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Louis XIV

King of [France](#), b. at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, 16 September, 1638; d. at [Versailles](#), 1 September, 1715; was the son of Louis XIII and Anne of Austria, and became king, upon the death of his [father](#), 14 May 1643.

General survey

Until 1661 the real master of [France](#) was [Cardinal Mazarin](#), under whose government his country, victorious over [Austria](#) (1643-48) and [Spain](#) (1643-59), acquired by the Treaties of [Westphalia](#) (1648) and the Pyrennes (1659) Alsace, Artois, and Roussillon, which had already been occupied by [French](#) troops since the days of [Richelieu](#). As a result of the marriage between Louis XIV and [Maria Theresa](#) of [Austria](#), Louis XIV also acquired [rights](#) over the Low Countries. When Louis's personal government began (1661), [France](#) was the arbiter of [Europe](#): she had re-established peace among the Powers of the North (Sweden, [Brandenburg](#), [Denmark](#), and [Poland](#)); she protected the League of the Rhine; and her authority in [Germany](#) was greater than the emperor's. At that period the power of [France](#), established upon the firmest foundations, was perhaps less imposing, but was assuredly more solid, than it became during the most [glorious](#) days of Louis XIV's personal government.

The [memory](#) of those dangers with which the parliamentary Fronde and the Fronde of the nobles (1648-53) had threatened the power of the Crown persuaded the young king that he must govern in absolute fashion, regardless of the still existing provincial relics and local [rights](#). The nobility became a court nobility, and the nobles, instead of residing on their estates where they were influential, became mere ornaments of the Court. The Parliaments, which had hitherto used their [right](#) of registration (*droit d'enregistrement*) of edicts to revise, to some extent, the king's [decrees](#), were trained to submission. The whole power of the State, represented in the provinces by intendants at once docile and energetic, was gathered up in the hands of the king, who consulted, in his council, certain assistants chosen by himself -- [Colbert](#), for finance and [justice](#); Louvois, for [war](#); Lionne, for foreign affairs. [Colbert](#) desired that [France](#) should rule the sea. He did much to develop [French](#) colonial power, but before the end of the reign that power was to enter upon its period of decadence. [Colbert's](#) plans were, indeed, constantly embarrassed by the Continental [wars](#) which Louis undertook. No doubt, the king was forced into some of these [wars](#): it was [necessary](#) to strengthen the [French](#) frontier at certain points. But his [lust](#) of fame, the flattery of his courtiers, and his desire to humiliate [Europe](#) led

him to prefer the [glories](#) of [warfare](#) to the wiser and more durable triumphs which a great maritime development would have secured for [France](#). His [European](#) policy continued those of [Richelieu](#) and of [Mazarin](#) in the struggle against the House of [Austria](#), but it differed, too, from the policies of the two [cardinals](#) in being a policy of religious [creed](#), confronting [Protestantism](#) in [Holland](#) and [England](#).

The [war](#) against [Spain](#) (1667-68) undertaken to enforce the claim of the queen, [Maria Theresa](#), to the sovereignty of the Low Countries (*guerre de dévolution*), in which the king in person accomplished the conquest of [Flanders](#) and made a military promenade in Franche-Comté; the [Dutch War](#) (1672-78), in which Louis distinguished himself by that passage of the Rhine, of which contemporary poets sang, by the siege of Besançon, the definitive conquest of Franche-Comté, (1674), and two campaigns in [Flanders](#) (1676-78); the judiciary and police measures by virtue of which, without any declaration of [war](#), he occupied [Strasbourg](#) (1681), a free and imperial city, as well as several other places on the banks of the Rhine -- all these brought Louis XIV to the apogee of his [glory](#), the [date](#) of which is commonly assigned as the year 1685. But these very successes, the king's habit of not considering himself bound by treaties, and the [pride](#) which led him to commemorate by insulting medals his triumphs over various nations, combined to arouse in [Europe](#) a sort of uprising against [France](#) which found expression in numerous pamphlets, on the one hand, and, on the other, in diplomatic coalitions. The [soul](#) of these coalitions was the [Protestant](#) William of Orange. [The League](#) of [Augsburg](#), formed in 1688 between the emperor, [Spain](#), [Holland](#), and [Savoy](#), set on foot a [war](#) during which Louis himself, in 1691 and 1692, made two campaigns in [Flanders](#). In spite of the victories of [Luxembourg](#) and Catinat, the [war](#) was ruinous for Louis XIV and ended in a peace less [glorious](#) than those which had preceded it (Peace of Ryswick, 1697), forcing him to restore [Lorraine](#) and all the cities of the empire outside of Alsace, and to recognize William as King of [England](#). Thus, at the opening of the eighteenth century, Louis stood face to face with [England](#), a [Protestant](#) power, a power in which instead of the monarchy or Divine [right](#) the Parliament held sway, and lastly, a power already stronger on the sea than [France](#) was -- three circumstances which made the prestige of that nation all the more galling to the King of [France](#).

