[7] Philip Benedict, "Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Rouen: The Demographic Effects of the Religious Wars," *French Historical Studies* 9 no. 2 (1975): 233-234.

[8] Synod at Paris (1559), 2.35. Later synods confirmed this requirement and elaborated on the details. The synod at Poitiers (1560) prohibited the baptism of children belonging to Catholic parents (6.3). The synod at Vitré (1583) specified that it should be noted if a child was born out of wedlock (2.10) and that excommunicated parents should still attend the baptism (2.11).

names of the baptized infants, the parents, and godparents. More than simply following the directives of a higher ecclesiastical authority, churches wanted to keep these documents because they formalized kinship ties and demarcated the boundaries between Catholics and Protestants. They hold the clues for uncovering the basic social structure of the town and how it changed over time. Montagnac's baptismal registry also provides us with some of the first demographic data for this area in French history.

The baptismal registry from Montagnac contains 505 entries between 1610 and 1684 with only occasional gaps.[9] These entries almost always contain the names of the infant, parents, godparents, and the date. Occupations and titles for prominent individuals were also recorded, and one can occasionally find brief descriptions of the relationships between the people attending the baptism and where they lived. One also finds the birthday of the infant in approximately 60% of the entries, depending to a great extent on whether or not the scribe considered this information relevant.[10] The pastor performing the baptism was usually mentioned and, in many cases, personally wrote the register and/or signed his name to it. In any case, combing through other documents from Montagnac provides an accurate chronology of the pastors who served the community [See Appendix H: Signatures of Important Figures at Montagnac]. An analysis of these documents reveals a wealth of information about the demographic patterns of Montagnac's Huguenot population, the geographic extent of the church's ministry, and the strength of confessionalization in the town. Moreover, this analysis serves as the background for a comprehensive understanding of how the consistory drew resources from and distributed aid to families over multiple generations.

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[9] ADG, H 27. No baptismal entries survive from the following years: 1611, 1616-1621, and 1653.

[10] These missing birthdays appear in several consecutive entries in the register, suggesting that individual scribes considered the birthday an unimportant piece of information. One finds only a few birthdays, for example, for the years from 1623 to 1633. This ten-year period coincides exactly with the tenure of Lazare Casaux as pastor.

The term "baptismal registry" can be very misleading because it implies a singular and continuous record of baptisms arranged in chronological order, beginning with the earliest baptism and ending with the latest. Montagnac's baptismal registry began in this manner but then became more disorganized as time went on. The handwriting is often difficult to decipher, with frequent miniscule marginal notation. The type of information recorded can also vary depending on the predilections of the pastor or the scribe. Part of the problem stems from the fact that Montagnac's scribes filled the same volume from front-to-back with baptismal entries and from back-to-front with poor relief records. When the scribes ran out of room, they started to keep loose-leaf registers with entries no longer kept in chronological order. Some of these are duplicates and have been eliminated from this sample. I have carefully plodded through all of the surviving documents to generate a chronology of baptisms with each piece of available data.

There is still another problem with Montagnac's baptismal records that must be taken into account. Philip Benedict excluded Montagnac from his seminal work on Huguenot demographics because it was too difficult to relate its contents to a "fixed geographic area."[11] In other words, an unknown number of entries in the register seem to come from people moving around the countryside. A case in point can be found in the movements of Pierre de Vernejoul, a Huguenot lawyer born at Monflanquin far to the northwest of Montagnac. Traveling between his work in the Parlement de Bordeaux and his home outside of Monflanquin, his children were baptized in a number of different Protestant churches. On 5 December 1683, for instance, Vernejoul had his two-day-old daughter baptized at Moncaut, a small town that was sometimes served by Montagnac's pastor.[12] This particular entry does not appear anywhere in Montagnac's registry, but entries from Moncaut and other very small

[11] Philip Benedict, *The Huguenot Population of France, 1600-1685: The Demographic Fate and Customs of a Religious Minority* (Philadelphia, PA: The American Philosophical Society, 1991), 15, fn. 17.

[12] Daniel Benoit, "Pierre de Vernejoul: Procureur au Parlement de Guienne et son journal inédit (1673-1691)," *BSHPF* 53 (1904): 422.

hamlets from previous years are very common. Baptismal entries should therefore be seen as representative of the number and type of people whom Montagnac's pastors served, not the Protestants who lived strictly within the town.

Analyzing the number of baptisms by month is perhaps the best way to begin a discussion of the demographic patterns of Montagnac's Huguenot population. We are missing entries from only six years, and the date of baptism is missing in only 18 out of 505 entries. In total, 251 infants were male and 252 female (the gender of babies in three entries remains unknown due to illegibility). Plotting this information on a histogram divided by months reveals during which seasons of the year women gave birth and when they sought the sacrament of baptism. The result is a graph that illustrates the birthing patterns of an agrarian society in which the cycle from April to September was the least common time of year to have children. Mothers had their children in greater frequency from October to March, when agrarian work would have been less demanding. This birthing pattern suggests the use of contraceptive methods or family planning to decrease the chances of having a child during the busier months of the year.[13] These data indicate that baptisms and births both peak during the late-fall to early-spring and decline from mid-spring to mid-fall.

[13] Merry Wiesner lists the available methods of contraception as "coitus interruptus, magical charms, and herbal potions." Women would have known about these "herbal potions" through medical books or from a local practitioner of herbal medicine. Only prostitutes usually used condoms made from animal skin to protect men from venereal disease. Birth control was not widely adopted in France until the early nineteenth century. That being the case, it spread from the southwest to the north. Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 90; Pierre Goubert, "Historical Demography and the Reinterpretation of Early Modern French History: A Research Review," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1 no. 1 (1970): 44-45.

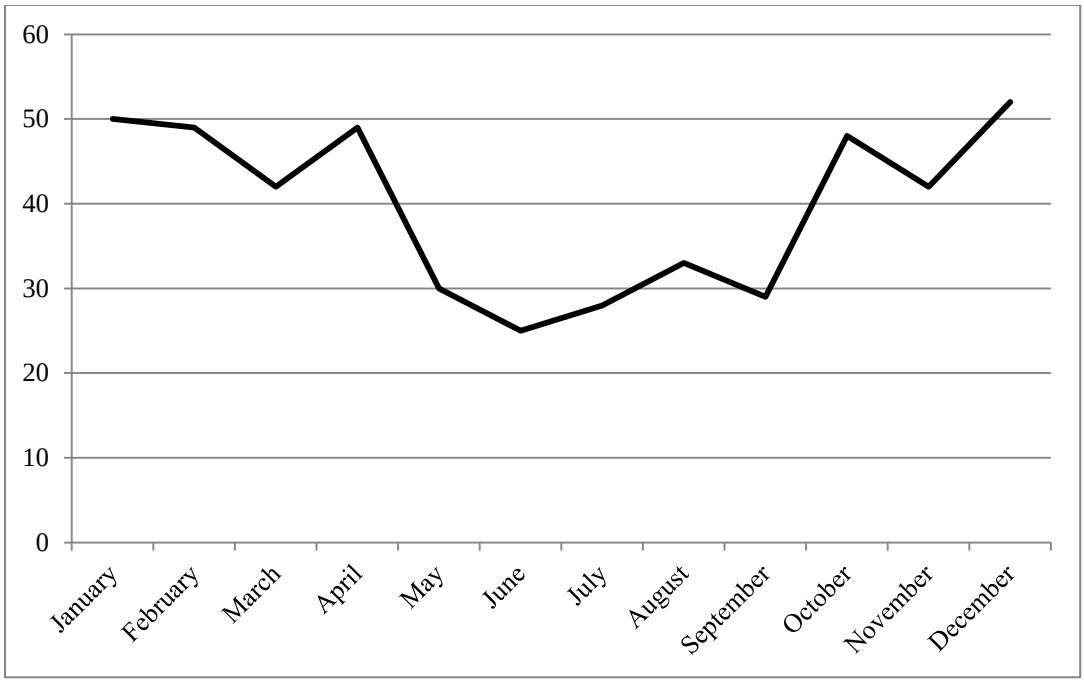

Figure 7: Baptisms by Month in Montagnac, 1610-1684

*Note: This chart represents 488 out of the 505 entries in the baptismal register. 18 entries are missing a baptismal date.

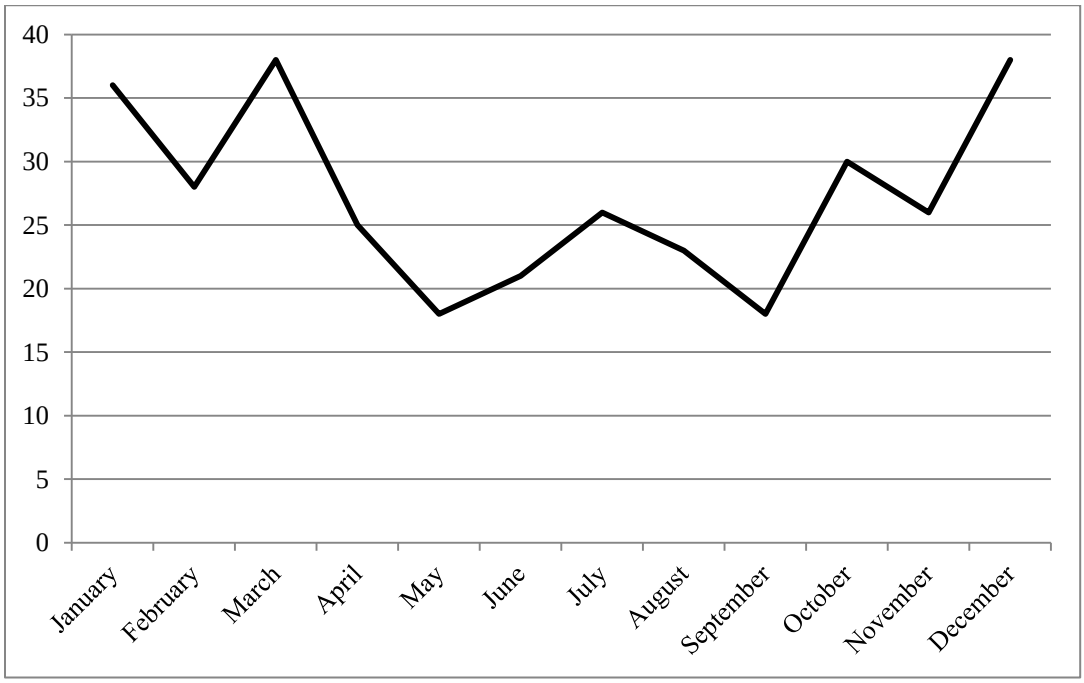

Figure 8: Births by Month in Montagnac, 1610-1684

*Note: Out of the 505 entries, 198 are missing a birthday. These entries are concentrated in the years from 1625 to 1633, coinciding almost exactly with the tenure of Lazare Casaux as pastor. The overall picture of seasonal births at Montagnac is therefore still valid for the remaining 308 entries.

This leads to a related way of measuring confessional strength that has received significant attention: the month of conception. If one assumes most parents waited only one or two weeks after birth to baptize their infants, then one can subtract nine months from the baptismal date and arrive at an approximate date of conception. It turns out most children in Montagnac were conceived during the spring, with the month of March being the most common. Demographers have already established the rate of conceptions almost always dropped during March in Catholic areas, even among Protestants.[14] The cause of this decline has also been the subject of debate. Some have argued that the Catholic prohibition of sex during Lent resulted in fewer conceptions, but others have made the case that this teaching was not widely promoted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[15] Still, other scholars have speculated that the mandatory closure of meat shops during Lent lowered the overall virility of the population. This last explanation could account for the drop in conceptions witnessed among Huguenots who lived in cities and were therefore also prevented from consuming meat.[16] The results from Montagnac do not fit into this larger pattern of seasonal births and conceptions: March was the most common month to conceive a child. This indicates once more a confessionalized community of French Protestants living in an area full of Catholic peasants.

[14] For an excellent overview of this historiography, see Benedict, *The Huguenot Population*, 91-95.

[15] François Lebrun, "Démographie et mentalité: Le mouvement des conceptions sous l'Ancien Régime," *Annales de Démographie Historique* (1974): 45-50.

[16] Jean-Pierre Bardet, *Rouen aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Les mutations d'un espace social*, Vol I (Paris: Société d'édition d'enseignement supérieur, 1983), 325-329, 380-381; Jacques Dupâquier, *La population rurale du Bassin parisien à l'époque de Louis XIV* (Paris: Université de Lille III, 1979), 353-355.

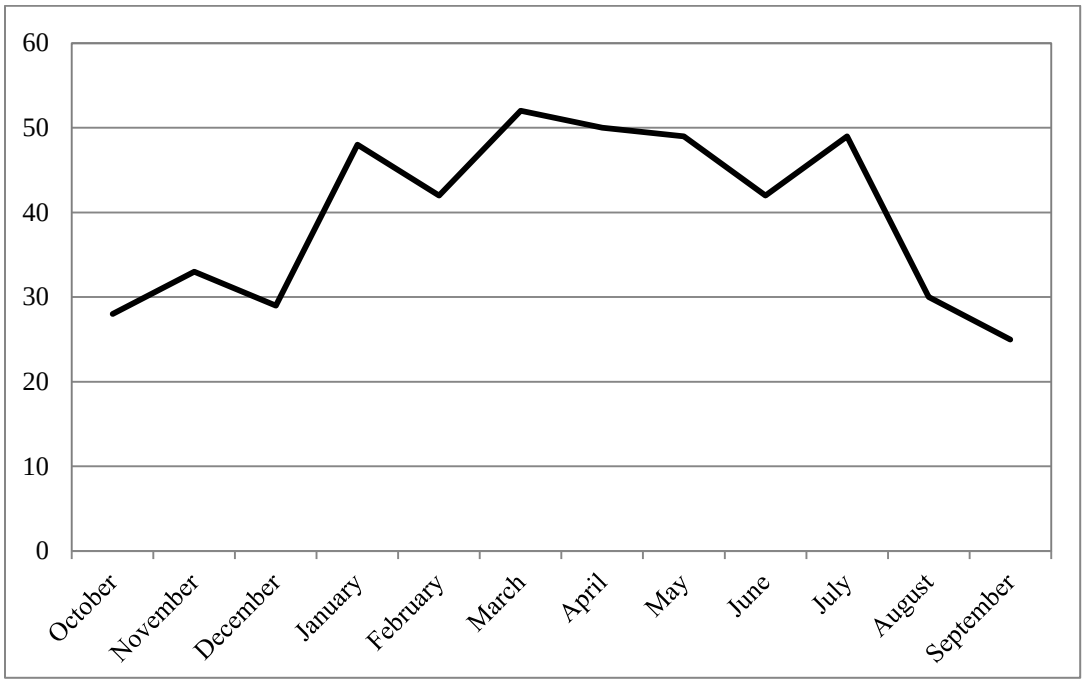

Figure 9: Conceptions by Month, 1610-1684

*Note: This chart uses the baptismal date as an approximate birthday.

A word of caution is needed about the implications of these figures. Because the data only relate to hundreds of births, one could argue that they are not statistically relevant to any meaningful conclusion about the presence of contraception or a rejection of the Catholic prohibition of sex during Lent. Gregory Hanlon's analysis of similar data from nearby Layrac during the same period demonstrates how Montagnac followed a broader pattern of seasonal conceptions. Hanlon places the data of Reformed conceptions into two categories he calls "tacit" and "core" Huguenots, and he plots these data on one graph before 1650 and another graph after 1650.[17] It is impossible to make these distinctions for the Reformed Church at Montagnac, and it is unclear why Hanlon uses the year of 1650 to divide the data

[17] Hanlon, *Confession and Community*, 188-192.

other than how he perceives a "hardening of religious boundaries after the 1650s."[18] That being said, Hanlon's work demonstrates how Huguenot births at Layrac also peaked during the winter and slumped during the warmer months.[19] Evidence from Montagnac and Layrac also confirms Jacques Houdaille's much larger study of seasonal conceptions from across France, which demonstrated a higher frequency of conceptions during the spring from April to June.[20]

Plotting the overall number of baptisms over the course of the seventeenth century indicates a slow but sustained decline in population. At first glance, it seems as though Montagnac's Huguenot population experienced a sharp uptick in 1683 and 1684, but the register paints a different picture. Of the seventeen recorded baptisms in 1684, sixteen entries were for babies born in another town but brought to Montagnac for the sacrament.[21] This highlights the broader marginalization and persecution of the French Reformed Churches in the years before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. It is quite likely that Huguenot communities in nearby places like Calignac and Nérac no longer had a minister of their own, requiring parents to make a trip for their babies' baptisms.[22] I strongly suspect that people from other towns regularly travelled to Montagnac to attend services, but scribes were never uniform in recording people's origins. If one excludes 1684 as an exceptional year when the pastor at Montagnac had to minister to a much wider geographic area, then one finds a slightly steeper declining trendline for the entire period. Like almost

[18] Ibid., 187.

[19] This involves working forward from Hanlon's data. He presents statistics on conceptions, and here I have added nine months to his figures to reliably compare it with the situation in Montagnac.

[20] Jacques Houdaille, "Le Mouvement saisonnier des naissances dans la France rurale de 1640 à 1669," *Population* (1985): 360-362. Houdaille shows how this remained true long into the nineteenth century, though the spike in springtime conceptions became less dramatic over time.

[21] The scribe specifically records the places of origin for these infants, but this was not always relevant information.

[22] Two of Nérac's last pastors died as refugees far away from the town in 1685. A third also died as a refugee in Germany in 1702. Ferd. Teissier (ed.), "Listes de pasteurs: Nérac (1558-1685)" *BSHPF* 48 (1899): 319.

every other Huguenot community in the seventeenth century, Montagnac underwent a steady erosion of its Protestant population.[23] This can also be seen in other documents from Montagnac. One finds for example in the marriage registry a sharp increase in the number of people from Nérac travelling to Montagnac for a marriage ceremony in 1683 and 1684.[24]

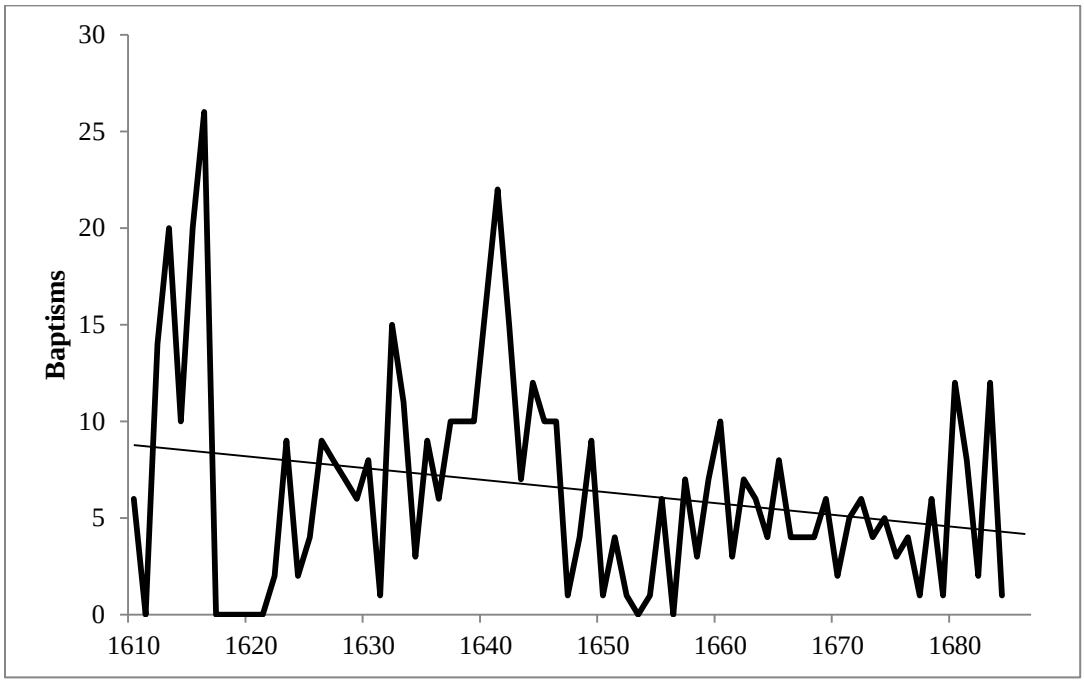

Figure 10: Baptisms with Trendline, 1610-1683

*Note: This chart excludes baptisms from 1684. The register suggests that Huguenots from surrounding villages turned to Montagnac for baptisms in 1684, when many churches across the south were forcibly demolished. Including this year would have artificially raised the trendline.

Philip Benedict's coefficient of thirty people for each baptism in rural churches can be used to calculate the population figures for the congregation at Montagnac.[25] The

[23] Benedict, *The Huguenot Population*, 75-78.

[24] ADG, H 27, 26 April 1682 to 16 April 1684.

[25] Ibid., 18.

congregation had between 200 and 300 souls in the first half of the seventeenth century, declining to between 100 and 200 in the second half. If the average household size was 4.5 for this period, then there was an upper limit of sixty-seven households in the earlier period and forty-four households in the later period.[26] Again, these numbers are too high given the geographic problem with the baptismal registry. My impression from reading the consistory's entire corpus of documents is that the congregation probably had about fifty households in the early seventeenth century, declining to about thirty in the later period.[27]

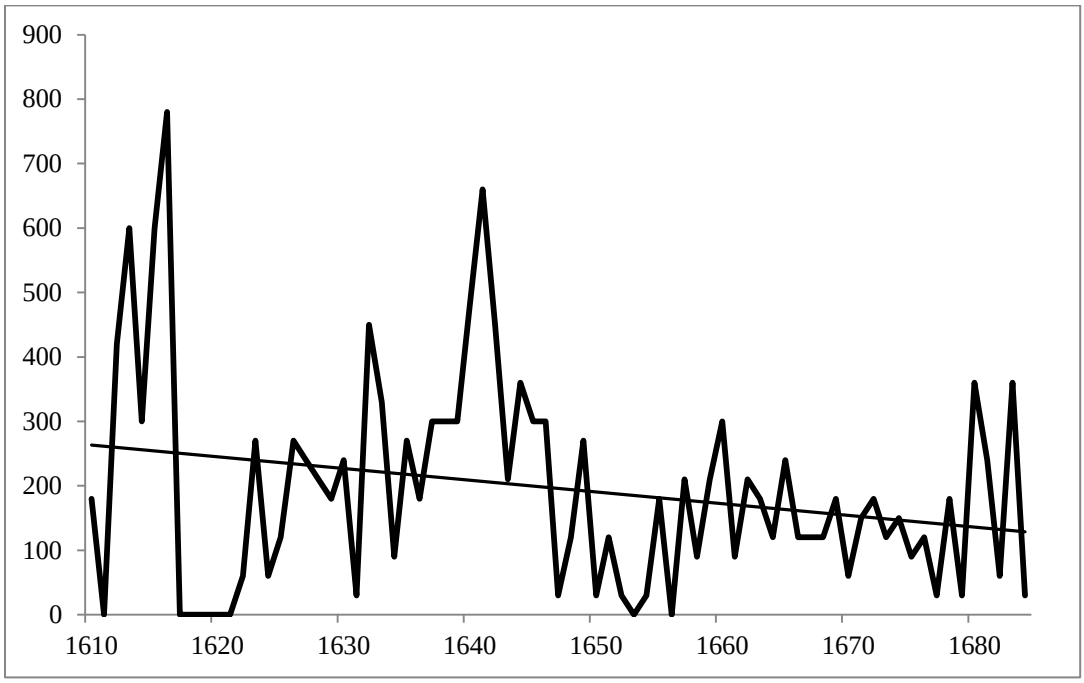

Figure 11: Total Huguenot Population with Trendline, 1610-1683

*Note: This chart excludes data from 1684. See the note for Figure 10.

[26] Ibid.

[27] For example, the consistory register lists four elders and 23 heads of household at a meeting on 1 October 1679 to welcome their new pastor, Brinihol. ADG, H 26, 1 October 1679.

The slow-moving population decline of Montagnac's Huguenots parallels what others have observed in the seventeenth century for southern France as a whole. First of all, Europe in the early modern period underwent a sustained movement of people from the countryside to urban areas. Agricultural innovations and high food prices sent peasants looking for work in the cities. This slow process caused a general decline in population for small towns like Montagnac, especially after 1665.[28] Second, there is a marked trough in the graph during the early 1650s, the same period the Fronde brought multiple years of destruction to Montagnac.[29] The civil war eventually ended in 1653, the same year a major plague swept through rural southwest France. One would expect civilians to flee the location of violence or at least stop having children. Third, it should also be noted that Figures 10 and 11 reflect the results of Gregory Hanlon's analysis of Layrac. The number of baptisms in Layrac slowly declined from about thirty per year to less than ten by the end of the century.[30] If population statistics can be taken as a proxy for economic prosperity, then one would expect the first half of the seventeenth century to be the golden years for Protestantism in Montagnac.

[28] This caused problems for urban poor relief systems in places like Nîmes, where rural peasants overwhelmed the system already strained by unemployed locals. See Tim McHugh, *Hospital Politics in Seventeenth-Century France: The Crown Urban Elites and the Poor* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 155.

[29] There was a food shortage in the spring of 1651. ADG, H 26 21 May, 1651. "Au mesme instant ayant esté représanté que plusieurs pauvres souffrent à cause de la disette des vivres a esté délibéré que de l'argent qui provident de la méterie desdits pauvres la distribution..." Later that same year the elders were forced to find a new house for their pastor because his old one had been destroyed. ADG, H 26, 21 December 1651. "Sur ce qui a esté représenté que la maison de l'église ou le pasteur fait demure est fort ruinée de coté de la muraille de la ville eq que pour esviter qu'elle ne se guate davantage il est nécessaire de réparer et de faire remetre une partie de la mureille qui est tombée et parce qu'il n'y a point de deniers pour faire ceste réparaton..."

[30] Hanlon, *Confession and Community*, Figure 1.4, 34.

III. Confessionalizing Montagnac's Huguenots

Robert Kingdon first issued the call in 1972 for historians interested in broad social change to study consistory records.[31] Over the last several decades, scholars have produced a range of works describing the types of offenses consistories sought to curtail, the different kinds of penalties meted out to malefactors, and the social implications of a top-down rationalization and pacification of society.[32] Categorizing and tabulating consistory cases have been the central approaches in what Judith Pollman characterizes as a "minor scholarly industry."[33] This large and growing body of literature supplies both a number of fruitful conclusions and methodological pitfalls for this dissertation.

An excellent example of the quantitative approach to consistory records comes from Raymond Mentzer's analysis of the consistory record of Nîmes. Taking 1,624 cases from two time periods (1561-63 and 1578-83), Mentzer shows how some disciplinary issues remained a constant concern while others became more or less pressing over time. He finds a persistent effort to pacify quarrels and marital disputes.[34] Behavioral offenses (like dancing and going to taverns) came under increasing scrutiny over the years, but ecclesiastic matters

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[31] Robert Kingdon, "The Control of Morals in Calvin's Geneva," in *The Social History of the Reformation*, ed. Lawrence Buck and Jonathan Zophy (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1972), 14.

[32] A number of works have taken this approach. B. Volger and J. Estèbe, "La Genèse d'une société protestante. Étude comparée de quelques registres consistoriaux Languedociens et Palatins vers 1600," *Annales ESC* 31 no. 2 (1976): 362-388; E. William Monter, "The Consistory of Geneva, 1559-1569," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 38 no. 3 (1976): 467-485; Heinz Schilling, *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands, 16th-19th Century*, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 17 (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1994); John Witte Jr. and Robert M. Kingdon, *Sex, Marriage, and Family in John Calvin's Geneva: Courtship, Engagement and Marriage* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005), 75-76; Raymond A. Mentzer (ed.)," in *Sin and the Calvinists: Morals Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition* Vol. 32, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1994).

[33] Judith Pollmann, "Off the Record: Problems in the Quantification of Calvinist Church Discipline," *SCJ* 33 (2002): 425.

[34] Roughly half of the 1624 cases that Mentzer categorizes concern quarrels, and about 5% concern marital problems. Raymond A. Mentzer, "Discipline nervus ecclesiae: The Calvinist Reform of Morals at Nîmes," *SCJ* 18 no. 1 (1987): 109.

(like attending a Catholic mass) received much less attention.[35] Mentzer then divides and categorizes these cases to highlight the importance of different variables, like gender and the severity of punishment. He discovers that men were far more likely to be called before the consistory for going to a tavern, and women were far more likely to be disciplined for immodest clothing.[36]

This approach to consistory records allows the historian to see how disciplinary matters changed or remained the same over time, and it has received its share of criticism. From a methodological standpoint, how one "counts" the number of cases obviously determines the relative attention that consistories paid to each offense. What if the same person was called before the consistory for the same offense on multiple occasions? What if the same person commited the same offense many times in rapid succession? Scholars have tended to focus on the number of offenses committed regardless of the number of persons, but this method has not been unanimously adopted.[37]

The most damaging critique to my mind of the quantitative approach to consistory records comes from Judith Pollman's work on the consistory of Utrecht. Reformed consistories were always supposed to meet in private first before making accusations of wrongdoing public.[38] This followed the biblical injunction to correct a sinner first in person before making it known to the community (Matthew 18:15-19). This is why consistories summoned people in secret and closely guarded access to their official registers. Pollman's study on Utrecht indicates that consistories did not always follow these guidelines. First of

[35] Ibid. Behavior offenses increased at Nîmes in the sixteenth century from 8% to 22% of all cases, while ecclesiastical matters declined from 26% to 14%.

[36] Ibid., 111.

[37] For his part, Mentzer counts the actual number of offenses and not the number of people involved. Ibid., 108. Michael Graham takes the same approach: *The Uses of Reform: 'Godly Discipline' and Popular Behavior in Scotland and Beyond, 1560-1610* (Leiden, The Netherlands: E.J. Brill, 1996), 77-78.

[38] Publicly suspending someone from Communion was only recommended for the most serious offenses, like heresy. See the Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France, Canon 16.

all, an elder at Utrecht kept a personal journal in which he described the consistory's disciplinary hearings and deliberations.[39] Comparing this private document with the official register, Pollman discovers the consistory "recorded nothing whatsoever about more than 70% of the cases which it actually discussed.[40] Among other things, the consistory repeatedly exercised discretion in how it handled cases concerning other reputable members in the community.[41] In other words, the official record only contains a small fraction of what really went on in Utrecht's consistory. If Utrecht is taken as a representative example for the broader world of Reformed Churches—and we have no reason to believe it was entirely unique—then Pollman's work casts serious doubt on how faithfully consistory registers describe what actually happened.

