

THE EDICT OF NANTES WITH ITS SECRET ARTICLES AND BREVETS

Translated by Jotham Parsons

The French text consulted was that printed as appendix IV to Roland Mousnier, *L'assassinat d'Henri IV (14 mai 1610) et l'affermissement de la monarchie absolue* (Paris: N.R.F./Gallimard, 1964), 294-335.

I. The Edict

Henri, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all present and future, greeting. Among the infinite graces which it has pleased God to bestow on us, this is certainly one of the most notable and remarkable: to have given us virtue and strength to withstand the frightful troubles, confusions, and disorders which prevailed at our accession to this kingdom, which was divided into so many parties and factions, of which that which supported the legitimate government was the smallest; and nevertheless to so have strengthened us against this difficulty, that we have at length surmounted it, and have now reached a harbor of safety and repose for this state. For which to Him alone be all the glory, and to us the grace and obligation, that He has deigned to make use of our labor to accomplish this good work, in which He has been visible to all; if we have borne not only what was within our duty and ability, but something more besides, which might not have been at any other time proper to the dignity we hold, we are no longer afraid of exposing it here, seeing that we have so often and so freely exposed our own life. And in this great concurrence of such great and perilous affairs, which could not all be settled at one and the same time, it has been necessary for us to follow this order: first, to undertake those things which could only be settled by force, and rather to suspend and put aside for a time all other things which could and should be dealt with by reason and justice: such as the general differences among our good subjects, and the particular ills of the more healthy parts of the state, which we believed could be much more easily cured after their principal cause had been removed, namely, the continuance of civil war. In which having (by the grace of God) well and happily succeeded, and armed conflict and hostilities having ceased throughout the interior of the kingdom, we hope for equal success in what remains to be settled, and that by this means we shall attain to

the establishment of a good peace and tranquil repose for which we have always hoped and prayed, and which is the reward that we desire for the many pains and travails through which we have passed in the course of our life. Among the above-mentioned affairs which have required patience, and among the most important, have been the complaints we have received from many of our Catholic provinces and cities, that the exercise of the Catholic religion was not universally re-established as is stipulated by the edicts hitherto made for the pacification of troubles on account of religion; as well as the supplications and remonstrances which have been made to us by our subjects of the so-called Reformed religion, both in regard to the non-fulfillment of what has been granted them by these edicts, and in regard to what they wished to be added to them for the practice of their above-mentioned religion, liberty of conscience, and the safety of their persons and property; presuming themselves to have just cause for new and yet greater fears because of these latest troubles and disturbances, whose principal pretext and foundation have been their ruin. In regard to which, so as not to take on too much at one time, and also so that the rage of war might not prevent the establishment of the laws, however good they might be, we have always put off seeing to this from one time to another. But now that it has pleased God to have us enjoy a beginning of rather better repose, we could think of no better way to use it than to apply ourselves to what might concern His holy name and service, and to bring it about that He should be worshiped and adored by all our subjects; and if it has not yet pleased Him that this should be by one and the same form of religion, then it should at least be with the same intention, and under such a rule that there should arise no tumult and disturbance on account of it among them, and that we and this kingdom may forever merit and preserve the title of

Most Christian, which has been held for so long and for such merits; and by the same means to take away the cause of evil and trouble which may arise on account of religion, which is always the most subtle and penetrating of all troubles. On this occasion, having recognized the affair as one of very great importance and worthy of the very greatest consideration, after receiving the collections of complaints of our Catholic subjects and having also permitted our subjects of the so-called Reformed religion to assemble by deputies and draw up their own, and to bring together all of their remonstrances, and having conferred with them at different times on this matter, and having reviewed the preceding edicts, we have thought it necessary, at this time, to give to all our subjects a general law on all of this, clear, precise, and absolute, by which they might be governed with regard to all such differences as have hitherto sprung up, or may hereafter arise among them, and by which both sides may be contented insofar as the spirit of the times will permit. Having, for our part, entered on this deliberation only through the zeal we have for the service of God, and so that such service may be offered and rendered by all our subjects, and to establish among them a good and most lasting peace; for which we implore and expect from His divine goodness the same protection and favor that He has always visibly bestowed on this kingdom from its birth, and through the entire, long period which it has attained; and that He may give our subjects the grace to understand well that in the observance of this ordinance consists (next to their duty towards God and towards all) the principal foundation of their union, concord, tranquility, and repose, and of the re-establishment of this whole state in its first splendor, opulence, and strength. For our part, we promise to see that it is strictly observed without allowing it to be infringed in any way. For these reasons, having, with the advice of the Princes of our Blood, other princes and officers of the crown, and other great and notable personages of our Council of State close to our person, well and diligently weighed and considered the entire affair, we have, by this perpetual and irrevocable Edict, said, declared, and ordered, do say, declare, and order:

1. First, that the memory of everything which has occurred between one side and the other since the

beginning of the month of March 1585 up to our accession to the crown, and during the other preceding troubles and on account of them, shall remain extinct and dormant as though they had never happened. And it shall not be allowable or permissible to our *procureurs-generaux*, or any other person whatever, public or private, at any time, or for whatever occasion there may be, to make mention of them, or institute a suit or prosecution in any courts or jurisdiction whatsoever.

2. We forbid all our subjects, of whatever estate or quality they may be, from renewing the memory of those things, attacking, resenting, injuring, or provoking one another by reproaches for what has occurred, for whatever cause and pretext there may be; from disputing these things, contesting, quarreling, or outraging or offending by word or deed; but they shall restrain themselves and live peaceably together like brothers, friends, and common citizens, under the penalty of being punished as infractors of the peace and disturbers of the public repose.

We command that the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic religion shall be reinstated and re-established in all places and parts of this our kingdom and the lands under our obedience where its exercise has been interrupted, that it may be peaceably and freely exercised without any disturbance or impediment. Expressly forbidding every person of whatever estate, quality, or condition they may be, under the above-mentioned penalties, from troubling, disturbing, or molesting ecclesiastics in the celebration of divine service, in the enjoyment and collection of the tithes, fruits, and revenues of their benefices, and all other rights and duties belonging to them; and that all those who have taken possession of churches, houses, goods, and revenues belonging to the said ecclesiastics during the troubles, and who still hold and occupy them, place the ecclesiastics back in full possession and quiet enjoyment thereof, with such rights, liberties, and security as they had before they were dispossessed. Also expressly forbidding those of the said so-called Reformed religion from preaching or otherwise exercising that religion in the churches, houses, and habitations of the said ecclesiastics.

4. The said ecclesiastics will have the choice of purchasing the houses and buildings built on unconsecrated land occupied against them during the troubles, or of constraining the possessors of the said

buildings to purchase the ground, all according to a valuation made by experts agreed on by the parties; and if the parties cannot agree on them, they shall be appointed by the local judges, preserving to the said possessors all appropriate legal recourse. And if the said ecclesiastics constrain the holders to purchase the ground, the sum agreed on shall not be paid immediately to them, but the holders shall continue to owe it, paying interest at the rate of five percent, until it can be employed to the profit of the [Catholic] Church, which shall be done within one year. And when the said time shall have elapsed, should the acquirer [sic; the seller seems in fact to be meant] be unwilling to continue the said rent, he shall be discharged therefrom by consigning the moneys into the hands of a solvent person with the consent of the judges. In the case of consecrated land, commissioners appointed for the execution of the present edict will give an opinion, so that we may settle the matter.

