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The Fourteen of Masux



THE FOURTEEN OF MEAUX.

The Fourteen of Meaux:

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EARLIEST "REFORMED CHURCH" WITHIN
FRANCE PROPER, ORGANIZED BY ESTIENNE MANGIN, AND PIERRE
LECLERC; WHO, WITH TWELVE OTHER PERSONS, SUFFERED DEATH
BY FIRE IN 1546.

FROM CRESPIN AND VARIOUS OTHER AUTHORITIES.

BY

H. M. BOWER, M.A.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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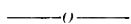
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rum sanctissimorum Martyrum testiumque Iesu Christi adauxisset. Cum peruenissent Meldas, in carcerem omnes incluse runt: ac tū quæ-
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minis nec promissis flecti, à sententiâq; deduci vnquâ potuerūt. Hora
autē post meridiē secūda, quæ supplicio dicta erat, cū è carcere edu-
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uit, quam ille præbuit libenter atque exeruit: qua præcisa, sangui-
nem euomens, loquutus est, ita vt satis intelligeretur, huiusmodi ver-
bis ter precatus, Sit nomen Dei benedictum. mōxque super cratē tra-
ctus fuit, quemadmodum & Clericus: cæteri verò plaustrō impositi
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tuordecim patibula forma circulari erecta erant, atque è regione do-
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agnos sacrificio destinatos alligerunt. Quoniam autem ij quibus lin-

Virtus hu-
mana sup-
tiori.

Transubst-
antiat.

Mangino
præcisa
lingua lo-
cutus

Fideles o-
ues macta-
tioni deli-
natæ.

The Fourteen of Meaux.

An account of the earliest "Reformed Church" within France proper, organized on the Strasburg model by Estienne Mangin and Pierre LeClerc; who, with twelve other persons, suffered death by fire on the seventh of October, 1546.

From Crespin's "Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum" (1560) and various other authorities; with historical notes and introduction.

BY HERBERT M. BOWER, M.A., BARRISTER AT LAW.

Introduction.

To E. A. MANGIN, ESQ.,

Aldfield, Ripon.

MY DEAR MANGIN,

When you shewed me among your curiosities the old silver cup to which your family attaches an interesting tradition, and the copy of "Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum—Joannes Crispinus, MDLX," we neither of us knew the full interest of the event you related to me.

The translation which I then undertook of the passage on folio 121 of that work, describing the steadfast conduct of Étienne Mangin and his companions under terrible trials, would have seemed to your friends incomplete, without a rendering of the whole chapter. This I have tried to carry out with equal respect for accuracy and for English idioms. But even that chapter appeared far from exhausting the subject; and a larger enquiry not only supported Crespin's account by the corroboration of other and even hostile historians, but soon indicated for Étienne Mangin and Pierre LeClerc a more important position in the startling events of the sixteenth century than I had dreamt of.

These two leaders of the Meaux movement, at its culmination in 1546, were certainly among the first men, if not themselves indeed the first, to plant a root of the "*Reformed Church*" in France proper. It is true that the long suffering Vaudois community, on the uncertain and troubled French frontier, had a historic church of their own, which may well

have influenced the Franco-Swiss protestants of the Reformation. The Vaudois sought, and accepted, doctrinal assistance from that vigorous young school of thought, and rejected the Roman Communion. They suffered a dreadful massacre, (under some authority of the recently constituted "*Parlement*" of Aix and the French government), in 1545. Again, several towns even in the heart of France had doubtless furnished, as Meaux herself had already done, many individuals, and even some congregations, favourable to the new ideas. Whether before 1546, any of these last had advanced so far as Meaux towards a stable constitution, is perhaps impossible to find out. Be this as it may, one thing seems almost certain: namely that, as implied by a marginal note to the *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises réformées* (Édition nouvelle 1883, Vol. I, p. 67), and by other authorities, Meaux produced strictly the first "*Église Réformée*", in the accepted sense, in France proper.*

A visit to the town of Meaux, recently undertaken, had the result of furnishing me with considerable confirmation and elucidation of Crespin's really classical narrative; for I was there able to obtain a copy of the now rare, and happily unprejudiced, "*Histoire de Meaux*," published in 1865 by A. Carro, late official Librarian of that town; also to copy out two passages, used by him, in reference to these events, from an interesting MS. by Rochard, dated 1721, and preserved in the Town Library. These writers used some much older but inedited manuscripts,† which any one of antiquarian taste may perhaps find interesting. I also obtained at that town a copy of the "*Histoire de l'Église de Meaux*," 1731, by Dom Toussaints du Plessis, a worthy representative of the learned Benedictines of S. Maur.‡

The "*Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises Réformées*," attributed to Théodore de Bèze, and first published in 1580, gives an account of this tragedy, which is said by the editors of the modern reprint to be drawn from Crespin's work. [See the Paris edition of 1883. Vol. I. page 70, note: referring the reader also to Toussaints du Plessis]. Sismondi, in the 17th volume of his "*Histoire des Français*," follows Théodore de Bèze and other writers. In main features Crespin and Bèze agree. Some variation will be remarked on in my notes. It would be useless to repeat the history in Bèze's words also.

* See notes 3, 25a, and 29, hereafter. †MSS. by L'Enfant and by Janvier.

‡ The "*Memoires de L'enfant*," cited by Toussaints du Plessis, are no doubt the inedited MSS. of that writer. Cf: Hist: de l'Egl: de Meaux, Tome I, p. 348; and Carro, Hist: de Meaux, pp. III, IV, V.

Again, Carro's account of the affair appears to be merely a modern *résumé* from Rochard and Toussaints du Plessis ; so I have been content to add to Crespin's narrative separate translations from these two writers. They seem to give independent histories of the tragedy from a point of view hostile to the reformers. They, however, singularly corroborate Crespin as to main facts and many details.

The official judgment in the case is still extant among the Archives at Paris ; and, considering that the versions printed in different histories somewhat vary, I thought it well to make, and add here, a careful translation of the whole judgment as copied out for me from the original.

