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PIERRE DU MOULIN

From a Portrait by Thomas De Leu (1608)
PIERRE DU MOULIN (1568-1658), HUGUENOT THEOLOGIAN

A Dissertation
Presented To
The Faculty of Divinity
University of Edinburgh

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

by
Leslie Gordon Tait
May, 1955
It is surprising that there is no complete account of the life of Pierre Du Moulin in English, but it is much more surprising to find that none exists in French. Excluding three short Bachelor of Divinity theses written in France in the nineteenth century on various aspects of Pierre Du Moulin and his work, no one has given this important Huguenot any more than casual attention since 1700. One regrets that the Reformed Church of France itself has tended to focus its attention upon a few illustrious leaders in its history and to pass by some of its lesser but nevertheless important historical figures. Outside of France it is true that the French Reformed Church has too often been ignored, and its history has not drawn the attention it deserves from students of Church History.

That a study of the life of Pierre Du Moulin is needed is emphasized by a letter received from Professor Norman Sykes of the University of Cambridge. He writes, "To the best of my knowledge Pierre Du Moulin has not attracted the attention of any English biographers or historians, so that you seem to have a virgin field before you in that respect." He goes on to state that to undertake such a work on Du Moulin would be doing "a valuable service to historical studies."

It would be presumptuous to call this a comprehensive
study of Pierre Du Moulin, for the purpose of this dissertation is to write an historical account of his life. It is not an attempt, for instance, to define carefully his theological system, for a full study of his theology or other contributions which he made will have to be done on another occasion. It is an attempt to record the facts of his life in a complete fashion for the first time.

The spelling and punctuation throughout this work, with the exception of direct quotations, follow standard American usage. As for the quotations, I have purposely set them down exactly as I found them in the original language of the sources with only very slight changes in orthography, punctuation, and accents. I hope thereby to insure accuracy of statement and in the case of Du Moulin a better understanding of his speech and writing. In following this procedure with quotations 300 years old, it is inevitable that certain inconsistencies and what even might be considered today as errors in spelling, punctuation, and accenting will appear.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Librarian and Staff of each of the following: The New College Library, and The National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh; the British Museum, and Dr. Williams' Library, London; the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
I am specially indebted to my advisors, Professor J. H. S. Burleigh and Professor T. F. Torrance, for their suggestions and guidance. Very particularly I wish to thank The Reverend G. W. Bromiley for his very helpful criticism.

May, 1955. L. G. T.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. PARENTAGE AND EARLY EDUCATION, 1568-1588</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Ancestry of Pierre Du Moulin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Birth of Pierre Du Moulin</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Brothers and Sisters of Pierre Du Moulin</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Early Years of Pierre Du Moulin</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. STUDENT IN ENGLAND, 1588-1592</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Sedan to London</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>London</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Life</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The French Reformed Church in London</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. PROFESSOR IN LEYDEN, 1592-1598</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From London to Leyden</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching at Leyden</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Journey to France</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Friend at The Hague</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Philosophical Works of Pierre Du Moulin</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From Leyden to Paris</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. PASTOR AND CHURCH LEADER IN PARIS, 1599-1620</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Chaplain to Catherine</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paris in the Early Seventeenth Century</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Du Moulin Family in Paris</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visitors to the Rue Des Marais</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. Du Moulin and the Reformed Church of Paris</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churchmanship</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exiled, 1620</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. CONTROVERSIALIST IN PARIS, 1599-1620</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to the Controversies</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encounters with Roman Catholic Controversialists</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant Controversy</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du Moulin's Other Writings, 1599-1620</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. PROFESSOR AND PREACHER IN SEDAN, 1621-1654</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preacher</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. CONTROVERSIALIST IN SEDAN, 1621-1654</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du Moulin, The Author</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic Controversy</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant Controversy</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Doctrinal Summary of the Roman Catholic Controversy</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Doctrinal Summary of the Protestant Controversy</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results from the Controversies</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. VISITOR TO ENGLAND</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pre-Laudian Church</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Du Moulin's Visit of 1615</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plan of Union</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Visit of 1624</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER</td>
<td>PAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Episcopacy</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Sons of Pierre Du Moulin</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. AN APPRECIATION</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH, 1654-1658</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A</td>
<td>244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX C</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

By the time Francis I succeeded to the throne on the first day of 1515 the Church of France had achieved unprecedented wealth and power, and it had reached such a state of corruption that nearly all enlightened men were agreed as to the need for reform. The situation was dominated by the fact that Francis I had made in 1516 a Concordat with Rome whereby certain papal rights were recognized and by which he secured for himself all valuable ecclesiastical patronage. With the clergy thus rendered subservient no motive remained for the crown to desire reform.

Others did desire it. While it was Guillaume Briçonnet who set out to do the practical work of reforming the Church, it was Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (Faber Stapulensis), more than any other, who was the moving spirit in the reformatory movement in France. By 1512 he had published a new annotated Latin version of Paul's Epistles, recognizing his doctrine of justification. In 1520 he was invited to go to Meaux, but the group which gathered there with him did little more than begin to reform that diocese before opposition was manifested and the Meaux preachers had to flee. Nevertheless, the Reformation had begun and it continued to spread. Any hopes for reconciliation between the rising Protestantism and the Church were shattered by the rashness of some of the
more eager reformers in the incident of the Placards, October 18, 1534.

In 1536 Lefèvre d'Etaples died, and in the same year John Calvin produced his *Christianae religionis institutio*. Thus, he donned the mantle laid aside by Lefèvre d'Etaples, and became the leader of the French Protestants. As the French Reformation entered its Calvinistic phase, a policy of intolerance and persecution was adopted, and it was seldom abandoned during the remainder of the century no matter who was on the throne.

Such a policy did not prevent the spread of the Reformed principles and a steady increase in the number of congregations. Protestantism grew numerically and in importance. In 1555 the first Protestant Church was organized in Paris, though previously unsuccessful organizational attempts had been made elsewhere, and four years later the first synod, representing twelve congregations met in Paris and organized a national Protestant Church.

From 1560 onwards the French Protestants were called **Huguenots**. The exact derivation of this nickname is not known, but it may have come from the Swiss-German *Eidgenossen*, which was the name given in Geneva to the party of freedom when the authority of the bishop and the duke was overthrown.

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1 The words Protestant and Protestantism are used in this work with the full knowledge that they were not in usage in France until the close of the seventeenth century. In Germany, however, the word Protestant was in vogue from the Diet of Spires (1529) onwards. The name Huguenot, for the purposes of this study, is taken to mean one of the members of the Reformed or Calvinistic communion in France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
Others have traced the origin to Tours where Protestants used to assemble by night near the gate of King Hugo.

With the accession of Francis II a few weeks after the first synod meeting, the family of the Guises came to power and steadily opposed the new religion. Protestantism by this time had become political as well as religious, and men such as Admiral Coligny and the Dukes of Bourbon and Condé were openly championing the Protestant cause. For a moment, at Colloquy of Poissy in October, 1561, where Théodore de Bèze played an important part, it seemed as though a modus vivendi would be established between Huguenot and Catholic. The attempt failed, and the weak Edict of January, 1562, was only a prelude to civil war.

For the next forty years France was torn by one civil war after another. Neither the Huguenot nor the Catholic party was strong enough to crush the other, and on occasion foreign troops were invited in giving a European cast to these wars. It was in this environment of bitter and devastating warfare that Pierre Du Moulin was born and lived his first twenty years. These were the years of bloodshed and massacre (St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572), of the Counter-Reformation and the rising power of the Jesuits, and of the development of the Huguenot party until there appeared a state within the State, independent of the crown. Philip II was King of Spain, Elizabeth ruled England, the Netherlands were occupied in throwing
off the burden of Spanish rule. The intrigue, the negotiations, and the alliances of these few decades are so numerous and involved that the whole political history becomes extremely complex.

French humanism acquired a decidedly Italian complexion about the time of Henry II, and likewise a change took place in its character. Instead of being encyclopaedic, it began to specialize, philology and jurisprudence taking the lead. The golden age of French philology and jurisprudence was from 1547 to 1572, and French literature also received a strong and lasting impulse during this quarter of a century. But, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew dealt a blow to French Humanism from which it never quite recovered. Ramus and Lambinus perished, Doneau and Hotman fled, as did Scaliger and others. Although both Huguenots and Catholics shared in furnishing France with distinguished writers and thinkers (men such as Isaac Casaubon, Agrippa d'Aubigné, Du Plessis-Mornay for the Protestants, and Philippe Desportes, J. A. de Thou, and Pierre de Bourdeilles for the Catholics), a man who was trusted by the leaders of both parties was the outstanding literary figure of the latter part of the sixteenth century - Michel de Montaigne. His death in 1592 marked the end of the French Renaissance.

Henry IV had become a Catholic on July 25, 1593, and by March, 1594, the League had been disunited and defeated. So it was, that the Huguenots after forty years of strife obtained from
Henry the Edict of Nantes in 1598, destined to continue for eighty-seven years. Though born and reared in the days of the Wars of Religion, Pierre Du Moulin's productive life was to come under the relatively peaceful conditions established by the Edict.

Henry IV never got the chance to complete his great work. He was assassinated by Ravaillac on May 14, 1610. During the minority of his son, Louis XIII, the tendency to absolute royal power increased, and the Jesuits returned and gained influence. The Huguenots were frightened into revolt in 1624 when Richelieu became chief minister. Four years later La Rochelle had been captured, and the separate political existence of the Protestants ended. From 1629 onwards, French Protestants were merely tolerated as inferiors, there was no guarantee that the Edict of Nantes would be observed and frequently it was not, and there was a steady defection of Protestant nobles, the Huguenot party becoming more middle class.

Richelieu was an avowed enemy of the Protestant cause, but for various reasons, chiefly political, he treated the Protestants fairly. To the growing influence of Jansenist opinions he was less kindly disposed, but the toleration which he accorded to the Protestant subjects of the realm was real and the hostility of the Catholic population was kept in bounds. Mazarin, too, gave the Protestants fair play, so that in the troublous days of
the Fronde they were loyal. Under both Richelieu and Mazarin they proved to be industrious workers, devoting themselves to manufacture and trade, mainly of textiles. Under the Edict several hundred places of worship were maintained and the synods met freely. These days of comparative freedom and tranquility ended when Louis XIV assumed power at the death of Mazarin in 1661.

At the time of the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes France presented in the world of thought a disordered and confused scene. Education was still wholly scholastic, but the philosophy of Aristotle was being rejected and philology was in its decadence. Learning was drawing fewer enthusiasts than during the sixteenth century.

In matters religious anxiety prevailed as well. On the surface it seemed as though it had to be a simple choice between the Roman Catholic Church and the Reformed, but there was more to it than that. There was the struggle between faith and reason which was opposed to the scholastic point of view and which perturbed all thoughtful men of the times. Again, the Reformation had reawakened the craving for a personal and living way of belief and thought, and this trend had not been confined to the Protestants. This was clearly seen in the founding of the Society of Jesus with the object of awakening in men's souls, by means of suitable exercises, the Christian faith. Further, side by side with philosophy and theology, a new power was
developing which would claim a share in the guidance of the mind of man - the science of nature. Finally, there were the Free Thinkers, those frivolous, impatient men who lived according to individual inspiration and who were motivated by Montaigne.

From this nearly chaotic state in the world of thought where antagonistic elements were battling against one another, there was a very different age to be announced. As Richelieu re-established in society the principle of order and authority, it was natural that a similar change should take place in the intellectual atmosphere. The French Academy was founded in 1635, Corneille's Cid appeared in 1636, but even before this time René Descartes, whose work, severely methodical, was the complete realization of the thought of his epoch, had begun to compose his great treatises. He was accompanied and followed by two other no less brilliant men - Gassendi and Pascal.

The sixteenth century has been styled the Age of Persecution while the seventeenth has been called the Age of Controversy. In most of Europe there were the two great camps, Protestant and Roman Catholic, locked in battle, a battle of words, for the souls of men. Everywhere, especially in France and particularly in Paris, all sorts of people were ready to engage in controversy at any time or place. There were the spontaneous, personal encounters; there were the unofficial debates by larger groups; but of far greater interest and
importance were the grand contests between the champions, between theologians like Du Plessis-Mornay and Du Perron or Du Moulin and Coeffeteau. It was as if controversy was the guiding attitude of life, for there was no harmony within the two great camps themselves.

In Protestantism, the great theological period was the latter part of the sixteenth century and the major part of the seventeenth. It was the period of Protestant scholasticism, and there was little new in it. The theology had its roots in the Middle Ages, and it was more barren and narrower than the theology of the Middle Ages. While the medieval schoolmen had brought the whole of human knowledge under the dominion of religion, the seventeenth century theologians confined themselves strictly to the spheres of theology and took very little account of the new science and forms of thought which were making headway in the world.

The conditions in the Reformed Churches were much the same as in the Lutheran, but there were some different tendencies among the Reformed. The chief of these was the doctrine of predestination, around which raged so much controversy. In 1610 came the Remonstrance and in 1618 the Synod of Dort with the defeat of the Arminians. The high Calvinism formulated at the Synod of Dort prevailed almost unquestioned in Holland, France Switzerland, Scotland and the other Reformed countries for some generations. In France itself, efforts were made by some
theologians to render the Calvinistic system less offensive and more comprehensible, and conversely by others, to maintain it in its purity. Daniel Chamier, André Rivet, and Pierre Du Moulin were among those who maintained a rigid orthodoxy, whereas such man as John Cameron, Moïse Amyraut, Daniel Tilenus, and Paul Testard taught doctrines which were a kind of compromise or transition between Calvinism and Arminianism.

Precisely what was the nature and extent of the activity of Pierre Du Moulin in the Huguenot Church life and in the great theological controversies during the first half of the seventeenth century will be seen in the course of this treatment of his life.
CHAPTER ONE

PARENTAGE AND EARLY EDUCATION, 1568-1588

1. The Ancestry of Pierre Du Moulin

Pierre Du Moulin, like many pastors of his period, came of noble blood. The family of Du Moulin (or Du Molin) is one of the old noble families of France, for the most part coming from that region known as the Ile-de-France. As one reads in La France Protestante, this family "a fourni à l'Eglise catholique plusieurs hauts dignitaires et à l'Eglise protestante une suite d'écrivains éminents."¹

The coat of arms consists of a blue background with a black cross (croix ancrée) as the principal figure. At the center of the cross is a golden shell.² It is very probable that this cross originally was the four wings of a windmill.

The sources which concern themselves with the genealogy of this family generally trace the lineage to a Denis Du Moulin, an Archbishop of Toulouse, who entered the Church after the death of his wife, Marie de Courtenay, a princess of royal blood:

Gens Molinaea à Dionysio de Molendino originem traxit, qui à Rege Carolo VI maximus regni negotiis admotus, ex uxore Maria Courtenaya Regii sanguinis femina filium Johannem suscepit, & ea defuncta ad Ecclesiasticas dignitates promotus, factus est Archiepiscopus Tolosanus, mox Episcopus Parisiensis, Cardinalis etiam, & nomine tenus

Patriarcha Antiochenus: mortem obiit Lutetiae an. 1447 & ad dextram latus Altarum, Cathedrales Ecclesiae sepultus jacet.¹

However, there has been preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, a "Table généalogique de la Maison du Moulin,"² and in this table Denis Du Moulin is recorded, but the line is traced even further, to one Roger Du Moulin, killed in 1187 in a battle against the Saracens.

There were two branches of the Du Moulin family which embraced the Reformation, that of Lorme-Grigny (Grenier) which is recorded in the "Table généalogique," and that of Mignaux. It is enough to say about the Mignaux branch that Charles Du Moulin (1500-1566), the celebrated jurist, was the most eminent of the descendents. He was a master of the "Droit Coutumier," the law which is based on local usage. In renown he certainly vied with Cujas, but unlike Cujas, he took an active part in the political and religious disputes of the day. Especially is he noted for his opposition to the decrees of the Council of Trent. But to what degree Charles Du Moulin was related to Pierre Du Moulin is difficult to determine.

The first Joachim Du Moulin, the grandfather of Pierre Du Moulin, was married to a Jeanne de Souville (or de Houville, or Douville), and his great-grandson, the son of Pierre Du Moulin, has reported\(^1\) that he died about 1540 as a Catholic,\(^2\) leaving two children, a son of the same name, Joachim, born 1538 at Orléans, and a daughter. He also left a considerable estate. His widow sent this son, who was to be the father of Pierre Du Moulin, to Paris to be educated, and while there he came under the influence of a Protestant schoolmaster, becoming well grounded in the principles of the Reformed faith. Returning home, he persisted in his convictions, became a Reformed minister, and was eventually disinherited by his mother at her death in 1569\(^3\) because of her violent hatred of the Reformation, the whole of the estate going to his sister.

The disinherita
c
ce by his mother was only one of the misfortunes that came to Joachim Du Moulin during his troubled and distraught life. The Protestant Churches in France until the Edict of Nantes were very insecure; pastors were not able to hold long pastorates and changes were frequent. Henc\(\text{e}^e\), as a pastor during the Wars of Religion he was chased from one town to another, never at peace. His life seemed to be a hectic cycle.

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2 The date of his death is given as 1573 in the "Table généalogique," Appendix A, but 1540 seems much more probable.

For a short time he would be a minister in one place; then flight from approaching adversaries; in hiding; finally refuge; then perhaps to take a pastorate in another locality until forced to move again. He was always poor, sometimes sick, never certain of his own or his family's safety. And, his lot was not strikingly different from that of most Huguenot pastors of this epoch.

Joachim Du Moulin was already a minister in 1564 when he married Françoise Gabet, the daughter of Innocent Gabet, a royal judge; she was a widow as well, having been married to a minister named Jacques Du Plessis.

L'An 1564, le 24 Avril, Joachim du Moulin, mon père, Ministre de la parole de Dieu, épousa en l'Eglise d'Orléans, Demoiselle Françoise Gabet, veuve de Jacques Du Plessis, Ministre de l'Eglise de [ ] fille d'Innocent Gabet, juge pour le Roy, à Vienne, en Dauphine, tué pour la Religion, peu après le massacre de la Saint-Barthélemy, en l'an 1572, le 24 d'Aoust.1

His first charge was a church in a tiny hamlet called Mouy, and he was there until 1568 when the third war forced him to seek asylum at the Château de Buhy, in Vexin.2 Monsieur de Buhy, a Protestant, was the eldest brother of the famous Du Plessis-Mornay.

II. The Birth of Pierre Du Moulin

Joachim Du Moulin, with his two young children,3 aged three and one, and a wife who was expecting, arrived at the Château de Buhy on September 25, 1568, fleeing from persecution. Less than a week later Charles IX put his signature to two extremely

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1 The Autobiography, p. 1. This page shows some damage.
2 Near Mantes.
3 Esther and Joachim, Vide infra, pp. 6f.
oppressive laws which repealed all previous edicts of toleration, forbade in France any exercise of Reformed worship whatsoever, and ordered all Protestant ministers to leave the kingdom within a fortnight's time. Less than a month from the time the Du Moulin family came to their place of refuge, in the confines between Normandy and the Ile-de-France, Pierre Du Moulin was born. The circumstances leading up to and surrounding his birth seemed to portend the life he was to lead, a life of conflicts, dangers, persecutions, and hardships.

Pierre Du Moulin himself relates that he was born at the Château de Buhy on October 16, 1568,¹ at nine o'clock in the morning, and that he was subsequently presented for baptism by Monsieur de Buhy and was baptized by Monsieur Viault (Du Buisson).²

According to Bates, his birth took place in the same room in which

¹ All sources agree that the birth was in October, 1568, but not all have fixed on the same day. The Autobiography states October 16th, as well as Henri Bordier, La France Protestante, 2nd edition. Against these stand Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, John Quick, William Bates, and E. and E. Haag, La France Protestante, 1st edition, all of whom give October 18th. There is no explanation given in the second edition of La France Protestante for changing the date to the 16th. To further complicate the problem, Freher introduces another date - October 8th. This, no doubt, is the date, old style, and if one adds the necessary ten days in accounting for the calendar change, one gets the 18th again. Even granting that the confusion is due, or partially so, to the fault of a careless copyist some time, it may never be possible to decide which date is correct - the 16th or the 18th of October.

Du Plessis-Mornay was born almost twenty years previously.¹

So began a life which was to extend into the next century and even beyond the first half of it, ninety years in all. It was to be a remarkably full life, a life which shaped events and which itself was to bear the marks of history's creative hands. It was a life dedicated to God, and a life which had as its heritage the Reformation. By 1568, the year of Pierre Du Moulin's birth, Calvin had been dead only four years and Beza had taken up and would continue the work in Geneva for the better part of three more decades. Five years had elapsed since the close of the Council of Trent, and just over half a century had gone by since Luther had placed his theses on the church door in Wittenburg. Four more years were to pass by before the dreadful Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, and exactly thirty more years before the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes.

III. The Brothers and Sisters of Pierre Du Moulin

Pierre was the third oldest in his family. Other children in the family of Joachim Du Moulin included two brothers and one sister, and, as far as is known, two step-brothers and one step-sister.² The first wife of Joachim Du Moulin, Françoise Gabet, bore him four children:

1. Esther, born June 10, 1565, who married George Guillebert of Caen, was widowed and re-married on June 18, 1595. Her second

² H. Bordier, La France Protestante, op. cit., V., 799-800.
husband was the minister of Rouen, René Bochart (Sieur du Ménillette). She died at Caen, March 12, 1641. A son of her second marriage was another famous Huguenot minister, Samuel Bochart.

2. **Joachim**, born February 27, 1567, and while still a student, at the age of seventeen, was drowned. "L'an 1583 Monsieur Du Geay.... obtint à mon frère Joacim une place de Collégiat au Collège d'Orthès, dont ayant jouy l'espace d'un an, il se noya en la Rivière du Gavre qui passe pres d'Orthès."¹

3. **Eleazar**, born December 3, 1570. After leaving school, he was fighting with the troops "commandées par Monsieur de la Nouë bras de fer."² In 1588, after being captured, he was put to death by being buried alive.

4. **Pierre**.

From Joachim Du Moulin's second marriage, with Guillemette d'Aurigny, lasting from 1573 until 1609 when she died, there came several children. Those known are:

1. **Marie**, born in 1574, married 1593 a Captain Antoine des Guyots of a Picardy regiment, who was killed, August 30, 1597 at the siege of Amiens. She then married the illustrious minister and professor André Rivet, was widowed again, and went to Delft to live. She was still living in 1654.

2. **Jean**.

¹ The Autobiography, p. 7.
² Ibid., François de la Nouë was a valiant Huguenot leader on the battlefield and off. He died in 1591.
3. **Suzanne.** She married Germain Le Heriot, "Sieur du Gast," later was widowed, too.\(^1\)

4. **Daniel.** He married an Anne de Lacoste, April 10, 1605, and he was still living in Montauban in 1632.

IV. **The Early Years of Pierre Du Moulin**

A. **The Du Moulin Family After 1568.** In 1569, as the troubles and persecutions for the Huguenots grew, Pierre's father sent his wife and two of the children, Esther and Joachim, to Saint-Just where they would be safe, put Pierre to be nursed in the care of the wife of a game-warden ("la femme d'un Garennier")\(^2\) at Buhy, and he alone fled to Sedan. Soon he was able to send for his wife and the two children, but Pierre was left at Buhy until he could later join his parents and brother and sister at Coeuvres. After the Peace of St. Germain was signed in August 1570, marking the end of the third war, Joachim Du Moulin became pastor of the Church of Soissons at Coeuvres, the abode of the Duke of Estrées. At Coeuvres then, the family was re-united, and was able to spend a comparatively peaceful life for two years.

But when as in ye yeare 1572. Hell was brake loose upon ye poor Protestants of France, & all ye Infernall Furys ravaged that Kingdome, & exercized their diabolicall crueltys in bloods, murders, & massacres, in all places (where the Bigotted, frantick Papists had gotten power of domination) upon God's pretious saints, ...\(^3\)

Such was the way John Quick described St. Bartholomew's Day in

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\(^2\) The Autobiography, p. 2.

France, August 24, 1572.

What happened to the Du Moulin family on that fateful day can best be told in the words of Pierre Du Moulin's *Autobiography*:

Le 24e jour d'aoûst, avoit lieu le Massacre des fidèles par tout le Royaume de France. Mon père estoit à Coeuvres, et avoit la fièvre quarte, et estoit sans argent. Ma mère et tous leurs enfans estoient malades. Monsieur d'Estrees changea de Religion et chassa mon père de Coeuvres, au lieu de le secourir. En cette nécessité, il cachó ses enfans en la maison d'une femme nommée Ruffine, de contraire Religion, mais qui nous amoit.... Mon père et ma mère se sauverent à Muret, qui appartenoit au prince de Condé, à quatre lieues dudit village de Coeuvres.

The place of safety for the children which Joachim Du Moulin had chosen proved to be an excellent and a deceptive one, the home of the former servant, Ruffine (or Ruffina). She resided outside the village of Coeuvres, a quarter of a league distant.2 Nevertheless, this was to be no guarantee that Pierre and his brothers and sister were going to be safe from the threat of death. The "massacreurs," possibly suspicious, came to the old woman's house in their search for Protestants. Ruffine, the faithful and loyal servant to the Du Moulin family that she was, felt no sympathy with the cause of her co-religionists, and she saved the lives of the children by what would seem to a modern age a very crude piece of quick thinking. She concealed the children in the straw in the lower part of one of the large beds, laying a featherbed and a blanket over them. She had scarcely finished when the men entered the house and began to search it. They never

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1 Pp. 3 ff.
2 Perhaps three-quarters of a mile.
looked in nor under the bed. Pierre, not yet four years old, doubtlessly frightened by this rude treatment and the commotion caused by the soldiers and having difficulty in breathing, began to cry. His sister, Esther, now seven years of age, recognizing the extreme danger they were in, promptly put her hand in his mouth. Meanwhile, Ruffine, in order to divert the attention of the men from any noise or struggle in the bed, in the words of John Quick, "fell a takeing down ye brasse & pewter vessells from ye shelves, & pretending to skowre them, jumbling them to­gether, made so great a noise by her own clamorous scoulding at her work."¹ Unable to find the children and put off by the behavior of Ruffine, the would-be murderers departed. As soon as they had gone, she ran to the bed to see what had become of the children. They were none the worse for the incident except Esther had done her task so thoroughly that Pierre had almost suffocated from having his breath cut off. It was not serious, and he soon recovered. The children remained with this beloved and trusted servant woman until their parents sent for them.²

While at Muret the parents of Pierre learned of the departure of the Duke of Bouillon from the Court and that he would be passing through the region on his journey to Sedan. Du Moulin presented himself to the Duke and obtained permission to join the Duke's party. Very shortly after the arrival of the Du Moulin family

² This St. Bartholomew's Day narrative is related by almost all the authorities who have written in detail on the life of Du Moulin.
in Sedan early in the year 1573 the wife of Joachim Du Moulin died. Her son, Pierre, in later years wrote of his mother, "C' estoit une femme vertueuse et courageuse, et craignant Dieu, qui a souffert beaucoup de maux pour la parole de Dieu."\(^1\)

Finding it arduous to care for four children, Joachim Du Moulin re-married in the following June, his second wife being Guillemette d'Aurigny, belonging to the family of Anserville, a Lorraine family of noble blood.

In 1576 he became minister of the Soissons Church again, located no longer at Coeuvres but at Saint-Pierrelles. He held this charge for the next few years, but on several occasions he had to leave the Church and find refuge in Sedan. Not too much is known about him until he became the minister at Orléans, but it is conceivable that the reference dated March 30, 1584 in De L'Estoile's *Journal* may be to Joachim Du Moulin:

> Le jour du Vendredi Saint, par l'indication de l'abbé de Sainte-Geneviève au mont de Paris, en une maison à lui appartenant, contiguë de l'abbaye sise devant le collège de Montaigu, furent pris prisonniers et menés en la concéderie du Palais, un ministre nommé Du Moulin, un pédagogue et ses écoliers, et quelques autres huguenots, qui s'étaient là assemblés pour faire la cène ou quelque autre exercice de leur religion, jusqu'au nombre de vingt ou vingt-cinq au plus: dont le roi averti et même en ayant commandé l'emprisonnement, leur fit faire leur procès, tellement que par arrêt de la cour, du 14 avril ensuivant, le ministre et le pédagogue furent bannis à perpétuité de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris et du royaume de France pour 9 ans.

Of Joachim Du Moulin's later life certain facts are acknowledged. In 1595 he journeyed to Orléans to attend a meeting held

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for the purpose of planning the re-establishment of the Reformed Church there. He preached for the congregation, and they asked him to become their pastor. He accepted, and was the minister of this Church, located at Jargeau, until 1615 when he retired.

Of the end of his life, his son, Pierre, gives the following facts:

En l'Année 1615, le 25 juin, le Synode de la province de Berry et Orléans s'assembla à Jargeau, où mon père, à cause de son grand âge, qui estoit de 77 ans, et de la pierre, dont il estoit travaillé, fut deschargé du ministère, et lui furent ordonnées 400 livres pour son entretien par an; j'y ajouté 200 livres. Il se retira à Saumur, où au bout de trois ans il mourut suffoqué d'un catharre. C'estoit un fidèle Serviteur de Dieu, homme prudent, paisible, patient, et d'une conversation agréable, preschant avec grâce, ayant beaucoup souffert pour la parole. Il estoit âgé de 80 ans.¹

The rumor was circulated by the Catholics in an attempt to malign the character of both Pierre Du Moulin and his father that Joachim Du Moulin had formerly been a monk, then was converted and married.² Both Pierre and his son, Pierre, The Younger, state that even if such were the case it would be no stain on their family or background. Pierre himself treats this matter in his Nouveauté du Papisme when he writes by way of refutation:

Que si mon père eust esté de ce nombre, je ne le tiendrois point à reproche, & ne penserois point que cela ternist aucune­ment l'honneur de mon Ministère. Mais ceux qui ont forgé ce mensonge devoient attendre ma mort, afin de mentir avec plus de liberté: & devoient specifier de quel monastère mon père a esté moine, & quand il en est sorti. Chose qui ne se trouvera point. Car ayant esté appelé à la cognoissance de Dieu dés sa première jeunesse, il s'est consacré au saint Ministère,

¹ The Autobiography, p. 39.
auquel il a servi en toute fidélité jusqu'au bout de la course. Sa vie sainte, sa conversation honorable, son courage, ses afflictions continues qu'il a portée pour la parole de Dieu, son zèle ardent, sa vigilance en sa vocation, son humeur agréable & affable qu'il assaissonnoit d'une honnête gravité, estoient autant esloignez de l'air du monastère, que le ciel est loing de la terre, ou la Messe de l'Evangile. Sa famille & sa vie cognue à Orléans, dont il estoit issu par ceux de l'une & de l'autre religion démentent assés ceste fable.¹

After recounting the St. Bartholomew's Day experiences, Pierre Du Moulin is relatively silent in his Autobiography about his childhood and adolescence, but one can suppose that the years of his boyhood were not the happiest for the young lad and that he grew up in an environment which was not at all times ideal. The family had only been together a short time in 1573 when Pierre's mother died. He was without a mother for a time; then he acquired a step-mother, later step-brothers and step-sisters. The family was required to move from time to time, and no one place could be called home. At best, it was a precarious life for a Huguenot pastor's family in those years. At ten years of age he had to leave home to begin his education at Sedan, his father having taken the position of minister of the Soissons Church again.² At fifteen, Pierre lost his oldest brother, Joachim, when he was drowned.³ At twenty, his other brother, Eleazar, died a cruel death when he was eighteen years old.⁴ Thus, from a very early age Pierre Du Moulin underwent those experiences

¹ Pierre Du Moulin, Nouveaute du papisme opposée à l'antiquité du vray christianisme (Sedan: Jean Jannon, 1627), p. 627.
² Vide supra, p.18.
³ Vide supra, p. 7.
⁴ Vide supra, p. 7.
and endured those sufferings and hardships which gave birth to an intensely religious life and a brave, dauntless spirit.

He has left two incidents from his youth which made enough of an impact on his memory that he could recall them years later.¹ The one comes from the year 1575 when he would be about seven years old, and he describes the event with clarity of detail. One day, his father was out walking in the open country some distance from Sedan, accompanied by "Monsieur Cappel."² Little Pierre was with them, and in the course of the afternoon he strayed and became separated from them. Pierre's father and Monsieur Cappel re-entered the town, probably assuming that the boy would follow just behind them. As it was, the lad had become lost, and when night fell he was still out in the open country. It was a time, he wrote later, "auquel les loups couroient et faisoient beaucoup de mal." Growing tired from his aimless wandering to find his way, he lay down in the fields and was there until about two o'clock in the morning. In the moonlight he saw two men at a distance and ran to meet them. They had been out searching for him, and led him home without delay where everyone was in tears, imagining that he had been eaten by the wolves and would never be seen again.

The other event occurred on a hot day in July, 1584. Pierre's father and some other ministers had come to Sedan for the sake of

¹ The Autobiography, pp. 5 f, 8.
² This "Monsieur Cappel" would be Jacques Cappel (1525-1586), French jurist, who had been a Councillor to the Parliament at Rennes for five years, made to resign because he became a Protestant, and on St. Bartholomew's Day found refuge in Sedan. He would be the father of Jacques Cappel, fellow student of Pierre Du Moulin in the College of Sedan. Vide infra, p. 18.
safety, and on this certain afternoon they were swimming in the river. It was about five o'clock. Pierre was with the group and was trying to learn to swim, when suddenly, he lost his footing and was swept into the deeper water by the river's current. As he was carried downstream by the swiftly moving water, vain efforts were made to save him, but no one present was a strong enough swimmer to be successful. It looked like certain death for the boy of fifteen, because he would certainly be injured and drowned when he reached the wheels of the water-mill downstream. All hope seemed gone. However, no one had counted on the almost miraculous appearance of a man further along the river bank who quickly undressed and with strong strokes reached Pierre and saved him before it was too late.

B. Early Education at Sedan. When the Du Moulin family went to live at Sedan they were only one of many Huguenot families who were taking up residence in this little principality bordering on the Meuse. From a tiny village belonging to the monks of Mouzon in the thirteenth century, it had become a flourishing town and was in its age of glory during the latter part of the sixteenth century and the greater part of the seventeenth. Sedan had been united to France by Charles V and ceded by Charles VI to Guillaume de Braquemont, whose son sold it to his brother-in-law, Evrard III de la Marck, in 1424. It was thereafter held by

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1 The river Meuse on whose banks Sedan is situated.
2 It is interesting to note that Sedan was only one of several free principalities in this period, and that it did not become part of France until 1642. Other such small Protestant states were Bearn, Orange, Montbeliard, Strasbourg, and Metz. It was only a question of time before they were all absorbed by France.
the de la Marck family for two centuries. Robert I de la Marck, who died in 1489, acquired Bouillon, and the title of the lord of Sedan became Duke of Bouillon. Sedan, whose lords remained loyal to the French crown, was linked with France until the Wars of Religion. Under Robert IV de la Marck (d. 1556), Sedan became a Protestant refuge when this ruler became a Protestant. On his own authority he erected Sedan into an independent principality.

In the sixteenth century the Huguenot refugees laid the foundation for its prosperity, the making of cloth becoming the principal industry. Even today the municipality has a school of weaving and one of the chief industries is the manufacture of woollen goods. The Golden Age of intellectual, industrial, and commercial prosperity continued until the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Today, if one were to visit Sedan which saw fighting in the Franco-German War (1870) and in both World Wars, one would find a town of 13,514 (1946) placed in a valley encircled by slowly rising hillsides and built around a loop in the Meuse river. The fortified wall has disappeared, although remains of the Château built in the fifteenth century are incorporated in the Citadel.\(^1\) Sedan is famous as the birthplace of Marshall Turenne, who was born there in 1611, but Sedan is also known for its College and Academy which was a famous center of Huguenot learning until 1685 when it was abolished at the time of the Revocation.

When about ten years old, Pierre Du Moulin began his formal

education. As he writes in his Autobiography: 1

Ce fut Lors [1577] la fondation du Collège de Sedan. 2
Monsieur Berchet fut esleu principal du collège.
L'an 1578, incontinent après Pasques, mon père retourna
en son Eglise de Saint-Pierrelles, accompagné de Monsieur
Burlamachi, Italien. Peu après, il fist un tour à Sedan
pour voir sa famille, et mit ses trois fils, Joacim, Pierre
et Eleazar, en pension chez Monsieur Jean de Vesle, quatrième
Régent du Collège. 3 Il est demeuré paisible à Saint-Pierrelles
jusqu'en l'Année 1580, en laquelle M. le prince de Condé se
saisit de La Fère, dont recommencèrent les troubles, qui re-
chassèrent mon père à Sedan. Peu après, il retourna à Saint-
Pierrelles et nous mit en pension chez Monsieur LeFort, Second
Régent.

The College of Sedan was only one of several Protestant
colleges and academies which sprang up at this time in France to
care for the education of Protestant children and youth. 4 It
was only a "collège classique" at its inception, becoming a full-
fledged academy in 1602. Toussaint Berchet, the first principal
of the college, was known as a humanist and a scholar of merit.
His life is little known, but Mellon writes several pages about
his work at Sedan. 5

The faculty of the college was made up of a principal and
several masters, known as regents. The course of study was divi-
ded into six forms or grades, and it was a definite, classical
curriculum that was studied. The pupils were expected to be able

1 Pp. 6 f.
2 Bourchenin makes the claim that the College of Sedan was not opened
before 1579, but Mellon, aware that some sources state a date as
early as 1576 and others as late as 1579, affirms the date 1578
and submits evidence that the school was in existence by then.
Du Moulin's date of 1577 seems entirely probable. Cf. P. D.
Bourchenin, Etude sur les académies protestantes (Paris: Grassart,
Fischbacher, 1913), pp. 16 f.
4 Others were Nimes, Orthez and Orange, Montpellier, Saumur, Die,
Montauban, and Puylaurens.
to read and write before being admitted, and they began in the sixth class with Latin. They had mastered the Greek and Latin authors by the time they had finished the first class, and they had also studied rhetoric, declamation, dialectic, composition, prose and verse. This kind of schooling with its study of ancient writers and its emphasis on public speaking, disputation, writing, and language mastery was excellent preparation for the great discussions in public which were to come in later life for many of the students.

Classes, always opened with prayer, were long, and began early and ended late by present day standards. Religious services were numerous, the Scriptures were taught and preached and not only on Sundays, and the catechism studied. It was a vigorous discipline that was maintained throughout, and even if the rules had permitted much freedom to the student the heavy burden of studies would have prohibited it.¹

How did Pierre fare for ten years in this atmosphere? What standard of perfection did he reach in his preparation for later study and work? As was the custom in the schools then, prizes were awarded for excellence in scholastic work. Bates writes that Pierre Du Moulin was rivalled by Jacobus Capellus (Jacques Cappel)²

² The son of Jacques Cappel (1525-1586). Vide supra, p. 14. Jacques Cappel, The Third, was born in 1570, died 1624. After completing his education at Sedan he became a pastor, established a church at Tilloy and served it for a time. He spent the latter part of his life as pastor and professor of Hebrew at Sedan. His brother, Louis (1585-1658), was perhaps even more illustrious. Cf. the article, "Cappel" in Larousse, Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe siècle (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1865), IX, 224; also H. Bordier, La France Protestante, op. cit., III, 720 ff.
for the first honors upon graduation from the first class. The former received the first prize and the latter the second:

Inde Sedanum, ubi Petrus Molinaeus literarum rudimenta auspiciatus est. Condiscipulum habuit Jacobum Capelleum, virum cui litterae plurimum debent. Ambo simul cum laude Collegio egressi. Molinaeus primo praemio donatus, Capellus secundo.¹

¹ W. Bates, op. cit., p. 698.
CHAPTER TWO

STUDENT IN ENGLAND, 1588-1592

I. From Sedan to London

March, 1588, found the Du Moulin family in dire straits. Joachim Du Moulin was ill, there were all too many mouths to feed, and money was wanting. In fact, Pierre has said that they were in a state of extreme poverty. It is small wonder then, that his father summoned him to his bedside and spoke to him about his future, telling him that he was unable to keep him any longer:

Mon fils, je me voy à telle nécessité que je ne puis te nourrir et entretenir. C'est pourquoy il faut que tu cherches moyen de gaigner ta vie. Quant Dieu m'aura remis en pleine Santé je fais estat de faire un voyage à Paris, où quelque argent m'est deu, lequel, si je puis recevoir, je le rapporteray en cette ville pour Subvenir à ma famille. Je te meneray à Paris; là tu chercheras condition pour gaigner ta vie.\(^1\)

This announcement, Pierre confesses, cut him to the quick, and he hurriedly left his father's bedroom, looking for a quiet place where he could think and pray. Perhaps it was fear at having to leave home and earn his living in a hostile world, or perhaps it was sorrow at having to leave the family he loved, but whatever it was, tears flowed while he prayed.\(^2\) Soon after, he returned to his father and said to him, "Ne vous mettez point

\(^1\) The Autobiography, p. 8.
\(^2\) "...je priay Dieu avec beaucoup de larmes." Ibid., p. 9.
If there is a hint of reproach to his father here, there is no evidence to substantiate it, so the statement can be taken to mean that the son fully appreciated the family's plight; and in faith, at the age of twenty, was ready to leave his home and make his way alone.

When Joachim Du Moulin had recovered from the illness which had laid him low, he and his son set out to go to Paris where he was to collect the sum of money due him. It was a dangerous time to leave Sedan, for the Duke of Guise had spread his troops around Sedan, but father and son, traveling by night, got through in safety and after a rugged trip arrived in Paris. This journey was no simple undertaking when one recalls the times, remembers that it was a trip of at least 130 miles, and that, while Joachim Du Moulin was mounted, his son was not, enduring all the discomforts caused by wearing bad shoes in the midst of the spring thaw — "J' estois à pied, et avois de mauvais Souliers, durs, et faisoit un grand dégel." Upon reaching the capital, his father put him "en pension" with a M. Goger, and then undertook to settle his financial affairs. He received 800 ecus, and placing part of it in the care of a Monsieur de Cussi-Rémond, a friend, he took the remainder to Sedan with him. He had hardly reached home when he learned of the imprisonment of Monsieur Rémond. This caused

1 Loc. cit.
2 Loc. cit.
3 An ecu is a crown, then worth about three francs.
him to remount and ride to Paris again. It is not known if he was able to save his funds or not, but after some time he was ready once again to leave the city.

Now it was not easy. The gates of the city were carefully guarded; the populace was in arms; May 12, 1588, the Day of the Barricades had passed; and the king had fled while the Duke of Guise dominated the capital. It was decided that Pierre should help his father to escape from the city. Pierre, taking his father's papers and money, preceded him, leaving by the Saint-Honoré gate. His father, disguised, followed him at a distance and caught up with him a half a league from Paris. There, Pierre turned over the papers and money; there, they bade each other adieu.

His father gave him twelve ecus and then left him. Pierre described his own feelings and behavior on this occasion in his Autobiography. He watched until his father was out of sight, and there on the road fell on his knees to pray. He prayed that his father would be kept safe among all perils, and that he and the whole family would prosper. For himself, he asked God to be his father and his guide, since he was convinced that he had seen his earthly father for the last time in his life.

He returned to Paris, but not for long. Finding no way to support himself, he left and made his way to Dieppe, passing through Rouen, journeying on foot again. It was his plan to go to England. When he came to Dieppe it was nearing the end of August, 1588. He
found passage across the Channel, and in due course he landed at Rye where he contacted "Monsieur de Licques, ministre de Dieppe, qui s'estoit réfugié à la Rie avec une partie de son Eglise."¹

By the year 1588, when Pierre reached England, Elizabeth had been queen thirty years and still had fifteen years remaining. She had been hampered from the very start of her rule. The Pope denied her legitimacy and refused to recognize her authority. The Protestants were in the minority. The nation was in debt and unarmed, and almost from the first Elizabeth was the object of plots formed to destroy her and pave the way for the re-establishment of the old religion. In 1588 she was still the object of plots. This time Philip II of Spain was conniving to invade England and win the country for Spain and the Pope. The Sacred Armada attacked and was defeated by the English who had united, Catholic and Protestant, to defend their country from invasion by a foreign power.² Du Moulin describes the great defeat in two succinct sentences, "Alors, la grande Armée Espagnolle estoit sur les Costes d'Angleterre, se promettant de la conquérir. Mais Dieu la Dissipa."³

Ten years later Philip died. In 1556 at his accession to the throne, he was possibly the most powerful monarch in Europe.

¹ The Autobiography, p. 11. Antoine de Licques was the third minister of the Dieppe Church, and had escaped to England at the time of St Bartholomew's Day.
³ The Autobiography, loc. cit.
At his death Spain was defeated and bankrupt, Holland was independent and Flanders destroyed. When Elizabeth's reign was over, England was united, free, and prospering, and was coming into its own. A literature and an intellectual life was being born, industry was being created, and a great and powerful nation which ruled the seas was evolving.¹

The kind of England that Pierre Du Moulin came to in 1588 was a country of one large city, London, and many small towns which were set in a background of a solid agriculture, inhabited by a race strong, hard, venturous, and yet practical. Life went on much the same as it had in the far reaches of the rural areas, but in the towns the citizenry wrestled with new and sometimes unfamiliar problems of economics, of government, and of religion.²

It is not unreasonable to assume that Pierre Du Moulin found many of his fellow country-men when he disembarked at Rye. There had been sporadic immigration from the Continent before 1558, but the great influx of persecuted Protestants set in at the time of Queen Elizabeth. In 1561 a body of fugitive Flemings landed near Deal and settled at Sandwich. In 1562 the tiny seaport of Rye was thrown into a state of commotion when boats carrying numbers of destitute Huguenots arrived. More refugees came in succeeding years, and with each new group of fugitives the people of the coastal towns bestirred themselves to welcome them and give them aid.

As the landings continued for many years, every encouragement was given to the refugees to move inland as speedily as possible in order to make room for more newcomers. Some went on to Canterbury, to Southampton, to Norwich, while others proceeded to London to join their countrymen who had settled there.¹ This last step was the one which Du Moulin followed:

De la Rie, je vins à pied jusqu'à Graveline et m'y embarquay pour passer à Londres. Je m'embarquay à minuit, lorsque la Marée commençoit à monter; je m'estois endormi sur le bord du Batteau, le vent emporta mon Chapeau, et arrivay à Londres au matin ayant la teste nue. Je me mis en Chambre garnie avec un bon persannage, Nommé Monsieur Du Bouilly.²

II. London

When the young man from the Continent reached London he was at the end of his money, and forced to keep his spending down to one sou ("un sol") per day. In spite of the fact that he was handicapped by lack of funds, London no doubt offered many objects of wonder to the newly arrived Du Moulin.