5. Nevertheless, the land and sites occupied for repairs and fortifications of the cities and places of our kingdom, and the materials used therein, shall not be taken possession of or resold by the ecclesiastics or other persons, either public or private, unless the said repairs and fortifications shall be demolished by our ordinances.

6. And to leave no occasion for troubles and differences among our subjects, we have permitted and do permit those of the so-called Reformed religion to live and dwell in all cities and places of this our kingdom and the lands of our obedience, without being questioned, vexed, or molested, nor constrained to do anything with regard to religion contrary to their conscience, nor on account of it to be searched out in their houses and the places where they wish to dwell, bearing themselves otherwise according to what is in our present edict.

7. We have also given permission to all lords, gentlemen, and other persons, citizens or otherwise, who profess the so-called Reformed religion and have the right of high justice within our kingdom and country, under our authority, or a full fief with military service [*plein fief de haubert*] (as in Normandy) whether as property or usufruct, in whole or half, or one third, to have, in such of their houses of the said high justice or said fiefs as they shall hold themselves ready to name as their principal domicile before our *baillis* or *senechaux*, each in his district, to

exercise the said religion as long as they reside therein, or in their absence their wives, their families, or a part thereof. And even if the title of either justice or of full fief with military service should be disputed, the exercise of the said religion may still be undertaken there provided the above-mentioned persons have actual possession of the said high justice as long as our *procureur-general* is a party to the dispute. We also permit them the said exercise in their other houses with high justice or the said full fief with military service as long as they are actually present, and not otherwise, both for themselves, their family, their subjects, and others who wish to attend.

In the houses of fiefs where those of the said religion shall not hold high justice or full fief with military service, they may not undertake the said exercise except strictly for their families alone. Nevertheless, we do not mean that, should up to thirty persons congregate there, either on occasion of a baptism, or of a visit from friends, or otherwise, that they may be searched out; provided, also, that said houses are not within cities, towns, or villages belonging to Catholic lords exercising high justice (other than ourself) in which the said Catholic lords have their houses. In that case those of the said religion may not undertake the said exercise in cities, towns, or villages except by the permission and consent of the said lords holding high justice, and not otherwise.

9. We also permit those of the said religion to undertake and continue its exercise in all towns and places of our obedience where it had been established by them, and publicly performed at several different times, in the year 1586, and in the year 1587, until the end of the month of August, notwithstanding all decisions and judgments to the contrary.

10. Likewise the said worship shall be established and re-established in all villages and places where it has been or should have been established by the Edict of Pacification made in the year [15]77, by private articles and the conferences of Nerac and Fleix, without the said establishment being hindered in the places and locations of the domain specified by that edict, articles, and conferences, as places for *bailliages*, or which shall be hereafter, even if they have since been alienated to Catholic persons, or shall be hereafter. We do not intend, however, that the said exercise may be re-established in places and locations

of the said domain which were formerly possessed by persons of the so-called Reformed religion in which it might have been allowed for personal consideration, or on account of the privileges of their fiefs, if the said fiefs are at present in the possession of persons of the said Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic religion.

11. In addition, each of the old *bailliages*, *senechaussees*, and governments holding, the place of *bailliages*, which are simply and without an intermediate instance under the jurisdiction of the courts of parlement, we order that in the suburbs of one city, other than those which have been granted to them by the said edict, private articles, and conferences, and where there are no cities, in a small town or village, the exercise of the said so-called Reformed religion may be made publicly by all those who may wish to go there, even though in the said *bailliages*, *senechaussees*, and governments there may be several places in which the said exercise may be at present established; the cities in which there is an archbishopric or bishopric are excluded and excepted for the said place in each *bailliage* newly granted by the present edict, although the members of the said so-called Reformed religion shall nevertheless not be prevented from requesting and naming as the place of the said exercise small towns and villages close to the said cities, excepting also the places and lordships belonging to ecclesiastics, in which we must not be understood as allowing the said place of the *bailliage* to be established, these being excepted and reserved by special grace. We wish and understand, under the name of old *bailliages*, to speak to those which in the time of the late King Henri, our most honored lord and father-in-law, were held as *bailliages*, *senechaussees*, and governments falling without intermediary under the jurisdiction of our said courts.

12. We do not intend by the present edict to derogate from the edicts and agreements formerly made for the submission of any princes, lords, gentlemen, and Catholic cities of our obedience in what concerns the exercise of the said religion; which edicts and agreements shall be kept and observed in regard to this matter as shall be determined by the instructions of the commissioners who shall be appointed for the execution of the present edict.

13. We expressly forbid all persons of the said religion from making any exercise of it, either of ministry, regulation, discipline, or public instruction of

children, and any other kind, in this our kingdom and in the lands of our obedience, in what concerns religion, except in those places permitted and granted in the present edict.

As also from performing any public exercise of the said religion in our court and train, and also in our lands and countries which are beyond the mountains [in Italy], and also in our city of Paris, nor within five leagues of the said city; nevertheless, the members of the said religion, dwelling in the said lands and countries beyond the mountains and in our said city and within five leagues around it, shall not be searched out in their homes, nor be compelled to do anything in regard to their religion contrary to their conscience, comporting themselves otherwise according to what is contained in the present edict.

15. Nor may a public exercise of the said religion be made in the armies, except at the quarters of the leaders who shall make profession of it, always excepting the quarter where the lodging of our person will be found.

16. In accord with the twelfth article of the Conference of Nerac, we permit those of the said religion to build places for the exercise of it in the towns and locations where it has been granted them, and those which they have hitherto built shall be restored to them, or the sites of them, in such state as they may be at present, even in those places where the exercise of their worship is not allowed, except where they have been changed into other kinds of buildings. In that case there shall be given to them, by the possessors of the said buildings, places and locations of the same price and value which they had before they were built on, or a just estimation thereof according to the word of experts; reserving to the said possessors and proprietors all appropriate legal recourse.

17. We forbid all preachers, readers, and others who speak in public from using any words, discourses, and terms tending to excite the people to sedition; rather we have enjoined and do enjoin them to contain themselves and carry themselves modestly and to say nothing which is not to the edification and instruction of their listeners and for the maintenance of the repose and tranquility which we have established in our said kingdom, under the penalties provided in preceding edicts. We expressly enjoin our *procureurs-generaux* and their substitutes to bring cases against those who

violate them, under pain of answering in their own private persons, and of privation of their offices.

18. We also forbid all other subjects, of whatever quality or condition they may be, from bearing away children of the said religion by force or persuasion against the will of their parents, in order to have them baptized or confirmed in the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church. The same prohibitions are made to members of the so-called Reformed religion, under pain of exemplary punishment.

19. Those of the said so-called Reformed religion shall in no way be constrained nor continue to be obligated by abjurations, promises, and oaths that they have formerly made, or sureties given by them, with regard to the said religion, and they shall not be molested or disturbed on account of these in any manner whatsoever.