The cache of records from Montagnac adds another layer of complexity to this picture. It is obvious the official consistory register only describes a fraction of the actual number of meetings. Fiscal matters needed to be handled throughout the week, and a wealth of documentation exists from when elders met outside of the pre-designated meeting times and locations. Just as one reads about financial decisions concerning the consistory in the official registry, one also finds decisions related to moral discipline in account books and financial documents. One can also find clues that Montagnac's consistory probably left many disciplinary matters off the record. Despite the inherent limitations of the register, one can still uncover valuable information by quantifying the different types of offenses that the consistory sought to curtail. Broad patterns are still visible, especially in how the consistory tried to eliminate Catholic behavior and handle disciplinary matters.

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[39] The elder, Arnoldus Buchelius, was a lawyer who served on the consistory of Utrecht from 1624 to 1626 and again 1626 to 1628. Pollman, "Off the Record," 426.

[40] Ibid., 426-427.

[41] Ibid., 430. One finds a similar thing happening in other parts of the Reformed world, especially in deciding between public and private excommunication. See Raymond A. Mentzer, "Marking the Taboo: Excommunication in French Reformed Churches," in *Sin and the Calvinists: Morals Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer, Sixteenth Century Essays and Studies, 32 (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1994), 122-128.

Confessionalizing Montagnac's Huguenots required more than the application of Reformed discipline. Religious historians have traditionally studied the consistory's disciplinary actions, but these constitute only one way the elders tried to bring about an ideal Christian society. If public censure or excommunication can be seen as deterrents to encourage certain moral behaviors, then the consistory's fiscal decisions can likewise be understood as positive incentives. In fact, the most effective way to reinforce a Christian patriarchal hegemony was often times through the development and management of fiscal policies. In this sense, the consistory's moral discipline and fiscal policies should be studied hand-in-hand as complimentary parts of the same project.

a. Morals Control

Like its counterparts in other French Reformed Churches, the consistory at Montagnac spent a lot of time policing the boundaries between Huguenots and Catholics and enforcing its understanding of morality. One can measure these priorities by tabulating the 153 occasions in which the consistory chastised or denounced members of the congregation for various offenses. It should be noted that these disciplinary actions occurred between 1596 and 1652, but the consistory continued to operate and maintain a register until 1684. The consistory's attention clearly shifted in 1652 from correcting immoral behavior to establishing fiscal policies and protecting the Reformed church's rights in Montagnac. Focusing exclusively on the period before 1652, however, reveals that more than half of these cases involved espousing Catholic beliefs or attending Catholic services. Offenses that fall under this category include attending a Catholic mass, saying Catholic prayers, marrying a Catholic spouse, or baptizing an infant in a Catholic Church. Fighting and missing sermon services account for the second and third most common offenses with eighteen and seventeen

cases, respectively.[42] Blasphemy and dancing also received attention from the consistory, but only on seven and five occasions, respectively.

Six other miscellaneous offenses defy easy categorization. One case from 1596 involved a man named Pierre Estanchaud, who apparently had two wives, one in the town of Lectoure and another at Agen.[43] Another case from 1627 involved the discovery that Pierre Fita had fathered a son six years previously but had abandoned him.[44] Another two cases involved sexual misconduct that the consistory sought to eliminate, and the last two involved gambling.[45] An additional seven entries contain a frustrating level of discretion in leaving the offenses deliberately vague. One reads, for example, that Antoine Labènne was called before the consistory on 1614 for "certain considerations" (*certainnes considerations*).[46] In 1615, Simon David was forced to resign his position as an elder, but the consistory decided not to announce him to the public for "certain considerations."[47] Similarly, in 1628, Francoise Cerisier is exhorted to live "a holy life" (*une vie saincte*), but it is left to the reader to interpret exactly what this means.[48] My general impression from reading the entire

[42] The consistory investigated quarrels that erupted for a variety of reasons, including failure to pay a debt owed to the church. Consider this case from ADG, H 26, 19 June 1624. "Assemblés en consistoire les sieurs de Casaux pasteur, de Ranse, Seraze, d'Asiu anciens sur la proposition qui a esté faite que le capitaine Castain ne voulat pas payer le principal qu'il doit à l'eglise, mais seulement les interests qui courent depuis long temps et lesquels il a refusé autrefois et pour desquels il a usé de violence; la compagnie a resolu qu'on le poursuivroit par les voyes de la justice pour retirer de ces mains le fonds et le loger ailleurs en mains solvables, et pour cest effect, charge en a esté donnée de nouveau au susd. sieur Seraze et prierant luy a esté faite de n'y rien espargner, mais y employer tout ce qui y sera necessaire avec promesse de le rembourser de tout ce qu'il dependra en lad. poursuite et luy payer ses peones et vacations, ce que led. sieur a accepté et promis de s'en acquiter fidelement."

[43] ADG, H 25, 31 August 1596.

[44] ADG, H 26, 22 August 1627.

[45] For the two cases on sexual misconduct, see ADG, H 26, 8 and 9 September 1629, 23 Mar 1630 and 2 February 1631. For the two cases on gambling: ADG, H 25, 6 May 1594 and ADG, H 26, 17 November 1624.

[46] ADG, H 25, 31 August 1614. Labènne appears in another entry from 25 December 1626 to discuss "certaine sujets" with another man, Sieur du Long.

[47] ADG, H 25, 12 February 1615.

[48] ADG, H 26, 15 June 1628.

register is that the consistory gradually became less interested in pursuing social discipline as the seventeenth century wore on. Cases declined with frequency as the decades passed, probably the result of different personalities among the elders and pastors. This again replicates what Hanlon found in Layrac, where most of the consistory's actions occurred early in the seventeenth century under the auspices of the "fiery minister" Isaac Sylvius.[49]

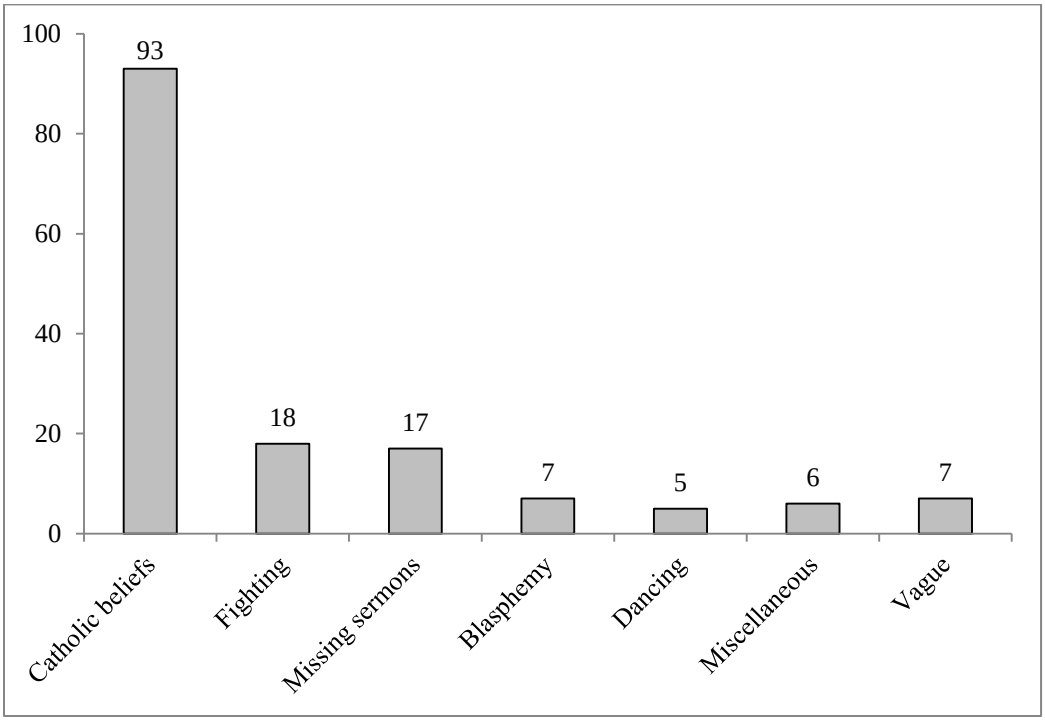

Figure 12: Number and Type of Offenses, 1594-1652

*Note: The consistory's register continues until 1684, but after 1652 it stops recording disciplinary actions. After 1652 the register entirely focuses on financial concerns.

According to the data in Figure 12, the consistory at Montagnac went to great lengths to root out Catholic beliefs. Attending a Catholic Mass and missing a sermon were far more important to the elders than any other offense, including sexual misconduct. Notably absent

[49] Hanlon, *Confession and Community*, 88. Isaac Sylvius seems to have served at Montagnac in the late sixteenth century before going to Layrac in 1600 or 1601. He is not to be confused with another man, Jehan Sylvius, who also served as pastor at Montagnac from about 1594 until 1610.

from these categories is any preoccupation with regulating sex. As mentioned earlier, only two cases specifically mention sexual misconduct, though it might be the case that vague references to "certain considerations" might actually refer to adultery or fornication. Other consistories from across France clearly understood sexual sins as especially problematic and prevalent.[50] This was also true in Geneva, where fully 21% of cases from the countryside and 12% from the city brought before the consistory between 1542 and 1609 concerned sexual misconduct.[51] Sex outside of marriage was also the second most common cause of excommunication for the consistory at Nîmes.[52] The omission of cases dealing with sex is admittedly strange, but perhaps confessional issues were more pressing to the elders at Montagnac.

The lack of concern for sexual sins is suggestive, but it should not obscure the fact that the consistory still tried to regulate a patriarchal social system. In one typical example, a case from 1619 involved a woman who apparently entered into a heated disagreement with her father. After investigating the facts of her case, the consistory decided that she had not sufficiently repented (*suffisamment repentante*) for her actions. The elders were still unwilling to exclude her from the Lord's Supper, which would have involved leaving her off the list of people receiving the admission token (*le méreau*). This would have been a humiliating experience. They therefore decided to give her an admission token, but only after she had promised to treat her father with greater deference.[53] In this case, one can see how behaving in a particular way was explicitly tied to admission to the Lord's Supper.

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[50] Calvin looked to the Old Testament to justify the biblical punishment of death for adultery, though adultery did not became a capital crime in Geneva until two years after his death. Robert M. Kingdon, *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva* (Harvard University Press, 1995), 116-117.

[51] Scott M. Manetsch, *Calvin's Company of Pastors: Pastoral Care and the Emerging Reformed Church* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 206, Table 7.3.

[52] Mentzer, "Marking the Taboo," 109.

[53] ADG, H 25, n.d. 1619. "… a esté trouvé qu'elle n'estoit pas suffisamment repentante et que partant le sieur Cerase a esté prié en luy baillant le marreau de tascher de l'induire à promettre à traitter son père avec douceur et humilité et en cas qu'elle le promette le marreau luy sera administré et en suite la sainte Cène."

One finds the same mentality in other actions the consistory took. At one point in 1649, an elder complained about the rank or order (*préséances*) in which women sat inside the temple. One is given the impression that women of a higher social standing wanted to sit closer to the preacher and in a more prominent position than their social inferiors. The elders believed that women should not be allowed to take precedence over each other, so they decided to rearrange the temple's furniture by placing women's seats so close to the pulpit that one could not be considered more prestigious than another.[54] The table used for the Lord's Supper, however, would remain right next to (*attacher*) the benches on which the elders sat.[55] A similar problem occurred several years later in 1670, when both men and women entered into a series of disputes regarding the location of their seats in the temple and the order in which they received the Lord's Supper. After carefully considering all the options, the elders and other prominent members of the congregation decided to make all seating available on a first-come, first-served basis.[56]

The consistory register suggests the elders handled disciplinary issues involving each other with discretion. Two instructive examples can be found in Pierre Castaing and Simon David. Castaing made his first appearance in the register in 1609, when the consistory asked

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[54] Placing women's seats close to the preacher was typical in France. Children would have sat with their female relatives. See Raymond A. Mentzer, "Les débats sur les bancs dans les Églises réformées de France," *BSHPF* 152 (2006): 394.

[55] ADG, H 26, 18 February 1649. "Sur la proposition quy a esté faicte par un desdits antiens concernant les preseances des damoiselles de ladite eglise a esté delibere qu'il ny peut avoir des preseances dans le temple et qu'il sera faict des sieges sy pres de la chaise que faire ce pourra pour empeches lesdites preseances et que la table pour le service de la S^{te} Cène sera attachee au banc des antiens."

[56] ADG, H 26, 7 November 1670. "… [les] entiens assistes des principaux chefs de famille pour foytiffier icelluy consistoire et appuyer sa deliberation de leurs suffrages et de leurs droits, ledit Sieur Lefranq ayant rencontre comme quoy cette eglize estoit en desordre et dans un estat deploré a cause d'un [illegible] survenant dans le temple depuis sept ou huit mois touchant quelques plans affectées contre l'ordre de nos eglizes par des particuliers, la compaignie apres longue reflexion… a unanimement conclue que veu encore plus grandes desordres qui pourroit arriver le present acte seroit couché sur ce livre par lequel est arresté qu'il sera declaré en public que nul du corps de l'eglize a la reserve desdits seigneur et officiers ne pourront en facon quelconques ny soubs quelque pretexte que ce soit prendre ny pretandre aucune place affecteé mais que toits les places seront communes et apartenantes aux premieres ocupants..."

him to pursue a debtor to the congregation by initiating a lawsuit.[57] Three years later, Castaing had some kind of dispute with Montagnac's pastor, Estienne Saffin, so the consistory relegated the matter to the colloquy at Monflanquin.[58] In the meantime, Pastor Saffin entered into an unrelated verbal argument with an elder named Blanc, who committed blasphemy and swore at Saffin in the presence of Catholics.[59] The consistory heard Saffin's complaint and sided with the pastor, requiring Blanc to apologize. The colloquy at Monflanquin also sided with Saffin in November of 1612 and required Castaing to pick a date to settle their differences, which they did the following January.[60] But the following spring Castaing was elected as an elder and immediately started missing consistory meetings.[61] In the spring of 1614, the consistory decided to censure elders like Castaing for neglecting their duties, and soon thereafter the elders discovered that Castaing had sent his son to a Jesuit *collège* in Agen. This was a serious and potentially public offense the consistory had to correct. Castaing replied that he had already paid the boarding fee for the next three months, and that he would retrieve his son afterward.[62] The consistory accepted this explanation, and in the following months Castaing carried out his responsibilities with due diligence.

The consistory could be pushed to its limits when elders like Simon David totally refused to uphold their duties. David was elected as an elder the same day as Castaing on 6 April 1614, and in only a few weeks the consistory began moving to censure him for missing

[57] ADG, H 25, 1 May 1609.

[58] ADG, H 25, 11 November 1612.

[59] ADG, H 25, 21 November 1612. Blanc is described as using "paroles fort rudes, sans aucun sujet, blasphémant le nom de Dieu atrosement en présence de papistes." Blanc resigned his post as elder at this same meeting.

[60] ADG, H 25, 23 January 1613.

[61] ADG, H 25, 6 April 1614.

[62] ADG, H 26, 20 May 1614. Castaing testified that he "a promis de le faire dans trois mois, ne pouvant plus tost pour avoir déjà payé sa pension."

meetings.[63] He continued to miss the consistory's meetings in May, so in June the other elders suspended him from the consistory and from the Lord's Supper for three months.[64] In January of 1615, David still refused to attend meetings, and the following month the consistory decided to readmit him to Lord's Supper but prohibit him from ever serving as an elder again. All of these decisions were to be kept private for "certain considerations."[65] One presumes this approach allowed the consistory to save face with the community and avoid a scandal.

b. Measuring Confessional Strength in Baptisms

The length of time between birth and baptism was a critical issue during the Reformation. The Catholic Church taught that baptism was essential for salvation. In the medieval period, childbirth was a dangerous event for both the mother and child, commonly resulting in the death of infants before they could receive the sacrament. Fearing that these unbaptized infants would be sent to hell—or otherwise exist in an alternative condition theologians called limbo—Catholic midwives developed the practice of quickly and privately baptizing infants as soon as they were born to ensure salvation.[66] Reformed Christianity held that baptism was a sacrament, but unlike Catholicism it was not necessary for salvation. There was no danger to the infant's soul if he or she died soon after birth.[67] New parents

[63] ADG, H 25, 25 April 1612.

[64] ADG, H 25, 6 June 1614.

[65] ADG, H 25, 12 February 1615. "Simon David, ci-devant suspendu de sa charge d'ancien pour le mespris qu'il en a fait, continuant opiniastrement en ce mespris en a esté déposé et déclaré indigne d'y estre jamais admis, laquelle déposition toutesfois ne sera dénoncée au peuple pour certaines considérations et pourra désormais ledit David participer à la sainte Cène."

[66] Barbara A. Hanawalt, *The Ties That Bound: Peasant Families in Medieval England* (Oxford University Press, 1986), 172; Merry E. Wiesner, "Early Modern Midwifery: A Case Study," in *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986), 106-107; Karen E. Spierling, *Infant Baptism in Reformation Geneva: The shaping of a community, 1536-1564* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), 67-83.

[67] Reformers had to contend with the panic associated with having an infant die before baptism. For a discussion of this topic, see Susan C. Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 106-107.

were instructed to wait at least a few days until the next sermon service before bringing their baby to the temple for a public baptismal ceremony at the hands of a minister in front of the whole congregation.[68] Pastors warned parents not to wait too long, however, and risk giving the impression of harboring Anabaptist beliefs. This brief waiting period soon became a sign of confessional identity because it distinguished Protestants from Catholics.[69]

Approximately 64% of the entries in Montagnac's baptismal registry contain both the infant's birthday and the date of the baptism, making it possible to determine the waiting period between each event. Almost all the other 36% of baptismal entries—which only include the baptismal date, not the birthday—occurred between 1625 and 1633, coinciding almost exactly with the tenure of Lazare Casaux as pastor. Plotting the available data on a bar graph reveals that most parents followed the practice of presenting their children at the next sermon service for baptism and waited about one or two weeks before bringing their child to the sacrament. The majority (about 80%) of baptisms occurred within three weeks of birth, leaving a minority of parents (about 20%) who waited longer.[70] There are a few different explanations for why parents might wait longer to present their infant to baptism. As we saw with Pierre de Vernejoul, perhaps parents were away from home or needed time for relatives to arrive to serve as godparents. Another possible reason is that it seems at least some of these long waiting periods were actually family conversions to Calvinism, a

[68] "Les ordonnances ecclesiastiques," (Geneva, 1562), accessed August 28, 2014, http://dx.doi.org/10.3931/e-rara-5792, 26. Calvin writes, "Que le Baptesine ne se face qu'à l'heure de la predication, & qu'il soit administer seulement par les Ministres; & qu'on en register les noms des enfans avec ceux des parens."

[69] For a discussion of the waiting period as it relates to Calvin's Geneva, see Spierling, *Infant Baptism*, 86-87. For the confessionalization of baptism, see Michael James Halvorson, "Theology, Ritual and Confessionalization: The Making and Meaning of Lutheran Baptism in Reformation Germany, 1520-1618," (PhD diss., University of Washington, 2001), 201-274.

[70] Baptismal registers from other Huguenot communities indicate that parents waited longer to baptize their newborns during certain months. See Benedict, *The Huguenot Population*, 93. Other scholars have noted that the length of time between birth and baptism seems to have increased in the decades after the Reformation, even when infants would die unbaptized. Ibid., 24-26; Garrisson-Estèbe, *Protestants du Midi*, 247-248; David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford University Press, 1997), 101.

suspicion confirmed on at least two occasions when parents presented multiple small children from the same families for the sacrament.

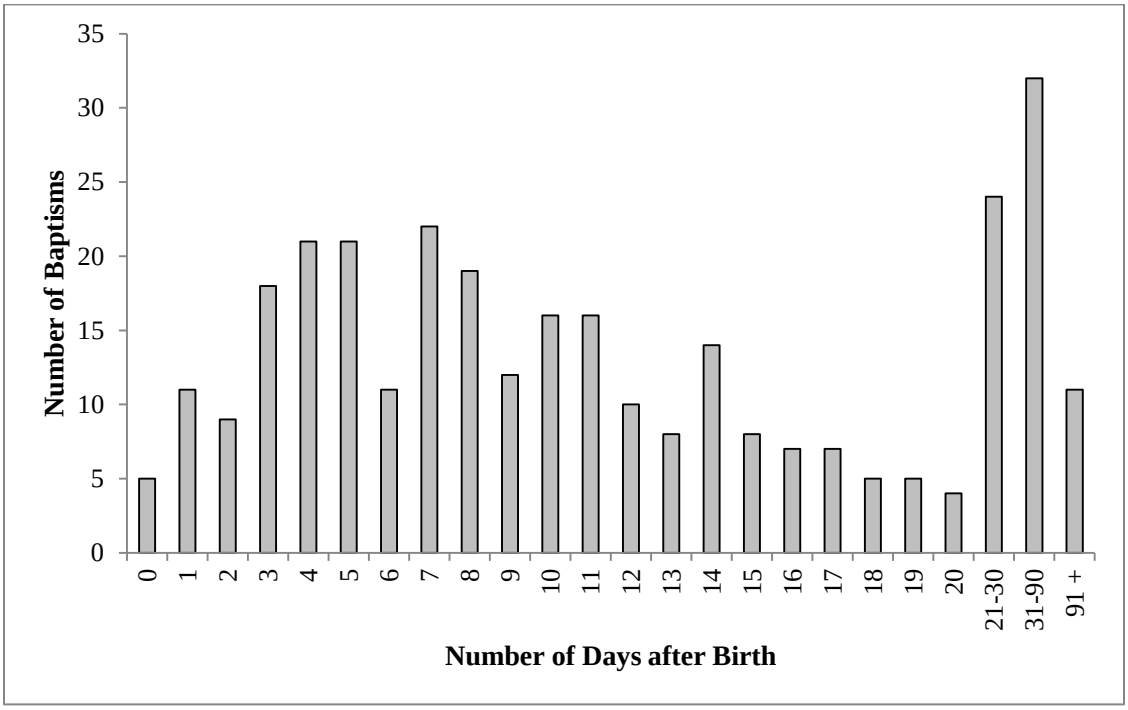


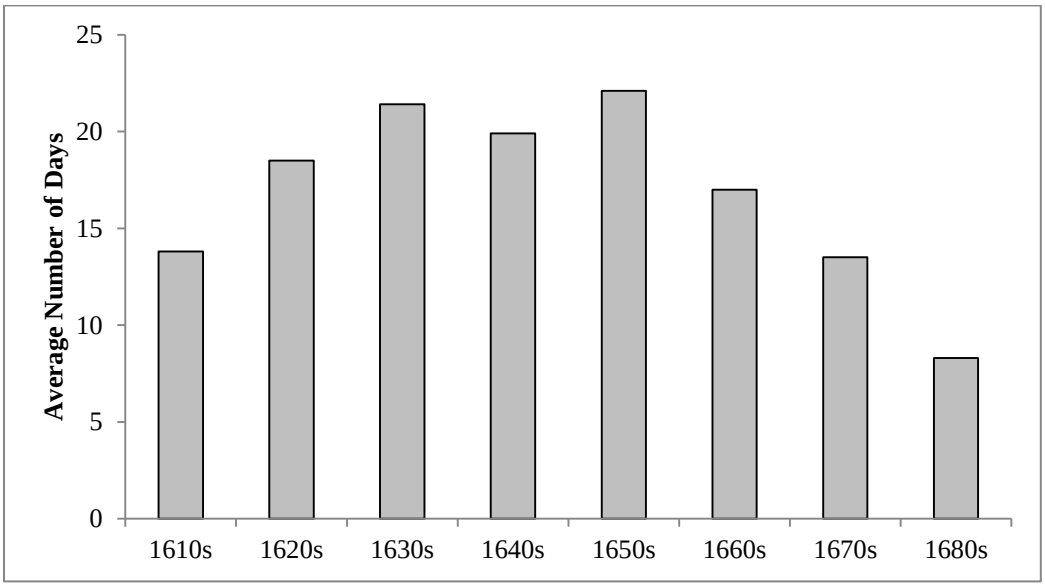
Figure 13: Average Waiting Period between Birth and Baptism, 1610-1684

Analyzing the information displayed in Figure 13 indicates parents in Montagnac generally followed the directive to wait at least a few days before having their infants baptized. It suggests that parents brought their children to the temple at the next convenient service, usually about a week after the child's birth. This is not exactly evidence of confessionalization because as Philip Benedict argues, Catholics living in "heavily Protestant regions" like Nérac also waited "between five and nine days."[71] In other words, there is

[71] Benedict, *The Huguenot Population*, 24.

nothing about Figure 13 that suggests baptismal practices in Montagnac were totally distinct from Catholic practices.

But this depicts only a partial picture of the confessional strength of Reformed baptismal practices. The average waiting period between birth and baptism can also be broken down by decade. Viewing the baptismal waiting period from this perspective yields two insights. First, the average waiting period had a high standard deviation. In other words, relatively few outliers waited much longer than others and pushed the average waiting period higher for most parents. Second, the average waiting period initially rose but then declined over the course of the seventeenth century. Again, this confirms what Benedict found across several Reformed congregations in the seventeenth century.[72] In the first half of the 1600s, most parents waited two or three weeks, but near the end of legal Protestantism in France they waited less than one week. Actually, over 20% of the baptisms in Montagnac from the 1680s occurred within a single day of the child's birth.



[72] Ibid., 25. Benedict notes a difference in waiting periods between northern and southern France. Reformed Churches north of a line running from Bordeaux to Lyon generally had shorter waiting periods than those to the south. For example, the Reformed Church in Anduze just northwest of Nîmes rose from seventeen days in the early seventeenth century to twenty-nine in the 1650s, but then declined to seven by the early 1680s.

Figure 14: Average Baptismal Waiting Period by Decade

Another way scholars have measured confessional strength in Reformed Churches is by analyzing the types of names parents gave their children.[73] Many children were clearly named for close friends or family members, especially parents and godparents. This functioned as a way for parents to establish the child's identity in relation to the wider clan of family members. Reformed ministers also wanted parents to avoid picking names belonging to obvious Catholic saints, so they encouraged parents to signal their religious affiliation by picking names from the Old Testament. Babies in Montagnac received names like Ezechiel, Rachel, Abel, and Ester. Breaking down the proportion of infants who received Old Testament names by decade reveals how a shorter waiting period did not necessarily mean a weaker confessional identity. The percentage of parents who selected Old Testament names remained stable throughout the seventeenth century.

	Old Testament Names (%)	**Old Testament Names**	**Total Baptisms**
1610s	20	19	96
1620s	17	8	47
1630s	23	21	83
1640s	28	29	105
1650s	20	6	30
1660s	21	12	56
1670s	22	8	37
1680-4	18	9	51

Figure 15: Old Testament Names by Decade

[73] Ibid., *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism* (Yale University Press, 2002), 504-506.

*Note: Two important qualifications should be noted about how these figures were created. First, the percentage of Old Testament names *includes* Joseph, which parents chose for their boys about 10% of the time. Given the fact that Joseph is not a traditional French name, it seems to refer to the Joseph from the Old Testament, not the New, though it might be an artifact of a local custom. Second, the percentage of Old Testament names *excludes* the very traditional French name of Jacques, which was also given to about 10% of the boys. Naming one's child Jacques may have been a safe way for parents to placate the Reformed Church and the broader Catholic society.

Again, Hanlon's work on Layrac helps place these data into context. By comparing two tax documents called *livres terriers* from 1624 and 1679, Hanlon is able to judge the prevalence of archaic, modern and Old Testament names among all landholders around Layrac, regardless of their confessional affiliation. Among other things, he finds the first name Joseph occurred more frequently in urban areas than in the countryside and relatively few Gallicized names like Louis or Henri. The frequency of Old Testament names among the entire populace actually declined over the course of the seventeenth century from about 7% of all landowners' names to 1%.[74] This occurred during a period of depopulation, especially among French Protestants, making it impossible to say if the real proportion of Old Testament among the Huguenots actually declined.

IV. Conclusion

What can we conclude about the confessional strength of Montagnac's Huguenots during the seventeenth century based on their baptismal and consistory registries? There are only two entries in the entire baptismal registry containing evidence of Catholic participation in Reformed baptisms.[75] Reformed parents generally followed the prescriptions of the

[74] Hanlon, *Confession and Community*, 236-238.

[75] In one case (ADG, H 27, 7 August 1629), a Catholic man became the godfather at a baptismal ceremony in the Seigneur de Montagnac's "chateau." In the other case (ADG, H 27, 10 April 1633), two Catholic parents presented their child to baptism described in this fascinating entry: "Le 10 Avril 1633 Marie Rousieres fille à Pierre Rousieres et Anne Loup (?) tous deux papistes à esté presentee au baptesme par Paul Conquere et Marie La Roque et le baptesme luy à esté administer par moy Casaux."

consistory, waiting at least a few days before presenting their children and assigning names from the Old Testament, though Catholics probably did the same thing, too. The declining period between birth and baptism in the later seventeenth century suggests a possible weakening of the Reformed community, but this might be due to new instabilities brought under the regime of Louis XIV. As the number of pastors declined throughout the kingdom, many parents probably took advantage of the first possible opportunity to baptize their children. The most common month for a woman to conceive a child was during the spring in March, the exact opposite of what one finds for Catholic parents who abstained from sex during Lent. Parents continued to pick Old Testament names, even during a shorter time span between birth and baptism. One can safely conclude the consistory achieved mixed results in its efforts to confessionalize Montagnac's Huguenot population.

One of the most powerful tools at the consistory's disposal was the development of its fiscal policies. The elders produced thousands of pages of documents describing how they collected money and what they spent it on. In formulating these fiscal policies, the elders had to respond to a range of different challenges. John Calvin's ideas about economic issues and directives from the national synod dictated the basic structures of the church's financial operations. National and environmental crises throughout the seventeenth century posed other risks to the community, notably a period of destruction during the Fronde and a slow-moving depopulation of the surrounding countryside. Within this context, the consistory sought to shape an idealized confessional culture in which Huguenots actualized a biblically-based belief system. From the available evidence of the baptismal registry, the pastors and elders of Montagnac were only partly successful in creating a confessionalized community of Huguenots. The application of social discipline was an essential tool in their arsenal and, as we will soon see, so was the deployment of fiscal policy.