As you, and some other friends, have suggested that a wider public than your own family might like to see the present account, and the Huguenot Society of London has kindly taken the same view, some justification becomes due perhaps to readers unknown to me, for the bulk of the notes I have appended. While all of these may, I hope, be useful, there are very special grounds for several of them. The note on Étienne Mangin and his family is, I think, a fresh and important contribution to Huguenot information. The position, too, of his house, is now brought to light, by the admirable exertions of M. Moussé, of the *Hospice général de Meaux*, whose efforts in this matter deserve the heartiest thanks ; and the note thereon needs probably no apology whatever. Again, some of those families which may be concerned with the event of 1546, (when sixty named persons were apprehended,) or are otherwise interested in Meaux, would find great difficulty in obtaining the history of that town. The note on that subject is chiefly drawn from Carro's Work. The note on Crespin speaks for itself. That on the celebration of the Lord's Supper by the Meaux Gospellers will, though a long one, be excused by any one who bears in mind the difficulties under which these people laboured, and reads the judgment against them. The shorter notes on the organization and discipline which they found at Strasburg, and on the Psalm tune sung at Meaux, will, I hope, justify themselves. Those on Briçonnet's work and contests, and on King Francis I, could hardly have been shortened or left out, in justice either to the former himself, to the subjects of the latter, or to the historical import of the Meaux movement.

In any notice of a religious struggle it is inevitable that doctrine be mentioned, or even made the subject of some remark. But I have avoided disputation on warmly contested questions of Divinity. The occasion does not seem in the

least suitable, even should one wish to discuss these matters. The subject is approached from a point of view essentially memorial and historical.

It may be asked what accounts there are already in English of the appalling execution of these prisoners. There is a slight mention of it in "Fox's Book of Martyrs." (See the edition of 1846, Vol. II, p. 134.) But there seems to be some confusion in that book as to the exact identity of the Fourteen, nor does the story itself agree in every detail with these French authorities. Reece's "Compendious Martyrology" (1813, Vol. II, p. 75), gives an account almost identical with that in the "Book of Martyrs," but names only Mangin and "Peter Clerk." I have never been able to see the alleged English translation of the "*Histoire des Martyrs*," (see Note 1, hereafter). Maddock's "Popish Tyranny" (1780) is an abridgement. Laval's "History of the Reformation in France," (1737, vol. I, pp. 61, 62), gives some short account of the event. Baird, in his excellent "History of the Rise of the Huguenots" (1880), gives to this particular movement and martyrdom a very important place and a concise narration. It may well be mentioned in various other books unknown to me.

My hearty thanks, for kind assistance given in various ways, are due to M. Andrieux; Librarian to the Town of Meaux, and to the authorities of several other Libraries; to M. Moussé, *Econome Secrétaire à l'Hospice Général de Meaux*; to M. Weiss, Secretary to the French Society for Protestant History in Paris; and to various other persons, including Miss Mangin of West Knoyle near Bath, and yourself.

In order that members of your family, and others interested, who have not the time or opportunity to examine the various necessary books, may still have the events of those days brought readily to mind, I have ventured to write the following introductory paragraphs, on the Fourteen of Meaux; and attempted, after consulting the pages of good historians, to illustrate, however imperfectly, that dark but pregnant age.*

It has been said that the Reformation had a double aspect, disciplinary and doctrinal. It should not however be thought

* The authorities chiefly used have been:—

Actiones et Monumenta Martyrum (Crispinus, 1560.)

Histoire des Martyrs (1582, 1885, etc.)

Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François Premier 1515-1536: publié par Ludovic Lalanne (Paris, 1854.)

Liturgia Sacra Argentine (Valerandus Polla, 1551. Preserved in the British Museum.)

that a single party, in or out of the Church, was sole champion of both these tendencies, or of either. Perhaps a still more profound idea, or principle, underlay and dictated the two.

The earlier part of the sixteenth century, as exhibited in the pages of Ranke and other historians, is lively with new or restored ideas. The middle age was passing away, and, with it, waned the dubious political influence of the Latin Church. Corruption, common perhaps among temporal principalities, was by no means excluded from that wide temporal and spiritual dynasty. The ill-conduct also, and ignorance, of many priests, impaired the Church's credit; and the western world, long indeed her submissive pupil, was now seeking further instruction, and making up, for good or ill, a mind of its own. It is plain that the Latin Church needed at least administrative

Arrêt de Meaux (1546) [A MS. copy, furnished through the kind offices of M. Weiss, from the original "Registres Criminels du Parlement de Paris."] Pseaumes de David mis en Rime (appended to "La Bible," printed by Iaquy, Daudeau, and Bourgeois, 1560.)

Les Pseaumes mis en Rime (Lyons, De Tournes, 1563.)

Histoire ecclésiastique des Églises réformées (a new annotated edition, 1883, of that book, which was published in 1580.)

Histoire généalogique de la Maison des Briçonets (Guy Bretonneau, Paris, 1621.)

Historie of the Councill of Trent (Paolo Sarpi Venetiano [Pietro Soave Polano], Brent's Translation, London, 1629.)

Summa Conciliorum Omnium Ordinata etc. (Bail, Paris, 1675.)

Monumentorum Ad Historiam Concilii Tridentini (Le Plat, 1782.)

Histoire du Calvinisme (Maimbourg, Paris, 1682.)

Antiquitez de la ville de Meaux (Rochard, MS., preserved at Meaux, and dated 1721.)

Histoire de l'Église de Meaux (Dom Toussaints du Plessis, 1731.)

Histoire de Meaux (Carro, 1865.)

Petit guide dans la ville de Meaux (Le Blondel, 1888.)

A French MS. book of the Mangin family, containing pedigree from Estienne Mangin nearly to the present generation, and short accounts of him and others.

La France Protestante (Haag, 1846, etc.)

Correspondance des Réformateurs (Herminjard 1866, etc.)

Joannis Calvinii opera etc. (Baum & Cunitz, 1867, being the XXXIVth volume of the "Corpus Reformatorum.")

Histoire des Français (Sismondi, vols. XVI, XVII, 1833.)

Histoire de France (Michelet, 1857.)

View of the state of Europe during the Middle Ages. (Hallam, New Edition, 1872.)