J. D. Mackie presents a description of London about this time. It was a city of winding streets and gabled timbered houses, dominated from its midst by St. Paul's, whose vast nave and great central tower were still magnificent even after the tall steeple, some 500 feet, had been destroyed by fire or lightning in 1561. On the


² The Autobiography, loc. cit. He can hardly have meant Gravelines on the French coast. Most likely he traveled from Rye to Gravesend at the mouth of the Thames and then on to London. Cf. J. D. Mackie, op. cit., p. 15. "The traveler who landed at Dover and made for London, not infrequently took to the water again as soon as he reached Gravesend, and completed his journey in a row- barge, admiring as he came the shipping and the swans, the palace at Greenwich, and the great ordnance on the wharves by the Tower."
eastern limit stood the grim Tower, a royal fortress where lions were still kept and where ordnance was stored. There were some fine buildings - the Customs House, the Guildhall, the Royal Exchange - among the huddle of houses. Each of the ninety odd parish churches had its churchyard, and London was still a garden city. The streets were badly kept up, dangerous after dark, and sewage and sanitary arrangements were sadly lacking. The plague struck all too often. Trade and industry were thriving, and London flourished in spite of quarrels of merchants and craftsmen.¹

The French exiles had come to London, and they had come to settle, to work hard, and to live peaceably and honestly. Mostly they congregated in special districts - Southwark, Bow, Wandsworth or Fulham - and there practised their own particular trade or skill.²

It may have been shortly after the arrival in London of the young, poverty-stricken Du Moulin that this incident came about. "As he was pensively looking up to the seeling of his Chamber" one day, he saw in a dark corner between two rafters a small piece of white cloth. He procured something on which to stand, reached the object, and found that it was a handkerchief inside of which was wrapped a "considerable quantity of gold." He made inquiries

² Some 9704 foreigners were recorded as being resident in London when a church census was taken in 1571, and by far most of these were Dutch or Flemish, French, and Italians. Naturally, due to events on the Continent, these numbers were greatly augmented in succeeding years. S. Smiles, op. cit., pp. 107-113.
and found that no one would claim it. Following that, he found out who had lived in the room before. "They told him, that an Italian dyed in it a little before he came." Learning that a relative of the deceased was living in London, Pierre did not rest until he had found him and transferred the gold to him, "though he was not sure that the money belonged to the deceased." His son concludes the story by saying that soon after, financial relief came to his father, and thus "God in whom he trusted, did not forsake him." 1

Help did come. "... Dieu m'adressa une honnesté condition chez un Gentilhomme Anglais nommé Constable." This probably means that he did some kind of service in exchange for his room and board. The father of this gentleman named Constable was in charge of the ordnance at the Tower of London, and although the statement is ambiguous, father and son apparently resided in the same house, "Les Mineries." 2

It was in the year 1589 that Henry III of France died and the Protestant Henry of Navarre became King Henry IV. With France torn by strife and the Royalist troops at St. Cloud, Henry marched into Normandy and on to Dieppe. The battle at Arques saw Mayenne's army getting the worst of it, and his subsequent attack on Dieppe was repulsed by Henry. Just at this time a very welcome reinforcement of 4000 English soldiers were sent to help the king. By late autumn, Henry had recovered from earlier losses, amassed some

1 Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 3.
23,000 troops, and had almost reached Paris. Du Moulin describes these events in his Autobiography:

> Alors, le Roy Henri quatrième estoit à Dieppe, où il fut environné des ennemis, Mais le Roy les deftit à Arques, près de Dieppe; mais le Reyne d'Angleterre Elisabeth envoya 4,000 Anglois, conduits par le Comte d'Essex, pour secourir le Roy. En cette Armée d'Anglois estoit Monsieur Henri Constable, lequel je servois; Estant arrivé en France, il se déclara estre papiste.1

Since Constable had left London and would not soon return, young Du Moulin was again without a place to stay. He was not without recourse inasmuch as Constable had spoken on his behalf to the Countess of Rutland.2

It was in this way that the young Frenchman made his way to Cambridge, where he acted in the capacity of a tutor to the son of the Countess of Rutland and where he was also able to further his own education.

> Mais ledit sieur Constable, qui m'aimoit, parla de moy en bons termes à Madame la Comtesse de Rutland, qui avoit son fils aux estudes à Cambrige, au Collège Nommé Benit-College, sous la conduitte du Docteur Gegen, Maistre du Collège. Cette Comtesse me prit et me mit auprès de son fils. Cela me donna commodité de continuer mes estudes et d'estre auditeur des leçons du Docteur Wictakers, homme de grand açaivoir.3

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2 They were no doubt relatives since the father of Henry Constable was "the grandson of Sir Marmaduke Constable (1480-1545) and son of Sir Robert Constable of Everingham, by Catharine, sister of Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland, [and] was knighted by the Earl of Essex while serving with the English army in Scotland in 1570." S. Lee, "Constable, Henry," op. cit., IV, 959.

III. University Life

Until the sixteenth century, the history of Cambridge was small compared to Oxford's, but at the time of the Reformation, Cambridge took the lead over Oxford as a center of theological learning and intellectual activity. Both universities during the years 1530-1560 suffered from lack of wealth and students, but there was a new and a more secular Oxford and Cambridge which revived under Elizabeth. When the Queen made a royal visit to Cambridge in 1564, Thomas Cartwright was already there, and the doctrines of Calvin were spreading in most of the colleges. But, it was not until after John Whitgift's departure from Cambridge in 1583 to become Bishop of Worcester that the activity of the Puritans at Cambridge reached its culminating point, having been fostered through the years by such men as Cartwright, Travers, Ames, Robert Brown, and John Smith, all of whom, for one reason or another, left the university. Cartwright's influence and example had been potent, and all phases of Puritanism came to be represented. The more moderate Puritans, for example, founded Emmanuel College in 1584 under the leadership of Sir Walter Mildmay.

Trevelyan points out that it was under Elizabeth when the college system: replaced the medieval hostelleries and lodging houses, and

1 J. B. Mullinger, A History of the University of Cambridge (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1888), p. 114. The numbers proceeding to the B.A. degree in 1558-59 were only twenty-eight; in 1570, there were 114; in 1583, there were 277.
3 J. B. Mullinger, op. cit., pp. 128-130.
when the colleges themselves took over both the discipline and teaching functions which the university had sorely neglected. It was the customary thing to contract privately for a tutor, as illustrated by the employment of Pierre Du Moulin as tutor for the son of the Countess of Rutland, for the office of the college tutor was yet unknown. This private tutor would often be both teacher and guardian. Sometimes he would have up to six pupils whom he lectured and coached, and sometimes they even slept in his rooms. The whole relationship was analogous to that of a master and apprentice. Generally, this system of private tutoring worked satisfactorily, but there was tendency for the tutor to neglect those pupils who could not pay high fees and to be too indulgent with those who could. 1

Although Du Moulin only mentions in his Autobiography John Whitaker as being one of his professors at Cambridge, yet it is not impossible that he came under the tutelage of Dr. John Jegon of Corpus Christi College. 2 Du Moulin imparts the fact that at Cambridge the son of the Countess of Rutland was at "Benit-College sous la conduite du Docteur Gegen." Ben'et College was the unofficial, "working day" name given to Corpus Christi College for over 500 years. The name was derived from the adjoining Church of St. Benedict, and it was not until some architectural changes took place in 1827 that the name was lost. 3

In 1590 Dr. Jegon became Master of Corpus Christi College when the College was in serious financial difficulties. Acting upon the advice of the Chancellor and the Archbishop of Canterbury, he took immediate steps to relieve the monetary deficit of Corpus Christi. The institution took on new life under his direction and with the arrival of some of his former pupils, one of whom was Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland. He remained as Master until 1603, proving himself to be, and being remembered mainly as, a very able administrator.

Du Moulin may have been at Oxford. He does not disclose this, but both Quick and Freher specify that he was there and that he studied under John Reynolds. Reynolds (or Rainolds) (1549-1607) was Greek Reader and then a Fellow at Corpus Christi College in Oxford, but would have been at Queens College when Du Moulin would have been at the University. In 1593 Reynolds became Dean of Lincoln, but returned to Corpus Christi College in 1599 to become its President. If the student from faraway Sedan spent any time with Dr. Reynolds at all he must have profited by it.

Reynolds was a skilled disputant, widely read, and a

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1 Other members of the College under Dr. Jegon included Charles and Thomas Courtney, relatives of the Earl of Rutland; Thomas and Henry Mildmay, sons of Sir Thomas Mildmay, and grandsons of Henry Ratcliffe, Earl of Essex.

Further light on the character and conduct of the Countess of Rutland's son is given in the exchange of letters between the Countess herself and Dr. Jegon. After several years at Cambridge the young Earl took the M.A. degree by special grace in 1594. H. P. Stokes, op. cit., pp. 77-80.


3 There is no Pierre Du Moulin (or Molinaeus) listed in any of the records of students, visitors, foreigners, etc. in Oxford University during the years 1588-1592. Cf. C. W. Boase and Andrew Clark, editors, Register of the University of Oxford, Vols. I, II, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884-1888).
very capable man. He had been a tutor to Richard Hooker, and  
came to be the leader of the Puritan party at Oxford. He might  
be described as a low churchman with Calvinistic tendencies.  
His Puritanism was rather more doctrinal than practical.  

One fact is certain. Pierre Du Moulin did study under Dr.  
Whitaker of Cambridge. True, there is no record of his matriculation  
at the University of Cambridge in these years, but most sources, in  
addition to his own word, tell of his hearing the lectures of John Whitaker (1548-1595), Master of St. John's College from 1581-1595. He could have come to no better place  
and to no greater man in England to get his preparation for later work than to Whitaker. There was no other English theologian at this time who enjoyed a higher reputation among Continental scholars than this man who was Regius professor of Divinity.  

Whitaker's sympathies lay with the more moderate Puritans, and he was much more at home with the Puritan party on questions of doctrine and even of discipline, although he shrank from the consequences that might follow upon an enthusiastic avowal of such sympathy, and he often condemned the courseness and intemperance frequently found in the Puritan polemics. For example, while on friendly terms with Cartwright, he was known to speak disparagingly of his productions. In spite of that, St. John's,
throughout Whitaker's mastership, continued to be a noted center of the Puritan party. Secret synods even, it was rumored, were held within its walls, designed to carry into practice the principles of the Disciplina of Walter Travers, and such meetings were attended by Cartwright, Chaderton, Dod, Fulk, and others.

Opposed to Roman doctrine and ritual, Whitaker was not less an opponent of Lutheranism. He was the most distinguished leader in England of that growing party which accepted the doctrine of Calvin and Beza, and in 1595 it was Whitaker and Humphrey Tyndal who were summoned by Whitgift, then archbishop, to aid him in the preparation of the famous Lambeth articles— that embodiment of the victory achieved by the Calvinistic party in the Church of England.¹

It was as the defender of Protestant doctrine and the antagonist of men like Bellarmine that John Whitaker acquired his greatest reputation. His arguments were always closely reasoned and well sustained, and long after his death his university could recall with pride that she had educated a divine who had encountered the great doctor of Louvain on his own ground and had proved in no way inferior in the contest.² Scaliger spoke of him in terms of unbounded admiration—"Whitakerus! Oh! qu'il estoit bien docte." Melville assigns him a place alongside Bucer, Peter Martyr, Calvin and Beza. Isaac Casaubon's tribute to him is

² J. B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles I, p. 325.
marred only by the regret that this champion of the English Church pressed the Calvinistic views a little too vigorously.¹

This, then, was the figure whom Pierre Du Moulin describes as a "homme de grand savoir," and looking ahead for a moment, it can be seen how these few years at Cambridge prepared him for his future labors, and how they influenced, at least in some measure, his theology and his writings. Perchance this young Frenchman, still in his formative years, was one of the students who had come and gone within the walls of St. John's, and one of those who, "while taking comparatively little share in the interminable controversies which disturbed its peace, had doubtless found their interest roused and their faculties quickened by the intellectual activity and ardent study amid which they had, for a time, lived."²

And, at Cambridge, Du Moulin must have met Arminianism. For by now within the universities, Puritanism had to contend not only with the Anglican party which supported the Church discipline, but with a growing Arminian party which, sometimes together with Anglican discipline, and sometimes in opposition to it, disavowed the principles of Calvinism. The leader of those who asserted the new doctrines was Peter Baro, a Frenchman by birth, who had given up law for divinity and after spending a few years in Geneva received ordination at the hands of Calvin himself. He held the Lady Margaret Chair from 1574 to 1596, and supporting him in his

¹ Ibid., pp. 324 f.
² J. B. Mullinger, St. John's College, University of Cambridge, p. 76.
views were William Barret and Richard Bancroft.1

Such was the university to which Pierre Du Moulin came in the reign of Elizabeth.

It had been decided that Cambridge should be mainly a school of divinity, and it had also been decided that the doctrine taught in her schools should be defined and prescribed beforehand. The results of this policy were such as we can now see to have been inevitable. The main interest having centred in the discussion of theological questions, whatever was taught of liberal learning sank to an almost lifeless tradition, while the fetters placed upon such discussion provoked from time to time a more or less stubborn resistance and bitter controversies. To silence these controversies, deprivation and expulsion were the ordinary expedients....2

IV. The French Reformed Church in London

As early as the reign of Edward VI, churches were set apart for the use of foreign Protestants in England, in London, Norwich, Southampton, and Canterbury. Thus, in July, 1550, King Edward VI issued royal letters patent, among other matters assigning to such of the strangers in London the church in Austin Friars, called the Temple of Jesus, wherein they were to hold services. For a few months French and Flemish congregations worshipped in this church at alternate hours, but the number of refugees became so great that a second place of worship was granted to the French-speaking congregation in October, 1550.3 It was the Church of St. Anthony's Hospital in Threadneedle Street, and no doubt it was to this church the needy Pierre went when he reached

1 J. B. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles I, p. 326.
2 J. B. Mullinger, A History of the University of Cambridge, pp. 134 ff.
3 S. Smiles, op. cit., pp. 131 ff.
London in 1588.  Jean Castel, pastor of the Church, offered the help of the Church but Du Moulin refused. In what form the aid was to be and exactly why Du Moulin demurred are unknown facts.

Hantant les Prédications, et cherchant de faire des amis, je m'accostay de Monsieur Du Mesnillet qui alors estoit à Londres et s'exercoit en propositions, pour servir l'Église de Rouen. Monsieur Du Mesnillet was to be one day the brother-in-law of Du Moulin; he married Esther Du Moulin in 1595. Following the advice of his future brother-in-law and his example as well, Pierre himself "s'exerca en propositions" on two occasions at the French Church.

It was on one of these occasions, at a time when Du Moulin would be on vacation from Cambridge, that Monsieur de la Faye, minister of the Reformed Church in Paris, was in London, present at the French Church, and heard the young preacher. Being impressed with the talents of the young man, he asked him if he would be willing to serve the Church of Paris. Practical-minded Du Moulin replied, "qu'il n'y avoit nulle apparence de servir une Église qui n'estoit point et qui n'avoit le moyen de m'entretenir."

1 J. S. Burn, op. cit., pp. 24-37. At the Great Fire of London, 1666, this church was burned down, rebuilt, and used until 1840 when the city purchased it to make way for the new approaches to the Royal Exchange. A new French Church was then erected in St. Martin's-le-Grand.
2 The Autobiography, p. 11; J. S. Burn, op. cit., p. 34.
3 The Autobiography, loc. cit.
4 Vide supra, p. 7.
5 "s'exercer en propositions" is to give an address or a sermon in order to furnish proof of one's ability to preach and the extent of one's theological learning.
6 The Autobiography, p. 13. Here is an indication of the setbacks given to the Huguenot Churches during the Wars of the League.
La Faye quickly responded by explaining that funds did exist and that there was hope the Church would soon be re-established. An indication that Pierre Du Moulin was already considering the ministry as his chosen vocation is found in his ready acceptance of this offer made by La Faye in 1591.

J'acceptay cette condition, et M. de la Faye me promit par an Cinquante escus, qui estoit une somme suffisante pour vivre honnestement; car je ne payois pour ma table, à Cambrige, que trente sols par semaine. Alors, je quitte le Service du Comte de Rutland, où je me desplaisois. It is left to one's imagination why Pierre had become unhappy in his position as tutor, but he was thus freed from this seemingly unpleasant service for the last part of his stay in Cambridge.

Du Moulin suggests two reasons why he decided to leave England, although there may have been other factors which caused him to set out on his travels after four years in England. He wished to see the University of Leyden, and he wanted to hear Franciscus Junius (Francois du Jon), who had newly gone there as professor of theology. So, he left Cambridge, went to London, and searched there for a means of transport to Holland.

Au mesme temps, estant desirieux de voir l'université de Leiden, en Hollande, où Franciscus Junius estoit nouvellement arrivé pour y estre professeur en Théologie, je partis de Cambrige et vins à Londres....

1 Loc. cit.
2 Loc. cit.
CHAPTER THREE

PROFESSOR IN LEYDEN, 1592-1598

I. From London to Leyden

Upon arriving in London from Cambridge, Pierre Du Moulin contacted the French ambassador in order to find a means of travel to Holland. The ambassador spoke on his behalf to the Duke of Wittenberg, and the Leyden-bound Du Moulin was taken on board the ship of the Duke as a passenger. This was in September, 1592, and the voyage to Zeeland would have been a pleasant one if it had not been for a "horrible Tempeste" which battered the ship about for one whole night, making it necessary to jettison guns and cargo. With the ship full of water and the tiller abandoned, Pierre concluded they were only "à deux doigts de la Mort." At last the ship was cast up on land near Flushing on the island of Walcheren. Pierre had come through safely, but he had lost his clothes and books. Before finally getting to Leyden, he made stops at Flushing, Middleburg, Rotterdam, Delft, and The Hague. At this last place he met the French ambassador to Holland and saw the Princess of Orange and her son, Henry of Nassau.

2 The exact location was Rammekens which, with Flushing and Brill, had been handed over to Queen Elizabeth in 1585 during negotiations with her on accepting the sovereignty of the United Provinces.
3 The Autobiography, loc. cit. This Henry is Frederic Henry (1584-1647), brother of Maurice.
That Du Moulin considered his deliverance from the storm and his being brought to Leyden in safety due to God's mercy is borne out by the Latin poem he wrote as he was getting settled in his new abode. In *Votiva Tabella*,

he described the storm and the shipwreck, and offered his thanksgiving to God. A piece of poetry of the highest strain, which got him great esteem, and many friends. It is certain, that for Latine Elegancy... and neatness of expression, whether in prose or in verse, few in his age went beyond him.

So wrote his son.¹

After the assassination of William The Silent in 1584, it would be safe to say that no government existed in the Netherlands. Power rested in the hands of the Provinces, and leadership and unity were sorely needed in face of the Spanish menace. Maurice of Nassau, the second son of William and a mere seventeen years of age, was appointed president of the newly constituted council of state and a stadholder of Holland and Zeeland;² and in 1586 Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, a great statesman and sometimes described as "the real founder of the Dutch Republic," became Advocate of Holland.³ From this point on, the fortunes of the Dutch improved considerably. In 1590 the Duke of Parma led his forces into France, and the Dutch army, reorganized under Maurice, took the offensive for the first time. Breda and other places were captured.⁴ By 1592 the military fame of Maurice had grown

³ Ibid., I, 315-317.
⁴ Ibid., III, 6-16.
immeasurably, and in that year Steenwyk and Koevorden were taken which virtually freed Friesland and the Zuiderzee from the hold of the Spaniard. From 1592 until 1609 the frontier between the liberated north and the south was more or less fixed, and the struggle assumed the aspect of a normal war between the Dutch Republic and the forces of Spain. In 1609 the King of Spain gave de facto recognition to his rebellious subjects, and in 1648 came recognition de jure with the Peace of Munster, ending the eighty years of warfare.

It was in the early stages of this long struggle that the University of Leyden had been founded. In 1574 the town was besieged by the Spaniards from May until October, and relieved only when the Dutch broke the dykes and permitted ships to sail in, bringing military aid and supplies to the beleaguered and starving town. As a reward for the heroic defence of their city, William offered the inhabitants a choice between perpetual exemption from certain taxes or the founding of a university. They chose the latter, and the university or "academy" was founded. Ceremonies of the formal opening took place on February 5, 1575.

The university quickly achieved a world-wide renown, and such scholars as Lipsius, Scaliger, Grotius, Vossius, Junius, and Arminius

1 Ibid., III, 157-169.
were professors there during the first half-century of its life. It was originally located in the Convent of St. Barbara, but in 1581 it was moved to the Convent of the White Nuns, the site of which it still occupies, though that building was destroyed in 1616.¹

Leyden, in that epoch, was reputed to be a very beautiful city, its fine appearance enhanced by the languid Rhine completely interlacing the town. The shaded streets were crossed by 145 bridges, the houses were elegant, the squares and streets spacious, and the churches and public buildings imposing. The whole atmosphere suggested thrift, industry, and comfort.²

II. Teaching at Leyden
A. In the College.

Après un séjour de deux mois à Leyden, l'argent commençant à me manquer, Dieu m'adressa une condition au collège de Leyden, laquelle condition s'appelle la charge de Correcteur. J'enseignois le Grec, la Logique et Horace, et estois fort aimé de la Jeunesse....³

There was a "college" or secondary school as a part of the "academy" or university proper. Cohen discloses that the teaching was verbal and exclusively Graeco-Latin, and that it was not surprising to find on the university registers students aged eleven or fourteen, who were in reality attending the college.⁴

It was in the college that Du Moulin began his teaching, and

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¹ J. Meursius, Athenae Batavae (Lugduni-Batavorum: Andream Cloucquium et Elsevirios, 1625), p. 16.
though the students may have loved him, the principal did not. In actual fact, he came to hate him and as a result of such an intense dislike an amusing incident occurred, and the continuing friction between the young and popular teacher and the principal ultimately led to Du Moulin's honorable dismissal from his post.

Le principal du collège, nommé Stokims, me prit en haine et suborna quatre grands escoliers, Lesquels, comme je faisais mes leçons, entrèrent en Classe, estant Masqués, et me chargèrent de coups de plottes de neige avec grande insolence.

Ayant esté ainsi maltraité, je sors de la classe et m'adressay aux Magistrats et Modérateurs du Collège, Lesquels, ayant reconnu la justice de ma plainte, commandèrent audit principal de chastier ces escoliers qui m'avoient outragé et luy firent défence de me troubler plus en l'exercice de ma charge. Mais de cela rien ne fut exécuté, ainsi c estoient tous les jours nouvelles fascheries, lesquelles me causèrent une fièvre tierce, laquelle croissant, je fus contraint de prendre quelques jours de relasche et me retiray à la Haye, vers Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de Buzenval, pour me désennuyer. Par le bon traittement qu'il me fit durant huit jours, je recouvray ma santé et revins à Leyden pour exercer ma charge; mais, durant mon absence, les Modérateurs voyant que je n'avois jamais de repos en cette charge me l'ostèrent, et m'ayant appelé me dirent qu'ils m'avoient deschargé, non pour aucune faute qu'ils reconnussent en moy, mais pour rendre la paix au Collège, et pour témoigner qu'ils ne trouvoient en moy aucune faute, ils me donnèrent quarante escus pour le salaire de trois mois, qui estoit le double du salaire dont j'estois convenu.1

This action, of course, left Du Moulin without means to support himself, but once again he has explained how God in His way provided for him. He also relates the untimely end of the principal:

Ainsi, je demeuray sans condition, mais Dieu me montra qu'il avoit soin de moy; Car deux mois après ma démission de cette charge, le professeur en Philosophie, Écossois, nommé

1 The Autobiography, p. 15.
Ramsé, mourut. 1 Cette profession estant vacante Dieu me mit au coeur de la demander. Je m'adressay à M. de Buzenval, Ambassadeur, lequel m'y encouragea par sa recommandation et de Madame la Princesse d'Orange. J'obtins que je serois reçu à faire quelques espreuves; Esuelles ayant satisfait et eu l'approbation des Curateurs de l'Accademie, je fus receu et estably Professeur en Philosohie en l'Accademie de Leyden.2 J'estois âgé de 24 ans. Nouvelles estant apportées à Stokims, qui m'avoit toujours persécuté, il fut saisy d'une telle douleur qu'il mourut subitement d'une soudaine suffocation.3

B. In the University. Thus, on July 11, 1593, Pierre Du Moulin was named a professor of philosophy in the University of Leyden at a salary of 300 florins, this being increased to 400 florins in February, 1595.4 He gave his lectures on the works of Aristotle - The Organon, the Physics, the De Coelo, the De Generatione et Corruptione, the Meteorologica, and the De Anima - and it is known that he lectured in the former convent buildings in the vaulted hall on the ground floor near the entrance.5 His capacity for work must have been great for he lectured in the theological faculty, and even managed to give some "leçons particulières" from time to time. Numbered among his students at Leyden were Otto Heurnius, who was to become a noted professor of medicine at the University, and the famous Hugo Grotius.6

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1 Facts are scant concerning James Ramsay. He was born in Scotland; was a deputy professor of logic in the University of Leyden from 1588 to 1593 when he died. Cf. the article, "Ramsaeus, Jacobus," Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden (Haarlem: J. J. Van Brederode, 1874) XVI, 66; G. Cohen, op. cit., p. 177; Album Scholasticum Academiae Lugdu-no-Batavae MDLXXV-MCMX. Samengesteld door C.A. Siegenbeek Van Heukelom-Lamme (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1941), p. 122.

2 He was not made a full professor. His position was that of a deputy professor or a professor extraordinary. Album Scholasticum, op. cit., p. 106.

3 The Autobiography, pp. 15 f.

4 G. Cohen, op. cit., p. 177.


Du Moulin was not the only Frenchman who had become a professor at Leyden in these early years. From the very first there were French savants at this university, some of whose names have lived on, others less famous - Guillaume Feugueray who escaped from France to England, thence to Holland; Lambert Daneau, a theologian, who gave up law for theology and studied in Geneva under Calvin; and Hugues Doneau, the jurist. Between the years 1592 and 1602 there were still other French professors - Junius (or du Jon), Trelcatius (or Luc Trelcat), Bastingius (or Basting), Du Moulin himself, and the renowned Scaliger as well.¹

How well the young Professor Du Moulin came to know Junius, the one who had drawn him to Leyden, and how much Junius was an influence in the life of Du Moulin is not revealed. There is evidence that they were on familiar terms. At one point in Du Moulin's Autobiography he relates how he asked Junius to take to his father "24 escus lesquels je lui ay payés" since Junius happened to be making a trip and was to pass through Sedan.

Franciscus Junius was professor of theology and of Hebrew in Leyden, and he is best known for his own edition of the Latin Old Testament.² He was a rigorous and an orthodox Calvinist, but somewhat less so than his successor, Gomarus, who preached his funeral oration in 1602. In fact, he gave expression to what was

¹ G. Cohen, op. cit., p. 179.
² J. Meursius, op. cit., p. 163.
in his day a remarkable degree of tolerance.\(^1\)

At Leyden there was a person with whom Du Moulin was on close terms, a man who was among the best scholars of the period - Joseph Scaliger. When Justus Lipsius "avait quitté le pays et la religion" in 1590, the University offered the position to Scaliger. It was not until 1593 that he came - "peu après ma réception en charge, ce grand personnage Joseph Scaliger arriva à Leyden," Du Moulin writes. He continues, "Je me mis en pension chez luy et y fus huit mois en mesme table."\(^2\) There were others who sat at Scaliger's table, "both Papists and Protestants," if one is to believe Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger. One was to become Bishop of Poitiers, another the "President at Bordeaux," and a third a "great Abbot." "These renewed their acquaintance with him in France, and were instruments of the Court of Rome and the Popish Clergy...."\(^3\)

Though he was but one of many who crowded about this great man, yet to be as close to him as this was a great privilege and one which helped to broaden and inspire a young professor such as Du Moulin. It is not too much to suggest that Pierre Du Moulin, in part, owed his mastery of Latin and Greek, his scholarly thoroughness, and his gift of critical analysis to "the greatest philologist of the sixteenth century" and to the inspiration and guidance of his genius.


\(^2\) The *Autobiography*, p. 16.

Scaliger was at Leyden for over fifteen years. He died in 1609.¹

III. A Journey to France

Pierre Du Moulin's period in Leyden was broken by a vacation in France in 1596. He desired to visit his father whom he had not seen for nine years, and so he asked the trustees of the University for a brief leave of absence in August, 1596. At Flushing he embarked for Dieppe, but because of a contrary wind he did not reach that port until August 7th. From there he went to Rouen where he met his sister, Esther, who by this time had married Estienne Bochart (Sieur de Ménillet).² He tells us that he went on to Paris and because of the plague had a great difficulty in finding lodging. The plague, which was striking people down in the streets, encouraged him to lose no time in quitting the city. He attained his destination, Jargeau, by way of Orléans, and not telling his father who he was at first, the two men chatted for a quarter of an hour before the father recognized his son. His step-mother, on the other hand, had no difficulty in identifying him.

He spent twenty-five days at home. On returning to Paris, he found that the threat of the plague had diminished. He tarried there long enough to call upon Monsieur de Montigny, pastor of the Reformed Church, who with some of the elders met with him and

² Vide supra, p. 7.
reminded him of the promise he had made to the Paris Church some years before in London. They exhorted him to remain in Paris, but Du Moulin refused on the grounds that he was not yet well enough prepared for the ministry, and that he had promised the trustees of the University that he would return. At this time he informed the Church in Paris that he no longer needed the fifty crowns a year they had been sending him.¹

From Paris he set out on his return journey. He paused in Rouen to see his sister's family again, then proceeded to Dieppe, the short sea voyage to Middleburg, on to The Hague, and finally, Leyden. There he resumed his teaching.²

IV. A Friend at The Hague.

The one person during these years in Holland who was Pierre Du Moulin's constant friend and protector was the French ambassa-
dor at The Hague, Monsieur de Buzenval (Paul Choart). He was an able diplomat, well-liked by Henry IV, and a staunch Huguenot, although his good example did not seem to have influenced the rest of his family.³

It was this Protestant ambassador from the court of Henry IV who had received Du Moulin very kindly at The Hague when the young man first arrived in Holland. Later, he had recommended him to

¹ His later salary at Leyden, 400 florins, may have seemed large to him, but it was not large compared, for example, with Scaliger's 1200 florins per year. Vide G. Cohen, op. cit., p. 208. Neverthe-
less, Du Moulin's income was sufficient and he no longer had to depend on the annual grant from the Paris Church.
² This entire visit is recorded rather carefully in The Autobiography.
³ H. Bordier, La France Protestante, op. cit., IV, 335.
the Princess of Orange, and the way was opened for his appointment as professor in the University. He had taken him into his home during vacation periods, and even took him on two trips to visit the armies of Prince Maurice, one into Gelderland and the other one north into Friesland, as far as Emden. On this latter journey, he saw the capture of Groningen in July, 1594, and he remarks that he had "le plaisir de voir les Moines faisant leur paquet pour sortir de la Ville, et de voir un tas d'Images brûlantes en la grande place du Marché." The ambassador even counselled him on his future and advised him to choose a vocation other than the ministry. No doubt he knew all too well what was in store for him if he became a Huguenot minister in France. Du Moulin reports that,

Il me représentoit la pauvreté annexée à cette condition, le travail continué, les dangers, l'inimitié du Clergé Romain, surtout à Paris, où j'avois beaucoupr de besongne taillée, et pour me divertir, il me procureroit en condition avantageuse....

The position was that of an aide to the French Ambassador at the Court of the Turkish Emperor. His knowledge of Greek and his ability to speak Italian, which his son refers to, were to qualify him. In this connection Pierre, The Younger, supplies his own reasons why his father might have been thought of for such a post.

... the comeliness of his person, the dexterity of his wit, and his pleasant and charming conversation, seemed to invite him rather to the businesses of the world, than to those of the Church.

2 Ibid., p. 17.
3 Ibid., p. 19.
If one believes at this time that Pierre Du Moulin was fully committed to the ministry as his vocation, then one must say that he weakened temporarily since he himself confesses that he was ready to accept the counsel of M. de Buzenval. But the king changed his mind and chose another in the place of Du Moulin who writes,

Je reconnus que Dieu ne vouloit pas que je m'employasse à une autre vocation qu'à celle à laquelle je m'estois consacré, et m'affermis en cette résolution.1

Consequently, he resolved to resign from his teaching, return to France and become a minister.

As he was planning his departure from Leyden to go to France in 1598 the ambassador again came to his aid. As it turned out though, the well-intentioned advice of M. de Buzenval on the method of making the trip to France led the young Huguenot into great danger and no little difficulty.2

V. The Philosophical Works of Pierre Du Moulin

Towards the end of his sojourn at Leyden he published his first works, a philosophical treatise, Elementa logices, in 1596, followed by two smaller productions, De relatis and De indole et virtute, in 1597. His humility does not prevent him from revealing that the Elementa logices was printed some thirteen times;3 and it is a fact that it has been translated into French and English. His son further claims that it was read "in many Universities and

1 The Autobiography, p. 20.
2 Vide infra, pp. 61 f.
3 The Autobiography, loc. cit.
Colleges, as one that enricheth the stock of Philosophy, especially in the Topicks."\(^1\)

It is fitting that a treatment of the whole of Du Moulin's philosophical thought be given here, and to do this one must turn to his *La Philosophie mise en françois*.\(^2\) In this work he divides his philosophy which includes all science into three large sections, the custom since Hellenistic times. Logic, Physics (or natural science), and Ethics (or moral science). All the other branches of scientific study come under one or more of these divisions.\(^3\)

Pierre Du Moulin is not a great philosopher, although he is an able disciple of Aristotle, following him carefully in familiar paths of traditional philosophy but not departing into untried avenues of thought. This becomes more and more apparent as one reads through his book.

A. Logic. His *Eléments de la logique* is, very simply, a textbook in logic, markedly Aristotelian.\(^4\) Even though it is probably the best of his philosophical works, it is not outstanding, and one seriously questions the reasons for its great popularity. For, in the eyes of the author's contemporaries, the work passed for a masterpiece. Scaliger, for one, was pleased with it and commended Du Moulin. It is divided into six books, contains some

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\(^3\) Psychology, for example, is merely an introduction to his Ethics.

\(^4\) One can hardly go along with Emile Armand who states that Du Moulin's thoughts are a counterfeiting or a forgery of Aristotle's ideas. Cf. Emile Armand, "Essai sur la vie de Du Moulin et quelques-uns de ses écrits" (A thesis for the degree of "bachelier en théologie," The Faculté de Théologie Protestante, Strasbourg, 1846), p. 32.
twelve illustrative tables, and is a rather brief production. He commences by defining logic as an art which gives the rules for good argumentation and for discerning the true from the false. He remains true to this definition throughout, but certainly he errs in not fully comprehending what logic is. Du Moulin is content to set down as logic not the study of the mind in the use that it makes of its faculties for arriving at what is true or for proving it, but rather the course that one's intelligence follows in the process of reaching the truth or in the demonstration of it. Logic for Du Moulin is only the art of argumentation, and this art reduces itself to know how to establish syllogisms. The syllogism is both the end and the foundation of his treatise, and really the résumé of his logic. He does not immediately take up the study of the syllogism, however.

The entire first book is an explanation of the ten Categories of Aristotle, after a short explanation of terms, general and singular.

In the beginning of the second book he states that,

Nous avons ès Categories considéré les choses en elles-mêmes, maintenant il les faut considérer entant qu'elles peuvent servir à argumenter ou raisoner.

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1 One of the most interesting tables is the "Exemples d'analogie," and of these the most interesting is the "Analogie entre le corps humain et un Estat ou République."

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2 Pierre Du Moulin, La Philosophie mise en francois, I, 1.
3 Ibid., I, 1-35.
4 Ibid., I, 36.
Then follow chapters on the Five Predicables of Aristotle, and other sections entitled "De la division," "Des causes & effects," "Des choses opposées," etc.

It is not just enough to have proofs, he asserts, but one must know how to argue well. The best, or rather the only, argument is the syllogism which is made up of two propositions or assertions ("énonciation") and a conclusion. Book three, which is much less extensive than the two preceding ones, defines and treats the proposition. It is an utterance composed of at least two words and which affirms or denies something.\(^1\)

Finally, Du Moulin arrives at the syllogism in the fourth book. He defines it in full; he shows its importance; he establishes rules concerning it; he illustrates how to make a syllogism; he analyzes it completely.

The fifth book, the most original of his logic, is on Demonstration, and it might not be so readily included in a textbook of logic today, because it is based on Aristotle's teaching that a syllogism is a form of demonstrative thinking. As H. W. B. Joseph has stated it,

\[\text{We can demonstrate little outside mathematics. But, we have an ideal of demonstration, and it seems to be that, and it is not syllogistic, as Aristotle thought it to be.}\] \(^2\)

The sixth book is on the Fallacies, and Du Moulin merely repeats Aristotle's six types of verbal fallacies, while making

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\(^{1}\) Ibid., I, 113.

seven out of his nine types of non-verbal (extra dictionem) ones.¹ He concludes this last book and his whole work with this self-evident remark - "Le but de ces Fallacies n'est pas d'enseigner à tromper, mais à n'estre point trompé."²

There is a definite chain of ideas in this volume, and the young philosopher has dealt with his subject in an acceptable manner if it is remembered that he has written, for his times, a treatise on method. It cannot be a primer on logic, but it is a good course in dialectic and in it the principles of formal discussion are taught in a thorough fashion. The definitions are often obscure,³ there is a marked lack of clarity, and he has not sufficiently developed some of the points in proportion to their importance.

B. Physics. The second volume in Du Moulin's philosophy, his Physics (or natural science),⁴ comprises eight books. Again depending upon Aristotle and the Greeks, he has produced a very interesting, and sometimes entertaining, textbook of sixteenth century general science. Though it strikes the reader that he writes as if science has made no progress since the time of the Romans, yet it must be remembered that he wrote before the time of Newton (1642-1727), and even before the basic and great discoveries of Galileo, Bacon, Harvey, and others were widely known.

² Pierre Du Moulin, La Philosophie mise en français, I, 191.
³ Even one who understands French better than this writer states this; namely Emile Armand. E. Armand, op. cit., p. 35.
⁴ La Physique ou Science Naturelle.
He defines "La Physique" as "la science qui traite du corps naturel.... Selon la doctrine d'Aristote, tout corps naturel a trois principes, à savoir la matiére, la forme & la privation."\(^1\)

Despite the fact that Du Moulin relies heavily on Aristotle and uses him as his direct authority in certain cases, he is not above declaring him to be in error.\(^2\)

Du Moulin's understanding of the elements is limited to the ancient and medieval notion of four - earth, water, air, and fire. He is in accord with Aristotle's theory that all bodies are heavy or light in themselves. He writes of meteors, the weather, stones and metals, the anatomy, man's faculties, the intellect, the soul and sundry other matters in this treaties. Some signs of enlightenment are to be seen in his statements that the heavenly bodies do not possess power over the wills of men and that it is impossible to foretell events from the stars, teaching which many might listen to today with profit. Traces of his theological thought can be seen in his notion of time and eternity,\(^3\) in the world and creation,\(^4\) and in the last part of the eighth book where he writes on the "Ame raisonnable."\(^5\)

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1 Pierre Du Moulin, La Philosophie mise en françois, II, 1, 3.
2 Ibid., II, 98, "Toutefois Aristote abusant de ce mot ("Météore"), met entre les Météores plusieurs choses, qui se forment en terre & en mer." Also, p. 264, "Aristote s'est mespris en un point en-seignant que le siège & origine des sens est au coeur."
3 Ibid., II, 20. "La vie de Dieu n'est pas mesurée par le Temps."
4 Ibid., II, 33. "Le monde est un bastiment composé du ciel & des Elémens & des choses y contenues, que Dieu a fait pour en estre glorifié, & y déployer sa vertu."
5 Ibid., II, 311-344.
C. Ethics. The third and last volume of his philosophical writings is his Ethics (or moral science). Even if his style of writing has improved somewhat in this work, yet there are still some exasperatingly vague parts, and there is less harmony and coherence in the whole. A little of everything has been inserted, from some elementary physiology to the duties of a prince, and again he can be accused of only indicating some very important points while belaboring minor ones.

The work commences by telling the reader what the soul of man is and what its faculties are.

L'âme de l'homme est une substance immatérielle, vivante, raisonnable forme du corps humain, principe & cause de la vie, du sentiment, du mouvement & de la ratiocination. If this definition seems odd, it is no more so than the three principal faculties of the soul, "la Végétative, la Sensitive, & la Raisonnable."

Having dealt in large part with the "faculté végétative" in the second volume, he makes little mention of it in the third, proceeding quickly to the "faculté sensitive" and the "faculté raisonnable."

What is curious about the "faculté sensitive" is not that he states there are five external senses, but that he claims there are three internal ones as well - "le sens commun, l'imagination, & la mémoire." Surely Du Moulin accredits too much to the

1 L'Ethique ou Science Morale.
2 Pierre Du Moulin, La Philosophie mise en françois, III, Introduction.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
imagination. It thinks things absent and passed, and often supposes things which are not and which never were, says he. It is the place of dreams, and it contains powers of judgment, he further adds.

Comme l'imagination est la plus haute & noble faculté de l'âme sensitive, aussi l'entendement est la plus noble faculté de l'âme raisonnable.1

The understanding or the intellect is only one part of the "faculté raisonnable." The other is "la volonté."

L'entendement cherche la vérité; la volonté cherche le bien: Par l'entendement nous sommes savants ou ignorans: Par la volonté nous sommes bons ou mauvais.2

This, coming at the close of the lengthy introduction, leads naturally to the Ethics proper. Two questions occupy Du Moulin and provide the plan for his whole presentation. The first is, What is the end or the goal of human life? The second is, What are the means of reaching this end?3

Philosopher Du Moulin feels that Aristotle's definition of true happiness (activity in accordance with virtue) is defective in some respects,4 but he agrees with him when he states that virtue is the means of attaining true happiness.5

In the first book abstract philosophical language abounds, there are divisions and sub-divisions, proof upon proof, but herein are ideas singular to Du Moulin. "La félicité" does not

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., III, 2.
4 Ibid., III, 14 f.
consist in riches, nor honor, nor physical well-being, nor in sensual pleasure. "Mais la vraye félicité consiste à imiter Dieu, & à luy ressembler autant que la créature en est capable." And one attains this "félicité" by virtue, he asserts.

Declaring that a virtue is a habit residing in the will, he devotes the remainder of his work to a study of virtue, in general and in particular. Man is able to find certain aids in acquiring virtue. Because man is made in the image of God, so also he possesses some sparks, some traces, of divine virtue. Natural man, in spite of sin, has the seeds of virtue within him.

But, there are other factors as well. The shape of one's head, the kind of country in which one lives, the purity of the air one breathes, the kind of meat one eats — all these have an effect on one's disposition to virtue. Parents can so instruct and guide their children to the end that they will from an early age be virtuous. One piece of rather curious advice he supplies is that nursing women must be quiet and never angry, for characteristics of the mother's behavior pass through the milk to the child. Other counsel he gives is more conventional.

Du Moulin reflects Aristotle in declaring there are two kinds of virtues, "les vertus intellectuelles" and those of character which "gouvernent & ornent la volonté & la repurgent de vices." First, he occupies himself with the latter category, the moral

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1 Pierre Du Moulin, La Philosophie mise en françois, III, 9.
2 Ibid., III, 260-261.
3 Ibid., III, 278-282.
4 Ibid., III, 59-60.
virtues, and explains exactly what he plans to do.

Nous suivrons l'ordre d'Aristote lequel en ses Éthiques, met la prudence entre les Vertus Intellectuelles. En traitant des vertus Morales commence par la Vaillance.¹

Then he treats successively Temperance, Justice, etc.

Arithmetical proofs play a large role in this part of the work, and proportions are frequently employed with dubious success to illustrate or intensify a statement.²

He has not neglected questions of relation, of comparison, of degrees of virtue, and he has devoted one whole book, the ninth, to the communication of the virtues, which is to say, by friendship.

Finally, he terminates his work by a study of the intellectual virtues which number five and are patterned after those of Aristotle: Science, Art, Practical Wisdom, Intuitive Reason, and Theoretical Wisdom.³

Pierre Du Moulin may well have been a good teacher or professor of philosophy, but it cannot be said he was a great philosopher. Nowhere to be seen is there any breadth of views or any depth of ideas, any novel concepts or any real originality. His manner is certainly philosophical, though at times dry and heavy. He knows Aristotle well, and his writings were no doubt very acceptable during his period. There is record of that. But, the judgment of succeeding generations has not been so favorable, and the opinion that Du Moulin was a sound or a constructive philosopher cannot be sustained.

¹ Ibid., III, 109.
² Ibid., III, 197-200.
³ Ibid., III, 283-306.
VI. From Leyden to Paris

Cohen states that Petrus Molinaeus received the degree of 
Doctor honoris causa from the University of Leyden in 1594, but 
if such was the case, no one else has thought to record it. 
Nothing is said about it in Du Moulin's Autobiography nor by his 
son, and no such fact is recorded in the Album Scholasticum 
Academiae Lugduno-Batavae. When Professor Du Moulin tendered 
his resignation he was given, in light of his good work at the 
University, a sum of money equal to six weeks of his salary. 
His successor was Aelius Vorstius, who at first taught natural 
science, later medicine.

In parting from Leyden, as upon his arrival, he composed a 
poem in Latin, Panegyricus Bataviae, in which he made his fare­ 
wells. These few years in Holland had been happy and satisfying 
one. He had proved his ability as a scholar and as a teacher, 
and he had had contact with some of the greatest minds of the day, at 
the same time bringing forth a successful work in philosophy. 
It is small wonder then that he felt constrained to write such a 
poem in honor of Leyden and that he always referred to Holland as 
his second country.

1 G. Cohen, op. cit., p. 178. Cohen uses as his authority P. C. 
Molhuysen's Bronnen Leidsche Universiteit. 
2 Album Scholasticum, op. cit., p. 106. 
Album Scholasticum, op. cit., p. 167. 
4 J. Quick, "The Life of Monsr. Peter du Moulin Minr. of Paris," 
Icones Sacrae Gallicanae, p. 6. Quick describes Leyden as a 
fencing school in the art of disputation, and that while training 
others in this art he himself became "not onely a most skillfull 
Gladiator, but an invincible Master of defence, & ever victorious 
champion in ye art of Disputation."
When Pierre Du Moulin left Leyden in August, 1598, he went to The Hague to consult his friend, Monsieur de Buzenval, about a plan he had and to solicit his help. Du Moulin wished to return to France by land in order to visit Antwerp and Brussels on the way, and as he puts it, "de voir le pays de l'Archduc."\(^1\)

A trip such as this would not have been entirely out of the question, but a passport from the Archduke was required to travel through his territory. This passport was not easy to obtain; moreover, it was costly.

It was the French ambassador's attempt to be helpful that put Du Moulin into such danger. Monsieur de Buzenval suggested that he dispense with the idea of procuring a passport, and rather contact a certain merchant in Rotterdam, named Vanderweck (or Vandernec), who was an intimate friend of the Governor of Antwerp, Alphonso Mexia.\(^2\) This strange friendship had come about as the result of the merchant's paying the ransom for Mexia's brother who had been taken prisoner by the armies of Prince Maurice. Whatever else it might have been, it was a clever bit of strategy since it meant that the Governor of Antwerp honored any paper signed by Vanderweck.

Upon making suitable inquiries, Du Moulin found this information to be true, and deciding to do without the ordinary passport he asked the ambassador to recommend him to the Rotterdam merchant.

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\(^{1}\) The Autobiography, p. 20. "Le pays de l'Archduc" was, of course, the Spanish Netherlands, governed by the Cardinal Archduke Albert of Austria, who had been the governor-general since 1596.

\(^{2}\) J. L. Motley, History of the United Netherlands, IV, 226.
This kind official readily complied, Vanderweck wrote the letters of certification and safe conduct and the young voyager embarked at Rotterdam, bound for Antwerp. Thus, he writes, "je quitté le pays de Hollande, où Dieu m'avoit tant de fois fait sentir son secours et son assistance."¹

While they were still some distance from their destination they learned from a ship coming from Antwerp that the soldiers there had mutinied against the governor, making him a prisoner.² No sooner had this news been received than Du Moulin's vessel was stopped by the Spaniards to be searched. The Dutch captain predicted a bitter end for his French passenger, a Huguenot, if he should fall into the hands of the Spanish with his now useless papers signed by Vanderweck. Just as the boarding party of Spanish soldiers drew close, another ship from Zeeland came alongside, and on it Du Moulin recognized one of his friends, "frère de Monsieur Aurélius, Ministre de l'Église française de Londres."³ He soon made known his predicament to his friend who ordered him quickly to leave his own ship and pass over to his, the one coming from Zeeland. For, on his vessel there was a German who had papers with him for a servant who had had to leave his master in Zeeland because of illness. Du Moulin complied with all haste, donned the servant's clothes and posed as a valet to the German

¹ The Autobiography, p. 21.
gentleman for the remainder of the voyage to Antwerp. He landed there September 3, 1598, as he says, "admirant la providence de Dieu et son soin paternel en ma conservation."¹

He sojourned four days in Antwerp and then departed by boat for Brussels. Continuing on, his route included the following towns and cities: Gent, Oudenaarde, Courtrai, Lille, Arras, Amiens, and Rouen. From Brussels to Arras he went most of the way on foot, and he declares that this vigorous exercise cured him of a kidney ailment from which he had been suffering ("le grand travail que je pris en allant à pied me fut un souverain remède"). The reason for this extraordinary amount of walking was "la perversité d'un Espagnol qui estoit dans le Coche, qui mesdisoit horriblement de ma Religion," causing him to prefer following the coach on foot than to ride inside.²

Between Arras and Amiens, in a small village Du Moulin calls "La Brasserie," a drunken coach driver entered his room one night and threatened to kill him with a large knife. One would expect that a full description of a thrilling episode would follow, but Du Moulin, in setting down the incident, dismisses it with "mais Dieu m'en préserva."³

In Rouen he rested several days with his sister and brother-in-law, and then traveled on to Paris. Continuing his journey

¹ Ibid. The account of his voyage from Rotterdam to Antwerp appears in his Autobiography as well as in the biography written by Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger.
² Ibid., p. 23.
³ Ibid.
without stopping in the capital, he proceeded to Jargeau and to the home of his parents, arriving there at the end of September.

He was at home for over three months, and it is to be presumed that he spent his time in theological study preparatory to being ordained. His ordination came in December, 1598, at Gien.