CHAPTER 6: THE PASTOR'S SALARY

I. Introduction

Paying the pastor's salary remained the consistory's greatest expense throughout the seventeenth century. After all, pastors were highly skilled and in very high demand. Becoming a pastor involved first graduating from a Protestant *collège*, the equivalent of secondary school in the United States. Students then went on to study the Scriptures and the art of preaching at a Huguenot academy, which had a de facto monopoly in the production of Protestant ministers in France. The chief historian of Protestant education describes the system this way: "By offering both theological training for future pastors and the standard philosophy curriculum, the academies hoped to become a one-stop resource for Calvinist students…"[1] The goal of Huguenot education was to provide every course that students might need and therefore prevent them from attending Jesuit schools. Sometimes a particular church sponsored a student to study for the ministry, and in return the provincial synod assigned the student to his sponsoring chruch after matriculation.[2] In 1607, the national synod at La Rochelle declared that any student who failed to complete his studies had to repay the cost of his education.[3] This had the potential to generate all sorts of disagreements between a pastor and his flock, especially if the consistory felt it had overpaid for a negligent minister. It was more likely for a student to attend an academy at the direction of a provincial synod, which then assigned the matriculated student to a community. The community would then be responsible for paying his salary. In any case, finding and keeping a pastor was prohibitively expensive.

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[1] Karin Maag, "The Huguenot academies: preparing for an uncertain future," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*, ed. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 147.

[2] Synod at St. Maixant (1609), 5.8.

[3] Synod at La Rochelle (1607), 5.36.

This Huguenot educational system had several advantages as well as some significant drawbacks. As discussed in Chapter 3, provincial synods possessed the ability to raise funds from all the churches under their jurisdiction. Pooling resources allowed a province like Basse-Guyenne to consistently sponsor a handful of students, ensuring a steady supply of new pastors into its churches.[4] Provinces could also appeal to each other during times of distress for charitable collections. This was the often unsuccessful strategy deployed in Provence, a chronically underfunded province that always struggled to find enough pastors for its churches.[5] A serious drawback to this funding scheme was that pastors were often outsiders in their own congregations. Small rural towns like Montagnac had a difficult time finding young men to send off to university, and the consistory was never able to afford a scholarship even if the congregation had an aspiring student.[6] Some pastors came to Montagnac with their families, but others were single men who found wives among the local population and began having children.[7] Other pastors frequently made their displeasure of working in Montagnac clear. Regardless of where they came from and their willingness to live in a small farming hamlet, every pastor at Montagnac had at least one thing in common: they hardly ever received their entire salary.

[4] Basse-Guyenne received five portions for its students from the *deniers du roy* in 1603 and 1609. The province usually had between 60 and 80 churches under its jurisdiction. Synod at Gap (1603), 7.40; Synod at St. Maixant (1609), 12.11.

[5] Céline Borello, *Les Protestants de Provence au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: H. Champion, 2004), 179-183.

[6] Montagnac was involved for a short period of time in the early seventeenth century with providing some of the funds to support a student. The elders helped arrange for the revenue of an estate left by Francoise de Lomaigne to support a student's tuition. ADG, H 25, 1 May 1609. They also received another set of properties a few years later to support a student, but they received permission for their colloquy to divert these funds to pay the pastor's salary in 1616. ADG, H 25, 20 November 1616.

[7] The baptismal registry contains eleven entries in which pastors had their newborn children baptized at Montagnac. On some occasions, the pastor administered the baptism to his own child, and the baron of Montagnac and his wife normally served as the godparents.

A pastor's salary, or *gages*, covered a variety of different things. The *gages* included, first of all, the base salary the consistory agreed to pay its pastor when he first began his ministry. In Montagnac, the pastor's *gages* also included free housing for himself and his family, which in later decades included a garden. It also covered a number of miscellaneous expenses pastors had to make throughout the year. They were persistently approached by the poor, who hoped to receive a charitable donation. Ministers needed to correspond with each other across the region regarding colloquy and synod business. They also travelled to assemblies and synods on a regular basis, which they paid for out of their own pockets. In carrying out the consistory's, business they also had to purchase copies of important documents from various places, especially if a deceased testator left the consistory a sum of money in another town. Other times the pastor might have to spend money on miscellaneous expenses for the consistory or make repairs to his own house.[8] Pastors expected the consistory to reimburse them for all of these expenditures in addition to their regular salary. And since elders expected to be able to audit their accounts, pastors meticulously tracked all the money they spent and received.

The national synod theoretically determined the amount of a pastor's salary. In 1611, the synod at Saumur required 500 livres be paid to pastors with families and 450 livres to everyone else.[9] This was prohibitively expensive for smaller communities like Montagnac. In reality, the terms of a pastor's *gages* were normally spelled out in the initial agreement, or *convention,* established when the pastor first moved to town. This document specified the pastor's initial salary, when he would be paid, and his responsibilities to the community. Lasting for at least a year, a *convention* could be renewed, terminated, or amended as each

[8] ADG, H 28, "Estat de ce qui est deu au sieur de Casaux." He spent 5 livres 3 sous making some unspecified repairs to his home and about 80 livres sending letters and traveling on the consistory's behalf.

[9] Emma Lorimer, "Huguenot General Assemblies in France, 1579-1622," (PhD diss., Magdalen College 2004), 186, fn. 151.

side saw fit—this was how pastors renegotiated their salaries. The *gages* at Montagnac could be as high as 500 livres, but it was normally between 300 and 350 livres.[10] This was far lower than in other parts of France, where a normal salary would be 400 livres, not including free housing.[11] The highest salary was probably in Gap, where a minister could expect 600 livres.[12] The *convention* also included when and how the consistory would "render" or settle accounts with the pastor, a process that required each side to state how much had been paid in the previous year.

Settling accounts between the pastor and consistory was an essential way both sides ensured they were getting a fair bargain. Pastors wanted to confirm they had received their full wage, and elders wanted to prevent the pastor from being overpaid. This was a complex process for two main reasons. First, pastors received their *gages* from a variety of different sources throughout the year. Technically only one elder had the authority to manage the *deniers de l'église* at a time, but in practice, the pastor received payments directly from a number of different people.[13] This could cause considerable confusion when it came time to settle accounts. Sometimes the consistory debated how to simplify the process by concentrating financial decisions in the hands of one rotating office, but this never really

[10] The exact amount changed depending on a range of factors, and as we will see, bears little relation to the amount actually paid. In 1649, Tinel was supposed to receive 350 livres, but his successor agreed to a salary of 400 livres. Lefranc, who had the longest appointment at Montagnac from 1655-1679, had an annual salary that fluctuated but usually amounted to 300 livres. In 1683, Brinihol had a salary of 350 livres.

[11] This was the salary for the pastor in Layrac in 1611. ADG, H 83, 31 December 1611.

[12] Eugène Arnaud, *Histoire des protestants du Dauphiné aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, vol. 2 (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1970), 210.

[13] I have examined other records from churches across France that generally follow this pattern. These include: Béziers (AN, TT/235.7); Castelmoron (SHPF, MS 2221-1); Gordes (*Livre du Consistoire de l'Église réformée de Gordes, 1620-1679*, trans. Barnard Appy, accessed on November 5, 2012, www.appy-histoire.fr); Moussac (AN, TT/257.11); Riez, Roumoles and Puimoisson (SHPF, MS 4291-2); Saint-Affrique (AN, TT/257.11); Salavas (AN, TT/265.5); Saint-Geravais-sur-Mare (AN, TT/169.19); Vercheny (AN, TT/275/A.5).

happened.[14] Second, the vast majority of payments seem to have been made in cash, but they could occur "in kind." One finds, for example, that Charles Daubus received three payments in the form of flour, wine, and firewood in 1634 and 1635. This totaled almost seventy livres, or about 15% of his total annual salary.[15]

Given this complexity and the amount of money changing hands, concern over the pastor's salary generated hundreds of pages of documentation in Montagnac. Pastors kept personal account books detailing when, where, and from whom they received payments. The consistory required pastors to submit clean copies, called *quittances*, of these accounts for auditing, which allowed the elders to see payments in chronological order. One presumes these clean copies were kept in a locked chest with the consistory's other precious documents, not in the pastors' personal possession.[16] As a result of this close attention to detail, we can quantify and trace each pastor's annual income at Montagnac.[17] These documents contain the rough outlines of the financial program Montagnac's consistory put into action to pay its pastor.

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[14] This requirement was repeatedly stressed at Montagnac. For example, see ADG, H 25, 29 November 1617. "Ayant esté représenté que jusqu'à ce jour d'huy il s'est veu du désordre au payement des gages du sieur de Saffin, pasteur, pour y remédier a esté résolu qu'à l'advenier Messieurs de Cerase, de Ranse, de Castaing et de Lacave, selon l'ordre qu'ils ont ici nommés, recevront chacun son année les intérests des sommes dheus à l'église pour en payer les gages dudit sieur pasteur par quartiers selon la discipline… a la fin de chasque année, celui qui aura faict la charge en rendra conte pour recevoir quittance suffisante de ce qui auta faict la charge en render conte pour recevoir quittance suffisante de ce qu'il aura employé et après que tous auront faict ceste levee, le premier recommencera."

[15] ADG, H 28, 1 January 1634 to 8 September 1635. Daubus reports these payments in the first three entries of his quittance:

> de Mousieur de Cerase en bois fagot & bled – 47 lt 7 s
> de Mousier de Lauene (?) en vin & en bois – 19 lt 10 s
> de la piter en fagot – 2 lt 12 s

[16] This would have created the greatest sense of transparency in handling the church's funds. I have the impression pastors kept their own haphazard lists of income they received throughout the year, and some were more organized than others. A few small scraps of papers remain tucked away in the pages of clean copies, indicating how easy it might have been to lose evidence of one's income.

[17] This is a unique situation unlike other parts of Europe. In Germany, Lutheran parishes constantly struggled to maintain accurate documentation of payments made to their pastors. See C. Scott Dixon, *The Reformation and Rural Society: The Parishes of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Kulmbach, 1528-1603* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 84-86.

The best way to accomplish a detailed analysis of this particular fiscal policy is by narrowing the focus to a limited number of years where the documentation is particularly thick. Four case studies from Pastors Estienne Saffin (1612-17), Lazare Casaux (1630-33), Michel Lefranc (1663), and D. Brinihol (1683) demonstrate how the consistory tried to carefully construct a self-sustaining endowment for the pastor. As outside sources of funding became increasingly unreliable or disappeared altogether, the elders successfully invested in revenue-generating properties. They supplemented these efforts by contributing their own resources to the consistory and appealing on an ad hoc basis to the broader community to raise funds. This was a successful strategy for the first half of the seventeenth century, but national events and local pressures eventually prevailed in dismantling Montagnac's ability to pay its pastor.

II. Pastors Saffin, Casaux, Lefranc, and Brinihol: Four Case Studies

The most striking characteristic of all four case studies is the extent to which the consistory tried to build an endowment specifically to generate money to pay its pastors. The church's endowment took two forms. First, testators often bequeathed their lands to the consistory over the years, usually stipulating in their wills the desire to support a pastor at Montagnac. The consistory determined the value of these lands and determined a rent to charge (*rente*) according to their assessed value. The consistory then leased these lands to farmers who signed contracts agreeing to pay the consistory a predetermined sum of money every year, either in the form of cash or goods (grain, wine, etc.). A family, for instance, might pay the consistory eighteen livres annually as tenants to work on an estate bequeathed to the consistory valued at 300 livres, generating a 6% return for the consistory. Second, the elders lent out (*prêter*) whatever excess money the consistory received to create financial instruments, also confusingly called *rentes*, similar to what we might call reverse annuities.

For instance, a testator might leave the consistory 100 livres in the form of cash for the maintenance of the pastor. The elders would immediately lend it to someone in something like a home improvement loan (secured by an existing property) in return for a permanent payment of six livres per year, again generating 6% every year. My impression is these loans were tied to real properties and provided a way for owners or tenants to finance capital improvement projects by establishing a permanent increase in rent.

There is some ambiguity in Montagnac's account books regarding the difference between these two forms of regular income. The first type of investment was clearly tied to the lands the consistory technically accumulated through donations, but the second type provided more autonomy for the debtor who still owned his property. The ambiguity derives from documents that refer to both types of income as interest payments (*intérêt*) on a sum of money in the equivalent of land (both called *rente*). In both cases, the consistory calculated i*ntérêt* on an annual basis, and failure to pay only added to the amount owed in *rente*.[18] These payments could be applied to the principal of the loan, but in reality, debtors seemed to only pay the interest. A debtor could offer to pay off the entire *rente* in one large payment, which in one case seems to have occurred as a dowry.[19] Despite the ambiguity surrounding the exact nature of *rente* investments, the consistory ultimately wanted to create a portfolio of investments primarily in land that would reliably generate revenue every year. These endowments were identical to ones found in earlier Catholic circumstances, as for a monastery or bishopric.

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[18] One can see how this system operated when debtors would make back- and advance-payments on their *rentes*. One reads for instance: "Le 27 December 1615 Mr Vaqueri a payé seize livres treize sold quatre deniers po[ur] lesdit intereste de 1615 à 1616 recue par Mousr Saffin n[otre] pasteur en deduction de ses gages..." (underlined in the original). ADG, H 28, 27 December 1615.

[19] ADG, H 28, n.d. 1617. "J'ay par ce devant recue des maind de Monsr de Lacave en deduction des interest des sommes qu'il deboit à leglise ou de la somme de ledit livres dheu par David Laroque son gendre dont il a faict compte quand il a faict canceller des obligations premierement douze sold en demi livre de poudre (?) plus trois livres seize sold en un escu au soliel plus cinquante sold en foin... monte tous six livres dix huit sold…"

To make matters more confusing, the consistory regularly levied assessments on the community to raise money to pay its pastor's salary. The descriptions of these assessments, or *taux*, are similarly laden with the language of "debt owed" to the church. After all, members of the Reformed Church received the services of the pastor and had a contractual obligation through the consistory to pay his salary, not to mention the moral imperative to show their "gratitude" for a preacher of God's Word.[20] The consistory levied these assessments on individuals according to their perceived ability to pay.[21] The elders also made occasional public appeals to collectively raise money for the pastor, usually by standing at the temple's door and soliciting donations as people entered. This occurred rarely, perhaps only two or three times each year.[22] For the purposes of this discussion, both individual assessments and general appeals for money are categorized as "*taux*." And as we will see, *rente* payments were always much larger and more reliable than *taux* payments, suggesting a level of financial planning in the French Reformed Churches not yet appreciated by early modern historians.

a. Pastor Estienne Saffin, 1612-1617

Estienne Saffin established his first *convention* with the elders of Montagnac in late 1612, during a period of relative stability and prosperity for Protestantism in southwestern France. Despite two noteworthy disputes with the consistory, evidence suggests Saffin quickly ingratiated himself in the community.[23] He swiftly became a godparent with a

[20] See Chapter 3, page 69.

[21] For instance: "De ce que doit Simon David ay recue pour deux annees ce 14 de Mars 1625 trois livres quinze sous." ADG, H 28, 14 March 1625.

[22] There is a key distinction here. The consistory regularly collected money from the *plat des pauvres* for the church's social welfare programs. But even here, voluntary contributions were very small compared to revenue from income-generating properties in the *bourse des pauvres*.

[23] See Chapter 5, pages 152-153 for these disputes.

woman named Jane d'Avance for the child of a prominent local family named Ducos.[24] He then married a local noblewoman named Marthe d'Avance two months later in December 1613.[25] The following September, they presented their newborn daughter in the temple for baptism; Marthe's brother and Saffin's mother served as the godparents.[26] It is unclear exactly where Saffin grew up, but his mother's presence at his daughter's baptism suggests it could not have been far.

Saffin successfully connected himself with Montagnac's prominent families, and he received his annual salary of 300 livres in full and on time. Breaking down Saffin's *quittances* from 1612 to 1617 in Figure 16 reveals how the largest source of funds for Saffin's salary was the *intérêt* payments valued as low as fifteen sous and as high as seventy-five livres.[27] The rate of calculated *intérêt* varied between 2.5% and 7.5%, depending on the value of the "sum due" to the consistory. In general, higher *rentes* received higher interest rates. Debtors made these payments either directly to Saffin or through an elder who passed the money on to the pastor. Generally speaking, the majority of payments occurred in cash, but Saffin often received flour, wine, or firewood as well.[28]

[24] ADG, H 27, 13 October 1613.

[25] ADG, H 27, 4 December 1613.

[26] ADG, H 27, 2 September 1614. Saffin went on to serve as godfather in two more baptisms on 28 December 1614 and 15 August 1616. He and Marthe d'Avance had a second daughter on 24 January 1616.

[27] The lowest *rente* was only thirty livres and belonged to four people. The elders owned small businesses and multiple houses in town that generated money for the consistory, and perhaps these loans were for Protestants connected with non-farming ventures. ADG, H 28, 3 September 1617. "Le 3[me] de Septembre j'ay recue cinquante sold des Intereste de la somme de trente livre dhue par Marie Bethesa (?) dite la Penote et Jehan Sarrason Marie Peyronel et Pierron Bruilhel (?) —E. Saffin pasteur po[ur] avoire receu cinquante sols."

[28] For instance, part of one payment to Saffin came in the form of "une pippe de bled," valued at 5 livres 12 sous. ADG, H 28, 17 June 1617.

The second most important source of income for Saffin was the *deniers du roy*, which he received on eleven different occasions totaling over 400 livres.[29] The disbursements occurred every three or four months throughout Saffin's tenure, representing about one-fifth of his total income. This included reimbursement for traveling to colloquy and synod meetings, an expense which in 1616 alone amounted to 117 livres. The general assessments made on individual members and the entire community constituted a third significant source of revenue, but not nearly as much as the *intérêt* payments. Saffin's *quittances* also contain two entries describing payments from elders unrelated to any debts owed to the church. Both the *taux* and extraordinary contributions from elders seem to have occurred on an as-needed basis to support the pastor. These last two sources of income filled the gaps whenever *intérêt* payments or the *deniers du roy* fell short.

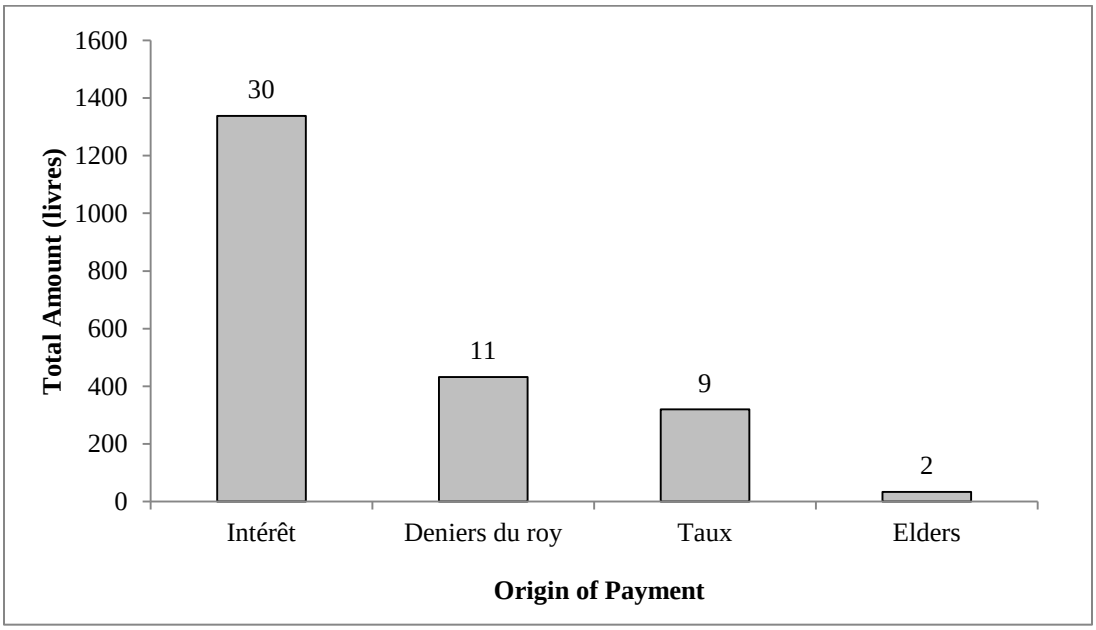

Figure 16: Pastor Saffin's *quittance*, 1612-1617

[29] The account books refer to these funds as "des deniers de la liberalité du Roy." For one example, see ADG, H 28, 25 October 1617.

*Note: The number of payments is included in the bar graph. See Appendix A for an excerpt from 1616.

Saffin's *quittance* contains some ambiguity regarding the difference between *taux* and *intérêt* payments. To my mind, the difference between voluntary assessments and contractual obligations is highly significant. The former implies a level of volition and uncertainty in financial planning, but the latter creates a schedule of income and a sense of confidence. Saffin always mixed both types of payments together on the same list and used the same language of debt in his descriptions. To make matters more complicated, sometimes Saffin provided the initial principal due whenever he received an *intérêt* payment, but not always. The difference between the two only becomes clear when one considers how *taux* payments were generally small, occurred irregularly, and came from a variety of different people. On the other hand, *intérêt* payments were always larger and generally occurred annually during the same time of year from the same people.

Most *intérêt* payments were clearly tied to a piece of property the consistory technically owned but leased to tenant farmers. The inheritance left to the consistory for the maintenance of a pastor by Jean Leonard is an excellent example. Jean Leonard died at some point before 1612 and left his lands to pay for the maintenance of a Reformed minister at Montagnac. A quick glance at the church's baptismal registry indicates Leonard had several heirs.[30] Leaving Leonard's farm in the possession of his family allowed the consistory to collect an annual payment of 75 livres on a total *rente* of 1,000 livres, or 7.5%.[31] This was clearly a very large estate worth a small fortune. The "heirs of Leonard" made these

[30] ADG, H 27. Five separate godparents share Jean Leonard's patronym in the baptismal registry. Although it is impossible to say if these were actually his children, the account books attest to "les hoires de fue M. Leonard."

[31] ADG, H 28, 5 October 1617.

payments on a regular basis throughout Saffin's ministry. Other debts owed to the consistory were likewise related to large estates, resulting in similar rates of interest. Monsieur de Lart, for instance, paid 7.3% each year on a *rente* of 300 livres and Monsieur Lacave paid 8.35% on 400 livres.[32] Another entry in Saffin's *quittance* from 1617 demonstrates how the consistory found money for the pastor's salary as far away as Sainte-Colombe-en-Bruilhois, another very small town about seven kilometers to the northeast. Monsieur Vaquery, a "juge de Sainte-Colombe," paid 8.3% on a debt of 200 livres.[33]

It is helpful to remember that the elders were savvy businessmen with a sophisticated knowledge of the various financial mechanisms available to them. They understood how to manage estates and to maintain account books. The elders clearly recognized how the varying rates of interest could cause confusion when it came time to calculate payments. Unless the receiver of the *deniers de l'église* had each individual agreement in front of him, it would be difficult to know if debtors were underpaying. They therefore began an effort in 1615 to standardize the different interest rates (what we might more correctly call rates of return on real estate or cash) that people paid to the consistory. Reconciling all the debtors to the same interest rate meant decreasing the payments for some people but raising them for others, and one assumes the consistory only tried this approach because it raised the overall amount of revenue.[34] The elders decided a rate of 8.3% would be the most expedient, but subsequent records indicate a common lower rate of 6.5%.

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[32] ADG, H 28. For de Lart, see 14 November 1612, and for Lacave, see 20 November 1614.

[33] ADG, H 28, 15 October 1617. "Le quinziesme desdite mois et an j'ay recue seize livres treize sold quatre deniers des Intereste de la somme de deux cent livres dheus par Monsr Vaquery Juge de Saincte Colombe— E. Saffin pasteur po[ur] avoir receu seize livre treize sold quatre denieres."

[34] ADG, H 25, 17 April 1615. "Attendu qu'il y en a qui tiennent des deniers de l'église à sept et demi pour cent, d'autres denier seize, d'autres au denier douze, avons advisé de mettre une égalité entre toutz et ranger toutes les somme à l'intérest au denier douze et ce pour un plus grand soulagement de l'église, ce que sera signifié à toutz les débiteurs et particulièrement monsier de Ranse, à son retour, sera prié de nous donner son bon advis sur cest affaire et l'avoir pour agréable." In this entry, "sept et demi pour cent" refers to 7.5%, "denier seize" refers to 6.25% and "denier douze" refers to 8.3%.

Regardless of the origins of his salary, Saffin kept close track of the payments he received and submitted his accounts to the consistory for auditing on a regular basis. Saffin likely kept his own records and then generated a clean copy for the consistory to review.[35] These audits demonstrate how the consistory stayed current with its obligations to Saffin. For example, in 1612 the elders had only fallen three livres short in paying their pastor, and in 1614, they had only underpaid him by 11 sous 2 deniers over the previous three years.[36] The exactness with which the consistory paid Saffin suggests the elders carefully and strategically planned how they would fund their pastor. They calculated the market value of any goods he received throughout the year, and made sure they came close to paying his full *gages* year after year. It should be noted, however, that during Saffin's ministry at Montagnac, the consistory relied on the crown to pay a large portion of his salary. These funds became increasingly rare as the seventeenth century wore on, eventually causing the consistory to fall behind in its obligations.

b. Pastor Lazare Casaux, 1630-1633

All of the available evidence suggests Lazare Casaux became an integral member of the Reformed Church at Montagnac. He served at Montagnac from February 1621 until 1634, a turbulent time for Protestantism in the Garonne River Valley given the resurgence of the Wars of Religion in the 1620s. Casaux came to town after having been forced to leave another congregation at Lectoure, a small town to the southeast. Louis XIII's three-year campaign to smash the remaining Huguenot strongholds across the southwest demolished Tonneins before striking Pau in 1620. Royal troops took control of Montauban in 1621,

[35] ADG, H 28, 1612-1617. Several characteristics of the account books suggest this is what happened. All of the entries are in Estienne Saffin's handwriting, and artifacts within the document indicate common scribal errors in writing a clean copy, like skipping to a subsequent entry too soon before crossing out the error.

[36] ADG, H 28, 1612 and 1614.

followed shortly by Nérac, and then Layrac in March 1622.[37] Casaux became a refugee because of this instability and fled to Montagnac, where the consistory eventually obtained permission from the provincial synod to have him serve as the new pastor.[38] Much like Saffin, Casaux began having children shortly after his arrival.[39] Members of the consistory served as godfathers for his children, and in time he became the godfather for two infants as well.[40] He also received his salary in full and on time, and early in his ministry he actually received a raise.

Documentation from Casaux's tenure as pastor is particularly rich. A number of account books survive from the 1620s and early 1630s describing the consistory's poor relief programs, contracts between farmers and the consistory, and payments to the pastor. Casaux billed the consistory for any expenditure he made in conducting the church's business, including fees for sending correspondence and making repairs to his own home.[41] A close reading of the receipts Casaux rendered to the consistory for his salary reveals the same

[37] The top historian of the French Wars of Religion states that the resulting treaty represented a "total defeat for the Protestants." See Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 182. A short pamphlet describes how the Duc de Mayenne marched from Bordeaux to occupy Nérac, perhaps the most prestigious Huguenot town in the Condomois colloquy, with very little resistance in June 1621. NL, I. Mesnier, "La prise et reduction de la ville et chasteau de Nerac,"(Paris, 1621), Case F39 .326 1621pr. For the situation in Layrac, see Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France: Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), 50-51.

[38] ADG, H 25, 12 February 1621. "Cejourdhuy dixseptiesme juillet mil six cens vingt deux, le sieur Casaux ministre de la parolle de dieu ayant donné ung presche à ceste eglise par la priere que les ansiens luy en avoict envoyé faire quelques jours auparavant a esté aussy à mesmes temps requis puis que par la mallice du temps il ne pouvoit continuer son ministere en l'eglise de Lectoure de vouloir servir celle ci, à quoy led. sieur apres avoir sceu le comun consantemant de ladicte esglise c'est accordé et leur a promis la continuation de son miistere tout aultant de temps qu'il pourra soubs le bon plaisir de sa province, à laquelle il est ataiché et de celle icy aussy en laquelle il ce treuve à presant et ci aux gages ordinaires de ladicte esglise de quatre cens livres paiables par cartier et par avance à compter despuis led. jour dixseptiesme juillet et moiennant aussy une maison qui luy sera bailhée pour son logemant, faict et arresté à l'issue du presche les mois et an susd. et les saichant escripre ont signé."

[39] It is impossible to say when Casaux married, but he and his wife Marie Barot had five children. ADG, H 27, 24 July 1623, 13 October 1624, 11 November 1627, 10 September 1630, and 14 May 1633.

[40] ADG, H 27, 17 October 1627, and 17 November 1630.

[41] ADG, H 28, "Estat de ce qui est deu au sieur de Casaux." He spent 5 livres 3 sous making some unspecified repairs to his home and about 80 livres sending letters and traveling on the consistory's behalf.

financial strategy the elders used to pay Saffin twenty years earlier. The elders possessed a large endowment in the form of agricultural land to generate the bulk of the church's income, which they then supplemented with voluntary assessments on prominent members of the church, occasional ad hoc payments from the local nobility, and increasingly rare funds from the crown.

It is worth pausing before diving into a detailed description of the documents to mention another development during Casaux's time as pastor. Saffin's *quittance* contains a level of ambiguity regarding the difference between *taux* and *intérêt* payments. The distinction between these two different types of income becomes increasingly clear in Casaux's *quittance*, demonstrating a more organized method of financial planning. For one, Casaux almost always listed the entire principal due to the consistory whenever he received an *intérêt* payment. This makes it possible to measure the total value of the consistory's endowment.[42] Second, Casaux described the rental period covered by each payment. For instance, on 10 August 1632, he received ten livres from Sieur Ducos, a long-standing debtor to the consistory. Ducos's payments were then "deferred" (*prolongé*) until July of the following year.[43] And third, Casaux maintained a separate list of payments he received through voluntary contributions, or as he called it, "*la collecte*." This illustrates again how the elders used their own resources to finance the church's operations.

In fact, the consistory had some of the same tenants paying rent or borrowers paying interest in the 1620s and 1630s as it did during Saffin's tenure, lending further evidence that many of these payers were long-term tenant farmers.[44] One entry from Casaux's *quittance*

[42] This is only for the *deniers de l'église*. It excludes the technically separate endowment for the poor called the *bourse des pauvres*.

[43] See Appendix B. ADG, H 28, 10 August 1632. "Plus le 10 aoust 1632 des 150 lt que doit le Sieur Ducos jay recue dix livres luy ai donné prolongé jusques au 22 jeuillet 1633 – 10 lt." Ducos continued to pay ten livres, or 6.6%, for several years.