In consequence of the testament of Charles II, King of [Spain](#), the Spanish Throne passed from the Habsburgs to the Bourbons. The Duke of Anjou, the king's grandson, became Philip V of [Spain](#). Hence resulted the [War](#) of the Spanish Succession, a long and ruinous [war](#), and yet [glorious](#), thanks to the triumphs of Vendôme and Villars, though it brought [France](#) to the brink

of destruction. At one [time](#), in 1712, the king thought of placing himself at the head of his [brave](#) nobility, and burying himself beneath the ruins of his throne. The victory of Villars at Denain (1712) saved the country. The Treaties of Utrecht and [Baden](#) (1713 and 1714) maintained Philip V on the throne of [Spain](#), but gave to the emperor [Spain's](#) ancient possessions in [Italy](#), doomed the maritime power of [France](#) to destruction, and made a breach in her colonial power by the cession of [Newfoundland](#) and [Acadia](#) to [England](#), thus firmly establishing [England](#) in North America at the same [time](#) that she was established, at [Gibraltar](#), in the Mediterranean.

The close of his reign, saddened by these reverses and by financial catastrophes, also brought a series of personal griefs to Louis XIV: the deaths of the Dauphin (1711), of the Duke of [Burgundy](#), the king's grandson, and the Duchess of [Burgundy](#) (1712), of their eldest son (1712), and of his other grandson, the Duke of Berry (1714). He left his throne to Louis XV, then five years of age, the son of the Duke of [Burgundy](#). Thus did all the [glories](#) of the reign end in the dangers of a regency. Such as he was, Louis XIV left a great [memory](#) in the [soul](#) of [France](#). Voltaire calls the seventeenth century the Age of Louis XIV. Warriors like Turenne, Condé, [Luxembourg](#), Catinat, Vendôme, and Villars, navigators like Duquesne, Trouville, and Duguay-Trouin, preachers like [Bossuet](#), [Bourdaloue](#), and [Massillon](#), engineers like Vauban, architects like [Perrault](#) and [Mansart](#), [painters](#) like [Poussin](#), Le Sueur, and Le Brun, [sculptors](#) like [Puget](#), writers like [Corneille](#), [Racine](#), [Molière](#), [Boileau](#), [La Fontaine](#), [La Bruyère](#), [Fénelon](#), Madame de Sévigné, gave to [France](#) a [glory](#) by which Louis XIV profited, and the "Mémoires" of [Saint-Simon](#), in which the reverse of that [glory](#) is often exhibited, have rather enriched the history of the reign than damaged the prestige of the king.

Louis XIV and Religion

Louis XIV was much occupied with religion and religious questions. His reign is generally considered as divided into two periods: (1) that of libertinage, during which his heart was ruled by Mlle de la Vallière, Madame de Montespan, and other favourites; (2) that of devotion, coinciding with the influence of [Madame de Maintenon](#), the [widow](#) of [Scarron](#), who, when Marie Theresa died (31 July, 1683), [secretly married](#) the king, and who, for a quarter of a century, assisted him in ruling the kingdom. The second of these two periods was also that of the influence of Père Le Tellier. This division is natural and accounts for certain developments of religious policy; but it must not be exaggerated. Even during his period of libertinage, Louis XIV took a passionate interest in religious questions; and during his devout period, he never altogether