20. They shall be required to keep and observe the feasts prescribed in the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church and shall not work, sell, or open their shops on those days; neither shall artisans work outside their shops and in closed rooms and houses, on the said feast days, and other forbidden days, at any trade the noise of which can be heard outside by passers-by or neighbors. Nevertheless, no search shall be made except by the officers of justice.

21. Books concerning the said so-called Reformed religion may not be printed and sold publicly except in the cities and places where the public exercise of the said religion is permitted. And as for other books which shall be printed in other cities, they shall be viewed and inspected both by our officers and by theologians, as it is specified in our ordinances. We very expressly forbid the printing, publication, and sale of all defamatory books, libels, and writings, under the penalties contained in our ordinances, enjoining all our judges and officers to carry this out.

22. We order that there shall be no difference or distinction made with regard to the said religion in receiving students to be instructed in the universities, colleges, and schools, as well as for the sick and poor in hospitals, sickhouses, and public charities.

23. Those of the so-called Reformed religion shall be required to keep the laws of the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church received in this our kingdom with regard to degrees of consanguinity and affinity in marriages which have been and shall be contracted. Likewise, the members of the said religion shall

pay the entrance fees, as is customary, for the charges and offices which they shall be granted, without being required to attend any ceremonies contrary to their said religion; and when they are called to be sworn, they shall only be required to raise their hand and to swear and promise to God that they will tell the truth. Nor shall they be required to obtain dispensation for the oath which they offer in undertaking contracts and obligations.

25. We wish and order that all members of the said so-called Reformed religion and others who have followed their party, of whatever estate, quality, or condition they may be, should be obliged and constrained by all due and reasonable means, and under the penalties contained in the edicts, to pay and discharge tithes to the curates and other ecclesiastics, and to all others to whom they may belong, according to local usage and custom.

26. Disheritance or dispossession made solely out of hatred or concern for religion, either by arrangement among the living or by testament, shall not be accepted among our subjects either for the past or for the future.

27. In order to reunite the wills of our subjects all the better, as is our intention, and to remove all occasion for complaint, we declare all those making profession of the said so-called Reformed religion capable of holding and exercising all estates, dignities, offices, and public charges whatsoever, royal, seigniorial, or in the cities of our said kingdom, lands, estates, and seigniorships of our obedience, notwithstanding all oaths contrary to this, and to be admitted and received into them without prejudice; and our courts of parlement and other judges will content themselves with informing themselves and inquiring into the lives, morals, religion, and respectable conduct of those of both religions who shall be provided with offices, without taking from them any oath other than to serve the king well and faithfully in the exercise of their charges and to keep the ordinances, as has been done for all time. Also, when the said estates, charges, and offices become vacant, for those of which we dispose we shall distribute them indifferently and without distinction to capable persons, as a matter which regards the union of our subjects. We also understand that those of the said so-called Reformed religion may be admitted and received into all counsels, deliberations, assemblies,

and functions which are involved in the above-mentioned positions, nor may they be excluded from them or prevented from their enjoyment on account of the said religion.

28. We order, in regard to the burial of the dead of those of the said religion in all the cities and places of this kingdom, that there be promptly provided the most commodious space possible in each place by our officers and magistrates and by the commissioners we shall appoint for the execution of the present edict. And the cemeteries which they have formerly had, and of which they have been deprived on occasion of the troubles, shall be returned to them unless they are at present occupied by structures and buildings of whatever sort, in which case others shall be provided to them free of charge.

29. We expressly command our said officers to see to it that no scandal is committed at the said burials; and they shall be required to provide the members of the said religion a commodious place for the said burials within fifteen days after the requisition which will be made, without putting it off or engaging in delays, under penalty of a fine of five hundred *écus* to be paid in their own private persons. It is also forbidden for the said officers, as well as all others, to charge anything for the transport of these dead bodies, under the penalties prescribed for embezzlement. So that justice may be given and administered to our subjects without any suspicion, hatred, or favor, as being one of the principal means of maintaining them in peace and concord, we have ordered and do order that there shall be established a chamber in our court of Parlement of Paris, composed of a president and sixteen councilors of the said parlement, which shall be named and entitled the Chamber of the Edict [*chambre de l'édit*], and shall have cognizance not only of the cases and suits of those of the so-called Reformed religion who shall be within the jurisdiction of the said court; but also from the territories of our Parlements of Normandy and Brittany, according to the jurisdiction which shall be assigned to them by this edict below, and until a chamber shall be established in each of the said parlements to render justice in that place. We also order that in the four offices of councilors in our said parlement remaining from the last enlargement made by us, there shall shortly be presented and received to this parlement, four sufficient and capable persons of the so-called

Reformed religion, who shall be distributed as follows: the first to be appointed to the said Chamber of the Edict, and the other three, as they shall be selected, to three of the Chambers of Inquests [*chambres des enquêtes*]. Moreover, the first two offices of lay councilors of said court which shall become vacant by death shall also be filled by two persons of the said so-called Reformed religion; and these shall be distributed to the other two Chambers of Inquests.

31. Besides the chamber formerly established at Castres for the jurisdiction of our court of Parlement of Toulouse, which shall be continued in the state in which it is now, we have for the same considerations ordered and do order that in each of our courts of Parlement of Grenoble and Bordeaux there shall be likewise established a chamber composed of two presidents, one Catholic and the other of the so-called Reformed religion, and of twelve councilors, of whom six shall be Catholics and the other six of the said religion; which Catholic presidents and councilors shall be taken and chosen by us from the bodies of our said courts. And as for those of the said religion, one president and six councilors shall be newly created in the Parlement of Bordeaux, and one president and three councilors in that of Grenoble, who, with the three councilors of the said religion who are presently in the said parlement, shall be employed in the said chamber of Dauphine. And the said offices shall be newly created with the same salary, honors, authorities, and pre-eminences as others of the said courts. And the said chamber of Bordeaux shall sit at the said Bordeaux or at Nîmes, and that of Dauphine, at Grenoble.

32 The said chamber of Dauphine shall have cognizance of the cases of those of the so-called Reformed religion from the jurisdiction of our Parlement of Provence, without the necessity of obtaining letters of evocation, nor other provisions, except in our chancery of Dauphine'. As also those of the said religion in Normandy and Brittany shall not be required to obtain letters of evocation, nor other provisions, except in our chancery of Paris.

33. Our subjects of the religion under the Parlement of Burgundy shall have the choice and option of pleading in the chamber ordered at Paris, or in that of Dauphine. And they, too, shall not be required to obtain letters of evocation or other provisions except in the said chanceries of Paris, or of

Dauphine, according to the option which they shall take.

34. All of the said chambers composed as has been said shall have cognizance and judge by decree sovereignly and without appeal, excluding all others, in suits and quarrels filed and to be filed, in which those of the said so-called Reformed religion shall be the principal parties and guarantors, whether plaintiff or defendant, in all matters both civil and criminal, whether conducted in writing or orally. And this applies to cases yet to be filed if it seems good to the said parties, and one of them demands it before the suit is heard. This excludes, however, all matters respecting benefices and the possessory of non-laicized tithes, of ecclesiastical patronage, and cases which concern the rights and duties or the domain of the [Catholic] Church, which shall be treated and judged in the courts of parlement, without the said chambers of the edict having jurisdiction. So, too, we desire, as to the judgments and decision of criminal cases which shall arise between the said ecclesiastics and those of the said so-called Reformed religion; when the ecclesiastic shall be the defendant, in that case the cognizance and judgment of the criminal case shall belong to our sovereign courts, excluding the said chambers; but when the ecclesiastic shall be the plaintiff, and the defendant is of the said religion, the cognizance and judgment shall belong by appeal and without further instance to the said established chambers. During the vacations the said chambers shall also have cognizance of the matters assigned to the chambers established for the vacations [dial is, the *chambres des vacations* of the parlements] in the edicts and ordinances, each in its own jurisdiction.