[44] Sieur Ducos, for example, made the same 25 livres payment on a 300 livres loan during the fall months of both Saffin's and Casaux's ministries. ADG, H 28, 16 December 1615 and 13 October 1625.

actually uses the term "*rente*" to refer to one of these arrangements.[45] A curious entry from Jean de Vignaux suggests the consistory also owned and rented houses in town to generate income for the pastor's salary. According to the consistory register, in 1624, Vignaux offered to buy a house next to the temple from the consistory that he had lived in for at least the past six months. The two parties agreed on a price of 200 livres to be paid in two installments over the next year.[46] No records of these payments survive, but Vignaux did pay 8 livres 6 sous 8 deniers for Casaux's *gages* on 31 January 1626.[47]

The *deniers du roy* became smaller and smaller during the late 1620s, constituting only a fraction of Casaux's total income. Similar to how the national synods thought about missing funds from the king, Casaux applied the money he received in 1625 to previous years, indicating how he planned to receive these funds long after they were past due.[48] The very last payment he received from the crown amounted to less than six livres in 1631, which he applied to his travel expenses to a synod in Duras.[49] In response to the disappearance of payments from the crown, local Huguenot nobles in Montagnac began making additional payments for the maintenance of their pastor. The baron of Montagnac promised to pay him twenty-five livres each year, and the baron of Moncaut similarly promised twenty livres.[50] And finally, Casaux also received one payment of fifty livres from a provincial synod, which the synod probably received from charitable donations from other parts of France.

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[45] ADG, H 28, 6 January 1626. "Et le 6 janvier 1626 jay recue de la rente que Mr de Saffin doit quarante livre."

[46] ADG, H 26, 1 November 1624. "S'est présenté Jean de Vignaux requérant la compagnie de luy faire vente de la maison qui apartient à l'église et qu'il tient depuis six mois ou plus, ce qui luy a estè accordé au prix de deux cens livres, desquelles il payera cent au jour de la Noel prochain et les autres cent dans un an révolu, de quoy ils passeront contrat ensemble."

[47] ADG, H 28, 31 January 1626. "De ce que doit Jehan de Vignaux le 31 Janvier 1626 huit livres 6 s 8 d."

[48] ADG, H 28, 1 November 1625. Casaux received 62 livres 7 sous 11 deniers in November 1625 but counted it as payment for the last quarter of 1623 and the first quarter of 1624.

[49] See Appendix B for a transcription

[50] ADG, H 28, 9 Sept 1625. "…ce que Mosieur de Montagnac à promis de donner annuelement pour l'entretien du ministaire." The very next entry reads in part: "Et de Monsieur de Moncaup pour mesme effet…"

Taking a closer look at Casaux's *quittance* from his last years at Montagnac (1630-1633) demonstrates the extent to which the consistory had developed its endowment for the pastor. The majority of income for Casaux derived from twenty different investments ranging in value from 25 to 1,000 livres. Three properties carried a value of 1,000 livres, but the most common investment amounted to 300 livres. Unlike in previous years when the consistory charged debtors different interest rates, Casaux's *quittance* indicates a universal rate of 6.6%. The total principal owed to the consistory in its endowment was 5,305 livres, meaning the consistory expected to receive around 350 livres every year to pay its pastor. Casaux's *quittance* also contains two entries in the very beginning that represent the total amount he received on various occasions before 1630. It is unclear exactly where these payments originated, but I strongly suspect they ultimately came from other agricultural investments. The elders also made voluntary contributions on an irregular basis to Casaux throughout his tenure, but these payments remained relatively small compared to the consistory's endowment. Taken as a whole, this was a substantial accomplishment for a church that had been illegal only a few decades earlier.

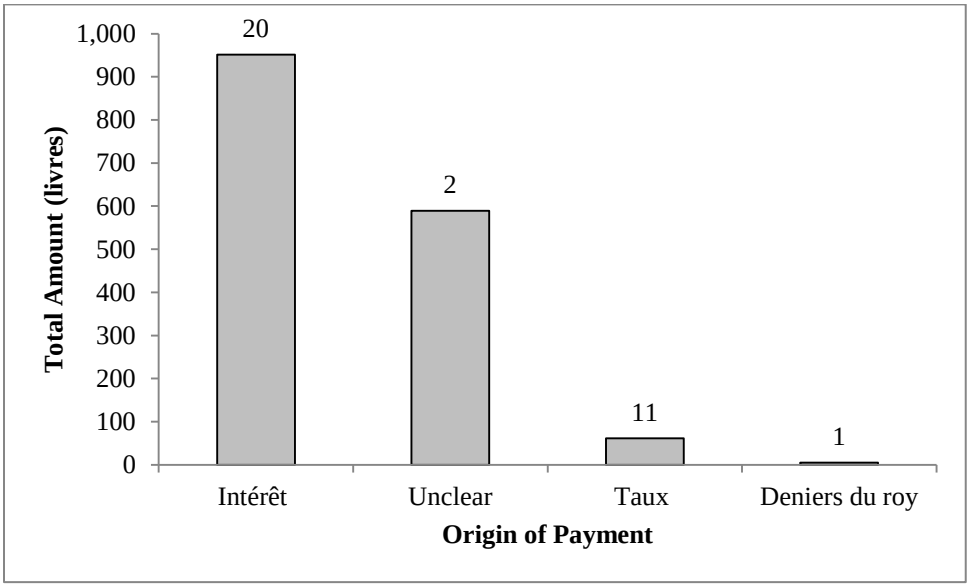

Figure 17: Pastor Casaux's *quittance*, 1630-1633

*Note: This *quittance* represents four years of payments made to Pastor Casaux. Again, the number of each type of payment is given in the chart. See Appendix B for a transcription.

The fact that Casaux consistently received this much money from the consistory highlights how paying the pastor remained the congregation's top priority even during extremely difficult times. The elders struggled to find and maintain a physical worship space, but they always managed to find some funds for their pastor. Casaux's salary actually rose from 400 to 500 livres in 1624 through a new agreement with the consistory, not including his free housing.[51] Despite his much higher salary, Casaux still received almost his entire *gages* throughout the 1620s.[52] His salary then decreased back to 400 livres through a new *convention* in 1630. If the consistory had managed its portfolio of investments and achieved a 6.6% rate of return, then the elders would have only needed a little more income to fully meet its obligations to Casaux. Notwithstanding the consistory's extensive efforts to develop long-lasting sources of revenue, the church's finances always remained in a precarious position. Casaux needed to be paid for travelling to synods, writing letters on the church's behalf, and dipping into his own funds to repair the temple. Adding these extra expenses on top of his salary pushed his compensation out of a reasonable range for the consistory. By the end of 1633, the consistory owed Casaux more than 200 livres in back pay, which was probably why he asked to leave Montagnac for a new congregation.[53] Other

[51] This was enough money for Casaux to employ at least one maidservant in his home. A list of expenditures for the poor describes a "chambriere de M. Casaux," who cared for a sick child. ADG, H 47, November 1630-1631.

[52] ADG, H 28, 25 December 1626. At the end of 1626, the elders determined they had paid Casaux more than 1,600 livres over the previous four years, but they still owed him 39 livres 1 sous 1 denier.

[53] See the end of Appendix B. Casaux complained about the lack of reimbursement as early as 1631. The consistory had to borrow money from an unnamed credit to pay his salary. ADG, H 26, 5 January 1631. "Assemblés en concistoire els susnommés, ledit sieur Casaux demandant le paiement de la somme de 100 livres qui luy seroit deue par son dernier conte comme en ayant grand besoin [illegible] compagnie a résolu d'emprunter ladite somme pour la luy bailer quand et wuant à condition de la pay au créancier sur les inérests des somme deus à l'église au mois d'Aoust prochain."

pastors were much more impatient than Casaux, however, and the running deficit between the consistory and its pastor eventually became a serious point of contention.

c. Pastor Michel Lefranc, 1663

Montagnac's longest serving pastor (1655-1679), Michel Lefranc, married into the prominent Labènne clan in 1665 at Espiens, a church not far from Montagnac.[54] Although it is impossible to say with certainty, circumstantial evidence suggests Lefranc had children shortly after arriving at Montagnac. A woman named Isabeau Lefranc married into the Labènne family and had a daughter baptized at Montagnac about eighteen years after Michel Lefranc's wedding, suggesting the pastor saw his grandchildren baptized in his own church.[55] As we will see in the next section, Lefranc remained a highly regarded pastor at Montagnac for many years, so much so that the consistory granted him a pension after his retirement. Part of the explanation why is due to the fact that he consistently served as minister without ever receiving his salary in full, despite his concerted efforts to get paid.

Unfortunately, despite frequent references to their contents, none of the *quittances* survive from Lefranc's tenure as pastor. There is, however, another type of financial document concerning the entire endowment of the *deniers de l'église*. Rendered to the consistory in 1663, this account book (*compte*) concerns expenditures made in 1661. It contains the same kind of information as a *quittance*, as well as additional descriptions of the consistory's income and expenditures for the entire year [See Appendix C]. This snapshot of all the church's financial activity in 1661 reveals a significant decline in the net worth of the church's entire endowment.

[54] ADG, H 28, 1 November 1665.

[55] ADG, H 27, 5 July 1683.

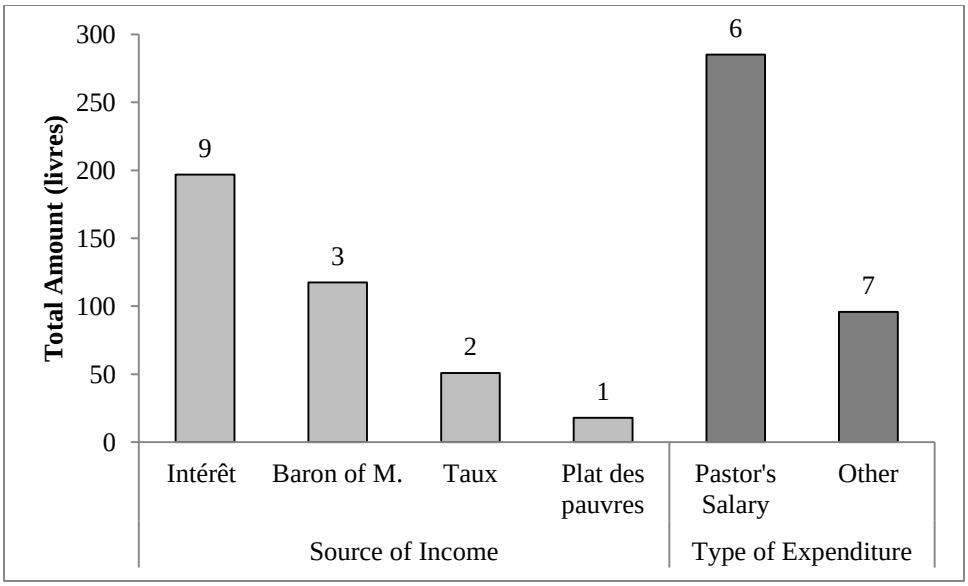

Figure 18: Compte from the *deniers de l'église* in 1661, rendered in 1663

*Note: The total number of entries for each type of income/expenditure is given in the graph.

Taking a close look at the *compte* from 1663 demonstrates how the church's financial position deteriorated in the decades after 1633. First, the consistory's portfolio of revenue-generating properties significantly declined from twenty to only nine. The total principal owed to the consistory also declined by more than half, from over 5,300 to under 2,400 livres.[56] The decline in wealth was actually more dramatic than this suggests because one property in 1663 accounted for almost 1,000 livres in principal. To put it simply, this substantially raised the risk of financial disaster if only a handful of farmers had a poor harvest. Second, Monsieur de Berbières, the baron of Montagnac, directly paid the pastor almost one-third of his entire annual salary. Since the consistory could no longer count on a subsidy from the crown, the elders necessarily became dependent on a local patron for

[56] At this level, a 6% rate of return would only generate about 150 livres every year.

support. The church's reliance on Berbières actually increased in the subsequent years, and by 1670, he was paying over half of Lefranc's salary.[57]

Third, the consistory continued to levy assessments on the general population and collect charitable contributions at the door to the temple, but these only amounted to a fraction of the church's total expenditures. Fourth, the elders stopped distinguishing between the *deniers de l'église* and the *bourse des pauvres* by 1663. The church's social welfare programs will be analyzed in depth in the following chapter, but suffice it to say for now that income from the *plat des pauvres* was combined with a general assessment to pay for a metalworker to repair the temple's bell.[58] And finally, the consistory's overhead costs increased substantially. Pursuing the heirs of testators who had given their properties to the consistory was expensive. The elders needed to write correspondence, collect documents, travel to court, and hire lawyers to prosecute their cases. To put it simply, the elders had to spend money to collect money. In 1661, these overhead expenses totaled more than seventy livres, more than what the consistory could raise through voluntary contributions and assessments. The consistory found itself in an increasingly dire financial situation.

[57] ADG, H 26, 2 February 1670. Berbière's contributions coincided with an escalating debt owed to Lefranc. In this case, the consistory wrote directly into its register how it managed to pay Lefranc about 400 of the 1,000 livres it owed him. "Surquoy ledit Sieur Lefranc a representé que par compte arresté avec luy comme resulte de l'acte du 28 8^{bre} 1669 il luy est deu jusques au 4 7^{bre} de ladit anneé la somme de mille quatorse livres. Surquoy messieurs les entiens ont dit qu'en luy a esté paye depuis ledit jour 28 8^{bre} 1669 de quatre cents trente livres scavoir de Monsieur de Berbières deux cents trente sept livres dix sols—de M Labene de Rourquet vingt huit livres deux sols six deniers..."

[58] ADG, H 42. See Appendix C. "Plus fait recepte de la somme de seize livres quinze sols que ledit rendant a pris de plusieurs particuliers de ladit esglise par un rolle qui fust fait le 10 juin 1661 pour faire fonde la cloche de leglise comme apert dudit rolle – 16 lt 15 s [Next line] Plus fait recepte de huit livres qui ont esté tires en deux fois du plat des pauvres pour payer le fondeur qui a fait ladit cloche n'en y ayant pas [illegible] largent qui cest leve par le rolle dudit jour 20 juin et par ce – 8 lt"

d. Pastor D. Brinihol, 1683

Brinihol had already served as a pastor at Laparade and Espiens for more than a decade when he arrived at Montagnac in 1679.[59] Married to a Dutch noblewoman named Silmène de Loches, Brinihol fathered two children while working as Montagnac's pastor.[60] Similar to his predecessors, Brinihol had the baron of Montagnac serve as the godfather for one of his children.[61] And like Lefranc, Brinihol rarely received his salary on time or in full. A number of reasons explain why, especially the lack of funds from the *deniers du roy*, a diminished endowment for the *deniers de l'église*, and an increased reliance on voluntary payments from local nobility. It should come as no surprise that toward the end of Protestantism's legal existence in France, the impoverished church of Montagnac totally lacked the resources to pay Brinihol on its own.

[59] Brinihol was at Laparade from 1668-1677 and Espiens from 1677-1679. "Liste des ministres du sud-ouest par églises," Centre d'Etude du Protestantisme Béarnais, accessed September 11, 2014, www.cepb.eu/Histoire/Fichiers/liste%20pasteurs%20sud-ouest%20par%20%E9glises.pdf.

[60] Brinihol's wife appears in the baptismal registry as "Germaine de Loches." She is named Silmène here: H. de Bellecome, *Les Denis; une famille bourgeoise de l'Agenais du XVIIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1894), 63.

[61] ADG, H 27, 22 December 1680 and 3 April 1683.

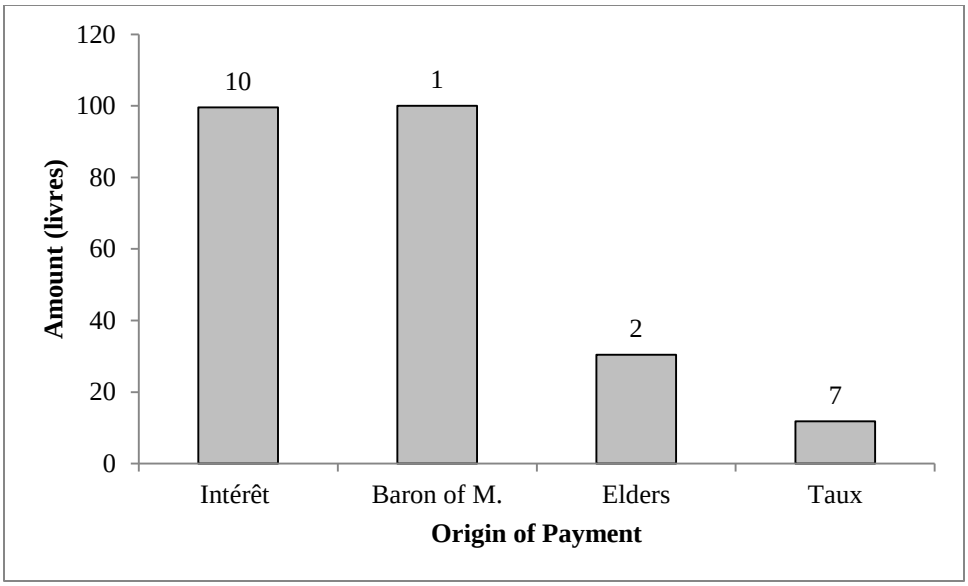

Figure 19: Brinihol's *quittance*, 1683

*Note: The number of payments is included in the bar graph. This graph excludes one donation of flour that was not calculated in a monetary value.

One can see this in the four different sources of money set aside for to Brinihol's salary in his *quittance* from 1683. In this document, Brinihol listed the twenty-eight different occasions in which he received money and goods over the previous year. He proceeded in chronological order in a two-columned document [See Appendix D]. First, the *syndic* made several payments to Brinihol from interest payments on investments the consistory had previously made in land. These payments of between approximately five and twenty livres constituted the most common source of revenue for his salary, but they were far smaller than in previous decades.[62] The consistory's farms remained by far the most lucrative part of the church's endowment. Brinihol's *quittance*, however, did not contain information on the principal balance owed by the debtors, making it impossible to measure how the net value of the endowment declined since 1663. That being said, he received income from thirteen

[62] ADG, H 40. "Plus le mesme jour [30 octobre] Monsieur d'Andiran m'a donne des interests de Monsieur Bouche – 9 livres 7 sous 6 deniers."

different properties compared to the twenty properties in the endowment in the 1630s. Brinihol also only received about 100 livres from this source of income, compared to about 350 livres for Lazare Casaux. All of this indicates a significant impoverishment of the consistory's resources in the fifty years from 1633 to 1683.

Second, Brinihol received a lump sum payment of 100 livres from the baron of Montagnac, Berbières. This constituted more than two-fifths of the money he received over the entire year, making it clear that the viability of the Reformed Church in Montagnac depended to a great extent on the Berbières' patronage. Third, Brinihol received small cash payments between approximately fifteen sous and five livres from the *taux* from the congregation. These payments came to Brinihol either directly from the person owing the *taux* or through the hands of an elder.[63] Much like the other case studies, how the consistory arrived at these *taux* assessments in 1683 remains unknown. The amount of the *taux* differed significantly from person to person because it fluctuated depending on the relative wealth of church members. And finally, Brinihol received two payments worth a combined total of 30 livres 8 sous from the elders. These payments belong in their own category because elders saw it as their responsibility to manage the affairs of the church, including paying the pastor's salary out of their own money.

Both the *taux* and *intérêt* payments could either be paid to Brinihol's family in cash or kind.[64] Similar to Saffin's *quittance*, Brinihol typically noted the fair market value of goods he received for the purposes of calculating his salary. Monsieur St. Genes, for instance, delivered 6 sacks of flour to Brinihol on 9 May 1683 valued at 4 livres 5 sous per sack, making a total *intérêt* payment worth 25 livres 10 sous.[65] Four months later, Monsieur

[63] ADG, H 40. "Le 11 avril Monsieur de Rance m'a donne du taux de Monsieur de Sauvin – 15 sous."

[64] ADG, H 40. Brinihol's wife is listed in this document as a recipient of a sack of flour.

[65] Ibid. "Le 9 mai Monsieur de Labene ancien m'a envoye six sacs de ble en deduction des interests de Monsieur St. Genes a quatre livres cinq sous le sac – 25 livres 10 sous."

Combret made another delivery of flour, this time valued at 4 livres 8 sous per sack.[66] The pastor was given a stack of firewood valued at 1 livre 10 sous, and his wife received a supply of wool valued at 7 livres 10 sous.[67] It is also worth pointing out that by the 1670s, the consistory owned the house in which its pastor lived, and they no longer relied on a nobleman or an elder to house the pastor. In a previous decade, the cost of housing Brinihol would have been calculated for the purposes of reducing or eliminating the property owner's *taux* or interest payments.[68]

e. Results of the Four Case Studies

The general decline of the congregation's financial position is evident in these four case studies. For one thing, the *deniers du roy* were replaced by ad hoc donations from the baron of Montagnac and other elders. These donations were just enough to sustain the pastor who, it should be stressed again, did not have to pay for his own housing. But the baron's charitable contributions were never enough to replace both the loss of the *deniers du roy* and the overall decline in income from *intérêt* payments. At the start of the seventeenth century, the elders could expect between 250 and 400 livres in regular income from the church's lands and debtors, but they could only count on 100 livres in 1683. Both the number of people renting farms from the consistory and the value of their payments decreased significantly.

All of these factors created serious problems for the consistory's financial sustainability, and in my view it suggests that the total endowment for the congregation also declined. Why did the consistory lose all of this land, and where did it go? It is impossible to know for sure, but one strong possibility described below is that the consistory simply gave land to its pastors as a form of compensation. It also seems likely that the consistory sold some of its farms to pay for the construction of a worship space. As I discussed earlier

[66] ADG, H 40. "[Le 5 septembre] Monsieur de Combret un sac de ble – 4 livres 8 sous."

[67] ADG, H 40. The exact words are "laine" and "fagots."

[68] See below about Mademoiselle de Carbon, page 183, fn. 88.

in Chapter 4, elders were in a particularly advantageous position to purchase properties from the consistory's endowment.

III. Other Remunerative Issues

a. Owing the Pastor Money

The *deniers du roy* played an important role in helping the consistory at Montagnac meet its obligations to its pastor in the first decades of the seventeenth century. In some years, money from the crown could pay for more than one-third of the pastor's *gages*, making it a critical source of income.[69] The *deniers du roy* were also important for the consistory because they could be used to pay obligations to other churches. In 1624, the provincial synod held at Monflanquin appropriated fifty livres from the *deniers du roy* to Montagnac but also levied an obligation of ten livres to help free the pastor of Pons, who was in jail in Bordeaux. The consistory therefore received forty livres from the crown and paid its pastor (Casaux) another ten livres from the *bourse des pauvres*.[70] When the funds eventually stopped flowing into the consistory's *coffre* in the 1630s, the elders needed to find significantly more money. This seems to have been an unexpected development in Montagnac, because as late as 1649, the elders still looked to royal officials to provide income for their pastor.[71] As the relationship between the French government and the Reformed Churches became increasingly hostile over the seventeenth century, the consistory at Montagnac gradually found itself unable to meet its obligations.

Despite the consistory's chronic inability to pay, pastors never made any serious protests against the elders. As we will shortly see, pastors frequently complained and raised

[69] Sometimes the money was simply deposited into the *deniers de l'église* and then paid to the pastor without specifying the exact amount from the crown. Saffin received 198 livres in 1612, an unspecified sum of which came from the *deniers du roy*. ADG, H 28, 4 November 1612.

[70] ADG, H 26, 13 October 1624. This transfer of funds was then confirmed on 17 November 1624.

[71] ADG, H 26, 18 February 1649: "Le susdit Jour a esté resolue par le pastur et susdit antiens quon procedera a la cotization necessaire pour faire subsister le St. Ministere au miliea de ceste eglize a este resolu par la compagnie que le Sieur Bire ou autre Juge royal sera prié de venir pour proceder a ladite cotization suivant la forme de ledit de sa majeste en faveur de ceux de la religion reformee."

the issue of their lack of compensation after the 1640s, but they normally did not appeal to the Condomois colloquy or abandon the congregation. The one exception to this trend was J. Asimont, who served Montagnac from 1642 to 1645. According to the elders, beginning in August 1645, Asimont caused a scandal in the temple by publicly censuring some of the elders, declining to perform the Lord's Supper, and refusing to attend consistory meetings.[72] The elders decided to make a formal complaint to the next colloquy meeting. Word of the consistory's plans apparently reached Asimont, who responded three days later by delivering a condemnatory sermon in which he strongly denounced the elders. He accused them of stealing money from the church, committing the sin of blasphemy, and swearing. And in the minds of the elders, he prevented far too many people from receiving the Lord's Supper.[73] The real source of Asimont's frustration with the elders became clear at a third consistory meeting the same month. He claimed the consistory owed him more than 400 livres for his work as pastor over the previous year. The elders apparently agreed that this was the case, and they signed a series of contracts promising to pay him in the coming months.[74] By mid-September, the relationship between Asimont and the consistory improved, but apparently

[72] ADG, H 28, 24 August 1645. "Mousieur Asimont notre Pasteur ayant refuse de venir layant faict appele par ledict Luset ancient pour ce trouver au consistoire comme il avoict esté resoleu avec luy alissue de la proposition quil nois a faict donner par Mousieur de Brisac a fin de pouvoir aux escandalle qui ce pourroict estre faits dans ceste esglise et pour venir aussy aux censure desdit anciens out autres particuliers sils le meritent avant de faire la Ste Cene du Seigneur comme leur a coutumé de faire dans ceste eglise de quayant esté faict sur lheure."

[73] ADG, H 28, 27 August 1645. "Nous susdit ayant ouy les plaints et offances que le Sieur Asimont nostre Pasteur a profere contre nous au preche quil nous a faict ce matin. Nous ayant appele les un larrons des deniers de leglise les autre blafismateurs et dautre par jura au lieu de dispose tout ce troupeau a ressevoir la S^{te} Cene ne nous a preche que dinjure sous la fin de son action ce qui a enpeché beaucoup de personne de ressevoir ce S^{t} Sacrament surqouy la compainie a resolue den dresse le presant acte et d'en fair sa plainte au prochain collocque et sinode."

[74] ADG, H 28, 31 August 1645. "Sur ce qui a esté represente par Mousier Asimont quil luy est dheu la somme de trois cens livres des arrerages des années passes de laquelle somme ledict Sieur Asimont a accepté une obligation desdit sieurs anciens donne a paye au sixiesme janvier prochain comme aussy de la somme de trente six livres huict sols qui luy sont dheu jusques au huitiesme juin denier comme apert par acte du unsiesme juin mil six cens quarante cinq deplus est aussy dheu audict Sieur Asimont un quartier qui echere le huictiesme septembre prochain revenant en tout la susdits sommes a la somme de quatre cens unze livres huict sols..."

not enough to redeem the pastor. The colloquy meeting at St. Foy replaced him with someone new.

Asimont's refusal to work posed a serious problem for the consistory. Since the elders lacked the necessary funds, they needed to find alternative ways of compensating the pastor. They also needed someone who would be willing to tolerate an ever-increasing debt. The elders eventually found their candidate in Michel Lefranc. Throughout his entire career, Lefranc was supposed to receive an annual salary of 300 livres in addition to free housing. In the first few years of his tenure, the consistory paid his *gages* at the end of the year for the previous twelve months.[75] But in 1659, the elders decided to begin paying him in advance for the upcoming year, an idea Lefranc probably liked. Shortly before changing the timing of Lefranc's *gages*, the consistory made a critical decision with one of the estates left by Madame de Moncaut several decades earlier. Two elders, Ranse and Combret, convinced the consistory to give them the property for their own personal possession, in affect settling a debt that the consistory previously owed them.[76] The combination of these factors caused the consistory to miss several payments to Lefranc. By the end of the 1660s, the consistory owed its pastor over 1,000 livres.

[75] ADG, H 26, 19 January 1659 and 2 June 1659.

[76] ADG, H 26, 12 June 1657. See below, page 29 footnote 83.

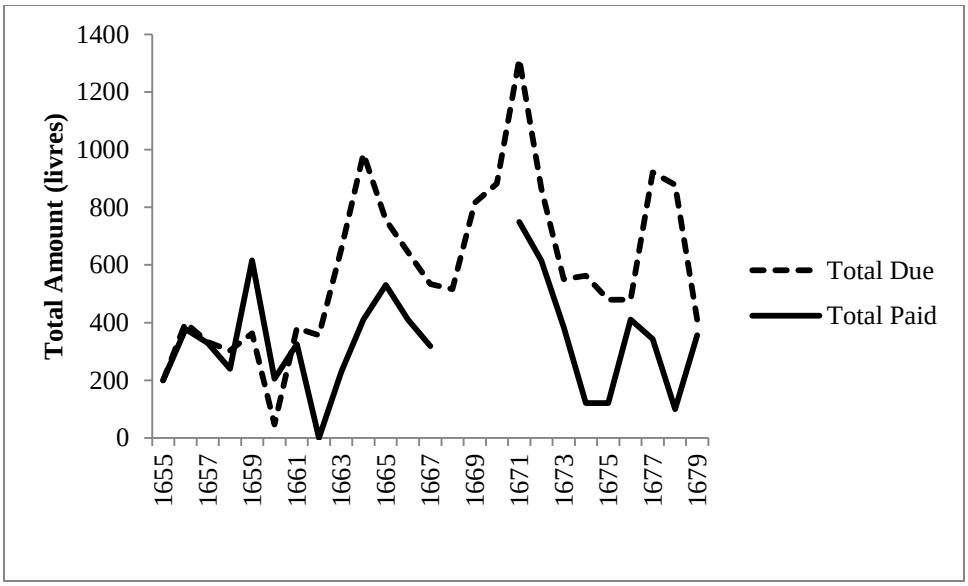

Figure 20: Lefranc's Running Deficit, 1655-1679

*Note: No receipts of payments survive from 1668-1671, but the consistory did record how much it owed the pastor.

It is important to point out the consistory owed Lefranc money for more than just his salary. Like all pastors at Montagnac, Lefranc travelled to attend colloquy meetings and dipped into his own funds to help manage the church. Traveling was expensive and usually required him to rent a horse and spend at least one or two nights away from town. In more profitable years, the consistory would be expected to send one of its own elders with the pastor and then reimburse both for their expenses. But during Lefranc's ministry the elders could no longer afford to send one of their own members to the assemblies, and they soon became unable to reimburse Lefranc for his expenses too.[77] The money due to Lefranc, therefore, included more than just his base salary for serving as minister.