abandoned those Gallican principles which incessantly exposed him to conflicts with [Rome](#). Certain pamphlets, published in the days of the Fronde, opposed to the doctrines of royal absolutism the old [theological doctrine](#) of the origin and the responsibilities of power. "Le Théologien Politique" declares that obedience is due only to those kings who demand what is just and reasonable; the treatise "Chrétien et Politique" asserts that kings do not make peoples, but that peoples have made kings. But the [doctrine](#) of the Divine [right](#) of kings succeeded in establishing itself upon the ruins of the Fronde; according to that [doctrine](#) Louis XIV had to reckon only with [God](#), and the same [doctrine](#) served as one of the supports of the dictatorship which he pretended to exercise over the [Church of France](#).

In the "Mémoires" of Louis XIV a whole theory of the [relations between Church and State](#) is expounded. He sets forth that the king is the proprietor of the [Church's wealth](#), in virtue of the maxim that there is no other proprietor in the kingdom but the king. He holds that all the [faithful](#), "whether lay or [tonsured](#)," are the sovereign's subjects; that the [clergy](#) are bound to bear their part pecuniarily in the public burdens, and that they "should not excuse themselves from that [obligation](#) by alleging that their possessions are for a particular purpose, or that the employment of those possessions must be regulated by the [intention](#) of the donors." The [assemblies of the clergy](#), which discuss the amounts to be contributed by the [clergy](#), are, in the eyes of Louis XIV, only tolerated; he considers that, as sovereign, he would be within his [rights](#) in laying imposts upon the [clergy](#), and that "the [popes](#) who have wished to contest that [right](#) of royalty have made it clearer and more incontestable by the distinct withdrawal of their [ambitious](#) pretensions which they have been [obliged](#) to make;" he declares it to be inadmissible that [ecclesiastics](#), "exempt from the dangers of [war](#) and the burden of [families](#)," should not contribute to the necessities of the State. The Minims of Provence had [dedicated](#) to Louis XIV a thesis in which they compared him to [God](#); [Bossuet](#) declared that the king could not tolerate any such [doctrine](#), and the Sorbonne condemned it. But at Court the [person](#) of the king was the object of a sort of religious worship, in which certain courtier [bishops](#) too easily acquiesced, and the consequence of which became perceptible in the relations between [the Church and the State](#).

From these principles resulted his attitude towards the [assemblies of the clergy](#). He shortened the duration of their sessions and [caused](#) them to be watched by his [ministers](#), while [Colbert](#), who detested the financial autonomy enjoyed by the [clergy](#), went so far as to say that it would be well "to put a stop to these [assemblies](#) which the wisest politicians have always considered diseases of the body politic." From these principles, too, arose

the [fear](#) of everything by which [churchmen](#) could acquire political influence. Unlike his predecessors, Louis XIV employed few [prelates](#) in the service of the State.

The [Concordat](#) of [Francis I](#) placed a large number of [benefices](#) at the disposal of Louis XIV; he felt that the appointment of [bishops](#) was the most critical part of his kingly [duty](#), and the [bishops](#) whom he appointed were, in general, very well chosen. He [erred](#), however, in the readiness with which he [dispensed](#) them from residence in their [dioceses](#), while, as to abbacies, he too often availed himself of them to reward services rendered by [laymen](#), and gave them as means of support to impoverished nobles. To the Comte du Vexin, his son by Madame de Montespan, he gave the two great Abbacies of [Saint-Denis](#) and Saint-Germain-des-Prés.

Louis XIV was particularly fond of taking a hand in [doctrinal](#) matters; and those who surrounded him ended by [believing](#) that the king could supervise the [Church](#) and supply it with information on religious questions. [Daguesseau](#), on 14 August, 1699, went so far as to proclaim that the King of [France](#) ought to be both king and [priest](#). Thus it was that, for example, in the midst of the [war](#) of the League of [Augsburg](#), Louis was careful to have a report prepared for him on a [catechism](#) which was suspected of [Jansenism](#); and so, again, in 1715, he [caused](#) a lieutenant of police to be reprimanded for neglecting to report three preachers of [Paris](#) who were in the habit of speaking of grace in a [Jansenistic](#) manner.

