Charles-Marie de Veil.

JEW, Catholic, canon regular of St. Augustine, prior of Ste.-Genevieve, Huguenot, Anglican clergyman, Baptist minister—Dieu veuille qu'il ne fasse pas, comme le soleil, le tour du zodiaque! Such was the comment in 1685 of Pierre Bayle on Charles-Marie de Veil, whose life was just ending, so that he did not complete the circuit. Bayle might have thrown in also a Professorship, S.T.D. at Angers, and some amateur doctoring.

For several years this remarkable career has interested Mr. Wilfred S. Samuel, who has spared no time or expense to obtain contemporary information; this he places at our disposal. Especially he acknowledges much research by Dr. M. Ginsburger of the University Library in Strasbourg, both generally in the Revue des Etudes Juives, 1905, and expressly for this enquiry.

METZ.

The story begins at Metz about 1630. Greatly as this city has been altered by new courses of the rivers, and by demolition of old ramparts, yet it is possible still to find many memorials of that age. The modern visitor need not go, indeed, from the railway by the Rues d'Austrasie and Charlemagne and Verlaine to the cross-streets named after Bossuet and Paul Ferry; those great antagonists did not live there. Let him go north by the Rues Vauban, des Augustins, the Place St. Louis, through the ghetto of the Middle Ages, toiling up the Rue Jurue, and by the Rue St. Trinitaire past the modern Protestant Temple; so will he reach the Rue St. Ferroy, beyond which is a synagogue built in 1848 on the site of an earlier one erected in 1619, whence he may look over the Arsenal eastwards to the little Seille river, or down the steep, over what was till lately the Quai des Juifs, to a branch of the Moselle. In this narrow corner were herded within the old ramparts scores of Jewish families, whose buildings crept higher and higher as they multiplied, till their sky-scrapers vied with the cathedral three furlongs up-stream. In this second ghetto, our hero spent nearly half his life, and its conditions deserve pondering.

The city had once been Free, within the Empire. But when in 1553 the doctrines of Calvin made some progress here, and the emperor designed to coerce it, France offered protection both civil and religious, and it admitted a French garrison, with the

1 Nouvelles de la republique des lettres: XI, 1029.
approval of many German Protestant princes. From that time onward, Lotharingen and Elsass became Lorraine and Alsace, except for 48 modern years. But at the time, Metz did indeed withstand a siege, yet it shrank rapidly in size and importance, losing all its privileges. By the treaty of 1648 it was formally incorporated with France: Neustria had annexed Austrasia, and the empire of Charlemagne was crystallizing afresh around Paris rather than Aachen.

The government of the city, the bishopric, the district of Metz Toul and Verdun, was confided to Charles Schonberg, of a Saxon family which for three generations had lived in France. He had married Marie, duchess of Hallwin, and had become a marshal of France. He is to be distinguished from a distant relation, also at this time a marshal in the French service, though a Protestant, known to Englishmen as that Marshal Schomburg who fell at the battle of the Boyne. The governor of Metz died much earlier, in 1656.

There was a cathedral. The bishops had ceded their civil rights to the crown of France. And as the kings had bargained with the popes to appoint to every high office in the church, the bishop at this time was Henri de Bourbon, illegitimate son of Henri IV, who had been elected at the age of six, assumed jurisdiction at the age of twenty, struck his own coin, but never saw his diocese, and married in 1668. He lived in state at St. Germain’s Abbey near Paris, and he sent suffragans to do his duty at Metz. Scandalous intrigues went on between the cathedral clergy and the barons, especially when from 1644 to 1649 there was no suffragan at all; then between bishop Henri and cardinal Mazarin, with quarrels as to concordats: the Catholic situation must have been laughable to outsiders.