35. Starting immediately, the said chamber of Grenoble shall be united and incorporated with the body of the said court of parlement, and die presidents and councilors of the said so-called Reformed religion shall be named presidents and councilors of the said court, and considered to be of their rank and number. And, to these ends, they shall at first be distributed among the other chambers and then extracted and taken out of them to be employed and to serve in the one which we newly order; always with the requirement that they shall attend and have voice and seat in all the deliberations which shall take place with the chambers assembled, and shall enjoy the same wages, authorities, and pre-eminences as the other

presidents and councilors of me said court.

36. We wish and understand dial the said chambers of Castres and Bordeaux shall be reunited and incorporated into those parlements in the same way as the others, when it shall be necessary, and that the causes which moved us to establish them shall cease and no longer take place among our subjects. And for these ends their presidents and councilors of the said religion shall be named and considered to be presidents and councilors of said courts.

37. There shall also be created and newly erected, in the chamber ordained for the Parlement of Bordeaux, two substitutes of our *procureurs*- and attorneys-general, of whom the substitute for the *procureur* shall be a Catholic, and the other of the said religion, who shall be appointed to said offices at ready wages.

38. All of the said substitutes shall claim no other quality than that of substitutes; and when the chambers ordered for the Parlements of Toulouse and Bordeaux shall be united and incorporated with the said parlements, the said substitutes shall be provided with offices of councilors in them..

39. Documents sent by the chancery of Bordeaux shall be made in the presence of two councilors of this chamber, of whom one shall be Catholic and the other of the said so-called Reformed religion, in the absence of one of the masters of requests of our palace; and one of the notaries and secretaries of the said court of Parlement of Bordeaux, or one of the ordinary secretaries of the chancery, shall make his residence at the place where the said chamber shall be established to sign the documents sent by the said chancery.

40. We wish and order that in the said chamber of Bordeaux there shall be two assistants of the clerk of the said parlement, one for the civil and the other for the criminal branch, who shall exercise their charges by our commissions, and shall be called the assistants to the civil and criminal clerkship, and yet they may not have their positions taken away or revoked by the said clerks of the parlement. However, they shall be bound to hand over the revenue of the said clerkships to the said clerks; the said assistants shall be salaried by the said clerks as it shall be determined and agreed upon by the said chamber. Besides these, Catholic ushers shall be appointed, who shall be taken from the said court or elsewhere, according to our good pleasure, besides whom two of the said religion shall be newly created and provided with their positions without charge. And all the said ushers shall be regulated by the said chamber, both in the exercise and conduct [reading 'deportment' for 'department'] of their charges and in the revenues which they should collect. Commissions shall also be prepared for officials to pay the wages and collect the fines of the said chamber, to be filled however it shall please us, if the said chamber is established elsewhere than in the said city; and the commission previously given to the official for paying the wages of the chamber of Castres shall take effect fully and entirely, and the commission for collecting fines of the said chamber shall be joined to the said charge.

41. Good and sufficient revenues shall be assigned for the wages of the officers of the chambers ordained by this edict.

The presidents, councilors, and other Catholic

officers of the said chambers shall continue in office as long as is possible and as we shall see useful for our service and for the good of our subjects; and when some are released, others shall be provided in their places before their departure, nor shall they be able to depart or absent themselves from the said chambers during the time of their service without the permission of those chambers, which shall be judged according to the cases of the ordinance.

43. The said chambers shall be established within six months, during which (so long as the establishment remains to be made) suits filed and to be filed within the jurisdiction of our Parlements of Paris, Rouen, Dijon, and Rennes, to which those of the said religion are parties, shall be evoked to the chamber currently established at Paris, in virtue of the Edict of 1577, or else to the *grand conseil*, at the choice and option of those of the said religion, if they demand it; those which shall be in the Parlement of Bordeaux, [shall be heard] in the chamber established at Castres, or in the said *grand conseil*, at their choice; and those which shall be of Provence, in the Parlement of Grenoble. And if the said chambers are not established within three months after the presentation which shall be made there of our present edict, such of our parlements as shall have refused so to do, shall be prohibited from taking cognizance of and judging the cases of those of the said religion.

44. Suits not yet decided, pending in the said courts of the parlement and *grand conseil* of the above-mentioned quality, shall be returned in whatever state they may be to the said chambers, each in its own jurisdiction, within four months after their establishment if one of the parties of the said religion demands it. And as to those which shall be discontinued, and not ripe for judgment, the said persons of the religion shall be required to make a declaration when it is first indicated and signified to them that they are being pursued; and the said time being passed, they shall no longer be received in demanding the said returns.

45. The said chambers of Grenoble and Bordeaux, as well as that of Castres, shall follow the forms and

styles of the parlements within whose jurisdictions they shall be established, and shall sit to pass judgment in equal numbers of the one and the other religion, if the parties do not agree otherwise.

46. All judges who shall be called on to carry out the decrees, the commissions of the said chambers, and letters obtained in their chanceries, as well as all ushers and sergeants, shall be required to place them in execution, and the said ushers and sergeants to undertake all actions of enforcement throughout our kingdom, without demanding *placet, visa, or pareatis* [all chancery documents], under penalty of suspension from their estates and of the expenses, damages, and interests of the parties, the cognizance of which shall belong to the said parties.

47. No evocations shall be granted of cases the cognizance of which is attributed to the said chambers, except in cases concerning the ordinances, which shall be sent to the closest chamber established according to our edict. And the suits of the said chambers where the judges divide evenly will be judged in the closest one, observing the proportion and forms of the said chambers from which the suits shall have originated. This except for the Chamber of the Edict in our Parlement of Paris, where such suits shall be resolved in the same chamber by the judges who will be named by us by our private letters for this purpose, if the parties do not prefer to await the renewal of the said chamber. And if it should happen that the same suit should lead to a tie in all of the *chambres mi-parties*, the resolution will be referred to the said chamber of Paris.

48. Recusals which shall be requested against the presidents and councilors of the *chambres mi-parties* may be entertained up to the number of six, to which number the parties shall be required to limit themselves; beyond this, matters will proceed without regard to the said recusals.

The examination of presidents and councilors newly created for the said *chambres mi-parties* shall be made in our *conseil prive* or by the said courts, each in its own territory, when they shall have sufficient numbers. But nevertheless the customary oath shall be taken by them in the courts where the said chambers shall be established, and if they refuse, in our *conseil prive*, except for those of the chamber of Languedoc, who shall take the oath before our chancellor, or in that chamber.

50. We wish and order that the reception of our officers of the said religion should be judged in the said *chambres mi-parties* by a plurality of voices, as is customary in other judgments, without the necessity that the votes should surpass two-thirds as the ordinance has it, from which in this regard we derogate.