Louis XIV and the Papacy

There was always a certain inconsistency in Louis's policy towards the [Holy See](#). On the one hand, he called forth the intervention of [Alexander VII](#) against the [Jansenists](#) (see below), which would have been anomalous if the king had [believed](#) that the [Bishop of Rome](#) was no more in the [Church](#) than any other [bishop](#). On the other hand, he set himself up as the head of his [Church](#) (though, at the same [time](#), not wishing to be [schismatical](#)), and the Gallicanism of his magistrates and some of his [bishops](#) found support in him. Full submission to [Rome](#) and rupture with [Rome](#) were equally distasteful to him. The humiliation which he inflicted on [Alexander VII](#) when Créqui, his ambassador, had to complain of the [pope's Corsican](#) guard (August, 1662) was inspired rather by the need of displaying his unlimited power than by any feeling of hostility to the [Holy See](#) (see [ALEXANDER VII](#)). In 1665, a [papal Bull](#) having condemned the censure which the Sorbonne had passed against the [doctrine](#) of [infallibility](#), Louis, after inviting the procurator-general to appeal against it *comme d'abus*, desisted from further action. In 1666, when [Colbert](#), in order to diminish the number of [priests](#) and [monks](#), wished to put back the legal age

for [ordination](#), the [nuncio](#) declared to Père Aunat, the king's [confessor](#), that there would be a [schism](#) if the king continued to consult only [laymen](#) on spiritual affairs; Louis thought these words "horrible," and [Colbert's](#) project was abandoned. In short, Louis XIV held that, as he expressed it, it was "an advantage that the [Roman Curia](#) should be favourable to him rather than unfavourable."

In 1673 the conflict of the *régale* broke out. The term *régale* was applied to that [right](#) by which the king, upon the death of a [bishop](#), drew the revenues of the [see](#) and made appointments to [benefices](#) until the new [bishop](#) had registered his [oath](#) in the Court of Exchequer (*Chambre des comptes*). Louis XIV claimed, in 1673 and again in 1675, that the [right](#) of *régale* was his in all [bishoprics](#) of the kingdom. [Pavillon](#), [Bishop](#) of Alet, and [Caulet](#), [Bishop](#) of [Pamiers](#), refused to submit. These [prelates](#), both [Jansenists](#), alleged that the [Jesuits](#) had stretched the [right](#) of *régale* so as to increase the number of [benefices](#) in the collation of which Père La Chaise, the king's [confessor](#), might exert his influence. In 1677, [Caulet](#), having refused to give the [cure of souls](#) within his [diocese](#) to [priests](#) whom the king had [nominated](#) in virtue of the *régale*, was deprived of his temporalities. Three Briefs of [Innocent XI](#) (March, 1678, and January and December, 1679) sustained [Caulet](#) and threatened Louis with the pains of [conscience](#) before [God's](#) tribunal, and the rumour was current that the king was about to be [excommunicated](#).

In July, 1680, the assembly of the [clergy](#), in a letter to the king, identified themselves with the king and threatened the [pope](#). Upon the death of [Caulet](#), the [Diocese of Pamiers](#) was contested between the [vicar capitular nominated](#) by the chapter, who was hostile to the *régale*, and another [vicar capitular, nominated](#) by the [Archbishop](#) of [Toulouse](#) and installed by the royal officers. The former of these two [vicars](#) was removed by the king's order, and the latter was [excommunicated](#) by the [pope](#). A third [vicar capitular, nominated](#) by the chapter, remained in hiding while he administered the [diocese](#), was condemned to [death](#) and was executed in effigy by the king's command. A rupture between Louis and the [Holy See](#) appeared to be imminent; the king, in convoking the assembly of the [clergy](#) for November, 1681, threw out some hints of a [schism](#). This was an attempt to frighten the [pope](#). In fact, neither side wished for any [schism](#). Louis made the concession that [priests](#) provided by him in virtue of his [right](#) of *régale* should be [obliged](#) to first receive canonical mission, and this concession was offset by the passage of the Declaration of the Four Articles, which showed the "wish to humiliate [Rome](#)." The very animated correspondence between the [pope](#) and the assembly was a disquieting circumstance, but Louis prorogued the assembly on 29 June, 1682 (see

[BOSSUET](#); [ASSEMBLIES OF THE FRENCH CLERGY](#)). In this way he made his escape from the advisers who, to use his own words, would have liked to "invite him to don the turban." He had, in the words of the [Jesuit Avigny](#), "a foundation of religion which would not allow him to face these divisions without emotion."