Au mois de décembre, peu de jours devant Noël, mon père me mena à Gien, où se tint un Colloque, où je fus ouy en proposition et examiné, et receus l'imposition des mains par Monsieur Mélit, Ministre de Chastillon-sur-Loire; là estoit Monsieur Lenoir, aussi Ministre audit lieu de Chastillon, et les sieurs Fontaine et Pinet, Ministres de Gien.¹

Rather than go to Paris immediately, he looked elsewhere to find a place for his practical training. The Church at Blois was without a minister at that time, and they desired his help temporarily.² He was at Blois only two months, and from this temporary pastorate, he has remembered the fact that he preached,

...en la Maison de Monsieur Desoignis, sous une porte, entre deux chambres, ce qui estoit fort incommode; car il n'y avoit point encore de temple à Blois pour ceux de nostre Religion.³

During this time at Blois the Church at Paris never ceased from urging him to accept their call. At the end of February, he finally did decide to accept, and he arrived in Paris to begin his work there on the last day of February, 1599.⁴

The period of preparation in the life of Pierre Du Moulin had ended. He had reached the age of thirty, and he was already known

¹ Ibid., pp. 23 f.
² Ibid., p. 24. Monsieur de la Noue, pastor at Blois, had been called to Saumur.
³ Ibid.
as a professor by his lectures and by his writings. In his travels, in the midst of both good and bad fortunes, he had refined his intellect, had deepened his faith, and he had created numerous and beneficial relations in England and Holland. In all the dangers and heartaches he had felt the hand of God guiding him. He had known suffering, grief, exile, and misery. All his experiences had served to temper his spirit, to make him a strong person, healthy in body and mind, and perhaps somewhat fiery and authoritarian.

The first third of his ninety years had been in the sixteenth century, the age of iron men, men who could stand suffering and hardships. For a young man of his times his preparation had been extremely varied, demanding, and of a high calibre; and, looking back from this vantage point in time, one can see that great things were to come after such preparation.

At the moment when Du Moulin came to Paris in 1599, religious peace had existed in France for a year. Union had been restored, the League was at an end, order was established throughout the land, and the law securing adequate religious liberty had not only been enrolled but given some respect. In every regard Catholicism was still the state religion, there were still two armies, still two kinds of justice, but a relatively untroubled period had begun for the Huguenots. Marred only by such disturbances as the Huguenot wars in the 1620's, the period from 1598 to 1661 was the most tranquil one for French Protestantism from the time of the Reformation.
until the Revolution. The life and work of Pierre Du Moulin as pastor in Paris and as professor of theology in Sedan fell inside these sixty-three years.

His time as a minister of the Reformed Church in Paris lasts from 1599 to 1621, and it is this period of his life which must be studied now.
CHAPTER FOUR

PASTOR AND A CHURCH LEADER IN PARIS, 1599-1620

I. A Chaplain to Catherine

In the month of March, 1599, Pierre Du Moulin took his place in the Reformed Church in Paris, and he immediately found himself in an important and an honored work, that of being chaplain to Catherine, sister of Henry IV and wife of the Duke of Bar, who was the eldest son of the Duke of Lorraine.¹ His first sermon was delivered before Catherine in her own residence, the "hostel de Soissons," and the next day, he states, he preached in the Louvre, where "il y avoit un grand abord de peuple."²

Very likely Pastor Du Moulin was appointed as chaplain to the Duchess of Bar because the aging Pastor Lobérán de Montigny, who had served as chaplain, was unable to cope with the extra work and the travel it involved. Each year it was the custom for Protestant Catherine to make an extended trip into Lorraine, and each year Catherine took her chaplain with her. It fell to the

¹ There is confusion in some of the sources as to whether the young pastor was not first appointed as chaplain to Catherine and then at a later date came to be installed as a minister of the Paris Church. It is highly probable that he was inducted as pastor when he first came to Paris, and then was forthwith released from his duties in the Church to serve for a time as chaplain.

² The Autobiography, p. 24. He further remarks that it was a serious mistake that no one thought to ask Catherine at this time to urge her brother, the king, to appoint a recognized place for the Paris Protestants to meet for worship. Services were held, accompanied by Roman Catholic protests, in the Louvre when Catherine was in residence in Paris, but when she was absent from the city in 1599, the Huguenots, under the terms of the Edict, were forced to move their place of worship to Grigny, a full five leagues from Paris.
lot of Chaplain Du Moulin to accompany her on these annual ex-
cursions.\footnote{Although Catherine had a chaplain at all times, various pastors
filled this post according to a fixed schedule. Cf. Jean Aymon,
Tous les synodes nationaux des églises réformées de France (La
Haye: Charles Delo, 1710), 1, 245, 244. So it was that Du Moulin
was her chaplain for several years during the spring quarter. In
his Autobiography, p. 27, he writes, "Chaque année, au printemps,
je faisais un voyage en Lorraine pour servir mon quartier chez
Madame, soeur du roy, et, le quartier achevé, je retournois à mon
Église."}

A. The Marriage of Pierre Du Moulin. His first journey as chap-
lain to Catherine was a memorable one for not only did he have
the opportunity of conducting services in the Bishop's Palace
at Meaux and at Chalons, and in the Abbey of Jouarre,\footnote{"In her [Catherine] journeys She was always lodged & enter-}tained by ye Bishops & Abbots in their Palaces." John Quick, "The Life of Monsr.
\footnote{He had been pastor at Badonvillers in the Colloquy of Champagne.}
\footnote{Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 6. It is here stated
she had specifically requested that the chaplain be quartered in
her house, having in mind Monsieur Montigny, Catherine's usual
chaplain, since she wished to avoid the all too likely possibility
of an ill-mannered soldier being billeted in the house.}

Catherine and her party passed one night in the town of Vitry-le-
François in Champagne, and her chaplain was assigned to lodge
overnight in the house where the daughter of Monsieur de Chalitte,
the widow of a pastor, Samuel Le Pois,\footnote{Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 6. It is here stated
she had specifically requested that the chaplain be quartered in
her house, having in mind Monsieur Montigny, Catherine's usual
chaplain, since she wished to avoid the all too likely possibility
of an ill-mannered soldier being billeted in the house.} was living.

The next day Pierre Du Moulin continued his journey with the
party, but he did not forget Marie, the young pastor's widow. He
wrote to her from Bar-le-Duc, proposing to her. She asked for
time to consider, and on the return trip to Paris he again visited
her. A brief interruption came when he joined his father at
Chalons, only seven leagues from Vitry, and accompanied him to
Sedan for a brief visit where Joachim Du Moulin had some matters to
settle. Pierre tells of preaching "dans le Temple des papistes" before leaving Sedan and going back to Vitry. By this time the fair "demoiselle" had decided to give him an affirmative answer. The engagement was announced, and very shortly afterwards the marriage was performed at Vitry by Monsieur Yoland, the pastor there.¹

In a short while Du Moulin returned to Paris with his wife, narrowly escaping disaster as they were fording the Marne river on horseback at a place where the bridge was out.² From the middle of the summer of 1599 he was able to devote all his time to his work as pastor in the Reformed Church in Paris.

In his role as chaplain, Du Moulin was a success from all reports. He held this post for a number of years until Catherine's death, and both Pierre, The Younger, and John Quick insist that he enjoyed Catherine's favor, that she took a warm interest in his family, and that he could have made his position a very profitable one had he so desired.³

II. Paris in the Early Seventeenth Century

French society in these times was a well defined one with its several strata of position and wealth. While men and manners at court were surrounded by pompous and costly elegance, according to one who has written on the period,⁴ it was the bourgeoisie more

than any other class in the nation which summed up in itself and most adequately expressed the aspirations of the whole race. The bourgeoisie of Paris was something distinctive. It was almost a separate nation in itself, broken up into three sets. The highest consisted of judges, magistrates, professors, and a few great merchants; the second grade was made up of well-to-do tradespeople, trade-guild heads, apothecaries, and doctors; and the lowest consisted of the artisans, day laborers, and small tradespeople. Each seventeenth century Parisian strove to reach the next higher level in society, and failing that, indulged in as much imitation and ostentation as his income would permit. By the accession of Louis XIV the snobbish citizen was a common and unmistakable type. While the rich, lace-bedecked Parisians struggled to keep up heavily furnished houses replete with servants, to observe in all vanity the fine points of a showy etiquette, and to be respected by as many people as possible, the poor lived obscurely in back streets on a diet of chiefly bread and vegetables, working as many as seventeen hours a day including meal intervals.

Life for both rich and poor was one continual display, and everyone lived in the full glare of the public eye. Hence, Paris streets were thoroughfares of extraordinary confusion and chaos, caused by the jumble of carts and carriages, children, dogs, muddy pedestrians, conjurers, and vendors and hawkers of all description. In less noisy parts of the city lovers strolled, religious processions
made their way, and the very fashionable people moved along to the very fashionable shops clustered around the Palais de Justice.

When night fell over the city, silence fell upon the streets and the "messieurs les assassins" emerged, becoming more numerous as the years passed until at the time of the Fronde it was believed that from 8000 to 10,000 ruffians haunted the city. Punishments were barbaric and the conditions of prisoners were appalling.¹

Physical changes were taking place in the capital. It is to be remembered that Henry IV built the Place Royale, Place Dauphine, as well as the Quai de l'Horloge and the Quai des Orfèvres. Also in his reign the work of joining the Louvre to the Tuileries, begun in 1566, was completed. In 1614, a statue of Henry himself was erected on the Pont-Neuf. The year after, Marie de Medici built the Luxembourg Palace, and under Louis XIII Paris continued to grow. The center of the town extended westward, but it did not yet enclose the districts which were springing up to the north and to the south.

III. The Du Moulin Family in Paris

Pannier furnishes the information² that during the time Pierre

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¹ Vide C. Hugon, op. cit., pp. 146-166, for a more complete description of Paris life in the early seventeenth century.

² J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Henri IV, p. 146, in citing the Minutes du notaire protestant François, Vide Minutes (1592 à 1609) du notaire protestant François, Minutes du notaire catholique Bourgeois (1598 à 1634), (Mss. in the offices of their successors in Paris), for the year 1603, No. 54; the year 1604, No. 328.
Du Moulin was in Paris he lived for a short period first of all on Rue de Bièvre, and then moved outside the city walls to the south, to the suburb Saint-German, where he resided on Rue des Marais (today Rue Visconti)\(^1\) for the latter and greater part of his pastorate. Coming to Paris when and as he did, he figured far less in the legal proceedings of these years and had far less personal connection with Henry IV. Pastor Du Moulin is shown by a likeness made in 1608 (see Frontispiece) to be dressed in the same fashion as his fellow ministers, to have a rather lean face, black hair and moustache, a square beard, thin cheeks, a remarkably alert expression and a resolute bearing. No portrait of Madame Du Moulin, the pastor's wife, is known to exist, and facts about her which have been preserved are few.

According to her husband, she was "un rare exemple de piété, de zèle & de charité envers le pouvre. Elle vivoit comme il faut mourir."\(^2\) He stated in 1622 at the time of her death that he could write a separate book on her many virtues, and that her last words were, "Je voy mon Dieu."\(^3\)

While in Paris she had given birth to and mothered several children: \(^4\) The first was Pierre who was born on "... lundi 24 d'avril [1601], entre cinq et six heures du soir... Monsieur Arnault, intendant.

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\(^1\) It is one of many narrow drab streets found on Paris's "Rive Gauche," still claiming many old buildings. In one of the houses Jean Racine died in 1699; in No. 17, Honoré De Balzac set up his printing shop, 1826-1828.

\(^2\) Pierre Du Moulin, Dix décades de sermons (Genève: Jacques & Pierre Chouet, 1641-1654), Preface to the VIIIe décade, a letter to his sons, Pierre, Louis, & Cyrus Du Moulin.

\(^3\) The Autobiography, p. 45.

des finances, fut parrain, et Madame de Balfour, fille de Monsieur de Chetainville, marraine.\textsuperscript{1} Esther was born September 21, 1603, when her father was on his way to the National Synod of Gap as a deputy. Louis was born October 25, 1605, with Monsieur de Monceaux and Mademoiselle L'Hoste as god-parents; and on September 2, 1608, the birth of Cyrus occurred. Finally, at a date not known, another daughter, Marie was born.\textsuperscript{2}

The Du Moulin family has furnished an example of the conditions of life belonging to "une bonne famille de moyenne bourgeoisie au temps de Louis XIII."\textsuperscript{3} From 1604 until their departure from Paris, the Du Moulins lived on Rue des Marais where the houses were spaced well, new and ventilated, as compared with other parts of the city. Their neighbors on the street included the Du Cerceaus, Protestants, architects to the king; two elders in the Reformed Church, one an "avocat" and the other "procureur au Parlement;" Jean de Massanes, secretary to the king; and lastly, there was the "hôtel de Liembrune."\textsuperscript{4}

In all likelihood there were four stories to the Du Moulin house - a ground floor, the first and second, and an attic of sorts. The Autobiography tells of two rooms. On the ground floor there was the low-ceilinged dining room, rather somber, where the family ate. On the very top floor was the study of Pastor Du Moulin.

\textsuperscript{1} The Autobiography, p. 27.
\textsuperscript{2} H. Bordier, La France Protestante, op. cit., V, 824. Here two other children are mentioned, Joachim and Samuel, a reference to whom is not found elsewhere. At the same time, La France Protestante fails to record Marie, who nevertheless brings forth notice from other sources, e.g., John Quick, "The Life of Monsr. Peter du Moulin Minr. of Paris," Icones Sacrae Gallicanae, p. 52.
\textsuperscript{3} J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1610-1621) p. 220.
\textsuperscript{4} Ibid., pp. 224 f.
There he received his visitors and parishioners and even Roman Catholics who came to dispute privately or to talk on literary or political subjects. This was a small room. It contained no fireplace, and was very cold in winter. No doubt there was a guest room as well, but very likely only one. On occasions when the family gathered, they met either in the dining room on the ground floor or perhaps in a larger room on the first floor.

The early education and instruction of the Huguenot children was carried out in the home in this period, but when they reached the age of ten years or so, it was necessary to send them to one of the colleges or academies. In the same way that Pierre Du Moulin had gone to Sedan at the age of ten, he sent his sons to the "Collège de Saumur," although Pierre, The Younger, completed his study at Sedan before going on to Leyden.¹ It was not uncommon for Protestants to send their sons outside of France to get or complete their education — to places such as Geneva, Leyden, Cambridge and Oxford.

Besides The Autobiography there is another document which sheds light on the Du Moulin domestic life.² The Du Moulin household contained at least two servants, a valet and a maid. The valet for a number of years was a man named Benjamin de Monbhard; later a man named Toussaint.³ Often this valet accompanied his

¹ The reason for choosing Saumur seems to have been Du Moulin's great confidence in the institution founded by and supervised by Du Plessis-Mornay. "La lettre de Pierre Du Moulin à Du Plessis-Mornay, 8 Septembre, 1616," BSHPF, 1869, pp. 473 f. "J'envoyé à Saumur trois de mes fils pour estre mis au collège, etc."

² Défense de Madame Du Moulin dans un procès intenté contre elle par une servante (Ms. fr. 20966 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris); reproduced in full in Pannier's L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1610-1621), pp. 657-660.

employer in the city and to Charenton on Sundays and Thursdays for the services. The name of the maid who was with the family for some time was Guillemette Guiot. If Pierre Du Moulin found his wife to be an example of all the virtues, Guillemette described Madame Du Moulin to be proud and irascible. Guillemette was finally dismissed from her position, and nothing was heard from her for three years. Then she returned to protest her dismissal and to create a scandal which went before the Consistory and eventually to the civil courts. The whole incident is of minor importance, but it is of interest to see Pierre Du Moulin as a pastor, erudite theologian, public figure, and royal counsellor, but also as a very human person in his own home trying to settle a domestic problem. It seems he was successful in persuading everyone to make confessions and excuses so that the end of the matter was not a bitter one. The servant woman was found guilty, however, "pour insulte à sa maîtresse et calomnie."

The house on Rue des Marais was not without more dramatic moments. "Le plus notable accident" in Du Moulin's life befell him while in his third floor study one winter's evening between eight and nine o'clock.

La froidure estoit extrême, et mon encre se geloit en écrivant. Mon estude estoit fort petite, au troisième estage. Ma famille soupoit en une salle basse, bien loin de moy. C'estoit ma coutume de ne souper point avec les autres et de m'enfermer en mon estude à cause de l'extrême froidure. Je me

1 J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1610-1621), pp. 240-244.
fis apporter un grand chaudron plein de charbon ardent,
dont la fumée me saisit incontinent le cerveau et le coeur,
tellement que je m'évanouis en ma chaire....Mon fils aîné,
Pierre Du Moulin, monta en la chambre haute, etc, m'ayant
trouvé ainsi couché, courut en bas, disant: Mon père est mort.
Mais ce pendant qu'on accourait, je me relevai et m'assis sur
en petit lit, ayant l'esprit tout renversé et le visage gelé;
et ne pus de six semaines monter en chaire pour prescher.

IV. Visitors to Rue Des Marais

A. Unwelcome Callers. Not all the troubles came from inside the
house. On one occasion, "deux hommes ayants de longs manteaux
noirs" entered the house at sunset. One stayed by the door to
insure a safe withdrawal while the other searched out Du Moulin
to do him harm. As he entered the room and advanced upon him,
Du Moulin placed a chair in his way. Only momentarily diverted,
he dodged around the chair and continued his pursuit. Fortunately,
the valet, Benjamin, arrived in time to overpower the intruder and
expel him. Another time it was a man dressed as a priest who
tried to gain admittance. On yet another occasion

... there was a Stranger of better principles, wo came rapping
at ye Drs door at midnight, makeing as lowd a noise as if he
would have beat down ye house. A servant opening ye Casement,
asked him ye reason of his disturbing ye family. I must, sayd
He, speak with Dr du Moulin. He was told that he was asleep
in his bed, & he should come in ye morning. 'Tis all one,
said He, doe yu rouze him up, for I will not begon till I have
spoken with him, & began to knock more loudly & impetuously
than ever. Dr. du Moulin ordered ye door to be opened to him,
& that He should be brought into his chamber. When He came
near his bedside, Most Reverent Sr, sayd He, pardon me that I
trouble yu so unseasonably. But in Conscience I could not avoid
it, for I am come to forwarne yu of a designe layd against your
life by your malicious Enemy's. I came by boat from Nanterre

1 The Autobiography, p. 38.
unto Paris, & in that boat was I in company with a most notorious Rogue that hath but one eye; & altho he never saw me before, yet ye villaine discovered to me in discourse his plot to murder yu after this manner, "I will carry to him, said He, as a present from Such a dear friend of his two boxes of poysioned prunes. Undoubtedly He will accept & eat of them, & then ye world will be ride of an Arch-Heretick. Sr, I beg of yu take in good part this Advice, Forewarnde forearmde. The Lord preserve yu! I am your most humble servant." The next day this one-eyed Raskall brought ye boxes of prunes to Monsr du Moulin's house; but He would neither see him, nor receive them, & so was mercifully delivered & his family from this divelish designe.\(^1\)

And his son has said that,

Twice was his house besieged by a rabble of people to destroy him and his Family, but brought no greater Artillery than Muskets, wherewith they shot through the gate in several places: they assayed to break the door, but could not.\(^2\)

B. Famous Visitants. Others more welcome and more famous came to the Du Moulin home from time to time.

Quicquid habebat Nobilitatis Reformata Gallia; quicquid eximium ex Protestante Germania, Britannia, Polonia, Dania & Suecia Lutetiae peregrinabatur, ad Molinaeum confluebat. Raro pomeridianis horis carebant Molinaei fores nobilium vehiculis.\(^3\)

There were illustrious Frenchmen like Agrippa D'Aubigné,\(^4\) and famous men from abroad, Andrew Melville, for example.\(^5\)

The name of Pierre Du Moulin was well known outside of Paris by the institutions of learning as well as by famous men. Several

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\(^3\) W. Bates, op. cit., p. 712.
\(^5\) "He was also hospitably entertained by Du Moulin, the well-known protestant minister of Paris, who was greatly pleased with the learning which he displayed in conversation....After remaining a few days in Paris, he repaired to Sedan, and was admitted to the place destined for him in the university." Thomas M'Crie, Life of Andrew Melville (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1824), II, 278.
times during his pastorate in Paris, Du Moulin was sought out by universities and offered a position as professor. Saumur in 1604 and in 1605 offered him a professorship,¹ and Leyden invited him to accept the Chair of Divinity in 1611 after the death of Arminius, and again came to him in 1619.² Quick refers to a "like call given him from the Academy of Groningen."³ The Church at Paris was unwilling to part with their pastor; consequently he refused all of these positions as they were proffered to him.

V. Du Moulin and the Reformed Church of Paris

Pannier has divided the early history of the Reformed Church of Paris into three parts: "I⁰ époque du protestantisme parisien: les adhésions individuelles (1509-1555). - II. L'organisation de l'Eglise (1555-1562). - III. Vie latente et persécution (1562-1594)."⁴

After the arrival of Henry IV in Paris in 1594 both the city and the Reformed Church received new life and underwent a restoration. Specially was this true of the Reformed Church in 1598 when the Edict of Nantes was published. From this point onwards there was an openly recognized Paris Church with its ministry and its place of worship.

A. Pastors. While Pierre Du Moulin clearly belongs to the "régime

4 J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Henri IV, p. 15.

Pannier's volumes on "L'Eglise réformée de Paris" are exhaustive and invaluable sources on the history of Protestantism in Paris from 1594 to 1629.
nouveau," his associates Lobéran and La Faye had been serving the Church for years before the young professor from Leyden became minister.

François de Lobéran de Montigny was pastor in Paris for thirty-five of his eighty years, very likely from 1583 to 1619 when he died. All credit is due to him and his colleague, Antoine de la Faye, for their ability and efforts in preserving a semblance of a Church and in ministering to the Huguenots living in and around Paris during the latter part of the sixteenth century. La Faye, a man of action rather than a theorist or a thinker, was pastor of the Church for three decades from 1579 to 1609 when he died. Both of these men were what one might call "mi-gentilhomme, mi-pasteur," yet both were faithful and courageous Christian men.¹

Other orthodox Calvinist pastors who ministered to the faithful there in Paris and who were contemporary with Du Moulin were Jacques Couet, who was little known and whose ministry was a brief one, from 1603 (ca.) to 1608; Samuel Durant, whose term was from 1607 (ca.) to 1626;² Charles Drelincourt, who came in 1620 to replace Lobéran de Montigny after his death in May, 1619; and Jean Mestrezat, who was ordained in Paris in the year 1614.³

Mestrezat, a Genevan, had been a vicar or assistant ("suffragant")

¹ Ibid., pp. 121-136.
³ "L'an 1614, le 27 aoust, j'imposé les Mains à Monsieur Mestrezat publiquement à Charenton." The Autobiography, p. 29.
at the Paris Church in 1611, but went on to further education and travels before accepting the call to be pastor in Paris. Pierre Du Moulin preached the sermon at his ordination service which took place in the "Temple de Charenton," and he took as his text Colossians 4:17.¹

B. Place of Worship. From 1594 to 1599 the place of the "culte" had been in the residence of Catherine de Bourbon, and when Catherine was residing in the Louvre, Protestant services were held there, much to the annoyance of the Roman Catholic clergy. Under the terms of the Edict of Nantes any Reformed worship would have to take place at least five leagues distant from the city, so in 1599 for several months the Reformed services were held in the home of "Monsieur J. Mercier, seigneur des Bordes" at Grigny.²

This was a temporary location, and Du Moulin could not have preached too many sermons before the place of worship was brought nearer to Paris by a league, to Ablon, in the last months of 1599. He has recorded this fact: "L'an 1601, le lieu de l'exercice fut approché d'une lieue et mis à Ablon, à quatre lieues de Paris."³ This was the established place for Protestant worship at Paris, but the great distance from the city made it virtually impossible

³ The Autobiography, p. 27. Pannier has explained that evidence does exist that there were services being held at Ablon in late 1599 and 1600, but that the actual "Temple" was not constructed until 1601. A partial description of this "Temple" is given, J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Henri IV, pp. 109-115. Cf. also A. Coquerel, "L'Eglise à Ablon," BSHPF, 1866, pp. 547 ff.
for the aged to attend services and for babies to be carried to the Church for baptism, especially during inclement weather. After having been approached many times on this point, Henry IV declared the place of worship to be in Charenton, only one and a half to two leagues from Paris.¹

Charenton was scarcely even a village in 1606, although it did constitute a Roman Catholic parish. Against the opposition of the landowning "seigneurs," the Huguenots were able to purchase land in the open countryside² and thereupon erected their Church ("Temple"). The first "Temple" lasted until September, 1621, when it was destroyed by fire and a second building was constructed.³ It, in turn, lasted until 1685 when it was razed at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The Charenton structure was large, rectangular in form, and plain, more like an auditorium than a church. High windows with clear glass let in the light, and inside the worshippers sat on rows of benches, both on the floor level and in the galleries. The central furnishing was the pulpit. An idea of the size of this building can be gained from the estimate of the number of people present at services, one observer stating that from 3000-4000 were present on a Sunday in 1613 while De L'Estoile in 1606 reckoned that 3000 attended the service of inauguration.⁴

² 200 meters long, 115 meters wide.
³ Although it is possible to approximate what the first "Temple" was like from the description of the second which has been preserved and from other "Temples" constructed at the same time, the relatively vague and scattered pieces of data would make any accurate reconstruction of the building of 1606 very difficult.
Du Moulin's own views on types of suitable church buildings are seen in one of his sermons:

Maintenant donc, mes frères, vous comprenez quels sont les temples que Dieu aime, à qu'il choisit pour sa demeure. Ce ne sont point ces temples superbes dont les voûtes hautes eslevées retentissent, qui sont soutenus de longs rags de colonnes, dont le pavé reluit de marbre de diverses couleurs, & les murailles de dorures & d'images. C'est là où volontiers se nichent les diables. Comme les femmes depourvues de beauté naturelle se parent plus curieusement, ainsi les religions qui ont moins de vérité, recherchent plus d'ornemens. ...Joint que nous ne condamnons pas les temples magnifiques, & voudrions qu'il nous fust permis de prescher ès grands temples du Royaume. Quant Dieu donne la commodité il est bien séant que le lieu où l'Eglise s'assemble soit honneste, & en état décent. L'ordure & indignité du lieu destiné au service de Dieu est une preuve du mespris du service de Dieu.¹

VI. Churchmanship

Speaking of the average French pastor of the era, Pannier points out that "si la cure d'âmes et la participation aux assemblées de l'Eglise étaient des parties importantes du ministère pastoral, la 'principale fonction' était la prédication."² As famous a preacher as Pierre Du Moulin was, his greatness did not stem solely from his pulpit reputation. No less great were his attainments as a controversialist,³ and as a leader in the French Reformed Church during the first half of the seventeenth century.

A. French Synods, 1603-1614. He was a deputy to the National Synod of Gap in 1603 and to the Political Assembly of Châtellerault in 1605, though he played no important role at either. It was at the National Synod of Privas in 1612 when he commenced to exert an

¹ Pierre Du Moulin, Dix dègades de sermons, Ie dècade, pp. 263-265.
³ Vide infra, Chaps. V, VII.
influence on the solution of some religious questions.

A question about the necessity and times of baptism had been raised in the previous National Synod of St. Maixent,¹ and it was further discussed in 1612 at Privas where it was decided that pastors Du Moulin, La Faye, and Le Faucheur should present a report on the necessity and times of baptism of infants (before, after or without a sermon).² In a very carefully prepared report to the Synod Du Moulin and his associates, after presenting reasons pro and con, conclude that it is necessary to reject the practice of administering baptism "sans prédication," even in the case of need (the extreme illness of a child). Their conclusions were adopted by the Synod.³ Du Moulin, who was the Vice-Moderator ("Ajoint") at this Synod, raised anew the name and doctrine of Piscator⁴ by presenting a treatise to the assembly refuting his doctrine. Pastors Sonis, La Fresnaye, Le Faucheur, and Bonnet examined it and brought in a favorable report, testifying that "il contient une Doctrine Orthodoxe & très-utile pour l'Édification de l'Église."⁵

The confidence and trust of the Synod in the abilities of

¹ J. Aymon, op. cit., I, 359.
² Ibid., I, 404 f.
³ Ibid., I, 446-457.
⁴ Jean Fischer, in Latin Piscator, (1546-1625 ca.). Not only did he attack the doctrine of ubiquity, but he taught "que l'obéissance passive du Fils de Dieu était seule imputée aux hommes à justice, parce que comme nous tous, le Christ avait dû accomplir pour son propre compte la loi divine par son obéissance active ou la sainteté de sa vie." Later, he established that if men had already been justified by the holiness of the life of Jesus, his death would have been useless; and that God would be showing himself unjust in demanding twice the punishment for a lone sin. Other National Synods had discussed his teachings and legislated against them, namely the Synod of Gap in 1603 and that of La Rochelle in 1607. Cf. H. Bordier, La France Protestante, op. cit., VI, 543.
⁵ J. Aymon, op. cit., I, 432.
Du Moulin was seen in their appointing him, his co-worker Durant, and an elder from Orléans for a rather delicate task. By the authority of this Synod, these three men were to be "au Nom de toutes nos Eglises, les Médiateurs d'une bonne Paix, qui réunisse tous les Esprits irrités, à les diverses Opinions mées dans l'Assemblée de Saumur."\(^1\) It was a fundamentally Christian task, not encroaching upon political terrain, aiming at reconciling the powerful Protestant lords and other Protestants who had gathered in contrary factions.

In 1614 the National Synod met at Tonneins. Du Moulin was not present,\(^2\) but his name is scattered through the records of this meeting, mostly in connection with the doctrinal controversy he was engaged in with Tilem\(\text{\`e}us.\)\(^3\) The special commission appointed at the Privas Synod in 1612 (Du Moulin, Durant, and the elder) was thanked by the Tonneins Synod, commended for its good work, and disbanded.\(^4\)

B. Synod of Dort. Had Pastor Du Moulin been able to go to the Synod of Dort in 1618 he most certainly would have been one of the leading figures there. It was only natural that one who was on such close terms with King James I, who had lived in Holland and had been a professor in Leyden, and who was a friend of Gomarus would be chosen to represent the Reformed Church of France at the Synod. Three others were to accompany the Paris pastor - pastors

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1 Ibid., I, 421.
2 Ibid., II, 5.
3 Vide infra, chap. V.
4 J. Aymon, op. cit., II, 11.
Chamier, Chauve, and Rivet. 1

In October, 1618, Du Moulin was ready to depart for Holland. "Desjà je faisais mon paquet pour me rendre à Dordrect," he writes, "quant un huissier du Conseil du roy me fut envoyé, qui me fit défence, sur peine de la vie, de sortir du royaume." Then follows a significant comment of two words: "Fallut obéir." 2

A similar interdiction was handed to the others. Permission was refused on the basis that in principle it was always forbidden to send deputies to conferences or meetings held "hors les terres et pays de l'obéissance de Sa Majesté." 3 Protestants in these times in the eyes of the French government were people to be suspected, and all the more so when having contacts with a foreign country, if only on purely religious matters.

Though forbidden to go to Dort, Calvinist Du Moulin set about to write his Anatome Arminianismi, which was permitted to be published in 1619 after the Synod had ended. But, it can be seen that his influence was felt even during the sessions at Dort, "bujus ipse," says Grotius, "quanquam absens, inter praecipuos fabros fuit." 4 Even remembering that the final decisions were in accord with Du Moulin's views, the fact that he was given in absentia "the same present which they gave to the Deputies of their Synod, A large

1 It is unusual that there was not even one layman appointed, for this was a time when laymen, Casaubon and Du Plessis-Mornay for example, were good theologians.

2 The Autobiography, p. 40. A copy of the "ordonnance royale interdissant à DuMoulin d'assister au synode de Dordrecht" which is to be found in the Bibliothèque Mazarin, Paris, is printed in J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1610-1621) p. 669.

3 This was not the first such prohibition. Henry II had not permitted some French prelates to attend certain sessions of the Council of Trent.

4 G. Gory, op. cit., p. 56.
golden Medal with a chain of Gold, and two hundred Crowns of Gold, "1 was a clear recognition of his influence and the esteem in which he was held by the Calvinist party.

C. The National Synod of the French Reformed Church, Alais, 1620.

In 1620, Dr. Du Moulin2 was elected Moderator of the National Synod of Alais. The choice of him as moderator was an indication of the sentiments of the majority of the deputies present concerning the canons promulgated at Dort in 1619. According to Aymon, these canons were "lus, examinés fort attentivement, & bien pesés, recûs & approuvés d'un Consentement unanime, comme très conformes à la Parole de Dieu, & à la Confession de Foi de nos Eglises."3

However, another version reports that there was a strong opposition to the adoption of the canons of Dort by the French Church, and that the moderator reduced to silence all opposition "en usurpant une autorité papale."4

Nevertheless, the decisions of Dort were annexed to the Confession of Faith by the "Formulaire de serment" which all the deputies at Alais swore to and signed.5 At this same Synod the Huguenots were drawn closer together by a new "serment d'union," and several changes in the Discipline were enacted.6

Du Moulin was at the zenith of his glory and of his influence. The great adversary of the Roman Catholics, the victor in the

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2 He had received his Doctorate from the University of Cambridge in 1615.
3 J. Aymon, op. cit., II, 183.
4 H. Bordier, La France Protestante, op. cit., V, 804.
6 Ibid., II, 138-232.
Arminian controversy, he was at this time a famous doctor of the Church and a leading figure in France. But already events were leading to a grand upheaval in his life.  

VII. Exiled, 1620.

Peu de jours devant ma Députation au Synode National d'Alez, je fus voir Monsieur Herbert, Ambassadeur à Paris pour le Roy de la Grand-Bretaigne, lequel me dit que le Roy son maistre lisoit volontiers mes Lettres, et m'exhorrta à luy escrire de bonnes lettres, par lesquelles je l'exhortasse à entreprendre courageusement la Défence du Roy de Bohême, son gendre. Je fis tout ce que je pus pour m'en excuser, et luy disois que cette affaire estoit trop grande pour un homme de basse condition comme moy; mais il me pressa, en sorte qu'en fin je luy promis. J'escrivis donc au Roy des Lettres Exhortatoires, que je mis en main au Secrétaire de cet Ambassadeur. Cela fait, je pars pour aller à Alez, au Synode. Mais avint, par je ne sçay quel moyen, que ces lettres furent portées au Conseil du Roy, et là-dessus fut conclu qu'il falloit me prendre et constituer prisonnier, pource que j'exhortois un roy voisin à s'armer et entreprendre la défence de l'Eglise. Mais j'estoys parti, et estoys desja en Languedoc, où je présidois au Synode, ne sachant rien de l'interception de mes Lettres et du mal qui m'estoit appresté.  

Completely innocent of the verdict brought against him, Du Moulin planned to visit Montauban and La Rochelle before returning to Paris. It was there at La Rochelle that plans were made to take him prisoner on the grounds of additional rebellion against the king, because at that moment a Protestant Political Assembly was convening at La Rochelle against the order of the king. Learning of this disobedience on the part of the Assembly, he abandoned his proposed trip and went to Lyons instead. There he received from his colleague in Paris, Drelincourt, a letter warning him of

1 E. Armand, op. cit., p. 24.  
2 The Autobiography, p. 41.
the charges brought against him and explaining the seriousness of the situation. Hence, in place of returning directly to Paris he stopped outside of the city at Grigny and remained with his old friend, Josias Mercier, "Seigneur des Bordes," one of the oldest members of the Consistory of the Paris Church, in whose château the Huguenots had met for worship in 1599.1 From Grigny the condemned Du Moulin sent word to his wife, who, in turn, sent her husband's brother, Jean Du Moulin, to help him. The two men slipped into Paris in the evening, unnoticed, and went to see the English ambassador, Lord Herbert, finding him in nightshirt and ready for bed. As soon as the ambassador saw who it was who was calling at "dix heures du soir," he told his pastor-friend that his life was in peril and that he must lose no time in fleeing from the city. Acting upon this sound advice, the fugitive Du Moulin met his wife in the home of a neighbor on Rue du Colombier (today Rue Jacob) where he took the clothes she brought and bade her farewell. He mounted his horse and with his brother rode to Lumigny, about thirty miles from Paris. There at the Château de Lumigny, welcomed by the Protestant owner, the Count de la Suze, he spent a few days while waiting for a reply to his request for some counsel sent to the Consistory of the Paris Church. Two of the elders came to Lumigny to tell him not to consider returning to his church but to hurry away and take all

1 Vide supra, p. 79.
precautions for his safety. He left Lumigny by night, still accompanied by his brother, and made his way to Sedan. He arrived in Sedan on January 5, 1621.¹

To write the letters he did to James I was a very imprudent move on the part of Pastor Du Moulin. It would have been so almost any time, but it was especially so in France in his day. His punishment seems hard for an act which was in no way intended to be traitorous, and his record through the years had been one of continued loyalty to the crown. On two different occasions he had been presented with a gift of money in recognition of his unwavering obedience and service to the monarch.² Yet, he was a minister of the "Religion Prétendue Réformée," he had disputed with eminent Roman Catholics, everyone knew his strong antipathy towards the Jesuits, and he was on intimate terms with a foreign Protestant ruler. In the eyes of the French government these were very good reasons for feeling the country would be the better without him. But, it was more than a question of his loyalty. For twenty years Theologian Du Moulin had been a veritable "thorn in the flesh" of the Parisian Roman Catholics by the effective way he had opposed them in the controversies and by his writings against them and their church. In the eyes of Roman Catholic Paris, these were sound reasons for wanting him far from the city.

It is time now to give an account of his writings and his controversies during his Paris ministry.

¹ Vide The Autobiography, p. 43; also J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII. (1610-1621), pp. 534-537.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONTROVERSIALIST IN PARIS, 1599-1620

I. Introduction to the Controversies.

The seventeenth century was perhaps the most theological of all historic epochs, for it may be doubted whether the popular discussions of technical theology which Socrates describes as prevailing in the Nicene age really indicated any general dominance of theology in the region of popular practice, and in the "Ages of Faith" the intelligence of the average multitude slumbered under the unquestioned empire of the Church.\(^1\)

G. N. Clark has echoed what Henson has said when he points out that every important religious transaction which took place in Europe in the seventeenth century was the occasion of acrimonious controversy. The prevailing note of the theological writings of the century was ferocity.\(^2\) And it is certainly true that the major part of the theological writings of Pierre Du Moulin evolved from the many controversies in which he was a participant. Basically, he was a theologian; his formal position in Paris was that of a Huguenot minister; in actual fact, he was a controversialist. Paul De Felice has pointed out:

> Il ne faudrait pas croire que ces pasteurs fussent seulement des théologiens érudits. Ils l'étaient, sans doute, d'abord. Mais ils étaient aussi des juristes... des historiens... des controversistes, comme Chamier, Aubertin, Calvin, Du Moulin, Daillé, Drelincourt, Vignier.\(^3\)

As a controversialist Du Moulin is worthy of close study, for

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in following his life and work it is possible to see and understand in a clearer way the theological controversy of the times. He was the perfect incarnation of the type of French Protestant controversialist for half a century. He possessed all the qualities and faults of others less eminent. He was essentially French, the embodiment of the Gallic spirit. He had the temperament of a fighter, and this, coupled with the fierce struggle for life that he had, brought forth a champion. Perhaps the best testimony to his merit in the arena of theological controversy was the very real hostility of his opponents.

As a disputant he eclipsed his fellow-Protestants, but there were some of equal rank on the Roman Catholic side. In ability, Cardinal Du Perron came first. He, like Cayer, came from a Protestant background, and he knew better than most Catholics the strong and the weak points of the opposition. Cayer himself was an able fighter, but perhaps even more competent was Father Coton, who would stop at nothing in order to achieve his ends. As for the rest, Suarez was perhaps the most disagreeable combatant, while if the others lacked his fire and craftiness, they were better theologians. Both parties, it must be said, were equally sincere and equally intense in their efforts to search for the truth through these grand encounters.¹

very often they were accompanied by seconds. However, two pastors never participated together in a verbal conference, although laymen might have been in attendance and one might have acted as a scribe. Only rarely was the Catholic champion helped by laymen; one or more monks usually assisted him. The seconds occasionally spoke up to add a point in support of the principal, to permit him to catch his breath, or just to show off their own brilliance.¹

The audience varied in size with the importance of the dispute and the disputants and with the size of the meeting place. It was customary to hold the conferences in private homes, and those who attended were cultivated people for the most part—the lords and ladies, the magistrates, and the "avocats au parlement."²

The verbal conference might be as brief as a few hours or it might involve several meetings stretching over a period of a few weeks, but it was only a prologue to the written controversy which followed. There would first be an exchange of letters, then pamphlets and books would be written. These would be circulated in manuscript form, coming into print later. An attempt was made to give a just and accurate report of the verbal part of the dispute, but it hardly ever failed that upon the publication of such a report by one of the parties the other would judge it

¹ Ibid., pp. 231 ff.
² Ibid.
to be inexact and calumnious and a second account would soon appear. 1

The Consistory never interfered directly with their pastor's handling of a controversy although they might counsel him on his procedure and actions. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church kept very close guard on its debaters, and was sometimes guilty of directly intervening in a controversy to stop the verbal encounters, or to suppress publications, sometimes by seizing them. 2

More often than not it was the Roman Catholic party which took the offensive in the disputes by attacking some point of Protestant doctrine. The genuine controversy only really began after long or short preliminaries on the subjects to be discussed and the procedure to be followed. Frequently, a precise text was chosen such as an article from the Reformed Confession of Faith or a paragraph from the Roman Missal, or perhaps it was a verse of Scripture or a syllogism. The procedure most often conformed to the scholastic method, and for an effective presentation of one's points much depended on the knowledge and usage of the laws and subtilities of logic. Because Du Moulin had been a professor of philosophy and had written a treatise on logic, he was acclaimed as a real foe. 3

The controversialists drew from many fields of knowledge.

1 Ibid., pp. 235 f.
2 Ibid., pp. 239 f.
3 Ibid., pp. 243 f.
References to General History, Church History, History of Religions, and Philology were numerous, though Mathematics, Physical and Natural Science were less utilized. Modern languages were ignored; both Catholics and Protestants used Greek and Latin widely, the latter group having a marked superiority in the use of Hebrew.¹

In his lucid treatment of seventeenth century controversy Pannier also points out that on every occasion the contestants did their best to show the practical consequences of adhering to a certain doctrine or set of ideas. The controversies were by no means theoretical. Two points were made time and again: The Catholics, accused the Huguenots, could never be loyal to the king as long as they exalted the Pope; the Catholics, in turn, protested that to carry out the Reformed doctrines to their logical end would mean the overthrow of all of society.

II. Encounters with Roman Catholic Controversialists

It will not be necessary nor even feasible within the limits of this chapter to analyze in detail all of Pierre Du Moulin's controversies, but a narration of the main ones is unquestionably in order.

A. Cayer. Almost from the very day Pastor Du Moulin took up his work in Paris he was embroiled in contests with Roman Catholics. His very first encounter was with Pierre Cayer,²

¹ Ibid., pp. 246, 248.
² Pierre Cayer (or Cayet) had been reared a Catholic, but under Ramus had become a Protestant. He studied in Geneva, came to France and was pastor of the Church at Poitou, then became chaplain to Catherine. He abjured in November, 1595, was ordained a priest, and in 1600 became a Doctor of the Sorbonne. H. Bordier, La France Protestante, op. cit., III, 944-954; cf. J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Henri IV, pp. 52-56.
a Doctor of the Sorbonne, formerly a Huguenot minister, and
details of the conference have been set down by one who attended,
Archibald Adair, a Scot.\(^1\)

At the end of the year 1601 a conference between Du Moulin
and Cayer had been attempted, but Cayer had asked that it be
postponed. In the spring of 1602 he expressed his willingness
to participate, but at this time Du Moulin was on his annual
tour of duty as chaplain to Catherine. In his absence Cayer
put forth a book accusing his adversary of deserting the cause
and running away from the dispute. When Du Moulin returned,
the challenge was renewed on both sides, and the first meeting
took place on May 28, 1602 in the house adjoining the residence
of Catherine.\(^2\)

The conference lasted a fortnight. The numbers attending
were so great that the room was not large enough to accommodate
all who wished entrance. Scribes recorded the events. Du
Moulin had no seconds; Cayer was assisted by two Carmelite friars.
The ex-pastor was the accuser, and it was he who proposed the
subjects to be debated - "du Sacrifice de la Messe, de l'Adora-
tion du Pape, & de la vénération des saintes Images."\(^3\)

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\(^1\) Archibault Adaire, *Narré de la Conférence verbale et par écrit, tenue
entre M. Pierre du Moulin & M. Cayer* (Genève: Pierre Aubert, 1633). Adaire
was one of several Scottish divines who spent more or less
time in France during the seventeenth century, taking an active
part in the life of the French Reformed Church. Francisque-Michel
in his *Les Écosais en France, Les Français en Écosse* (London:
Trubner & Co., 1862), II, 163 f., mentions Adaire along with David
Home and George Thomson. Adaire later became Bishop of Waterford
and Lismore in Ireland in 1641, and Bishop of Killala in 1647. —
Tonson, 1721), I, 739; James Ware, *The History of the Writers of

\(^2\) A. Adaire, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

\(^3\) Ibid., pp. 8 f.
Leur commencement a esté par la prière: Cayer le premier après s'estre remparé du signe de la croix a fait la prière en Latin: du Moulin l'a fait puis après en François.1

Then Du Moulin opened the dispute with this syllogism:

Tout sacrifice...qui n'a point esté institué de Jésus Christ...doit estre rejetté en l'Eglise.
Le sacrifice de la Messe est tel.
Donc le sacrifice de la Messe doit estre rejetté en l'Eglise.2

He developed it in six points,3 and then Cayer replied with several syllogisms in refutation.4 The conference proceeded with the two adversaries attacking and defending by use of verses of Scripture and syllogisms. Digressions were long and involved. The audience, showing its feelings openly, often laughed aloud. After a week,

...la Sorbonne reprit aigrement Cayer de ce qu'il défendait mal la cause, & qu'il souffroit que son Adversaire aprofondit les questions plus que l'intérêt des Catholiques ne le demandoit....l'Evêque de Paris fit défense au même Cayer de signer les Actes de la Conférence.5

Cayer denied that the Bishop of Paris had forbidden him to sign the records of the debate, but he consistently found an excuse not to do so. As the encounter wore on, the Doctor from the Sorbonne protested that he was merely continuing out of his own zeal and "que ce qu'il faisoit, il le faisoit de son propre mouvement, & sans estre authorisé."6

Finally, the Sorbonne Doctors, perceiving that the longer the bout went on the more their cause was discredited, appeared in a body to the King's Advocate and appealed to him to make an end to

1 Ibid.
2 Ibid., p. 12.
3 Ibid., pp. 13-15.
4 Ibid., pp. 15-23.
6 A. Adaire, op. cit., p. 90.
this scandal. The host, Monsieur Guetault, received orders not to permit the conference to continue and not to allow the disputants even to enter his house. Thus when Du Moulin appeared at the time set for the next meeting he found the door barred and a crowd of people outside. Waiting until Cayer arrived, Du Moulin pushed in with the crowd when the door was opened to let the former in. Since it was impossible to continue the conference there, the problem of locating another place of meeting was discussed. Being unable to find a suitable place, it was decided that the dispute would be continued in writing and that both parties would publish nothing except by mutual consent. For any future controversy, Du Moulin asked two conditions: First, that debate should be limited and that it should not be permitted to make replies ad infinitum; secondly, that Cayer should sign the records of the present conference up to that day. Cayer refused both conditions, and even though Du Moulin pointed out to him that he was indicting himself by not subscribing to the acts, he still refused. Thereupon, he turned his back and went away, to the great embarrassment of the Roman Catholics present. His last remark was, "Vous aurez de mes nouvelles." A Protestant is said to have quipped, "qu'il n'estoit encore en aage pour signer." The verbal controversy was never resumed. Both theologians claimed victory, and both broke the promise not to publish anything on the conference without the other's consent.

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1 Ibid., pp. 154-156.
2 P. Bayle, op. cit., p. 714; G. Gory, op. cit., p. 35.
Ainsi fut rompue la conférence au grand contentement des fidèles & instructions d'un bon nombre d'ignorans, lesquels depuis ont donné gloire à Dieu, & ont fait profession de la vérité.1

One of the first books published in Paris by Du Moulin was Eaux de Siloé, pour esteindre le feu du purgatoire contre les raisons et allégations d'un cordelier portugais qui a presché le carême à Saint-Jacques de la Boucherie, which appeared in May, 1603. The following month three Catholics accepted the challenge and replied almost simultaneously: The "cordelier" himself2 in his Torrent de feu, sortant de la face de Dieu, pour desseicher les eaux de Mara, enclosés dans la chaussée du Moulin d'Ablon; Cayer, by his "Fournaise ardente et le four de réverbère pour évaporer les prétendues eaux de Siloé et corroborer le purgatoire contre les hérésies, calomnies, faussetés et cavillations du prétendue ministre Du Moulin;3 and lastly, Du Val, by his Le feu d'Hélie.4 Du Moulin met all of these by writing in 1604, Accroissement des eaux de Siloé pour esteindre le feu du purgatoire et noier les satisfactions humaines et les indulgences papiers.