51. There shall be made in the said chambers those proposals, deliberations, and resolutions which will concern the public peace, the individual state, and the administration of the towns in which those chambers shall be.

52. The article of jurisdiction of the said chambers ordered by the present edict shall be followed and observed according to its form and tenor, even hi what concerns the execution and lack of execution or infraction of our edicts, when those of the said religion shall be parties.

53. Subordinate officers, royal or otherwise, whose reception is entrusted to our courts of parlement, if they are of the said so-called Reformed religion, shall be examined and received in the said chambers; that is, those within the jurisdictions of the Parlements of Paris, Normandy, and Brittany, in the said chamber of Paris; those of Dauphine and Provence, in the chamber of Grenoble; those of Burgundy, in the said chamber of Paris, or of Dauphine', at their choice; those in the jurisdiction of Toulouse, in the chamber of Castres; and those in the Parlement of Bordeaux, in the chamber of Guyenne. Nor may any others except our *procureurs-generaux* or their substitutes, and those provided with the said offices, oppose their reception and make themselves parties to the matter. But nevertheless they shall take

the customary oath in the courts of parlement, which may take no cognizance of their said reception; and if the said parlements refuse to do this, the said officers shall take the oath in the said chambers. After it has been taken, they shall be required to present the act of their admittance to the clerks of the said courts of parlement by an usher or notary, and to leave a collated copy with the said clerks, who are enjoined to register the said acts, under penalty of being liable for all charges, damages, and interest of the parties. And, in case the said clerks shall refuse to do this, it shall

suffice for the said officers to report the act of the said summons sent by way of the said ushers or notaries, and to have it registered by the clerks of their said [individual] jurisdictions, to have recourse to it when necessary, under penalty of the nullification of their procedures and judgments. And as for the officers whose reception is not accustomed to be made in our said parlements, in case those to whom it belongs shall refuse to proceed with the said examination and reception, the said officers shall bring the matter before the said chambers, to be dealt with by them as shall be appropriate.

54. The officers of the said so-called Reformed religion who shall be provided with offices in the future to serve in the bodies of our said courts of parlement, *grand conseil*, chambers of accounts, courts of aids, bureaux of the treasurers-general of France, and other officers of the finances, shall be examined and received in such places as they are accustomed to be; and, in case of refusal or denial of justice, they shall be admitted in our *conseil prive*. The reception of our officers in the chamber formerly established at Castres shall remain valid, notwithstanding all decrees and ordinances to the contrary. Also valid are the receptions of judges, councilors, *elus*, and other officers of the said religion made in our *conseil prive*, or by commissioners ordained by us on the occasion of refusals of our courts of parlement, of aids, and chambers of accounts, just as if they had been made in the said courts and chambers and by the other judges to whom the reception belonged. And their wages shall be allowed by the chambers of accounts without difficulties; and if any have been removed from the records, they shall be reinstated without any other order than the present decree, and without the said officers being obliged to appear for a new reception, notwithstanding all court decrees given to the contrary, which shall remain null and void.

56. Until there shall be means of meeting the expenses of justice of the said chambers on the revenue from fines, a valuable and sufficient assignment shall be provided by us in order to provide for the said expenses, though the same funds shall not be raised again on the goods of the condemned.

57. The president and councilors of the said religion formerly received into our court of Parlement of Dauphine, and in the Chamber of the Edict

[*chambre de l'edit*] incorporated with it, shall continue in office and hold their seats and order therein; that is to say, the presidents, as they have enjoyed them and do enjoy them at present; and the councilors, according to the decrees and provisions which they have obtained on the matter in our *conseil prive*.

58. We declare all sentences, court decrees, procedures, seizures, sales, and decrees made and given against persons of the so-called Reformed religion, living or dead, since the decree of the late King Henri II, our most honored lord and father-in-law, on account of the said religion and of the tumults and disturbances arising thereafter, together with the execution of the said judgments and decrees, to be broken, revoked, and annulled effective immediately, and we do break, revoke, and annul them. We order that they shall be struck out and excluded from the registers of the courts, both sovereign and inferior. We likewise wish that all marks, vestiges, and monuments of the said executions, books, and defamatory acts against their persons, memory, and posterity, shall be destroyed and effaced; and that the sites where demolitions and razings have been made on such occasions shall be returned in such state as they are to their proprietors, to enjoy and dispose of them as they please. And generally, we have broken, revoked, and annulled all procedures and investigations undertaken for any kind of enterprises [against the state], so called crimes of lese majeste, and others. Which procedures, decrees, and judgments containing the confiscation [of Protestant goods], reunion, and incorporation [thereof into the royal domain] notwithstanding, we desire that those of the said religion, and others who have followed their party, and their heirs, shall re-enter into real and immediate possession of all and each of their goods.

59. All procedures instituted and judgments and decrees given, in any other matter than religion and the troubles, against those of the said religion who have borne arms, or have withdrawn out of our kingdom, or within it to the cities and areas held by them, together with all pre-emptions of instances, legal, contractual, and customary prescriptions, and feudal seizures which have befallen during the said troubles or because of legitimate obstacles deriving from them, and of which the cognizance remains with our judges, shall be taken as not having been made, given, or come about. And we so have declared and

do declare them, and have made and do make them null, so that the parties cannot in any way make use of them, but rather they shall be put back into the condition in which they were formerly, notwithstanding the said decrees and their execution; and they shall be put back in the possession which they had in these matters. The above will likewise apply to those who have followed the party of those of the said religion, or who were absent from our kingdom on account of the troubles. And as for minor children of the said quality who died during the troubles, we place the parties back in the same condition in which they formerly were, without refunding expenses nor being obliged to return fines. However, we do not intend that the judgments given by presidial judges or other inferior judges against persons of the said religion, or who have followed their party, shall be considered null if they were given by judges sitting in towns which they held, and to which they had free access.

60. The decrees given in our courts of parlement in matters where jurisdiction belongs to the chambers instituted by the Edict of the year 1577, and the articles of Nerac and Fleix, in which courts the parties have not proceeded voluntarily, that is to say, have alleged lack of jurisdiction and moved for dismissal, or which have been given by default or foreclosure, in civil and criminal matters equally, notwithstanding which exceptions the said parties have been compelled to continue, shall, in like manner, be null and of no value. And with regard to decrees rendered against those of the said religion who have proceeded voluntarily and without having moved for dismissal for lack of jurisdiction, those decrees shall remain in force. But nevertheless, without prejudice to their execution, they can, if it seems good, take recourse for [reading 'pour' for 'par'] the previous judgments by civil request before the relevant chamber. And until the said chambers and their chanceries shall be established, verbal or written appeals interposed by those of the said religion before the judges, clerks, or assistants charged with executing the said decrees and judgments shall have the same effect as if they were authorized by royal letters.

61. In all inquests which shall be made for whatever cause in civil cases, if the examiner or commissioner is a Catholic, the parties shall be bound to choose an adjunct who shall be of the said so-called Reformed religion, and if they cannot agree on one,

one shall be furnished by the authority of the said examiner or commissioner; and the same shall be done when the examiner or commissioner shall be of the said religion, with a Catholic adjunct.