History of the Popes (Ranke, translation by Foster 1866.)

Church History (Hardwick, Edited by Stubbs.)

History of the Reformation (D'Aubigné, Translation, by H. White.)

History of the Rise of the Huguenots (Baird 1880.)

Der Kirchengesang in Basel seit der Reformation (Riggenbach, 1870.)

Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot (Donen, 1878.)

History of the Waldenses of Italy (Comba, Translation 1889.)

Encyclopédie (Diderot & D'Alembert, 1765.)

Encyclopædia Britannica.

Besides other works, and books of reference.

and moral, if not intellectual, reform, when we find that even a Pope of that day* was considered quite remarkable for being "not proud, no trafficker in church property, not avaricious, "not given to pleasure, moderate in food, frugal in dress, "religious and devout." The existence of abuses was indeed so well-known as to be practically acknowledged, and the serious proposal for a Council, about 1523, is said to have lowered considerably the price of the saleable offices at the Court. The Concordat between the Pope and the French King, officially read at the Fifth Lateran Council in 1516, unpopular though it was, had been a plain example to Western Christendom, that money might be the price of spiritual prerogatives. For Leo X, thereby, in consideration of receiving first years' profits, leased to the King, though subject to Papal approval, appointments to most bishoprics and abbeys in France, which had formerly been supposed elective.

The Lateran Councils contain distinct and frequent injunctions as to discipline. Lapses towards simony seem to have been prevalent, and are a suggestive indication of the views of their office, then common among the clergy. Even the celebration, or sacrifice, of the Mass, accepted at the same time as an extremely solemn sacerdotal or Divine ceremony, was bought by laymen, and sold by priests, with such boldness, that the Franciscans of Meaux, to protect the traffic, brought the matter to an issue in a distinct charge. This comprised a series of articles, wherein the Franciscans imputed certain teachings to Martial Mazurier, alleging that he had, *inter alia*, condemned as impious the sale of a Mass for five farthings. So thoroughly was this system established, that the theologian, thus charged, repudiated the propositions complained of.†

About four centuries had already passed since the First Lateran Council, which by its XIth Canon awards remission of their sins to those who visit Jerusalem, and give efficacious assistance in defending the christian people, and destroying the tyranny of the infidels. This offer, made by the loftiest spiritual leaders to the fighting public, was in the thirteenth century, under the Fourth Lateran Council, even extended (with certain limiting words) to exterminators of heretics.‡ Such an adjustment of Divine claims on man is a vivid mark of the supernatural powers claimed, doubtless still earlier, by priests. As ages wore on, they were willing to sell to man some minor though kindred indulgences, even for money when this was intended for pious uses. Pope Leo X countenanced

* Clement VII. Cf. Ranke, Vol. I, p. 75 and note. † See note 8, hereafter.

‡ See :—Summa Conciliorum Omnium Ordinata. [Bail, Paris, 1675.]

such a trade to raise funds for St. Peter's. Opposition to it was notoriously the occasion of Luther's first appearance in 1517.

That period was a crisis for the power of Rome. Learning had sprung again into life. The different books of the New Testament were read and translated into various languages. The art of printing had recently been developed, and men's minds, seldom vigorous without some speculation, had begun again to question, not only the conduct of careless and greedy priests, but the doctrines which they and their brethren were supposed to teach. Hardly anything can be more certainly affirmed of mankind, than that perpetual absenteeism of officers and inefficiency of subordinates, must sap the discipline of any organization, and also put in question the principles supposed to be associated with it. Nor could a reader of general history have expected to find even a zealous priesthood successful in maintaining against human temptations, any large system of traditional doctrine uncorrupted, through fifteen centuries. He would perforce further suspect its purity, when the hierarchy in question was found to have amassed for itself fabulous wealth and enjoyed unheard of worldly power.

We are accordingly told that not only were doubts abroad, but that even among Italian priests themselves might then be found some countenance for doctrine akin to that of the northern protestants, while the highest in the Roman system knew that discipline needed amendment. Pope Adrian VI, in his day, made an unsuccessful effort towards reform in the matter of indulgences and sale of preferments. His successors, Clement VII, and Paul III, were perhaps too anxious in political affairs to be thoroughly active in reform. The last named, however, exercising a liberal discretion in his appointments, elevated Gaspar Contarini to the College of Cardinals, who soon protested against abuses profitable to the Curia, and, slighting the notion that what former Popes had done was necessarily to shut up the mouths of those who would mend matters, pointed out that the true dominion of the Papacy was a dominion of reason not of individual will.*

Whether or not Contarini brought about the Papal commission for reform, at any rate the Pope appointed this thoughtful man his legate to the Ratisbon Conference in 1541; who perhaps reached the limits of his commission, in the endeavour to promote at that conference a unity of doctrine. He, however, maintained the authority of the Pope and the

* See Contarini's two Epistles to Paul III, 1538; printed by Le Plat, "Monumentorum etc.:" 1782, Vol. II, pp. 605 etc. Also the Report of the Council of Select Cardinals and others in 1538; printed by Le Plat, *ibid.* pp. 596 etc. See also Ranke.

Apostolic See, and no reconciliation was confirmed. Contarini's attitude was evil spoken of at Rome, as if he were tainted with Lutheranism, but he satisfied the Pope, at Lucca, upon rendering account of his legation.