The Accroissement des eaux de Siloé seems to be an enlarged edition of Les eaux de Siloé. In summarizing the four regions or stages in the Roman Catholic view of the afterlife (the lowest place is "l'enfer pour les damnez;"5 the second place is "le

1 A. Adaire, loc. cit.
2 "R.P.F. Jacques Suarès de Sainte Marie, observantin Portugais, docteur en théologie;" not to be confused with Francisco Suarez, a Jesuit and an eminent theologian.
3 P. Bayle, loc. cit.
4 André Du Val (1564-1638), theologian, came to be Dean of the Faculty of Theology in Paris. He was a zealous Ultramontane.
5 Pierre Du Moulin, Accroissement des eaux de Siloé, etc. (Genève: Pierre Aubert, 1631), p. 21.
Purgatorio;" the third stage is "le limbe des petis enfans morts sans Baptême;" the fourth place is "le limbe des pères & des mères...qui ont vescu devant la venue de Jésus Christ."

Du Moulin comes to concentrate on Purgatory. He affirms that not only is Holy Scripture silent on the subject of Purgatory, but it teaches, on the contrary, that "il n'y a point d'autre satisfaction ni purgation de nos péchez que le Sang de Jésus Christ." Consequently, papal indulgences are useless for our sins. He then turns to proving that all the passages of Scripture cited by the Catholics are either false or irrelevant, and attempts to sustain in the last part of his work that "les docteurs des quatres premiers siècles ont ignoré le Purgatoire."

In the same year, 1604, Du Moulin brought out Nouvelle briques pour le bastiment de Babel, c'est-à-dire erreurs de l'Eglise romain nouvellement forgez[sic] pour establir la grandeur de l'évesque de Rome. As someone described it, "Cela tombait dru comme grêle dans les deux camps...." Witness of its popularity was the number of editions which appeared.

1 Ibid., p. 22.
2 Ibid., p. 33.
3 Ibid., p. 36.
4 Ibid., pp. 149-204.
5 Ibid., pp. 205-254.
6 Pannier is in error in stating that this work first appeared in 1624; this is the date of the second edition. Jacques Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1621-1629) (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1931), p. 513.
B. Du Perron and Coton. John Quick openly reveals his animosity towards Rome as he records the names of Du Perron and Coton.

Because ye Pope was most urgent & importunate with ye King to bring over his Sister unto ye Communion of ye Romish Church, wch indeed ye King had not onely promised, when He was reconciled & readmitted into ye bosome of that Antichristian Synagogue, but he did also most industriously indevour to effect & compass. For he set upon this most excellent Lady ye Cardinall of Perron, & Cotton ye Jesuite, two of ye most learned & Subtle Sophisters of ye Romish Clergy, if possible to seduce and pervert her. These cunning Gamesters, before they knew ye Strength & Scholastick abilitys of Du Moulin, did most vehemently assault him. But after they had once measured weapons with him, & were acquainted with his skill, force, & courage, their zeale in duelling & disputing with him flaggde, cooled, & abated.

It was not long before Du Moulin met Du Perron and the two men engaged in a dispute. It was a private affair held at the court, and the results were never made public. Whatever the

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1 Jacques-Davy Du Perron (1556-1618) was born and reared a Huguenot, and was converted to Roman Catholicism in 1577 or 1578. He was consecrated Bishop of Evreux in 1591, Cardinal in 1604, and Archbishop of Sens in 1606. From the time of his conversion he worked tirelessly for the conversion of other Huguenots, and he had already become a powerful controversialist by 1600 when he showed his proficiency at Fontainebleau as he met Du Plessis-Mornay in their controversy on the Eucharist. C. A. Dubray, "Duperron, Jacques-Davy," The Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909), V, 203 f.


3 Pannier has revealed that as early as 1600 young Pastor Du Moulin had observed Du Perron and knew his abilities as a controversialist. Du Moulin attended the Fontainebleau conference between Du Perron and Du Plessis-Mornay concerning the latter's book on the Eucharist. Du Moulin may have written an account of the conference, but no record of such a report is known today. J. Pannier, "Le Protestantisme à Fontainebleau," BSHPF, 1938, p. 397.

4 Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 7. Pierre, The Younger, in devoting a few lines to this meeting states that it was Du Perron who "broke the Conference."
outcome was, the two disputants from that day forward bore a mutual respect for each other. On a later occasion,

...at Cardinal Du Perron's table, some discourse of Religion and Ministers being moved, one President Chevalier said that Du Moulin was an Ass; Upon which the Cardinal answered the President, You do him wrong, Sir; He is such an Ass, that no man ever rubbed against him but returned with a kick.¹ And I have often heard my Father commending Du Perron as the nimblest adversary that he ever met with.²

Until the end of her life the sister of Henry IV was subjected to the efforts of the Roman Catholic clergy to convert her. Consenting to the wishes of the King, Catherine on a particular Sunday agreed to listen to a sermon preached by Father Coton. He customarily preached at the court in the same room in which the usual Protestant service was held, after this service. Du Moulin had finished the Huguenot service, but in place of departing, he was concealed by Catherine in a closet so that he might hear Coton's sermon and better help Catherine to refute it if need be. Quick, as well as Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, has disclosed the content of the sermon,³ but neither writer has said anything about an encounter between Du Moulin and

¹ "nullus sese illi asino affricuit qui non ab eo calce percussus abierit." W. Bates, op. cit., p. 702.
² Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, loc. cit.
³ "The subject of his Sermon was about ye indwelling of ye holy Ghost in ye Hearts of men; & he thus began it: A fancy once took me in ye head to visit ye madmen in Bedlam. When I came into that Hospitall a very grave old Gentleman received me with much civility & led me up & down to see ye Severall Appartments of theise Mad folk, & told me ye particular frenzys of everyone of them.... This old Gentleman after he had acquainted me with their various distempers, did also confess in my eare what were his own. Nor did I observe ye least dram of madness in him, He discoursing ye whole time with me with very much gravity & soberness, nor should I have imagined that He was mad, if he had not told me himself, that He was ye Holy Ghost. Now Srs, you may find ye very same madness in ye professors of ye Reformed Religion. For you will
Coton which might have resulted from Du Moulin's eavesdropping.

Even at the very end of her life, the attempts at Catherine's conversion did not cease.

Postremus Regiae sororis morbus multum & diu exercitam Molinaei pietatem & industriam tenuit. Enimvero ejus fidei perpetuus firme confirmator, nec minis, nec vi quidem, potuit ab officio dimoveri. Moribundae adstantem Perronius violenter depellere semel aggressus est, dicens se ab Rege missum, & ejus esse dignitatis cui loco cedere Molinaeus ubique debet. Molinaeus vim vi depellens & lecti columnam prehendens, respondit sibi primum locum ad Regiae sororis lectum deberi: Sibi non verisimile videri Regem velle sororis suae conscientiae vim inferre. Denique vile se aegrotantis sententiae parere; edicat Regia soror suam de ea re voluntatem: Nec defuit sibi pia Princeps, sed aperte & sine circuitione locuta est, Velle se in Reformatia Religione mori, & Molinaeum usque ad mortem sibi adesse. Adfuit igitus sedulus & assiduus, donec & Christo redemptam animam in manus Redemptoris sui reddidisset. Rex sane Papae & Clero Romano placere cupiens, quantum sine aperta vi potuit adnixus est ut in Romana professione moreretur; Regemque sibi eo nomine infensus suae Molinaeus opinatus est.1

While it was years later in Sedan when Du Moulin composed his works against Du Perron,2 he did have a short combat with Father Coton in Paris. Coton first sent the Protestant minister "Trente-deux demandes" or accusations. Du Moulin answered these and then posed "Soixante-quatre demandes" of his own.3 It is not known if Coton replied again.

1 W. Bates, op. cit., p. 704.
2 Infra, p. 159.
3 Trente-deux demandes proposées par le P. Coton, avec les solutions ajustées au bout de chaque demande. Item soixante-quatre demandes proposées en contre-escharge par Pierre du Moulin, Ministre de la parole de Dieu en l'Eglise de Paris.
Coton's "demandes" concern both doctrine and practice: The first is, "Que ceux de la prétendue religion nous monstrent où il est écrit qu'il n'y a que deux Sacremens, sçavoir est le Baptesme & la Cène, & en quel lieu de l'Écriture ils sont appelez Sacremens;" the fourth is, "Qu'il n'est loisible de faire le signe de la croix;" and the fifteenth is, "Que la foy seule justifie."

Du Moulin replies to each. For example, he has this to say about the first, concerning the number of the sacraments: "Nous trouvons en l'Évangile l'institution du Baptesme, & de la saincte Cène. Et lisants tout le nouveau Testament nous ne trouvons point que Jésus-Christ y instituë aucun autre Sacrement."

And finally he shifts to the attack with an exact double of Father Coton's thirty-two "demandes." His first is, "Si la doctrine de l'Évangile est suffisante à salut. Et si au nouveau Testament l'Évangile est tout entier. Ou bien, s'il n'y en a qu'une partie, ou c'est qu'on trouve l'autre;" the eighth, "Si Dieu a commandé de le prier en langue non entendue de celuy mesme qui prie: Et quand a commencé ceste coustume;" and the fifty-first is, "Où estoyent les âmes des pères du vieil Testament depuis la résurrection de Jésus-Christ jusques à son Ascension?"

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1 Pierre Du Moulin, Trente-deux demandes proposé par le P. Cotton...
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p. 6.
4 Ibid., pp. 9-37.
5 Ibid., pp. 38, 39, 53.
In 1610, when Henry IV was murdered by Ravaillac, the Jesuits were accused of plotting Henry's death and of upholding regicide. Father Coton, being so close to the king, was accused of complicity in the affair, and suspicions were heightened when he showed open sympathy for the murderer. Against such accusations he wrote his Lettre déclaratoire, and this was shortly followed by the famous Anti-coton.\(^1\) It was never discovered from the initials of the author, P.D.C., who had really composed the treatise, but Pierre Du Moulin was highly suspected.\(^2\) It was an effort to prove that the Jesuits did believe in regicide and that they were directly responsible for the death of Henry. The conclusion is that none of them should be permitted to be close to the royal family at any time, Father Coton in particular. The style and tone of this work are such that Du Moulin could very easily have been the author, and in fact, some have forthrightly declared him to be so—Charles Ancillon, Pierre, The Younger, John Quick. But, it is too clever a work for the question of authorship to be easily resolved.\(^3\)

Anagrams and quatrains were the order of the day. An anagram

\(^1\) P.D.C., Anticoton, ou réfutation de la Lettre déclaratoire du Père Coton.

\(^2\) Various guesses about the author have included Pierre du Coignet, César de Plaix, or to apply the initials to Du Moulin—Pasteur de Charenton, Passevolant de Charenton, etc. Cf. J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1610-1621), pp. 63 f.

\(^3\) Ibid., pp. 63-72. Pannier deals with the work at length and the effect it had on the Jesuits and the politics of 1610-1611. Nor did Father Coton become silent after this affair. As late as 1617 he was carrying the fight to Du Moulin, for in this year he produced with royal approval, Correction fraternelle faite à M. Du Moulin, ministre du Pont Charenton. J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1610-1621), p. 385.
was made on Coton's name: "Perce ton roi" (Pierre Coton). Du Moulin's name was re-arranged to "Erit mundo lupus" (Petrus Du Moulin). ¹

C. Coeffeteau and Contier. The Confession of Faith drawn up by King James I had excited no small amount of criticism in France, and it had been severely attacked by Coeffeteau. ² Du Moulin came to the defense of the king by writing in 1610 his Défense de la foy catholique contenue au livre de trèspuissant et sérénissime Roy Jacques I, Roy de la grand' Bretagne & d'Irlande, contre la response de F. N. Coeffeteau, Docteur en Théologie, & Vicaire Général des Frères Prescheurs.

The work is divided into three books: In the first, the author recounts the usurpations of the Popes over the temporal power ("sur les Rois"); in the second, he undertakes the defense of King James' Confession of Faith; in the third, he tries to prove the fulfillment of certain prophecies. Later, in 1612, the third part was published in a separate work called Accomplissement des prophéties. Troisième partie du livre de la Défense de la foy...ôù est montré que les prophéties de Saint-Paul et de l'Apocalypse et de Daniel touchant les combats de l'Eglise sont accomplies.

¹ Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 11.
² John R. Volz, "Coeffeteau, Nicholas," The Catholic Encyclopedia, IV, 91 f. Coeffeteau (1574-1623) was a Roman Catholic preacher and controversialist, becoming Bishop of Metz (1617) and of Marseilles (1621). In 1608 he was appointed preacher to Henry IV, and "by his vigilance and zealous preaching he checked the spread of Calvinistic errors." His writings are chiefly polemical, and among them are several treatises on the Eucharist, occasioned by the controversy he had with Du Moulin. He is generally reckoned to be a master of the French language and the "father of French eloquence."
In April, 1609 there was a conference between Du Moulin and Father Gontier, a popular Jesuit preacher and theologian of the day. The circumstances were that a Monsieur de Liembrune, a Huguenot, had been persuaded by Father Gontier to change his religion and become a Roman Catholic, and to the end that his conversion should be the more striking and conclusive, he was to ask a Protestant minister to come to confer with Gontier. At the end of the conference he would then make his declaration of his conversion.

On a certain afternoon Monsieur de Liembrune accosted Du Moulin on Rue des Marais and requested him to go along to his house. Du Moulin did so, where, he states, he found

...plusieurs personnes de qualité qui se mirent à me harceler de questions sur la vocation de nos ministres. Là-dessus arriva le P. Gontier en un carrosse plein de livres. Il entra et demanda de quoy on parloit; une dame lui dit: J'interrogeois Monsieur Du Moulin sur sa vocation. Je respondis que quiconque interroge un autre sur sa vocation, s'oblige à prouver la sienne; que la vocation des prestres de l'Eglise romaine estoit d'estre sacrificateurs du corps de Jésus-Christ, pourtant que je priois :Monsieur le Jesuite de monstrer l'institution de cette sacrification, et où c'est que Dieu a commandé de sacrifier le corps de son Fils. Le jesuite respondit que cela se prouvoit aisément par l'Escriture sainte; et s'estant fait apporter quelque Bible, se mit à chercher et à feuilleter; mais, ne trouvant rien, se leva et se retira tout confus.

2 The Autobiography, p. 33. Cf. Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 14. "The Jesuites, who compass sea and land to make a Proselyte, had devised this feat of Legerdemain, that when they saw a person of quality...they tempted him to change his profession; and after they had partly by arguments, partly by promises, won him to their side, they made him promise not to declare his resolution to change till after a Conference between two Divines of the two Religions, that his declaration might assign the victory of the Conference to their side."
3 Pierre Du Moulin, Véritable Narré de la Conférence entre les Sieurs Du Moulin & Gontier, secondé par Madame la Baronne de Salignac (Genève: Pierre Aubert, 1635), pp. 4 f.
The conference continued after a pause of half an hour, but after such an unfortunate beginning Gontier was unable to carry on with effective arguments. The dispute soon came to be centered about the words of Christ, "Ceci est mon corps," and when Gontier was unable to proceed further he relinquished his place in the controversy to Madame la Baronne de Salignac. The dispute slowly came to an inconclusive end. As for M. de Liembune, he did not change his faith. Du Moulin has recorded his remarks to Gontier:

Mon père, vous m'avez dit que si je vous emmenais un ministre, vous le rendriez confus, et que vous luy feriez trouver les quatres coins et le milieu. Envoilà un devant lequel vous estes muet. Et, au sortir de là, diffama Gontier, et persévéra en la vraye religion.

On another occasion, so John Quick relates,

Father Gontier...challenged Monsr du Moulin to a disputation, whch He accepted, & came unto ye place appointed, where he sate near two hours waiting for ye Jesuite, wo the crowd being great, so that He could not come up ye Stairs into ye Chamber, had got a Ladder, & climbed in at ye window. Monsr du Moulin seeing Father Gontier in that posture, recites unto ye people then present those words of our Lord, Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by ye door into ye Sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, The same is a theife & a Robber. There is majesty in God's word, it quite stunned ye Jesuite. He was so disordered & confounded in his Spirit at ye hearing of this Scripture, that He could not recover himself...

Typical of the number and kind of exchanges in the seventeenth century controversy was what transpired after the 1609 encounter between Du Moulin and Gontier. To begin with, there was a "Narré"

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1 Ibid., p. 12.
2 Ibid., pp. 15 ff.
3 The Autobiography, p. 34.
written by Gontier, then a letter (or letters) from Gontier to
the king, and very soon came Du Moulin's Véritable Narré de la
Conférence, etc. About the same time P. de Bérulle sent a
Discours to Mme de Mazencourt, and there quickly appeared another
volume from Du Moulin, the Response du sieur Du Moulin aux lettres
du sieur Gontier, escrites au Roy sur le sujet de leur conférence.
Then to clarify his position on the Eucharist and to answer
Coeffeteau who had attacked him on this subject, too, Du Moulin
brought out the second edition of his Apologie pour la Sainte
Cène du Seigneur contre la présence corporelle et transsub-
stantiation; item contre les messes sans communions et la com-
munion sous une seule espèce.

Most of this very complete production on the doctrine of
the Lord's Supper deals with two issues, that of the corporal
presence in the sacrament and that of transubstantiation. It is
unfortunate but understandable that Theologian Du Moulin writes
in such a negative and destructive fashion as he decries the
Roman beliefs, although he does spend the second chapter on the
"Doctrine de l'Eglise réformée." Almost as an afterthought, the
two concluding chapters treat "les Messes sans communions" and
"la Communion sous une espèce." The margins are crowded with
references to Coeffeteau. It is plain to see that the original
work has been altered for the purpose of replying to his attacks.

The Apologie pour la Sainte Cène gave birth to a Réfutation
by Coeffeteau which then caused Du Moulin to write his Anatomie du
livre du sieur Coeffeteau intitulé Réfutation des faussetez contenues en la deuxième édition de l'Apologie de la Cène, du Ministre du Moulin. Beginning with a preface dedicated to his father, Du Moulin deals viciously with Coeffeteau's book, accusing the Catholic of grammatical mistakes in his Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, of historical errors, of errors in philosophy, of contradictions, of some thirty-seven doctrinal misstatements, and of "inepties, faussetez, calomnies, et fuites." Page by page and word by word he slashes away with his knife of harsh criticism, injecting his personal comments, such as "Fuite ridicule," "Calcul ridicule," or about his adversary, "Et on souffre un homme si périllement ignorant estre Advocaat de la cause."

D. De Beaulieu. 1 In October, 1602 Pierre Du Moulin had a controversy with "le sieur de Bouju, surnommé de Beaulieu." It was nothing more than a lively skirmish. De Beaulieu had been engaged in a written dispute with Lobéran de Montigny, one of the other ministers in the Paris Church, and they had exchanged views several times without much gain. Now De Beaulieu addresses himself to Du Moulin, hoping that he will dispute with him and telling him, "vous estes en la vigueur de vostre aage, plus proportionné au mien, avec d'avantage de loisir, & prest de conférer fort volontiers par escrit." 2 De Beaulieu openly claims to be a

1 Bouju de Beaulieu (Théophile) was a French theologian of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He first made himself known by a Latin poem "Turnella" in 1578. He became royal chaplain, and in the seventeenth century published several books on ecclesiastical power and on the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. Cf. the article, "Bouju De Beaulieu," Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle, II, 1087.

2 Cartel de deffy du sieur de Bouju surnommé de Beau-Lieu, envoyé au sieur Du Moulin, avec les responses et répliques de part & d'autre, sur le point de la Cène. & des Marques de la vraye Eglise (Genève: Pierre Aubert, 1636), pp. 6 f.
theologian, and in their dispute he recommends that they use all discretion and modesty in their way of speaking. He is also of the opinion that they should employ "syllogismes en forme," because this is the way one carries on proper disputes which have truth as their ultimate goal.¹

The newest pastor at the Paris Church accepted the invitation and almost too humbly explained that he was not in the habit of exchanging controversial challenges and that he does not feel suited to it. "Je ne suis point du nombre des savants," he says, "ni mesme alteré de ceste réputation: Le sommaire de mon savoir c'est Jésus-Christ crucifié."²

De Beaulieu in replying suggested some rules of the dispute: The principle of demonstration should be the Scriptures; all questions should be put simply and separately; there should be a definite order of subjects debated, etc.³ More letters were exchanged until it became clear, as Du Moulin worded it, that "Ceste dispute consiste en trois points." These were, he continues,

I. Le premier est de la Manducation de la chair de Jésus Christ par la foi en la saincte Cène.
II. Le second est de la Communion à sa substance.
III. Le troisième, de l'équité du Sieur de Beaulieu, à alléguer Calvin & le nommer nostre Apostre.⁴

The exchanges of statements and arguments went on until each chanted the song of victory and declared the other to be defeated. This debate was entirely written, for on no occasion were there oral conferences in the proceedings.

¹ Ibid., p. 8.
² Ibid., p. 13.
³ Ibid., p. 19.
⁴ Ibid., p. 59.
Jean Arnoux was a Jesuit preacher and controversialist. As confessor to Louis XIII and court preacher, he was once preaching before the king at Fontainebleau when he asserted that the Scriptural texts given in support of the various articles of the Huguenot Confession of Faith were, in large part, irrelevant as proof texts. Du Moulin, assisted by the other ministers of the Paris Church, at once wrote Défense de la confession des églises réformées de France par les quatre ministres de Charenton, Montigny, Durand, Du Moulin, et Mestrezat, contre les accusations du sieur Arnoux, jésuite. Du Moulin has this to say about the work:

J'eus charge de mes collègues de faire une responce, en laquelle je représentay que j'avois esté au Collège de la Flesche, où en une sale au'on appelle la Sale des Pères, j'avois veu un tableau, auquel sont peints les Martyrs Jésuites, entre lesquels il y a des Jésuites qui ont conspiré contre la vie des Rois, et ont esté punis par Justice. Disois que nous exortions nos peuples à fidélité et obéissance au Roy, et représentois les périls et combats que ceux de nostre Religion avoient soutenus pour la deffence du Roy Henri quatre. Desquels périls et travaux recevoient aujourd'hui les salaires ceux qui ont esté ennemis du Roy. A cela estoient joints quelques articles justificatifs de nostre religion.

No apology need be made for digressing to call attention to the importance of the dedicatory letter prefacing this Défense, written and signed by four pastors. It is addressed to Louis XIII, and it is a noble and courageous utterance. It is unquestionably on an equal plane with Calvin's letter to Francis I in the preface to the Institutes. There is a brave declaration of the perils.

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2 *The Autobiography*, p. 32.
and persecutions the Huguenots have suffered, an explanation of
some of their principal tenets, and a protestation of their
eternal loyalty to the king. The letter is audaciously signed
by "les pasteurs de l'Eglise réformée de Paris," not by the
despised but compulsory title of "ministres de la religion pré-
tendue réformée," and it probably outweighs in importance the
following pages which adhere strictly to the usual controversial
themes. There is a discussion with Scriptural arguments, on
divers points treated by Arnoux (authority of the Bible, witness
of the Holy Spirit, justification by faith, etc.); an exegesis
of three special passages of Scripture; and a critique of the
way certain decrees of the Councils are cited by Roman Catholics
as Scripture.

Du Moulin explains what resulted:

Les jésuites...trouvèrent moyen de nous faire en procès
criminel, pour avoir appelé ceux de la Religion Nos Peuples,
comme si nous prétendions qu'ils sont nos sujets. La Chambre
de l'Edit voulut prendre connaissance de cette affaire; mais
la grand-Chambre s'y opposa, prétendant qu'à la grande Chambre
appartenait le jugement des Crimes de lèse-Majesté. Cette
contestation dura trois semaines, au bout desquelles cette
impétuosité s'estant attédiée, les Ministres de l'Eglise de
Paris furent appelés pour comparoistre devant le Conseil d'Estat. 1
Là nous furent faittes de graves remonstrances par Monsieur ce
Chancelier Bruslard, avec grièves menaces. 2

Arnoux replied to Du Moulin's Défense, 3 and then Du Moulin

1 In this matter, Pierre, The Younger, writes: "The Ministers being
summoned before the Council, the indictment of Treason was not
much urged, as being but a cavil. And it was wittily eluded; for
whereas it was objected to them that they called their Churches
nos peuples, it was answered, that the N was a v turned upside
down, and should be read vos peuples, so that the Ministers speak-
ing to the King, call'd their Churches your not our people. The
Lords of the Council smiled, and were contented to have one cavil
wiped off with another. Only after grave admonitions and high
threatnings by Chancellor Bruslard, they dismissed them." Pierre

2 The Autobiography, p. 33.

3 Jean Arnoux, Confession de foy de MM. les ministres convaincue de
nullité par leurs propres Bibles, avec réplique à l'écrit concerté,
signé et publié par les quatre ministres de Charenton.
answered with one of his best known works, Bouclier de la Foy ou défense de la confession de foy des Églises réformées de France contre les objections du sieur Arnoux, jésuite. If there is any one volume which encompasses Du Moulin's theology as it unfolds from Roman Catholic-Huguenot controversy it is this work which he penned against Father Arnoux. The first and longer section includes Arnoux's objections to and remarks on the first thirty-three articles of the Reformed Confession of Faith, each objection being taken up and refuted by Du Moulin. The last seven articles of the Confession, those on the sacraments and on the civil authority, are treated in the latter part of the book. Once again Arnoux's objections are specifically stated and Du Moulin's long rejoinders follow.

The famous Paris controversialist soon added to this another. Again it was aimed at Arnoux - Fuites et évasions du sieur Arnoux, jésuite. Du Moulin shows how his adversary has blunderingly "picquotté en présence de Sa Majesté les marges de nostre Confession de foi."¹ He has no respect for Arnoux, and it is unfortunate that his judgment on him is marked by such extremely bad taste.

Ceci donc soit cogneu à toute la France, que le Sieur Arnoux perçhe aujour'd'hui en un lieu tant éminent, après nous avoir deffiez par un deff si solemnel, à la veue de sa Majesté, & des plus grands de ce Royaume, a seigné du nez, & confessé son impuissance, & reconceu que sa religion n'est point fondée en la parole de Dieu contenue ès saïnte Escritures.²

² Ibid., pp. 14 f.
At the very end of the book a new adversary is mentioned - Richelieu.

De mesme façon aomes-nous traittez par Monsieur l'évesque de Luçon en son livre qu'il a fait contre nostre Epistre dédiée au Roy. En la 10. page il met nostre religion en douze articles qu'il a forgez sur quelques passages de nos auteurs qu'il a tronquez, à qui au bout ne disent pas ce qu'il veut.¹

In this same period Du Moulin added two other books:

(1) De la juste providence de Dieu, traité auquel est examiné un écrit du sieur Arnoux par lequel il prétend prouver que Calvin fait Dieu auteur du péché. (2) De la toutepuissance de Dieu et de sa volonté, traité auquel est exposé comment la toutepuissance de Dieu et sa volonté doivent regler notre foy au point du saint Sacrement.²

F. Miscellaneous Disputes. There have been recorded still other encounters between Pierre Du Moulin and various Roman Catholics. One such is recorded in The Autobiography:³

Madame la Mareschalle de Fervaques estoit malade d'une maladie dont elle est morte à Paris; elle estoit de nostre Religion: mais elle avoit une soeur nommée Madame de Berengalt, laquelle, pour espouser un mari, s'estoit revoltee de la Religion. Voyant sa soeur malade à la mort, elle me fit avertir pay voyes obliques que je ferois bien de visiter Madame la Mareschalle. Je partis incontinent de ma Maison, et vins à la porte de celle de la Malade, laquelle je trouvë fermée. Mais arriva Monsieur de Roissy, homme de grand qualité, suivy d'un grand train; je me fourray parmi ce train et entray, et montay en la chambre de la Malade; et comme je commencois à parler à elle, voici entrer l'Evesque de Genève, envoyé par la princesse de Piémont, Soeur du Roy, pour exorter la malade à mourir en la religion Catholique-Romaine.

¹ Ibid., p. 55.
³ The Autobiography, p. 35.
A heated discussion between the bishop and the pastor ensued as to which of them would minister to the invalid. The lady herself was consulted, and she made it plain that she preferred Pastor Du Moulin to remain with her in her last hours. François de Sales left the room. Du Moulin prayed with her and consoled her for a time. Then he was interrupted by a request for his presence downstairs in order that a dispute might be held between him and de Sales for a small gathered group. Suspecting a ruse, the faithful pastor refused to leave the room, fearing that once he did he might be prevented from returning. Being assured that it was an honorable request, he relented, went below, and therewith became engaged in a debate over the words of Christ, "Ceci est mon corps." When Du Moulin proved his foe to be wrong by accurately quoting a passage from the Vulgate version to him, the conference ended. "Je remonstray vers la Malade, Laquelle peu après rendit l'Esprit," is the way he concludes the incident.

Another time a Roman Catholic became a Protestant. This was a small, private dispute held in the Du Moulin home in the pastor’s study. "A cette dispute se trouva Monsieur de Monginot, Médecin célèbre à Paris, lequel, au sortir de la conférence, renonça au papisme et embrassa nostre Religion, dont il a fait un livre." Quick has preserved one of the more amusing and unusual meetings

1 François de Sales.
2 The Autobiography, pp. 36 f.
3 Réolution des doutes ou Sommaire des controverses entre l'Eglise réformée et l'Eglise romaine, par François Monginot, médecin du roi.
which the minister of Charenton had. It was with François Véron. ¹

The manner thus. The Jesuite heard him preach at Charenton. Sermon being ended Monsr du Moulin was dogged at ye heels by Veron. Some of ye Elders observing it, & fearing ye Consequences of a dispute with him, when he came into ye Consistoriall chamber desired Monsr du Moulin to begin immediately, & opened a private door, that led him into a friends house where he was to dine. The Jesuite rusheth boldly into ye Consistory, & demands du Moulin. They tell him He is gon to dinner. Some how or other He is informed of ye Gentleman's house, & runs thither demanding to speak with him. When Monsr. du Moulin comes down, Veron askde him, How much Corn the Mill (in English it's du Moulin's name) had grinded today. More, Said He, than a douzen such Asses as thou art can carry upon thy back & shoulders. This witty answer set ye Hearers a laughing, & made Veron troop off, yea & wch was a wonder, without any reply.²

In 1618 Du Moulin met De Raconis, a professor of theology at the College of Navarre and later Bishop of Lavaur, and there was a brief debate between them. The four written propositions which De Raconis sent to Du Moulin were,

(1) Que la Religion Prétendue n'a point de reigle asseurée.
(2) Que la Cène des Prétendus Réformés ne se peut montrer en l'Escriture. (3) Que le Dieu de Calvin est le diable.
(4) Que la Religion de Calvin...n'est point Religion, mais Athéisme.³

This conference with De Raconis is fully described in Du Moulin's Véritable narré de la conférence tenue entre les sieurs Du Moulin et De Raconis.

And still other individual Roman Catholics met Du Moulin in controversy in unimportant or very minor encounters. Frizon,

¹ Véron (1575-1625) was a celebrated Roman Catholic controversialist. He later became curé at Charenton.
Bérulle, Bourguignon, Journe, and Garasse are several whom are known to have had brushes with the arch foe of the French Roman Catholic Church.

Finally, the Sorbonne planned to inflict a decisive defeat on Du Moulin. The doctors joined forces and appointed several of their best theologians to dispute with him. The procedure was to be that for three days the Sorbonne would take the offensive, ask questions and make charges, and Du Moulin would defend and reply. The following three days the positions would be reversed. On the evening of the third day, as Du Moulin prepared his attack for the next day, there came a knock at his door. As he opened it, a man dressed as a priest forced his way in and began to scuffle with him. Help from the family arrived immediately, and the intruder fled. What seemed to substantiate the conclusion that this was an attempt to end the conference was that when Du Moulin appeared on the following day at the place where the disputation was being held, the door was locked and he was met with a royal order to discontinue the controversy.

When his Adversarys could not conquer him in disputations by dint of argument they turnde Cat in pan, & took other courses to gaine upon him...They did as their father ye Devill, offer unto Him mountains of gould & mines of silver, if he would but imbrace ye Popish Religion. The Pope himself, & yt proud Conclave of purple Fathers, together with the Court of France baited him with this Temptation But He had more grace than to nibble at it.1

Du Moulin's son relates the story of a man who came to offer his father "8000 livres per annum in good land" if he would but become a Catholic. His father replied, "Sir, I perceive that you value me at a very low rate; for if I could be won to commit that great wickedness, I might have twenty times more." The parting was an abrupt one.¹

III. Protestant Controversy

The Controversialist from Charenton was not only involved in struggles with Roman Catholics, but as a strict Calvinist he soon found himself at odds with various strains of thought among the Protestants. "It is amazing," states G. H. Dodge, "that the Huguenots should be torn in a desperate fight over orthodoxy at the very time that they were opposing the intolerance of their Catholic persecutors."² Before the tumult subsided, the king of England, the Elector Palatine, and the Academy and Church of Geneva were drawn into the turmoil, and several National Synods had concerned themselves with the problem.

A. Tilenus.³ In 1600 the Duke of Bouillon had appointed Daniel Tilenus to be professor of theology at Sedan. This distinguished savant discharged his duties so well that he soon acquired a large measure of authority in the Academy and began to be heard of even outside of Sedan. As a theologian he attacked some of the

¹ Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 16.
³ Daniel Tilenus was born in Silesia in 1563. About 1590 he came to France, learned French, and by 1599 he was taking the Protestant side in official conferences with Roman Catholics. From 1600 to 1620 he was at Sedan. When forced to leave there, he retired to Paris where he stayed until his death in 1633. Cf. E. Haag, E. Haag, La France Protestante, op. cit., IX, 383-385.
theological questions that the Early Church had wrestled with, and he particularly concerned himself with the problem of the two natures of Christ. It was over "les effets de l'union hypostatique des deux natures en Christ" that the dispute with Du Moulin arose. Later, when Tilenus shifted from the camp of Gomarus to that of Arminius, the breach between the two men widened.

The dispute, which was at its inception simply one between Du Moulin and Tilenus, reached larger proportions and raged in France from 1611 until 1614 when the National Synod of Tonneins intervened. Basically, it was one of those episodes, which one finds in the history of all churches, between the more conservative elements and the elements more favorable to radical and revolutionary solutions. In the sixteenth century it was that which divided Calvin and Castellio; in the twentieth century it is that which causes the division between the "liberals" and the "orthodox."

In 1613 Du Moulin wrote his Lettre contre Tilenus aux ministres de France, and produced, as well, an Examen de la doctrine de Tilenus. When the National Synod of Tonneins met in 1614, the sympathies of the members were decidedly on the side of the Charenton minister whose orthodoxy they supported wholeheartedly. Nevertheless, they were anxious to bury the controversy, and to

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1 A manuscript copy of this Examen exists in the University of Geneva Library, Geneva, Switzerland, Ms. 421, fol. 38-65.
2 J. Aymon, op. cit., II, 1-77.
this end the Synod wrote to all the churches, pastors, and professors to suppress all the manuscripts and printed material having to do with this unfortunate polemic. In fact, every volume written upon the subject of the dispute was to be brought to Saumur and placed in the safe-keeping of Du Plessis-Mornay. Thus, everything was to be done to erase from the minds of everybody the memory of this dispute and the ill feelings engendered by it.

The Synod received letters from the Church of Geneva as well as from King James I. Both pled for union and peace among the Reformed Churches in France. James I, too, advised the burning of all books and papers which nourished the fire of controversy, and he asked the French Reformed Church "particulièrement d'ajuster ces Diferens qui sont survenus entre les Srs. du Moulin & Tilenus."¹

The assembly named a commission made up of Du Plessis-Mornay, Jan Fleury, André Rivet and some others, to meet with Du Moulin and Tilenus and to bring them together, persuading them to forget their former disagreements. This was effected by extracting from their writings those statements on which both agreed. Both theologians signed this "acte of concorde" and promised to teach nothing to the contrary, directly or indirectly.

That this simple expedient was crowned with success can be seen by inspecting the records of the next synod, the Synod of Vitre, where a letter from Du Plessis-Mornay is presented which records the

¹ Ibid., II, 62-63.
outcome of the special commission's labors:

Il a résulté enfin un bon Accord entre les Parties qui se sont respectivement reconnues de saine Doctrine, nonobstant quelques mal entendus de Paroles, lesquelles pouvaient être interprétées contre leur Sentiment, étant prises à la Rigueur.1

So ended this controversy which was but one battle in a greater theological warfare being waged in these years.

B. Arminianism. Reference has already been made to the Synod of Dort and to the triumph of the Calvinistic party in the French Reformed Church.2 It was inevitable that the controversy between Calvinism and Arminianism which was reaching such large proportions in Holland would make its appearance in France. As early as 1610 John Uitenbogaert had come to Paris and had had talks with Du Moulin as well as with Isaac Casaubon on this subject. Both prior to and after Dort Du Moulin battled with great zeal against Arminianism and any position which compromised orthodox Calvinism. Gerard Brandt quotes parts of letters which Du Moulin wrote about 1617.

Such are the sentiments of our Church, and they that are for making any change therein, do sap and undermine the foundations of the Faith, and err in matters of great importance to religion....I am not a little troubled that I have been suspected of secretly favoring the Arminians...I am of the opinion that the doctrines of the Arminians do in a clandestine way, subvert the fundamentals of religion, and that they are as far distant from the truth of the Gospel as heaven is from earth.3

At the Synod of Dort in April, 1619, at the 143rd session, a "large paper in the name of Petrus Molinaeus" was read. This paper

1 Ibid., II, 88.
2 Supra, p. 85.
3 Gerard Brandt, The History of the Reformation and Other Ecclesiastical Transactions in and about the Low Countries from the Beginning of the Eighth Century down to the Synod of Dort, Inclusive (London: Timothy Childe, 1720), II, 311 f.
was "diametrically opposed to the doctrines of the Remonstrants." In fact, it was pointed out that Du Moulin's language was most intemperate,\(^1\) and the Remonstrants protested that he attributed to Arminius doctrines which were certainly not his.\(^2\)

The treatise read at Dort was in all likelihood a summary of Du Moulin's *Anatome Arminianismi, seu enucleatio controversiarum quae in Belgio agitantur, super doctrina de providentia, de praestatione, de morte Christi, de natura et gratia et de conversione.*\(^3\) In addition to the intemperate condemnation of the Remonstrants and their position in his work, he goes about the task of defining the Calvinistic system, explaining what is meant by the will and providence of God, original sin, predestination and election, the death of Christ, love of God, free will, vocation and calling, God's grace, and conversion. It is a book well supported by Scripture references and appeals to Augustine. Du Moulin had attempted to have it published in 1618, but a Provincial Synod decree prevented him from having it printed without the approval of his fellow-pastors. It was the judgment of most that Du Moulin's book should not be printed until after the Synod had met.

Brandt reveals that the Remonstrant reaction to the book took the form of a letter in which they reproached Du Moulin for having treated them so indecently and spitefully, asserting that Origen had

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\(^1\) "Damno Arminium, ejusque sectarios; et Arminii Scholam damno & abominor." To many this manner of speaking was strange in one who only four years previously was drawing up a plan to unite all Protestants. *Infra*, chap. VIII, Du Moulin's plan of union.

\(^2\) G. Brandt, *op. cit.*, III, 286.

\(^3\) Cf. E. Armand, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
never used Celsus in such a manner, nor had Irenaeus the
Schismatics, nor St. Augustine the Donatists.

They further exposed his slandering, ridiculing, and
satirising; at the same time upbraiding him with his in-
constant and wavering temper, as speaking a quite different
language, since the time that the Remonstrants had lost the
favour and protection of their sovereign. They mentioned
some of his doctrines, which, as they thought, were either
false, rigid, absurd, or even seditious, as may be seen at
large in their Letter. Finally, they promised him to answer
his book, but without paying him in his own coin of calumny
and slander, wherein, they said, they would by no means follow
his example.¹

There were those who did reply to Du Moulin's book. Among
them Corvinus is the most eminent, whose work entitled The unskilful
handling of Peter Du Moulin, the new Anatomist, or a Censure on his
Anatomy of Arminianism was published at Frankfort, in 1622.²

IV. Du Moulin's Other Writings, 1599-1620

In these years Pierre Du Moulin wrote still other books of a
controversial nature, e.g., Lettres à MM. de l'Eglise romaine, and
a better known one which went through many editions, De la vocation
des pasteurs.³ Even such a work as Conseil fidèle et salutaire
sur les mariages entre personnes de contraire religion, which was
obviously directed towards giving very practical help to parish-
ioners, would have grown out of the prevailing controversy.

¹ G. Brandt, op. cit., IV, 110.
² James Nichol, Calvinism and Arminianism Compared in Their Prin-
ciples and Tendency (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown and
³ This volume is a fascinating comparison between the concept of the
Protestant ministry and the Roman Catholic priesthood. In the
first book, in his usual manner, he outlines the New Testament
teaching on the question of an ordained ministry and he does not
ignore what the Church Fathers have to say on the subject. In the
second book the Reformed pastor is contrasted with his Roman
counterpart on a number of points: Function of the ministry,
method of ordination, etc.
Examples of some non-controversial writing are seen in some treatises he wrote,¹ and Pierre Du Moulin, *The Pastor*, is clearly seen in his splendid *Familière instruction pour consoler les malades*.²

¹(1) Théophile ou de l'amour divin; (2) Héraclite ou de la vanité et misère de la vie humaine; (3) Le sainct resveil spirituel.

²He offers several considerations for reflection: That our illnesses and afflictions call us to examine our lives and our behavior, that they are a means of being drawn closer to God, that God can become more meaningful and our faith purified by this means. He furnishes prayers and Bible passages to be used by and with the sick. Pannier is at fault in declaring that the work was written during the Sedan period, for a 1613 edition is known (à Niort). Cf. J. Pannier, *L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1621-1629)*, p. 40.
CHAPTER SIX

PROFESSOR AND PREACHER IN SEDAN, 1621-1654

I. Professor

At the very time that Pierre Du Moulin was leaving Paris and going to Sedan a small group of English were leaving the Old World and going to the New. Some years earlier a colony of Independents had escaped from the vexations of the Established Church in England and had gone to Leyden to settle near the same University where Pierre Du Moulin had enjoyed freedom at the end of the previous century. Now, in 1620, still a religious minority suffering under an intolerant majority, this group left Plymouth on the "Mayflower" to go to America where they might live and worship in freedom. In the same way, Pastor Du Moulin was leaving his own country because of the "intolerant majority" and going to another country, the principality of Sedan, to find refuge.

A. Temporary Visitor. In December, 1620 Pierre Du Moulin was already fifty-two years of age with thirty-eight more to live. He had spent twenty-one years in the ministry, and he was at the height of his strength and vigor. A portrait made of him in 1620 shows some differences from the one made twelve years earlier.¹ The figure is still upright, his eye is sharp, and

¹ In 1608, by Thomas de Leu (Frontispiece); in 1620, by Michel Lasne. J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1610-1621), p. 532.
he is almost bald, making his forehead seem very high. His face is still lean in appearance, emphasized by the now trimmed and pointed beard. He wears the similar black pastoral robe, but in the later picture a piped collar has replaced the turned-down collar in the earlier one. As a professor (and he now holds a book in his hand), he is much more serious than the young, eager minister of a former period, and one catches a glimpse of the hardships of the intervening years in the lines beginning to appear in his face. ¹

He had been to Sedan before, of course. The first time was in 1573, as a child of four years, when Joachim Du Moulin took his family there while fleeing from persecution. At ten years of age he had returned for his education and had lived with M. de Vesle, one of the regents, who was still in Sedan in 1621.² In 1599 he had preached "dans le temple des papistes,"³ when, in the company of his father, he had made a brief visit to Sedan.

So, once again, he came to Sedan. When he reached the end of his journey on January 5, 1621, he received a warm welcome. "Monsieur le Duc de Bouillon," he states, "me receut volontiers, et me logea en son chasteau, et voulut que je mangeasse à sa table."⁴ From the very first, Refugee Du Moulin classed himself

¹ Ibid., p. 539.
² Jean de Vesle died in November, 1622. A regent in Du Moulin's school days, he was still teaching as late as 1615.
³ Before the Protestant Temple was constructed, the Roman Catholic Church was used for both Protestant and Roman worship.
⁴ The Autobiography, p. 43.
and was considered as a temporary visitor to Sedan. It was months later before he was offered and did accept a position in Sedan. Back in Paris his congregation still spoke of him as their pastor, and even one of his antagonists, Father Véron, awaited his return, regarding his absence from the city as a momentary flight from a dispute, rather than a permanent departure.

It was about this time that a great change took place in the situation of the Protestants in France. Louis XIII, wishing to crush their political power, began to take back the fortified cities which had been accorded to the Huguenots by the Edict of Nantes. In 1620 he annexed Bearn to France and re-established Roman Catholicism. At the appeal of the Duke of Rohan, the Protestants revolted and in doing so lost one after another of their strongholds until the last one fell, La Rochelle in 1629. They were then at the mercy of the royal power, but Louis XIII, having disarmed them, went no further. The war of extermination began with Louis XIV.

One of Du Moulin's first occupations in Sedan was to compose a letter (February 12, 1621) to the Political Assembly at La Rochelle. In spite of the false charges made against him and his banishment from France and in spite of the measures taken by Louis XIII against the Protestants, Du Moulin wrote a very wise and restrained letter to the Assembly, advising them to disband as they had been ordered to do by the king. Remain
loyal to the king and undertake no violence is his admonition. He was a firm supporter of that theory held by many Huguenots that more could be accomplished for the safety and well-being of the Protestant churches if every effort was bent towards building up the churches themselves, at the same time submitting to the royal authority. Another group encouraged more direct and violent political intervention in the affairs of the nation in order to obtain the cherished recognition and freedom that was so much desired. Du Moulin counseled,

God, who hath so many times diverted the counsels taken for our ruin, hath neither lost his power nor altered his will. We shall find him the same still, if we have the grace to wait for his assistance, not casting ourselves headlong by our impatience, or setting our minds obstinately upon impossibilities. Take this for certain, that although our enemies seek our ruine, they will never undertake it openly, without some pretence, other and better than that of Religion, which we must not give them. For if we keep ourselves in that obedience which subjects owe to their Soveraign, you shall see that while our enemies hope in vain that we shall make ourselves guilty by some disobedience, God will give them some other work and afford us occasions to shew to his Majesty that we are a body useful to his State, and put him in mind of the signal services that our Churches have done to the late King of glorious memory.  

The opposition soon mounted in La Rochelle when Du Moulin's letter was read, and a reply was sent by Brachet, "Sieur de la Milletière," to ask that Du Moulin would not impart his letter to anyone else and to inform him that his advice was not approved by the Assembly.

2 La Milletière was a Huguenot lawyer and an elder in the Church at Paris. He worked ardently to promote the plans of Louis XIII, and the Protestants eventually came to be suspicious of him. Later, he became a Catholic, and the proposals he drew up as a basis for reuniting the Roman Catholics and the Protestants incurred the displeasure of both parties. Vide J. Nichols, op. cit., p. 227.
B. Permanent Resident. "Au premier jour d'Octobre de l'An 1621, j'ay este receu ministre de l'Eglise de Sedan, et professeur en Théologie à quinze cens livres\(^1\) de gages et douze cordes de bois."\(^2\) This action is an indication that he did not expect to return soon to Paris, although his son said he "accepted of these places, but conditionally, in case that he could not obtain his restitution to the Church of Paris."\(^3\) The records of the Consistory in the Church at Sedan for October 21, 1621 substantiate Du Moulin's statement that he became pastor at the first of the month, and they disclose that the meeting of October 21st was the first at which he presided.\(^4\) A special place was not made for him in the Academy because he assumed the place left vacant by the departure of Daniel Tilenus. After the Synod of Dort, Tilenus had had to leave Sedan, and only a short time before Du Moulin's flight from France he had gone to Paris to live.

When the Paris minister reached Sedan he resided temporarily with the Duke of Bouillon, but he was not at the "Chasteau" during the succeeding years. It is known that Pierre Du Moulin with his brothers and sisters (Jean, Daniel, Esther, Marie, and Suzanne) came into possession of the house which their father once

\(^1\) He was still receiving the same salary in 1640 according to the Sedan "Compte onzième à la Recepte des biens Ecclésiastiques," P. Mellon, op. cit., p. 233.