62. We wish and order that our judges may have cognizance of the validity of wills in which persons of the said religion have an interest, if they demand it; and the appeals of the said judgments can be brought up by persons of the said religion, notwithstanding all customs to the contrary, even those of Brittany.

63. To avoid all differences which might arise between the courts of parlement and the chambers of those courts ordered by our present edict, we shall provide a good and ample regulation between the said courts and chambers, such that persons of the said so-called Reformed religion shall enjoy this edict in its entirety; which regulation shall be verified in our courts of parlement, and kept and observed without regard to the previous ones.

64. We prohibit and forbid all our sovereign courts, and other of this kingdom, from taking cognizance of and judging civil and criminal suits of those of the said religion, the cognizance of which is given by our edict to the said chambers, as long as their return [to the chambers] is demanded as is specified in 40 [sic: actually 44], above.

65. We also desire, provisionally and until we have otherwise ordered, that in all suits filed and to be filed where persons of the said religion shall have the status of either plaintiffs or defendants, principal parties or guarantors, in civil cases in which our officers and presidial courts have power to judge without recourse, they shall be allowed to demand that two members of the chamber where the suit is to be judged abstain from the judgment; who, without cause being given, shall be required to do so, notwithstanding the ordinance by which the judges may not hold themselves recused without cause; they meanwhile retaining, besides this, the ordinary legal recusations against the other judges. And in criminal cases in which the said presidial and other judges also judge without recourse, the accused of the said religion may demand that three of the said judges shall abstain from the judgment of their cases without giving cause. And the provosts of the marshals of France, *vice-baillis*, *vice-seneschaux*, lieutenants of the short robe, and other officers of similar status shall judge vagrants according to the ordinances and regulations previously

given. And as to those with a fixed residence charged and accused in cases belonging to the provosts, if they are of the said religion, they can demand that three of the said judges who may have cognizance abstain from the judgment of their case, and they shall be bound to abstain, without cause being given, unless there shall be found in the company where the said cases are to be judged at least two of the said religion in civil matters, and three in criminal matters, in which case no recusations shall be made without reason being given; this will be allowed in common and reciprocally to Catholics in the manner described above, with regard to the said recusations of judges, where those of the so-called Reformed religion shall be in the greater number. We do not intend, however, that the said presidial courts, provosts of the marshals, *vice-baillis*, *vice-seneschaux* and others who judge without recourse, shall in consequence of what is now said, take cognizance of past troubles. And as to crimes and excesses arising from other occasions than the said troubles since the beginning of March 1585 up until the end of the year 1597, where they do take cognizance we desire that there shall be an appeal from their judgments to the chambers ordered by this edict; as it shall be done likewise for Catholic accomplices, and where those of the said so-called Reformed religion are parties.

66. We also wish and order that henceforth in all investigations other than investigations in criminal cases, in the *senechaussees* of Toulouse, Carcassonne, Rouergue, Loraguais, Beziers, Montpellier, and Mimes, that the magistrate or commissioner assigned to the said investigation, if he is a Catholic, shall be required to take an adjunct on whom the parties shall agree who shall be of the said so-called Reformed religion, and when they cannot agree, one of the said religion shall be selected by the said magistrate or commissioner on his authority. So, similarly, if the said magistrate or commissioner is of the said religion, he shall be required in the same way described above to take a Catholic adjunct.

67. When there shall be a question of instituting a criminal case by the provosts of the marshals, or their lieutenants, against anyone of the said religion with a fixed address who shall be charged and accused of a crime to be tried by provosts, the said provosts, or their lieutenants, if they are Catholics, shall be bound to call to the investigation an adjunct of the said

religion, which adjunct shall assist as well in judging the competence of the tribunal and in the definitive judgment of the case; which competence may not be judged except at the nearest presidial seat in assembly with the principal judges of the said seat who shall be found on that place, under pain of nullity, unless the accused requests that the competence be judged in the said chambers ordained by the present edict. In that case, for those domiciled in the provinces of Guyenne, Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphine, the substitutes of our *procureurs-generaux* in the said chambers shall, at the request of those domiciled persons, cause to be brought into those chambers the charges and informations made against them, in order to decide and judge if the cases are under the jurisdiction of the provosts or not, so that afterwards, according to the quality of the crimes, they may be sent back to the ordinary jurisdiction by the chambers, or judged under the authority of the provosts, as they shall see fit and reasonable to do, observing the contents of our present edict. And the presidial judges, provosts of marshals, *vice-baillis*, *vice-senenchaux*, and others who judge without recourse shall be bound respectively to obey and satisfy the commands which shall be made to them by the said chambers, just as they have been accustomed to do for the said parlements, under penalty of being deprived of their estates.

68. The proclamations, posters, and auctions of inheritances of which the decree is being pursued shall be made at the accustomed places and times, if it can be done, according to our ordinances, or else in the public markets, if there is a market in the place where the said inheritance is situated, and where there is none, they shall be made at the nearest market within the territory of the court where the matter is to be adjudicated, and the posters shall be placed on the post of the said market and in the entrance to the auditorium of the said place, and by this means the said proclamations shall be good and valid, and one shall proceed to the interposition of the decree without regard to the nullities which may be alleged in this regard.

69. All titles, papers, vouchers, and documents which have been taken, shall be returned and restored, by one side and the other, to those to whom they belong, even where the said papers, or the castles and houses in which they were kept, have been taken and seized, either by special commissions of the late king

last deceased, our very honored lord and brother-in-law, or our own, or by the commands of the governors and lieutenants-general of our provinces, or by the authority of the leaders of either party, or under whatever other pretext there might be.

70. The children of those who have withdrawn from our kingdom since the death of the late King Henri II, our very honored lord and father-in-law, on account of religion and the troubles, even though the said children have been born outside this kingdom, shall be considered true Frenchmen and citizens; and so we have declared and do declare them, without it being necessary for them to take letters of naturalization or other provisions from us besides our present edict; notwithstanding all ordinances to the contrary, from which we have derogated and do derogate, on the condition that the said children born in foreign countries shall be required to come dwell in this kingdom within ten years after the publication of the present edict.

71. Those of the said so-called Reformed religion, and others who have followed their party, who have leased registry fees or other domains, salt taxes, taxes on fairs, and other rights belonging to us before the troubles, which they have been unable to enjoy because of those troubles, shall remain not liable, as we now declare them not liable, for [payment for] that which they have not received of the said finances or that they have paid without fraud elsewhere than to the receivers of our finances, notwithstanding all obligations undertaken by them on this.

72. All places, towns, and provinces of our kingdom, countries, lands, and lordships of our obedience shall have and enjoy the same privileges, immunities, liberties, franchises, fairs, markets, jurisdictions, and seats of justice as they did before the troubles, beginning with the month of March 1585, and others preceding, notwithstanding all letters to the contrary and transfers of any of the said seats elsewhere; provided that they have been made solely on account of the troubles. Which seats shall be returned and re-established in the towns and places where they were before.

73. If there are any prisoners who are still held by the authority of justice, or otherwise, even in the galleys, on account of the troubles or of the said religion, they shall be released and set at full liberty.