A complication of the difficulty was the distinction between two systems of Clergy : namely, the Regulars who professed Religion according to the rules of certain societies, and the Secular Clergy who generally had cure of souls. Though the monks in very early days had not been deemed eligible to the priesthood, yet they had soon been admitted to those orders. The Benedictines presently became the missionaries of Friesland and Germany ; they furnished indeed the *litterati*, and many of the highest officers in the Church. The later rise of the Franciscan and Dominican friars, (each rule dictated by a fresh though perhaps untempered enthusiasm), had further much increased the number of Non-parochial Clergy. The existence of so many Religious rules, societies, and houses, notwithstanding the divers aids so rendered to the Church of Rome and the Papal ascendancy, had often caused local anxiety, if not jealousy, from their insubordination to Bishops, their competition with the Parochial Clergy, lapses from strict rule, and perhaps from those risks of exaggeration to which the monastic idea is obviously exposed. From the fourteenth century, discipline within these societies seems to have fallen very low. Historians have charged them, variously and perhaps too sweepingly, with waste, idleness, frauds, mummeries, false miracles, relics and superstitious trifles employed for gain, scandals, and immorality. Even the most cautious reader of poets and satirists is compelled to see some indication of misconduct, in the tales of Chaucer and the cynical allusions of Rabelais. In 1538, (some time after Bishop Briçonnet's dispute with the Franciscans of Meaux), a strong Committee of Cardinals and others was formed. Its Report is profoundly interesting, as an official criticism of Rome, and the Church, at that time. Not Protestants, but very high Dignitaries of the Church here boldly sketch a system of sordid, and extremely unspiritual, greed. Among other matters, too, they report to Pope Paul III that the orders of *Religiosi* have so deteriorated as to be a grave scandal to Seculars.* This Committee, among whom were Contarini, Sadolet, and Pole, went so far as to recommend measures for the abolition of all those existing bodies. The dispute between the Regulars and the Prelates ran high at the Council of Trent. Paolo Sarpi, in his history of that Council, tells us that about readings and preachings there were terrible controversies ; the Regulars

* See the Document in Le Plat, cited above.

being already in possession of them as well by the Pope's privileges as by the practice of 300 years: while the Prelates alleged that they were usurped, and claimed restitution.* The learned modern historian Hardwick seems, however, to give to the Parochial and Secular Clergy themselves almost a worse character than to the Regulars, in the matters of ignorance, sloth, and misconduct, where he deals with the period 1305 to 1520. Probably there were, in both departments, various degrees of discredit†.

The wish for reform and better discipline had, however, appeared in the very region of the societies themselves. New associations were formed at this time: for instance, the Theatines, founded in 1524, not as a monkish house, but as an aristocratic seminary, with the rigid clerical duties of preaching, administration of the sacraments, and care of the sick: while among the Franciscans arose, in 1525, a real revival of selfdenial, or discipline, represented by the austere, devout, and courageous Capuchins.

But later still had been discovered one of the most sagacious plans for attaining disciplinary sternness in the Church at large, which the world has seen. The soldierlike but visionary Loyola, so long a student in the severe school of his own asceticism, gradually thought out, and at last founded, the famous "Society of Jesus," which was fully sanctioned by the Church in 1543. The conventual idea, of filling up time with devotional exercises, was abandoned for the strict rule of the three virtues thought to be more essential: namely obedience, chastity, and poverty. The duties were chiefly those of preaching, confession, and education of youth. The organization was practical: an extreme obedience its distinguishing mark.

There was, then, about this time, a decided movement towards discipline within the church, together even with some faint hint of the possibility of fresh light in matters of doctrine. This last was a delicate subject for so absolute and determined a power as the Latin Church. One of the most crucial doctrines which we find agitating the Protestants of the sixteenth century, that of Transubstantiation, had, along with the Apostolical succession of priests, been distinctly affirmed already, by the Fourth Lateran Council, which assembled in 1215. It must, however, have seemed desirable to ecclesiastics to confirm and extend doctrine by removing doubts, that now existed even

* *Historie of the Councill of Trent*, pp. 161 and 167.

† It must be remembered that (leaving out of account the drastic reformers Wycliffe and Huss) the Church during this period could boast of such men as Thomas a Kempis and Dean Colet. Probably many monasteries, and many parishes, showed real devotion.

in the south ; while the northern situation was very serious.

Luther, excommunicated in 1520, had suffered in 1521 the Ban of the Empire. But Emperors, or their servants, do not always stick to one side in a religious quarrel. An army of adventurers soon after assembled in Italy. This force consisted of reckless Italians, together with Spanish and Lutheran soldiers, accustomed to war, to penury, and to pillage. In 1526-7, they sacked the Eternal City herself. Michelet says that the Emperor, though he disavowed, yet approved this event.* The league of Schmalkald in 1530 bound the evangelical or protestant districts of Germany into a new organization. The Swiss had shown a very independent attitude in matters of doctrine ; and, represented by Zwingli, had even held a discussion with Luther, in 1529, on the vexed question of the Eucharist, in spite of the Lateran Council before mentioned. In France, counting perhaps on the support of the French King, if not even on that of advanced Italian thinkers, Bishop Briçonnet had at Meaux carried his zeal for reform beyond the usual measures of the prelacy at that time, and appointed to his readerships, about 1521, men of liberal learning. He checked the Franciscans or Cordeliers, used other disciplinary methods, and, soon after, opened the way for even doctrinal discussion, by permitting copies of the gospels in French to be circulated in his diocese : thus encouraging a new and uncalculated movement in France also. On the frontiers of that country the old community of the Vaudois had shewn a fresh activity, and, by successive conferences, a real desire for union with the German and Swiss dissenters. Again, though the days of Wycliffe were past, yet the English, (whose character was generally independent though conservative), were increasingly impatient of Roman interference. They were headed by a king, called Defender of the Faith, but wilful and wayward still, whose fancy or policy had led to a difference with Rome, and might make him a bitter enemy. This nation was also indignant at the supposed murder of Hunne in London, and was encouraged in reformatory ideas by students at Cambridge and at Oxford. Parliament had made inoperative the Roman licenses for pluralities which the clergy might purchase ; and, in 1534, the Act of Supremacy contradicted the assumed jurisdiction of the Pope over Englishmen, by declaring the King head of the Church of England.

* Gibbon declares that the ravages of the barbarous Goths, under Alaric, in 410, were less destructive than the hostilities exercised by the troops of this Catholic prince, Charles the Fifth, eleven centuries later. [See History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Edition 1828, Vol. IV, p. 118.]

The Danish King, Frederick I, early adopted a really modern policy of toleration; while Gustavus Vasa, the liberator King of Sweden, boldly undertook, in 1527, to reorganize the Church in that country. Upon the doubtful ocean of European orthodoxy the cosmopolitan Erasmus, representative of shrewd learning, hung, like some undeclared ally, to windward of the two fleets. Death overtook him in 1536.