And in the city, the Calvinists were strong, having had leave to build a Temple as early as 1576, though it soon had to be abandoned, and at this period they had to worship outside the fortifications. They held six places in the parlement which Richelieu had created; they had most of the advocates, doctors, surgeons, militia officers, at least half the rich men, and all the tax-receivers in the district. Of their ministers, Paul Ferri was chief, installed in 1610 at the age of nineteen, and now respected over most of France and other Huguenot lands; in concert with Durie of Scotland, he sought to unite Calvinists and Lutherans. On 17 May 1654 he preached a remarkable sermon summarising all the points of the Reformed religion, which was by general demand expanded and printed at Sedan the same year as a General Catechism. While he looked chiefly to the differences from Rome, he also remembered the Jews in his city, and as

early as 1623 he was in touch with them, buying Hebrew books for his foreign correspondents.3

When the French obtained control in 1565, only three families of Jews were allowed to live in the city, but frequent permits were given to increase the number. Constant movement of French and German troops, famine, pestilence, showed the need of moneyed people with a flair for trade. By 1619 they had a synagogue, and a cemetery on the river-bank. Louis XIII when he visited the city in 1632 to oppose Gustavus Adolphus at Mainz, gave an important edict confirming many privileges to the Jews, and allowing 76 families to reside. Two years later, a parlement, newly established, added its confirmation.4 However many actually resided, they were all cramped into the quarter of Saint Ferroy, so strait that they built five or even six storeys high. Into the rest of the town they might never come on Sundays or holidays; and even on other days, only a few streets were open to them. Out of doors, they had to wear yellow caps. They might not manufacture, nor open ordinary shops, and were allowed to deal only in second-hand goods.5 Within these restrictions they developed a trade in jewellery, and they were in practice the bankers of the city, the horse-dealers for the garrison.

Every week they had to attend in the cathedral and in the church of St. Paul, to listen to sermons aimed at converting them.6 We may compare the verses of Browning, Holy-Cross Day, on the similar situation at Rome:—

By the torture, prolonged from age to age,
    By the infamy, Israel's heritage,
By the Ghetto's plague, by the garb's disgrace,
    By the badge of shame, by the felon's place,
By the branding-tool, the bloody whip,
    And the summons to Christian fellowship,
We boast our proof that at least the Jew
    Would wrest Christ's name from the devil's crew.

Yet within the ghetto, there was absolute home-rule, confirmed by many edicts of the kings and their governors.7 The grand rabbi was usually brought from a distance, to avoid local complications.8 In 1643 this office was held by Rabbi Nathan, from Frankfort; seven years later he was succeeded by Moses Cohen surnamed Narol from a Polish town where he was born, his

3 Revue des études Juives: VIII, 76.
4 R.E.J. L, 127.
5 Calmet: Notice de la Lorraine (Luneville, 1856): II, 67, 68.
7 R.E.J., 775: Une Erre1,r fudiciaire, par J. Reinach.
8 R.E.J. XIV, 216 (1883).
father having lived at Safed on the lake of Tiberias in Palestine. There was an elaborate organization, a Council, a Rabbinic tribunal, with all the families classified into three groups for voting purposes; two doctors and a Burial Brotherhood were also conspicuous.

The doctors held indeed an exceptional position. Isaac Wallich, son of Josiah Moses, was chosen fourth rabbi in December 1620. He paid no taxes, was a citizen of Metz, and had Gentile patients, becoming widely famed. His eldest son again became a doctor, and when he was converted to Christianity in 1651, a special sermon was preached to the Jews, and published; henceforward he was known as Paul Du Vallier, or doctor Paulus. Another member of this family, Abraham Wallich, graduated at Padua on 14 November 1655. But the succession to Jewish office was not hereditary. When Isaac died in 1637, he was succeeded by Asher Lämmlein, son of Jequtiel David the Levite, another graduate of Padua, of whom it was recorded in the Memorbuch at his death in 1650 that he showed loving-kindness to all with his healings, bleeding poor people free, giving drugs, ointments, bandages, and physic free to the poor. This man's family deserves attention, since from it sprang our man.

THE FAMILY.

In 1628 a roll was drawn up, of Jews resident at Metz. It shows Moses Asher the Levite, head of a family. He had a son Jeqel Jacob the Levite, who figured in an earlier roll of 1595. Jacob's great-grandson published a tribute to him in 1672, saying that Buxtorf and the bishop of Lodovensis acknowledged his rabbinic learning. The Memorbuch of the synagogue at Metz recorded at his death that he had long been president, that he behaved well, showed much charity, and did many good works, that his house was always open, that he maintained and aided young men who wished to study the Law. One of his sons was Jequtiel David, of whom the Memorbuch recorded that he went early and late to synagogue, and that his sons gave charity on his behalf; he died 5439, equivalent to A.D. 1679. The sons in question were rabbi Asher, the doctor of whom we have spoken, and rabbi David, father of our man. To David two tributes were paid, by a son and by the synagogue. A son Daniel, of whom we shall hear incidentally, said that he presided first over the synagogue in Metz, then over many others in Germany. He evidently returned hither, for when he died on the sixth night and the next day, the first day of Hanukah 5405, it was recorded in the Memorbuch that he was a righteous and liberal magnate.