\(^2\) The Autobiography, p. 45.


\(^4\) "Les Registres du Consistoire de l'Eglise Réformée de Sedan de 1615 à 1637" (Ms. in the Archives of the Reformed Church, Sedan, France).
owned in Sedan, and that Pierre and his family lived there. He purchased it "par décret au bailliage de Sedan," and when he died in 1658 Marie Du Moulin became the owner. It was located on "Rue de Villiers-d'En-Haut, tenant par derrière au bastion du Fer-à-Cheval."¹

Two travelers visiting Sedan shortly after 1625 noted that the buildings of the town were very beautiful, principally that of the oval-shaped Reformed Temple in the center of the town. They said that the Catholic Church was attractive enough, but small and graced with several tombs. Henri de la Tour who died in 1623 was buried in the Protestant Temple. The Catholics were as free as in other cities except they could not have their processions. The town-hall was a fine one and it contained meeting rooms for the theologians, jurists and philosophers, just as in the University library. The College was scarcely less remarkable. In short, there were as many beautiful public buildings as private ones, the streets were wide, and the two gates were handsome ones.²

The Academy of Sedan was founded in 1601-1602, almost twenty-five years after the inauguration of the College which had educated Du Moulin. In the first two decades of its life its reputation

² J. Pannier, L'Église réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1621-1629), p. 25, in citing the "Journal de Jean Fontaine et Louis Schoenbub," to be found in La Revue d'Ardennes et d'Argonne, Décembre, 1899.
and its service to French Protestantism in educating the youth and training pastors grew remarkably.

From 1620 on, the Principal of the College was the famous Hebraist, Jacques Cappel, who had been educated with Pierre Du Moulin in Sedan in the sixteenth century. He was Rector of the Academy in 1621 and 1622. While most of the professors in the Academy were French, some were of foreign nationality, the Scots being more numerous than the rest. Andrew Melville spent the remaining years of his life as a professor of theology at Sedan, from 1611 to 1622, and Arthur Johnston was a professor of philosophy from 1604 to 1619 before he returned to Scotland. Others at this time included Adam Stewart (1619-1625) and Gaulthier Donaldson (1610-1624).¹

It has already been noted that Sedan was an independent principality. Like the political relationships, the ecclesiastical relationships between France and Sedan were of a particular nature. In some of the French National Synods immediately after the Edict, the Reformed Church of Sedan was represented, but this did not last. There were unofficial ties uniting the Sedan Church to the French churches, but officially the Sedan Church was a church apart. Much the same spirit prevailed when it came to the problem of Arminianism. At first the Duke remained aloof from the theological disputes, but later, under the

influence of James I, he took more and more interest in the theological controversies of the day. Eventually he subscribed to the decrees of the Synod of Dort and came to appreciate the work and writings of Pierre Du Moulin.

The cornerstone was laid for the Huguenot Temple in 1593, and until it was completed the Protestants worshipped in the Catholic Church, a rather unusual practice in any period but all the more so in that time.\(^1\) In Protestant Sedan there went with freedom of worship, equality of payment, to priests and pastors from the ancient ecclesiastical properties.

Les curés touchent, aussi bien que les pasteurs et les maîtres d'école, les "quartiers" de leurs traitements fournis par les revenus des biens ecclésiastiques, mais ces revenus sont administrés par un "conseil de modérateurs," tous protestants.\(^2\)

The Consistory exercised a severe disciplinary control over the community: Students were summoned to appear, a pastor was suspended from his duties, people who left services before they were finished in order to stroll about the grounds were reprimanded, the Duke was warned for permitting dancing in the Château, and occasionally Du Moulin was accused of actions which were considered too precipitate.

Life for Professor Du Moulin in Sedan was not without more serious troubles. For one thing, he was ill much more often than

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1 After the Revocation the Temple became the Roman Catholic parish church, and it remains so today. The Church has since been enlarged and restored so that the former Temple comprises only the nave of the present structure. J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée sous Louis XIII (1621-1629), pp. 25, 31.
2 Ibid., p. 31.
3 "Les Registres du Consistoire de l'Eglise Réformée de Sedan de 1615 à 1637."
in Paris. Then on August 12, 1622 his wife, Marie Colignon, died. "C'estoit un exemple incomparable de toutes vertus," he exclaimed.\(^1\) Of succeeding events, he explains:

Je suis demeuré en viduité l'espace de quinze mois, durant lequel tems j'ai esté travaillé d'une violente disenterie qui m'a fort abbatu; Estant guéry, j'ai recherché en Mariage Demoiselle Sarra de Gelhay,\(^2\) demeurant à Jametz, chez son père, et lui fis promesse de l'espouser.

For some reason Du Moulin's family did not approve of this affair, and they exerted pressure on him to break the engagement, which he did. Then, seeing in further afflictions the punishment of God for having sinned, he repented of what he had done, renewed the engagement, and was married on November 16, 1623.\(^3\) Only one son is known to have come from his second marriage - Daniel, who settled in Brittany, near Vannes, and who married Esther Uzille in 1672.\(^4\)

In 1624 Du Moulin obtained a leave of absence from the Academy and the Church to make a visit to England. As in 1615, so now he went at the invitation of King James I.\(^5\)

After more than a year away, he was back in Sedan where, as he described it, he was in a peaceful port, sheltered from the storms which raged in France. Here strangers came to see the University which he helped to make famous, and students to learn from him who remained an unwavering representative of seventeenth century Calvinism. He had many duties in Sedan as pastor and

\(^1\) Supra, p. 71.
\(^3\) *The Autobiography*, p. 45.
\(^4\) H. Bordier, *loc. cit.*
\(^5\) *Infra*, chap. VIII.
professor. There were books to be written, books on controversy especially. From time to time he wrote to his former Church in Paris. It was Du Moulin who was charged by his fellow-ministers to correspond with the pastor at Metz, Paul Ferry, who looked to the Church at Sedan for guidance and counsel in solving congregational problems.\(^1\) It was Pastor Du Moulin who was commissioned to greet Cardinal Mazarin when he made a visit to Sedan.\(^2\) There were lectures to give in the Academy, meetings of the Consistory to preside over, sermons to preach each week, and frequently he had to defend himself against unpleasant personal attacks whether they came from Véron, the Capuchins, or others.\(^3\)

The last serious and concerted effort to make possible Pierre Du Moulin's return to Paris was in 1626. Appeals to the king to permit his return had been made from 1621 onwards, but they had been unsuccessful. The king had yielded in 1623 to the point of allowing Du Moulin to return to France to live, but under no conditions was he to exercise his pastoral office.\(^4\) In 1626 at the time of the National Synod of Castres, it was planned that letters would go to the king from the Synod itself, from the

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\(^1\) "Some Unpublished Letters from 1616 to 1655," (Mss. Papiers Ferry, No. 760\(^\circ\) in the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français, Paris).

\(^2\) Ibid., Unpublished letter, 31 mai 1651.

\(^3\) e.g. Justification contre les impostures de Léonard Le Maire, dit Limbourg.

\(^4\) J. Aymon, op. cit., II, 272.
Paris Church, from the Deputies from l'Ile-de-France, and from Du Moulin. All this was of no avail; the king remained adamant.¹ Yet, the Sedan Professor's name was still carried on the records as one of the pastors of the Paris Church. However, by 1637 at the Synod of Alençon, Du Moulin is termed "Pasteur & Professeur en Théologie à Sedan."²

He became increasingly involved in matters concerned with the ruling family in Sedan; and in 1628 the Duchess of Bouillon asked him to go to Liége in order to visit her son, the Prince of Turenne, who was seriously ill.³ He set out with another gentleman, also a doctor and a pharmacist, but upon reaching Liége, they met with a cold reception. The young Duke of Bouillon, brother of the Prince of Turenne, had come to be with his brother, and it was he who received Du Moulin and caused him to write, "J'y trouvay Monsieur le Duc de Bouillon...qui alors minutoit sa révolte, et me pria de me retirer."⁴

Je pars de Liége, et estant en la compagnie de Monsieur Poilblenc, Médecin, de Monsieur Barthélemi, Apoticaire, et de Monsieur de la Place, de Charleville, vins coucher à Namur, où, par une rencontre admirable, arriva à la mesma heure mon fils Cyrus, venant de Hollande; or, pous n'avions point de passe-porte et la guerre estoit rude.⁵

Up to this point the trip had been relatively uneventful. At Givet, however, the party decided to continue their journey by water, and they hired a boat. They were discovered by Spanish

¹ Ibid., pp. 340, 342, 353.
² Ibid., pp. 419, 571.
³ A few authorities briefly mention a visit to The Hague in 1628. Possibly in making this journey to Liége he traveled further and went as far as The Hague. No reference to such a visit to Holland at this time is found in The Autobiography, though the visit to Liége is rather carefully recounted.
⁴ The Autobiography, p. 49.
⁵ Ibid.
soldiers, but when the soldiers actually came to apprehend them, Du Moulin and his party were ashore and not to be found. They escaped from this near tragedy by losing only their belongings which the soldiers had seized from the boat. With the boatman unwilling to take them on they were forced to complete the journey by land.

Le soleil estant couché, notre Bateau arriva; Le Battelier ne nous voulut pas mener plus outre, mais nous fit seulement passer la rivièrè, et nous mit à terre par une nuit noire, et grosse pluye et un vent impétueux. Nous arrivâmes à Furnoy, à onze heures de nuit. De là nous vinsmes à Charleville, et de là à Sedan.¹

A few years hence the Bouillon family again demanded Du Moulin's attention and caused him no little distress, though of another sort. As John Quick has explained it, Sedan was in those days a Sanctuary unto God's afflicted people. For ye fame of Dr. du Moulins most eminent learning & piety drew thither a world of students & other Inhabitants. Besides they had at that time a Protestant Prince, who was honoured & beloved by them all as their Common Father. Yea & ye Citty grew exceeding rich & wealthy...But alas! how soon was this faire day clowded, & overcast with a sable mantle of deep sorrows! For ye young Prince falling in Love with a Popish Lady, to win & marry her forsook the Reformed Religion & left his God. This unfortunate match undid him.²

At the time of the marriage in 1634 he appeared before the Consistory of the Sedan Church and stated that he was going to marry a Catholic. He asked for the understanding and the prayers of the Church, and he steadfastly proclaimed his intention to remain a Protestant.³ Yet, less than two years later, he abjured.

¹ Ibid., p. 50.
His conversion to Roman Catholicism meant little change in the ecclesiastical status quo in Sedan. The same protection and freedom for all was maintained, and although the revenue from the Church lands now went to the Catholics, the Duke promised to pay the Protestant ministers, professors, and regents out of his own estate.¹

John Quick was correct. The "match undid" the Duke of Bouillon. Under the influence of his wife, he became more sympathetic to the Spanish cause and more prone to shun the protection of the French monarch. A plot by the Duke and the Spanish against the French was uncovered, and the French government, hearing of it, drove the Duke out of Sedan. Thenceforward, from 1642, Sedan was a part of France.

All, the exiled Paris pastor not the least, were quick to fear that this action would mean a prohibition against his ministry and teaching in Sedan. After all, he had been accused of disloyalty and plotting against the king in 1620, and when he was subsequently permitted to return to France it was to be not as a minister. But, of the charge laid against him concerning the letters he sent in 1620 to James I nothing was ever said when Sedan was brought under the French crown. He continued his work

in Sedan unmolested.¹

As to the loyalty of the Reformed Church in Sedan and of Pierre Du Moulin to the French king, there seems to be little question. In 1644 the Reformed ministers and people of Sedan gathered to take an oath of allegiance to the king:

Et le dit jour heure de trois heures estans retournés audit Hostel de Ville accompagnés desdits sieurs du Conseil Souverain, se seroyent présentés devant nous les Ministres & Anciens de la Religion prétendue réformée, Professeurs de l'Académie, Principal & Régens du Collège: assavoir Maistres Pierre du Moulin Ministre & Professeur en ladite Religion, [an enumeration here] ...Lesquels estans à genoux devant nous les mains sur les saintcs Evangiles de Dieu, après que lecture leur a esté faicte de nostre susdite com-

mission; Ont tous fait et presté à Sa Majesté le serment de fidélité et sujection aux mesmes termes & en la mesme forme et maniere qu'elle est cy-dessus transcriptée. En suite de quoi ledit Sieur du Moulin au nom de tous auroit très-humblement remercie le Roy en nostre personne des graces & faveurs particulières qu'il leur faisoit & à ceux de sa profession, & avec grand zèle & affection nous auroit assurez de leur sincerité & fidélité très entiere au service de Sa Majesté; souhaitans une longue et heureuse durée à son règne, accompagnée de toute sorte de félicitez; Et que

¹ Something very strange has been brought to notice by O. Douen. He has called attention to the "Arrêt du Conseil d'Etat contre Du Moulin, ministre de la R.P.R. à Sedan, pour ses prêches scandaleux," BSHPF, 1891, p. 222. It is a decree forbidding Du Moulin from ever preaching again in France! It reads as follows: "Sa Majesté étant bien informée des discours téméraires et scandaleux qu'a tenus le ministre Du Moulin, dans l'une des prédications qu'il a faites au Temple de Sedan, et l'ayant, pour cette considération, jugé incapable de les continuer à l'avenir, tant dans ladite ville de Sedan que partout ailleurs, Sa Majesté lui défend très-expressément de prêcher dorénavant dans son royaume, veut et entend que du jour de la signification qui lui sera faite de la présente, il s'abstienne de remonter sur la chaire, soit en public, soit en particulier, en quelque lieu ou sous quelque prétexte et occasion que ce puisse être, sous peine de désobéissance et de punition corporelle....Fait à Paris le 2e jour de janvier 1664. Signé: Louis." Is there some mistake here, for the date of Pierre Du Moulin's death (1658) is undisputed? Might it be that the date of the decree should read 1654? Or, is it a prohibition against his son, Pierre, The Younger? In any case, what was said to cause such a reaction?
Sa personne sacrée & celle de la Reine Régente soient comblées des bénédictions les plus exquises du ciel & de la terre. Et que tous les susnommez signé aux originaux des présentes.\(^1\)

It was about this time when Pierre Du Moulin began to suffer from poor health. He speaks of being very low on several occasions between 1642 and 1647. In a letter addressed to the Church of Sedan in January, 1647, he wrote:

Durant les douleurs dont il a pleu à Dieu m'affliger par l'espace de cinq ans, lesquelles par plusieurs fois m'ont mis à deux doigts de la mort, je demandois à Dieu par prières continuelles qu'il me retirast de ce monde, à me recueillist en son repos.\(^2\)

This prolonged illness is also referred to by Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger. It was about the year, 1644, he says,

Upon a return of the sickness that had troubled him in England, he was advised to travel into Auvergne to some waters which he went to drink upon the place, and with good effect. He returned to Paris, where he was received and entertained by his ancient flock with most singular expressions of love; but he was settled in Sedan, and his restitution to Paris had been tried many times, and found an impossible pull. At Sedan then he lived the rest of his days, serving God in the Church, and in the University.\(^3\)

By 1650 he was showing signs of weakness, though he was still able to carry on his preaching and teaching. He was no longer able to make the long climb to the Château, and he was becoming deaf.\(^4\) He also required spectacles, for André Rivet wrote thus in 1650 about his wife, Du Moulin's sister, and his brother-in-law:

\(^1\) Le procès-verbal de la réception du serment de fidélité presté au roy par les habitants des Ville et Souverainetés de Sedan et Raucourt (Sedan, 1644), p. 10.

\(^2\) Pierre Du Moulin, Dix décades de sermons, VI\(^e\) décade, Préface. In October, 1649, when he wrote to his three sons, he again spoke of being seriously ill. "Dieu m'a visité depuis peu d'une maladie extrême & désespérée selon le jugement des hommes." Ibid., VIII\(^e\) décade, Préface.

\(^3\) Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 27.

\(^4\) G. Gory, op. cit., p. 73.
Les lunettes ont esté nécessaires à ma femme depuis plusieurs années, comme aussi à son très célèbre frère, qui... par un rare exemple jouit à présent d'une ferme santé... faisant encore ses charges en l'Eglise et en l'eschole avec grand édification et progrès de ses auditeurs et de ses étudiants.¹

Pierre, The Younger, testifies to his father's vigor in his old age, but he is compelled to add that in these last years he gave up preaching on Sunday in order that he might take only the Tuesday preaching service where there was a smaller congregation, and that he gave his divinity lectures in his own house rather than at the Academy.²

Pierre Du Moulin had been in Sedan thirty-three years when his active period came to an end in 1654, a span half again as long as his Paris pastorate. Even so, this Sedan period, as long and as fruitful as it was, was not nearly as outstanding, as brilliant, nor as rich as his years in Paris.

II. Preacher

If the study of the chief literary works of Pierre Du Moulin makes possible a clearer understanding of the prevailing theological controversy in France in the early seventeenth century, it is no less possible from an examination of his sermons to make some discoveries about the Huguenot preaching in the same epoch. And, if he grew to become a formidable controversialist, he likewise matured into a stirring and commanding preacher.

Pastor Du Moulin had established his reputation as an outstanding preacher early in his ministry, and when he went to Sedan he carried his reputation and his gifts with him. There he continued to preach faithfully and effectively until only a short time before his death. It was in Sedan when he found the opportunity to publish some of his discourses, and it is from these works that one is able to evaluate his sermons and his homiletical abilities. He put into print single sermons,\(^1\) and a few groups of sermons,\(^2\) but by far the greatest number of his sermons is to be found in the **Dix décades de sermons** which were published in the years between 1641 and 1654.

A. **Seventeenth Century Huguenot Preaching.** Pierre Du Moulin is the first of the eight preachers which Professor A. Vinet has chosen as representative of seventeenth century French Protestantism.\(^3\) The others are Le Faucheur, Mestrezat, Daillé, Amyraut, Gaches, Claude, and Du Bosc. Despite the renown of these men, Vinet regards the greatest of the Roman Catholic preachers as having excelled the greatest of the Huguenot preachers, but French Protestantism could boast of a far greater number of good preachers than French Roman Catholicism.

From a literary point of view the Protestant sermons were not the equals of their Roman rivals. Vinet aptly points out that there was a "refugee style" even before there were refugees, and in

\(^1\) Sermon sur Daniel 9: 1-9; Sermon sur Romains 8: 15; etc.
\(^2\) Sermons sur quelques textes de l'Écriture sainte; Trois sermons faits en présence des pères capucins; etc.
men like Du Moulin, as French as he was, a keen critic can
detect that a certain feeling for the French language is lacking.\footnote{This view is diametrically opposite to that of Pannier who says of Du Moulin: "De ses années de séjour dans les universités étrangères il a rapporté une plus vaste culture, mais pas le moindre accent de ce qu'on appellera plus tard le style "réfugié." J. Pannier, L'Église réformée de Paris sous Henri IV, p. 152.}
The Reformed Church was, as it were, a commonwealth by itself,
conserving its own usages, traditions, and even language, a
"langage grave et simple, comme il convient à une Église per-
sécutée." Another cause for the literary inferiority of the
Protestant sermons was the element of controversy which the
preacher could not avoid even in the pulpit. The Catholic
preacher was only too happy to put controversy aside and ignore
the Protestants altogether. But if less eloquent and emotional,
the preaching of the Huguenots was robust, Biblical, and cogent.
The sermon was constructed with skill, compact and solid. There
was exhaustive analysis and careful exegesis. Their sermons had
to be good; often they were intended for an audience of lay-
thelologians and prospective martyrs. The Huguenots predications
conformed less to the fashion of the day in which they were
written than the Roman Catholic ones. However, form and fashion
are always rather temporary, so it perhaps is for the very reason
that the Protestant sermons were once out of fashion that they
now strike the reader as being recent and fresh. And, the
earliest of all the preachers of that century, Du Moulin, "est
même celui qui nous paraît le plus jeune."\footnote{A. Vinet, op. cit., pp. 2-7.}
B. The Sermons of Pierre Du Moulin. The publication of his sermons has not included the information as to where or when they were preached. Basically, Du Moulin remained the same throughout his lifetime, and there is in his writing as in his thought an abiding constancy. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that his messages to the faithful in Sedan were very similar to those which the Parisian Protestants listened to half a century earlier.

Il ne prêche pas, il parle. . . . . . . . . 
. . . . . Il a la parole franche, incisive; nul ne tombe moins dans l'exagération. Sa rondeur, son âpreté se contiennent toujours dans le vrai, et il est remarquable par un bon sens, souvent spirituel. Sa phrase, généralement assez brève, vive, pressée, a une forme de saillie et une honnête brusquerie, sans affectation. Il rappelle parfois Montaigne et Charron, dont la vieillesse fut contemporaine de sa jeunesse.

And before one has read many of Du Moulin's sermons one certainly subscribes to this favorable judgment. His active intellect had acquired a very extensive and diversified knowledge. He had read a mass of books, which fact is also discernible in his controversial writings, but following the precepts laid down by The Discipline and certain Synods he never made a display of his learning in the pulpit. His wisdom is at the same time very human. He blends with it a kind of practical philosophy, a natural stoicism, sanctified by piety. But, it is not at all Puritanism.

The Controversialist has not injected into his sermons as much argument as one might have anticipated - but it is there.

1 Ibid., p. 20.
2 Ibid., p. 37.
Occasionally, a whole sermon was given over to disputation.\(^1\) More often, references to beliefs held by his adversaries helped him in defining his own doctrine, in substantiating it, in illustrating it, and frequently whole sections of sermons or long digressions were given over to controversy. Preacher Du Moulin, for instance, could not fail to devote several paragraphs to the doctrine of transubstantiation in a sermon on 1 Corinthians 10:16, 17:\(^2\)

L'Apostre nous enseigne que le sens de ces paroles "Ceci est mon corps" est LE PAIN QUE JE ROMPS EST LA COMMUNION DE MON CORPS. Cette exposition deplaist à l'Eglise Romaine. S. Paul dit que c'est du pain, l'Eglise Romaine dit que ce n'est pas du pain. S. Paul dit que c'est du pain que nous rompons, l'Eglise Romaine dit que c'est de la chair que nous ne rompons pas. S. Paul dit que ce pain est la communion du corps de Christ, l'Eglise Romaine dit que c'est le corps de Christ même.\(^3\)

The Theologian preached on the doctrines with a rigorous and an almost terrifying orthodoxy. It was Du Moulin's brand of Calvinism, and one seeks in vain to find even a suggestion of a liberal interpretation or some relaxing of his tragic, logical orthodoxy.

Nostre grand Dieu considérant tout le genre humain perdu & corrompu en Adam, en a choisi quelques uns de sa pure grâce, pour leur faire miséricorde, selon qu'il dit au 9. chap. de l'Epistre aux Romains....Quant aux autres il les laisse en l'estat auquel il les trouve, afin qu'ils soient exemples de sa justice. S'il n'eust voulu faire grâce à personne, nul n'eust peu l'accuser d'injustice, puis que tous hommes méritent d'estre perdus éternellement. Mais en cela il déploie les thésors de sa grâce & bonté, en destinant quelques uns à salut, non pas à cause qu'ils sont ou seront

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\(^1\) Pierre Du Moulin, Dix décades de sermons, IIe décade, pp. 129-154. This is a sermon on Matthew 5:11, 12, and in it the preacher spends his whole time refuting charges the Catholics have made against the Protestants. An example of a discourse directed towards the Arminians, specifically on the doctrines of election and perseverance, based on Psalm 62:2, is found in the Ve décade, pp. 48-75.

\(^2\) Ibid., VIIIe décade, pp. 163-184.

\(^3\) Ibid., p. 174.
meilleurs, mais afin de les rendre meilleurs. Car il ne prévoit &s hommes autre bien que celui qu'il y veut mettre.¹

Even more than his fellow-preachers Du Moulin made his preaching as ethical as possible. True, there was an evident hungering for doctrine; people wanted to know the Reformed beliefs and to have them explained, but Du Moulin was ever ready to make the text he had chosen applicable to the common, everyday life, too. In doing this he often showed a keen judgment, a fineness of analysis, a refreshing frankness. In a sermon on Ephesians 4:28,² he extols the virtue of hard, manual work:

Quand Dieu en sa Loy, commande de se reposer au septième jour, il presuppose qu'on a travaillé &s six jours qui ont précédé....Considérez les mains de l'homme combien elles sont souples & adroites & propres à toute sorte d'ouvrages. L'homme peut-il considérer ses mains qu'il ne reconnoisse qu'elles ne lui sont pas données pour les tenir en son sein, & avoir les bras croisés?....Considérez que toutes les créatures du monde agissent & travaillent. Le Soleil, la Lune & les Astres se meuvent continuellement. Les rivières coulent, etc.³

An obligation falls upon us then:

Saint Paul veut que l'artisan, qui gagne son pain du travail de ses mains, distraye & mette à part une partie de son gain, pour donner à celui qui en a besoin. Car Dieu ne regarde pas tant à la grandeur de l'aumosne, que de combien elle est prise, & quelle est l'affection du donneur. Ce propos doit commencer par la considération de la providence de Dieu, qui a ainsi disposé les choses humaines.⁴

¹ Ibid., Xe décade, p. 131.
² Ibid., pp. 1-24.
³ Ibid., pp. 9 f.
⁴ Ibid., p. 17.
Du Moulin, the Artist, could, on occasion, fashion some admirable imagery:

Un tel Pasteur mourant ressemble au Soleil couchant qui est encore beau lors qu'il se couche, & donne encore lueur sombre après qu'il est couché. Car il laisse après soy un bon exemple, & la bonne odeur de son Ministère. Mais, celui qui s'est comporté laschement en sa charge, ressemble en mourant à une chandelle nouvellement esteinte, dont le lumignon fumant jette une puanteur.¹

Conversely, his imagery was sometimes expressed in coarse language:

Un tel homme [un blasphémateur] ressemble à celui qui souffle dans la poussière & se remplit les yeux; ou à celui qui crache contre le ciel, & le crachat lui retombe sur la face.²

It is possible to see the Exegete at work in some sermons more than others. In a homily on Matthew 16:16 ("Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God"), Du Moulin outlines his points, which seem to belong more to a divinity lecture than to a sermon.

Tout ce que nous avons à vous dire sur ce sujet consiste en trois points, à savoir:
I. Qu'emporte ce mot de Christ, & quelle est la signification.
II. Comment & pourquoi il est appelé Fils de Dieu.
III. Pourquoi non seulement en ce passage, mais fort souvent en l'Écriture Dieu est appelé le Dieu vivant.³

Pages of exegesis follow this introduction.

The Man, Du Moulin, observed nature with a feeling which calls to mind men of the sixteenth century much more than those of the seventeenth. His sermons illustrate this for they abound in descriptions of the phenomena of the natural world and the

¹ Ibid., Ve décade, p. 184.
² Ibid., IIe décade, p. 107.
³ Ibid., IVe décade, p. 2.
lessons they teach us. "Consider," he says in one of his sermons, "what a perfect relationship there is among God's creatures."

Les Astres tempèrent les éléments; les éléments nourissent les plantes. Les plantes nourrissent les animaux. Les animaux nourrissent l'homme & lui servent afin que l'homme serve à Dieu.1

He was a keen observer of life, and he reconstructed scenes from people's lives with a freshness and an accuracy that was little short of amazing.

Combien se trouveront en ceste ville de familles où les maris sont oisifs, débauchez, & yvrognes, dont les femmes travaillent incessament pour nourrir des ventres & des hommes inutiles, lesquelles ne recoivent autre salaire de leur travail que des battures & des outrages? Ce mal est si commun parmi le menu peuple de ce lieu, qu'il semble que le terroir le porte, & que par une constellation sinistre ce pays soit le pays des mauvais maris; tellement que si quelcon hors d'ici a esté bon mari, il est à craindre qu'estant arrivé en ce liev il ne change d'humeur, estant atteint de ceste contagion.2

He inserts a lighter note as he repeats what some have prescribed to cure marital troubles. The wife should be blind so she cannot see the debauchery of her husband and his bad deeds; the husband should be deaf so he cannot hear the nagging cries of his wife. Half seriously he opines that this is bad counsel because it does not get at the root of the problem.3

Finally, Du Moulin possessed something of the Orator. As he preaches on I Timothy 1:17, he proclaims in a grandiose manner:

O grandeur incompréhensible de ce Roy des siècles! Mille millions d'Anges prompts & ardents à exécuter ses commandements

1 Ibid., 1re dècade, p. 215.
2 Ibid., 1e dècade, p. 123.
3 Ibid., p. 132.
environnent son throsne, il tient les diables enchainés. Les Saincts qui règnent au Ciel jettent leurs couronnes aux pieds de ce Roy souverain; & les Rois de la terre lui doivent hommage de leurs couronnes: le jour viendra qu'ils comparoistront nuds devant ce siège judicial, pour rendre compte de leur administration, & les Empereurs ne resuscite­ront point avec leurs couronnes.

Que les cieux des cieux célèbrent la gloire du Roy des siècles, & que toute grandeur s'humilie devant sa Majesté. Le Ciel & la terre sont remplis de sa gloire.1

Although several printed sermons seem very long, the average sermon ran scarcely more than an hour. The hourglass placed near the pulpit reminded the preacher of the passing of the time.

Du Moulin's outlines are not skillfully constructed. They are very simple, not varied, and though the two or three points are hardly ever original, they are easy to retain. The sub­divisions are more numerous, clearly enunciated and often indicated by numbers in the printed sermons. There are digressions from time to time, but they are not too common nor do they lead too far from the central theme. Sermon-writer Du Moulin never deviated from the familiar pattern of introduction, body of the sermon, and conclusion.2

C. Analysis of a Sermon. One of Du Moulin's sermons3 is based on Isaiah 52:7: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth!"

He introduces the sermon by saying that the temporal deliverances

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1 Ibid., Ie décade, pp. 45 f.
2 Julien Massip, "Un vieux prédicateur huguenot" (A thesis for the degree of "bachelier en théologie," The Faculté de Théologie Protestante, Montauban, France, 1888), Chapter 1.
3 Pierre Du Moulin, Dix décades de sermons, IIe décade, pp. 1-35.
and those good things which come to us are the fruits of our reconciliation with God through Christ. Thus, Isaiah speaks of the peace the Son of God brings into the world and of the establishment of the reign of God on earth by the preaching of the Gospel. Before announcing his main points Du Moulin carefully explains all the chief words used (les pieds = la venue; les bonnes nouvelles = l'Evangile, etc.).

Or, la substance de ceste bonne nouvelle est mise en trois choses par nostre Prophète: à savoir I. En ce qu'elle annonce la Paix. II. En ce qu'elle publie le Salut. III. En ce qu'elle annonce à Sion que son Dieu règne.¹

I. "De la paix." How much we all desire peace, exclaims Du Moulin, specially those who have experienced war, domestic discord, and grievous personal troubles. There was peace before sin entered the world, and the reason there is no peace today is because of Satan. In a striking paragraph, he describes just what has happened:

Mais depuis que par le péché le mauvais mesnage s'est mis entre Dieu & l'homme, tout cela s'est changé. Car l'homme alors a commencé de trembler à la voix de Dieu, & d'estre effrayé par sa présence. Le ciel a commencé à bruler l'homme, & l'air à le morfondre & le battre d'orages: Les Astres regardent la terre d'un sinistre aspect. La mer s'esmeut de tempestes: La terre ingrate se hérisse le dos d'espines contre le labeur de l'homme. Les bestes sauvages cherchent sa vie, les domestiques taschent à secofter son joug, & se rebellent contre lui, laquelle rebellion est fort juste; car il est juste que les créatures se rebellent contre celui qui s'est rebelle contre Dieu. Elles vengent la querelle de leur maistre & de leur Créateur. Les vassaux ne doivent plus d'hommage à leur seigneur Feodal, quand il est coupable de crime de lèze Majesté.²

¹ Ibid., p. 5.
² Ibid., pp. 6 f.
Not only are the elements and creatures at war, but men have turned on themselves. And finally, according to Du Moulin, each man is an enemy to himself because he is not at peace with God. Now, only God can do something in this situation, and He has. God became man ("Dieu s'est fait homme") to effect the peace between himself and man.

There are two reasons given as to why sinful man cannot draw close to God. The first is that man is too weak to do so by his own strength, and the second is that he is a sinner. Christ, however, sweeps away these two difficulties:

It is no wonder then, that He is called the "Prince of Peace," and that He does bring peace with all of its rewards and benefits.

Nevertheless, the preacher is aware of two objections to what he has stated. Some may say that the Gospel brings no peace when it can trouble one's conscience so, and again, that the Gospel often sets men against one another. He doesn't have to go far to illustrate this point. He reminds his hearers that "ceux de nostre Religion y sont bruslez, pource qu'ils ont traduit en langue vulgaire & fait voir aux peuples l'Escriture sainte." As for his answers to the objections, he says, in the first place,

1 Ibid., p. 10.
2 Ibid., p. 17.
that in the beginning it is true that the Gospel disturbs the conscience and permits no peace of soul, but later real peace does come, just as medicine often hurts and upsets before it cures; in the second place, he agrees that the Gospel often sets men against one another, but this is due not to the Gospel, which is the doctrine of peace, but to the perversity of men who do not understand heavenly truth.

II. "Du Salut." While the first division is extremely long, this second part is somewhat brief. In the text, "par le salut est entendu ceste paix & réconciliation avec Dieu dont a esté parlé ci-dessus, & nostre délivrance de la mort éternelle par la Rédemption en Jésus-Christ."¹

What he does is simply to state his definition and then to underscore it by two illustrations. Imagine an earthly king banishing forever from his kingdom all his rebellious subjects. Then the king's son steps forward and intercedes for all repentant subjects who are then permitted to remain in the kingdom. This is salvation. Imagine, too, the deliverance of Israel from Pharaoh in Egypt.

III. "Du Règne de Dieu." Because the Bible speaks of the Kingdom of God in more than one sense, Du Moulin explicitly states that in this text in Isaiah what is meant is "Le Royaume particulier que Dieu a sur son Église."² So, this kingdom which is announced by the Gospel is the kingdom of grace by which Jesus

¹Ibid., p. 21.
²Ibid., p. 24.
Christ reigns over his Church. Nevertheless, it is a spiritual kingdom, and Christ reigns not only over men but in men and in their consciences.

This kingdom has its enemies - Satan, the world, and our perverse desires. These enemies, though, are not real foes, because nothing is able to resist the power of Christ. Besides, through his election God makes safe from Satan's influence those who are his, and they work against the devil in the world ("L'élection éternelle, par laquelle Dieu cognoist ceux qui sont siens, lesquels sont meslez parmi les hommes de ce monde, comme quelques grains de froment parmi un tas de paille.").

Even as God rules over the Church so must He one day establish His kingdom over the world. It is not made clear how "ces deux Royaumes, l'un sur le monde, l'autre sur l'Eglise" remain separate and at the same time "s'entretiennent & se soustiennent mutuellement." It is here that Du Moulin becomes vague, and yet before his conclusion he takes special pains to say there is one way in which these two kingdoms must not become one, the way the Roman Pontiff "A amassé infinies richesses & a changé le règne spirituel du Fils de Dieu en un Empire temporel."

His conclusion is plain, brief, and personal. We must serve Christ, to think and speak of him, and do those things agreeable to him. We must pray to God that the kingdom of his son may grow. We must add to our prayers our good works, a good example, and a

1 Ibid., p. 26.
2 Ibid., p. 33.
good conversation. We must have the word of God living abundantly in our hearts, "car il est certain que nul ne règnera avec Dieu au ciel, si Dieu ne règne premiérement en son coeur."¹

Pierre Du Moulin should have been and was a very interesting preacher, very profitable to listen to, speaking very clearly to the seventeenth century Huguenot mentality and very forcibly to the will. Yet, he was not a skillful craftsman in the art of homiletics. Genius is missing, so is sensitivity and profound thinking and subtlety. One regrets that too often he substituted controversy for spiritual edification and that here and there he has employed expressions which were too violent and out of place in the pulpit. On the other hand, there is always a solid, true, and simple piety shining through. In all his sermons one can sense an ardent personal conviction and a passion to convince. He has that warmth of spirit which supplies the power to make a true orator of the Christian pulpit especially when it is combined, as in Preacher Du Moulin, with a perfect clarity of exposition. And surely it is great preaching when one can read his sermons 300 years after they were written and feel that at times the preacher is speaking directly to the reader.

¹Ibid., p. 35.
CHAPTER SEVEN

CONTROVERSIALIST IN SEDAN, 1621-1654

I. Du Moulin, The Author

Volumes of homilies and sermons were not the only literary productions of the Sedan period. When Du Moulin at last came to the realization that it was not going to be his lot to return to Paris, he began to find his place in his new surroundings. His life in Sedan seems to have been, on the surface at least, much more peaceful than in Paris. The opportunities for conferences and disputes were lacking, and his time was freer for creating a more diversified literature. Hence, one finds him writing pastoral and devotional works such as Prière et méditation de l'âme fidèle sur l'affliction présente de l'Église, ensemble les prières du matin et du soir, and Saintes prières plus divines traitées.

He became the author of some writings of a more personal nature,¹ and due to the fact that his place of residence was now in far-off Sedan, he understandably wrote many more letters than before. There were his former friends to write to, of course. The Duchess of Trémoille, for example, was only one of the persons with whom Du Moulin had corresponded through the years.²

But now, he found himself writing official letters to the French Church, expressing his opinions on certain subjects,³ and

¹ Ode dédiée à la mémoire de feu M. le duc de Bouillon, and a Méditation sur la grand maladie...es années 1625 et 1626.
² Cf. "Trois lettres de Pierre Du Moulin à la Duchesse de la Trémoille," BSHPF, 1859, pp. 136-139. These letters are dated 1609, 1619, and 1622.
³ To La Rochelle in 1621, to Alençon in 1637.
now it was that he composed letters to individuals scattered in France, England and Geneva, some of these letters eventually finding their way into print. There is, for instance, the Lettre à M. de Balzac, in 1633, and the Réponse à la lettre de M. de Balzac in the same year; there was also a Lettre à M. de la Milletière in 1635, and a Seconde lettre à M. de la Milletière, 1638.\(^1\) He kept up a faithful correspondence with his former Church in Paris and its pastors. Five weeks after the destruction of the Temple at Charenton in 1621, Du Moulin wrote from Sedan his Lettre à un de son troupeau sur la calamité présente, writing in the capacity of a pastor in the Paris Church. The next spring, 1622, he wrote to the Paris congregation again, Du Combat chrétien ou des afflictions, à MM. de l'Église réformée de Paris.

He composed several small theological treatises, too,\(^2\) and in these years he found the opportunity to bring out several French editions of his philosophy as well as separate editions of his Logic and his Ethics, all of which dated back to his professorship at the University of Leyden.

The fact that Du Moulin was no longer in a position to participate in the spoken controversies of the times did not retard the

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\(^1\) Reference has already been made to the Papiers Ferry which contain so many of Du Moulin's personal letters.

\(^2\) One such tractate was De cognitione Dei. Early Du Moulin states "At non quaelibet Dei cognitio pariter mentem perficit & illustrat, sed ea demum, quae ab ipso Deo revelata, ejus verbo continetur. (Hagae-Comitis, 1631 edition, p. 22). Then there is a long digression into just how much man is able to attain by reason "non adjuta Dei verbo," but the author returns to reiterate that true knowledge of God is only in His word, and to urge the readers of his treatise, "Hoc ergo agite quotquot estis boni, & ut ad Dei veri veram cognitionem perveniatis, date operam." (p. 244).
output of controversy from his pen. As far as is known, he took part in no major, public verbal conference after he left Paris. But, his attacks against the Roman Catholic Church and against the Arminians, and his defense of the Reformed Church and of orthodox Calvinism went on unabated. It was just as true in Sedan as it had been in Paris, that the majority of his works were directly related to the theological controversies of the period.

II. Roman Catholic Controversy

Du Moulin's writings against the Roman Catholics in the post-Paris period fall under three headings - those of a general nature treating divers subjects, those directed against Cardinal Du Perron, and those against the Capuchins.

A. Against the Roman Catholic Church At Large. The first significant book of this type appeared in 1629, the full title being, L'anti-barbare, où du langage étrange et incognu tant ës prières des particuliers qu'au service public. It is a lively attack against the Roman liturgy.

"It is an opinion commonly received," declares Du Moulin, "that ignorance is the mother of devotion. In the matter of God's service, men admire most what they understand least."¹ Setting out from this remark, he tries to prove that Catholicism is based on a like ignorance, even quoting from Bellarime who is supposed to have said "that faith is distinguished against knowledge, and

is better defined by ignorance than by knowledge." The author suggests some reasons why the Pope and the Roman Clergy do not want the Mass understood by the people. They would be scandalized if they knew what was being said and could find too many contradictions. For example, the priest prays for the deceased in these words:

"Remember, Lord, thy servants and handmaids which have gone before us with the signet and stamp of faith, and who sleepe the sleep of peace." Hee that hath given the Priest money to pray for one of his deceased friends, at this Memento of the Masse, would say, I gave money indeed for a soule which I beleued was tormented in burning fire, but now that I perceive it sleepe in peace, Ile beware hereafter how I give any money to draw it out of torment.1

Du Moulin's tactics are illustrated by this and another instance where he tries to better his foes. He asks why the priest in saying Mass omits the words, "which is broken for you," after he says, "This is my body." Put the full statement to the test and it is, as he phrases it, "Most cleere and evident that as the body of our Lord in the Eucharist is not broken really, but sacramentally; that so also the bodie of our Lord is not really but sacramentally betweene the hands of the priest."2

In 1630 a new volume appeared, entitled Du Juge des controverses.3 After charging the Roman Catholic Church, in the opening pages, of misusing Scripture and of usurping the authority belonging to Scripture alone, Du Moulin undertakes to prove three

1 Ibid., p. 126.
2 Ibid., p. 139.
3 The full title reads: Du Juge des controverses traíté auquel est défendu l'autorité & la perfection de la Sainte Escriture contre les usurpations et accusations de l'Eglise romaine.
statements: First, that neither the Roman Church nor the Church in general is able to be a sovereign and infallible judge of religious controversy; second, that the Latin version of the Bible and the belief of the Catholic Church that it must interpret the Bible do great harm; and third, that the Romanists, by stating that their Church is the sovereign judge of all controversies, do not understand the writings of the Fathers nor of the Councils. In conclusion, Du Moulin makes it amply clear that Scripture alone is the judge of controversies.

Usually bound with Du Juge des controverses is a work called Des traditions et de la perfection et suffisance de l’Ecriture sainte, published in 1631. Although printed separately from the former volume, it is an integral part of it. It is a recapitulation of what has been stated in Du Juge des controverses, but here there is a clearer division between the attack on the Roman Catholic position concerning the Scriptures and the support given, on the other hand, to the Reformed view and early Christian witness of the perfection and all-sufficiency of the Bible. Then, basing himself upon the authority and perfection of the Scriptures, Du Moulin examines a long list of Roman Catholic doctrines running from "la puissance spirituelle du Pape" to "l'extreme unction."

No major work was written by the Sedan professor in the first part of the 1630's. During this time he was preparing his Anatomie de la Messe, the first part being published in 1636, the second in 1639.
This book can justly be counted as one of his more valuable ones. The numerous questions it raised, the anathemas it called forth from the Catholic Church which did not reply to it, won for it a fame which was extraordinary for this type of composition. It appeared in many editions. The author passes in review the Roman doctrines and traditions relating to the sacrifice of the Eucharist, and he refutes by weighty arguments the superstition and idolatry surrounding the Roman Catholic beliefs. He brings out well the comparative innovation, the novelty, of the Mass, and he concludes that "it is not with a very good grace that our opponents, after having disfigured and entirely changed the Christian religion, venture to accuse us of novelty. For, in truth, the Romish religion is a garment patched up with new pieces.\(^1\) The outline of his work is to be found in the second chapter which contains thirty-four contrarieties between the Holy Supper and the Mass. In amplifying his points, he has not failed to include the element of the ludicrous. Writing on the Roman assertion that the body of Christ is present in the host, he mischievously concludes,

> that when in processions on the festival of Corpus Christi, two consecrated hosts meet and pass by the side of each other, Jesus Christ meets himself, and walks before himself. It is to be presumed that these hosts know one another and offer to each other mutual salutation.\(^2\)

Then he reminds the reader that these illogicalities stem from the


\(^2\) Ibid., p. 184.
the fact that the Catholic Church has not followed what the Scripture directs nor has it heeded honestly the writings of the Fathers.

B. Against Cardinal Du Perron. Du Perron never relinquished his battle against James I of England. Since 1615 he had labored on a tome directed against King James, and wishing to make it as perfect as possible and hoping to have the last word, his command was that his production should be released only after his death. And after he died in 1618, his Réplique à la Réponse du Roy de la Grande-Bretagne appeared. The King of England asked Theologian Du Moulin to answer it, and to that end he wrote his Nouveauté du papisme opposée à l'antiquité du vray christianisme in 1627 and in replying specifically to Du Perron's work, he wrote in 1641 the Réponse au livre du cardinal Du Perron, intitulé Réplique à la Réponse de Jacques I, roy de Bretagne.

Du Moulin's Nouveauté du papisme is a very wordy retaliation to Du Perron. The sole aim is to demolish the Roman Catholic view of the Church as centered in the position of the Pope; there is no attempt to erect a Reformed doctrine of the Church. Says Du Moulin, "Au premier siècle l'Evesque de Rome n'a pas esté recongneu chef de l'Eglise universelle." Nor was the Bishop

1 James claimed that he belonged to the true Catholic Church since he believed all the truths considered necessary by the first Christians. In his reply, Du Perron discussed the characteristics of the Catholic Church, some articles which James had said were not essential, and among other subjects, the preservation and integrity of the doctrine and discipline of the Church.

2 Pierre Du Moulin, Nouveauté du papisme, etc. (Sedan, 1627), p. 289.
of Rome acknowledged as head of the Church in the years from 300 to 451 A.D. The long, detailed, historical investigation, in which the writer points up the Cardinal's errors in his understanding of history, his ignorance of Greek, and his false accusations, leads into a wearying Book VII where Du Moulin once again repeats his stock arguments against the Invocation of Saints, Images, Prayers for the Dead, Celibacy, Fasting, Auricular Confession, The Sacrifice of the Eucharist, Transubstantiation, Communion in One Kind, and Private Masses.

C. Against the Capuchins. Heretofore, Controversialist Du Moulin had singled out the Jesuits of all the monastic orders for attack, but in Sedan he did battle with another order of the Roman Church - the Capuchins. He first wrote Le Capucin, traite auquel est descrite l'origine des Capucins et leurs voeux, rôges et disciplines examinées. This is a very simple and entertaining exposé, according to Du Moulin, of what one finds in the Capuchin order. There are some few lines on the monastic profession in general and on the various mendiant orders, but soon very practical bits of information about the Capuchin order fill the pages: "Les Capucins vont pieds nus, ou avec des sandales." "Ils n'ont qu'une robe." "Aussi est-ce un péché mortel d'avoir chose valante plus de trente sols." A strange conglomeration of truth and hearsay develops as the author continues with chapters on

1 Ibid., Books IV, V, VI.
2 Ibid., pp. 489-1081.
3 Pierre Du Moulin, Le Capucin, etc. (Genève, 1641), p. 9.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., p. 10.
"Des battures & fouetturies des Capucins" ("Les fouetturies de nuict se font sur les fesses, mais celles de jour ne se font que sur les espaules"), 1 "Des Pénitences," "Actions extravagantes" ("Couper sa barbe sur un billot avec une serpe"), 2 and "Des noms que les Capucins prennent en entrant en ceste profession" ("Père Archange," "Père Esprit," etc.). 3 He closes by making some remarks on the Rule of St. Francis.

The Capuchins repudiated Du Moulin's work, of course, and after having their say, they went to the Temple to hear Du Moulin's answers which came in the form of Trois sermons faits en présence des pères Capucins. The sermons were preached during the week of November 25, 1640. The first two are based on the same text, Romans 12:1, even though the first sermon is a straightforward exhortation "par les compassions de nostre Dieu à offrir & consacrer à Dieu vos coeurs, & par les coeurs vos corps & actions extérieures," 4 and the second is on the Sacrifice of the Mass. How he utilizes the same text to speak of the Mass is seen in one passage: "Au lieu de ces sacrifices de nos corps, l'Eglise Romaine sacrifie le corps de Jésus Christ en la Messe, ou pour mieux dire, pense le sacrifier." 5 The third sermon is on the authority of the Church, and the sermon is based on Matthew 18:15-17.