It must not be thought that, in these early days of the Reformation, any fresh and detailed confession had been adopted by any Universal Body called "Protestants." Each nation may almost be said to have had its own school of reformers: some of them, perhaps, survivals of old attempts obscured to the modern world by the thick smoke of persecution. But the main grounds of protest against the alleged abuses of Rome were now everywhere nearly the same. They were: criticism of priestly conduct and claims, and study of the four Gospels. While well to do and educated people were increasingly impatient of ignorance and pedantry, the poor and the simple felt a need of religious consolation, which the Clergy of that day could not, or would not, regard. The exact conclusions reached by persons far divided geographically and socially were various indeed. The Mass was attacked here, tolerated there; while the dogma of "Transubstantiation" was vigorously discussed by two divergent parties of ardent reformers, a *via media* "Consubstantiation" being suggested by one of them. The whole movement had to encounter difficulties of an extraordinary kind. No new religion was aimed at, but a restoration of primitive doctrine; and, in face of a priesthood whose remarkable historic career seemed to glorify the attitude of an existing trades-union, the extreme sections of the reform party would have to use all their scholarship, all their zeal, and all their powers of conciliation among themselves, to reach any coherent exposition of doctrine. The "Protestant" princes of Germany undertook, in 1530, to put forth the most moderate statement of their views; and the Augsburg Confession, accordingly drawn up by Melancthon, was free enough from intolerant aggressiveness. This was, however, only a sign of a general effort, which aimed at a direct worship of God, and opposed the continued adoration of saints, use of images, number of sacraments, traffic in Masses, monastic vows, celibacy of the clergy, the detailed enumeration of sins to priests, indulgences, satisfaction by ceremonies or by works, and papal or episcopal power over kingdoms and laws. Many reformers, as above suggested, saw in the dogma of "Transubstantiation" an irreconcilable

quarrel between the existing Church and themselves. And all kinds of Protestants were, whether each individual realized it or not, joining in a great revolt against the claims of the Sacerdotal corps, to Supernatural powers, Heavenly knowledge, and Terrestrial domination.

A fine passage in Neander's "General History of the Christian Religion and Church,"* dealing with an earlier period, indicates the terrific social force of such engines as ecclesiastical Excommunication, Anathema, and Interdict. Is it not permissible, (or inevitable), to suppose that, throughout the Middle Ages, hundreds or thousands of even devoted Churchmen saw in such measures the "losses irreparable," which the later Benedictine Dom Toussaints du Plessis† perceived in the startling tragedy of the Fourteen? Certainly the intellectual and moral movement of the sixteenth century would find multitudes of people, both devout and indifferent worshippers, who had no ardent love for the priesthood of that day; and the persistent incursion of ecclesiastics into legal, social, and political affairs, had created a terrible danger of even social and political revolution, when the nations should realize that fact. Luther's Reformation is sometimes regarded as the strenuous revival of sacred family life and happiness. It is not indeed surprising to find the Religious Reformation closely connected with mundane events, if we remember the pretensions of the Hierarchy.

The Pope, then, would, under all these circumstances, be well advised to hold a Council, whether he personally wished it or not. Assured of adherence from friendly princes, he took a favourable occasion to call one himself, and the Council of Trent was opened in 1545, whose sessions extended over several years. There were various decrees for the ordering of Church ceremony and amendment of Church discipline. The protestant doctrine of "Justification" was by this Council rejected. Revelation was discussed; and it was settled that certain unwritten Tradition must be accepted as reverentially as Scripture. "Transubstantiation" was again affirmed. The doctrinal result of the Council was to thwart the new reliance on the Scriptures as complete authorities, and, by practically retaining in seven authorized Sacraments‡

* Torrey's Translation 1889, Vol. VI, pp. 153, 154. See also Hallam's Middle Ages, Chapter VII.

† Histoire de l'Église de Meaux, 1731. Tome I, p. 348.

‡ Though the seven Sacraments were already recognized as early as the ninth century, when the custom of priestly unction was definitely sanctioned, yet the name had been applied to other religious usages that were excluded later. (See Neander, Vol. VI, p. 146.)

a strong control of the hierarchy over the life of man, to assist the uncertain discipline of the churches.

If an ordinary observer of mankind be asked what would probably happen under the conditions which preceded this tardy Council, will he not suggest that the growing disciplinary vigour would seek to exercise itself, in some form or other, upon the doctrinal dissidents? Such in fact was the case. The guardians of discipline, with all their wish to support their orders, to do their official work, to restore strict observance of religious duties, or to keep their own places, properties, and influence, found themselves face to face, not merely with careless incumbents and ill-behaved friars, but also with the many extreme advocates of reform for both hierarchy and doctrine. These might possibly, on their side, not have gone so far in their doctrinal dissent, had the Church's disciplinary reformation shown more reality, with less bigotry and desperation. Indeed, in England and Germany, where the Reformation succeeded more easily than in the South of Europe, the Churches so re-cast seem less bitterly hostile to Latin opinion, than were the dissenters of France and the South.

The protestants generally were so zealous, however, for what they considered vital doctrines, and so frequent in their attacks on the abuses of the priesthood, that the Roman Church, weakened as she was, found her disciplinary powers needed to crush these people. This, in an age which little regarded human suffering, easily led to her employment of the Inquisition, her punitive alliance with the still jealous Civil Power, and the nett results of torture and death to the protestants.

Ages before the time we are particularly concerned with, the Church had used means for enquiring into heresies, and punishment of heretics. The system took definite form in the establishment of the Dominican Inquisition in the 13th century. That institution had fallen into decay, though protestants against the clergy and their teachings still suffered from time to time, and a supreme tribunal for Spain had been established. After the abortive termination of the Ratisbon Conference, Cardinal Caraffa, to solve the difficulty, had spoken for a searching Inquisition. He was supported by Toledo of Burgos. The policy adopted was: to suppress and uproot "errors," and let no vestige of them remain.