[77] ADG, H 26, 12 May 1656. They could not afford to reimburse an elder for attending a colloquy meeting at Nérac, which was a very short distance away from Montagnac. The consistory seems to have missed many synod and colloquy meetings from then on, explaining their absence at a colloquy meeting on 5 September 1666 by referring to the "pauvrete de cette eglise."

Was this running deficit real, or did both Lefranc and the elders assume they would never pay it off? In 1671, the consistory owed more than 1,200 livres, an enormous sum that both sides must have realized was far beyond the congregation's ability to ever pay. Total annual revenues during this period for the entire church, including funds to pay for the pastor, maintain a worship space, and provide assistance to poor, fluctuated between 300 and 400 livres. The necessary expenses of maintaining the temple and operating the poor relief programs far outstretched the available resources. As discussed in Chapter 3, an unpaid minister technically had a range of options available to force the consistory to pay his salary. After obtaining consent from two fellow ministers and issuing repeated warnings to the consistory, a pastor could rightfully leave his congregation and demand payment before continuing his ministry. These rules were, of course, written in an earlier and more optimistic time period of French Protestantism, and by the 1660s, the situation in other churches was probably very similar to the one in Montagnac. Lefranc's willingness to continue working at Montagnac probably had more to do with his free house and other informal networks of support that he probably received from the community, but which do not survive in the documents.

Lefranc served at Montagnac for many years and eventually became too old to fulfill the responsibilities of his office. The elders realized that they needed to replace Lefranc, to whom they owed a very large sum of money. They offered to give him an annual pension of 100 livres for the rest of his life in exchange for his retirement. The consistory register reports how the conversation took place:

> Du 7^{e} septembre 1679
> … Lesquels avec tout le corps dicelle ayant recogneu que monsieur Lefranc nostre ministre estant dans un age fort avance ne pouvoit pas long temps exercice son ministere dans cete esglise…lesdites anciens demandassent un autre ministre et qu'il priassent lassemble du sinode qui ce tient a present dans le ville de Clairac de leur en donner un autre en son lieu et place et quoi ledit S. Lefranc auroit acquiesse sur quoy la compagnie la tres humblement remercie des consolations qu'il a donné dans cette eglize depuis longues annees a son edification et pour recognaissance des longs services qu'il a

> rendus pandant son ministere la compagnie la prie dagréer que cette eglise luy donnat annuellement pendant sa via la somme de cent livre le priant d'en estre satisfait duquoy il a aussi remercié la compagnie…[78]

Lefranc had labored at Montagnac for the previous twenty-four years without ever really receiving his full wage. The consistory wanted to provide for his retirement with an annual payment of 100 livres, a sum that would certainly provide him with a comfortable life.[79] But the elders could not afford his regular salary, and now they needed to hire a new pastor. This spelled more trouble for the church's financial situation.

The elders received Brinihol when they asked the colloquy at Clairac for a replacement. Unfortunately, the funding situation did not improve with a new pastor. Brinihol's initial *convention* with the consistory stipulated he would receive 300 livres for his annual salary, the same as Lefranc. The consistory even promised to pay for Brinihol's moving expenses.[80] But in 1680, the elders agreed to raise Brinihol's *gages* to 350 livres, the same year Lefranc began drawing his pension from the church.[81] By the time Brinihol rendered his quittance discussed above in 1683, he had only received about 239 livres of his 350 livres salary.[82] The unpaid portion of his salary was added to the running deficit the consistory began to incur the previous year, resulting in the final documents from the consistory's existence of a debt to Brinihol totaling 233 livres.

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[78] ADG, H 26, 7 September 1679.

[79] ADG, H 51 10 June 1681. The consistory had trouble meeting its obligation to pay Lefranc's annual pension of 100 livres. In 1681 Lefranc complained to the colloquy, which sent an elder and a minister from Nérac to sort out the problems. The delegation decided Lefranc would receive income from "la tax volontaire" and any *intérêt* payments from a tenant farmed named Labènne. Lefranc seems to have died in the following year, reverting Labènne's payments to the consistory. See Appendix G.

[80] ADG, H 26, 1 October 1679. "Il avoit promis audit Sieur Brignol la somme de six livres pour le transport de ses meuble." The elders gathered the "chefs de famille" together to discuss the current funding situation, which included the cost of bringing Brinihol to the church, establishing a contract with him, paying Lefranc pension, and sending some money to an academy. They all agreed to raise funds through a special collection, or *cotisation*, on the entire community.

[81] ADG, H 26, 14 March, 1683.

[82] ADG, H 26, 1 October 1683.

Figure 21: Brinihol's Running Deficit, 1679-1684

*Note: The total unpaid salary was 233 livres.

What could the elders do with a large unpayable debt in the *deniers de l'église*? One solution involved taking what was originally meant for the *bourse des pauvres* and spending it on the pastor. This strategy began very early in the church's history and occurred even when the consistory had sufficient funds. Consider how, for example, the elders changed the terms of Francoise de Lomagne's and Paule de Labarthe's bequests to the congregation. Both women wanted their donations to pay only for poor relief programs and the cost of sending a student to a Reformed *collège*. In 1616, the consistory wanted to change the terms of their original testaments and use the proceeds to pay Estienne Saffin. But the consistory needed the permission of its colloquy, which was meeting at Sainte-Foye in November 1616.[83] This was a relatively serious matter for the colloquy to consider, especially given the

[83] ADG, H 25, 17 April 1615.

fact that all churches were responsible for funding the Huguenot academies. Colloquies already had a difficult time convincing churches to invest their money in the training of future pastors when they could hardly afford to pay their current pastors.[84] The Condomois colloquy at Sainte-Foy agreed to Montagnac's plan because of the church's purported extreme poverty and inability to pay Saffin's salary.[85] This was always a temporary fix and, as we will see in Chapter 7, by the late seventeenth century, the *bourse des pauvres* also ran out of money. Lefranc and Brinihol were not as lucky as Saffin; they had no other option than to accept the little money the consistory could find.

b. Other Ways of Compensating the Pastor

Why did pastors tolerate a consistory that could never afford their wages? Why would they travel to colloquy meetings if they would never see reimbursement? Other rural communities also struggled to pay their pastors, so the difficult financial situation in Montagnac was ubiquitous across France. Maybe the cost of living in this small town was so inexpensive that pastors could still enjoy a comfortable standard of living with the lower wages they received. A more definite reason why pastors continued to work at Montagnac while being underpaid was that their *gages* always included free housing. This was always an explicit condition of every *convention* the consistory had with a pastor.[86] The consistory met the pastor's housing needs by sharing the responsibility among themselves and the wider community, especially the barons of Montagnac. These efforts allowed the consistory to spread out costs to multiple parties and save money.

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[84] Maag, "The Huguenot academies," 154-155.

[85] ADG, H 25, 20 November 1616. "Lesdits assembles ont declare d'une commune voix, sans contradiction d'aucun, qu'ils approuvent ladite permission… estimant entièrement nécessaire que lesdits deniers soyent employes a l'entretien dudit sieur pasteur, lequel ladite eglise, pour son extrême pauvrete, ne savait autrement entretenir."

[86] For example, the scribe wrote on 14 March 1683 that he calculated Grinihol's salary "sans comprendre le logement et jardin que nous luy donnons autre ces gages." ADG, H 26, 14 March 1683.

The earliest reference to a pastor's living conditions comes from June 1614, when the consistory tried to collect a debt worth 200 livres from a woman named Carbon. The details of her debt remain ambiguous, but the consistory clearly wanted her to make payments. Carbon subsequently asked that she receive compensation for having allowed Pastor Estienne Saffin to live in her house for the previous year and three months. She had also personally compensated *le lecteur* for reading the Bible during services. The elders responded to her request by excusing five écus of her interest payments. In this way, Carbon's service to the consistory counted as payment on the debt she owed, and Saffin did not have to pay for his own housing.[87]

The topic of finding a way to house Saffin reemerged in May 1617, when the consistory asked the baron of Montagnac to approach a man named Monsieur Domerc about providing a house for Pastor Estienne Saffin.[88] The fact that the consistory needed to go through the town's preeminent secular figure instead of approaching the man on its own authority suggests Domerc was Catholic, though it is hard to know for sure. His name does not appear in any other documents. The baron's intercession with Domerc apparently failed because a subsequent entry from 1618 describes how the baron of Montagnac wanted to evict Saffin from one of his own houses. This forced the consistory to find a new home for Saffin, but he was quick to complain about the options presented to him. The elders gave Saffin a choice between two houses they each privately owned, but he rejected these options as

[87] ADG, H 25. The consistory reminded Carbon of her debt on 20 May 1614. They reached this agreement on 6 June 1614. "Madamoyselle de Carbon, ayant demandé deux escus pour le loage de sa maison en laquelle Monsieur Saffin nostre pasteur a demeuré environ un an et trois mois, a esté trouvé bon et raisonnable de luy allouer ladite somme en deduction des interests des deux cents livres qu'elle doibt desquels elle a encore baillé deux autres escus dont a esté donné au lecteur que nous avons cy devant eu, trois livres suivant l'article du 25e avril, et les autres trois ont esté baillé au frere Ceraso pour faire faire les executions dont il a esté chargé, et cependant on continuera à luy demander tant le reste des interests que la somme principale." Carbon still owed 28 escus on 18 May 1616.

[88] ADG, H 25, 19 May 1617. "Monsieur de Montaignac sera supplié, comme is a desja esté, de s'employer pour le consistoire envers Monsieur Domerc de nous prester la maison pour le logement de Monsieur Saffin, nostre pasteur."

unsuitable.[89] It is unclear if Saffin was allowed to stay in the baron's house, but the exchange illustrates the extent to which the consistory relied on the nobleman for help in managing the church.

At some point in the seventeenth century, the situation concerning the pastor's lodging stabilized. One possibility involved renting space from a member of the congregation, most likely an elder. In late 1633, the consistory needed to find a new pastor to replace Lazare Casaux. An elder named Joseph de Ranse offered to rent one of his houses to an incoming pastor at the rate of sixteen sous per day, or about twenty-four livres per month.[90] When the consistory renegotiated its *convention* in 1649, the pastor specified that he would like to continue living in a house with a garden owned by the baron of Montagnac.[91] The use of a small garden where presumably the pastor could grow his own vegetables became another part of the *gages* toward the end of the written record of Montagnac's Protestants. In 1679, the consistory established its first *convention* with Brinihol stipulating an annual salary of 300 livres, a house, and a "garden belonging to the

[89] ADG, H 25, 19 March 1618. "Le sieur Saffin ayant requis messieurs les anciens maintes fois de luy bailer un logis veu que Monseir de Montagnac n'a poinct agree qu'il continue sa demeure en sa maison, leur a faict ce jour d'huy la mesme proposition, à laquelle responds lesdits sieurs anciens ont offert audit sieur Saffin une maison que Monsieur de Lacave a en ville ou une autre que ledit sieur Cerase a aussi, disant n'en avoir d'autre plus commode. A quoy ledit sieur Saffin a dit que lesdites maisons luy semblent fort tristes et incommodes pour sa demeure et que lesdits sieurs ont moyen d'en achepter aulcune s'ils n'en trouvent d'autre plus commode, ce qui le faict résoudre à n'accepter celles là."

[90] Ranse made this offer as the consistory was recruiting new pastors to Montagnac at two synods. ADG, H 26, 6 October 1633. "De plus le sieur de Ranse s'est voullontèrement chargé par la pryère que luy en a esté fait d'entretenir le Pasteur en sa maison à saize souls par jour."

[91] ADG, H 26, 29 August 1649. "Ledit Sieur de Tinel ayant exerce son ministere en ceste eglise depuis le dernier sinode tenu a Bergerac lanne precedante a requis leglise sy elle en demeure satisfaicte et luy veut continuer les gages de trois cens cinq^{te} livres la maison et jardin aussi quil avoit convenue avec mousieur de Montagnac…surqoy la compagnie a prié ledit sieur de Tinel de nous continuer son ministere aux gages sus escripts joussance de maison et jardin..."

church."[92] A similar entry in the register from four years later demonstrates that this was standard practice.[93]

Providing the pastor and his family with free housing required the elders to tap the collective resources of the town. They similarly shared the pastor's labor—which the consistory contractually controlled—with surrounding towns. We have already seen how in 1629 the noble families promised to subsidize the pastor's salary every year. In return, they expected and received extra rights to the pastor's services. Consider the case of Moncaut, a small town only about four kilometers to the southwest. In 1613, the elders formalized an ongoing arrangement with the baron of Moncaut concerning how their pastor would minister to the town. This contract obligated the pastor to travel every month to Moncaut and preach to the nobleman's household. He was also required to conduct the Lord's Supper on four Sunday mornings each year and deliver an additional sermon on the Wednesday preceding the Service.[94] In return for the pastor's services, the baron agreed to pay seventy-five livres every year to the consistory, as well as a one-time payment equivalent to the pastor's annual salary, which would have been at least 300 livres.[95] Interestingly enough, in at least one year the people of Moncaut split the *deniers du roy* with Montagnac.[96]

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[92] ADG, H 26, 1 October 1679. "… pour notre minister aux gages de trois cens livres par an avec son longementy et le jardin appurtenant a lesglise."

[93] ADG, H 26, 14 March 1683. The consistory calculated Brinihol's *gages* and specifically noted how it did not include the cost of his house or the use of a garden: "… sans comprendre le logement et jardin que nous luy donnons outré ces gages."

[94] This became the normal course of business in Montagnac. ADG, H 25, 22 December 1622. "Ce mesme jour le peuple a esté adverti que la ste cene seroit celebrée le jour de la noel 25 decembre et le dimanche apres premier jour de l'an 1623 au lieu de Moncaup."

[95] ADG, H 25, 2 August 1613. "Le consistoire délibérant sur la proposition faite par Mr. de Moncaup de la continuation du ministère en sa maison et ses offres de donner ce qui trouvé raisonnable, a ordonné que de quinze en quinze jours les dimanches apprès disner le sieur Saffin preschera en la maison dudit sieur et que quatre fois l'année les dimanches matin il y administrera la sainte Céne et preschera les vendredis que précèderont immédiatement l'administration de la sainte Céne audit Moncaup à condition que ledit sieur de Moncaup baillera vingt cinq escus par chacun an et pour touz arrerages il payera les gages qu'il donne pour une année… ce que ledit Saffin a volontairement approuvé."

[96] ADG, H 26, 13 October 1624.

The cache of records from Montagnac provides a number of clues about the wide variety of different arrangements. The consistory's first option was to loan the pastor's services to another church and charge a fee for his labor. The consistory always expected payment from other churches if its pastor worked there. The elders experienced a few different disputes over the years regarding where their pastor conducted his ministry, and they were unhesitant to ask for compensation. Estienne Saffin apparently spent part of 1617 in Calignac, another small town less than eight kilometers from Montagnac with a sizeable Protestant minority. The consistory specifically requested an elder investigate how it might receive remuneration for their pastor's services.[97] Calignac subsequently agreed to pay a portion of Saffin's wages, but the final tally only amounted to twenty-five livres.[98] Interestingly enough, the consistory in Calignac liked Saffin because he officially began his own ministry there in 1620 after leaving Montagnac.[99]

Entering into agreements with other churches allowed the elders at Montagnac to share the cost of paying the pastor. This remained a successful strategy for many years, especially as the shortage of qualified pastors in France left many Reformed Churches without ministers. In September 1638, the consistory amended its *conventions* with Abel Dartiques and the consistory at Fieux. At the beginning of this year, Dartiques had agreed to serve both churches for a total annual salary of 450 livres, of which 350 livres would come from Montagnac. But the elders found it difficult to meet this obligation, so the three parties entered into an agreement in which Dartiques would serve Montagnac as his primary assignment in exchange for 300 livres, and secondly Fieux for 100 livres. Working at Fieux

[97] ADG, H 25, 29 November 1617. "Monsieur de Castaing est prié de voir les anciens de Calignac pour leur demander payement de ce qu'ils nous doibvent pour le service qu'ils ont receus de Monsieur Saffin, nostre pasteur."

[98] ADG, H 25, 19 March 1618. "Le somme de vingt cinq livres baillée par l'église de Calignac en payement du premier quartier du service qu'ils ont recue de Monsieur Saffin, nostre Pasteur… a esté présentement baillôée au Sieur Cerase pour estre employee aux affaires de l'église..."

[99] "Liste des ministres du sud-ouest par églises."

meant additional travel for Dartiques, but it provided him with an annual salary of 400 livres, substantially more than what others pastors could expect to receive.[100] This arrangement with Fieux seems to have remained in place throughout the rest of Dartiques' time at Montagnac until he left in 1641.[101]

After the French government destroyed Montagnac's temple and prohibited Protestant sermons in August 1628, Montagnac's pastor decided to continue his ministry for the time being at Moncaut.[102] Over the years, it seems this arrangement grew to encompass additional work, like baptizing the infants of Huguenots parents in Moncaut who did not wish to travel to Montagnac. Monsieur de Moncaut soon fell behind in making the necessary payments to the consistory of Montagnac, and from time to time the elders had to remind the nobleman what they were due.[103] In the minds of the elders, they were responsible for

[100] ADG, H 28, 12 September 1638 "Assembles en consistoire les sieurs Dartiques Pasteur, de Ranse, Lacave, Cerase, Rasteau et Boudoun, anciens. Sieur Dartiques pasteur ayant represente que par lacte du huictiesme janveir mil six cens trente huit il avoit este surprins en ce quil se trouvoit oblige de servir les eglises de Montagnac et de Fieux moyennant la somme de trois cens cinquante livres seulement ayant entendu avoir de l'eglise de Montagnac trois cens cinqante livres et de Fieux cent livres, sur ceste difficulté a este convenu entre lesdit Dartiques et anciens que ledit Dartique serviroit ladit eglise de Montagnac moyennant la somme de trois cens livres, et lesdit anciens ont accorde audit Dartiques leur pasteur qu'il iroit visiter ladit eglise de Fieux comme dessus, et qu'il en retireroit ce qu'il pourroit, sans qu'eux soient tenus a le luy faire bon pour l'advenir en foy dequoy avons signe a Montagnac les an et jour susdits."

[101] They agreed to continue this arrangement the following year. ADG, H 28, 9 September 1639. Dartiques was asked "s'il vouloit continuer son ministere parmi eux, et s'il souhaittoient." He reported "… qu'il esperoit d'estre encore mieux satisfaict a l'advenir que par le passe d'eux, et que par aisni il de seroit continuer son ministere dans leur eglise."

[102] ADG, H 26, 19 August 1628. "Assemblés en consistoire… lecture ayant esté faite de lordenence de Monsieur le Prince portant commendement de demolier le temple…la compagnie après une meure délibération de toutes choses et notamment ayant esgard au temp… pour quelque temps il ne seroit point presché en ceste ville et que ledit sieur Casaux se contenteroit de continuer son ministaire au chasteau pour le seigneur et ses domestiques et pour tout l'église au lieu de Moncaup …"

[103] ADG, H 25, 24 August 1614, 29 September 1616, 19 May 1617. By the fall of 1616, the consistory was already owed 300 livres. On 18 May 1616, the elders hired a *fermier* from Sainte Colombe named Jacques Bonhomme to collect what was due. It is unclear how successful Bonhomme was, but his arrangement with the consistory stipulated that he could keep 5% of whatever interest payments he collected and 10% of any sums through litigation. This inefficiency was standard practice at Montagnac. ADG, H 25, 18 May 1616. "[Bonhomme] a promis de le faire avec fidélité et diligence moyenant un sol pour livre des interests des sommes liquidées et deux sols pour les litigieuses, don't contract luy sera passé et luy sera baillé deux rolles, l'un des somme liquidées et l'autre des litigieuses..." The consistory also continued to pursue a debt owed by the people of Moncaut the following spring at Auch.

paying the pastor's salary, and allowing him to minister to people who were not paying their fair share was an expensive waste of resources.[104]

The relationship between the consistory at Montagnac and the nobility at Moncaut lasted throughout the seventeenth century. Nobles from Moncaut regularly provided considerable donations to both the *deniers de l'église* and the *bourse des pauvres*, and in exchange, Montagnac's pastors made the trip to Moncaut to deliver sermons and administer the Lord's Supper. When Montagnac's temple was destroyed during the summer of 1628, the baron of Moncaut named Blaise de Lolière offered a place for Pastor Casaux to live. Casaux, in return, agreed to uphold the terms of the contract established in 1613, and to continue ministering to the Lolière's household and any other Huguenots in the village.[105] Both sides reconfirmed the contract concerning the pastor's salary in 1649, when Lolière's widow, Marie de Fabas, specified she wanted to hear sermons in her household. In an evocative phrase highlighting the longstanding nature of their arrangement, the elders agreed to uphold the agreement just as it had existed "since time immemorial."[106] Fabas later decided in 1651 to create a permanent endowment to pay part of the *gages* of Montagnac's pastor, so she donated an estate worth 300 livres.[107] Her efforts to support the pastor proved elusive, however, because in 1657, the consistory decided to sell her property to repay a debt that they owed to two elders.[108]

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[104] Montcaut may have had its own pastor for a very brief period of time in the 1620s. The register refers to a payment from the *deniers du roy* split between Montagnac, Roque and Moncaut. See ADG, H 26, 13 October 1624.

[105] ADG, H 26, 19 August 1628. "… Ledit Casaux se contenterait de continuer son ministère au chasteau pour le seigneur et ses domestiques et pour tout l'église au lieu de Moncaup puisqu'il plaisait au seigneur d'offrir volontairement sa maison."

[106] ADG, H 26, 18 February 1649. "…suivant la teneur et ordre de temps immémorial."

[107] ADG, H 26, 20 December 1651. The elders were very happy to receive this property. "Les vois ayant esté prinses, il a esté résolue de remercier Madame de Moncaup de sa bonne volonté qu'elle a temoigné et tesmoigne continuellement à notre église et d'accepter l'offre qu'elle nous fait…"

[108] ADG, H 26, 12 June 1657.

It might have been the case that Montagnac's agreement to share its minister with Moncaut predated the Reformation. Small towns like Montagnac commonly controlled a jurisdiction of smaller rural chapels, all of which contributed resources to their dependencies. Gregory Hanlon, for example, describes how Layrac controlled three additional parishes within a few kilometers of the town.[109] The spread of Calvinism in southern France did not change the status quo for the people who lived outside of Layrac because they still travelled to the town to hear sermons and participate in the sacraments. It is impossible to say if Moncaut similarly depended on Montagnac before the Reformation or if the two communities simply agreed to share a Reformed minister, but the evidence suggest it was the former.

The most interesting way in which the consistory compensated its minister involved a clear departure from John Calvin's vision for the pastorate. Evidence from the 1620s suggests that the consistory compensated its pastors by simply giving them land, which they then rented out to tenant farmers. After Estienne Saffin left Montagnac for Calignac in 1620, he began making rent payments worth forty livres to the consistory in Montagnac.[110] A similar arrangement appeared several years later when the consistory owed Lefranc a large sum of money. As early as 1662, he began "making payments" of twenty-five livres, or about 6.3%, on a property with an assessed value of 400 livres. This agreement was identical to the *intérêt* payments that tenant farmers had with the consistory, which suggests Lefranc received a plot of land from his congregation. There can be no doubt that Lefranc rented it out to a tenant farmer. In any case, Lefranc never actually paid the consistory any money, which still owed him several hundred livres in back-pay. Instead, the elders simply deducted the twenty-five livres Lefranc technically owed from his salary, in effect lowering their

[109] These were Saint-Denis de Sauveterre, Sainte-Catherine de Gudech, and Saint-Pierre de Goulens. Hanlon, *Confession and Community*, 24.

[110] ADG, H 28, 6 January 1626. ADG, H 28, 6 January 1626. "Et le 6 janvier 1626 jay recue de la rente que Mr de Saffin doit quarante livre."

obligation to him.[111] This arrangement with the consistory lasted for several years and probably counted as a form of compensation in his annual pension.

IV. Conclusion

The sermon lay at the heart of Calvin's Reformation. Pastors had the extraordinary responsibility of interpreting God's Word and making sense out of it for their followers. This was the critical difference between Reformed Christianity and Tridentine Catholicism. Given how expensive it was to train students to become pastors and the high salaries ministers expected to receive, consistories frequently struggled to pay for this essential element of Reformed religious life. Paying the pastor was a higher priority than building a physical worship space because in extreme circumstances, the pastor could always minister out of someone's home. The elders at Montagnac developed a range of strategies to pay for this enormous expense. They received property through bequests and rented it out to tenant farmers. They invested any extra money in *rentes*, which could generate interest payments long into the future. They raised funds for the pastor from the congregation and made specific assessments on individuals to pay their fair share. When subsidies from the French crown became irregular and eventually disappeared, they turned to the local nobility for help and contributed their own money when necessary. The elders also sought to lower costs by lending the pastor's services to other towns and crediting debtors for providing his housing. They notably departed from Calvin's requirement that pastors focus solely on their ministry by essentially giving land to Saffin and Lefranc, in effect turning them into de facto landlords with mortgage "payments" owed to the consistory. All of this suggests the failure to pay

[111] A payment from Lefranc to the consistory of twenty-five livres appears on his *quittance* from 1663 [See Appendix C]. Another entry appears a few years later: ADG, H 26, 21 December 1667. "Tellement que compensation faicte sest trouve qu'il est encore deu audit Sieur Lefranc jusques audit jour troiziesme apvril mil six cents soixante huict la somme de sept cents cinquante neuf livres treze sols sur laquelle deduction a esté compensé audit Sieur Lefranc la somme de vint cinq livres des interests de la somme de quatre cents livres qu'il doibt en principal a ladit eglize, et le terme escheu le huictiesme febvrier de la pnte année mille six cents soixante huict."

Montagnac's pastors their full wages was the product of genuine poverty brought on by a variety of different factors, including, most notably, national events, anti-Protestant persecutions, and specific decisions to sell land to settle debts.

Was Montagnac unique in how the elders devised a portfolio of properties and other investments to generate income to pay the pastor's salary? A complete answer to this question requires additional case studies into a variety of different rural congregations. Partial evidence from Layrac sheds some light on this issue. Layrac's consistory developed a system of semi-voluntary taxation where the pastor closely tracked the payments he received from members of the congregation. A very detailed list of donations from 1641 describes payments from ninety-eight different people totaling just over 340 livres.[112] If the consistory in Layrac could get every family to commit two or three livres, then the congregation had a good chance of meetings its obligations. The people in Montagnac simply never had this much wealth.

The congregation in Montagnac did not have the financial resources like Layrac to pay the pastor's salary through a semi-voluntary system of taxation. Instead, the elders needed to devise their own plan to ensure the long-term financial viability of the church's operations. By diversifying their investments and sources of income and spreading costs as widely as possible, the elders tried to build their own self-sustaining endowment. The elders primarily wanted to receive steady sources of income based on contractual agreements and economic relationships. These payments were more predictable and carried enforceable rights for the church, much unlike voluntary financial contributions. Although voluntary donations to the consistory clearly constituted an important part of its fiscal health, the elders wanted more reliable sources of revenue. This conclusion might surprise historians familiar with the anti-Catholic rhetoric of the reformers, especially in their criticism of the Catholic Church's wealth. But viewed within the context of a small seventeenth-century town whose

[112] ADG, H 85, 1641.

fortunes were inextricably tied to the land, the consistory's fiscal programs must have been obvious choices.

CHAPTER 7: SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS AT MONTAGNAC

I. Introduction

John Calvin explained his thoughts on the place of the poor in Christianity in his 1541 edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*:

> If we believe that heaven is our country and our proper dwelling place, it is suitable to transmit our riches there rather than keep them here and then abandon them when we must suddenly depart. Now what is the way of transmitting them? It is to share them to meet the needs of the poor; all that one generously gives to them the Lord will avow as given to Him (Matt. 25:40). From that comes this beautiful promise: "Whoever gives to the poor lends to God at interest" (2 Corinthians 9:6).[1]

In Calvin's mind, caring for the poor was an essential Christian duty. This can also be seen in how he described the church's property. According to Calvin, deacons held such a critical position in Christianity because every piece of property that they managed ultimately belonged to the destitute. Christians therefore had a special responsibility to provide for the needs of vulnerable members, especially those people specifically designated as meriting assistance in the Bible, like widows, orphans, and travelers.[2]

Caring for the poor continued to be a central mission for the French Reformed Churches throughout the early modern period. This remained true even during times of great economic hardship and religious persecution. The elders at Montagnac invested a lot of their time and money to develop a sophisticated portfolio of revenue-generating properties for the *bourse des pauvres*, a technically separate endowment from the *deniers de l'église*. Although the two had very similar investments, the revenue went to different purposes. The

[1] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion: 1541 French Edition*, trans. Elsie Anne McKee (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 379.

[2] Calvin sees God's command to care for "the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow" in many places, but notably in Deut. 26:12. See Ibid., *Commentaries on the Last Books of Moses, Arranged in the Form of a Harmony*, trans. Charles William Bingham, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdman's, 1950), 282-284. For an excellent recent collection of essays on Calvin's understanding of the Christian's duty to charity, see Céline Borello, ed., *Les oeuvres protestantes en Europe* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013).

first part of this chapter analyzes how the elders ordinarily spent this money, paying close attention to the types of assistance given to different kinds of recipients. The second part takes an in-depth look at extraordinary assistance the consistory gave to the poor outside the confines of the normal programs. The elders considered a wide variety of cases on an ad hoc basis during their meetings, often times making one-time distributions to people they judged worthy of aid.

In many respects, the *bourse des pauvres* operated in the same way as the *deniers de l'église*. Both endowments were inextricably linked with the agrarian economy and depended to a great extent on income from farms owned by the consistory. Both funds accordingly suffered during times of famine but generally prospered when the harvest proved substantial. The consistory nominated an elder from among their ranks to serve as the *syndic*, an office which in Montagnac oversaw both funds simultaneously. Elders rotated in and out of the *syndic* position without any regularity and in many cases they served for several years at a time. The earliest documents from Montagnac indicate that the *syndic* recorded every transaction he made and rendered accounts to the consistory for auditing.[3] The elder normally dipped into his own money in those cases where expenses outstripped the fund's income, putting the consistory in debt to the elder. In most cases, these debts were paid with the first income that came to the consistory, regardless of its intended purpose. In this sense, money tended to move between the *bourse des pauvres* and the *deniers de l'église* only after an elder had already spent his own money covering the expenses.