9 R.E.J. VIII, 259.
honoured; he acted as Mohel, and also blew the ram's horn for the New Year over a long period; he occupied himself in charitable works, buried the dead, fixed times for the study of the Law; he went early and late to synagogue; and his heirs gave charity on his behalf to the congregational fund. They might well do this, for Daniel acknowledged the remarkable care spent on his education, up to the age of 16, so that he then began to expound the Talmud.10

This whole family had migrated into Metz from a village known as Weil. This we learn from the fact that when in Christian circles a surname was needed, it was coined from the place of origin. And Jegel Jacob of 1595 was known to Buxtorf as Jacobus de Veil—the man from Weil. There are many villages of this name in the neighbourhood; one near Colmar in Elsass seems to have been the home of many Jews. Each of these would be known, anywhere else, as “the Weil man,” Weiller, de Veil. Hence there is no presumption that men with this surname were related, only that their ancestors had once lived in some village called Weil. This caution will be important when we stumble across two men of this name, in Holland.

JEW.

The David Weil with whom we are concerned married a woman whose name was transmuted by Christian officials at a distance into Magdelaine; this probably represents a German Magdel-lein. They had at least two sons, of whom it is the elder we wish to trace. He was born in Metz about 1630; the Jewish records do not enable us to trace his name, nor any marriage, which would be highly probable before he came to be 24 years old, at which time the Christian records about him begin. We do know from them that a year later he was an orphan; while from his brother's books we learn that he had been fatherless since the age of fifteen, though his uncle, one of the two Jewish doctors, and his grandfather, were yet alive. The younger brother was born in 1637, and was named Daniel.12 Both lads were precocious, and studied diligently. The university of Padua was then very liberal, admitting many Jewish students, especially for medicine; but its records do not disclose anyone to be identified with the anonymous elder brother. Yet there is some probability in this direction, for Asher Lämmelein was known even among Gentiles as Docteur Lambert, and his brother David was a circumcisor, and we shall see that our man in his later days evinced a certain medical skill.

10 R.E.J. VII, 204; VIII, 255; XII, 283; L, 115.
11 Floquet: I, 284, 285 note, 287.
12 Floquet: I, 290 note.
Now the Qabbalists had calculated that Messiah would appear in 1648. A young Jew of Smyrna, Sabbatai Zevi, announced himself as the Messiah, and in many Jewish circles attention was focussed on him. Pilgrimages were organized to him, a book of prayers was compiled. He visited Cairo and married, settled down in Palestine, but hesitated to act. The synagogue at Metz sent a deputation to acknowledge him and to hand over a large sum of gold. All the Jews of Metz were thus set on studying the prophecies relating to the Messiah, and many were prepared to join him in the Holy Land.

But a very different turn was given, when there came to the cathedral in 1652 a brilliant young archdeacon, three years older than the elder De Veil, Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet. He was a close student of the Bible, using not only the Vulgate, but a new Latin version by Leo Juda with notes from the lectures of Vatable, regius professor of Hebrew at Paris. He was also a most eloquent preacher, and he at once seized the opportunity of the weekly sermons to the Jews. It was not long before a convert was made, who took the name Paul du Vallier, an ignorant or malicious man whose misreading of German in after days helped send Raphael Levy to be burned alive. The popular prejudice thereby raised was quelled only by direct intervention of the king, on the representations of a young Oratorian, Richard Simon, whom we shall meet again.

Such a defection from the brotherhood in the ghetto must have impressed all its dwellers. Roman Catholics to-day say little about those who leave their communion, but Jews then were outspoken. A sentence of excommunication was no light thing, nor was there anything private such as the mere deletion of a name from a roll; it was not in silence that Spinoza was expelled from the Amsterdam synagogue in 1656; so we may believe that the exodus of du Vallier was canvassed in every household of the ghetto.