Again, when [Innocent XI](#) steadfastly refused to accept [bishops](#) who, as [priests](#), had participated in the assembly of 1682, Louis went through a series of manoeuvres which had the appearance of acts of [contrition](#). [Innocent](#) remained insensible to all this and, on the other hand, refused to maintain the [right](#) of asylum and the franchises which the ambassador of [France](#) claimed at [Rome](#). This new incident made an immense stir in [Europe](#); there was talk of the conquest of [Avignon](#) and [Civitavecchia](#) by [France](#); the [Bull](#) of 12 May, 1687, [excommunicating](#) the ambassador and his [accomplices](#), was pronounced abominable by the *parlementaires* of [Paris](#), who had in view the assembling of a national council and declared that the [pope](#), by reason of his infirmities, could no longer support the weight of the [papacy](#). [Alexander VIII](#) (1689-91), during his short pontificate, induced Louis to surrender his claim in the matter of the franchises and also published a [Bull](#), until then reserved, by which [Innocent XI](#) had condemned the Declaration of 1682. [Innocent XII](#) (1691-1700) made but one concession to Louis XIV: he declared his readiness to grant [Bulls](#) without delay to all [bishops nominated](#) by the king, provided they had taken no part in the assembly of 1682, and provided that they made a profession of [faith](#) before the [nuncio](#). Louis, on 14 September, 1693, declared that, to show his veneration for the [pope](#), he ordered the declaration of 1682 to be held without effect in regard to religious policy. The Gallicans in [France](#) and the [Protestants](#) abroad pointed to this decision of the king as a [desertion](#) of his principles.

The good understanding between Louis and the [papacy](#), while they fought side by side against [Jansenism](#) (see below), was again momentarily clouded during the [War](#) of the Spanish Succession. In a very long and very cordial [Brief dated](#) 6 February, 1701, [Clement XI](#) had recognized Philip V as King of [Spain](#). Political [conditions](#), threats made against him by the Emperor Joseph I, brought the [pope](#) to recognize Charles III as king, 10 October, 1709. The diplomatic representatives of Louis XIV and Philip V at [Rome](#) had done everything to prevent this; the extremely reserved tone and the laconic style of the [Brief](#) addressed to Charles III did not sufficiently console them, and Cardinal de la Trémouille, on 13 October, 1709, protested in the name of Louis XIV against the public recognition of Charles III, which was to take place in [Consistory](#) on the next day.

Louis XIV and the Heresies

His care to maintain a certain [orthodoxy](#), and the conception which he had formed of the religious unity of his kingdom, expressed themselves in his policy towards the [Jansenists](#), the [Quietists](#), and the [Protestants](#).