The plan was a supreme tribunal of Inquisition at Rome, on which the others should depend. Loyola supported the proposition. The bull was published in 1542. Ranke says: "a fearful state of things, and then more especially so, when

“opinions were not well fixed or fully developed, and many “were seeking to conciliate the more profound doctrines of “Christianity with the institutions of the existing church.”* The startling fact of its establishment, during that time of intellectual revival, indicates the attitude of a threatened, or even desperate, hierarchy. No doubt the sad events that happened at Paris, and at Meaux, were part of the general policy, so far as the French King, and his advisers, concurred in it.†

Men do not, however, speak only by the mouth. You might even destroy the hand, while the work of the pen it had held escaped you. The Church made no such blunder. Custom-house officers and booksellers were enjoined to notify writings and printed books to the Inquisitors. There arose, soon after 1543, an index of prohibited books. The example was set outside Italy, Louvain and Paris taking the lead. Other places followed; and in 1559 a formal publication was made at Rome. It would be childish, indeed, to cry over the loss to literature. The loss is to man himself, who has suffered spiritual guides to obliterate the vivid thoughts of his own ancestors. It was even made a matter of conscience for private persons to denounce forbidden books, and do their best towards their destruction. One instance of successful suppression, notwithstanding the new power of the printing press, seems to have been that of a very remarkable book. It may have been both theologically unorthodox and argumentatively wrong. No man can judge. For Ranke tells us, that not one copy among many thousands, of the work “On the Benefits bestowed by Christ,” survived its proscription and can now be found. One is appalled to think what knowledge and what ideas, in earlier ages, may have been summarily destroyed in manuscript, before the development of printing required an Index.

A notable example of the Church's condition, in both general and particular features, during this period, is furnished by the Diocese of Meaux. At no great distance eastward from Paris, nor very far from Lorraine and the Low Countries, that district seemed marked out for all the troubles of war, for easy interchange of European ideas, and for a chequered history. The town, again, cut in two by a great bend of the river Marne, was divided against itself: no bad type of what might occur there in any dispute—civil, military, or religious. The southern portion, named after the great market there

* History of the Popes. Vol. I, p. 159.

† Compare notes 17, 24, hereafter.

situated, was a fortress in itself; had been defended by the nobles in the peasant war, when the *Jacquerie* held the town; was now a nursery of Gospellers; and, some time after the terrible death of the Fourteen, we find the *Grand Marché* a stronghold of *Pieds Nus* or *Huguenots*. It was subsequently the scene of various episodes in the religious war.

The elements of discord were, however, at Meaux as elsewhere, deeper than any geographical features. Considerably before the Huguenot League, Meaux was the arena of a bitter and too memorable religious contest. That double movement of doctrine and discipline, which, in the churches under Roman influence, led to persecution, was early astir at Meaux. Indeed, one of the most interesting traits of that sad period is the way in which the double movement caused, as time went on, an apparent change in the policy of Guillaume Briçonnet, the reforming Bishop of Meaux. After a short absence on duty at Rome, he entered, in 1518, very actively on his episcopal work. This was only the next year after Luther's Wittenberg propositions against Indulgences. The bishop early showed himself both a firm disciplinarian, and a favourer of the new religious learning represented by Lefèvre.

The condition of the Church at Meaux, as related by the studious Benedictine Dom Toussaints du Plessis, and by Carro, was doubtless a type of the general laxity and abuse, and might well have staggered a more obstinate reformer than Briçonnet; though M. Jules Zeller is able to say, that, under that bishop, the Diocese was an oasis of piety in the midst of the general corruption.* It is recorded that ecclesiastical discipline had been almost ignored at Meaux. The *curés* hardly worked at all in their parishes, and we are told that the bishop could scarcely find resident, in the whole of his diocese, fourteen priests really capable of instructing the people and of administering the sacraments. Towards such neglect, Briçonnet, himself an apostle of duty as well as of education, showed an indignant sternness, while displaying some power of organization. Among other measures, he promptly and repeatedly admonished his clergy to reside, attaching penalties to disobedience, and thus anticipating, in his own diocese, the restoration of disciplinary canons, to be, after great opposition, solemnly and prudently adopted many years later by the Council of Trent. He also provided for the better instruction of the people, by arranging thirty-two preachers' stations in the diocese: an institution which,

* François I. Paris, 1882, p. 142.

Toussaints du Plessis says, remained, with some modifications, to his own day, two centuries later. One man, and that a Bishop, was not perhaps likely to clearly illustrate the tendency to form still further societies of *Religieux*. Yet we learn from Longpérier's "*Notice héraldique sur les Evêques de Meaux*," (1876, p. 78.), that a house of the Canons regular of the order of the Holy Trinity was founded in 1533, that is, within Briçonnet's episcopacy. I know not whether he may have encouraged this fresh brotherhood, perhaps with a view to counteract the unworthy representatives of the old Franciscan rule. But, apart from new monastic institutions, it is not perhaps too fanciful, for a modern visitor to Meaux, to people for a moment that noble vaulted college in the episcopal palace, with earlier and less pretentious classes of scholars,* taught by the learned Lefèvre and his colleagues, animated by the zealous and accomplished Briçonnet, vigorous with that exercise of their talents which he expected of them, and proud of their mission to a neglected people.

For Briçonnet tried to use at Meaux the learning which had lately been revived in Europe; which, indeed, moving hand in hand with a generous zeal for reform, might become its guide and moderator. The strange position this learning was itself to bring about could be, perhaps, at first as little realized by the bishop, as the future influence on the Swiss Church, and on Europe, of Farel, one of his own earlier preachers and Erasmus's future enemy, who soon became too vehement or extreme for Meaux, and had to leave. A more important, nay, probably the greatest representative of scholarship at Meaux, or in France, was Faber, [or Lefèvre,] of Étapes. A very famous teacher at Paris, he enjoyed the favour of Briçonnet and the King. A sentence of his, written so early as 1517, quoted in Whitaker's "Disputation,"† is gently suggestive of the young religious movement, so soon to powerfully engage Europe, and offend the priesthood. He says: "The greatest part of the world now, when they pray, I know not whether they pray with the spirit, but they certainly do not with the understanding; for they pray in a tongue which they do not understand. Yet Paul approves most that the faithful should pray both with the spirit and the understanding; and those who pray so, as is the general practice,

* Crespin, in opening his account of Pavannes, says: "*Briçonnetus ille episcopus Meldensis, initio quidem in sua diocesi scholam aperuerat Evangelio. . .*" [Actiones, 1560, fol. 52, verso.]