Now what had young de Veil to look forward to? He could earn his living by dealing in second-hand furniture and selling remounts to officers. He could follow in the footsteps of some ancestors, study, and win respect as a rabbi. He could turn his back on Metz, make his way to the East and support the Messiah. In this juncture, a young man of 24 was bound to frame some plan for his future. He never in after days wrote any Apologia, and we may fail to discern the governing motives; but at least we can appreciate the external circumstances, and his choice.

Both Ferri and Bossuet were mindful of their Jewish neighbours. He talked with both, and at length decided to break with the faith of his fathers. How they took it we do not know;

the tale that an Englishman wrote down sixty years after is demonstrably false, for his father had been dead for years. He would of course quit the ghetto, and he soon lived south of the cathedral in the parish of Saint Victor. If du Vallier’s conversion was noted; this second was esteemed remarkable, as he was full of promise, and it was advertised to the utmost. The governor, Marshal Schonberg, and his wife, became his sponsors. He therefore took their names, Charles-Marie. The cathedral itself was chosen, rather to the chagrin of the parish priest; the bishop-suffragan himself performed the ceremony, and this was fixed for the great day of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, on Tuesday 8 September 1654. There may still be seen the great porphyry baptistery, in which, if the Roman custom with a converted Jew was followed, he was immersed.

His brother Daniel was converted next year by Bossuet, and at the age of 18 was baptized by another bishop with even greater éclat. The sponsors were King Louis XIV and his mother Anne of Austria, and as the baptism was in the chapel of the Jesuits at Compiègne, he took the names Louis-Compiègne. He had a most illustrious career, which deserves narration at length; he will however be noticed here only when necessary to avoid the confusion between the two brothers into which many writers have been betrayed.

These incidents were widely reported. The famous duchesse de Longueville, who had led fashion and politics, had retired to Rouen with her husband, the governor of Normandy, and had taken up religion. Rhymed newsletters were sent her regularly, and two of them recount these baptisms. The first letter was dated Saturday 19 September, and contains the following lines:

Le mardy de l’autre semaine,
Un homme de Mets en Loraine,
De la nation d’Israël,
Nommé Jacob ou Raphael,
Sadoc; Ebraim, ou Michée,
Zorobabel, ou Mardochee,
Gamaliel, ou Salomon,
—Enfin, je ne sçay pas son nom—
Se soumettant à l’Evangile,
De la synagogue fit gile,
La foi catholique embrassa,
Et la chose ainsi se passa:

14 Crosby; History of the English Baptists (1740); IV, 252. From MS of Benjamin Stinton about 1718; copied by Walter Wilson, &c. All untrustworthy.
15 Official register, quoted by Floquet, I, 285.
16 Official register, Floquet, I, 290.
Pluieurs messieurs du sacerdoce,
Pour accomplir ce saint négocie,
Scavoir, vicaires et curez,
De leurs blancs surpêlis parez,
Marchands de la bebe maniere
Avec la croice et la baniere,
Allerent chez le Gouvrneur,
Le duc de Schonberg, mon seigneur
(Homme d'adorable mérite),
Rendre ledit israelite,
Qu'ils menèrent, à pas posez,
Comme l'on fait les épouzez,
En la grande église tout juste,
Auquel saint lieu monsieur d'Auguste,
Le sufragant de l'évesché,
Après l'avoir un peu presché,
Prézéns le Chapitre ou chanoines
Et quelque quantité de moines
L'oignit, aroza, baptiza,
Et, bref, le des-judaïza.
Ledit duc, avec joye extresme,
Le tint sur les fonts de baptisme;
Et cet objet par tout chéry
Dont il est l'illustre mary,
Cette dame que chacun prize,
Dont l'absence me martyrize
(Si l'on ne m'a point abuzé),
Fut marraine du baptizé.
Ainsi, ces deux chères personnes,
Si nobles, si sages, si bonnes,
Cultivans avec grand bon-heur
La vigne de Notre-Seigneur,
Tant ledit monsieur que madame,
Ont déjà ramené mainte âme,
Par leurs soins et leur charité,
Au sentier de la vérité,
Les dégageant du judaïsme,
Du lutérisme et calvinisme,
Dont plaize à Dieu les guerdonner
Et toujours santé leur donner.