The consistory operated two types of poor relief programs within the *bourse des pauvres*: ordinary monetary assistance for the "truly poor" (*vrais pauvres*), and extraordinary one-time assistance to anyone with a demonstrable need. The distinction between these two programs is critical for understanding the social welfare system at Montagnac. Ordinary assistance occurred either as cash payments or in-kind—most likely bread—at a set time and

[3] The earliest documents also refer specificially to elders serving as *syndics*. ADG, H 34, 15 December 1599.

location. This either happened as one-time distributions to a large number of people, or weekly distributions to a specific list of the poor. The former usually occurred once in the spring and again in the fall, but the latter normally took place during the warmer months. The amount of money a poor person received was always very small, certainly never more than a few sous on any one occasion. The *syndic* usually distributed money on Sunday, presumably after the sermon service had concluded. The documents refer to "the place of the poor" (*l'endroit des pauvres*), indicating a pre-established location. Given the modest size of the worship space in Montagnac, my suspicion is that these distributions took place just outside the temple. In any case, the poor with a source of employment only gave assistance to active members of the Reformed Church in good standing with the consistory.

How did the consistory identify people for ordinary weekly assistance? The elder in charge of the *bourse des pauvres* maintained a list of poor people to whom he made distributions. Given the small size of Montagnac, the elders probably knew in general who deserved to be included on the list without discussing it. The consistory occasionally instructed the *syndic* to admit a new name to the roll, usually after the person in question appealed directly to the elders for help. At other times the *syndic* made decisions on his own authority to include new recipients, but unfortunately no evidence survives regarding the people whom he denied.

The elders clearly thought in terms of the deserving and undeserving poor. The distinction between these two types of poverty has a long and complicated history in the West. It originated in biblical injunctions to help those who found themselves in a dire situation through no fault of their own, like widows and orphans. These people had no way of surviving on their own without charitable assistance. "If one of your fellow Israelites falls into poverty and cannot support himself, support him as you would a foreigner or a temporary resident and allow him to live with you" (Leviticus 25:35). On the other hand, the undeserving poor were those people who committed actions that directly led to their own

poverty. "In all toil there is profit, but mere talk tends only to poverty" (Proverbs 10:4).[4] The distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor remains a salient political and public policy issue today, and it was vitally important for the elders at Montagnac.

The elders conceived of the deserving poor in two ways. First, the permanent poor were those who had no hope of sustaining themselves on their own. These included the orphans, widows, or handicapped men who stood very little chance of finding employment in an agrarian society. This type of poor person remained on the consistory's list week after week, sometimes for years at a time. Second, the transitionally poor were those who found themselves in a serious though temporary state of poverty. These people were usually sick or injured, but expected to return to work after a period of disability. Elders used their best judgment to limit the length of assistance in these situations to a predetermined number of weeks.

It is much harder to characterize the consistory's extraordinary assistance to the poor because it occurred on an ad hoc basis and depended on a variety of different factors. The same *syndics* who maintained lists of people for weekly assistance also kept track of any one-time payments they made to those in need. To make matters more complicated, many people other than the appointed *syndic* often contributed their own resources to the poor. They then turned to the *syndic* for reimbursement, in effect creating a network of credit flowing from the consistory to the poor through every wealthy member of the community. Extraordinary assistance also encompassed other social programs, however, like money for orphaned boys to begin an apprenticeship or funds for a young woman's dowry. Elders also dipped into the *bourse des pauvres* to pay for burials, which, judging from the consistory's frugality must have been very basic. The consistory also gave money to travelers who could prove they were good-standing members of the Reformed Churches.

[4] Similar instructions to work can also be found in the New Testament: "We hear that some among you are idle and disruptive. They are not busy, they are busybodies. Such people we command and urge in the Lord Jesus Christ to settle down and earn the food they eat. .. For even when we were with you, we gave you this rule: 'The one who is unwilling to work shall not eat.'" (2 Thessalonians 3:7-10).

The *bourse des pauvres* also provided another unique social welfare program that both generated money and provided the poor with a source of employment. Much like the manner in which the consistory rented out farms to specifically pay for the pastor's salary, the consistory also dedicated rental properties to generate income for the helping the poor. The consistory referred to one of these farms as the *métairie des pauvres* because it not only generated revenue for the consistory's social welfare programs, but it gave poor farmers a place to live and a way to earn their own income. Located only about two kilometers to the northwest in a hamlet called Saint Loup, the *métairie des pauvres* originated from part of Paule de Labarthe's testamentary donation and provided regular income for the town's poor long into the seventeenth century.[5]

To be clear, the consistory only theoretically maintained a distinction between ordinary and extraordinary assistance for the poor. Sometimes the same people received assistance every week for several months, and other times people were admitted to the "ordinary" list but received money on only one occasion. The consistory also mobilized resources for the poor beyond what is contained in official poor relief documents. Elders sometimes distributed their own money to the poor without ever receiving reimbursement from the *deniers de l'église*. At other times, the elders authorized special distributions to the poor who appealed directly for help during consistory meetings. These funds also seem to have been taken from the *deniers de l'église*. Keeping the complexity of the situation in mind, I categorize any expenditure for the poor as extraordinary if it was *not recorded* as ordinary.

The elders were deliberate in how they distributed monetary assistance to the poor. They followed biblical injunctions, Calvin's socio-economic philosophy, and recommendations from the national and provincial synods to promote a unique understanding of how a Christian society should function. In a town like Montagnac with a substantial

[5] ADG, H 32, 15 January 1584.

Catholic presence, social welfare programs also provided a way for the elders to police the confessional boundaries separating their congregation. The deserving poor were not only expected to avoid Catholic religious services, but the consistory also required them to behave in certain morally correct ways. The consistory further used poor relief programs to reinforce a patriarchal social system predicated on the sexual purity of women and their suitability for marriage. These social welfare programs crystalize the consistory's efforts to confessionalize Montagnac's townspeople, create an ideal Reformed Christian society, and participate in the life of the international Reformed Churches.

II. Ordinary Assistance to the *vrais pauvres*

In a town with a largely agrarian economy like Montagnac, widowed women, orphaned children, and crippled or otherwise unhealthy men faced serious challenges in securing a livelihood. The elders classified these people as the *vrais pauvres*, a term that connoted the helplessness of their situation and their worthiness to receive assistance from the consistory. It is important to stress how little money was actually devoted to the *vrais pauvres*. In 1614, the poor received only six deniers per person, and even at the end of the seventeenth century they only received one or two sous each.[6] The elders clearly wanted to allow the poor to subsist on a minimal amount of food and prevent starvation, but they certainly lacked the resources to provide medical care or long-term housing. The elders took this money for the latter cases from two sources: money remaining in the *bourse des pauvres* or directly from the income generated by various properties.

Documents describing in detail the operation of weekly assistance to the *vrais pauvres* survive from first half of the seventeenth century. A first cache of records dating as early as 1592 establishes the consistory's ownership and management over a farm at Saint

[6] Again, these were real cash payments, not some sort of non-monetary token that the poor could exchange for bread. The documents list different monetary denominations according to each recipient's need, and on multiple occasions the scribe refers to these distributions as "argent."

Loup, which would eventually grow to become the *métairie des pauvres* discussed below. A second group of meticulous documents from the 1610s describes the types of expenses elders made for the poor, including the kinds of people who received assistance. The record then becomes very thick for a third series of documents from the 1620s and early 1630s before becoming less consistent again in the 1640s. Only two items survive from the 1650s, and a brief inventory of expenses for the poor survives from the 1680s. Both the consistory register and other correspondence from the elders suggest that the *métairie des pauvres* stopped operating in the early 1650s, though there is no direct evidence of this occurring. In any case, this timing would coincide with the devastating events of the Fronde, a rebellion that resulted in widespread destruction across southern France in the early 1650s.

The best way to approach this smattering of documentation is to first seek a broad understanding of the fiscal history of the social welfare program in Montagnac for the first half of the seventeenth century. Although it is impossible to say for sure, the lack of any circumstantial evidence of the program from the second half of the seventeenth century suggests the weekly assistance program stopped sometime in the mid-1650s. To be sure, extraordinary one-time payments and general distributions to the poor continued at Montagnac right until the congregation's final disbandment in 1683, but there was nothing similar to the opening decades of the seventeenth century. A more detailed and focused analysis of the 1620s in particular, the decade with the most surviving evidence, will provide a detailed picture of the program in its everyday operations.

The earliest records of Montagnac's social welfare program beginning in 1592 indicate the elders spent between 50 and 100 livres per year on the poor.[7] The consistory consistently spent as much money as the *bourse des pauvres* generated, rarely leaving any funds left in the account. It remained the case throughout the consistory's history that the total amount accorded to the poor depended, first of all, directly on the quality of the harvest,

[7] ADG, H 43. The elders calculated they had spent 323 livres 10 sous on the poor for the years from 1598 to 1603.

and second, on the pressing nature of other expenses for the congregation. During these early years the consistory did not make a distinction between those who received assistance on a weekly basis or for ad hoc emergencies. Instead, the *syndic* in charge of the *bourse des pauvres* simply kept track of how many times he gave someone monetary aid and the amount of money he distributed in total. The scribe recorded a variety of reasons these transactions were made, including for a child born out of wedlock, a sick person who needed medicine, and families who needed money to bury a deceased person.[8] Other times, the *syndic* simply reported giving large sums of money to other elders who in turn submitted their own accounts to the consistory.[9] Montagnac's consistory also paid for distributions to the poor in other small towns in the immediate vicinity. For instance, in October 1601, the consistory sent eighteen livres for the poor at Fieux, a small town about ten kilometers to the south.[10] Sometimes these funds were delivered in cash, but the consistory frequently sent containers of wheat or other food stuffs to be distributed to the poor.[11]

According to these records, the rigor of the consistory's accounting procedures fluctuated to a great extent throughout the seventeenth century. At a minimum, the *syndic* always reported to the consistory any expenditures that he made, but he frequently made

[8] Note also a common error in accounting here, where the scribe claims he paid twenty sous on three occasions (which would be three livres) but reports a total distribution of only two livres ten sous. ADG, H 43, 1601. "Plus est bailhe a Jean Letoure estant malade vingt souls laquelle somme je luy ay bailhe en troye foye cy—ii lt 10 s."

[9] Ibid., 1598-1599. These transactions were multi-layered and often complex. In this case, Simard is the syndic who delivered funds from the *bourse des pauvres* to Fita and Tessanne, who in turn distributed them to the poor. In this entry, Simard verbally delivers his account of the funds to the consistory, and it is clear the scribe realizes Fita and Tessanne must render their own specific accounts. "Premierement dict ledit Simard avoir bailhe a M Arnaud Fita et M Raimond Tessanne pour distribuer aulx poubvres de p^{nt} lieu et jurisdiction en annee mil cinq cent nonante huict mil cinq cent nonante neuf la somme de cent cinq^{te} livres de laquelle somme ledict Fita et Tessanne doivient monstre en consistoire de la distribution par ceulx faict audict poubvres lesdictes annee laquelle somme ledict Simard requert luy este passee et alloue cy – 1^{c} L lt."

[10] Ibid., 14 October 1601. "Le quatorsiesme doctobre 1601 que ledit Simard a paye a Jacques Laroque consul de Fieulx la somme de dix huict livres… que luy sera alloue – xviii lt."

[11] Ibid., 1602. "Davantange et paye ledict Simard aux dicts consul de Fieaux en lannee mil six cent deux en huict cartaux de bled que leur (?) a faict bailhee par Laoire pour le prix et somme de xii lt."

large payments for the poor without supplying any additional documentation of how exactly the funds were spent. He also gave money directly to the poor but only kept track of the total amounts given for each year, not the exact dates and amounts of each individual distribution.[12] The rationalization and centralization of Montagnac's welfare programs also meant the consistory stopped sending money to care for the poor in other towns. Presumably the poor in small towns like Fieux turned to their own congregations, or perhaps they continued to receive support directly from Montagnac and not an intermediary.

The earliest list of *vrais pauvres* from Montagnac dates to the last week of May in 1614, during Estienne Saffin's tenure as pastor. The *syndic* at this time, Guilhem Castaing, listed in chronological order the names of each person who received financial assistance, in this case only 6 deniers per person. A "*vrais pauvres*" could collect money for his or her entire household, and Castaing noted how many people benefited from each distribution.[13] This makes it possible to break down Castaing's distribution by the gender of recipient, how many people he/she represented, and the average amounts each received.

[12] The same can also be said about the consistory's broader program of overseeing the congregation's finances. In 1659, for example, the *syndic* simply stated in the consistory's register that he spent all of the 240 livres he received, implying that some went to the poor but most went for the temple's upkeep. There is no reference to additional documentation, suggesting that in fact there was none. ADG, H 26, 19 January 1659.

[13] ADG, H 44, 25 May to 1 June 1614. For example, Castaing wrote in one entry: "a Jane de Larat pour quatre – 2 s."

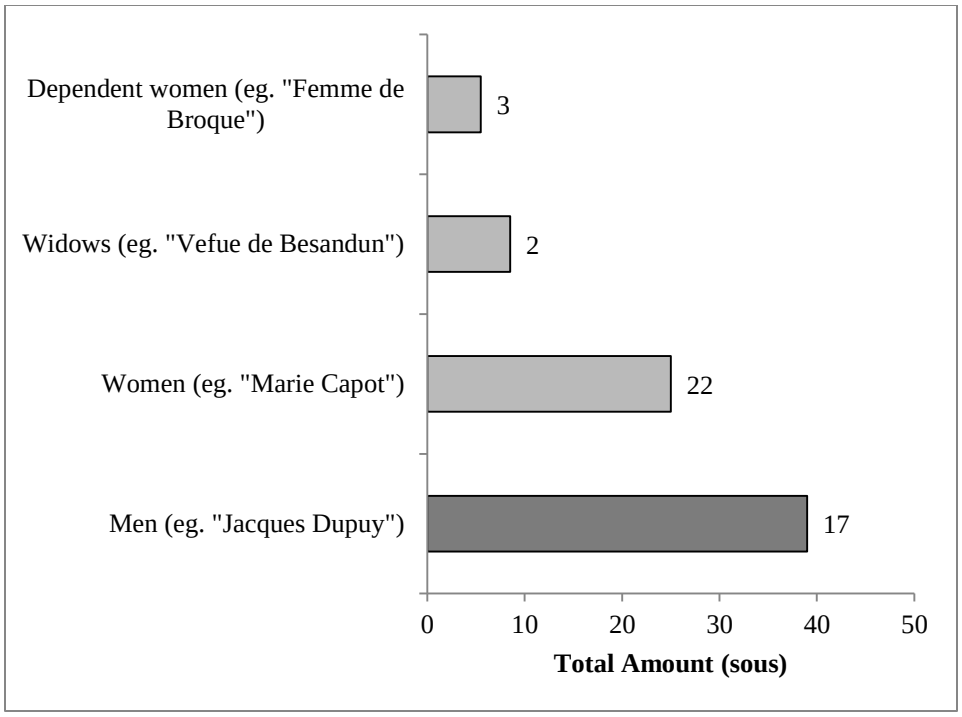

Figure 22: Distributions to the Poor, May-June 1614

*Note: The total number of recipients is listed in the graph.

Castaing's account of his distributions reveals a patriarchal social welfare program that favored men over women. In this case, twenty-seven women received twenty-six sous in assistance, but seventeen men received thirty-nine sous. Taking a close look at the document indicates that these women received extra portions for seventy-two additional dependents, but the men represented only seventy-eight dependents. To put this another way, including people who received more than one distribution, on average Castaing gave 1.25 sous to women and 2 sous to men. Several reasons come to mind as possible explanations for this seemingly preferential treatment of men. Perhaps scribes were more likely to include the names of children when women received assistance, resulting in an underrepresentation of the number of children dependent on men. To my mind, it seems more likely that men received additional funds because their inability to work presented a more serious economic challenge for families. Taken as a whole, Castaing's distribution benefited 127 different

people.[14] I estimated in Chapter 4 that Montagnac had at most 300 followers during this time period, which suggests that almost half of the entire community depended on the consistory for subsistence.

Detailed lists survive from the five years from 1629 through 1633 in which the *syndic* took money from the general poor relief fund and distributed it to various poor recipients. It should be stressed how difficult these years were for the Huguenots in Montagnac. Catholic partisans had destroyed their temple in 1628 and forced the pastor take up residence in Moncaut.[15] The situation seems to have stabilized the following year when services resumed in Montagnac, but the elders struggled for many years to find a suitable building to serve as a new temple. The *syndic* then lists each date on which recipients received their assistance. This always happened on a Sunday, and for most people the assistance only lasted for part of the year. The list from 1632 is a representative example in that it began on 14 December 1631 and ended 30 May 1632, a period of twenty-five weeks. How the poor sustained themselves throughout the year remains unknown, but I suspect it would have been easier for the poor to receive sustenance from private individuals during harvests.[16] The number of *vrais pauvres* fluctuated from year to year, but on any given Sunday in 1631 at least twenty people could be seen receiving money from the *syndic*.[17]

The formulaic way the *syndic* admitted people to his list sheds some light on how the consistory oversaw the administration of this fund. Recipients were always added to the list with the "consent of the consistory" (*consentement du consistoire*), a phrase implying a level of involvement and input from other elders and the pastor. The scribe occasionally indicates

[14] I have eliminated the four people receiving aid on two occasions during this same week.

[15] ADG, H 26, 19 August 1628. The documents from these distributions contain each person's name on the top of a page and the amount of his or her monetary assistance.

[16] For example, none of the documents from 1629-1633 indicate weekly assistance during November.

[17] The surviving documents indicate the following total number of recipients for each year: 12 (1629), 14 (1630), 20 (1631), 7 (1632), and 5 (1633).

how people were allowed to continue receiving assistance with the approval of the consistory. Others seem to have had their monetary assistance revoked if their circumstances changed. This is what happened to a woman named Goundrin on 25 January 1631: she had received two sous each week for the previous six weeks, but for whatever reason she was cut from the list. Perhaps she died, though it is impossible to know for sure.[18] The same happened to Pierre Casaux on April 6 of the same year. He was admitted to the list and received three sous per week for two months as a "very poor sick man" (*fort pauvre malade*), but the lack of death records for Pierre Casaux suggests his newfound health disqualified him from assistance. These paltry sums of money could begin to add up over time and they represented a continual drain on the consistory's resources. From December 1630 to June 1631, the consistory spent over forty-one livres on ordinary assistance for the poor.

The consistory at Montagnac also operated a parallel scheme of poor relief funded by specific rental properties. Some of these rental properties made their way into the possession of the consistory through bequests from wealthier Huguenots. Sometimes rich landowners donated their properties for the maintenance of the poor in more than one town, which required the involvement and cooperation of consuls from various towns. In Montagnac: the elders rendered accounts to the municipal consuls from 1622 to 1632 on how they spent their share of revenue left by Madame Paule de Labarthe.[19] Montagnac received 25% of the rental revenue from this property for several years while three other towns split the remainder. In a typical year like 1623, the consistory received twenty-five livres and five sous to spend on the poor.[20] Montagnac was at least partly responsible for maintaining the physical condition

[18] ADG, H 36, 25 January 1631. The *syndic* only wrote: "Discontinue depuis 25 de janvier 1631."

[19] Ibid.

[20] Montagnac and three other towns entered into a series of three-year contracts with various farmers for Madame Labarthe's land. The consistory could therefore predict how much money the land would generate from year to year, never below 25 livres or above 30.

of the farm. On three occasions the consistory had to give the rent-paying farmer a rebate for repairs to the property.[21]

The consistory spent this money much like it did the general poor relief fund. The *syndic* justified repeated weekly assistance to the poor by briefly describing each individual's situation, usually widows, orphans, or the sick. He then distributed money every week from mid-winter until early summer, but he always exceeded the income generated by the farm.[22] The *syndic* probably wanted to make sure that he could account for all of the money from Madame Labarthe's bequest, so he probably used some of his own funds to make up the shortfall. These systems were always kept separate on paper, but my impression is that the money was all deposited and withdrawn from the same large chest.

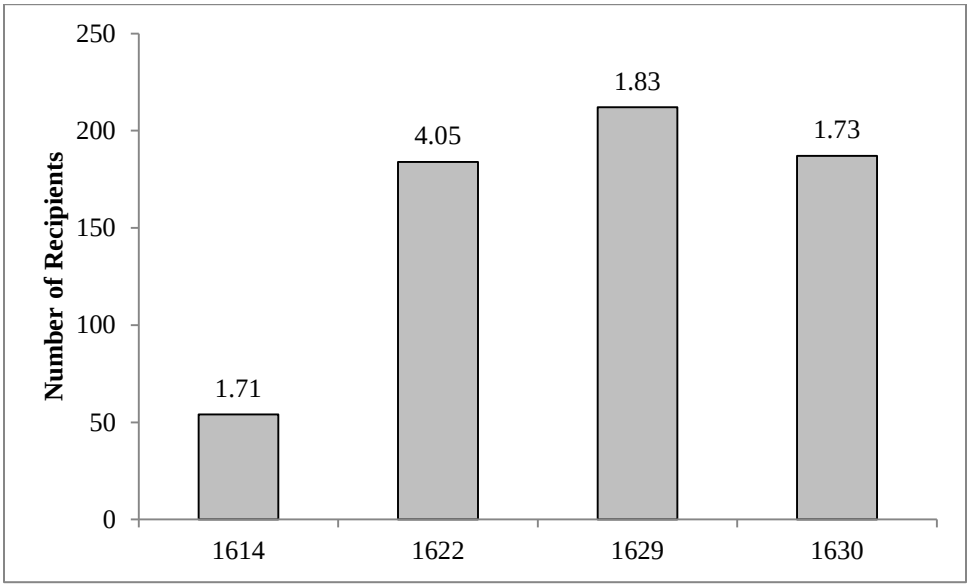

Figure 23: Recipients of General Distributions of Poor Relief at Montagnac

[21] This happened in 1623, 1625 and 1631.

[22] The documents under ADG, H 36 are clean copies written in 1632 to describe each year of poor relief for the previous decade. Instead of carefully writing each date out, the scribe indicates the total amount of money each person received for the given time period.

*Note: The average amount of each distribution (in sous) is listed in the graph.

Unfortunately, the sources on Montagnac's ordinary poor relief system become scarce after 1630. Notes from the consistory's register indicate how the elders regularly made small general distributions to the poor throughout the 1640s and 1650s, usually totaling no more than eight or ten livres.[23] The elders continued to manage the *métairie des pauvres* at Saint Loup for several more decades, but the property became increasingly expensive to operate. A receipt from 1652-1654, for example, describes how the *bourse des pauvres* generated only about 80 livres in income over the course of three years.[24] Only thirty livres of this total actually came from the *métairie*, and fifty livres came directly from elders. In fact, the farm needed some extensive repairs totaling forty-three livres of income, perhaps as a result of the civil war. This left only about twelve livres total per year to be distributed to the poor, a tiny amount that pales in comparison to the previous decades.

III. Extraordinary Assistance to the Poor

a. Sickness, Death, and Travelling

One account book containing continuous documentation of the consistory's extraordinary monetary expenditures to the poor survives from February 1629 until January 1634. On 113 different occasions over the course of these five years, the consistory distributed a total of 27 livres 11 sous 6 deniers for a wide variety of reasons.[25] For each

[23] Rental agreements survive from the *métairie des pauvres* from 1613 to 1631, and the last audited account books are from 1653 to 1655. A few scattered documents remain intact from the rest of the seventeenth century, including a rental agreement for seven years dating to 1664. See ADG, H 52, H 41, and H 65, respectively.

[24] I write "about 80 livres" because the scribe estimated the value of the wheat he received from the *métairie des pauvres* and arrived precisely at 80 livres total. My impression is that these crops were distributed directly to the poor and not sold for cash. ADG, H 41, 1652, 1653, and 1654.

[25] Grand totals are exceedingly difficult to calculate. These figures are the ones provided by the scribe himself and should be viewed as approximations. On more than a handful of occasions I have seen scribes make errors in tabulating their expenditures.

distribution of money, a scribe recorded descriptive information that gave auditors an idea of how the money was spent: the amount that was distributed, the date of the distribution, identifying information of the recipient(s), and a reason for the monetary assistance. It is worth reiterating that the scribe wrote these documents in an oral culture that relied on the reader's highly contextualized knowledge of nicknames, place names, and local sayings. A careful reading of these documents nevertheless suggests three major types of expenses that the consistory routinely undertook: (1) one-time payments to the sick, elderly, or poor; (2) final expenses for the deceased; and (3) assistance to Huguenots traveling through Montagnac.

These account books also shed light on a web of credit extending from the elders and pastor to the wider Reformed community. This is evident in both the formulaic ways in which the consistory oversaw and approved expenses and in how members of the consistory were reimbursed for spending their own personal money on the poor. Entries into these account books almost always include the names of the people authorizing the expenditure. Individual elders and the pastor could also authorize the treasurer to give money to specific people, another fact that the scribe meticulously records. More interestingly, the documents indicate that the pastor and elders regularly and independently gave away their own money to the poor, but then turned to the treasury for reimbursement. Sometimes these descriptions name the specific recipient and reason for the aid, but more often than not the reimbursement relied on the good faith verbal assurances of the elders. For example, an elder named Jean Serase received sixteen sous on 17 February 1631 "for having conducted the business of the poor."[26] Another elder was reimbursed sixteen sous because "he said that he gave Jean de Barbie and his sick wife 16 sous."[27] The consistory's network of credit also extended to the immediate family members of the pastor, which in the 1630s included Pastor Lazare

[26] ADG, H 47, 17 February 1631. "… [pour] avoir avancer pour les affaires de pauvres."

[27] Ibid., 16 February 1629. "… il a dit avoir baile à Jean de Barbrie et sa femme malade… 16 sous."

Casaux's daughter. She regularly distributed money to the poor and received reimbursement from the consistory, including one entry from 27 December 1632 that indicates she gave five sous to a poor traveler.[28] One finds similar types of debt transfers operating in the wider population. When someone owed the consistory a specified sum of money, he might point the consistory for payment to a second person who owed money to the first. This was the strategy that a man named Silvius undertook in November 1612 when the consistory tried to collect 100 livres. Silvius agreed to pay eighty livres if the consistory collected the remaining twenty from an elder named Blanc, who owed Silvius 120 livres.[29]

Contributing assistance to poor travelers implicated Montagnac in a much wider system of social welfare among all the French Reformed Churches. Travelers from across Europe often carried short notes from their home congregations attesting to their status as a deserving Christian. None of these short notes survive from Montagnac, but a cache from Layrac dating from 1612 to 1618 indicates how the system worked. Pastor Jean Sylvius met with the poor and assessed their individual circumstances. He then wrote a short form letter to another elder describing their condition, the amount he believed each person should receive, and the date.[30] In two curious cases, Sylvius asked for assistance to be given to "*murisquos*," a reference to Christians who were expelled from Spain between 1609 and 1614 due to persistent suspicion regarding their commitment to Christianity despite their ancestors' conversion from Islam years earlier.[31]

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[28] Ibid., 27 December 1632. "Plus de mandement dudit M. de Casaux j'ai baile a sa fille cinq sous pour avoir donne a un pauvre passant le 27 décembre 1632." In other words, Casaux's daughter became the de facto deaconesse for the community.

[29] ADG, H 25, 21 November 1610.

[30] ADG, H 86, 1612-1618. Here is one typical example: "Monsieur[:] Je vous prie bailler a ce passant trois sols des deniers des pouvres ce 18 Fevrier 1614. Sylvius."

[31] ADG, H 86, 14 April 1614. "Monsieur[:] Je vous prie bailler six sols des deniers des pouvres a ces morisquos ce 14 Avril 1614. Sylvius." On the expulsion of Moriscos from Spain, see Carla Rahn Phillips, "The Moriscos of La Mancha, 1570-1614," *The Journal of Modern History* 50 no. 2 (1978): 1067-1095.

The most common recipients of extraordinary assistance from the consistory are described as "*fort malade*," "*âgée*," or simply "*pauvre*." We can see how sickness, old age, and poverty were intertwined in the instances where the same person appears in multiple entries with different combinations of these descriptors.[32] Of the sixty-three distributions made to the sick and elderly, fourteen specifically mention a sick child. In one interesting entry from October 1632, Pastor Casaux is reimbursed two sous that he paid to the unnamed parents of a sick girl and one sous that he paid for the "necessary meat" (*viande nécessite*.) One might question the medicinal benefits of meat that cost only one sous, but this indicates the limited resources that the consistory spent on the sick and elderly—most people only received two sous. The vast majority of these recipients appear in the records once, again highlighting how little money the consistory could spare. We can also see how the consistory functioned as one piece in a larger network of support that the poor could draw on in such a small community like Montagnac. Sometimes a family member would collect the money on behalf of their sick relative. In January 1630, the daughter of a woman named Bernadette received a total of ten sous to care for her sick and aging mother. A sick mother meant that small children were left without their primary caregiver, and so the consistory paid four sous in the spring of 1629 for the small child of Marie de Janoton because Marie had fallen ill. It is unclear exactly how this money was spent, but on two other occasions the consistory paid much larger sums of money for the adoption of two orphaned infants by new parents.[33] In this sense the elders acted as a stabilizing force in a very uncertain world.

The consistory typically ran into three types of expenses when a poor person died. A certain "very poor man" (*vrais pauvres*) named Chichon had depended on the consistory for

[32] ADG, H 47. A man named only as Bernard appears in late February 1631 as "malade," and a few weeks later he appears again as "fort pauvre."

[33] ADG, H 25 and H 26. On 30 March 1617, Pastor Saffin gave three livres for the food of a child belonging to Pierre Fourbe. This money seems to have come from the general collection, despite the fact that Fourbe's Catholic wife had his child baptized as a Catholic. He had to make public reparation. On 8 February 1629, the consistory made a one-time payment of 2 livres for the food of a baby belonging to Arnautt Barte, called Gratian (H 27, 1628). For other cases see also ADG, H 25 and H 26: 20 November 1613 and 17 August 1614.

weekly assistance for several months before his death in March 1631. After he died, the consistory paid three sous to the men who carried his corpse and three more sous for its burial. This is a typical example from the account book where the consistory would pay the final expenses of the truly poor, totaling not more than five or six sous. Interestingly, the sources indicate that two men repeatedly received reimbursement from the consistory for digging graves for the poor, Andrea and Fontaine. These gravediggers clearly developed a working relationship with the consistory by billing the poor relief fund again and again on behalf of the poor. The last expense that the consistory would incur whenever a poor person died was the burial shroud, but on this subject we begin to see distinctions between the very poor and those of higher standing. In the vast majority of cases, the consistory would buy a burial cloth (*un linceul*) for the poor, costing only about two or three sous. Although my impression is that the consistory used a new cloth for each burial, the fabric was obviously the cheapest material they could find.[34]

At first glance, it seems as if the consistory at Montagnac closely followed the *Discipline* of the French Reformed Churches, which laid out how burials should take place.[35] According to the *Discipline*, burials should remain somber affairs free from any ceremonial displays of piety. These guidelines highlighted the Calvinist rejection of purgatory and the efficacy of prayers for the death. Other historians have already explored how Huguenot elites frequently demanded recognition of their social status in their burials and often

[34] For more information on Huguenot burial practices, see Bernard Roussel, "'Ensevelir honnestement les corps': Funeral Corteges and Huguenot Culture," in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World, 1559-1685*, eds. Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 193-208.