74. Those of the said religion may not in the future

be surcharged and burdened more than the Catholics with any ordinary or extraordinary charges, according to their goods and faculties; and those parties who claim to be excessively charged may have recourse to the judges to whom the cognizance belongs. And all our subjects, both of the Catholic and of the so-called Reformed religion, shall be indifferently relieved from all charges which have been imposed by one side and the other during the troubles on those who were of the opposite party without their consent, together with debts created and not paid and expenses incurred without their consent, without, however, their being able to reclaim the fruits which would have been employed to the payment of the said charges.

75. Nor do we mean that those of the said religion, and others who have followed their party, nor the Catholics who remained in the towns and places occupied and held by them, and have contributed to them, shall be pursued for the payment of *tallies*, aids, grants, increase, *taillon*, utensils, reparations, and other impositions and subsidies which fell due and were imposed during the troubles before and up to our accession to the crown, whether by edicts, commands of the late kings our predecessors, or by the advice and deliberation of the governors and estates of the provinces, courts of parlement and others, from which we have discharged and do discharge them, forbidding the treasurer-general of France and of our finances, general and special receivers, their subordinates and agents, and other intendants and commissioners of our said finances, from searching them out, molesting, or disturbing them, directly or indirectly, in whatever way there may be.

76. All leaders, lords, knights, gentlemen, officers, corporations of cities and communities, and all others who have aided and succored them, their widows, heirs, and successors, shall remain quit and discharged of the payments of all moneys which have been taken and levied by them and their ordinances, both of royal funds, to whatever sum it may amount, and of towns and communities, and private individuals, of rents, revenues, plate, sale of movable goods, ecclesiastical or otherwise, woods with standing timber whether of the royal domain or otherwise, fines, booty, ransoms, or money of any other nature, taken by them on account of the troubles begun in the month of March 1585, and other troubles preceding up to our accession to the crown; nor may

those who have been commissioned by them to levy the said funds, or who have put up or furnished them by their ordinances be pursued for them in any way at present, nor in the future. And they shall remain quit, both themselves and their subordinates, for all the management and administration of the said funds in bringing in for full discharge quittances duly issued by the leaders of those of the said religion, or of those commissioned by them to hear and close their accounts, or of the communities of the towns which have had command and authority during the said troubles, within four months after the publication of the present edict made in our court of Parlement of Paris. In the same way they shall remain quit and not liable for all acts of hostility, the levy and conduct of troops, the fabrication and valuation of money made according to the ordinances of the said leaders, the casting and seizure of artillery and munitions, the manufacture of powder and saltpeter, seizures, fortifications, dismantling and demolitions of towns, castles, fortified towns and villages, attacks upon them, the burning and destruction of churches and houses, the establishment of justices and their judgments and the execution of the same, both in civil and criminal matters, administration and regulations made within them, voyages and intelligences, negotiations, treaties, and contracts made with all foreign princes and communities, and the introduction of the said foreigners into the towns and other areas of our kingdom, and generally for all that has been done, overseen, and negotiated during the said troubles, since the death of the late King Henri II, our very honored lord and brother-in-law, by those of the said religion and others who have followed their party, even though it ought to be particularly expressed and specified.

77. Those of the said religion shall also remain not liable for all general and provincial assemblies made and held by them, both at Mantes and at other places up to the present time, together with the councils established by them and ordered by the provinces, deliberations, ordinances, and regulations made at the said assemblies and councils, establishment and augmentation of garrisons, assembly of troops, raising and taking of our funds, either in the hands of the receivers-general or particular, parish collectors, or otherwise, in whatever fashion it may be, seizure of salt taxes, continuation or erection anew of trade

monopolies, tolls, and the receipts from them, even at Royan, and upon the banks of the Charente, Garonne, the Rhone, and Dordogne, armaments and combats at sea, and all accidents and excesses committed to force payment of the said commerces, tolls, and other funds, the fortification of cities, castles, and strongholds, exactions of money and labor, receipts thereof, destitution of our receivers and leaseholders, and other officers, the establishment of others in their place, and of all unions, dispatches, and negotiations made both within and outside our kingdom; and generally of all which has been done, deliberated, written, and ordered by the said assemblies and councils; nor may those who have given their advice, signed, executed, or caused to be signed and executed, the said ordinances, regulations, and deliberations, nor their widows, heirs, and successors be molested for it, now or in the future, even though the particulars of these actions are not fully described here. And perpetual silence about the entire matter shall be imposed on our *procureurs-generaux* and their substitutes, and on all those who may pretend to be interested parties, in whatever fashion and manner it may be, notwithstanding all decrees, sentences, judgments, investigations, and procedures made to the contrary.

78. Moreover, we approve, validate, and authorize the accounts which have been heard, closed, and examined by the deputies of the said assembly. We wish that these, with the quittances and papers which have been rendered by the accountants, should be taken to our Chamber of Accounts at Paris three months after the publication of the present edict, and placed in the hands of our *procureur-general*, to be delivered to the keeper of the books and registers of our Chamber, to be consulted on all occasions when it is found necessary without the said accounts being subject to review, nor the accountants bound to any appearance or correction except in the case of the omission of the receipt of a sum, or of false quittances; imposing silence on our said *procureur-general* with regard to claims which may be made that the surplus is defective, and that formalities may not have been observed. Forbidding the officers of our accounts, both at Paris and in other provinces where they are established, from taking any cognizance thereof in whatever way or manner it may be.

79. And with regard to the accounts which have not yet been rendered, we wish them to be heard,

closed, and examined by commissioners who shall be appointed by us, who shall pass and allocate without difficulty the accounts paid by the said accountants, in virtue of the ordinances of the said assembly, or others having power.

80. All collectors, receivers, fiscal leaseholders, and all others, shall remain well and duly discharged of all sums of money that they have paid to the said deputies of the said assembly, of whatever nature they may be, up to the last day of this month. We wish all of this to be passed and allocated in the accounts which shall be rendered at our Chambers of Accounts, purely and simply, in virtue of the quittances which shall be brought in; and if any shall have been expedited or delivered thereafter, they shall remain null, and those who accept or pass them shall be condemned to the fine for fraudulent use. And where there shall be any accounts already rendered in which anything has been struck out or added, in this respect we have excluded and lifted them, and have entirely re-established and do re-establish the said parties in virtue of these present, without there being any necessity for private letters or any other things than the extract of the present article.

81. Governors, captains, consuls, and persons commissioned for the collection of funds to pay the garrisons of places held by those of the said religion, to whom our receivers and parish collectors shall have advanced the necessary funds for the support of the said garrisons by loan on their promissory notes and obligations, either under constraint or in order to obey the commands made of them by the treasurers-general, up to the amount specified by the regulation which we caused to be issued at the beginning of the year 1596 and the augmentation since granted by us, shall be considered not liable and discharged for that which has been paid for the above mentioned purpose, even if no explicit mention thereof is made in the said promissory notes and obligations, which shall be returned to them as void. And to satisfy them, the treasurers-general in each generality shall have the individual receivers of our *tallies* furnish their quittances to the said collectors, and the receivers-general, their quittances to the individual receivers. For the discharge of which receivers-general, the sums of which they shall have kept account, as has been said, shall be endorsed on the orders levied by the treasurer of the central treasury, under the names of the treasurers-general of

our extraordinary revenues for war, for the payment of the said garrisons. And where the said orders shall not amount to as much as is specified in our said regulation granted in the year 1596 with augmentation, we comirund that in order to supplement it new orders shall be issued for what is lacking for the discharge of our accountants, and the redemption of the said promises and obligations, in such a way that nothing shall be demanded in the future of those who have made them, and that all letters of validation which shall be necessary for the discharge of the accountants shall be issued by virtue of the present article.