The second letter was dated Saturday, 12 June, 1655, and
gives the following account; the writer apparently did not know
that this was the brother of the former:—

Un amy, que Dieu gard de teigne,
Me manda, Mardy, de Compiègne,
Qu'un jeune Israëlite, ou Juif,
De la Ville de Mets, natif,
Qui pourroit faire des harangues,
Du moins, en trois ou quatre Langues,
Parlant Hébrew, facilement,
Comme je parlerois Normand,
Et la Langue Arabe et Caldee,
Encor mieux qu'une possédée:
Enfin, ce jeune jouvenceau
Que l'on dit avoir l'esprit beau,
Et que Schonberg, Duc et Duchesse,
Avoient converty pour la Messe,
Etant à la Cour arrivé,
Fut si sage et prudent trouvé,
Que témoignant un zèle extrême
Pour le Sacrement de Baptême,
Et renonçant, d'un sens-rassis,
A la Secte des Circoncis,
Il eut pour Parrain et Marraine,
Le Roy, notre Sire, et la Reine;
Ce fut l'Evesque de Soissons
Qui le baptiza sur les Fonts:
De Gens, une troupe infinie,
Voyans cette cérémonie
Qui dans ce saint et sacré Lieu
Réunissoit une ame en Dieu,
En furent tous ravis de joye:
Mesmes, Sa Majesté voulut,
Pour mieux opérer son salut,
L'envoyer chez les Jezuistes,
Où les ames sont bien instruites,
Donnant un fonds à l'avenir
Sufzant de l'entretenir,
Assavoir, pour l'heure présente,
Soixante Louis d'or de rente:
Et puis, selon ce qu'il sera,
Du bien, encor, on luy fera.17

CATHOLIC.

Charles-Marie soon turned his attention to scripture and theology, under the guidance of Bossuet. At first he lived in close association with him, and both profited by their common studies. But it was obviously desirable to plan out some course of life.

17 *La Muse Historique*, par J. Loret, Paris, 1857; I, 543; II, 60.
For a century, the gift of every important post in the Gallican church had been in the hands of the king. And as Louis-Compiègne was his godson, while Bossuet was climbing the court-ladder, there were clearly great prospects of promotion. The Congregations led naturally to high office. These were groups of men, living together under rule and therefore called Canons, who collectively undertook the charge of a town or of some large parish, both preaching and discharging pastoral duties. They were not monks, but active clergy. The system was popularised by the great Augustine of Hippo, and one of the oldest Congregations was proud to take his name. In Metz the Rue des Augustins perpetuates the memory of their work. Into this Congregation the young convert sought entrance.

A postulant with his peculiar antecedents needed peculiar treatment. He would require a thorough grounding in Latin and in Christianity, he would require training for the cure of souls, he might evince special powers that could be specially trained. It was decided to send him to Angers, capital of Anjou, where Loir and Sarthe and Mayenne flow together. For here the Congregation had a theological seminary, and here was a university. The seminary was housed in the Abbaye des Toussaints, once an ordinary Benedictine house, but for a generation past handed over to the Augustins. Here all the candidates would live together under discipline; and it was fortunate for Charles-Marie, at the age of 24, that he had been accustomed to something of the same kind in the ghetto. The rule was strict that no student might stir outside the abbey except in the garb of his order—and this too had been paralleled at Metz in the yellow cap, &c.

The university however had its four faculties; and even if the medicals and the jurists and the arts held a trifle aloof from the theologs, yet at least all were undergraduates together, and there must have been some kind of social intercourse that could do what to-day is done at the river, the wicket, the goals, and could somewhat widen the horizon. The students were organized in six Nations—a sign how France was not yet integrated into one homogeneous kingdom; and there were four colleges, built by the town.

For the next few years we can imagine a strenuous intellectual discipline in the refectory of St. Meurice. Subsequent results assure us that the two theological professors of the university, or the tutors of the Augustins, were teaching

18 Revue d'Anjou: XIII, 304.
20 Angers ancien et moderne, par E. L. (1853), page 161.
The Baptist Quarterly

on most enlightened lines. The old abbey cloister, now in ruins, must have heard lively lectures and disquisitions. They could not afford to idle; not far away was Saumur, where the Huguenots had a fine Academy; and it was not the time to let all the learning be in the minds of heretics.