III. Protestant Controversy
A. Amyraut. The war which Pastor Du Moulin had waged against

1 Ibid., p. 15.
2 Ibid., p. 18.
3 Ibid., p. 20.
5 Ibid., p. 37.
Arminianism in Paris was continued by Professor Du Moulin in distant Sedan. He wrote in 1649:

C'est s'espand aisément & s'insinue plausiblement dans les esprits parce qu'elle revest Dieu d'affections humaines... Ces innovateurs travaillent incessament et font tous les jours des prosélytes.1

By "ces innovateurs" Du Moulin may well have had in mind Moïse Amyraut and Paul Testard, because these were the men whose orthodoxy he seriously questioned. In so doing he was instrumental in creating a deleterious episode in the history of the Reformed Church in France.

Moïse Amyraut (1596-1664), a member of a distinguished Huguenot family and trained for the law, was converted to the study of theology by reading the Institutes. He entered the seminary at Saumur and came under the influence of John Cameron.2 Amyraut himself became a professor at Saumur in 1633, and there developed his doctrine of hypothetical or conditional universalism, giving expression to it in his Traité de la Prédestination, which came out in 1634.3

1 Unpublished Letter of Pierre Du Moulin to Paul Ferry, 10 aout 1649, Papiers Ferry.
2 Cameron (1579-1625), who had been Greek lecturer in Glasgow before he was twenty, had traveled and studied on the Continent, held a pastorate in a French Reformed Church in Bordeaux, and had taught in Saumur and Montauban. He denied that the active righteousness of Christ was imputed to believers, and asserted that the human will can concur with the grace of God to effect man's salvation. The will was not really depraved; man's understanding needed enlightenment. A. W. Harrison, Arminianism (London: Duckworth, 1937), p. 110.
3 Amyraut's object was not to set aside but to liberalize Calvinism by ingrafting this doctrine upon the particularism of election. His system is an approach, not so much to Arminianism which he actually rejected, but to Lutheranism which made a place for a universal atonement and a limited election. He maintained the Calvinistic premises of an eternal foreordination and foreknowledge of God. He also admitted the double decree of election
His views created a great commotion in the Reformed Churches of France, Holland, and Switzerland. Many considered them innocent and consistent with the decrees of the Synod of Dort, where German Reformed and Anglican delegates had held similar views, but Du Moulin, Spanheim,\(^1\) and Rivet, and the theologians of Geneva opposed Amyraut's doctrine as a real departure from the orthodox faith and a deplorable compromise between Calvinism and Arminianism. It was objected that God could not really will and intend what is never accomplished; that He could not purpose an end without providing adequate means; that, in point of fact, God did not actually offer salvation to all; and that a universalism based on an impossible condition is an unfruitful abstraction.\(^2\)

Efforts were many to stem the mounting excitement. In March and April, 1637, a Provincial Synod met at Charenton and drew up nine points on which Du Moulin and Amyraut agreed. A letter containing these points and a plea for peace was sent to the two theologians.\(^3\)

and reprobation. But, in addition to this, he taught that God foreordained a universal salvation through the universal sacrifice of Christ offered "également pour tous," on condition of faith, so that on the part of God's will and desire the grace is universal, but as regards the condition it is particular, or only for those who do not reject it and thereby make it ineffective. Amyraut and his followers urged the love, benevolence and impartial justice of God, and quoted the numerous passages in Scripture which teach that God loves the whole world, that he will have all men to be saved, and that Christ died for the sins of the whole world. Philip Schaff, *A History of the Creeds of Christendom* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1877), p. 481.

\(^1\) Article "La Famille des Spanheim," *BSHPF*, 1863, pp. 99 f. Frederick Spanheim took an active part in the controversy from Leyden.


\(^3\) Paul Ferry, "Le synode provincial de l'Ile-de-France, 1637," *BSHPF*, 1858, pp. 408-410.
Notwithstanding, a formal charge of heresy was brought against Amyraut at the National Synod of Alençon in the summer of 1637.¹ Du Moulin wrote from Sedan, expressing his opposition to Amyraut, and Amyraut and Testard appeared in person to defend their views. The whole case was heard and the Synod wisely absolved them from the charge of being heterodox, advising them to make some changes in their doctrinal terminology and ordering both parties in the debate to write nothing further on it. It is small wonder Du Moulin felt years later after Amyraut had again been absolved of heresy charges (The National Synod of Charenton, 1645), that "au fond se trouve que par cet accord, Amyraut a obtenu une victoire entière."²

In 1638 Du Moulin's Lettres au Synode d'Alençon, en 1637, touchant les livres d'Amyraut et Testard appeared.³ Of these letters, Jean Daillé wrote:

² Unpublished Letter of Pierre Du Moulin to Paul Ferry, 5 janvier 1650, Papiers Ferry.
³ In 1637 Grotius, in several letters to his brother, took up the dispute between Du Moulin and Amyraut (and Testard). "Within these few days," he says, "I have seen a book by Du Moulin which is not yet published, and in which he severely censures the opinions of Testard and Amyraut. His discussion of this subject is worthy of perusal. I do not blame him, when he says, 'Arminius possessed a more vigorous judgment than Cameron and his followers: Arminius therefore uttered such truths as agreed perfectly with each other, and as were consistent with the principles which he had once laid down; while Cameron and his followers utter doctrines that are mutually conflicting.'...

... In the Synod of Alençon, such was the intemperate fury of certain of Du Moulin's partizans, that they wished all the men who were suspected of Cameronism to be ejected from their situation... Du Moulin was greatly ridiculed for having said, 'They who ascribe to God a desire to save all men, ascribe to his human affections.' Amyraut produced five of Du Moulin's sermons, in which he had uttered the very same sentiment that God willed the salvation of all men." J. Nichols, op. cit., I, 228-231.
Le premier [Du Moulin] mêle feu M. Cameron dans cette querelle, accomplant ce qu'il nomme le cameronisme avec le papisme et l'arminianisme, par un nouvel exemple qui donne un extrême scandale à nos peuples et de grandes prises à nos adversaires.¹

In his letter written to the Synod on April 27, 1637, he denied he had accused Cameron of beginning a new religion. Rather, he viewed "Cameronisme" in the light of Arminianism:

"J'honore la Mémoire de M. Cameron, & je l'ai défendu lors qu'il en a été Besoin. Mais pour dire la Vérité, je crois qu'il auroit fort bien fait, s'il n'avoit jamais pensé à renverser l'Ordre des Décrets de Dieu, comme ils ont été expliqués & démontrés par le Synode de Dordrecht, & aprouvés par toutes les Églises Réformées de l'Europe, & particulièrement par trois Synodes Nationaux du Royaume de France; ce qu'il n'auroit jamais fait, s'il avoit mûrement & sérieusement considéré les Conséquences de ses propres Dogmes. Parce que cette Nouvelle Méthode qu'il a inventée, est le même Fondement sur lequel les Arminians ont établé leur Doctrine."²

Sometime after the Synod of Alençon, Du Moulin wrote the Esclaircissement des controverses salmuriennes, but because of the order of silence imposed by the Alençon Synod on the controversy the book was circulated only in manuscript form. Finally, in 1647 Du Moulin permitted Spanheim to publish it in Holland, after it had been charged that Amyraut and Testard had violated the Synod order and after it had been rumored that Du Moulin had modified his views. Also in 1649 Du Moulin's De Mosis Amyraldi Libro materialized, where once again he inveighed against the character of the deceased preceptor of Amyraut - Cameron.³

¹ H. Bordier, La France Protestante, op. cit., V, 817-818.
³ J. Nichols, op. cit., I, 224. Nichols supplies some quotations from the book. Du Moulin complained, "Cameron was never tired of talking; he was an incessant chatterer that would have wearied even Bollanus to death...yet he talked about nothing except his own words or deeds....He was a man of restless disposition; and was always revolving in his mind and talking about some novelty. Among his friends, of whom I was one, he did not conceal, that there were many things in our [Calvinistic] religion which he wished to see changed."
It was a losing fight in which Du Moulin was engaged. More and more Amyraut claimed the sympathies of the French Reformed pastors, and in his last years Du Moulin saw this "heresy" spread over all of France. The controversy itself declined in importance as the political oppressions of the Reformed Church in France grew.

B. Grotius. It is sufficient merely to allude to the occasional and unimportant exchanges between Grotius and Du Moulin over the years. Grotius had been a student of Du Moulin in Leyden, but as he grew older he strayed far from the Calvinistic beliefs of his former teacher. There was never any formal controversy entered into, but at the time Pierre Du Moulin was preparing his plan of union, for example, Grotius wrote to him to show that the Augustinian articles of Protestant confessions did not allow enough scope for the views of the Fathers of the first four centuries. Again, in 1640, Du Moulin published a book, *Vates seu de Praecognitione Futurorum, et bonis malisque Prophetis*, opposing the interpretation which Grotius, in his treatise *De Antichristo*, had put on several passages in the New Testament.\(^1\) Said Grotius:

> I consider my writings on the subject of Anti-Christ to be true, and not merely true but of the greatest utility. Since such is my full conviction, and since God has placed me in this asylum for the purpose of aiding in the promotion of his truth and peace, do you suppose that I ought to be afraid of the virulent pens of Marets, Du Moulin, and of the rest of that party.\(^2\)

\(^1\) *Ibid.*, p. 281. Nichols adds that Du Moulin's effort is "really a curious and entertaining work," and that he (Nichols) considers the interpretation which "Du Moulin and many other Protestant writers give to these apostolical expressions, The Man of Sin and Anti-christ, is more correct than that of Grotius."

IV. A Doctrinal Summary of the Roman Catholic Controversy.¹

To study Pierre Du Moulin, The Controversialist, is to learn what a leading seventeenth century Huguenot believed, besides discovering the engaging story of religious controversy in this epoch. It is not enough to know the external features of these encounters between Huguenot and Papist—who disputed, where, and for how long. Of more and lasting importance is to know the issues proposed and how they were expressed as the controversies unfolded.

The number of the controversial questions was considerable. Du Moulin and Coton together devised ninety-six,² but this was no effort to systematically classify all of them. Such questions were bound to be multifarious; some were important and some merely accessory; some were historical, or philological, or even political. Nowhere, not even in the tables of contents, is the inquirer able to find order and arrangement. It is somewhat surprising that such an encyclopedic and methodical spirit as Du Moulin did not somewhere present a classification of the disputed questions. In effect, he tried several times, and in all probability his best effort was an unconscious one. In two letters to the Duke of Bouillon upon his turning Roman Catholic, he summarizes the chief points of controversy between the Reformed and Catholic.³ In another place, he announces that,

¹ Vide J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Henri IV, chapter v.
² Pierre Du Moulin, Trente-deux demandes proposées par le P. Cotton ...Item soixante-quatre demandes proposées par Pierre Du Moulin, etc.
³ Pierre Du Moulin, A Short View of the Chief Points in Controversy Between the Reformed Churches and the Church of Rome. (Newly translated out of the French Copy which was never Printed. London, 1680).
Il y a deux sortes de controverses: il y en a sur lesquelles nos adversaires produisent quelques passages [des Pères], mais passages ou faux ou tronqués, ou inutiles, ou pris à contresens....Mais il y en a d'autres non moins importants & en plus grand nombre, sur lesquelles ils sont destituez de toute autorité de l'ancienne Eglise et sur lesquelles estant interroguez ils répondent à autre chose et changeants la question taschent de prouver ce qu'on ne leur demande pas.¹

In the endeavor to group the controversial subjects one is able to see three categories, each encompassing several particular doctrines. First, there are those fundamental questions on which the two churches are at completely opposite poles: (1) The Authority of Scripture, and that of the Fathers. (2) The Mass, with Transubstantiation. (3) The Power of the Pope. The second group is concerned with a certain number of important questions of dogma, discipline, and ceremonies: (1) The Church, with accompanying questions of Apostolic Succession, Validity of the Ministry, etc. (2) The Sacraments. (3) Purgatory. (4) Prayers for the Dead. (5) Worship of the Virgin and the Saints. (6) Images. (7) Celibacy of the Priests. In the third place, there were those items which both parties recognized as secondary - certain details of Catholic worship or organization.

A. The Authority of Scripture. This question constantly came to the fore in its own right and also in the struggle to find who or what was to be the judge of the controversies. The Bible was the

¹ Pierre Du Moulin, Défense de la foy catholique, etc. (Genève, 1610), p. 172.
supreme authority established or re-established by the Reformers and officially proclaimed in the Protestant Confession of Faith, and it was likewise understood that this position was never to be compromised by an appeal to another authority such as the tradition preserved by the Church.¹

What is unusual is that in some of the early controversies the Roman Catholics readily agreed with their adversaries in appealing to the final authority of Scripture. In 1602 Cayer "se submit volontairement à prouver par le texte de l'Escrutre sainte," and Du Moulin "s'esbahissoit comment il osoit se départir des maximes ordinaires, tenuês en l'Eglise Romaine, en recevant l'escriture sainte pour juge."² More frequent and what came to be the established opinion of the Catholic controversialists was the view expressed in the title put by Tilenus to a work written by Du Perron, L'insuffisance de l'escriture, the first sentence of which read, "L'Escrutre sans les traditions n'est point suffisante."³

Du Moulin's position vis-à-vis the Catholic one is seen in the Preface to his Bouclier de la foy when he addresses himself to those of the Roman Church:

Mais nous nous servons de l'escriture en toute autre façon que ceux qui vous enseignent.
1. Car ils craignent que le peuple ne lise l'Escrutre, & nous l'y exhortons.

¹ In their appeal to the Bible the Protestants customarily used the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament, while the Roman Catholics resorted to the Vulgate. The vernacular was not often used.
² A. Adaire, op. cit., p. 9. Cf. Du Moulin's Cartel de deffy du sieur de Bouju, etc., p. 19, and Véritable narré de la conférence entre les sieurs Du Moulin et Gontier, etc., p. 3. Here are statements similar to that of Cayer.
³ Pierre Du Moulin, Accomplissement des prophéties, etc. (Genève: Pierre Aubert, 1631), p. 377.
2. Ils vous persuadent que l'Écriture est obscure & ambiguë, mais nous disons que toutes les choses nécessaires à salut y sont couchées avec beaucoup de clarté.

3. Ils disent que l'Écriture est une règle imparfaite, & veulent qu'il y ait une autre parole non écrite, & des traditions de l'Église égales en autorité à l'Écriture. Nous au contraire disons que l'Écriture sainte nous peut rendre sages à salut, & que nous ne devonsestre sages outre ce qui est écrit: & qu'en ce qui est clair en l'Écriture, & n'ayant besoin d'interprétation, sont contenues toutes les doctrines nécessaires à salut.

4. Item quand nous alléguons l'Écriture, nous l'alléguons comme juge souveraine, & comme celle qui règle l'Église & luy donne autorité: mais l'Église Romaine allègue l'Écriture comme une doctrine autorisée par l'Église, & qu'il faut recevoir pour que l'Église l'a ordonné.

5. Et quand nous interprétons l'escriture nous ne baillons pas, comme fait l'Église Romaine, nos interprétations pour loix, & ne nous disons ny juges ny interprètes infaillibles de l'Écriture sainte.

6. Finalement quand nous interprétons l'Écriture, nous tirons l'interprétation de l'escriture même; mais l'Église Romaine tire ses interprétations de la parole non écrite & de la tradition.

Related to the question of the Bible was that of the use made of the Fathers. The Roman Catholics, relying so heavily on the Fathers, forced the Huguenots to read and to use the Fathers in their arguments, and as the Protestant debaters cited them more and more, always with competence, they acquired an increasing respect for them. Never did they attribute to them, however, the value which the Catholics gave, because they were always conscious of the great need to safeguard the sovereign authority of the Holy Scriptures. They were not out-maneuvered by their opponents. "Ces gens," Du Moulin reports, "orient les Pères, les Pères, & par feintise les demandent pour juges, afin d'éviter la Parole de Dieu."²

² Pierre Du Moulin, Apologie pour la Sainte Cène du Seigneur, etc. (Geneve: Pierre Aubert, 1630), p. 494.
A sharp distinction was always made between the Bible, "Parole du Père," and tradition, "parole des Pères."

The more Du Moulin and his fellow-controversialists used the Fathers in their utterances and writings the more careful they became in that usage. They limited themselves to the Fathers before the end of the fourth century, and even within those four centuries they did not place equal value on all the works attributed to the ancient writers.

B. The Mass. For the Protestant the Mass is an act of idolatry, and for the Catholic the Protestant Lord's Supper is a profanation. The Roman Church had, of course, already fixed irrevocably, by pronouncement and painting, the doctrine of transubstantiation, that Christ was really present in the host and really sacrificed by the priest. In his work, Apologie pour la Sainte Cène du Seigneur, after a preliminary discussion on the words "messe," "cène," and "eucharistie," Du Moulin holds up to view the two doctrines of Christ's presence, Reformed and Catholic, and demonstrates that the latter is recent, contradictory in itself, and contrary to the Gospel utterances on the Last Supper. He approaches it from more than one standpoint. From that of history: "la Transsubstantiation n'a esté esclosée & passée en

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1 In 1610 Du Moulin was much more disposed to using the Fathers for support than in 1600. In 1609 he made this statement, without speaking of Scripture at all, as he was discussing some questions of Church History: "Que le sieur Gontier nous die si en ces points il reçoit les Pères pour juges, nous nous contenterons sur chaque point d'une demi-douzaine de passages bien exprès." Pierre Du Moulin, Réponse du sieur du Moulin aux lettres du sieur Gontier, etc. (Genève: Pierre Aubert, 1635), p. 14.

2 Pierre Du Moulin, Apologie pour la Sainte Cène du Seigneur, etc., pp. 41, 48, 58.
article de Concile que plus d'onze cens ans après Jésus Christ.²

From the theological point of view: "Que l'Église Romaine enseignant que le corps du Seigneur est présent au Sacrement sans tenir aucun lieu, & qu'il est tout entier en chaque endroit de l'hostie & en chaque goutte du calice, ruine l'humanité de Jésus Christ."³ From that of logic: "Après la consécration entre les mains du Prestre il y a de la couleur & saveur, rien qui ait quantité ou qualité," thus objects Du Moulin, "les accidents demeurent sans sujet et se soustiennent d'eux-mêmes."³ And lastly, simply from the moral standpoint: "Nos adversaires par leur manucation charnelle outragent & déshonorent Jésus Christ."⁴

In explaining the Reformed doctrine, he speaks in a striking way, briefly and without finesse: "Jésus-Christ n'est point mangé des dents ou de la bouche corporelle en la Cène, mais seulement par la foy."⁵

If transubstantiation was a monstrous concept to the Huguenots, so also was that of the sacrifice in the Mass. There is absolutely no sacrifice in the Lord's Supper, he states:

The Holy Supper is not called a sacrifice in the holy Scripture. Jesus Christ, when instituting this Sacrament, neither offered nor presented anything to his Father, but merely said to his disciples, "Take, eat." He made no elevation of the host, and the apostles did not worship the Sacrament. In short, none of the actions were performed necessarily requisite in a sacrifice properly so called.⁶

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1 Ibid., p. 436.
2 Ibid., p. 289.
3 Ibid., p. 35.
4 Ibid., p. 229.
5 Ibid., pp. 324 f.
6 Pierre Du Moulin, Anatomie de la Messe, p. 255.
On the other side, Cayer tries to justify the Roman Catholic position by saying that in the mouth of Christ the words "donner sa chair" already mean "sacrifice en la Messe." Moreover, he affirms that even in the Old Testament the Mass was spoken of: "mesmes le messe se disoit devant le Déluge, à les Anges l'avoyent révélée à Enoch."  

One fundamental question (Is it necessary or not to renew the sacrifice offered by Christ's dying upon the cross?), of the host of questions which were asked in dispute over sacrifice in the Mass, was never sorted out and answered. The Protestants continued to declare that Christ, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, had established something completely new, and the Catholics persisted in thinking that they rendered the Mass more legitimate and more to be respected in representing it as a form of sacrifice so commonly known in the history of the world religions. The question of form in the celebration of the Eucharist was far more important in the eyes of the Catholics. As for Du Moulin, he was more or less respectful, more or less vehement, in his description of the actions of the priest and people during Mass.

L'Adoration de l'hostie & l'Elévation qui se fait pour l'adorer. Ce point est important, & saisit nos esprits d'une tristesse mêlée d'horreur, quand au son d'une clochette le prestre leve le pain & chacun prosterne pour l'adorer.  

1 A. Adaire, op. cit., p. 126.
2 Ibid., p. 20.
3 Pierre Du Moulin, Défense de la foy catholique, etc., p. 343.
In summary, Pannier's calm observation will suffice:

Evidemment chacun des deux partis était scandalisé aussi sincèrement et aussi profondément de la façon dont l'autre parti comprenait et représentait le même mystère, de la façon dont l'homme, dans l'autre Église, traitait les choses de Dieu.1

C. The Power of the Pope. Just as the Huguenot controversialists criticized the place given to the priest in the Mass, so they felt they were defending the "honor of God" in combating the role given to the Pope in the Catholic Church.

The centuries-old Gallican tendency existed in the early seventeenth century more among the parliamentarians than among the ecclesiastics, but in the clergy more in the orders than among the secular priests. Nevertheless, it came to be the Jesuits who formulated and defended Catholic dogma with the Protestants, and the Jesuits were no possessors of the Gallican tendency. Increasingly the doctrine of the absolute authority of the Pope was proclaimed in all of its purity. The conflict broke out into the open more than once. Cayer once spoke in a dispute of "l'adoration du pape," and this summoned a quick protest from Du Moulin and also from another Catholic theologian present, a Carmelite, who asked Cayer to use "un mot plus doux que l'adoration." Cayer and the Sorbonne doctor who was his assistant in the debate both upheld the word, "adoration," as "bon et soutenable."2

1 J. Pannier, L'Église réformée de Paris sous Henri IV, p. 270.
2 A. Adaire, op. cit., p. 9.
At the same time that Coeffeteau was saying, "Nous savons que le Pape est homme pécheur comme un autre...mais en qualité de successeur de S. Pierre il ne peut rien enseigner de contraire à la piété," his Protestant rival was doing his best to demonstrate that one must answer affirmatively to the question of whether the Pope is able to err in matters of the faith. Said Du Moulin: "Sur tout est absurd d'estimer que le Pape puisse errer comme homme, ou comme Docteur particulier mais non comme Pape. Car pourquoi le Pape ne corrige-il le Docteur?"

Indulgences had provoked the first protest from Luther, but the sale of them had not ceased. What was so odious about indulgences in the eyes of the Reformed, was that they constituted a detraction from the all-powerful mercy of God and the saving work of Christ. In the controversy with Cayer, a Carmelite Doctor explained Bellarmine's theory of indulgences. When he finished, the questions Du Moulin put to him illustrate his firm refusal to accept the concept in any form and demonstrate, in part, his view of the Atonement.

Du Moulin lui demanda où le Pape prenait ces Satisfactions? qui lui avait donné charge de distribuer les mérites des Saincts pour le payement de nos péchez? Et puis que la Satisfaction de Jésus-Christ estoit suffisante pour le payement de toute la peine deu à nos péchés: pourquoi on y adjoustoit les Satisfactions des Saincts? Et puis que les Saincts n'avoient peu satisfaire pour leurs péchez, comment eussent-ils peu satisfaire pour les péchez d'autrui, principalement pour les péchez pour lesquels Jésus Christ a déjà satisfait? en somme il le prioit de prouver son dire par la parole de Dieu.2

1 Pierre Du Moulin, Défense de la foi catholique, etc., pp. 569 ff.
2 A. Adaire, op. cit., pp. 40 f.
So, like the Mass, the Papacy seemed all too much like a veritable work of Satan to the Reformed, and even an official ban against describing the Pope as "Antichrist" did not prevent the Huguenots from regarding the Bishop of Rome as just that.

D. The Church. The "Church" has been placed fourth in this list of doctrines, but perhaps this is not entirely proper. Because, intimately related to each topic disputed was the concept of the Church. Whenever authorities were invoked in the controversies, as they so often were, it was the Scriptures for the Protestant and it was always the Church for the Catholic.

The Church, as Du Moulin explained, was something extremely important, a truly sacred institution. His doctrine coincided with that of the Institutes, and the thought of Calvin on this subject was attached to that of St. Augustine and the ancient doctors: The Church is the mother of the faithful, of whom God is the father. Both Romanist and Huguenot found agreement on this statement, and each claimed that his church fitted this definition, but with one essential difference - the Roman Catholic said his alone fitted the definition.

It is true that the word, "Church," can only mean for the Catholic the Roman Catholic Church, and so it was in vain that the

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1 Pierre Du Moulin, Bouclier de la foy, etc., I, p. 382.
Reformed pled that they, too, had the marks of the true Church. The Catholic controversialists spoke of the "Église prétendue réformée," and on the other side the Protestants dismissed the Roman Church as just one particular church. Explained the Paris minister:

Car la marque qui discerne l'Église universelle d'avec les Juifs, Turcs, & Payens, est la profession du Christianisme, & le Sacrement du Baptesme. La dispute donc est touchant les Églises particulières: car y ayant plusieurs Églises particulières discordantes entr'elles, on recherche les marques par lesquelles la vraye Église, c'est à dire la pure, & Ortho­doxe, & en laquelle on puisse estre sauvé, soit discer­née d'avec les impures esquelles il n'y a point de salut.1

He was ready with a summary of what were to him the marks of the true Church:

Quant aux marques de la vraye Église, c'est à dire quant aux marques par lesquelles on peut discerner une Église Ortho­doxe & pure, d'avc une Église hérétique & impure: nostre con­fession ne met en cet article autre marque que la parole de Dieu purement annoncée, sous laquelle parole nous comprenons aussi la pure administration des Sacremens; pource que leur droit usage est prescrit en la parole de Dieu.2

After this, he follows by saying it is impossible to accept the marks which the Roman Catholic Church puts forward as those belonging to the true Church, those of catholicity, antiquity, succession, continuity, multitude, miracles, unity, and holiness.3

Yet, Du Moulin and the other controversialists were quick to emphasize that neither the Reformers nor they were schismatics. They only wished to re-establish the primitive Church.4 As it was, the Huguenots were extremely sensitive to the charge that they were

1 Ibid., p. 384.
2 Ibid., p. 387.
3 Ibid., pp. 392-404.
4 Pierre Du Moulin, Cartel de deffy du sieur de Bouju, etc., p. 119.
heretics. They abhorred heresy as violently as their Roman counterparts; and far from admitting that the Reformed doctrines were heresy Du Moulin took the position that the Roman Catholics were the heretics:

Maintenant le Sr. de Beaulieu nous accusera d'ensuivre quelques hérétiques anciens, ayant en sa religion tout l'esgout des abominations, des hérétiques, infidèles & Pagan. Je lui nie donc que nous soyons Arriens, ni Cerinthiens, ni Manichéens, ou Ebionites, &c. Nous condamnons tous ces anciens hérétiques, que les Anciens Conciles ont condamné.¹

The topic of the hierarchy or the episcopate occurred only incidentally in the controversies,² but frequently the principal subject of a conference was "la vocation des pasteurs," or as the Catholics preferred "la mission." For one believing in apostolic succession and the sacrament of holy orders, it was incomprehensible that the Protestants could have a genuine ministry and that their pastors could in any sense of the word be successors of the Apostles. Many discourses were exchanged on the thirty-first article in the Reformed Confession of Faith which speaks of ordinary and extraordinary vocation, and a full discussion of the Huguenot position is to be found in De la vocation des pasteurs, by Du Moulin.

The answer to the Catholic charges was in the form of two arguments: As for doctrine, the Reformed, drawing directly from the writings of the Apostles, felt themselves to be more legitimate continuators than if there had been a series of unfaithful intermediaries; as for discipline, every precaution was taken in the

¹ Ibid., p. 112.
² Infra, chap. VIII, "Episcopacy."
Reformed Church in order to follow, on this point in normal times, the wise precepts of the primitive Church preserved in Scripture.¹

It is unfortunate that individuals came to be mixed with principles in the conferences on this subject, for pointed attacks and malicious insinuations flew back and forth between pastors and priests.² More and more, however, the Huguenot ministers grew in the conviction that their calling came from their fidelity in proclaiming the Word of God in all of its purity as much as or more than from the acceptability or the smooth functioning of the institutions of their Church.³


E. The Sacraments.⁴ The Catholics reproached the Protestants for keeping just the two sacraments – baptism and communion. Concerning baptism, they had little to say. As long as the rite of baptism was performed by the pastors in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, it was considered perfectly

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¹ Only in certain exceptional cases such as those of the Reformers was a special vocation or mission admitted. Du Moulin had this to say of Luther: "Luther avoit une vocation que ceux de l'Eglise romaine ne peuvent rejeter, car tout homme est obligé d'accomplir son serment: Luther ayant esté esleu en l'Eglise romaine avec serment qu'il enseigneroit la vérité de l'Evangile estoit obligé d'accomplir son serment et d'enseigner la vérité laquelle depuis il a recongne," A. Adaire, op. cit., p. 151.

² Suspecting the morality and sincerity of the Catholic clergy Du Moulin asks this question of Father Coton: "Si le Pape fait bien d'establier à Rome les bordeaux publics où les Prélat entrent ouvertement, & en toute liberté?" Pierre Du Moulin, Trente-deux demandes par le P. Cotton...soixante-quatre par Pierre Du Moulin, etc., p. 52. Against some of the Catholic accusations, Du Moulin offers this defense on behalf of the Reformed Church pastors: "Nous ne prenons point la besasse sur l'Espaule, comme moines mendians: nous prenons un chapeau, non un capuchon: nous nous ceignons d'une courroye plustost que d'une corde: nostre habite et vie est ordinaire, comme celle de Jésus-Christ et des apostres." Pierre Du Moulin, Cartel de deffy du sieur de Bouju, etc., p. 117.


⁴ Pierre Du Moulin, Bouclier de la foy, etc., II, 1-238.
valid and Protestants were not rebaptized if they became Catholics. The Reformed accepted Catholic baptism in the same way.

Concerning communion, it was another matter. Added to the quarrels over transubstantiation and the sacrifice of the Mass were the practices of having Masses without communicants and communion under one kind. About the one, Du Moulin said:

Une des plus grandes playes que l'ennemi de nostre ait fait à ce S. Sacrement, est le changement de la communion des fidèles en un spectacle auquel le Prestre mange & boit seul & le peuple regarde sans participer, & mesme sans entendre.¹

And of the other:

Les paroles de Jésus Christ y sont formelles. Car en donnant la coupe à ses disciples, il a dit, Beuvez en tous. C'est à dire, Tant les Ministres que les autres croyans.²

F. Purgatory. Some of the reasons which Pierre Du Moulin has manufactured in order to prove the doctrine of Purgatory false are:

1. Que Dieu qui a donné son Fils à la mort pour racheter ses ennemis, prenne plaisir à bruler ses enfans pour des péchez pardonnez & pour lesquels Jésus-Christ a satisfait.
2. Que Dieu tourmente ses esleus en un feu, non pour les amender, mais pour se satisfaire à soy-mesme & pour conten­ter sa justice.
3. Que Dieu pour contenter sa justice exerce une in­justice, prenant deux payemens d'une mesme debte, à savoir la passion de Jésus Christ & le tourment du Purgatoire.
4. Que la passion de Jésus-Christ nous est appliquée en nous bruslant & tourmentant par plusieurs siècles, qui est appliquer le pardon par la punition, appliquer la rémission de nos debtes en nous faisant payer, etc.
5. Que Jésus-Christ intercédant au ciel pour tous les fidèles, ces âmes ardentes ne sortent point du feu par son intercession, mais qu'elles sortent par des indulgenges du Pape.
6. Que Dieu veut que nous pardonnions à nos prochains entièrement...dont s'enfuit que Dieu veut que nous soyons plus miséricordieux que lui.³

² Ibid., p. 479.
³ Pierre Du Moulin, Bouclier de la foy, etc., I, 308-310.
He then summons extensive evidence from Scripture and from the Fathers to support his confutation, concluding his presentation with an impressive reassuring quotation from Pope Gregory I:

Nous finirons ce propos par une sentence bien expressé de Gregoire I. Pape, au 13. livre sur Job. chap. 20. Pour que nous sommes rachetez par la grace de nostre Createur, nous avons cecy ce don celeste que lors que nous sommes retirez de l'habitation de nostre chair, nous sommes TOUT INCONTINENT menez à la remuneration celeste. Je ne scay pas que c'est qui se peut dire de plus exprés.1

G. Other Subjects in Controversy. He led the attack on still other practices and beliefs found in Roman Catholicism.

Of prayers for the dead, he wrote:

En l'Evangile & es escrits des Apostres on n'en void aucune trace. Nul les indulgences donnees pour aucun mort. Nulle priere pour aucun trespassé. Nul commandement de prier pour les morts.2

Of the growing devotion to the Virgin, he asked:

Que dirai-je des tiltres horribles & blasphematoires, attribuez à la Vierge Marie, es Psaultiers & Letanies de l'Eglise Romaine? comme d'estre la premiere cause de nostre salut, l'inventrice de grace, la Roine de Cieux & des Anges, la Majesté divine, d'avoir brisé la teste du serpent....3

Of prayers to the saints, he appealed to the New Testament, and, supported by several texts (Romans 14:23, John 14:1, I Timothy 2:5, Revelation 22:9), explained:

Au premier siecle nous avons les apostres qui non seulement n'ont point invoqué la Vierge Marie ni aucun des Saintcs trespasssez. Mais qui mesme nous defendent d'invoquer autre que Dieu4... Non plus que de ceste opinion damnable qui tient que les merites des Saintcs servent à combler le mérite de Jésus-Christ & mis ensemble au Thresor de l'Eglise, ils sont employez par le

1 Ibid., p. 341 f.
2 Pierre Du Moulin, Défense de la foy catholique, etc., p. 489.
3 Pierre Du Moulin, Cartel de deffy du sieur de Bouju, etc., p. 31.
4 Pierre Du Moulin, Défense de la foy catholique, etc., p. 225.
Pape pour la rédemption & acquit de la peine de nos péchés.  

Of images, he faithfully reported the position of the Catholic Church, and then made his own suggestion:

Le Sieur Coeffeteau respond, que l'Eglise Romaine ne croit point qu'ès images il y ait quelque divinité...ainsi seulement les honore à raison de ce qu'elles représentent...Que s'il faut adorer les images qui représentent incertainement le visage des Saintcs, pourquoi n'adorera on aussi la Bible qui représente certainement la vertu de Dieu? 

And of celibacy, before he lined up his arguments from Scripture and from the Fathers in support of a married clergy, he said:

It faut reconnoistre que la virginité continente, qui n'est tentée d'aucuns désirs charnels, & qui est une intégrité d'esprit aussi bien que de corps, a plusieurs avantages par dessus le mariage...Mais ce don de continence qui n'est tentée d'aucune convoitise convient à fort peu de personnes, & Dieu ne le donne pas plus tôt à un Pasteur de l'Eglise qu'à un du peuple, & ceux qui le demandent à Dieu par prières n'ont point de promesse d'estre exaucez en cela. Car Dieu a promis de nous exaucer ès choses qui sont nécessaires à salut, mais ce don de se pouvoir passer de femme sans estre tenté aucunement, n'est point nécessaire à salut. 

Lastly, there were those minor and often diverting points which crept into the debates, those matters which the Catholics esteemed were necessary for true piety, and which the Reformed considered useless or even dangerous - the adoration of the cross, for instance, or religious objects.

1 Ibid., p. 248.
2 Ibid., pp. 417, 424.
3 Pierre Du Moulin, Nouveauté du papisme, etc., pp. 589 f.
4 Pierre Du Moulin, Défense de la foy catholique, etc., p. 479. "Celuy nous fait tort qu'esi estime que nous rejettions ce signe & mémorial de la passion, Nous en voulons seulement à l'abus & à l'idolatrie."
5 "À Paris à S. Sulpice il y a une pierre d'une fontaine en laquelle la Vierge Marie lavoit les drapeaux de Jésus-Christ nouveau né. On nous a montré à nous-mesmes à saint Denis la lanterne de Judas, laquelle sans doute est pleine de vertu." Ibid., p. 414.
V. A Doctrinal Summary of the Protestant Controversy

In studying the Roman Catholic-Reformed controversies of the period it is mystifying to observe that some points were conspicuously absent, that certain doctrines which were known to be living issues received virtually no attention. Some of these dogmatic questions, although absent in the debates between the Roman Catholics and the Reformed, appeared frequently as blazing issues in each Church. What is true of the controversies in general regarding such doctrines was equally true of Du Moulin's writings in particular. He was strangely silent on certain subjects when arguing with Catholics, but when he did battle with some of his fellow-Protestants he freely, vigorously, and fully expressed himself on these subjects.

A. Grace. In the course of the seventeenth century the doctrine of grace came to occupy, preoccupy, and impassion the men in both churches.

It is also very interesting to note that at the same time the Calvinists were feeling the effects of the struggle between Gomar and Arminius the Roman Catholic camp was wracked by the controversy between Jansenius and Molina over the same problem - grace, with the Arminians corresponding to the Jesuits and the Gomarists to the Jansenists.1

In the Catholic Church, Jansenism was vanquished; in the Reformed Church, on the contrary, Gomarism or Predestinationism was almost the official doctrine for a time.2

1 G. Dodge, op. cit., p. 167.
2 Du Moulin himself very soon came to appreciate the works of the theologian from Louvain. In 1602 he cited the opinion of "Corneille Jansenius au chapitre 59 de la Concorde des Evangiles," A. Adaire, op. cit., p. 35. Some years later he described Jansenius in his Apologie pour la Sainte Cène du Seigneur, etc., as one who had almost left his own ranks to come to the Reformed side.
Yet, the great Protestant Controversialist and his opponents disputed related matters continuously without ever seeming to approach the fundamental subject, To what extent is the grace of God in Christ sufficient for the believer to be saved? Hence, it is necessary to look elsewhere than in Du Moulin's Roman Catholic controversies to find his opinions.

No man can be freed from the curse, but by the meere grace and favour of God. This grace he hath revealed to us in Christ, without whom there is no salvation... This benefit, and saving grace, God doth declare to us by the Gospell, wherein that covenant of free grace, whereof Christ is the mediator and foundation, is propounded... So without faith, Christ cannot be apprehended [and] this faith man hath not of himselfe, neither is it a thing of man's free will, but the gift of God, and the effect of the holy Ghost, who draw men by a powerful calling, and doth seale in men's hearts, and deeply impresse in their consciences the promises of God, propounded in the Gospell.

Having in mind the Arminian "heresy", he hastened to say:

All men have not this faith... but only they who are called by the purpose of God and whom God of his meere good pleasure hath chosen to salvation.

In direct condemnation of the Arminians, he wrote:

And we acknowledge that there is no grace absolutely sufficient, eyther to conversion, or to faith, or to salvation, without the spirit of regeneration, and knowledge of Christ. And we condemne the schoole of Arminius teaching that all men, even the heathens, to whom the name of Christ hath not come, are indued with sufficient and saving grace, to come to faith, and by it to salvation.

To conclude the matter, he pointed the reader to the Bible, as he was so prone to do, and made one of the more sweeping statements.

But the Scripture doth no where say, that God is bound to give increases of grace to them who have rightly used

2 Ibid., p. 82.
3 Ibid., p. 363.
naturall light and understanding....It doth no where say
that God is bound to give to all men, mediately or immediately
power to beleewe and fulfill those things which are commanded
in the Gospell. It doth no where say that supernaturall
grace is given to all men, by which they may rightly use
naturall light. It doth no where say that the Gentiles who
are ignorant of Christ, are led by the holy Ghost....

B. Predestination. Closely allied to the question of grace was
another which the controversialisists in the Catholic-Reformed
debates largely overlooked. Who is a believer? From where does
it come that one person has the faith which saves, and another
does not?

Calvin in later editions of his Institutes gave a more pre-
dominant place to the doctrine of predestination, and with rare
exceptions all the Reformed theologians adopted his views. Du
Moulin himself declared the doctrine in these words:

Predestination is therefore the decree, by which in the
work of salvation, God hath from eternity determined what hee
will doe with every man. Or thus: Predestination is the
decree of God by which, of the corrupted masse of mankind, hee
hath decreed to save certaine men by Christ and justly
to punish the rest for their sinnes....Of this Predestination
there are two parts; the one is election, the other is repro-
bation....

He then submits an outline of the Arminian doctrine of predestina-
tion:

The first they will have to be that, whereby God decreed
to send his sonne to redeem mankinde: The second, that whereby
he decreed to give eternall life to them that beleewe: The
third, that whereby he decreed to give all men grace; and
sufficient power to beleewe: The fourth, that whereby he de-
creed to give salvation to these, and they particular men
whom he fore-knew would beleewe and would persevere in the

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1 Ibid., p. 372.
2 If the works of men, the merits of the saints, prayers for the dead
etc., played the role that the Catholic doctors said they did,
then it is difficult to understand why they did not attack the
doctrine which makes the salvation of man completely dependent on
the will of God. Likewise, it is hard to see why the Reformed doc-
tors did not put this doctrine in full view in place of following
their adversaries in a labyrinth of secondary questions.
3 Pierre Du Moulin, Anatome Arminianisme, etc., p. 83.
faith.\(^1\) What results from this is bad according to the Calvinist. Inasmuch as Arminius has not understood what the decree of predestination is, Du Moulin points out, he has made "predestination a species, or part of providence." Also, he has overthrown election and made it "to be a thing only of name;" and what is most dangerous of all, laments Du Moulin, is that he has made "the election of several men to come after faith, and so doth make the election of God to depend on man's free-will."\(^2\)

VI. Results from the Controversies.\(^3\)

A. Instruction.

Et du Moulin m'a souvent dit que si par la permission du Magistrat un lieu estoit otroye pour conférer ordinairement & avec les seuretez requises, que ce seroit le moyen de mettre bas les aigreurs mutuelles, & faire reconnoistre la vérité.\(^4\)

Du Moulin may have changed his mind later in his ministry, but what certainly was true was that in each case the parties involved in the disputes learned to know themselves much better and their adversaries, too. They learned to recognize the worth of their own and the opposite beliefs. Strong points and weaknesses were uncovered, and there was a genuine and healthy reciprocal penetration. Catholics became more familiar with Holy Scripture, for example, and Protestants with the Church Fathers, and these controversies did serve to deepen and to make less static the life and thought of each Church.

1 Ibid., p. 85.
2 Ibid., pp. 86 ff.
4 A. Adaire, op. cit., p. 91.
B. Interrelation. No major controversy remained a local affair. They were "catholic" and international, and a conference in Paris was able to interest and excite churchmen and theologians from Scotland to Germany. Protestants of the several countries found that the great controversies brought them closer together, and even on the Catholic side there were Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese aiding the French doctors.

C. Confusion. If there were advantages, there were also disadvantages. On occasion, the disputes created such excitement and aroused such violent feelings that clear thinking and calm reasoning on the main issues were prevented by undue anger and emotion. Frequently the authorities had to take steps to check the encounters or even forbid the publishing of the records of a conference which had been highlighted by bitter attacks and exaggerated exchanges on secondary and trivial matters.

D. Separation. Though many visualized the controversies as a means of drawing Reformed and Catholic closer to one another, rarely was such union aided by a controversy. On the contrary, the disputes often seemed to prevent the reunion. Each party came to know the other more fully, but each seemed, as well, to become firmer in his own convictions. There were common points between the two churches, but there were the fundamental, irreducible differences, too. As it was clearly shown and it was a severe disappointment to many on both sides to discover this fact, theological controversies were not the key to reconciliation between the Roman Catholic and the Reformed Churches.¹

¹ Very generally, these four results of the Catholic-Protestant controversy are likewise valid for the Calvinist-Arminian controversies.
CHAPTER EIGHT

VISITOR TO ENGLAND

I. The Pre-Laudian Church

When James I came to the throne in 1603, the Puritans expressed their desire for ecclesiastical change, but at Hampton Court in 1604 James decided against them. Though conformity was still able to be enforced, the Puritan party was growing in strength. Commons became increasingly Puritan, and as men saw the Church come to align itself on the side of absolutism, Puritanism grew strong among the country gentry and among the nation at large.

When James I died in 1626, Calvinism was still the prevailing belief of religious Englishmen even though an active anti-Calvinist movement had advanced with extraordinary rapidity. English deputies attended Dort in 1618, but with all its notable triumph of Calvinism, Calvinistic theology was losing its hold. There was a rising Anglican school which combined Arminian principles with high-church theory. Its anti-Calvinist trend appealed with success to the scholarly and devotional instincts of English churchmen. It was well organized, ambitious, and aggressive. In William Laud it found a whole-hearted exponent and an unflinching leader, and in Charles I it obtained a disciple and a patron.¹

¹ H. Henson, op. cit., p. 30.
While the pre-Laudian Church had the strength, the weakness, and the promise of a genuinely national character, it held a friendly attitude towards the non-episcopal churches of the Continent. The supreme issue was the conflict with the Papacy, and most Anglicans felt that they stood with the rest of the Protestants against the arch-enemy, Rome. Though Laud later attempted to compel the foreign refugees to conform to the English liturgy, England in pre-Laudian times was a natural refuge for the Protestant exiles from abroad. It was no less so for distressed, foreign scholars.¹

Of the king and his court, the description which Mark Pattison supplies is worth noticing:

The reigning prince was a lover, of not of learning, at least of a kind of theological lore which borrowed its lights from learning. James I surrounded himself with divines whose talk was of fathers and councils....They searched the ecclesiastical writers for precedents in support of English episcopacy, but they read them in the original, and this served to maintain greek at a premium. For the first and last time in our annals, the court was the theatre of these learned discussions.²

An example of the intellectual prestige of the Jacobean Church and the friendly attitude which was shown by Anglicans towards the Protestant Churches on the Continent is seen in Isaac Casaubon, an illustrious scholar, who, finding himself more and more out of sympathy with his Calvinist co-religionists in Paris, went to England in 1610 and lived there until his

¹ Ibid., pp. 25 ff.
death in 1614. He was invited by Archbishop Bancroft, promised a prebend at Canterbury, and James himself bestowed on him a yearly pension. Regularly, sometimes too frequently to suit Casaubon, he was summoned and constrained to converse with the king on theological and ecclesiastical topics. Archbishop Abbot was godfather to his son, and he became a friend of the English bishops, the Bishop of Ely giving him Holy Communion at his death. All this, and yet Casaubon remained a member of the French congregation, nor did he ever receive episcopal confirmation or episcopal ordination.1

II. Du Moulin's Visit of 16152

With such a successful precedent in Casaubon, it is not surprising to find a royal invitation being sent to Pierre Du Moulin in 1615 to come to England. King James, in his battle against the pretensions of the Papacy with regard to civil rulers, had looked about for a talented supporter and spokesman. He had found one in the leading Huguenot controversialist of the epoch, and his appreciation of him deepened as time passed. Du Moulin, on the occasion of his 1615 visit to England, was virtually at the zenith of his reputation, an exceedingly active man, forty-seven years of age.

L'an 1615, au mois de février, Monsieur de Mayerne, premier Médecin de Jacques Roy de la grande-Bretaigne, arriva à Paris, et me fit entendre le désir que Sa Majesté avait de me voir.3

1 Ibid., Secs. 5-10.
3 The Autobiography, p. 29. About two pages of the Autobiography are given over to this trip to England in the spring of 1615.
Théodore Turquet de Mayerne had been called to England by the king four years previously, and he had attended Casaubon during his last illness in 1614. Now he was commissioned to go to France and in the name of the English king invite and accompany the well-known French pastor to England. Du Moulin continues:

Desjâ il [James I] m'avoit envoyé deux mil livres, pour un livre que j'avois fait, en Deffense de la Con­fession de foy que ledit Roy avoit publiée.¹

The king had need of Du Moulin in 1615, too, in order to make reply to the claims of the Papacy, but he had another scheme in mind. He envisioned a great assembly of representa­tives from all the churches growing out of the Reformation coming together to formulate their common doctrines. Pierre Du Moulin shared this desire.²

Je me résolus de faire ce voyage, mais nostre Consis­toire s'y opposa, car on luy avoit persuadé que si j'y allois, je ne reviendrois plus. Mais je leur ostay cette permission, par la promesse et serment que je fis en public à Charenton de retourner en bref.³

¹ Ibid. This was the book which Du Moulin wrote in 1610 against Coeffeteau entitled Défense de la foy catholique contenue au livre de trêspuissant et sérénissime Roy Jacques I, etc. Controversialist Du Moulin had early attracted the attention of King James in another matter as well, because much of the correspondence which the king had with Du Moulin and with others in France about Du Moulin, between the years 1610 and 1614, was concerned with the Du Moulin-Tilenus dispute. "We think it fitt," he wrote in 1612 to Sir Thomas Edmondes, English ambassador in Paris, "that both the Duke of Bouillon toward Tilenus, and you in our name to Du Moulin, do require their conformatie to our judgement delivered, that is, that the question be for ever buried in silence, and neither by writing or preaching revived." Vide The Edmondes Papers, a collection of State Papers (Stowe Mss. Nos. 172, 173, 174, and 175, in the British Museum, London).