[35] John Quick, *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata: Or, The Acts, Decisions, Decrees, and Canons of Those Famous National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France, Vol. I* (London: T. Parkhurst and J. Robinson, 1692), 10.5. "At Funerals there shall be neither Prayers, nor Sermons, nor any dole of publick Alms, that so all Superstitions, and other inconveniences may be avoided, and those who attend the dead Corps unto its Sepulchre, shall be exhorted to behave themselves modestly wilest they follow it, meditating according to the object presented to them, upon the miseries and brevity of this Life, and the hopes of one more happy in the World to come."

contravened Huguenot synods regarding these matters.[36] Fragmentary evidence from Montagnac suggests that wealthier Huguenots did, in fact, expect more elaborate burials than their poorer peers, even when the consistory paid for it. Once in 1630 and again in 1633, the consistory at Montagnac authorized the purchase of burial shrouds costing thirty-four and thirty-six sous, respectively.[37] This is clearly much more than the bare minimum reserved for most burials.

The death of a parent brought additional hardship to the dependents of the deceased, an economic blow that the consistory also sought to lessen. The *syndic* recorded three different occasions where the consistory gave small monetary payments to the dependents of the recently deceased. These death payments never amounted to very much—only two or three sous—and they were clearly never meant to provide a long-term pension to widows or children finding themselves in a financially precarious situation. For example, in February 1631, the treasurer paid one sous to the son of a deceased person whose only name is "Boudon."[38] The language that the scribe used indicates that these payments were sometimes meant only to offset the cost of the burial, as in April 1631, when he wrote: "At the request of the consistory, I gave to the daughter of Janotou (?) four sous for transporting her mother who died."[39] Paying for the burial of a deceased child could also bring reimbursement from the consistory, which is how Isaac Berandrin collected five sous at the direction of an elder named Ranse in early 1631.

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[36] Robert Sauzet argues wealthier Huguenots liked the elaborate ceremonies Catholics performed in the seventeenth century, especially in southern France. See his *Contre-réforme et réforme catholique en bas-Languedoc: le diocèse de Nîmes au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Diffusion Vander-Oyez), 74.

[37] ADG, H 47. A former elder named Jean Boudon was reimbursed for a shroud costing 34 sous on 19 November 1630 for an unnamed deceased person, and a woman named Daufine was buried on 12 March 1633 with a shroud costing 32 sous.

[38] Ibid., 1631. This was not the former elder from above, Jean Boudon, who continued fathering children for several more years.

[39] Ibid., 1631. "Plus du mandement du consistoire j'ai baile a la fille de feu Janotou (?) quatre sous pour faire apporte sa mere qui est decedé."

On at least twelve different occasions, the consistory gave money to travelers who were passing through Montagnac. Sometimes the scribe included very brief descriptions of these passersby, as is the case when he wrote that two "young men" (*jeunes hommes*) received five sous from the temple. Occasionally, the scribe also recorded their place of origin and/or their destination, but more often than not, these travelers remain anonymous in the sources as simply "passersby" (*passent*) who collected five sous to help them on their travels. The scribe probably remained deliberately vague in his descriptions of these travelers because he did not know them personally or because the treasurer had to reimburse someone else who claimed he or she helped a traveler. One finds that "a certain passerby" (*un certain receveur qui passent*) collected five sous in the spring of 1629, "an honest woman" (*une honnête femme*) from another town received two sous in late 1630, and an unspecific number of travelers received thirty sous in 1634. These entries indicate that Huguenot travelers could depend on financial assistance for their journeys from other Reformed Churches, even if that meant only four or five sous. Similarly, the pastor, elders, and even other members of the community could expect the consistory to reimburse them for contributing money to coreligionists stopping in Montagnac.

These documents also contain a number of other miscellaneous expenses that defy categorization. These include the actual cost of keeping these account books, and so we find Jean Serase receiving a total of ten sous on three occasions to buy paper so that he could render the poor relief accounts.[40] On 8 August and again on 7 December 1633, the consistory paid five sous to repair and affix the clapper that rings the temple's bell.[41] Another curious but vague entry from early 1630 indicates that the consistory could use these funds for other purposes, including a tax that the elders owed to the governor.[42] The next

[40] Ibid.. "…1 main de papier de livres."

[41] Ibid.. The entry from 8 August 1633 reads: "…pour metier au batan de la cloche…" The entry from 7 December 1633 reads: "Plus pour faire accommoder le batan de ladite cloche…"

[42] Ibid.. "Du consentement du consistoire je serai retirée 2 sous qui ont manque a la parte de 100 qu'ils ont preste Monsieur de Montagnac par ce – 2 sous."

year, the consistory paid two sous and six deniers to the governor for having said the sermon *(prêche*). A number of entries also exist from late 1634 and 1635 that are not included in these data because most of them have become almost illegible over the centuries, but enough of the record survives to indicate a major shift in the consistory's funding scheme. Instead of dozens of entries of only a few sous, the reader can discern a handful of expenditures of larger sums of money between twenty and forty livres. This money all seems to be going to the care of the poor, but we are left to look elsewhere for a more detailed record.

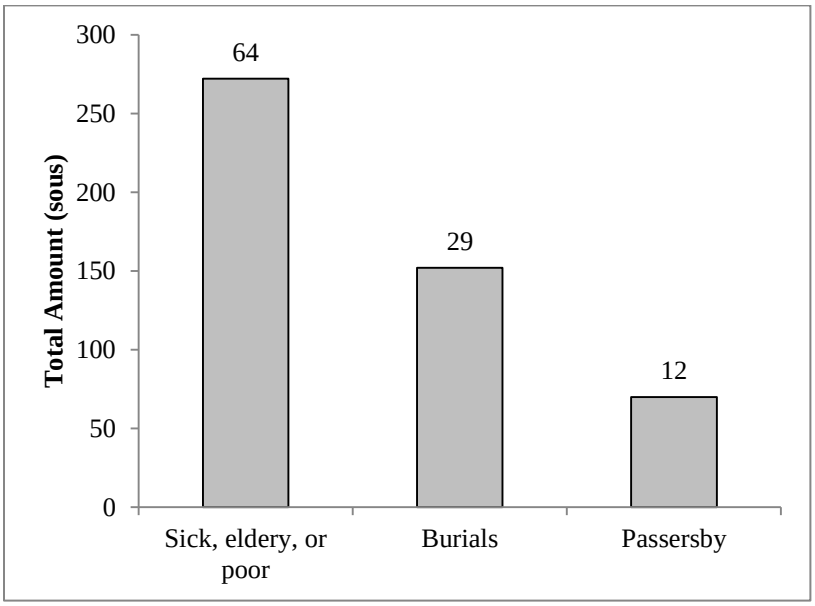

Figure 24: Extraordinary Distributions by Category, February 1629 - January 1634

*Note: The total number of distributions is given in the graph.

b. Front Doors, Apprenticeships, and Wet Nurses

Scribes recorded these extraordinary expenditures in a number of different places, including the rolls of ordinary weekly assistance and the consistory's register. The "typical extraordinary expense" went to people undergoing predictable though pressing crises in the

pre-modern world: the head of a household becomes ill, a child dies, or woman is left as a widow. The consistory spent money for the poor on a much wider variety of things than this. Reviewing the emergency expenses that the *syndic* and elders authorized reveals the essential social values that the Reformed Churches sought to promote, including the sexual purity and security of women, and the survival and future employability of orphaned boys.

Making an appeal for truly unusual expenses often meant attending an official consistory meeting. In a fascinating case from 3 February 1617, the daughters of the recently deceased Pey Labene asked the consistory to pay for the construction of a new door for their house. They complained that they were subject to the sexual advances of lewd and "disreputable men" (*mauvais garnement*). The women described how under the cover of darkness, men tried to perform certain "evil actions against them."[43] Here we can see how at least two women were left without a male head of household and in a particularly vulnerable position. Their predicament highlighted the consistory's concern to enforce moral standards in Montagnac, though it was one of the only times the consistory specifically discussed sexual threats to the community's social order. The elders agreed to spend thirty sous for a new front door.

The consistory also sprang into action especially when a boy became orphaned. One can see this in how the elders arranged apprenticeships or otherwise paid for the child's upbringing. In 1629, the elders paid forty sous for a wet nurse for Darnauld Barthe's infant whose mother had just died.[44] The same year the *syndic* recorded an extraordinary payment of two livres to Jean Fonetonat and Mary de Janne for adopting the child of Arnaud de Gratian.[45] One would like to know what happened to Arnaud. On two previous occasions recorded in the consistory's meeting minutes, the elders paid for apprenticeships for two boys

[43] ADG, H 25, 3 February 1617. "… mauvais acte contre elles."

[44] ADG, H 36. "Une femme nourrice pour nourrir une petit enfant de d'Arnauld Barthe à cause que sa femme estoit decedée."

[45] ADG, H 47.

whose fathers had died. In the spring of 1626 the son of a woman named Bernadette began an apprenticeship with a tailor, for which the consistory authorized a total of eleven écus to pay for "a pair of scissors" and other necessary things.[46] In a separate case dating from 9 May 1627, the consistory decided that the son of another woman named Bernadine would be better served in a different apprenticeship. They therefore stopped paying for his apprenticeship and instead set aside the money so that he could go live with another man who could look after him.[47]

IV. Conclusion

On 8 February 1629, the elders at Montagnac found themselves scraping together money to rebuild the temple, which had been recently demolished in a wave of anti-Protestant sentiment. The elders surveyed the congregation's resources and only managed to find about thirty livres, most of which was in the form of grain.[48] They spent most of these resources on contracts with a mason and a carpenter who agreed to build a new worship space for the congregation. In that very same meeting, when the congregation was in its worst financial condition, the elders also agreed to spend two livres for a wet nurse to feed a baby named Claire Gratian, a fourteen-month-old child belonging to Arnaud Gratian and Marie Bere.[49] Clearly the social welfare of the congregation remained in full view of the consistory even in the most difficult situations.

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[46] ADG, H 26: 1 February 1626. "…une paire de ciseaux et quelque chose nécessaire à son vestement…" The consistory also took money from Madame de Paule's bequest to buy a second installment of necessary materials for this apprentice in 1617.

[47] Ibid., 9 May 1627. The elders sent the boy to "logeroit ches Me. Pierre Lalane."

[48] Ibid., 8 February 1629.

[49] Ibid. "A esté aussi résolu le mesme jour 8 de Febvrier 1629 que deux livres seroyent une seule fois données a la nourisse d'un petit enfant de Arnautt Barte dit de Gratian et ce par les mains de Me. Rasteau de l'argent des pauvres qu'il a en ses mains." The baptism registry records the baptism of Clarie Gratian on 12 December 1627, though not her birthday. See ADG, H 27, 12 December 1627.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation argues that the elders of Montagnac tried to ensure the financial stability of their congregation by creating endowments through the acquisition of revenue-generating farms. The central component of the elders' fiscal policy was to build interest-bearing investments in concurrence with Calvin's new understanding of financial instruments. They sought to strategically expand the consistory's endowment to provide long-term financial sustainability. They also depended, to a great extent, on locally powerful benefactors who contributed their own financial resources to the consistory and interceded on its behalf in business transactions and at court. Suffice it to say that the Protestant Reformation would not have been possible at Montagnac without the enduring support of barons. Even with the backing of the barons, the consistory almost always struggled to fully meet its obligations, most notably to the pastor. But the lack of payments to the pastor did not necessarily mean that he went uncompensated. In fact, this dissertation highlights the network of informal economic activity centered on the provision of resources for the maintenance of the pastor and the continuation of social welfare programs even during extreme circumstances.

In an economy almost entirely dependent on agricultural production, the consistory at Montagnac mimicked many of the same strategies used by the Catholic Church in a previous era. This conclusion is at once obvious and surprising. Renting out land to tenant farmers remained the primary vehicle of ecclesiastical finance since the early medieval period, and Huguenots simply followed this well-established tradition. This thesis is also surprising because Protestants rejected the wealth of the Catholic Church, and Calvinists in particular criticized its system of benefices. Instead, Huguenot preachers and writers constantly emphasized how true believers needed to contribute their resources voluntarily to the church. Historians have failed to understand the fiscal reality behind much of this rhetoric and have therefore overlooked the most common and obvious way the French Reformed Churches collected and spent money.

In the final analysis, the elders relied more on their financial savvy as investors than moral persuasion or their stature in the community to generate revenue for the consistory. They bought and sold properties, rented land to farmers, and extended lines of credit to people who needed loans. They balanced many different competing priorities in how they spent this revenue, but the elders could not reverse the long term economic headwinds blowing against their community. Most importantly, even during times of intense economic hardship, the consistory always contributed some of its resources to the poor, especially widows and orphans. This created a confessional community centered on Calvin's biblical principles of preaching the Word of God and alleviating hardship for the poor.

The fiscal history of Montagnac's consistory sheds light on many of the broad issues important to early modern historians discussed in Chapter 1. First of all, the Montagnac experience confirms the broad narrative of impoverishment within the history of the French Reformed Churches. Huguenots living in Montagnac and the Garonne River Valley became increasingly poorer as the seventeenth-century wore on. We can see the cumulative toll of intermittent warfare, persecution, disease, and famine in the slow deterioration of Montagnac's financial situation. The congregation certainly became poorer over time, but this dissertation has outlined how the elders responded to this slow-moving crisis. Local circumstances allowed the consistory to endure despite its meager resources until the end of legalized French Protestantism in 1685.

This dissertation also counters many of the dominant narratives in the history of early modern social welfare reform. Poor relief programs in urban areas underwent a critical transformation in the sixteenth century, changing from decentralized religious systems of almsgiving to secular and centralized institutions of welfare. At its core, the motivation for poor relief programs in Montagnac was essentially religious, a fact that never changed long into the seventeenth century. Although Montagnac's elders lacked the sophistication of a professional urban bureaucracy, they developed a series of safeguards to ensure they used the consistory's funds appropriately. These elders were businessmen who understood how to

audit account books, and they expected to see proper documentation whenever they spent the congregation's money.

If Montagnac's consistory reinforced the division between Huguenots and Catholics with its social welfare programs, it also crossed the boundaries between the faiths in its day-to-day operations. There can be no doubt that the elders received rent payments from Catholic tenant farmers, and that the baron frequently interceded between the elders and Catholics in the surrounding countryside. The consistory also cooperated with other staunchly Catholic villages in its administration of large bequests. Elders also frequently served as town consuls, a position that not only allowed elders to look out for the consistory's best interests, but also required elders to cooperate with Catholic consuls on common issues of taxation. The experiences of Montagnac's Huguenots should be added to the broad constellation of case studies that have emerged over the past twenty years documenting the haphazard and ubiquitous ways in which Protestants and Catholics managed to get along.

To what extent was the consistory at Montagnac successful in building a financial endowment? In one of the more darkly ironic facts of this story, the clearest statement of the congregation's overall economic vitality occurred when the Catholic authorities in the Diocese of Condom seized the consistory's portfolio of investments [see Appendix G]. This straightforward financial document describes the debts owed to the "so-called Reformed" Church of Montagnac, and it exemplifies many of the themes studied in this dissertation.[1] The first four entries describe donations made to the consistory several decades earlier by the barons of Montagnac with a combined value on paper of over 1,800 livres. The authorities sold these investments for only 113 livres, an indication of their willingness to make money as fast as possible. Jacob Besandun, a man with the same patronym as the *cagot* outcasts

[1] ADG, H 51, 1984. The document uses the typical abbreviation "au consistoire de legalize p. r. de Montagnac" to mean "prétendue reformée." A Reformed Christian would never have used this disparaging designation, signaling the document's confessional leanings.

who caused a scandal in the opening to Chapter 5, remained a small scale tenant farmer for the consistory at Montagnac until 1684. Four other elders, Combret, Labènne, Daniel Conquere, and Louis Castaing also received forgiveness for their debts to the consistory in exchange for small payments. All told, the Catholic authorities liquidated over 5,000 livres worth of investments and *rente* obligations. They made about 330 livres in profit, or about 6.6% of the total portfolio.

How do these figures compare to other consistories? Fortunately, the Diocese of Condom did not sell all of the mortgages they seized after 1685. In 1694 the diocese summarized the financial state of these investments in a unique document describing all of the properties formerly belonging to the consistories of Nérac, Puch, Monhurt, Espiens, Caumont, Lavardac, Fieux, and Montagnac.[2] I strongly suspect the diocese immediately liquidated investments held by Huguenots and maintained the ones held by Catholics, though more research would need to be done to know for sure. In any case, this document first describes in narrative format all of the mortgages formerly belonging to each consistory. Then, on the very last page, it summarizes its findings in a simple chart. Each consistory is listed on a separate row to the left, followed by nine columns containing relevant figures, including the amount each held in grain, other capital investments, rents, and interest still due.[3] The richest consistory was Nérac, which provided the diocese with well over 5,000 livres in agricultural investments. Montagnac remained in the middle of the group in terms of total valuation, with over 3,300 livres, falling below Monheurt but above Espiens and Fieux.

To put this in perspective, it seems the elders of Montagnac always complained about their poverty because they wanted more revenue. There can be no doubt that the

[2] ADG, H 100, 1694.

[3] Ibid. The column headers from left to right are: "sommes exigi bles en capital; interest du dit capital; sommes dont [illegible] et a autre en capital; interest du dit capital; rentes[illegible]; immuebles; recapitulation; sommes recues par le Sr Morner (?); sommes recues par le Sr Receveur general."

congregation was in fact poor, but the elders managed what they had fairly well. When the elders asked the provincial synod of Basse-Guyenne in 1616 if they could disregard the original intentions of a testator and change how the funds of a bequest were used, they appealed to the "extreme poverty" *(extrême pauvreté*) of their congregation.[4] The elders repeated this refrain in a number of other situations. They blamed the poverty of the congregation for their failure to pay the pastors' salaries.[5] They also claimed that they were too poor to attend colloquy or synod meetings.[6] The elders at Montagnac certainly lacked the financial resources of their urban counterparts in places like Catholic Toulouse or Protestant Nîmes. That being said, this dissertation demonstrates that one should not accept their appeals to extraordinary poverty at face value. The situation in Montagnac was far more complicated.

[4] ADG, H 25, 20 November 1616.

[5] ADG, H 26, 24 May 1626.

[6] ADG, H 26, 8 September 1635. "L'advis de la tenue du synode de ceste province ayant esté envoyé par messieurs de l'église de Nerac au 11 de ce mois à Montpasier, la compagnie ne pouvant y députer de son corps un ancient pour accompagner le Pasteur pour cete année à cause de la pauvreté et incommodité de l'église..." See also ADG, H 26, 6 September 1670.

Appendix A: Estienne Saffin's *quittance*, 1616 (ADG, H 28)

Le Premier jour de Janvier mille six cent seze jay receu desd. mains de Messrs de Lacave et Castaing la somme de soixante trois livres provenantee des arreages d'interests de la somme de mille livres dheue par lesd. hoire de feu M^{r} Leonard dont led. Baillerent acquit a Madamoyselle de Ranse signé par moy.

[signed] E. Saffin pasteur por avoir receu soixant trois livres.

Le 19^{m} de fevrier 1616 jay receu sept livres des Interste de la somme de trent livre dheu par Mousr de Castaing Cap^{tnn}

E. Saffin pasteur por avoir receu sept livres

Le 19^{m} May 1616 jay receu huitant trois livres six sols huict deniers des Interest de la somme dheu par Messres de Sylvius et Coustanes et ce par lesd mains de Monsr de Roques

E. Saffin pasteur por avoir receu huictant trois
livres six sous huict deniers

Le 6^{m} de juillet 1616 j'ay receu des mains de Jaques Bonhomme commis du consistoire vingt trois livres quinze sols des Intereste des cent escus dheus par Ducos Pousequell (?) et Labau le droict de sa recepte qui est un sol pour livres ayante este premiere an distraict.

E. Saffin pasteur por avoir receu vingt trois livres quinze sous.

Le 24^{m} Aoust 1616 estant à l'assemblé de Sainte Foy j'ay receu des mains de Mousieur de Forthon cent dix sept livres pour les arreages des deniers dy Roy de lan 1615.

E. Saffin pasteur pour avoir receu cent dix sept livres

Le 23^{m} de Septembre 1616 j'ay receu des mains de Mousr de Ranse quarante cinq livres desd Interests de la somme dheu par ses nepues et la denier doctobre jay receu trente livres la tout monte a septantcinq livres dont il (?) [illegible] distraire trois livres quinze sols por le droit du revenue lequel il a receu de me mains il (?) [illegible] este de lad. somme septante une livre cinq sous

E. Saffin pasteur por avoir receu septante une livres cinq sous.

Le 25^{m} de Septembre 1616 j'ay receu de M^{r} Jehan Serase Consul trentetrois livres treize souls huict deniers des Interests des quatre cens livres dheu par Jaques Liue (?) Isaac Castaing et au[tres] habitants de ce lieu, dont je luy ay baillé acquit distraict le droit dud. Receveur lequel il a receu a este trent & une livres treize sous huict deniers.

E. Saffin pasteur por avoir receu trent & une
livres treize sols huict deniers.

Le 6m No^{bre} 1616 j'ay receu cinq livres des arreages dInterests des dix escus dheus par Marie Bethese dite Penote la droit dud Recepveurs monte cinq sous reste quatre livres quinze sous.

E. Saffin pasteur por avoir receu quatre livres quinze sous.

Le 30^{m} No^{bre} 1616 j'ay receu por le premier quartie de lannée coutante des deniers de la liberalité du Roy quarante deux livres et demie. Le quartie mentois quarante quatre livres

seize sous mand. de là par ordonnance de Colloque ont esté distraicte trente sous por le despens de M Daniel Barthe proposant du voyage de l'assemblée deniers de Sainte Foy et d'ailleurs le marchande qui me l'a porté a (?) [illegible] avoir deniers daud Bordeau un jour (?)[illegible] por attendre l'expedition de Mousr de Forthon dont il a pris seize sous.

E. Saffin pasteur pour avoir receu quarante deux livres dix sous

Appendix B: Lazare Casaux's *quittance,* 1630-1633 (ADG, H 28)

Estat de ce que je Casaux dit m'estre deu par l'église reff. de Montagnac depuis mon dernier conte du 17 novembre 1630.

Premierement par ledit cote resulte qu'il m'est deu darrerages la somme de cent livres- 100lt

Item pour les gages de deux ans et demi ascavoir depuis le 17 novembre 1630 jusques au 17 may 1633 m'est deu mille livres – 1000 lt

Plus depuis le 17 may 1633 jusques au 17 aoust 1633 mest deu – 100 lt

Item m'est deu neuf livres quinze sous que jay fourni au voyage du colloque tenu à la Bastide le 19 d'Avril 1633 come appert du roole que jen au dressé et produit – 9 lt 15 s

Plus m'est deu pour des vitres (?) que jay fait faire et autres reparations necessaires à la maison de lesglise la somme de quatorze livres seize sous comme appert du roole que j'en au dressé et produit consentat neanmois qu'il ne m'en soit alloue que dix livres et dix sous – 10 lt 10 s

Mote pour toute la depte – 1220 lt 5 s

Estate de ce que jay receu en deduction de la depte en divers temps depuis mon dernier conte.

Premierement le 9 janvier 1631 jay receu les cent livres darrerages du cote precedent – 100 lt

Item [illegible] avoir receu par les mains de M Boudon en diverses fois (selon que luy mesme marque au cote quil à retenue le 29 juin 1632) la somme de quatre cens octante neuf livres quatorze sous quatre deniers – 489 lt 14 s 4 d

Plus de largent du Roy au Synode de Duras douze livres quatres sous, mais j'en baillay la mesme au Sieur de Ceraze ancien sept livres trois sous six deniers pour aider au paye M de [illegible] despense reste [illegible] à coter dudit argent du Roy de cinq livres six deniers – 5 livres 6 d

Item ce 10 jeuillet 1632 des 1000 lt que doivent les consul de Montagnac jay receu soixante six livres treze sous quatre deniers deqouy leur à esté donné prolonge par le consistoire scavoir de 700 lt jusques au 19 mars 1633 et de 300 lt jusques au 28 mars 1633 par ce – 66 lt 13 s 4 d

Plus le 10 aoust 1632 des 150 lt que doit le Sieur Ducos jay receu dix livres luy ai donné prolongé jusques au 22 de jeuillet 1633 – 10 lt

Item des 1000 lt que doivent Ms de Ranse et de Leonard jau receu par les mains de M de Labenne le 23 aoust 1632 soixante six livres treize sous quatre deniers et leur ai donné prolongé jusques au 18 aoust 1633 – 66 lt 13 s 4 d

Plus des 100 lt que doivent les Sieurs Vacqueri jay receu le 1 septembre 1632 six livres treze sous quatre deniers et leur ai donné prolongé jusques au 28 aoust 1633 – 6 lt 13 s 4 d

Item de 30 lt que doit Pierre Doazan jay receu le 12 de sept. 1632 deux livres et luy donné prolongé jusques au 2 de sept. 1633 – 2 lt

Plus de 1000 que doivent les Siers de Vertue et Cerizie jay receu le 16 sept. 1632 soixante six livres treize sous quatre deniers et leur ai donné prolongé jusques au 1 de sept. 1633 – 66 lt 13 s 4 d

Item des 100 lt que doit le Sier de La Roque jay receu le 23 sept. 1632 six livres treze sois quatre deniers et luy ai donné prolongé jusques au 15 septembre 1633 – 6 lt 13 s 4 d

Plus des 300 lt que doit le Sier Ducos jay receu ce 4 d'octobre 1632 vingt livres et luy prolongé de moi jusques au 23 septembre 1633 – 20 lt

Item des 200 lt que doivent Besse et autre de Bruch jay receu le 21 decembre 1632 trezie livres six sois huit deniers et leur au donné prolongé jusques au 7 decembre 1633 – 13lt 6s 8d

Plus des 100 lt que doit M Perery jay receu le 15 janvier six livres treze sois quatre deniers et [illegible] ce la huit sois quatre deniers qu'il restoit de lautre annee et tout donc sept livres un sois huit deniers et luy ai donné prolongé jusques au 15 sept. 1633 – 7 lt 1 s 8 d

Item des 200 lt que doit Jehan de Moncaut jay receu le 27 de janvier 1633 six livres treze sois quatre deniers et luy ay donné prolongé jusque au 25 decembre 1633 – 6 lt 13 s 4 d

Plus des 100 lt que doit la Pitre jay receu le 14 fevrier 1633 quatre livres en deduction des interest qu'il doibt depuis le 8 sept 1631 – 4 lt

Item des 300 lt que doit M de Montagnac jay receu le 2 de mars 1633 vingt livres et luy ay donné prolongé jusques au 26 fevrier 1634 – 20 lt

Plus des 300 lt que doit le Sieur de Ceraze jay receu le 15 avril 1633 vingt livres et luy ai donné prolongé jusques au 6 d'avril 1634 par ce – 20 lt

Item des 400 lt qu doit le Sier de Motteferin (?) jay receu le 6 juin 1633 vingt et six livres treize sous quatres deniers et luy au donné prolongé jusques au 23 mars 1634 – 26 lt 13 s 4 d

Plus de 25 lt que doit M Simon d'Advance avoir receu pour les interests de cinq ans ascavoir depuis le 4 fevrier 1629 jusques au 4 fevrier 1634 huit livres dix et neuf sous quatre deniers et luy faudra donné prolongé jusques audit jour 4 fevrier 1634 par ce – 8 lt 19 s 4 d

Item des 150 lt que doivent les Sieurs Ducos et La Serre jay receu le 10 d'aoust 1633 dix livres et leur ai donné prolongé jusques au 22 de jeuillet 1633 par ce – 10 lt

Collecte

Item de la collecte faitte sur les particuliers membres de leglise et qui à esté baillee à leur [illegible] à M de Ranse jay receu par les mains dudit sieur.

Premierement ce qu'il à promis luy mesme ascavoire – 16 lt
De Monsier de Lacave par les mains dudit Sieur de Ranse – 16 lt
De Monsieur Castaing – 4 lt 10 s
De Monsieur de Berie le 5 decembre – 6 lt
De Mr Ceraze le 9 decembre – 6 lt
D'Abraham et d'Isaac Metayiers – 2 lt
De M Bonhomme le 20 fevrier 1633 – 4 lt 5 s
De la vefue de Cerizie le 29 d'Avril 1633 – 1 lt 12 s
Du Sier Rasteau autant – 1 lt 12 s
De Madamme de la Forcade autant – 1 lt 12 s
De Mre. Dasue – 1 lt 12 s

Le sudit escript compte estant examine avoire trouve qu'il estoit deu a Monsieur de Casaux notre pasteur la somme de douze cent vingt livres cinq souls et a comprin (?) la somme de cent livres que luy estoit deu du precedent conte du 17 novembre 1630 et jusques au dixseptiesme du present moys daoust mil six cent trente troye, et le payements quil a receu montent a la somme de mille dixsept livres dixhuit souls dix deniers par [illegible] compensation estant faitte a troive quil est du audit Sieur Cazaux jusques audit jour dixseptiesme aoust 1633 la somme de deux cent deux livres six souls deux deniers fait en consistoyre le quatorziesme aoust mil six cent trente troye.