Moreover, within the Catholic Church there were many schools of thought. Bishop Jansen of Ypres had been dwelling on Augustinianism in such a way as to win many adherents, including Henry Arnauld, bishop of Angers. In 1663 a second theological seminary was established in the city on La Flèche, to train poor scholars for the priesthood on these lines. In the university itself, the divinity professors seem to have taken different sides. Imagine Ridley Hall and Mirfield sending students to the same university theological lectures, and these young men when seeking a degree having to defend two theses against all comers! The wrangling must have been as interesting as a good debate at the Union.

The seminary course ended with credit, and Charles-Marie was duly ordained priest. Thenceforward he was a member of the Order, not merely a novice under its training. But he became a canon Regular, under rule; and the rule was very strict. Thus when he was assigned to a given house, he had to obey the rules of that house as laid down by the Rector. Nearly all property was held in common. He might never go out alone, or without the habit of the Order, or at night. He might never talk to a woman alone. The house would serve some parish church or churches, and the rota of service would be drawn by the Rector.

So long as the university course lasted, he would almost certainly be a member of the chapter at Toussaints, where he had been trained. And as he bore the title Professor by 1672, it is probable that his superiors set him to lecture in the seminary rather than serve the outside world. He himself printed in 1678 that six years before he taught theology in "Academia Andegavensis."

In the university arena he had to offer successively two theses, which he had to expound, and to maintain against the professors and any others who chose to challenge him. The former or "Tentative" was sustained creditably. By the time that the time arrived for the second, the doctrines of Jansen were quite burning. As professor Martin Luther had offered to maintain against all comers not one only, but 95 theses on the

21 Revue d'Anjou; XXII, 302.
22 Ibid. XXIII, 161.
23 Ibid. XVI, 54, 60-62.
24 Antiqua Statuta: 27, 33, 35, 64.
25 Preface to Matthew and Mark
live topics of the day, so professor Charles-Marie chose a thesis which he knew would win the support of Antoine Arnauld, brother of his diocesan, and leader of the Jansenists. He sustained his trials with honour on 16 April 1674.

That enabled him to "prendre sa bonnet" as docteur in the fashion that Scottish universities still preserve, capping the graduate. Many a minister who wins his doctorate to-day will have his robes presented by admirers. And at this crisis Bossuet claimed the privilege of old friendship. Indeed, although through this long period of twenty years at Angers, the Congregation of St. Augustin was responsible for all expense, Bossuet had again and again helped, and it was only fitting he should appear at the climax.26

26 Floquet, I. 286; citing Bayle: Nouvelles de la république des lettres, dec. 1684.

(To be continued.)

THOMAS WATTS, gentleman, of Radnage in Bucks., had three children; Thomas born June 1656, John born 1659, Rafe born 1660. He and his wife Sarah were Baptists. After the Restoration pressure was brought to bear, and the parish register for 1662, October 8 contains the entry:—"All these 3 children bapt'd. in one day, being not brought to Baptism (out of an anabaptizer Persuasion) till that age; and then (the Bishops being restored) were thereunto compelled." Of this family not much else is known, but John Watts who in 1660 and 1661 complained of bad treatment, was thrown into Newgate 1676, and there received help from Amersham General Baptist church.

JOSEPH STENNETT of Hitchendon, or Hughenden, in Bucks., married on 8 April 1714 at Radnage, Rebecka Davies of that village. This is presumably the Joseph whose father Joseph had died the year before. The bridegroom settled the same year at Leominster, went to Exeter in 1719, to Wild Street in London 1737, became D.D. 1754, died 1756. His connection with Hughenden has been forgotten. It may have had something to do with the colony of Seventh-day Baptists from Wallingford, to which his grandfather Edward ministered.

THIS day Nov. 13, 1682, one Elizabeth Hoke was burnt for clipping [coin]; in Bunhill Fields, a place never used for that purpose; but the sheriff chose it as a void and spacious place.

THOMAS WOODCOCK.