² Vide infra.

Aside from the fact that the Paris congregation feared Du Moulin would repeat Casaubon's experience and remain in England, there was another cause for their hesitation in granting him permission to go. Of the other ministers, Lobéran de Montigny was an octogenarian, Mestrezat had been ordained less than a year, and only Durant was active and experienced.

At the beginning of March, Du Moulin wrote to Du Plessis-Mornay telling him about his projected trip and the plan of union which he would discuss with the king, asking Du Plessis-Mornay to use all his efforts to further the plan within France.

Estant requis du Roy de la Grande Bretagne de faire un tour en Angleterre, je fay estat, moyennant l'aide de Dieu et le consentement de mon Eglise, de partir dans quinze ou seize jours....Je scay que ce bon Roy s'enquerra de moy de plusieurs choses, notamment des maladies de nos Eglises... et des remèdes aux maux qui nous menacent. Je pourray aussi luy parler de l'Union en la Religion dont je vous ay fait voir le projet, et l'exhorter à s'y employer....

On the latter is written "Receu le 5 mars." Hence, if Du Moulin was true to what he said in the letter, he must have departed near the middle of March, though he states in his Autobiography that he set out at the beginning of the month. Or, perhaps, he was able to leave sooner than he had anticipated when he wrote to Du Plessis-Mornay.

Ainsi je partis de Paris avec Monsieur de Mayerne au commencement de mars 1615. Je vis ma soeur de Mesnillet à Rouen, laquelle estoit veue; Monsieur de Mesnillet estant decede peu auparavant; j'avois avec moi mon jeune frère, Jean du Moulin.2

1 "Une lettre de Pierre Du Moulin à Du Plessis-Mornay," BSHPF, 1884, pp. 402 f.
2 The Autobiography, loc. cit.
Du Moulin was warmly welcomed when he arrived at the English court. "Ce Roy me fit beaucoup d'accueil; ordinaire-ment je me tenois derrière sa chaise en ses repas," he reveals. Pattison notes that Casaubon had the same experience:

James' learned repasts have often been described, among others by Ha.cket: "The reading of some books before him was very frequent, while he was at his repast he collected knowledge by variety of questions which he carved out to the capacity of different persons. Methought his hunting armor was not off, while the learned stood about him at his board; he was ever in chase after some disputable doubt, which he would wind and turn about with the most stabbing objections that I ever heard; and was as pleasant and fellow-like in all these discourses, as with his huntsmen in the field. Those who were ripe and weighty in their answers, were ever designed for some place of credit or profit." Seat and food were for sacred majesty only....James was well satisfied, and Casaubon was ordered to attend again the next day.1

Du Moulin presented to the king upon his arrival a book which His Majesty had asked him to write and which he had finished prior to coming to England. He explains the circumstances:

Deux mois auparavant, les Estats s'estoient tenus à Paris, où Monsieur le Cardinal du Perron avoit fait une harangue, laquelle il avoit fait imprimer, en laquelle il prouvoit que le pape peut déposer les Roys, où le Roy Jacques estoit mal traité. Sa Majesté me commanda d'y faire responce; ce que je fis; je lui présenté ma responce, laquelle est imprimée sous son nom.2

The title of this work was De Monarchia temporali pontificis romani liber, quo imperatoris, regum et principum jura adversus usurpationes Papae defunditur...et liber serenissimi ac potentissimi Regis Jacobi ab adversariorum objectionibus, etc.

Augmenting his private discussions with the king-theologian,3 Du Moulin made several public appearances. "Il levoi me fist

1 M. Pattison, op. cit., p. 279.
2 The Autobiography, loc. cit.
prescher devant luy en françois à Grenouish, en la Chapelle Royale," reported Du Moulin. This was near the close of his sojourn, June 15, and he used as his text, Romans 1:16.¹

It was later put into print in both French and English. But before this occasion when James listened to his guest’s sermon, Du Moulin in the company of the king visited Cambridge.

The royal visit to Cambridge in 1615 excited not a little interest. Nearly half a century had passed since a monarch had graced the university with his presence. James had twice visited Oxford, and it was feared that the leanings Cambridge had towards Puritanism were disfavoring her in the eyes of the king. Long before the day of the arrival, the muddy roads were strewn with gravel, the exteriors of the colleges were brightened with fresh paint, and strict rules were legislated for the maintenance of discipline and decorum during the king’s stay.²

The king and the prince entered Cambridge on a wintry day (March 7th), and took up their residence at Trinity College where the new and splendid hall accommodated 2000 spectators at the plays. During the visit, the Chancellor kept open house in St. John’s; each evening there was the performance of a new play; acts in divinity, law, physics, and philosophy were kept; orations and conciones ad clerum were delivered; and degrees were

¹ Despite the fact that the sermon contained a criticism of the play “Ignoramus” which Du Moulin had watched with the king at Cambridge the month previous, "yet the Sermon was so well accepted at the Court, that the most illustrious Prince of Wales (since King Charles the first) was pleased to require a copy of it, and gave a fair Diamond Ring to the Doctor." Ibid., p. 13.

² Details of the 1615 royal visits can be found in J. Mullinger, The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles I, pp. 515–547.
confferred with a "lavishness which excited the astonishment of all and moved the sister university to sarcasm."

It was the play, "Ignoramus," performed on the second night of James's visit, which was one of the chief reasons for his decision to return to Cambridge in May. After an ineffectual attempt to bring the actors to London in April to produce the play, King James paid a second royal visit to see the play acted another time. It would have been on this second visit to the University, May 13th, to the 15th that Du Moulin accompanied the king.¹ "Là," Du Moulin writes, "se fist une dispute publique, en laquelle le Roy mesme proposa des Argumens. Il voulut aussi que je prisse le degré de docteur à Cambridge."² According to the Alumni Cantabrienses, Du Moulin received the D.D. degree in 1615.³

But before his stay was up in England additional honors were to fall upon him:

Je fus trois mois en ce voyage, et pris Congé du roy à la Saint-Jean; car il s'en alloit en son progrès. Il donna à mon frère un chaine d'or de deux cens escus, et à moy un prêbende à Cantorberie avec une belle maison....Les chanoines du chapitre de Cantorberie, en ma réception, me

¹ "The king going to Cambridge carried Du Moulin along with him, and made him take the degree of Doctor. Then was Ignoramus acted the second time before the King. Doctor Du Moulin would have excused himself from seeing that Play but the King would needs have him to see it: Yet the King could not make him conceal the offence he took, when he was told that sundry of the Actors were men in Orders; and that some that had acted it the first time, were sent for from the Churches to which they had been promoted, to act it the second time." Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 12.
² The Autobiography, loc. cit.
Thus Du Moulin, still unconsciously following the pattern laid down by Casaubon, accepted the proffered prebendary stall at Canterbury Cathedral. He showed his wisdom and caution as well as his great loyalty to his own king as he accepted this position with the understanding that it was not to compromise in any way his office and obligations as a pastor in the French Reformed Church and his French citizenship. This prebend granted to him in the Metropolitan Church was the fourth, and he received a yearly payment in consequence. In 1624, for example, he was paid £ 23/12/6, and in 1640 (the last mention) the sum was £ 10/-/-.  

There is every indication to think that the visitor from the Continent met at Cambridge or nearby Ely the well-known Lancelot Andrewes, Fellow of Pembroke Hall and Bishop of Ely. Casaubon knew Andrewes, and during the months of August and September, 1611, the great scholar was the guest of Bishop

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1 The Autobiography, p. 31.
2 "Minutes of Dr. Peter Moulin, Prebendary of Canterbury" (Lansdowne Ms. No. 987, fol. 44, formerly fol. 67, British Museum, London). "His father Peter du Moulin a Native of France fled into England for Religion sake and was collated by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the fourth Prebend in his Metropolitan Church. The son Peter du Moulin succeeded the father in his Prebendal Stall and died in the year 1684."
4 Du Moulin's son says that his father while in England, "contacted friendships with many worthy Divines, especially with Doctor Andrews...and renewed many of his old acquaintances of Cambridge." Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 13.
Andrewes at Downham, near Ely, where he quite enjoyed himself.\textsuperscript{1} Du Moulin and Andrewes kept up a correspondence until the death of the latter in 1626.\textsuperscript{2}

Did Pierre Du Moulin ever visit Scotland? There is conflicting evidence. A historian of the French people in Scotland, Francisque-Michel, has this to say concerning the number of French refugees coming to Scotland at the end of the sixteenth century:

Un nombre considérable d'exilés, parmi lesquels se trouvait Pierre Du Moulin, le ministre de Paris, vint à Edinbourg, où les magistrats leur abandonnèrent la grande salle de l'université pour leur servir de prêche, avec une certaine allocation pour leur clergé.\textsuperscript{3}

He is undoubtedly quoting Robert Chambers who records for May, 1586, in the \textit{Domestic Annals of Scotland}:

A considerable number of the exiles, including Pierre Du Moulin, the minister of Paris, came to Edinburgh, where the magistrates gave them the common hall of the university for their worship, along with a stated allowance of money for support of their clergy. It cannot be doubted that the sight of these poor French exiles would deepen the feeling of dread and antipathy towards popery and Papists, which was already but too strongly rooted in Scotland.\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1} J. Mullinger, \textit{The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles I}, p. 493.
\textsuperscript{2} Sloane Ms. 118, fols, 21,23, in the British Museum, London. \textit{Vide infra}. Du Moulin is also known to have corresponded with Montague, Bishop of Bath and Wells, for he wrote to the Bishop just after Casaubon left Paris to go to England in 1610. Of Casaubon Du Moulin said, "It is about three years since that he began to think amiss in religion, and to incline to popery." M. Pattison, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 401-403, in citing Colomesii \textit{Opera}, p. 531.
\textsuperscript{3} Francisque-Michel, \textit{op. cit.}, II, 118.
This is surely an error, because in 1586 Pierre Du Moulin was still a boy of eighteen and at school in Sedan. It is conceivable that there was another Pierre Du Moulin among the French exiles which would give rise to this mistake, or might it have been Joachim Du Moulin, Pierre's father? If he was in Edinburgh in 1586, he would have returned to Sedan by 1588 at the time Pierre left home. Agnew is of the opinion that Joachim Du Moulin was in Scotland.

In 1586 King James gave his royal licence to French Protestants and their ministers to live in Scotland; and the General Assembly of the Scottish Church of that year instructed Andrew Melville to write a letter in their name, assuring the refugees that every effort would be made to render their situation agreeable. One of the first who came over was Joachim Du Moulin, Pasteur of Orleans. The Town Council of Edinburgh voted stipends to the ministers of the refugees (11th May, 1586), and allowed them to meet for public worship in the common hall of the College. A general collection was made throughout the parish churches in 1587. . . . The Presbytery of Haddington took a special interest in Monsieur Du Moulin himself, on October 18, 1589, when they had before them "the warrant from the Synodal for the ingathering of the support to Mr. Mwling banest out of France."1

Considering these inexactitudes and the lack of any indication whatsoever of a visit to Scotland by Pierre Du Moulin in any of the major sources on his life, The Autobiography specially, it is very doubtful if he ever traveled beyond England on any of his visits.2

Ha.veing tarried here in England three moneths, He craved leave of his Majestye to returne unto his own Flock, whereunto he had religiously obliged Himself by promise. The King was unwilling, being very desirous to have detayned Him always; & made large offers to him of honours, riches, &

2 In an effort to seek a solution, Pannier has pondered the idea that Du Moulin may have visited the Scottish capital in 1625, but support for this view is extremely weak. J. Pannier, L'Eglise réformée de Paris sous Louis XIII (1621-1629), p. 62.
preferment in our English Church; but seeing He could not prevail, nor gain his consent to live here, because of his sollemne engagament unto his Church, The king, half angry dismissed Him with these words, ye are not worthy of my friendship that will be gone from me. ¹

As the friend of King James I then set out to return to Paris, the one incident to mar his trip and his memorable visit took place. The returning pastor received a rude welcome as he landed in France. It was the time when the Prince of Condé and his partisans were commencing to rise up against the Queen Regent. Her agents were extremely suspicious of Du Moulin because it was thought he had "passée en Angleterre pour pratiquer secours pour les Princes; et Monsieur de Campagnolles eut charge de m'arreste," relates Du Moulin. Monsieur de Campagnolles was the governor for the Duke of Espernon, and when Du Moulin and his brother disembarked at Boulogne and took lodgings at "l'hostellerie du Char," he placed them under arrest, seizing their books and belongings. Two soldiers guarded them, and their papers were taken and examined. "Mais au bout de deux jours," writes Du Moulin, "il nous relascha, nous priant de ne parler à personne du tort qu'on nous avoit fait." As the pastor set out to return to his work in Paris, he stopped overnight "à la Maison de Mademoiselle d'Ecufan, qui est à trois lieues de Bologne. Le lendemain nous arrivasmes à Abbeville, et de là à Compiègne, Beauvais,² Senlis, et finalement à Paris."³

² Is this the precise route? A more convenient way would have been Abbeville, Beauvais, then Compiègne, Senlis, and Paris.
³ The Autobiography, pp. 31 f.
There he resumed his role as pastor and controversialist.

III. Plan of Union

One of Pierre Du Moulin's greatest achievements was the plan of union he drew up to bring all Christian Churches together. It is unusual that such a plan as this was devised when it was, but it is nothing short of amazing that it should be the product of the thinking of Du Moulin, the great controversialist. It is almost unbelievable, but yet it redounds to his stature and merit, that such a master of polemic and invective could construct a plan of church union so wisely characterized by conciliation and understanding. Apart from that, the project he proposed was a most noteworthy one, and it foreshadowed events some of which have only come to pass in the twentieth century.

Apparently, the plan was first proposed at the National Synod of Tonneins in 1614, reaching final form, however, after Du Moulin's visit to England and after consultation with King James I in 1615. The king plays a leading part in the plan itself. Du Moulin's articles are quoted by several sources, but no doubt the most authoritative version is to be found in David Blondel's Actes authentiques des Eglises reformées de France, Germanie, Grande Bretagne, Pologne, Hongrie, Païs

1 This anomaly has been noticed by others. Nichols in a wide-sweeping charge accuses Du Moulin thus: "But after the death of King James, what a metamorphosis was effected in Du Moulin! The kind and liberal peace-maker became one of the most violent incendiaries in Europe; and not content with embroiling his native country in an unholy war, he affected to wield in his own hand the religious destinies of Holland and Great Britain....How Christian and pacific is this judicious plan! And what a contrast does it present to the malevolent productions of the same man." J. Nichols, op. cit., II, 554.

David Blondel, in his own right, was one who strove for Christian unity. He collected all the contemporary documents which might have had a bearing on the unity or peace of the Church. He has told the story how in 1583 the French National Synod sent a delegate to Germany in order to seek union and agreement between the German Churches and the French Churches. He has recorded the discussions with Théodore de Bèze and other Reformed theologians held in 1586 in Montbéliard with the Lutherans. He has given special emphasis to the declaration made by the Reformed Church in France in 1638 concerning the relationships with the Lutherans. Blondel also mentions the activities of John Drury and Georges Calixtus, but the most far reaching of the projects for union which he quotes in full is that of Du Moulin.

1 David Blondel, Actes authentiques des Eglises réformées de France, Germanie, Grande Bretaigne, Pologne, Hongrie, Pays Bas, &c. Touchant la paix & charité fraterne que tous les serviteurs de Dieu doivent sainctement entretenir avec les protestants qui ont quelque diversité, soit d'expression, soit de méthode, soit même de sentiment, rassemblés en un pour la consolation et confirmation des âmes pieuses & pour l'instruction de la posterité (Amsterdam: Jean Blaev, 1655), pp. 72-76. Other copies of the plan are given in G. Brandt, op. cit., II, 154-157; J. Aymon, op. cit., II, 57-62; J. Quick, Synodicon in Gallia Reformata (London: T. Parkhurst & J. Robinson, 1692), I, 434-437. Courvoisier states that the plan was drafted "after consultation with the King James," but the fact that Du Moulin's project is published in the minutes of the National Synod of Tonneins (1614) would seem to indicate that he had actually drafted it before going to England.

2 David Blondel (1590-1655) was an eminent scholar and critic in the fields of Church and Civil History. At a mere eighteen years of age he was a regent at Sedan. In 1612 he went to Geneva to study Theology. Ordained in 1614, he was a pastor in France until 1644 when he was permitted by the Reformed Church in France to live in Paris without a charge in order that he might give full time to his studies and writings. In 1650 the University of Amsterdam sent him and invitation, which he accepted, to become a professor of History there. He continued at this post until his death.

3 J. Courvoisier, op. cit., p. 77. The plan in its entirety is to be found at the end of this dissertation, Appendix B.
The text of Du Moulin's overture contains twenty-one paragraphs. The first eleven deal with the reunion of the Reformed Churches (and the Anglican Church) among themselves. The remaining articles deal with the reunion of the Reformed Churches with the Lutheran Churches, since Du Moulin's plan was to proceed by stages. Lastly, only when Reformed and Lutheran have united, can any union be possible with the Roman Catholic Church.

One of the very first things to notice is that the plan counts heavily on the support of kings and princes:

Faut poser pour fondement, que travailler à l'union & accord des Églises est un travail utile, saint & nécessaire, & quant à la possibilité, que nul accord ne se peut faire sans l'aide, assistance, & conduite des Princes souverains dont les Pays se sont retirés de la subjection du Pape, entre lesquels, le Roy de la Grand Bretagne estant le plus grand & puissant, & outre cela, le plus clair-voiant & le plus affectionné, est celuy qui y peut le plus contribuer. . . . . . . Après ceste confession dressé, faudroit que non seulement les Députés la signassent, mais aussi les Princes & nostre Synode National . . . .

In the twentieth century when ecumenical endeavors are completely divorced from any political interference, this tendency to rely on civil rulers seems questionable if not startling. Yet in the seventeenth century the prince was a member of the Church, and it was a theological necessity for the Church leaders to give the princes a prominent place in such efforts towards reunion.

Again it is interesting that the representation which Du Moulin urges be on a geographical basis:

1 Articles 1 and 5.
2 J. Courvoisier, op. cit., p. 78.
Cela posé, j'estimerais qu'il faudroit choisir un lieu de seur & commode accès [in Article 3 he suggests Zeeland], où se trouvassent deux Théologiens envoyés par sa Majesté; deux par les Églises de France; deux par celles du Pays-Bas; deux des Cantons de Suisse; un ou deux de chaque Prince d'Alemagne de nostre Confession.¹

In the congress of theologians it was proposed to assemble for the purpose of drawing up a common symbol of faith, no discussion of rival tenets was to be tolerated. Out of the confessions of the Churches of England, Scotland, France, Holland, Switzerland, and the Palatinate, a joint confession would be constructed of the doctrines which all held in common.

La je ne voudrois point qu'on disputast de la Religion, car depuis que les esprits sont eschauffés, ils ne se rendent jamais, & chacum s'en retournant dict qu'il a vaincu; mais je voudrois que sur la table fust mise la confession des Églises de France, d'Angleterre, d'Escosse, des Pays-Bas, du Palatinat, de Suisse, &c. que de ces confessions on taschat en dresser une commune, en laquelle on dissimulast plusieurs choses, sans la connoissance desquelles on peut estre sauve, comme est la question de Piscator touchant la justification, & plusieurs opinions subtiles proposées par Arminius sur le franc Arbitre, la Prédestination & persévérance des Saints; estant certain, que tous les erreurs en la Religion sont venus, ou de vouloir trop sçavoir, ou de vouloir trop avoir, c'est à dire, ou de curiosité, ou d'avarice, ou d'ambition; le dernier mal a corrompu l'Église Romaine; Mais Sathan tasche a corrompre les nostres par le premier. Que si nous pouvons nous commander à nous mesmes d'ignorer plusieurs choses, & nous contenter des nécessaires à salut; & sur les matières non-nécessaires, supporter ceux qui ont un autre sentiment, nous aurions en cest accord faict une grand partie du chemin.²

Once this confession has been drawn up, signed and put into force, then nothing should be added or subtracted without the agreement of the other Churches:

¹ Article 2.
² Article 4.
Après ceste confession dressé...rien ne pourra estre conclu ne décidé, moins encore innové, sans le consentement des Provinces entrées en cest accord.\(^1\)

Differences in ceremonies and church government are of secondary importance, and they do not constitute a reason to condemn another church:

Sur lesquelles Cérémonies & Police, faudra faire déclaration mutuelle ajustée à ladicte confession, par laquelle lesdits Députés, au nom de ceux qui les envoyerront, déclareront que les Églises ne se condamnent point les unes les autres, pour ceste différence, laquelle n'em pesche point que nous n'accordions en la foy & vraie doctrine, & nous entr'embrassions comme vrais fidèles & membres d'un mesme corps.\(^2\)

After this first congress the author proposed that "seroit bon que, pour gage de concorde, la saïncte Cène se célébrast, en laquelle les Pasteurs d'Angleterre, France, &c. communissent ensemble." Then, he said, a year should elapse in which efforts would be made to induce the Lutheran princes to send their pastors and doctors to a second meeting, "pour travailler à l'accord entre eux & nous."\(^3\)

Church Leader Du Moulin realized that the most difficult problem would be that of union with the Lutheran Churches. He alleges that the points in which the Lutheran Church differs from the Reformed are twofold: There are those matters which may easily be adjusted - the ceremonies, some opinions about predestination, and the necessity of baptism; but there is a major difference which will cause much more trouble - the Lord's Supper, with first, the question of the ubiquity of Christ's

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\(^1\) Article 5.
\(^2\) Article 7.
\(^3\) Articles 8, 11 and 12.
body, and second, the Communion or the receiving of that body in the sacrament.¹

As to the ubiquity of the body of Christ, he suggested:

Sur le premier point on pourra convenir de ces choses;  
1. Que Jésus Christ a prins au ventre de la Vierge un vray corps humain semblable aux nostres en toutes choses horsmis le péché.  2. Que son corps a une vraie chair, & qu'il a sa quantité & ses dimensions.  3. Que son corps estant au ventre de la Vierge, en la croix ou au sépulcre, n'estoit point ailleurs.  4. Que le fils éternel de Dieu est présent par tout.  5. Que son corps est monté au Ciel.  6. Qu'il est assis à la dextre de Dieu.  7. Que le Père luy a donné toute puissance au Ciel & en la terre.  8. Que la glorification luy a osté l'infirmité, mais n'a pas aboly sa nature humaine.  9. Qu'il viendra au dernier jour en ceste mesme chair qu'il a prinse de la Vierge pour juger les vivans & les morts.  Si outre cela il y a quelques differentes opinions dont on n'est point d'accord, faudra obtenir des deux parties de ne se condamner point là dessus l'un l'autre, & de n'escrire plus aucuns livres sur ce sujet; & n'user plus d'invectives ès prédications jusques à ce que Dieu ait donné plus de clarté à ceux qui errent.²

He proposed this about the second problem:

Quant au Sacrement & à la participation du corps de Jésus Christ, j'estime qu'on pourra convenir de ces choses.  
1. Que les signes ou Symboles ne sont point signes nuds & simples figures destituées de la vérité.  2. Qu'en la saincte Cène nous participons réellement au corps de Jésus Christ.  3. Que le pain ne se transubstantie point, & ne laisse d'estre pain après la consécrat.  4. Dont s'ensuit que le Sacrement ne doit estre adoré, & que nous devons eslever nos coeurs en haut.  5. Et quant au moyen de participer au corps de Jésus Christ en la Cène, ne s'en enquérir point scrupuleusement, seulement tenir avec l'Apostre S. Paul, Ephés. 2, que Christ habite en nos coeurs par foy; dont s'ensuit qu'il n'habite point en ceux qui n'ont point la foy: que si quelqu'un est fermé en son opinion, que néantmoins il supporte ses frères, & ne les condamne point avec violence, seulement en ce dont nous sommes d'accord, marchons d'un mesme pied.³

In the last analysis, the Lutheran views pose no real problem for

¹ Articles 13 and 14.  
² Article 15.  
³ Article 16.
Du Moulin, because, as he points out,

Si je communie au Sacrement avec un qui erre en la Prédestination, ou en la nature de Jésus Christ, ou qui croit que le corps du Seigneur est par tout, quoy que l'erreur soit grand, si est ce qu'il ne trouble point celuy qui communie avec luy. Mais, si je vengis à communier avec quelqu'un qui adorast le pain, ou pretendist sacrifier Jésus Christ, ceste action me scandaliseroit, & me chasseroit de là de peur de participer à l'idolatrie ou à un faux sacrifice, or nous avons ce bien qu'avec les Eglises Luthériennes, tous nos differents sont de la première sorte; & que touchant les extérieurs, qu'ils pratiquent en l'Eglise, nous n'avons nul different qui ne soit aisé à composer.1

When the second stage is reached and there is unity among the Reformed and the Lutheran Churches, then "ces mots de Luthériens, Calvinistes, & Sacramentaires soient abolis, & que nos Eglises soient appelées Christiennes Réformées; que sur grosses peines soit défendu d'user ès prédications d'invectives contre ses frères, ny de faire aucuns escrits les uns contre les autres."2 And only when this second stage is reached can efforts be turned to unifying Christendom as a whole. Considering Du Moulin's attitude towards the Roman Catholic Church, it is nothing short of astounding that he should in his last paragraph treat, albeit sceptically, the possibility of union with that Church.

S'il plaisoit à Dieu de bénir ce travail si sainet & si louable, & qui couronneroit à jamais le Roy de la Grand Bretagne, & les Princes qui luy assisteroient; alors il seroit temps de solliciter d'accord l'Eglise Romaine; lequel accord s'il est faisable, dont je doute fort, pource que le Pape n'admet aucun Concile ny conférence s'il n'y présidé, nous serons plus considerable, & parlerons avec plus d'autorité quand nous serons d'accord.3

1 Article 17.
2 Article 20.
3 Article 21.
Pierre Du Moulin's plan, as is known, came to nothing. Blondel, for example, simply notes that the Provincial Synod of the Ile-de-France thanked him for his communication. But, in strong contrast with the tenacity with which the seventeenth century theologians clung to every detail of doctrine, as if upon the minutest point depended the whole system of Christian truth, Du Moulin, the framer of this paper, deserves to be long remembered as having sketched a course of procedure that accorded more nearly with the dictates of Christian charity and the suggestions of common sense than any set forth by his immediate predecessors or successors in similar undertakings.

IV. The Visit of 1624

In response to another invitation from James I, Pierre Du Moulin made a third and last trip to England in 1624. James, at this time, was offering him a refuge in England, promising him support and a position in one of the universities.¹

Au mois de Mars [1624] ayant appris que le roi Jacques désirait de me voir, j'obtins de mon Église de faire un voyage en Angleterre. Je passay par la Hollande, et vins à Leyden, où je vis Monsieur Rivet et ma soeur Marie, sa femme, et en partis au troisième jour. Je vins à Flessingue, où je m'embarquay, et arrivay à Londres et vis le roy.²

About six months after he reached London the king set about to bestow the mastership of the Hospital of the Savoy upon him. It was never presented to him, however, and his son tells why;

² The Autobiography, p. 46.
The Hospital of Savoy falling vacant, he would have bestowed it upon him, and gave him his word for it. Yet his Majesty was persuaded by the Scots that waited in his chamber, to give it to Doctor Balcanquhal, and to offer to Doctor Du Moulin a Living of inconsiderable value, representing it to his Majesty as equivalent to the Savoy; but the Doctor would not accept of it.

Nevertheless, Du Moulin did accept a church preferment from James, a rectory in Wales. It would seem that it was presented to him in connection with his visit in 1615. He tells of the king conferring upon him the prebend at Canterbury, and then adds, "Depuis il me donna encore un commanderie, qu'ils appellent Rectorat, au pays de Galles." Yet, the appointment does not seem to have taken effect until 1625. In the *Alumni Cantabrigienses* Du Moulin is listed as being Rector of Llanarmon-in-Yale, in the county of Denbigh, from 1625 to 1635. There is no trace of his ever being in the parish, and in the year 1635 he was replaced by his son, Pierre.

The professor from Sedan was not long in London on this visit in 1624 before he fell ill, and he suffered poor health during the remainder of his sojourn. According to his son's

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1 The Hospital was built by Henry VII in 1505 on the site of the old Savoy Palace, which had been constructed about 1245. The famous Savoy Conference took place here in 1661. The Chapel of the Savoy is all that remains today of the former "Hospital."

2 Walter Balcanquhall, D.D. (1586?-1645), was a Scot who took orders in the Church of England. He was Chaplain to King James I, and had been first appointed to the Savoy in 1617, later being re-appointed at the time Du Moulin was in London. Balcanquhall was one of the three executors of the will of the celebrated George Heriot, and he was assigned a responsible part in founding the "Hospital" in Edinburgh which was to bear Heriot's name. Cf. A. B. Grosart, "Balcanquhall, Walter, D.D.," *The Dictionary of National Biography*, I, 945 f; cf. also A. Wood, op. cit., I, P211.


4 The *Autobiography*, p. 31.


diagnosis, he had "an heavy oppression in his hypocondries, with an inflammation of black choler, which seldom let him sleep, and kept him in perpetual agony." Though ill a good part of the time, he was not entirely indisposed.

In that sore affliction he spent much time in this great work against Cardinal du Perron,1 and preach oft in the French Church.2 The great Physician Sir Theodore Mayerne took him into his house to cure him, but the malignancy of that melancholy stood out against his Remedies. Sir Theodore taking a journey into France, Mr. Philip Burlamachi3 received him, and entertained him in his house half a year together, yea when his wife, and family, and three of his Nephews, hearing of his sickness, came over to assist him, that bountiful and magnificent Gentleman entertained them all.4

During Du Moulin's stay in London, the Marquess d'Effiat, "a zealous Papist," was ambassador-extraordinary from France. Thinking to better the king's Protestant visitor in a discussion due to the theologian's ill health, he invited him to his house to dine with him. A Scot was present, and after the

1 His Nouveaute du papisme, etc.
2 His name is actually carried on the list of pastors of the French Church in London - "Pierre Du Moulin...1624." J. Burn, op. cit., p. 34.
3 Vide The Autobiography, p. 6. A "Monsieur Burlamaichi, Italien," was the friend of Pierre Du Moulin's father, and perhaps the host of Du Moulin in London belonged to the same family. It is of interest to note that Burlamaqui was the name of a Genevan Protestant family. Renée Burlamaqui was the second wife of Agrippa D'Aubigné, and there was also a Fabrice Burlamaqui (1626-1693) who was a pastor at Geneva and Grenoble. Vide "Burlamaqui," Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIXe Siècle, II, 1428.
4 Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, loc. cit. Cf. The Autobiography p. 46. Pierre, The Younger, tells of his own experience in being with his father in this illness. "I had the happiness to be his daily attendant, and to sit up with him a hundred nights, which he passed almost all without sleep, in deep anguish, and holy discourses, employing all the strength of his Faith, and of his pregnant rational brains, to fight against the pain of his body and the temptations of the darkness melancholy with the comforts of heaven....In the depths of his pain and anguish he was beyond measure afflicted with the persecutions that ruined the Churches of France, and the divisions increasing "the Church of England." Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, Ibid.
dinner he, assisted by John Fisher and other Jesuits, gave an elaborate discourse on the reasons that made him leave Protestantism and embrace the Roman Catholic Church, at the same time treating such topics as the Church, the primacy of Peter, and apostolic succession. This was too much for Du Moulin who forgot his weak condition, gathered his strength, and gave answer. He summarized the points which the Scot, whose name is not revealed, had made, answered each, and attacked the errors of the Catholic Church with such devastating effectiveness that the ambassador, "a cholerick man, rose from his seat in great fury, and gave many foul words to the Doctor, who upon that went out and returned home." Not long after, the ambassador again invited Du Moulin, and at the conclusion of the dinner another debate was held with the same results. This was the last such invitation from Monsieur d'Effiat. He soon found that it had been a mistake on his part from the very first to show attention to Du Moulin, who was definitely out of favor with the French Court at this time. Whatever else these two conferences proved, "they shewed the gracious and indeed miraculous assistance of God to his servant," because no one expected of ailing Du Moulin "the strength, patience, and readiness requisite in such an important occurrence, and before persons of great respect, and his Adversaries."²

¹ John Fisher (1569-1641). He was born in Durham, studied on the Continent, and was ordained a Roman Catholic priest in 1592-3. He returned to England, and became famous for his dialectical skill, engaging in controversy with Laud and even King James I.
But he had not spent a full year in London, before God did by death remove King James into another world, & not long after Dr. du Moulin prepared himself to return unto Sedan.

Thus ended this rare friendship between a powerful king and a simple pastor. It was to be inherited in some measure by the grandson of James and the eldest son of Du Moulin, when Charles II names Pierre, The Younger, as his chaplain.

Planning to return to Sedan through France, Dr. Du Moulin embarked from Dover in a ship which contained some Frenchmen who recognized him, disguised as he was. His son, Pierre, who was with him, learned of a plot to report him to the Governor of Dieppe when they came to port. The elder Du Moulin tells of what transpired.

Je partis de Douer pour aller à Dieppe, et arrivasmes près de Dieppe comme le soleil se couchoit. Mais il se leva un vent contraire qui nous empecha d'aborder jusques à unze heures devant minuit, ce qui fut cause qu'ils ne purent avertir le Gouverneur, et, estans las de la Mer, se couchèrent. Mais moi, pour éviter le péril, sortis de Dieppe avant le soleil levé. Mon fils aîné estoit avec moi; j'avais laissé ma femme à Londres, avec mes hardes, laquelle peu après arriva à Dieppe.

Mais le gouverneur estant de grand matin averti que j'avois passé par Dieppe, envoya trois sergeans à cheval, qui m'attrapèrent à une demi-Lieue de Rouen. Ils me demandèrent d'où je venois, et où j'allois, et où je Logerois à Rouen. Je fis semblant d'estre pressé d'une nécessité naturelle, et laissant mon cheval à mon fils, je quité ma casaque grise et ma fausse perruque, et par chemin écarter parains à Rouen, où je couché chez Monsieur Del'Angle, mon Neveu, et le lendemain.

1 It was a full year. James died on March 27, 1625. Cf. "Une lettre de la duchess de Bouillon à la duchesse de la Trémoille, 16 Juillet 1624," BSHPF, 1874, p. 357. The Duchess of Bouillon lamenting the state of the ministry at Sedan, declared that M. Rambour was the only active pastor, "M. Gantois étant malade, le pauvre M. Du Tilloy en langeur et M. Du Moulin toujours en Angleterre, et qui nous met en doute s'il nous quittera."

trouvé moyen de sortir de Rouen, et tirer mon chemin vers Sedan, où j'arrivay par du travail incroyable, en estant brulé du soleil.\(^1\)

He was seriously ill when he reached Sedan, and he remained so for months afterwards. Spa waters were prescribed for him, and they seemingly effected a cure but not without bringing a "violent Fever" which nearly killed him. This extended illness, about which he wrote a Meditation, ultimately left him, and in good health he was able to resume his teaching and preaching.\(^2\)

V. Episcopacy

It has been seen that Pierre Du Moulin is an example of a minister of a foreign Reformed Church, ordained according to the Presbyterian manner, who held a benefice in the Church of England without reordination, though both of the preferments he held were sine cura animarum. It was permissible before 1662 for laymen, and \textit{a fortiori} for non-episcopally ordained ministers, to hold certain cathedral posts in the Church of England such as deaneries and prebendaries. Yet the English Church in these years, it must be pointed out, was always insistent upon episcopal ordination as the indispensable domestic qualification for benefices \textit{cum cura animarum}.\(^3\)

There developed within the Church of England in the course of the seventeenth century a solid and convincing defense of

episcopacy in all the negotiations with both the foreign Reformed Churches and the Dissenters at home. Episcopacy was put forward by a twin appeal to Scripture and the Fathers as the basis and foundation for ecclesiastical reunion. But, at the same time and side by side with this insistence on the value of episcopacy there was the refusal to unchurch those foreign churches who lacked it or to set forward an exclusive claim for this form of church polity. Though the foreign Reformed Churches might be regarded as defective, they were allowed to be true parts of the Catholic Church, and their members were admitted to receive Holy Communion in Anglican Churches.¹

This positive doctrine of episcopacy and the refusal to assert for it an exclusive claim is clearly put forward in letters which Bishop Lancelot Andrewes wrote to Pierre Du Moulin. He had this to say in two letters to the famous minister of Charenton:


And in another letter on the same subject:

Quaeris tum peccentne in jus divinum Ecclesiae vestrae? Non dixi. Id tantum dixi, abesse ab Ecclesiis vestris aliquid, quod de jure divino sit; culpa autem vestra non abesse, sed injuria temporum. Non enim tum propitios habuisse Reges Galliam vestram, in Ecclesia reformanda, quam habuit Britannia nostra; interim, ubi dabit meliora Deus, et hoc quoque, quod jam abest, per Dei gratiam suppletum iri. At interea Episcopi nomen, quod tam saepe in sacris est, abolendum non fuisse. Quanquam, quid attinet abolere nomen, retinere rem? Nam et vos rem retinetis, sine titulo.1

In the controversies with the Roman Catholics Du Moulin was at times asked about his views on episcopacy. You condemn the episcopate in the Roman Church, said the Catholics, and you proclaim the equality of ministers in your own Church, then how can you approve the episcopate in the Anglican Church?

The first point which Du Moulin made was that in matters of doctrine there was complete agreement between himself and the English Church. Said he in writing to King James, "Nous avons estimé estre nécessaire de montrer au monde que le religion que vous défendez est aussi la nostre."2 In another

1 Lancelot Andrewes, Opuscula Quaedam Posthuma (Oxonii: J. H. Parker, 1852, pp. 191, 211.
2 Pierre Du Moulin, Défense de la foy catholique, etc., Préface. Nichols, who is not too sympathetic to Du Moulin, had this to say about Du Moulin's relationship with the king. "His Majesty's presents and friendship were equally potent and benign when bestowed upon Peter Du Moulin, who was uncommonly obsequious, and yielded a ready compliance with any of the monarch's pedantic humors. Indeed, much of that deleterious influence on the subject of religion, which has been ascribed to Archbishop Abbot, may be traced up to Du Moulin, who yet, on almost all the disputed points both of doctrine and discipline, was at perfect agreement with his Grace." J. Nichols, op. cit., II, 554.
place he repeated the same opinion, explaining the difference in this way:

En tous les points de la doctrine nous sommes d'accord avec les Églises Angoises, frères en nostre Seigneur Jésus, membres d'un mesme corps, sensible aux douleurs communes, & qui estimons leur querelle estre la nostre: comme personnes tendantes à mesme but & par mesme chemin, quoique vestus de diffferente couleur.¹

Turning to church government, he made no special claims for Presbyterian polity. In writing to Andrewes he attested to the fact that his views on ecclesiastical organization were not rigid, and he spoke with respect of the episcopate.

Quam honorifice sentiam de vestro ordine faxo cognoscas opportuno tempore. Non reformidabo nostrorum offensiones. Ita sum comparatus ut nec possim loqui ad gratiam, nec a defendenda veritate possim averti metu. Non ita sum cerebrosus, ut putem in politia ecclesiastica apud nos recepta nihil posse ned debere emendari. Solent qui unum extremum fugiunt vergere in contrarium. Disciplinae nostrae auctores, viri zelo Dei ardentes, putaverunt se ecclesiae rebus optime consulturos, si a politia sub Papatu recepta quam longissime abscederent.²

In answer to the Roman Catholic charge that he was contradicting himself in approving Anglican episcopacy while condemning Roman episcopacy, Du Moulin was wont to reply that the contradiction was more apparent than real. Calvin had found legitimate the institution of superintendents, and they existed

¹ Pierre Du Moulin, Défense de la foy catholique, etc., pp. 527 f. He had some frank advice to pass on to James, however: "Sa Majesté aegura bien discerner ceux de ses sujets qui sur ceste matière de la police Eclesiastique contentent seulement pour contester, & dont l'ardeur est meslée de mespris, d'avec ceux qui sentant autrement, cheminent néantmoins en bonne conscience, ne désirans rien plus que l'affermissement de son throsne.... Le meilleur moyen de se venger (du papisme) est de mettre ordre à ce que le peuple soit soigneusement instruit, à les Églises du plat pays ne soyon point despourveues de fidèles Pasteurs." Ibid., pp. 528 f.

² "Letter to Bishop Andrewes, June 1619," Sloane Ms. 118, fol. 21, British Museum.
along with a representative system of government. If there were no bishops in the Reformed Church of France it was because of completely secondary circumstances and not because of principles. It was the same view expressed by Bishop Joseph Hall, who was an Anglican representative at Dort.

They were forced to discard the office, as well as the men; as popish, not as bishops: and to put themselves for the present, into such a form of government, at a venture, as under which they might be sure without violent interruption to sow the seeds of the Gospel.¹

Du Moulin himself had this to say:

Nos troupeaux ne se sont peu accoustumer à nommer leurs Pasteurs Evesques ni Prestres, à cause que la mauvaise vie des Evesques & des Prestres leur avoir rendu ces noms odieux....Les mots d'Evesque & de Prestre ont changé de signification. Car Evesque signifie aujourd'hui un Prince de l'Empire temporel du Pape, & Prestre signifie un Sacrificateur du corps de Jésus Christ.²

There were, nevertheless, three affirmations made by Du Moulin which puzzled and annoyed King James. In his letter in September, 1618 to Bishop Andrewes, Du Moulin reviews the three points:

Primus est illud, quod dixi in Novo Testamento Episcopi et Presbyteri nomina promiscue pro iisdem accipi. Alterum est, quod assero unum eundem ordinem Presbyteri et Episcopi. Tertium est, idque gravissimum, quod censeo Episcopalem non esse juris divini, nec caput fidei, sed rem esse circa quam vetus Ecclesia usa sit sua libertate et prudentia, judicans praeminentiam unius esse accommodatiorem ordini tuendo et paci conservandae: et posse inter Ecclesias super hac re discrepantes sartam esse integramque concordiam.³

¹ N. Sykes, op. cit., p. 18, in citing Bishop Joseph Hall, Works, X, 152 f.
² Pierre Du Moulin, De la vocation des pasteurs (Genève: Pierre Aubert, 1631), p. 17.
³ L. Andrewes, op. cit., p. 176.
It was in his De la vocation des pasteurs where Du Moulin stated that "Au nouveau Testament ces mots de Prestre & Evesque se prennent en mesme sens." When Andrewes questioned him on this, he explained that he was talking primarily of the names, not of the offices.

As to the second declaration, he clarified his view by still maintaining that the order of Bishop and Presbyter were the same, but saying that he spoke of the order, not the degree, for, as he says, "possunt utique ejusdem ordinis homines differre gradu et dignitate." It was his conviction that the Word of God gave no superiority to the Bishop over the Priest.

Quant à l'égalité des Evesques avec les prestres, en quoi le sieur de Beaulieu nous esgale avec Aerius, il y a de la calomnie, car encore aujourd'hui une partie des Eglises qui tiennent nostre confession ont des evesques qui sont par dessus les nostres, comme les Eglises d'Angleterre avec lesquelles nous ne laisons pas d'être d'accord, pour que cela est un point de police & non de doctrine: seulement nous disons que la parole de Dieu ne donne aucune supériorité à l'Evesque par dessus le Prestre, et mesures que c'est tout un....Nous disons donc que c'est une institution humaine, laquelle est commencemens estoit utile, mais depuis que par là l'ambition et la tyrannie s'est fourée en l'Eglise, il est plus expédient de l'abolir & ramener l'ancienne esgalité que Jésus-Christ a recommandé à ses apostres. Nous sommes donc en autres termes qu' Aerius.

Though French Reformed Du Moulin speaks of this equality, he sees, on the contrary, how the office of bishop came to be and just what it must be in his opinion:

Incontinent après les Apostres ou mesme de leur temps

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1 Pierre Du Moulin, De la vocation des pasteurs, etc., p. 14.
2 L. Andrewes, loc. cit.
3 Pierre Du Moulin, Cartel de deffy du sieur de Bouju, etc., p. 115.
(comme l'histoire Ecclésiastique tesmoigne) la coutume a esté introduire, qu'en une ville un des pasteurs se nommeroit Evesque, & auroit prééminence sur ses compagnons; afin d'éviter les confusions qui naissent souvent de l'égalité: lequel ordre a esté généralement suivi; les Eglises ayant creu qu'en la disposition de la police Ecclésiastique elles avoyent de la liberté.¹

And, as he declares in another volume:

Dieu a establi des Pasteurs & Evesques & par dessus ceux là des assemblées que l'Eglise ancienne a appelé Synode & Conciles, èsquels il est nécessaire que quelqu'un preside à conduise l'action.²

After noting the attitude of the English divines and ascertaining some of his notions on episcopacy, it may now be more comprehensible just how Pierre Du Moulin was able to remain in such a close relationship with the Church of England. The polity in the two churches was not the same and there were undoubtedly good reasons for misunderstanding and intolerance on many points, yet both Du Moulin and James I cooperated in an exemplary fashion, agreeing in all points of doctrine as well as in the belief that there must be no condemnation of churches who possess a form of government not identical with one's own.

Said Du Moulin of himself:

Semper putavi, inter Ecclesias sub diversa politiae Ecclesiasticae forma viventes, posse sartam esse et integram concordiam.³

Said Du Moulin of King James:

J'estime...que celui seroit téméraire qui voudroit astreindre toutes les autres Eglises à la forme de police

¹ Pierre Du Moulin, De la vocation des pasteurs, p. 15.
² Pierre Du Moulin, Défense de la foy catholique, etc., p. 525.
³ L. Andrewes, op. cit., p. 189.
VI. Two Sons of Pierre Du Moulin

Pierre Du Moulin's name and influence were to continue in England long after he left in 1625 - in the lives of his best-known sons, Pierre, The Younger, and Louis.²

The younger Pierre Du Moulin studied at Leyden and then came to Cambridge. From then on he spent most of his life in England, though he received a D.D. degree at Leyden in 1640, and during the Civil War was in Ireland as a tutor to the Boyle family. He came to be a tutor at Oxford to Richard Boyle and Lord Dungarvan, frequently preaching in the Church of St. Peter-in-the-East. In 1656 he was made D.D. at Oxford. He had taken orders in the Church of England, and he held several charges during his life, in Kent, Leicestershire, and Yorkshire. At the Restoration he was made chaplain to Charles II, and he succeeded to his father's prebend at Canterbury. He took up his residence and lived there until his death on October 10, 1684. He was buried in the Cathedral.

He was very much like his father, a royalist, and he became famous for his reply to Milton whom he violently attacked in his Regii Sanguinis Clamor. The book was anonymous, but was acknowledged by Du Moulin in the course of time. He also published

1 Pierre Du Moulin, Défense de la foi catholique, etc., p. 527.
On Peace and Contentment of Mind (1657) and about twenty other works in English, Latin, and French.

Louis Du Moulin studied medicine at Leyden and also came to England where he graduated at Cambridge in 1634 and at Oxford in 1640. It is very probable that he practiced at Oxford. Ousted at the Restoration, he retired to Westminster. He held the Independent theory of church government, and he worshipped with the Nonconformists. Reputed to be of a hot and hasty temper, he was known as a controversialist, disputing with Baxter and having some angry paper warfare with Stillingfleet, Durell, Patrick, and a relative, De L'Angle. He was a friend of Dr. John Owen. Like his brother, he published upwards of twenty volumes before his death on October 20, 1680. Some of his works were The Power of the Christian Magistrate, L. Molinaei Morum Exemplar, Les Demarches de l'Angleterre vers Rome, and An Appeal of all the Nonconformists in England.
CHAPTER NINE

AN APPRECIATION

I.

The most striking feature of the life of Pierre Du Moulin is his extraordinary activity. He was a man of acumen, of parts and letters, of great abilities, but primarily he was a man of action. Pannier rightly calls him "l'énergique figure," for his strength seemed limitless, and in sickness and in old age he astonishes by the way he was able to carry on. A key to the understanding of this sixteenth-seventeenth century Huguenot is to be found in the realization that he was not merely a man of words but a man of acts, not only a man of faith but a man of accomplishment. Here is one who was never able to rest, who did not know the meaning of quiescence. The greatest mark of his exceedingly full life is the number and kind of books he wrote. His works number more than eighty, some of them of great length and a clear manifestation of immense labors. And, at the age of eighty-seven he was regularly, each week, preaching once and giving two divinity lectures. Full retirement came only a few weeks before death itself.