[Signed] Casaux rendant ladit cote
Conquere ancien
Ranse ancien
Serige ancien

Appendix C: *Compte* from the *deniers de l'église*, 1663 (ADG, H 42)

Compte que je Joseph Labene rend a leglise reformee de Montagnac tant de la recepte que depence a suite de ladit recepte depuis le-

Premieremant fait recepte de la somme de septante huit livres dix sols que Monsieur Lefranc nostre pasteur a dit avoir ressu de Mousier de Brebiere en deduction des interests des somme que ledit Seigneur doit a ladit eglise dequoy ledit rendant fait recepte sans avoir resseu dudict Sieur Lefranc et pourtant en sera valablement dechargé et par ce – 78 lt 10 s

Plus fait recepte de la somme de doutze livres dix sols provenante des interets de la somme de deux cens livres que les Sieurs de Besse et Touton de Moncaup doiuet a ladit eglise comme apert du resseu fait par Monsieur Lefranc et baillé prorogation jusques au 24 7bre 1661 et par ce – 12 lt 10 s

Plus fait recepte de la somme de soixante six livres treize sols quatre denies provenant des interets de la somme de 993 lt 9 s 2 d que Ms Ranque Baysiere et autres doiuet a ladit eglise proroge le terme jusques au 13 juin 1661 – 66 lt 13 s 4 d

Plus fait recepte de la somme de neuf livres sept sols six denies provenant des interets de la somme de cent cinquante livres que Messieurs de Ducos et Laserre doiuet a ladit eglise et prorogé le terme du payement jusques ay 22 juillet 1661 et par ce – 9 lt 7 s 6 d

Plus fait recepte de la somme de dix huit livres quinze sols provenant aussy des interets de la somme de trois cens livres que lesdit Ducos et Laserre douet a ladit eglise et proroge le terme du payement jusques au 23 7bre 1661 et par ce – 18 lt 15 s

Plus fait recepte de la somme de vingt six livres tretze sols quatre denies par linterets de la somme de quatre cens livres qu le Sieur de Lacave et autres doiuet a ladit eglise et prorogé le terme du payemant jusques au 1661 et par ce – 26 lt 13 s 4 d

Plus fait recepte de la somme de six livres treize sols quatre deniers pour linterest de la somme de cent livre que feu Jean Dunignau hoste devoit a ladit eglise et prorogé le terme du payemant jusques ay 25 desembre 1660 e tpar ce 6 lt 13 s 4 d

Plus fait recepte de la somme de 25 lt pour linterest de 400 lt que Monsieur Lefranc doit a ladit esglise qui a payé jusques au 8 fevrier 1662 et par ce – 25 lt [1]

Plus fait recepte de la somme de doutze livres que jay ressues du Ducos de [illegible] en deduction des interets ou depens que ledit Ducos doit faute de payement des interets de la somme de deux cens livres et par ce – 12 lt

[1] This refers to the pastor himself, Michelle Lefranc, who rented land from the consistory. His rent payments were deposited into the *deniers de l'église*, a fund which in turn paid his salary.

Plus fait recepte de la somme de seize livres quinze sols que ledit rendant a pris de plusieurs particuliers de ladit esglise par un rolle qui fust fait le 10 juin 1661 pour faire fonde la cloche de leglise comme apert dudit rolle – 16 lt 15 s

Plus fait recepte de huit livres qui ont esté tires en deux fois du plat des pauvres pour payer le fondeur qui a fait ladit cloche n'en y ayant pas [illegible] largent qui cest leve par le rolle dudit jour 20 juin et par ce – 8 lt

Plus fait recepte de la somme de trente quatre livres cinq sols qui est levée aussy sur de particulies de ladit esglise par un rolle pour subvenir aux fraix que la convenu faire aux proces que ladit esglise avoit contre les sier de Lafite, Passage, Baysiere, Lacave et autres donc les fraix ce verront dans la depance sy apres mise et par ce fait recepte – 34 lt 5 s

Plus fait aussy recepte de la somme de vingt livres en tant moings resseus dedit interets que le Sieur de Lacave doit a ladit esglise – 20 lt

Plus fait recepte de trois livres que Monsieur de Berbiere a baillé a Bacque Sergent pour une saisie qui avoit esté faite sur les fruits de la meterie du Porcheron sy pour – 3 lt

Comme aussy fait recepte de la somme de trente six livres que Monsieur de Brebiere a prete pour la poursuite du decret de la meterie du Porcheron sy – 36 lt

Plus fait aussy recepte de la somme de dix livres que jay prins du plat des pauvres savoir quatre livres le 8 mars 1661 et six livres le 27 may 1661 pour fournier aux frais du decret sur le metarie du Porcheron sy un recepte – 10 lt

Depense a suite de la recepte de lautre part escrite

Premierement raporte en depence la somme de septente huit livres dix sols que Monsieur Lefranc nostre pasteur a pris de Monsieur de Berbiere en plusieurs fois en tant moings de ce que ledit Seigneur doit a leglise de [Montagnac] dequoy ledit randant raporte en depence et luy sera aloue pour en avoir fait aussy recepte et par ce en depence – 78 lt 10 s

[Marginalia] aloue pour la somme de septente huit livres dix sols – 78 lt 10 s

Plus raporte aussy en depence la somme de trente quatre livres quinze sols que ledit rendant a baillées a Monsieur Lefranc en tant moings de ces gages comme apert du resseu en dacte du 26 7bre 1661 et par ce – 34 lt 15 s

[Marginalia] aloue veu la quittance pour trente quatre livres quinze sous – 34 lt 15 s

Plus raporte aussy en depence la somme de doutze livres six sols que ledit Sieur Lefranc a resseu le mesme jour que dessus comme apert de some resseu et par ce – 12 lt 10 s

[Marginalia] aloue veu la quittance pour la somme de douze livres dix sous 12 lt 10 s

Plus a aussy resseu ledit Sieur Lefranc la somme de cent vingt cinq livres setze sols huit denies ainsin apert de trois ressues lun a suite de lautre signes dudit Sieur Lefranc en dacte des vingtiesme vintetroisiesme et vingtsisiesme fevrier mil six cens soixante deux en raporté en depence pour – 125 lt 16 s 8 d

[Marginalia] aloue veu la quittance pour la somme de cent vingt cing livres seze sous huit deniers – 125 lt 16 s 8 d

Plus tant aussy depence de la somme de vingt cinq livres des interets de la somme de quatre cens livres dhues a ladit esglise par Monsieur Lefranc comme ayant chargé la recepte raporte aussy en depence – 25 lt

[Marginalia] aloue veu la quittance pour la somme de vint cinq livres – 25 lt

Plus fait aussy depence de la somme de neuf livres baillées en foit audit Sieur Lefranc sy– 9lt

[Marginalia] aloue veu la quittance pour la somme de neuf livres – 9 lt

Comme aussy raporte en depence la somme de vingt six livres baillees a Larroche fondeur savoir quinze livres pour la fasson et unze livres pour de la tante (?) quil a fourny sy – 26 lt

[Marginalia] aloue veu la quittance pour la somme de vint six livres – 26 lt

Raporte aussy en depence la somme de sept livres dix sept sols et demy savoir a Bacques Sergant sept livres pour la saisie et inquans faits contre les heritiers de feu Lanotte ou pour lassigation donnee ausdit heritiers en vante judicielle et dix sept sols et demy pour la certification desdit inquans sy – 7 lt 17 s 6 d

[Marginalia] aloue veu la quittance pour la somme de sept livres dix sept sous six deniers – 7 lt 17 s 6 d

Fait aussy depence de trente sols bailles a Bacque pour porter au proceureur lors quil luy porta la saisi inquans et assignation tant pour sa presentation que autres frais contre lesdits heritiers de Lamothe sy – 1 lt 10 s

[Marginalia] aloue veu la quittance pour la somme de une livres dix sous – 1 lt 10 s

De plus raporte en depence trente sols quil [illegible] a Bacque pour assigner Messieurs de Lacave a Lectoure [illegible] leur faire reprendre la cession quils avoit faite contre [illegible] sy – 1 lt 10 s

[Marginalia] aloue veu la quittance pour la somme de une livre dix sous – 1 lt 10 s

Fait encore depence du trente sols bailles au Sieur Laberie proceureur pour la cherche du proces contre Baysiere comme bien tenant dudit Lamothe sy – 1 lt 10 s

[Marginalia] aloue veu la quittance pour la somme de une livres dix sous – 1 lt 10 s

Plus raporte en depence trente sols bailles a Bacques Sergant pour estre allé a Bruh (?) faire es explouts de diligence contre Ducor et autre et cinq sols quil a taleu bailler au greffier de lordinaire de Bruh (?) sy – 1 lt 15 s

[Marginalia] aloue veu la quittance pour la somme de une livres quinze sous – 1 lt 15 s

Plus fait aussy depence de la somme de cinquante cinq livres doutze sols six denies faits au decret du proces sur la meterie du Porcheron contre les Sieurs Passage et Lafite comme apert par le rolle de taxe fait par le proceureurs des parties du consentement desdit Passage et Lafite dequoy ledite Lafite cest obligé et ainsin sera aloué audit randant pour depence – 55 lt 12 s 6 d

[Marginalia] aloue veu la quittance pour la somme de cinquante cinq livres douze sous six deniers – 5 lt 12 s 6 d

[Signed] Labene rendant ledit compte

Appendix D: D. Brinihol's *quittance*, 1683 (ADG, H 40, 14 March 1683)

le 14 Mars 83 j'ay donné
quittance a M^r^ Andiran & s'est
trouvé qu'il mavoit donné
550 lt 10 den. Et s'est trouvé
quil metoit deu darrerages
175 lt 8 s 7 d conte fait
deu Mrs les anciens.
m'encore due que j'ay
receu depuis

le 4 avril M^r^ d'Andira ma
doné du taux de Rance
ce ——————— 3 lt

le mesme Jour des intets
de Louis Castain 1 lt

le ii avril M^r^ de Rance
ma donne du taux de
M^r^ de Savin ————15 s

M^r^ de Rance ma donne
quinze sols du taux de
M^r^ deRoqu – 15 s

le mesme jour M^rs^ de Ranse
et de Labene mont donné de
l'interest du Ducor – 3 lt

le 25 davril M^r^ du Lacave
ancien ma donée 22 lt 3 s 9 d

le mes. Jour M^r^ d'Andiran m'a
doné du taux de M^r^ Lacave 1 lt 10 s

le 20 Juin M^r^ d'Andira m'a
doné de M^r^ Bebal en deduc-
tio des Interets quy sont deus
du Ducos ——————— 6 lt

le 22 juillet Madame a doné
un sac de blé a ma femme

le 9 mai M^r^ de Labene anc. M'a
envoyé six sacs de ble en

deduction des Interets de M^r^ de
St. Genes a quatre livres cinq sols
le sac ——————— 25 lt 10 s

15 aoust M^r de Montagnac
ma doné ———————— 100 lt

le 23 aoust ma feme a pris
du lane de M^r Passagees (?) m^t 7 lt 10 s

le 23 M^r Andira ma doné du
taux de M^r de Sauvin — 1 lt 10 s
du taux de M^r de Lacave — 10 s
du taux de Sarauste — 9 s

le 5 sep^bre ma done de Conquaré
ma donné d'Interets – 3 lt 2 s 6 d
M^r de Combret un sac de blé – 4 lt 8 s
M^r Fita 47 fagots de serm

le 30 octob. Du taux de M^r
de Castan ——1 lt 10 s

pls le mesme jour M^r d'Andira
m'a doné des Interets de
M^r Bouché – 9 lt 7 s 6 d

le 20 M^r d'Andirama donne
des Interets du Lagonde
———————— 16 lt 13 s 6 d

le 24 M^r d'Andira m'a done
des Inter. de M^r Combret 14 lt 7 s 9 d

le 7 no^bre M^r d'Andira ma
doné des Int. De Dufonant (?) 1 lt 2 s 2 d

le 18 M^r de Labene anc. Ma
doné en presence de M^rs de
Rance et Andira 7 lt 10 s

le mesme j. du taux de M^r de
Labene anc. ———— 1 lt 10 s

le 21 no^bre M^r d'Andira ma doné de
linteret de Louys Castan – 1 lt
la dern. no^bre M^r ma donné

du taux de Paul Castain – 5 s
[Other side of page]

le mesme j. du taux de Jeha Sarauste 5 s
le 1^en desbre M^r d'Andira m'a done des Interests
de Calas (?) De Moncaut – 6lt

Appendix E: Account Book from the *deniers des pauvres*, 1623 (ADG, H 36)

Ensuit les fraix et mises que lesdit sieurs antiens ont faict pour les pauvres de la p[resent] ville et jurisdiction de Montaignac la p[resent] anne mil six cent vingt troys de la ferme de ladit metterye.

Premierement

Disent lesdicts sieurs antiens que en ladit anne mil six cent vingt troys feu Noble Jean Delart aura intante (?) proces contres Jacques Lagourgue fermier de ledit metterye en la [illegible] monsieur le senneschal [illegible] pour raison deux affermie pour laquel Lagourgue lesdit sieurs antiens aurot-[illegible] cause et despendeu a ladit poursuitte la somme de sept livres quatre soulz quatre denier ainsy qu'appert du rolle de fraix icelluy veu ladit somme doibt estre passee et allouee pour fraix cy – vii lt iiii s iiii d

[Marginalia] passe pour fraix et [illegible] sept livres quatre sous quatre denier veu le serement[1] faict par ledit Serige et rolle de l'employ faict par luy de ladit somme

Plus lesdit sieurs antiens ont distribue a Arnaud Nobsecy paouvre homme vieulx la somme de troye livres six soulz ayant commance a fere ladit distribution le premier de Janvier et contignue jusquee au unziesme du moye de Juing qui a este discontignue jusquee au cinquisme nouvembre qui a este retourne contignue jusque au dernier de decambre et la p[resent] anne mil six cent vingt troye laquelles somme lesdit antiens recquiront leur estre passee et allouee pour fraix cy – iii lt vi s

[Marginalia] passe pour troys livres six souls veu par serement faict par lesdit Rasteau et bailhe ladit somme aux Nobsequi

Plus au Chichon pauvre homme vieulx et aveugle luy a este distribue la somme de troye livres six soulz a raison de deulx soulz pour sepmaine pour mesme moy et an que dessue aussy lesdit sieurs antiens ladit somme de troye livres six souls leur estre passee et allouee pour fraix cy – iii lt vi s .

[Marginalia] passe pour troys livres six souls veu le serement faict par ledis Rasteau avoyr bailhe ladit somme

Plus lesdit sieurs antiens ont distribue de mesme a Bercleyssye la somme de troye livres six souls pour mesme moye et an que dessue ci – iii lt vi s

[Marginalia] passe pour troys livres six sous veu le serement faict par ledit Rasteau

[1] From the verb "serementer," meaning Rasteau swore the account he gives here is accurate.

Plus a Daulphine paovre femme vefye et aveugle ont aussy distribute lesdit antiens la somme de troye livres six souls a mesme raison de deux souls par sepmaine pour mesme moye et an que dessue qui leur doibt este aussy passé pour fraix cy – iii lt vi s

[Marginalia] passe pour troye livres six souls veu le serement faict par lesdit Rasteau

Plus ont distribue lesdit antiens aulx enfant de Laroque vray paovres enfant orpheline la somme de troye livres six souls pour mesme moye et an que dessue que leur doibt veu estre allouee pour fraix cy – iii lt vi s

[Marginalia] passe pour troye livres six souls veu le serement faict par ledict Rasteau

Plus ont distribue lesdit antiens a Menton de Larrat pauvre homme vieulx et a ses enfant la somme de troye livres six souls a raison de deulx souls par sepmaine ayant aussy commance a faire ladit distribution le premier de Janvier et contignuer jusques a lounziesme du moye de Juing qui a este discontignue jusques au cinquiesme nouvembre qui a est contignue justques au dernier de decembre de la p[resent] anne mil six cent vingt troye. Laquelle somme de troye livre six souls leur doibt estre passe et allouee cy – iii lt vi s

[Marginalia] passe pour troye livres six sous veu le serement faict par ledit Rasteau

Plus ont distribue lesdit antiens a Marthe de Saux pauvre voytuze[2] la somme de trente troye souls a raisons dung soul par sepmaine pour mesme moye et an que dessue que recquiront aussy leur estre passee et allouee pour fraix cy – i lt xiii s

[Marginalia] passe pour trente troye sous veu le serement faict par ledict Rasteau

Plus a este distribue par lesdit antiens a la vefue de Peyrot de Rocquee paouvre femme aige et a ses enfants la somme de troye livres six souls a raison de deulx souls pour sepmaine pour mesme moye et an que dessue qui doibt estre aussy passee pour frai cy – iii lt vi s

[Marginalia] passe pour troye livre six sous veu le serement faict par ledit Rasteau

Plus a la vefue de la Loucque paouvre femme aigee la somme de trente troye souls a raison dung soul par sepmaine pour mesme moye & an que dessue qui leur sera aussy passe pour fraix cy – i lt xiii s

[Marginalia] passe pour trente troye souls veu le serement faict par ledit Rasteau

Plus a la Bernadatte paouvre femme vefue aigee et a son fil la somme de troye livres six souls a raison de deulx souls par sepmaine pour mesme moye et an que dessue cu pour fraix – iii lt vi s

[Marginalia] passe pour troye livre six sous veu le serement faict par ledit Rasteau

[2] Meaning “boiteuxeuse,” crippled.

Plus a la Toutouette vray paouvre femme la somme de trente troye souls a raison dung soul par sepmaine ayant commance ladit distribution le premier de Janvier & contignue jusqyee a lonziesme Juing qui a este discontignuee jusquee au cinquiesme nouvembre et qui a este contignuee jusquee au dernier de decembre de la p[resent] année mil six cent vingt troye laquelles somme leur doubt estre passee et allouee pour fraix cy – i lt xi s

[Marginalia] passe pour trente troye sous veu le serement faict par ledit Rasteau

Appendix F: List of Voluntary *taux* Payments, 1681 (ADG, H 51)

Note: This is a partial list of voluntary *taux* payments made to the consistory in 1681. The scribe refers to a higher amount that he received on a different occasion, bringing the total voluntary payments for the year to about 85 livres. Compared to the amount of income the consistory received from its investments in land, voluntary contributions represent a relatively small portion of the consistory's total income.

autre chapitre de Recepte

Dict ledit Andiran que ledit Consistoire luy avoict remis ung rolle de la taux volontaire faitte sur les chefs particuliers de laditte eglize pour len faire payer sil peust contenu ce monte la somme de 65 lt 14 s sauf erreur de calcul de quoy il a este payé du contenu audit rolle la somme de quarante deux livres 14 s; le reste est a payer

Scavoir de M Berbiere	–	–	9 lt
de M Caseneufe	–	–	4 lt
de M Fita Laime	–	–	1 lt 15 s
de M Fita Jeune	–	–	0 lt 15 s
de M Lacave Vieux	–	–	1 lt 10 s
de Monsieur Pelousan	–	–	0 lt 10 s
de Monsieur Conbret	–	–	1 lt 8 s
de Conqueré Jurat	–	–	0 lt 15 s
de Louis Castaing	–	–	0 lt 2 s
de Larraton	–	–	0 lt 10 s
de Damons (?)	–	–	0 lt 10 s
de la Fortune	–	–	5 s
Jacque Larque	–	–	0 lt 5 s
Montent lesdits reste 21 lt 5 s			21 lt 5 s

Appendix G: Liquidation of the Consistory's Debts, 1684 (ADG, H 51)

Note: When the Catholic authorities closed the French Reformed Church of Montagnac in 1684, they seized the consistory's moveable property and assumed ownership of all its investments. In this document the Diocese of Condom liquidates the debts owed to the consistory by taking one-sixteenth (*au denier seze*) of each debt's principal. One can see how some of these investments dated back to the 1660s while others were relatively recent. With over 5,000 livres tied up in land and *rente*, this source illustrates the extent to which the consistory retained large properties even at the end of its legal existence.

[Recto]

Liquidation des Interests sur chaque article	Cest letast des sommes dheue au Consistire de leglize p.r. de Montagnac
50 lt	Premieremnt doit Monsieur Berbiere seignour de Montac la somme de huit cens livres pour sa motie du leguast que feu monsieur de monac fist au Consistoire par son testamant le terme a payer les Interest au denier seze le 25 Juing et par ce – 800 lt
50 lt	Plus doibt Madame de Gratens ou ces heritiers la somme de huit cens livres pour la motie du mesme leguast fait en faveur dudit Consistoire terme aussy le 25 Juing les Interest au denier seze et par ce – 800 lt
6 lt 5 s	Plus doibt laditte dame de Gratens la somme de cent livres pour reste de la retrossecion [1] faitte sur les heritiers de feu Rasteau linteret au denier seze - 100lt
6 lt 15 s 4 d	Plus doibt laditte dame la somme de cent neuf livres en datta du 4 may 1680 retenu laditte obligation par Bouche no[re] et les Interests au denier seze – 109 lt
5 lt 2 s	Plus doibt le Sieur Passeque huitante et une livre de reste et ce par transaction retenue par feu Serigé en datte du 3 Auost 1662 les Interest au deniers seze – 81 lt
Pour les deux articles 16 lt 4 s 3 d	Plus doibt Monsier de Conbret 150 lt dun costé provenant dune retrossecion que le consistoire luy a fait les Interets depuis le 14 Juing audenier seze –150lt Plus doibt Monsieur de Conbret dautre coste la somme de cent neuf livres quil a receue en quallitte dantien sur les heritires de feu le Sieur Lacombes le terme de 23 mars les Interests au deniers seze et par ce – 109 lt
33 lt 6 s 8 d	Plus doibt Mademoiselle de du Condud d'Arconques la somme de six cens

[1] "Retrossecion" refers to the return of land to the original owners after they freely donated it.

livres comme apert par transaction retenue par Bouché no[re] en datte du 15 novembre 1682 les Interests au denier dix huit et par ce – 600 lt

25 lt — Plus doibt Monsieur Labenne de Clousan (?) a lad. charge de feu Monsieur Lefranc ministre la somme de quattre cens livres le terme de payer les Interets au denier seze le 24 Juing et par ce – 400 lt

[Verso]

a payé
6 lt 13 s 4 d — Plus doibt Allias cardeur de Moncaup la somme de cent vingt livres comme apert par contrat dobligation retenu par du Cor no[re] en datte du second de may interest au denier dix huit et par ce – 120 lt

4 lt 9 s 9 d — Plus doibt Espagne Blaize des Comps son gendre et Jean Buoc tous trois solideremant la somme de quatre vingt livres comme apert par contrat dobligation retenu par du Cor no[re] en datte du [blank] nouvanbre et les Interets au denier dix hit et par ce – 80 lt

a payé
9 lt 7 s 9 d — Plus doibt Arnaud Bouche la somme de cent cinquante livres par Indication faitte par Monsieur de Berbiere en datte du 30 Septambre 1664 retenu par Serigé no[re] aveq les Interet puis le 15 Septambre au denier seze et par ce – 15lt

a payé
3 lt 15 s — Plus doibt Jean Casaubon maistre tailheur la somme de septante cinq livres par contrat de vanthe retenu par du Cor no[re] du 15 desambre 1677 aveq linteret au denier vingt et par ce – 75 lt

1 lt — Plus doibt Louis Castaing 16 lt par obligation retenue par Serigé no[re] en datte du 9[m] septambre 1667 aveq linteret au denier seze et par ce – 16 lt

a pay é
1 lt 2 s 2 d — Plus doibt Pierre du Fouert tisseran Isabelle souer vefue de Moise la somme de 20 lt sestant charge de payer pour David Castaing par contrat dobligation Retenue par Bouché no[re] en datte du premier nouvambre 1680 linteret au Denier seze – 20 lt

a payé
23 lt 18 s 9d — Plus doibt Mademoiselle de Farat et Monsieur La Frairie son gendre trois cens huitante trois livres par obligé retenue par du Cor no[re] en datte du 22 febrier 1673 aveq linteret au denier seze – 383 lt

7 s 6 d — Plus doibt Jacob Besandun six livres et linteret au mois doctobre au denier seze et doibt linterest de deus ans et par ce – 6 lt

[Recto]

a payé 20lt
10 lt 6 s — Plus doibt Monsieur Bibal la somme de cent soixante cinq livres quil doibt cettre charge de payer pour du Cor no[re] pour raison d'achapter (?) la maison

que ledit Bibal a acquis dudit du Cor aveq linteret depuis le 24 Juing au denier seze et par ce – 165 lt

a payé
5 lt 12 s 6 d

Plus doibt Sieur Jean Pierre Fita et sa sœur nonante livres par obligé retenue par du Cor no[re] en datte du 24 Juing 1674 et linteret au denier seze et par ce – 90 lt

22 lt 13 s 2 d
13 xbre

Plus doibt le Sieur Daniel Conqueré de Lacave trois cens cinquante cinq livres par contrat des ubroguation retenu par du Cor no[re] et linteret depuis le 13 decambre 1680 linterest au denier seze et par ce – 355 lt

11 lt 13 s 4 d

Plus doibt Monsier Conbret outre autres obligations la somme de deus cens huitante quattre livres quil a receue pour le consistoire de Sieur Pierre Bachere dest Loup que ledit Bachere devoit audit Consistoire par contrat dobligation retenu par du Cor no[re] en datte laditte obligation de 30 decambre 1678 linteret au denier dixhuit et par ce – 284 lt

[Marginalia] 30 xbre a payé 15 lt 15 s 6 d pour ledit achete

16 lt 13 s 4d

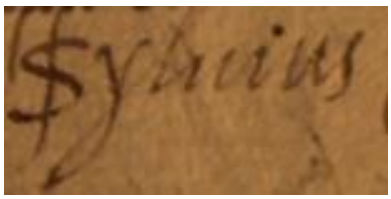
Plus doibt le Sieur Lagondé du Menlan la somme de trois cens livres par contrat dobliguation retenu par Bouché no[re] en datte du 30 mars 1680 provenant laditte somme dune partie de la somme de 450 lt que du Cos du saumont (?) devoist en principal linteret au denier seze quoy que monsier dest Colombe ne le pay ny ne veust payer qu'au denier dix huit

[Marginalia] 20 mars a paye les dite 16 lt 13 s 4 d le 18 Juin 1684

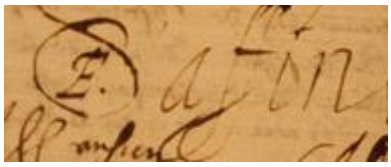
Toutes les susdittes somme ce montent 5193 lt
Et les Interets desditte somme ce montent anuellemant 311 lt 3 s

Appendix H: Signatures of Important Figures at Montagnac

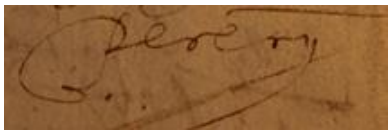
The Pastors (1594 - 1684)



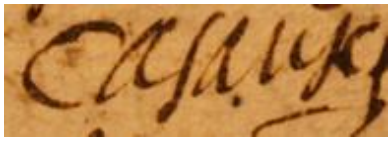
1594 - 1610: Jean Sylvius



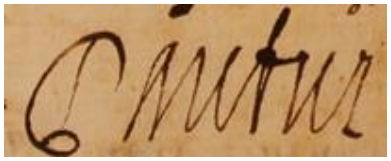
1612 - 1619: Estienne Saffin



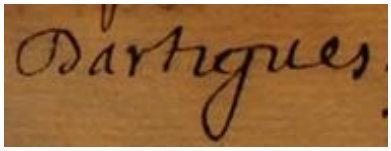
1619: Perery



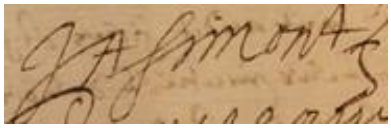
1622 - 1633: Lazare Casaux



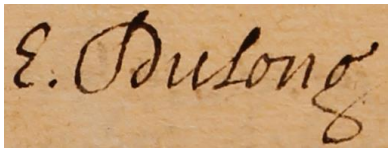
1634 -1637: Charles Daubus or D'Aubus



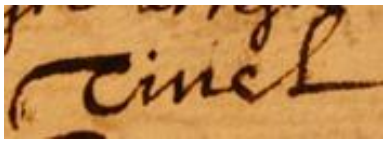
1638 - 1641: Abel Dartiques



1642 - 1645: J. Asimont

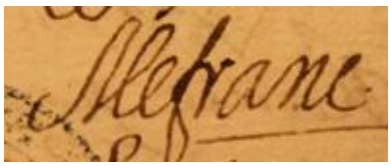


1646 - 1648: E. Dulong

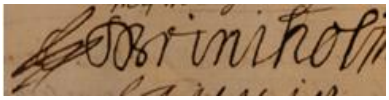


1648 - 1649: (Aaron?) Tinel

1650 - 1652: Tiffaud

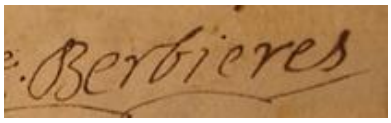


1655 - 1679: Michel Lefranc

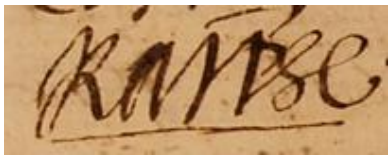


1679 - 1684: Brinihol(m)

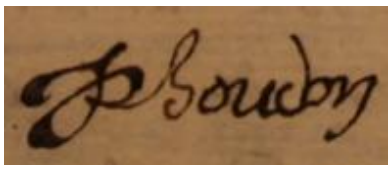
Other Influential Figures



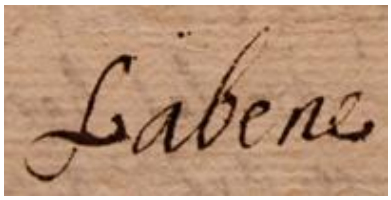
1670 - ?: Mousier de Berbières, Baron of Montagnac



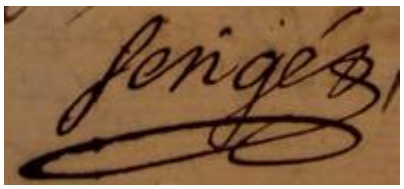
M. de Ranse, elder



Jean Boudon, elder and deacon



Joseph Labene, elder



Serige, elder

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TT/257 Dossier 11: Moussac: comptes du consistoire (1618-1626); registre du consistoire (1613-1670).

TT/268: Dossier 1: Saint-Affrique: gages du ministre (1580-1591).

TT/265: Dossier 5: Salavas: quittances, comptes, gages du ministre, édification d'un nouveau temple (1597), extraits du livre des baptêmes, mariages, décès (1584-1624).

TT/269: Dossier 19: Saint-Gervais-sur-Mare: Registre du consistoire et comptes (1564-1571).

TT/275/A: Dossier 5: Vercheny: Extraits des comptes de l'église (1579-1620).

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TT/276/A: Dossier 4:Villeneuve-de-Berg: Comptes du consistoire: recettes pour les pauvres et distribution (1597-1600) et contestations touchant les biens des pauvres de la R. P. R. suite à la déclaration royale du 13 janvier1683 (1597-1684).

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