Jansenism

Since the days of [Mazarin](#), Louis had felt "that the [Jansenists](#) were not well-disposed towards him and the State." A certain number of them had been implicated in the Fronde; they wished to obtain, in spite of [Mazarin](#), the recall of [Cardinal de Retz](#), [Archbishop](#) of [Paris](#), who had escaped from his [prison](#) at [Nantes](#) and gone to [Rome](#); some of them applauded the triumphs over Louis's armies won by Condè, who was in alliance with the [Spaniards](#). Louis, in September, 1660, [caused](#) the "Provinciales" of [Pascal](#) to be examined by a commission, and the book was burned. His desire, expressed in December, 1660, to the president of the assembly of the [clergy](#), induced that body to draw up, in February, 1661, a formula condemning "the [doctrine](#) of the five propositions of [Jansenius](#) contained in the "Augustinus," which formula was to be signed by all [ecclesiastics](#); and the superiors of the two [monasteries](#) of [Port-Royal](#) received orders to dismiss their pupils and their [novices](#). [Mazarin](#), on his death-bed, in March, 1661, told the king that he must not "tolerate either the [sect](#) of the [Jansenists](#) or even so much as their name." The [vicars-general](#), who governed the Diocese of [Paris](#) in the absence of de Retz, explained, in a charge published in May, 1661, that the signature required was compatible with reserves on the question of fact -- i.e., the question whether the five propositions were in fact contained in the "Augustinus." The royal council and the [pope](#) condemned this charge, and in 1664, Archbishop [Hardouin](#) de Péréfixe made two visits to [Port-Royal](#) (9 June and 21 August) and demanded of the religious their signatures without reserve. The [religious](#) of [Port-Royal](#) refused, and thereupon, on 26 August, the police expelled those of [Port-Royal](#) de [Paris](#), and, in November, those of [Port-Royal](#) des Champs. Later, in 1665, lest they might have a disturbing effect on the various [convents](#) in which they had found shelter, they were all collected in the des Champs [convent](#) and placed under a police guard.

The concern felt by Louis on the subject of [Jansenism](#) was so great that, in 1665, he [appealed](#) to [Pope Alexander VII](#) to break down the opposition of [Pavillon](#), [Bishop](#) of Alet, who did not recognize the [right](#) of assembly of the [clergy](#) to legislate for the [Church](#), and was carrying on a campaign against the formula drawn up by that assembly and against the [obligation](#) to sign it. [France](#) was presented with the spectacle of a joint effort of the [pope](#) and the king; the royal council annulled a charge in which [Pavillon](#), after having

given the required signature to another formula drawn up by the [pope](#), developed some new [Jansenistic](#) theories on grace; the [pope](#), without arousing any feeling on the king's part, himself appointed a commission of [French bishops](#) to try [Pavillon](#) and three other [bishops](#) who refused to make the unreserved submission. Presently, in December, 1667, nineteen [bishops](#) wrote to the king that the appointment of such a commission by the [pope](#) was contrary to the Gallican liberties. The difficulties appeared insurmountable; but the [nuncio](#), Bargellini, and the foreign secretary, Lionne, found a way. The four [bishops](#) signed the [formulary](#) and [caused](#) it to be signed, at the same [time](#) explaining their action in a letter expressed with such intentional ambiguity that it was impossible to make out whether their signatures had been give *pure et simpliciter* or not; the [pope](#), in his reply to them, took care not to repeat the words *pure et simpliciter* and spoke of the signatures which they had given *sincere*. It was Lionne who had suggested to the [pope](#) the employment of this word *sincere*. And thanks to these artifices, "the peace of the [Church](#)" was restored.

The question of [Jansenism](#) was revived, in 1702, by the case of [conscience](#) which the [Jansenists](#) presented to the [Archbishop](#) of [Paris](#): "Is a respectful and [silent](#) submission to the decision of the [Church](#) sufficient in regard to the attribution of the five propositions to [Jansenius](#)?" Again the [pope](#) and the king were unanimous against [Jansenism](#). In February and April, 1703, [Clement XI](#) called upon Louis XIV to intervene, and in June, 1703, Louis XIV asked [Clement XI](#) for a [Bull](#) against [Jansenism](#). To keep peace with the [Jansenists](#), however, the king at the same [time](#) begged the [pope](#) to particularly mention in the [Bull](#) that it was issued at the instance of the French Court. Clement, not wishing to yield to this Gallican suggestion, temporized for twenty-six months, and the [Bull](#) "Vineam Domini" (15 July 1705) lacked the rhetorical precautions desired by Louis. The king, nevertheless, was glad to take it as it was. He [hoped](#) to make an end of [Jansenism](#). But [Jansenism](#) from that [time](#) forward maintained its resistance on the ground not of [dogma](#) but of ecclesiastical law; the [Jansenists](#) invoked Gallican liberties, asserting that the [Bull](#) had been issued in contravention of those liberties. More and more plainly the king saw in [Jansenism](#) a political danger; he thought to destroy the party by razing the [convent](#) of [Port-Royal](#) des Champs, dispersing the religious and disinterring the [buried Jansenists](#) (1709-11); and he [sacrificed](#) his Gallican [ideas](#) to the [pope](#) when he forced an extraordinary assembly of the [clergy](#), in 1713, and the parliament, in 1714, to accept the [Bull](#) "[Unigenitus](#)" which [Clement XI](#) had published against [Quesnel's](#) book. But at the time of his death he wished to assemble, for the trial of [Noailles](#), [Archbishop](#) of [Paris](#), and the [bishops](#) who resisted the [Bull](#), a national council to which he was to dictate, and [Clement XI](#), naturally, scouted this [idea](#) as bearing the marks of