Not only did he write more than most of his contemporaries, but by necessity and taste he traveled more than most of the men of his place and station. As a child and later as a youth, he
came to know the roads and countryside of northern and eastern France. In all, he had three visits to England, totaling a period of several years. While Leyden was his home for six years, Paris for twenty-one, and Sedan for the latter part of his life, he never permitted a permanent place of residence to halt his travels. From Leyden he visited The Hague and went as far as Friesland; from Paris he accompanied Catherine to Lorraine for several years, in 1612 he visited Geneva, and on another occasion saw the Rhine; from Sedan he traveled to Liége. His journeys did not take him to the western part of France. He never was able to go to La Rochelle, for example, and he never saw the Atlantic Ocean. Likewise, he never touched upon the Mediterranean nor the extreme south of France. The journeys he did take were not always exempt from striking events or grave dangers. One is reminded of St. Paul as one learns of Du Moulin's experiences of shipwreck, imprisonment, and physical hardships on his journeys.

He was a man having many acquaintances. It could not have been otherwise due to his travels, his work, and the kind of person he was. He dined and conversed with kings and princes, he was on friendly terms with diplomats and ambassadors, and he came into contact with clerics and soldiers, noblemen and artisans. He could number his friends among several nations, and consequently he knew several languages. Quick remarks that Du Moulin knew Dutch well enough to be able to ascertain that a
visitor at the service in Sedan one Sunday was singing the Psalms in Dutch although Du Moulin could only see his lips moving.\(^1\) He was reported to be able to speak English "assez bien."\(^2\) As for his Latin, Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, proudly records that his father, knowing the court physicians, once asked them to visit his wife who was ill, and at the end of the consultation discussed with the doctors his wife's malady in Latin with such fluency and exactness that they marveled at his intelligence and learning.\(^3\)

The Huguenot in action is seen best of all in the controversies. Hardly ever on the defensive, his strategy is to always attack. As he drives forward, his method so often is to pose a series of closely connected questions, continually pressing his opponent until he has beaten him by the absurdity of the consequences of developing prior affirmations. Rarely does he wait to test an opponent or to cautiously move ahead; rather, he persistently troubles his adversary by his erudition, his raillery, and the decided relevancy of his statements. Of his energy and willingness to dispute there seems to be no end, and because of his vigorous action Du Moulin frequently and justifiably so, feels that he has been the victor in a controversy. It is in the debate where his qualities stand out. As he argues before a crowd of listeners or as he writes

\(^2\) Vide BSHPF, 1924, p. 356.
\(^3\) Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 10.
a book on a controversy, one sees the characteristics of simplicity, clearness, and alertness. The absolutely enormous amount of detail in his writings merely highlights the very few main points he is trying to make. He may be in error, but he is seldom confused. If his opposite number is quick and agile, Du Moulin always seems more so.

Nevertheless, his gifts of unusual strength and sustaining drive gave rise to less admirable features in his make-up. If he is to be commended for his tireless zeal and boundless energy, he is also to be criticised for roughshod action and impatient intolerance. As one who led and who was convinced of the supreme rightness of his beliefs, he was too quick to scoff and to jeer, too impetuous, too willing to ignore or condemn, as the case might have been, the position of another. He was not devoid of patience, sympathy, and gentleness, but they did not belong to his more outstanding characteristics. Illustrations from his writings are frequent enough to show that in Du Moulin, who should have been of nobler stuff, the harsh indecencies of the soldier's language often snuffed out the sweeter sound of the language of humanism, but more than the style or the figures of speech, Pierre Du Moulin's sharpness, his acrimony, his unkind severity is all too apparent. Too much of the time his pen was transformed into a real sword. He was a great man, but he was not great enough to overcome these shortcomings. Yet, it is not the full explanation to simply say that he was a
man of determination, decision, and doing, nor to point out that his way and manner were only the reflection of the age in which he and his contemporaries lived. These factors have a bearing, but in Du Moulin's case there was another element. It was the fierce struggle for life which was his from the cradle, literally speaking, to the grave. He was intimately acquainted with poverty, with personal danger, physical discomfort, severe illness, sorrow, and with anxiety of mind and soul. There need be no hesitation in stating that the violent apprenticeship for life which he served in his youth made a very strong imprint on his character for the rest of his life. Surely then, some of the bitterness in his writings and some of his too violent acts in his incessant battles were rooted in the vicissitudes of his infancy and adolescence.

II.

It was not simply that Pierre Du Moulin was a man of action. There have been others more illustrious and many more who in the eyes of the world have achieved a more brilliant success and accomplished far more, but the singular trait which is Du Moulin's is that he was a man of action - under God.

This celebrated Huguenot knew with an awful assurance that God ruled His world and His creatures, and His servant felt deeply and very consciously that somehow the hand of God was upon him. He sensed that God had touched him in a special way, and he lived out his days holding to the conviction that God's hand was actually
guiding his life. God created and redeemed, but yet He acted
directly in the world and in the affairs of Du Moulin. In
one sense, Du Moulin's Autobiography is his most powerful book
on theology. Here is the key doctrine of God not as the
Huguenot wrote it for classroom nor for controversy, but as he
lived it year after year. When the Spanish Armada came to
attack England in 1588, God simply dispersed it. Such was Du
Moulin's explanation. When he escaped from attack by a drunk
man armed with a knife, it was God who had preserved him.
When a professorship fell vacant at Leyden, God showed that He
had need of Du Moulin, and He spoke to him directing him to
ask for the post. The Autobiography is brimming with these
examples of how God has made known His will to His servant who
then acts accordingly. It is more than mere pious utterance,
it is Pierre Du Moulin's basic rule of life. He lived close
to God, and he felt God was close to him.

When it came to his theological system, the ideas of this
French Protestant theologian can be characterized in two words.
The first is that Du Moulin admitted just one authority. It
was the authority of the Bible without interpretation. If a
person set about to interpret Scripture, it was tantamount to
setting himself above Scripture. All truth necessary for salva-
tion is contained in Holy Scripture, and the tenacity with which
the Huguenot theologian held this position explains in large
part his great antipathy towards the Roman Catholic theology.
The Bible became the measuring stick for every one of Du Moulin's doctrines.

In the second place, Du Moulin extracted a strict Calvinism from the Scriptures, and he was armed with chapter and verse for the defense of any part of the Calvinistic creed called into question. In reality, absolute predestination was the basis for his dogmatics.

It is distressing to explore his theology. There may be a direct relation between the great activity in his own life where he labored so resolutely for the glory of God and did so many things well, and his static, unchanging theological views. Perchance he required a fixed, very solid system of ideas as the only possible foundation on which he could base his busy life. He seems to have very early established his theological system, to have put in final, unalterable form his dogmatic concepts. There he remained, immovable and inflexible, through the years. Hence, accompanying his impatience and impetuous ways, his authoritarianism and rigidity stand out. Always at the head of the conservative group, his thought was firmly fixed and his notions never changed nor developed. This is his major limitation, his deplorable weakness, as a theologian. He was fundamentally the same theologian in 1600 as he was at his death over half a century later. For a time, as leader and spokesman for his theological position, he was at the head of a general movement in the French Reformed Church. But, in
all, he was a pastor for almost sixty years, and in sixty years ideas change, so do personalities and circumstances. Younger men assume leadership, older pastors pass on, certain beliefs are tempered, old factions draw closer, and dogma advances. Without a doubt it was a pitiable and frustrating sight to see the elderly Du Moulin sadly shaking his head as he helplessly watched the main current of theological thought change in French Protestantism. The great "heresy" of course, was Arminianism. Thus, Pierre Du Moulin was not a brilliant theologian in the sense that he was a creative one. His genius as a theologian was to be found in other areas.

One further word needs to be said about his political views. He was not a true Calvinist in his attitude towards the State, for he gave support to the opinion that it was better to have a bad ruler than none at all. He was fundamentally a monarchist, and his abiding loyalty to the French crown was some indication of the strength of his royalist position.

III.

How have others viewed Pierre Du Moulin, those who were his contemporaries and those who have come after his lifetime? Did his name and work live on after his death?

Among those who lived in Du Moulin's time, Valentin Conrart (1603-1675) praises him in the most glowing fashion:

Car, bien que j'admire en vous, Monsienr, les traces
de la Nature et les trésors que l'estude et les sciences vous ont fait acquérir, je mets toutesfois ces biens-là au dessous de ceux que vous avez receus immédiatement du Ciel. La Philosophie et l'Eloquence ne sont que des Instrumens dont vous vous servez pour mettre en oeuvre les pierres précieuses de la Théologie. Vous avez joint la subtilité d'Aristote, l'élegance de Ciceron et la briefveté de Sénèque avec la doctrine de Saint Paul et avez arraché, par la force et la netteté de vostre stile, les épines de la scholastique, qui rendoyent les plus sublimes mystères de nostre foy si ardus et si difficules à comprendre.¹

Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) in his *Provinciales* named Du Moulin as the great adversary of Catholicism; he placed him in the ranks of the devils and the worst of men:

...imposteur, calomniateur, fourbe, hérétique, calviniste déguisé, disciple de Du Moulin, posséde d'une légion de diables, etc.²

The Jesuits tried hard to make out that Pascal in his attacks against them had borrowed Protestant weapons which had been forged against the Roman Catholic Church by Du Moulin.

It was on the subject of Pierre Du Moulin that François de Malherbe (1555-1628), having found one day in the house of Madame des Loges one of the books which the theologian had written against Cardinal Du Perron, wrote these lines:

Quoyque l'auteur de ce gros livre
Semble n'avoir rien ignoré,
Le meilleur est toujours de suivre
Le Prosne de nostre curé.
Toutes ces doctrines nouvelles
Ne plaisent qu'aux folles cervelles.
Pour moy, comme une humble brebis,
Sous la houlette je me range.
Il n'est permis d'aimer le change,
Qu'en fait de femmes et d'habits.³

Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) spoke more than once of Du Moulin's preaching. For November 8, 1609 he recorded that "The Church throughout France keeps its fast today. We went and heard three sermons, from Du Moulin, Le Faucheur, and Durand, discourses adapted to the occasion with wonderful skill and piety. I was so moved that I was hardly master of myself." In 1610, on September 5th, he again wrote, "Communicated, and heard the learned sermon of Du Moulin. I cannot indeed deny that the ancients thought very differently of this sacred mystery, and administered it otherwise. I could wish that we had not departed so far from either their faith or their ritual."1

Though Casaubon may have been moved by some of Du Moulin's sermons, he did not have a high opinion of his pastor's scholarship. Casaubon annotated a copy of the Theologian's Défense de la foy catholique, etc., and in doing so he pointed out the errors in the margin. Du Moulin, fearing his prestige to be endangered, actually went to Casaubon and demanded the copy, but the latter refused his request. Casaubon's studies had broadened his theological notions considerably, and by this date, 1610, the two men held widely divergent theological views. Hence, it is not in any way surprising to find Casaubon writing to Madame Casaubon, "I have heard M. du Moulin maintain propositions which I detest, and shall detest, living and dying."2

1 M. Pattison, op. cit., pp. 209, 221.
2 Ibid., pp. 404 f.
More praiseworthy mention came from Frederick Spanheim (1600-1649), the German theologian, who called Du Moulin "acutissimus et eruditissimus theologus." ¹ Another foreign estimate came from William Twisse (1578?-1646), a Puritan divine, who worded his admiration thus:

I do admire Him upon ye Eucharist, & on Purgatory. He hath my heart when I read his Consolations to his Brethren of ye French Church, as also in treating of ye Love of God. I would willingly learne French to understand him onely, & have a long time desired, & still do to get any thing that he hath written.²

His name did live on beyond his own generation and beyond Protestant France. John Quick (1636-1706) wrote his account of Du Moulin's life many years after his death in 1658, saying this about the man he never knew personally but about whom he had heard so much:

Monsr. du Moulin was a person of rare learning, industry, & piety, much in secret communion with God every day, in health & sickness....Kings Loved & honoured him, & courted his friendship.³

William Bates (1625-1699) said his principal qualities were:

Mirum Ingenii acumen, serenum judicium, non numquam ira aut impatients obturbatum...Sed omnium [ejus artium] eminentissima fuit disputandi peritia, multo usu confirmata.⁴

Within France it was the noted François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651-1715) who deemed one of Du Moulin's works worthy of a refutation. Some sixty years after Du Moulin's De la vocation des pasteurs was published, Fénelon wrote:

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³ Ibid., pp. 51 f.
his refutation, *Traité du ministère des pasteurs*,\(^1\) in which he contested the Protestant conception of the ministry as expounded especially by Du Moulin, also by Claude and Jurieu. Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627-1704) in his *Histoire des variations des églises protestantes* mentions Du Moulin several times, calling him a Calvinist in no uncertain terms as he refers to the Synod of Dort:

> On peut encore connaître le sentiment de out le synode par celui du célèbre Pierre Du Moulin, Ministre de Paris: c'estoit asseurement de l'aveu de tout le monde le plus rigoureux Calviniste qui fust alors, & le plus attaché à la doctrine que Gomar soutenoit contre Arminius.\(^2\)

Within French Protestantism there is ample evidence to show that the pastor from Charenton was not soon forgotten. M. Naert has disclosed that the books which the Huguenots residing in Calais, a part of Picardy, were reading in the latter part of the seventeenth century included Calvin's *Institutes* and his Commentaries, *Histoire des Martyrs* by Jean Crespin, and Pierre Du Moulin's *Bouclier de la foi* and his *Anatomie de la Messe*.\(^3\)

In the next century Antoine Court, "The Restorer of French Protestantism," as a boy of seventeen, found himself listening to and inspired by the preaching of Jacques Bonbonnoux, a former Camisard captain, whose discourse "was simply a printed sermon of the celebrated Pierre Du Moulin which he had committed

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Another of the "Pasteurs du desert," Jean Roman, testified to the influence of Du Moulin in his life.

Pour revenir, dit-il dans sa Relation historique, aux moyens que Dieu s'est servi pour m'appeler à sa connaissance, en l'an 1697, il me tomba entre les mains le Bouclier de la foi, Combat chrétien, Dix décades de sermons, excellent ouvrages de M. Pierre du Moulin.2

The number of different editions and translations of the works of Du Moulin is almost spectacular. His writings quickly found their way into other countries, and the fact that so many of his books exist today in libraries outside of France is evidence of this wide circulation. Upwards of fifteen of his major works were published in English, for example,3 and A. H. Upham has this to say about the great influx of French Protestant theological literature into England:

The greatest documents of the Protestant faith - sermons, commentaries, and argumentative treatises - were in great demand in English versions, and the most familiar piece of literature in England for a time was Joshua Sylvester's translation of the French epic of Protestantism, the Semaines of Du Bartas. In the first three decades of Elizabeth's reign more than twenty separate translations from John Calvin were offered to the English public. During the years that followed, an almost equal popularity was extended to the writings of Pierre Viret, Théodore De Bèze, Jean de l'Espine, Odet de la Noue, Du Plessis-Mornay, and Pierre Du Moulin.4

1 H. M. Baird, The Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1895), II, 430. It would seem that from time to time ordinary pastors were guilty of preaching sermons belonging to the more eminent preachers of the day or of a bygone day. P. De Felice in Les Protestants d'autrefois, II, p. 112, has recorded an instance of one, Guillaume Cacherat, who was caught preaching a Du Moulin sermon.
4 Ibid., pp. 11 f.
And some of Du Moulin's books were still considered important enough a century after his death that they were placed on the **Index** when it was brought up to date by Pope Benedict XIV in 1757.¹

In modern times, Pierre Du Moulin is remembered principally because of two reasons. He will always be numbered with those who represent pure Calvinism, and no thorough study of the history of Calvinism can afford to omit his name.² And the modern student must look beyond Du Moulin, The Controversialist, and see him in his role as peace-maker. He is considered a forerunner of the present World Council of Churches,³ and a comprehensive study of the ecumenical movement cannot fail to register his contribution.⁴ Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft gives Du Moulin a prominent place among the seventeenth century leaders of the ecumenical movement in the "Erasmian Succession."⁵ Specially he cites his work with King James I and his plan of union.⁶

Although French Protestantism itself, in the twentieth

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³ J. Courvoisier, *op. cit.*
⁵ Unity as a common assent to propositions, few fundamental articles necessary, minimum ecumenism, common denominator, etc.
⁶ The second lecture, "Origins of the Ecumenical Movement," given in a series of lectures on the World Council of Churches, October 9, 1953, by Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft at the Graduate School of Ecumenical Studies, Bossey, near Céligny, Switzerland.
century, is not as aware of Pierre Du Moulin and his achieve­ments as it might be, seventeenth century editions of his books are much in demand, though possibly from more of an antiquarian interest, and it is possible to hear his name mentioned and a quotation from one of his works read while one listens to a present-day sermon in a Reformed Church in Paris.¹

IV.

There are certain distinct advantages in making a careful study of the life of Pierre Du Moulin. First, because of his long life and his unceasing activity, a broad span of history is unfolded, and familiar events and people are seen from a wholly different standpoint. The history of the last part of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth is seen in relation to a Huguenot figure of no small stature. In him and by means of him, one is better able to fathom some of the intricacies of thought and movement in that period. Further, because he is a French Protestant, the main door into the Reformed Church of France is opened wide during his lifetime, and the outsider is permitted to peer inside a vital, functioning organism. The Reformed Church of France today is the better understood and appreciated as the result of a study of one of her more famous leaders. Naturally, Pierre Du Moulin exemplifies

¹ A sermon preached by Pasteur Philippe De Felice at l'Eglise de Luxembourg, Paris, March 21, 1954, citing Pierre Du Moulin, Dix décades de sermons, VIIIe dècade, Préface.
French Protestantism, and in his person can be seen the joy and sorrow, the bane and blessing of a Huguenot life in these years.

Secondly, a theologian's genius is seen in a rather unusual way. No thrilling re-interpretation is made of a long-forgotten doctrine, not one new theological truth is revealed, no brilliant system of dogmatics is erected. Theology, on the part of Du Moulin, becomes alive and important only in the context of controversy, and his claim to be a theologian lies in his vast knowledge of the Calvinistic system and the very clever ability he had to utilize that knowledge in debate and dispute. It is unfortunate but true, Pierre Du Moulin is a famous theologian because he is a talented controversialist, and yet there is a hidden blessing in that fact. Where else would one turn to learn as much about the theological controversy of that epoch? There is no one better qualified than Du Moulin to speak the theology of controversy. It is humbly suggested that his true and his greatest contribution is not so much that he was a Calvinist nor that he paved the way for ecumenical progress, important as these matters are, but that his greatness was the very way he used theology in a dynamic, meaningful fashion. His views may have been static, but his use of those views certainly was not. He was a Huguenot in action, and in the halls of controversy he was a Huguenot theologian in action. To a lesser degree, this was true of his preaching. Du Moulin, The Theologian, was a preacher as well, and in the
pulpit his sermons became theology in action.

Finally, there is the very real element of inspiration and example from the life of Pierre Du Moulin. His life was a noble one, and its narration moves and challenges the reader as the years and the events go by. It is not enough to wish that there were more such men of God in the Reformed Church of France today. His life speaks to any Christian in any land, and its message is that we all must be men of action, under God.

He has written nothing which he has not done, enjoined nothing which he has not himself practiced. If he lacks something of sweetness and grace when he writes, at least he cannot be reproached for inserting something in his writings which was not a part of his life. He presents us the perfect archetype of the champions of the Gospel in the seventeenth century, of the members of the Church militant who, if they do not have all the graces which Christianity produces in peaceful times, possess to the highest degree faithfulness, integrity, and charity. He is a hero. At the time of his death, at the age of ninety, exhausted by a long illness which even diminished his pious inclinations: "Wake me," said he to his friends, "wake me!" So, even to die was an action for him.1

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1 A. Vinet, op. cit., p. 48. (the writer's translation).
CHAPTER TEN

LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH, 1654-1658.

Three years and half before his death, as he was out riding one day, aging Pierre Du Moulin fell from his horse. It was a severe fall, and from that time on he declined steadily. Yet, in spite of his advanced age, his fall and his increasing illness, "he did not give over the exercise of his charge either in the Church, or in the School, and very seldom mist preaching once a week and reading two Divinity Lectures."1

In February, 1658 Du Moulin began to fail rapidly, and to read the events of the last few weeks of his life is to read a heart-rending story of a man slipping slowly, though reluctantly, into death's grasp. Nevertheless, that story is edifying and fascinating reading.

Upon Tuesday Feb. 26, 1658 (stilo novo) he awaked in the morning, so weak and opprest in his breast that he thought himself not able to preach that day; yet taking heart, he was led and helpt up to the Church; being got into the pulpit with much difficulty, he fainted.

He was offered wine, but he refused it, choosing rather to expect Gods help.... After he had read his Text, which was Psal. 16:9, My flesh shall rest in hope, he spake with more vigour then he had done of a long time before, and applied the doctrine to himself, giving an

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1 There exists a Récit des dernières heures de Monsieur Du Moulin prepared by Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, and others. In the narration of the life of his father done in English, Pierre, The Younger, has included nearly all of the French Récit, so in reconstructing the very last part of Pierre Du Moulin's life one or other of these sources will be used. Other writers, e.g., John Quick, who pass on certain facts about the last days of Du Moulin, rely entirely on the Récit des dernières heures.
account of his Faith and hope to his Hearers, taking his leave of them in a manner, and preaching his own Funeral Sermon, as if he had had a Prophetical knowledge that he spake the last time to his people in the Church.¹

Two days later he was very much weaker, and he requested that he be remembered in the prayers of the Church. After the worship, for it had been a week-day preaching service, a great crowd of people flocked to his house to bid him farewell and to receive his blessing. Very conscious of everything and everyone, and mindful that he was still a pastor, a controversialist, a Calvinist, he spoke to them all. To some he had a special word.

To a blind woman he said:

Vous n'avez point d'yeux corporels, mais vous avez l'œil de la foy, qui pénètre jusqu'au ciel vous ne voyez point la clarté du Soleil, mais Dieu vous fera voir la clarté de sa face.²

Next he turned towards a man who was a Roman Catholic and, faithful that he was to the Scriptures even in death, Du Moulin admitted he had offended God in many ways but explained that he had never written nor preached anything which he did not believe to be consonant with the Word of God.

Then he spoke to his fellow-ministers and committed the Church into their hands, and when one of them answered that they wished only to imitate him and his good service, the sick pastor broke in with,

¹ Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 27.
² Récit des dernières heures de Monsieur du Moulin (Sedan, 1658), p. 5.
Vous me faites un grand desplaisir de me parler ainsi, car je n'ay point fait tout ce que je devois faire, et le peu de fruict qui est venu de mon labeur n'est point de moi, c'est de la grâce de Dieu qui employe, comme il luy plaist, de foibles instrumens. Je sçail que j'ai esté négligent en plusieurs choses, et que j'ay offencé Dieu, mais j'ay aîné sa sainte vérité, et j'espère en sa miséricorde, il est mon père et mon Dieu, et Jésus-Christ est mon Sauveur, qui croit en luy il ne pèrira point, mais il aura la vie éternelle.1

When told he was talking far too much, he agreed, but protested, "Je veux glorifier Dieu en mourant."

He spent the four or five first days of his sickness in expressions of deep humiliation: his prayers were vehement and fervent, and full of penitent sorrow. "Lord (said he) I have done nothing but deserveth punishment: Thou hast heaped blessings upon me, Thou hast honoured me with a holy Calling: But I have not laboured according to the great worth of it: I have mingled my own glory with thine....His devout expressions suffered but little inter­mission, and his holy meditations none at all.2

So, during these few days he passed the hours in reciting and commenting on various texts and in praying. "He was com­passed about with his family and his friends. Everyone com­forted him according to his talent."3 Thus, there were many to read passages from the Bible to him, to talk with him, and to listen to his utterances. Most of the time he concentrated on the Psalms, asking that they be read to him, reciting them by himself, and delivering expositions upon certain verses.4

One day one of his students who was proficient in Hebrew visited him:

1 Ibid., pp. 6 f.
3 Ibid., p. 31.
4 His favorites were Psalms 6, 27, 32, 36, 51, 63, 71, and 130. Psalm 51 or parts of it were quoted more often than any other Psalm during this last illness. Ibid., pp. 29-31.
[Du Moulin] desired him to read before him some Psalms in Hebrew. Then he began to reckon how many names were given to God in the Old Testament, making learned considerations upon each. Thus passing from one good discourse to another, he gave occasion to the student to ask him whether he thought that Hebrew was the language used in the Kingdome of Heaven. "That is not revealed," said the Doctor, "neither do I think that the language of Heaven is known here on Earth. But I think that we shall learn it in a moment when God shall be all in all."  

During the first part of his final illness he was very alert and rather talkative, so loquacious that his son complained that it was "impossible exactly to follow the fluency of his discourse, and the fervency of his expressions." He continues by explaining, "So much we relate here as his diligent hearers can remember; for all this was spoken before many and worthy witnesses that resorted to him to hear him, and to learn to die."

But, the last six days of his life he was asleep most of the time. His affliction was "an inflammation of the Lungs, with a burning Fever, which redoubled every day at the same hour."

He was not much troubled with his slumber in the morning from seven to nine, because then his Fever was less, which used to redouble about nine. In that interval he would speak with facility. That interval was husbanded to comfort him, and to pray by him. He would then hearken to prayers with great attention, and to all the good things that were said to him. And it is observable, that in this last sickness he was less deaf then he had been ten years before.

He fought against the sleep which constantly overcame him, and he pleaded with those about him,

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1 Ibid., p. 30.
2 Ibid., p. 32.
3 Ibid., pp. 31 f.
Prick me. Now I should watch. It is no time now to sleep, but to die. Watch and pray (said my Saviour) that you enter not into temptation. O great God, abandon me not to mine infirmities, but so preserve and keep up my spirit, that I may glorifie thee even when I am dying.¹

Towards the last, however, he looked forward to death eagerly, expectantly. Two days before he died, "contractions of sinews and convulsions" were added to his burning fever, and when he uttered the words, "I shall soon be eased; I am going to my Father, and my God; He hath heard me indeed," everyone thought they were his last.

He lingered on one more day, Saturday, March 9th, but that evening it was plain that he would soon pass away. Finally, he pronounced for the last time the final verse of the seventeenth Psalm. "Je serai rassasié de sa ressemblance quand serai réveillé." He then repeated the text he loved so much, "qui croira en Jésus Christ ne périra point, il aura la vie éternelle," finishing with "Seigneur Jésus, recoy mon esprit." The person who was attending him said that soon he would see his Redeemer with his own eyes. Du Moulin answered, "Je le croy."²

These were the last intelligible words he spoke, even though he murmured inaudible phrases for another quarter of an hour. He was quiet for a further half hour during which his friends made the last prayer. Some moments afterwards he gave up his last breath, "dying with peace and joy visible on his face."

¹ Ibid., p. 32.
² Récit des dernières heures de Monsieur du Moulin, pp. 30 f.
Death came just after midnight, on March 10, 1658 in the four-score and tenth year of his life.

The words of his son, written nearly 300 years ago, provide as fitting a close to this study of the life of Pierre Du Moulin as one could desire:¹

Thus died the good Servant of God, the faithful Pastour of his Church, the valiant Champion of his Truth, the zealous Promoter of his glory, the great Master of clear Wit, exquisite Learning, and admired Eloquence, the Pillar of the Universitie, and the Father of the poor. Such men as he live after their death: And of him we may say, not only he was, but he is a burning and a shining Lamp, for to the worlds end the Church of God shall rejoice in his light.

¹ Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, op. cit., p. 33. Pierre, The Younger, closes the biography of his father, p. 34, by quoting the inscription on his tombstone and composing a few lines of poetical tribute in Latin. He says, "We have set a Marble Stone upon his Grave, with this Inscription:

Qui sub isto marmore quiescit olim fuit
PETRUS MOLINAEUS
Hoc sat, viator! Reliqua nosti, quisquis es
Qui nomen inclytum legis;
Laudes, Beati gloria non desiderat,
Aut sustinet modestia.
Obiit Sedani, ad VI Non: Mart: MDCLVIII.
APPENDIX A

TABLE GÉNÉALOGIQUE DE LA MAISON DU MOULIN

Roger Du Moulin
Grand Maître de l'ordre de Saint Jean de Jérusalem, 1179
tué en 1187 dans un combat contre les Sarrasins.

Hue ou Hughes, Seigneur Du Moulin
servoit le Roi en 1339, 1340

Estienne
Eccl Sg. du Moulin, 1355

Jean
Chevalier Seigneur et Châtelain de Fontenay en Bri, de Briis
près Chastres et du Château de Meaux, épousé N...., héritière de
la Maison Contes de Fontenay.

Denis Du Moulin
Chevalier Sg. de Fontenay en Brie, Briis, Baron de Saint-Yon.
Maître des Requestes en l'hostel du Roy, Conseiller
Ministre d'Etat, Ambassadeur en Savoye en 1415; Veuf, fut d'Eglise,
puis Archevêque de Thoulouse, Patriarche d'Antioche,
Evêque de Paris en 1439, le 10 juin,
Cardinal le 12 nov. 1440 par le pape Felix V; décédé le 15 sept.
1447, inhumé à N.D. de Paris.

En 1412 il avait épousé Marie de Courtenay, Princesse du sang
royal de France, fille de Pierre de Courtenay, Sg. de Bleneau, ar.
petit-fils de Louis VI, et de Agnès de Melun, de la Maison illustre
de Melun.

Jehan Du Moulin
Chev. Sg. de Fontenay, Briis, Vicoq-sur-Seine, Ivry-sur-Maine,
Conseiller Maître de Requestes en l'hostel du Roy Louis XI,
Hommage au Roy en 1449-1451-1452; vivait encore en 1486.
A épousé par contrat passé devant Jean Boucher et Jacques De
Pauvres, notres à Noyon, le 1er janvier 1449,
Marguerite de Rouvroy Saint-Simon, fille de Gaucher de Rouvroy,
Sgr. de Saint Simon, de l'Illustre Maison de Rouvroy de Saint-Simon,
issue de Charlemagne, et de Marie de Sarrebrâche.

De cette union 9 enfants, dont:
Agnès
Jean
Antoine
Philippe
d' où
issu famille
Moreton de
Chabrillan

Louise Du Moulin
ép. devant Pierre
Chapuzet, notaire à Meaux
le 30 aout 1486, Cons. M.
des Rq. Hôt. du Roy
Philipppe de Saint-Pol
issu des Vicontes de Dinan

Jacques
av. 1502
Seigneur de
Lorme de
Grigny,
ép. Marie
La Souche

Philippe Du Moulin
Chevalier Seigneur de Lorme Grigny, exempt des gardes du corps
du roi de la Compagnie Ecossaise,
épousé N.... de Galmet, de la Maison des Seigneurs de Faron-
ville Allainville en Orléanois.

Joachim Du Moulin
Ecuyer Seigneur de Lorme Grigny, vivoit en 1573, épousé
Jeanne de Souville.

Joachim Du Moulin
Ecuyer Seigneur de Lorme Grigny, ép. Françoise Gabet, fille de
Innocent Gabet, Conseiller du Roi, et Juge pour sa Majestie de la
Ville de Vienne en Dauphiné, et de Bonne de Bellonne.

Pierre Du Moulin
1568-1658, mort à Sedan, Ecuyer Seigneur de Lorme Grigny,
Conseiller Maître des Requests du Roi Henry le Grand.

---T. P. Mariage Eudes de Saint Pierre
issu de Louise du Moulin, petite-
fille de Denis Du Moulin.
APPENDIX B

The Plan of Union proposed by Pierre Du Moulin, found in Blondel's Actes authentiques des Eglises réformées, etc., pp. 72-76.

"Escrit de Monsieur du Moulin envoie de Londres par luy mesmes au Synode Provincial de l'Isle de France, qui l'en a re-mercié par lettres escrites d'Ay en Champaigne l'an 1615 en May.

Ouvertures pour travailler à l'union des Eglises Christiennes qui ont secoué le joug de la Papauté, & appaiser les différents qui sont desjà nés, ou qui pourront naistre à l'advenir.

1. Faut poser pour fondement, que travailler à l'union & accord des Eglises est un travail utile, saint & nécessaire, & quant à la possibilité, que nul accord ne se peut faire sans l'aide, assistance, & conduite des Princes souverains dont les Pays se sont retirés de la subjection du Pape, entre lesquels, le Roy de la Grand Bretagne estant le plus grand & puissant, & outre cela, le plus clair-voiant & le plus affectionné, est celuy qui y peut le plus contribuer.

2. Cela posé, j'estimerois qu'il faudroit choisir un lieu de seur & commode accès, où se trouvassent deux Théologiens envoyés par sa Majesté; deux par les Eglises de France; deux par celles du Pays-Bas; deux des Cantons de Suisse; un ou deux de chaque Prince d'Alemagne de nostre Confession.

3. Le lieu, que je penserois estre le plus commode, est la Zélande, qui est comme aux portes d'Angleterre, & de facile abord de tous costés.

4. Là je ne voudrois point qu'on disputast de la Religion, car depuis que les esprit sont eschauffés, ils ne se rendent jamais, & chacun s'en retournant dict qu'il a vaincu; mais je voudrois que sur la table fust mise la confession des Eglises de France, d'Angleterre, d'Escosse, des Pays-Bas, du Palatinat, de Suisse, &c. que de ces confessions on taschat en dresser une commune, en laquelle on dissimulast plusieurs choses, sans la connoissance desquelles on peut estre sauvé, comme est la question de Piscator touchant la justification, & plusieurs opinions subtiles proposées par Arminius sur le franc Arbitre, la Prédestination & persévérançe des Saints; estant certain, que tous les erreurs en la Religion sont venus, ou de vouloir trop sçavoir, ou de vouloir trop avoir, c'est à dire, ou de curiosité, ou d'avarice, ou d'ambition; le dernier mal a corrompu l'Eglise Romaine; Mais Sathan tasche à corrompre les nostres par le premier. Que si nous pouvons
nous commander à nous mêmes d'ignorer plusieurs choses, à nous contenter des nécessaires à salut; à sur les matières non nécessaires, supporter ceux qui ont un autre sentiment, nous aurions en c'est accord fait une grande partie du chemin.

5. Après ceste confession dressée, faudroit que non seulement les Députés la signassent, mais aussi les Princes & nostre Synode National, & que ce règlement fust estably, que désormais, si en Angleterre, ou en France, ou en Alemagne, ou es Pays-Bas, ou en Suisse, quelque controverse venoit à se mouvoir, rien ne pourra estre conclu ne décidé, moins encore innové, sans le consentement des Provinces entrées en cest accord.

6. J'estime que jusques là il y aura peu de difficulté, ce traité se faisant entre des Eglises Réformées qui desjâ sont d'accord en la foy, estans seulement différentes en quelques Cérémonies, & Police Ecclesiastique; ou, si sur les matières de la foy quelques uns ont des opinions particulières, cela n'est encore passé en loy, ny règlement publiqu.

7. Sur lesquelles Cérémonies & Police, faudra faire déclaration mutuelle ajustée à ladicte confession, par laquelle lesdicts Députés, au nom de ceux qui les envoyeroient, déclareront que les Eglises ne se condamnen point les unes les autres, pour cette différence, laquelle n'empesche point que nous n'accordions en la foy & vraie doctrine, & nous entr'embrassions comme vrais fidèles & membres d'un mesme corps.

8. Seroit bon que, pour gage de concorde, après ceste conférence, la sainte Cène se célébrast, en laquelle les Pasteurs d'Angleterre, France, &c. communiquassent ensemble, & que l'action commençast par un jusne non seulement des Députés, mais aussi de l'Eglise ou l'assemblee sera convoquée, pour imploer l'assistance de Dieu sur un si grand & si important dessein.

9. Que les Députés seront choisis d'humeur propre à cela, c'est à dire, paisibles, graves & craignants Dieu, prudents & non contentieux; qu'ils viennent garnis de pouvoir & lettres qui les autorisent amplement, à que par ces mesmes lettres, ceux qui les envoyeroient, promettent de recevoir avec respect tout ce qui sera conclu en l'assemblee, & par tous moyens homestes & justes s'emploier à le faire observer; & que pendant que ceste action durera, soit par toutes les Provinces entrantes en cest accord, publié un jusne général, pour attirer la bénédiction de Dieu, & par mesme moyen toucher les coeurs des peuples de respect & révérence.

10. Je voudrois aussi que pendant la tenuë de ladicte assemblée, il y eut des personnes allantes & venantes vers le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, afin que rien ne se fist sans son advis & authorité,
& que la conférence achevée, tout le corps de l'assemblée passast en Angleterre pour faire la révérence à sa Majesté, & la remercier, & recevoir ses sages conseils sur les moyens de l'exécution.

11. Sera nécessaire que la compagnie, avant que se séparer, assigne un jour pour se rassembler au même lieu dans un an pour faire le rapport de ce qui ne se sera peu exécuter en leurs Provinces, & les empêchemens qui s'y seront rencontres; car je tiens impossible de pourvoir à tout en une assemblée, & y pourra avoir telles Provinces qui improuveront quelque chose de ce qui aura esté convenu, ou qui fourniront quelque meilleur expédient.

12. Le temps qui se passera entre ces deux assemblées ou Synodes sera employé par sa Majesté d'Angleterre, & par les Princes de nostre Confession, à faire qu'en la seconde assemblée se trouvent des Pasteurs & Docteurs Luthériens envoyés par les Princes des Eglises Luthériennes, pour travailler à l'accord entre eux & nous; si cela se peut obtenir, les moyens d'accord pourront estre tels.

13. Les points, sur lesquels les Églises Luthériennes discordent avec nous, sont de deux sortes; il y a sur lesquels il est plus aisé de s'accorder; telles sont les cérémonies des Églises Luthériennes, lesquelles peuvent estre excuses & tolérées, pour ce que ce sont choses qui concernent plus la bienseance que la nécessité, telles aussi sont quelques opinions sur le point de la Prédestination, sur laquelle j'estime qu'on peut aisément dresser un article de la confession commune que tous approuveront sans difficulté, pourveu qu'on évite la curiosité, ce que je croy avoir esté fait par la confession d'Ausbourg, laquelle en parle sobrement & décline exprès ceste question; il y a aussi quelque différent sur la nécessité du Baptême, lequel on peut en bons sens affermer estre nécessaire à salut; c'est à dire, qu'il est nécessaire de célébrer le Baptême en l'Église Chrétienne, & nécessaire à chaque particulier de ne le mespriser point, sans enfoncer davantage la question de la nécessité.

14. Il y a en second lieu le point de la Cène, où'il y aura plus de peine; la difficulté est double, car elle consiste en partie en l'ubiquité du corps de Jésus Christ; en partie en la Communion ou réception du corps de Christ au Sacrement.

15. Sur le premier point on pourra convenir de ces choses; 1. Que Jésus Christ a prins au ventre de la Vierge un vray corps humain semblable aux nostres en toutes choses horsmis le péché. 2. Que son corps a une vraie chair, & qu'il a sa quantite & ses dimensions. 3. Que son corps estoit au ventre de la Vierge, en la croix ou au sepulcre, n'estoit point ailleurs. 4. Que le fils éternel de Dieu est présent par tout. 5. Que son corps est monté au Ciel. 6. Qu'il est assis à la dextre de Dieu. 7. Que le Père luy a donné toute puissance au Ciel & en la terre. 8. Que la
glorification luy a osté l'infirmité, mais n'a pas aboly sa nature humaine. 9. Qu'il viendra au dernier jour en ceste mesme chair qu'il a prise de la Vierge pour juger les vivans & les morts. Si outre cela il y a quelques différentes opinions dont on n'est point d'accord, faudra obtenir des deux parties de ne se condamner point là dessus l'un l'autre, & de n'escrire plus aucuns livres sur ce sujet; & n'user plus d'inventives & prédictions jusques à ce que Dieu ait donné plus de clarté à ceux qui errent.

16. Quant au Sacrement & à la participation du corps de Jésus Christ, j'estime qu'on pourra convenir de ces choses: 1. Que les signes ou Symboles ne sont point signes nus & simples figures destituées de la vérité. 2. Qu'en la sainte Cène nous participons réellement au corps de Jésus Christ. 3. Que le pain ne se transubstantie point, & ne laisse d'etre pain après la consécration. 4. Dont s'ensuit que le Sacrement ne doit estre adoré, & que nous devons eslever nos coeurs en haut. 5. Et quant au moyen de participer au corps de Jésus Christ en la Cène, ne s'en enquérir point scrupuleusement, seulement tenir avec l'Apostre S. Paul, Ephés. 3, que Christ habite en nos coeurs par foy; dont s'ensuit qu'il n'habite point en ceux qui n'ont point la foy: que si quelqu'un est fermé en son opinion, que néantmoins il supporte ses frères, & ne les condamne point avec violence, seulement en ce dont nous sommes d'accord, marchons d'un mesme pied.

17. Car il y a deux sortes d'erreurs, les uns qui consistent seulement en la croiance, les autres, qui outre la croiance y ad-joustant quelque action extérieure: de la premiere sorte sont les erreurs sur la nature de Jésus Christ, sur la Prédestination & sur le franc arbitre: de la seconde sont la Communion sous un espèce, l'adoration de l'Hostie, la prière en langue non entendue de celuy mesme qui prie; les erreurs de ceste derniere sorte, quoy que bien souvent moindres que les autres, divisenient bien plus aigrement les esprits, & causent bien souvent un schisme: Car si je communie au Sacrement avec un qui erre en la Prédestination, ou en la nature de Jésus Christ, ou qui croid que le corps du Seigneur est par tout, quoy que l'erreur soit grand, si est ce qu'il ne trouble point celuy qui communie avec lui. Mais, si je venois à communier avec quelqu'un qui adorast le pain, ou prétendist sacrifier Jésus Christ, ceste action me scandaliserot, & me chas-seroit de là de peur de participer à l'idolatrie ou à un faux sacrifice, or nous avons ce bien qu'avec les Eglises Luthériennes, tous nos différents sont de la premiere sorte; & que touchant les extérieurs, qu'ils pratiquent en l'Eglise, nous n'avons nul dif-férent qui ne soit aisé à composer.

18. Sera bon d'avoir sur la table le concordat des Eglises de Pologne faict à Sendomir l'an 1570, & depuis renouvellé au Synode
de Wladislau l'an 1583, afin de tirer de leur exemple tout ce qui pourra servir, & qui sera imitable; & peut estre se trouveront plusieurs Eglises Luthériennes qui ne voudront point insister sur l'ubiquité.

19. Je voudrois qu'en ceste deuxiesme assemblée le mesme ordre se gardast qu'en la premiere, & le mesme respect envers sa Majesté d'Angleterre, & qu'elle commenceast par un jeusne, & se finist par la célébration de la saincte Cène, en laquelle les Pasteurs Luthériens & les nostres communiassent ensemble.

20. Pour proceder à l'exécution, à ce que les peuples & Eglises se rangent à ce qui aura esté convenu, est du tout nécessaire que le Princes promettent d'emploier leur autorité, à ce que ces mots de Luthériens, Calvinistes, & Sacramentaires soient abolis, & que nos Eglises soient appeilées Christiennes Réformées; que sur grosses peines soit défendu d'user ës prédications d'in- vectives contre ses frères, ny de faire aucuns escrits les uns contre les autres; & que le Catalogue de la foire de Francfort ne soit plus chargé de titres injurieux, comme il a accoustumé. Que les Princes Alemands en certains jours dont on conviendra envoient de leurs Ministres ès Eglises principales des Princes voisins, & en recoivent des leurs, & communient ensemble en la saincte Cène en un jour solennel.

21. S'il plaisoit à Dieu de bénir ce travail si sainct & si louable, & qui couronneroit à jamais le Roy de la Grand Bretagne, & les Princes qui luy assisteroient; alors il seroit temps de solliciter d'accord l'Eglise Romaine; lequel accord s'il est faisable, dont je doute fort, pourro que le Pape n'admet aucun Concile ny conference s'il n'y préside, nous serons plus considérables, parlerons avec plus d'autorité quand nous serons d'accord.
Notes on Source Materials for the Life of Pierre Du Moulin

1. "La vie de M. Pierre Du Moulin, escrite pay luy-même," referred to as The Autobiography, (Ms. 90 in the Bibliothèque de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français, Paris). In the opinion of Pannier, this document better than any other portrays the life of a Huguenot pastor and his family from the reign of Charles IX to Louis XIV. It is a well-preserved manuscript with only the first two pages showing any damage at all. The writing is very clear, and the document is bound in parchment, fifty-one pages in 4°. Initially, there seems to be no reason to suspect it of being something other than it is. Without doubt it is an authentic record of the events in the life of Pierre Du Moulin, but there are some difficulties present notwithstanding. First of all, the manuscript remains unfinished. Du Moulin lived until 1658, but the last entry is for the year 1641. Secondly, it is questionable whether Du Moulin would have given his production the title which it bears. Next, there are some errors in the account which can most easily be explained as those coming from a copyist. Finally, and what is most important, in comparing this manuscript with some of Du Moulin's letters, it is plain that the autobiography is not the same. It is therefore suggested that this "autobiography" might not have actually been written by Du Moulin, but that it is a family copy, very reliable but not as genuine as if directly
from Du Moulin's pen.

2. Heretofore, it was not known that there was a life of Pierre Du Moulin written by his eldest son, or at least no one has ever referred to it in any book or article written on Du Moulin. It is written in good English, and it is bound with the English edition of Du Moulin's *Nouveaute du papisme*, etc., which has been translated and prefaced by Pierre, The Younger (London: Robert White, 1664). Du Moulin's son explains in writing his father's life that it is "For God's glory, not his, I intend in this plain relation to make his light to shine before men, and together to pay a filial duty to the precious memory of my dear and reverend Father." In his "plain relation" he has well substantiated the facts given in *The Autobiography*, and it is not difficult to defend the theory that he has used *The Autobiography* as an outline, merely enlarging upon it to compose his own narrative. One is especially indebted to him, however, for the best report of his father's visits to England and his relationships with King James.

3. "The Life of Monsr. Peter du Moulin Minr. of Paris," *Icones Sacrae Gallicanae* (Ms. in Dr. Williams' Library, London). John Quick (1636-1706) was a Nonconformist divine who was born, ordained, and served a Church at Plymouth. At the passing of the uniformity act in 1662, he neither conformed nor resigned. Consequently, he braved prison and other misfortunes. His great
interest in the French Reformed Church and its leaders probably grew out of his pity for their sufferings and his keen awareness of their plight, not dissimilar from his own. It is presumed that he secured a great amount of information on various French Protestants when he was in Plymouth, because from 1681 Plymouth was a seat of an important colony of Huguenot refugees. His *Icones Sacrae* was never published due to the untimely death of William Russell, Duke of Bedford, who had promised to underwrite the cost of printing. They are divided into two parts, one on French divines and one on English divines. The *Icones Sacrae Gallicanae* gives the biographies of fifty French Protestants, from Lefèvre d'Etaples to Claude Brousson. Du Moulin's life is thirty-fourth in the series. Quick, in large part, has faithfully copied the narrative written by Pierre Du Moulin, The Younger, of his father's life. Yet, he has inserted some original matter, attributing it to "my Relator" in one instance, to "my Author" in another, and he specifically states that he received one item of information about Du Moulin from "two of his Schollars (who had sojourned in his house some years at Sedan, & had it from his own mouth, viz. The Reverend Messieurs Meslayer Minr. of St. Quentin, & Chevenix Minr. of Mans). Although Quick writes in the flowery and repetitious style of the seventeenth century, he is a trustworthy informant and has furnished facts about many divines in France and in England which are not recorded elsewhere.
4. The fourth of the seventeenth century biographies of Pierre Du Moulin, is found in *Vitae Selectorum Aliquot Virorum* by William Bates (1625-1699). In his Latin life of Du Moulin he has supplied little that is new. It is stated in the *Mélanges critiques* by Charles Ancillon that Bates received all his information about Pierre Du Moulin from his son, Pierre, The Younger.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. THE WORKS OF PIERRE DU MOULIN


(The following is a list of Du Moulin's works, with the various editions, which exist or are known to have existed. In some cases lengthy titles have been shortened. His philosophical works are listed after "La Philosophie," and it has proved convenient to list the printed letters under one heading.)

DU MOULIN, Pierre, Abrégé des controverses. Quevilly, 1636.

Accomplissement des prophéties, etc. Genève, 1612 1624, 1631; La Rochelle, 1612; Oxford, 1613; Sedan, 1621, 1624.

Accroissement des eaux de Siloé pour estinder le feu de purgatoire, etc. Genève, 1614, 1624, 1631, 1634; La Rochelle, 1604, 1608; Oxford, 1612.

Les Actes de la conférence du sieur de Raconis...et du sieur Du Moulin, etc. Paris, 1618.

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