† Parker Society, Whitaker," p. 273.

“edify themselves but little by the prayer, and cannot edify others at all by their speech.” His views were not agreeable to the Sorbonne. That theological college, so famous throughout Europe, was disposed to burn Lefèvre, who had differed with it on the curious question of Mary Magdalene and the three Marys. The Bishop drew him to Meaux, showed great confidence in him, and seems to have distributed within that diocese, the French translations of the Gospels and other parts of the New Testament and the Psalms, which Lefèvre published from 1520 to 1525. In this year he was included in the notable proceedings against the bishop and others: and though protected by a letter from the King, he quitted Meaux.

Briçonnet however did not content himself with disciplinary advice to his curés, and the use of more modern instruction. The people, untaught in religion, were yet not likely to entirely neglect the ancient consecrated days. They were usually accustomed to certain public dances on Sundays and the feasts of the Virgin, which entertainments seem to have been thought not conducive to morality. The people were also familiar with a somewhat debased form of the mystery plays: that curious and popular kind of drama, which, based on man’s liking for supernatural or divine subjects, has the widest possible stage, and the most varied opportunities. In our day the religious drama still survives in strange and divers forms, embracing the grotesque, the intellectual, and the impressive: showing such different specimens, as perhaps the children’s Punch and Judy show, certainly Goethe’s dramatic poem of Faust, and the solemn though doubtless painful, Oberammergau performances. Briçonnet found the phase of mystery play then favoured at Meaux far from edifying, and took measures at different times to stop these and the dances respectively.

Was there, however, no sort of religious ministration at Meaux apart from the Bishop’s importations of men and ideas, and the fourteen qualified pastors for two hundred parishes? Here, again, Meaux is an admirable example of the European Churches at large: for there were several societies of regulars; and especially active in asserting their claims were the Religieux of the order of St. Francis, called the Cordeliers. They had a house at Meaux from which they issued, not only to beg, but to claim some at least of the many pulpits neglected by the parochial clergy. The stern Franciscan rule of poverty had degenerated here into a method that would have made St. Francis weep. It had become a mean peddling

of Church Services, together with systematic *quests* at holy periods, and from the richer congregations. The Franciscans seem at once to earn the displeasure of Bishop Briçonnet, the historian Crespin, and the Benedictine Dom Toussaints du Plessis. It is perhaps unfortunate that Crespin, generally so well corroborated in this story, has given us no details of the Meaux Franciscans, contenting himself with very general though severe allusion to them and their important action. For he attributes it, perhaps rather by surmise than by knowledge, to Satan himself. But we ought to remember that Crespin lived at a time of real and startling events, when thoughtful men of various opinions boldly introduced theology and demonology into the actual interpretation of life. It seems true enough, however, that these poor Religieux did preach in their own way, sufficiently to lay claim to the right; though their conduct was disfavoured by the bishop, their view of life, like that of so many disciples, a mockery of their founder's idea, and their teaching we may fairly suppose on a par with their church discipline.

There prevailed, then, between the bishop and the Franciscans of Meaux, that long contest mentioned by Crespin, and related with so much more detail by Toussaints du Plessis. It well illustrates the great and general quarrel between regular and secular clergy. The Bishop forbade these men to preach, though not to beg, and prohibited the representation of their Saint with the *Stigmata*; while they persisted in their claim to preach without the episcopal licence. The dispute reached its acme in the year 1525 to 1526; when, in the king's absence from France, the bishop and several other persons were made the subjects of legal proceedings before the *Parlement de Paris* on charges akin to heresy. Some of his important subordinates left Meaux, and Briçonnet himself was remitted for interrogation before certain counsellors.

Whether his aristocratic and ecclesiastical position, the royal favour, his doctrinal orthodoxy, his fidelity to discipline, or any concession to the *force majeure*, saved him from the modified retirement of Lefèvre and of Roussel, he at any rate did remain at Meaux to continue his reformatory work, and to see arise a fresh and dismal phase of discipline in which the bishop would now and then have some incidental duty whether nominal or official. Upon a story of this kind it is easy to find a charge of inconstancy, especially where a great name is concerned. Crespin, D'Aubigné, and Baird comment unfavourably on the bishop's change of position, the last named allowing



*Briçonnet - Bishop of Meaux
1516 - 1534*

*(Ensemble avec Baboucaut,
"Histoire des Briçonnet" 16 21)*

himself some sarcastic words. Is it not true however that the position itself of the various gospellers and doctrinal reformers underwent a change or at least a surprising development becoming all over Europe a serious and increasing menace to Rome, and indeed to Briçonnet's own Church? Little liking as we of the nineteenth century are supposed to have for bigotry in power, may we not feel some sympathy for a man who, at first seizing on the four gospels as a fresh and ancient exposition of Christianity, found later that this authority was taken by many to justify doctrines and actions that he could by no means approve? Who will cast blame on him for holding rightly or wrongly to the church of which he had so long been an enthusiastic and dutiful pastor? We may be sure that this man's influence would be on the side of mercy.

Briçonnet illustrates in himself many varied aspects of the early reformation. He was the advocate of contemporary learning while firmly adherent to discipline; the purifier of manners and the respecter of ceremony; the free employer of printing, distributor of the gospels, and organizer of preaching stations; but the opposer alike of parasitical and degenerate brotherhoods, of parochial negligence, of aggressive dissent, and apparently of Lutheran doctrines. Under Briçonnet (at that time one of the most conspicuous ecclesiastics in France) the reform movement reached a critical point. And it is unfortunate for him that the stream divided in his lifetime, forcing him to choose between the new antisacerdotal consequences of the gospel movement and his continuance as an exact officer of his own hierarchy. The fact remains that in Briçonnet's diocese, both during and after his lifetime, there is an example of discipline, needed within, being turned by the Church's sons against those fresh minds that boldly enquired into doctrine.