Gallicanism. Thus was Louis XIV ever anxious for an understanding with [Rome](#) against [Jansenism](#), and in this alliance it was he who displayed the greater fury against the common enemy. At the same time, he brought to his [warfare](#) against [Jansenism](#) a Gallican spirit, making concessions and displays of politeness to the [Holy See](#) when the conduct of the struggle required, but on other occasions using methods and terms to which [Rome](#), rightly impatient of Gallican pretensions, was [obliged](#) to take exception (see [JANSENIUS AND JANSENISM](#)).

Quietism

His personal interest in the question of [Quietism](#) was shown in 1694, when, at the suggestion of [Madame de Maintenon](#), he ordered three commissioners -- [Noailles](#), [Bossuet](#), and Tronsen -- to draw up the Issy articles for the signature of [Madame Guyon](#) and [Fénelon](#). In July, 1697, he asked the [pope](#), in a personal letter, to pronounce as soon as possible upon the book "Maximes des Saints" (see [FÉNELON](#)); in 1698 he again insisted, threatening that if the condemnation were deferred, the [Archbishop](#) of [Paris](#), who was already causing the "Maximes" to be censured by twelve professors of the Sorbonne, should take action. Here again, as in the matter of [Jansenism](#), Louis evinced a great [zeal](#) for correctness of [doctrine](#) and, on the other hand, an obstinate Gallicanism ready at every moment to prosecute a [doctrine](#) apart from and without the [pope](#), if the [pope](#) himself hesitated to proceed against it.

Protestantism

Strict [justice](#), strict application of the Edict of [Nantes](#), but no favour -- such was Louis's policy towards the [Protestants](#) after 1661. It was a policy based on the [hope](#) that the union of all his subjects in one [faith](#) would sooner or later be easily accomplished. From 1661 to 1679 means were sought to limit as much as possible the application of those concessions which [Henry IV](#) had made to the [Protestants](#) by the famous Edict, and Pellisson, a [convert](#) from [Protestantism](#), organized a fund to aid [Huguenots](#) who should come over to the [Catholic Church](#). From 1679 to 1685 a more active policy was followed: [Protestants](#) were excluded from public office and from the liberal professions, while the police penetrated into [Protestant families](#) in order to keep watch upon them. Louvois's [idea](#) of quartering soldiers in [Protestant](#) households to bring them to [reason](#) was applied, after 1680, in Poitou by the intendant Marillac in the cruel fashion which has remained famous under the name of *dragonnades*. The king blamed Marillac, but in 1684, at the instigation of Louvois, the *dragonnades* recommenced in Poitou, Béarn, Guyenne, and Langeudoc, with more excesses than the king [knew](#) of. Misled by the letters of Louvois and the intendants (see

[LAMOIGNON](#)), Louis [believed](#) that there were no more [Protestants](#) in [France](#), and the Edict of 18 October, 1685, [revoked](#) the Edict of [Nantes](#) and ordered the demolition of places of worship, the closure of [Protestant schools](#), the exile of [pastors](#) who refused to be [converted](#), and the [baptism](#) of [Protestant](#) children by [Catholic parish priests](#). On the other hand, article xii of the edict provided that subjects could not be molested in their liberty or their [property](#) on account of the "alleged reformed" religion, so that, in theory, it was still permitted to anyone to be individually a [Protestant](#). By these measures Louis [imagined](#) himself to be only registering an accomplished fact -- the extinction of the [heresy](#). [Innocent XI](#), while praising the king's [zeal](#), in the consistorial [allocution](#) of 18 March, 1686, expressed satisfaction with those [French prelates](#) who had censured the *dragonnades*, and begged James II to use his good offices with Louis to obtain gentler treatment for the [Protestants](#).