82. Also, those of the said religion shall cease and desist immediately from all illicit maneuvers, negotiations, and intelligence, both within and outside our kingdom, and the said assemblies and councils established in the provinces shall dissolve themselves promptly, and all leagues and associations made or to be made to the prejudice of our present edict under whatever pretext there may be shall be broken and annulled, as we now break and annul them; forbidding our subjects very expressly to make henceforth any assessments and levies of funds without our permission, or fortifications, enrollments of men, congregations and assemblies, other than those permitted by our present edict, and without arms; which we prohibit and forbid them to do under penalty of being rigorously punished, as being in contempt and violation of our commands and ordinances.

83. All seizures which have been made atsea during the troubles in virtue of releases and admissions granted, and those which have taken place on land against those of the contrary party, and which have been approved of by judges and commissioners of the admiralty, or by the leaders of those of the said religion or their council, shall remain dormant under the benefit of our present edict without the possibility of the matter being pursued; nor shall the captains and others who have made the said seizures, their sureties, and the said judges, and officers, their widows and heirs, be searched out or molested in whatever manner it may be, notwithstanding all decrees of our *conseil prive* and of the parlements and all letters of marque and seizures pending and not adjudged, which we desire to be fully and completely released.

84. Nor, in the same way, shall those of the said religion be searched out for the opposition and obstacles which they previously placed, even after the

troubles, in the way of the execution of the decrees and judgments given for the re-establishment of the Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic religion in various places in this kingdom.

85. And as for whatever has been done or taken during the troubles outside the regular course of hostilities, or by hostility against the public and private regulations of the leaders or of communities of provinces which have had command, they may be pursued for them at justice.

86. Nevertheless, since if that which was done against the regulations by one side and the other is indifferently excluded and reserved from the general abolition specified in the present edict and is subject to being pursued, there is no soldier who might not be placed under a penalty, which might lead to a renewal of the troubles. For this reason, we wish and order that only execrable cases shall remain excluded from the said abolition; as, kidnapping and rape of women and girls, arson, murders, and thefts by betrayal and lying in wait, outside the regular course of hostilities, and for the exercise of private vengeance against the duties of war, the violation of passports and safe conducts, together with murder and pillage without command, with regard to those of the said religion and others who followed the party of the leaders who have had authority over them, based on the particular occasions which have led them to so command and order.

87. We also order that crimes and offenses committed between persons of the same party shall be punished if it is not a matter of acts commanded by the leaders of one party or the other according to the necessity, law, and order of war. And as to the levy and exaction of funds, bearing of arms, and other exploits of war made by private authority, and without permission, they shall be pursued at justice.

88. In the towns [whose fortifications were] dismantled during the troubles, the ruins and remains of the same may, by our permission, be rebuilt and repaired by the inhabitants, at their cost and expense, and the provisions formerly granted in this regard shall continue and be in force.

89. We order, wish, and it pleases us, that all lords, knights, gentlemen, and others, of whatever quality and condition they may be, of the said religion, and others who have followed their party, shall resume and be effectually preserved in the enjoyment of all

and each of their goods, rights, names, consideration, and actions, notwithstanding the judgments issued concerning them during the troubles and on account of them; which decrees, seizures, and judgments, and everything following on them we have to this end declared and do declare null and without effect and value.

The acquisitions which those of the so-called Reformed religion, and others who have followed their party, have made by the authority of others than of the late kings our predecessors from the real property belonging to the [Catholic] Church shall have no force and effect. Thus we order, wish, and it pleases us, that ecclesiastics shall immediately and without delay resume and be preserved in the real and actual possession and enjoyment of the said properties thus alienated, without being required to return the price of the said sales, and this notwithstanding the said contracts of sale, which for this purpose we have annulled and revoked. Nor yet shall the said purchasers have any claim on the leaders by whose authority the said goods have been sold. But nevertheless, for the reimbursement of funds disbursed by them truly and without fraud, our letters patent of permission shall be issued to persons of the said religion, to impose and equalize on them the sums to which the said sales have amounted; without the said purchasers being able to pretend any action for their damages and interest for being deprived of enjoyment. But rather they shall content themselves with the reimbursement of the funds furnished by them for the price of the said acquisitions; estimating the said price based on the fruits received by them from the properties in case the said sale shall be found to have been made at an extremely low and unjust price.

91. And so that both our justiciars, officers, and our other subjects, may clearly and with all certainty be informed of our will and intention, and to remove all ambiguities and doubts which may be introduced by means of preceding edicts, from their diversity, we have declared and do declare all other preceding edicts, secret articles, letters, declarations, modifications, restrictions, interpretations, decrees, and registers [of] deliberations both secret and otherwise, made heretofore by us or our predecessors in our courts of parlement or elsewhere, concerning matters of the said religion, and the troubles arising in our kingdom, to be null and of no effect and value;

from which, and from the derogations which they contain, we have by this our edict derogated, and do derogate, effective immediately, as for the future we overrule, revoke, and annul them; we expressly declare that we wish this our edict to be firm and inviolable, guarded and observed both by our said justiciars, officers, and our other subjects, without let or any regard to all which may be to the contrary and derogatory to it.

92. And for the greater assurance of the upholding and observance which we desire for this, we will, order, and it pleases us, that all the governors and lieutenants-general of our provinces, *baillis*, *senechaux* and other ordinary judges of the towns of our said kingdom, immediately after the reception of this edict, swear to guard and observe it each in his district, as well as the mayors, *echevins*, *capitouls*, consuls, and *jurats* [all municipal officials] of the towns, annual or perpetual. We also enjoin our *baillis*, *senechaux*, or their lieutenants, and other judges, to have the principal inhabitants of the said towns, both of the one and the other religion, swear to uphold the present edict, immediately after its publication. Placing all those of the said town under our protection and safeguard, and the ones under the protection of the others, requiring them respectively, and by public

acts, to respond in the civil courts for violations which may be made of our said edict in the said towns, by their inhabitants, or else to present and place into the hands of justice the said violators.

We order our beloved and loyal people holding our courts of parliament, chambers of accounts, and courts of aids that immediately after having received the present edict they shall, suspending all other affairs and under penalty of the nullity of all acts which they may otherwise undertake, to make the same oath as above, and to cause this our edict to be registered and published in our said courts according to its form and tenor, purely and simply, without using any modifications, restrictions, declarations, or registers of unpublished resolutions, nor waiting for any other order to publish or command from us; and we order our *procureurs-generaux* to request and pursue the said publication without delay.

Given at Nantes, in the month of April, the year of grace 1598; and of our reign the ninth.
Signed "Henri"; and above, "The King, being in his council, Forget." And sealed with the great seal of green wax, over red and green silk ribbons. Read and published, and registered, etc. Signed, "Voysin."