The fugitive and proscribed [Protestants](#) thought of returning to [France](#), even in spite of Louis. Jurieu in his "Avis aux Protestants de l'Europe" (1685-86), and Claude in his "Plaintes des Protestants" (1686), gave utterance to the [idea](#) of a union of all the [Protestant](#) powers to force upon the King of [France](#) the return of exiles. In the success of William of Orange, in 1688, Jurieu saw an indication that [England](#) would soon reinstate [Protestantism](#) in [France](#), and that an aristocratic government would be substituted there for the monarchial. These prognostications were developed in the "Soupirs de la [France](#) esclave," which was issued in parts by subscription. In 1698, when the peace of Ryswick was being negotiated between Louis and William, two [Protestant](#) committees, at the Hague, made an attempt to commit [Holland](#) and [England](#) to the demand of liberty for [French Protestants](#), but William confined himself to vague and politic approaches to the question in his dealings with Louis, and these were ill received. In a letter to Cardinal d'Estrées (17 January, 1686), Louis had flattered himself that, out of from 800,000 to 900,000 [Protestants](#), only from 1200 to 1500 remained. The collective [abjurations](#) were generally far from sincere; the new [converts](#) were not practicing [Catholics](#); and the policy of the authorities, in regard to those new [converts](#) who remained too tepid, varied strangely in the several provinces. Was it still lawful in [France](#) for an [individual](#), as an [individual](#), to remain a [Protestant](#)? Article xii of the edict of [revocation](#) implicitly said "Yes;" Louis and Louvois, in their letters, said "No," explaining that all, even to the very last [individual](#), must be [converted](#), and that there ought no longer to be any religion but one in the kingdom.

In 1698 intendants and [bishops](#) were consulted as to the measures to be taken in regard to the [Protestants](#). [Bossuet](#), [Archbishop Noailles](#), and

almost all the [bishops](#) of northern and central [France](#) declared for a purely spiritual propaganda animated by a spirit of gentleness; [Bossuet](#) maintained that [Protestants](#) must not be forced to approach the [sacraments](#). The [bishops](#) of the South, on the contrary, leaned to a policy of constraint. As a result of this consultation, the edict of 13 December, 1698, and the interpreting circular of 7 January, 1699, inaugurated a milder regime and, in particular, forbade anyone to compel [Protestants](#) to approach the [sacraments](#). Lastly, at the end of his reign, Louis ordered a new inquiry into the causes and the persistence of the [heresy](#), and [decreed](#), by the declaration of 8 March, 1715, that all [Protestants](#) who had continued to reside in the kingdom since 1685 were liable to the penalties of relapsed [heretics](#) unless they became [Catholics](#). This amounted to an implicit admission that the edict of 1685 had meant to command all [Protestants](#) to embrace [Catholicism](#). The alliance between the revolted [Protestants](#) of the Cevennes (the [Camisards](#), 1703-06) and [England](#), the enemy of [France](#), had driven Louis to adopt this policy of sternness.

The attitude of [Innocent XI](#) in regard to the [persecution](#) of [Protestants](#) and the grave and mature deliberation with which [Clement XI](#) proceeded against the [Jansenists](#) [prove](#) that, even at those very moments when the religious policy of Louis XIV was resting upon, or was invoking, [Rome](#), the full responsibility for certain courses of precipitancy, of [violence](#), and of cruelty must rest with the king. Aspiring to be master in his [Church](#), he chastised [Protestants](#) and [Jansenists](#) as disobedient subjects. Though there may have been a [parallelism](#) of action and a reciprocity of services between Louis and the [Holy See](#), still the [ideas](#) which inspired and guided the religious policy of the king were, in fact, always unlike those of the contemporary [popes](#). "Louis XIV," says the historian Casimir Gaillardin, "assumed to direct the [conversion](#) of his subjects at the whim of his [pride](#), and by ways which were not those of the [Church](#) and the [sovereign pontiff](#)."