From about this time the progress of the French reformers, though itself of necessity obscure, is marked by conspicuous martyrdoms well established in history. Divergent opinions so nearly crystallized throughout Europe, were speedily hardened and hostility embittered in France by destruction of images on one side, and of men on the other. Jean LeClerc, a devoted propagandist from Meaux, who died at Metz a victim to his own consistent enthusiasm, is considered by the French protestants as their first martyr in this period of history, though Metz at that time was not actually part of France.* His death was soon followed by many

* Michelet says however that Chastellain was the first, who was burnt 12 Jan., 1525; and that his death animated LeClerc. As to Pavaues see Crespin and notes hereafter.

others especially at Paris, including that very noted case of De Berquin an accomplished gentleman of Artois.

Here we must for one moment pause to consider how a degraded ecclesiastical discipline realized itself in France. King Francis I, autocratic, profuse and favourable to learning, was if popular yet an untrustworthy king. We cannot attempt to follow him among the intrigues of parties and of court ladies, or into his negotiations with Pope and princes: matters which in this or that way affected his treatment of French reformers. His impetuous career may have been marked by a dashing kind of bravery and by his active encouragement of taste and intellect, but was defaced by self-indulgence and irregular attention to business, as well as by an extravagant personal jealousy of the Emperor Charles V. Lost in the maze of sixteenth century politics and war, he at one time even seized for a clue some secret understanding with the Turkish invader of Europe. A character masterful, pleasure-loving and vain, not balanced by any fine sense of honour, was open perhaps to the influence of liberal ideas, certainly to that of distinguished flatterers; and it is not wonderful to find this versatile friend of Briçonnet, and brother of Marguerite, receiving also the very different political instructions of Louise his mother, and of Duprat. Bibbiena, an acute legate of the Pope, who arrived at the French Court in 1518, noticed how far the young King's conceit of power left the real guidance of affairs in the hands of Louise.*

An important influence in France was that of the chancellor Duprat, who, after the loss of his wife, took orders, becoming later both cardinal, and Pope's legate. He constantly set himself to increase beyond measure the arbitrary power of the Court, and joined with Louise in flattering the tastes and passions of the King. This oppressive chancellor, immense pluralist, and creator of venal offices, had an overbearing disposition. It is said to have been Duprat who originated the idea that heresies were attended with blasphemy and came within the jurisdiction of the *Parlement*. At the same time he would weaken even that constitutional jurisdiction by the use of special commissions. The historian Martin attributes to Duprat the rejection by Louise of Marguerite's influence, and even the activity of the Sorbonne and the Gallican Church. Duprat presided over the Provincial Council of Sens held at Paris in 1528, and perhaps

* See Sismondi Vol. XVI, 67, 68.

then aided the adoption of certain disciplinary reforms required among the clergy, and also of various severe decrees against heretics. His personal interests were hostile to the protestant movement. He amassed great treasure, which is said to have been, by his own admission, designed for attaining the tiara. The calm "*Bourgeois de Paris*," who seldom if ever awards praise or blame, speaks with admiration of Duprat's talents, and mentions the regard he had for Francis. The Cardinal died on the 9th of July, 1535, Francis seizing a large part of his enormous property at that moment.*

It would have been vain for the Gospellers to count with confidence on help from any institution, high officials, or class of men in France during this reign. The king was more a man of taste than of religion, and his friends among reformers were more mystical than protestant. Again the *Parlement de Paris*, which had no doubt some tradition of independence, was no longer independent. Though at first perhaps disposed to resent papal legislation, it seems to have had little liking for new ideas and unaccustomed theology. This judicial body and the University were after obstinate resistance coerced to register and accept the Concordat, that unpopular result of Duprat's negotiation. Not only was this most telling victory for the king accompanied by the abasement of two venerable institutions, it was also a triumph for the Court of Rome over a third, namely the Gallican Church. Another disaster to the already impaired character and credit of the *Parlement* occurred in 1522. Copying perhaps Pope Leo X, who had created thirty cardinals at once, King Francis suddenly instituted twenty new counsellorships for sale. The King denied that they would be sold, but Louise the Queen Mother replied cynically to the remonstrant deputies, that the new appointments did not particularly matter, if the *Parlement* would only find the money in some different way. Other offices were similarly corrupted and the springs of justice further fouled.† Again the Concordat placed so many benefices in the hands of the King that, notwithstanding the higher qualifications also now imposed, the University theologians became too dependent on the minister, to whom they looked for

* The "Journal" pp. 425, 460, 461. Sismondi, Vol. XVI, p. 439. Martin, *Histoire de France* (1878), Vol. VIII, pp. 157, 158. Bayle, *Dictionary Historical etc*: 2nd Edition, English (1737), article "Prat (Antony du)" and footnote. *Biographie Universelle*, Paris (1835), article "Duprat."

† Compare Michelet, Vol. VIII, pp. 67, 68; also "Journal d'un Bourgeois d; P.," pp. 58, 122 to 127; and Sismondi, Vol. XVI, pp. 136, 137, 138.

preferment. Useful servants or the nominees of women were among the recipients. The natural odium however, in which a theological College like the Sorbonne held the reformers, needed no stimulus. Indeed the University partizans received some check from Francis in their rancorous but at first unsuccessful persecution of Lefèvre.* Furthermore the interest of many nobles told for the clerical party. Laymen claimed lucrative rights within the Church and, entertaining no disposition to forego them, would not wish her to be over-reformed. The populace itself which could, like the King, tolerate or even enjoy amusing disparagement of living monks and priests, might yet be counted on to frantically resent attacks on images or contempt of the Mass. The timid were also disturbed by perpetual wars, the incursion of soi-disants Lutheran Germans into Lorraine, (condemned by Luther,) and lawless visits from numerous bodies of Italian and French soldiers and vagabonds. The social condition of that time in France, and the world, favoured a general feeling of unrest and suspicion. We must bear in mind that nervous but strong preservative instinct which, though it often saves a nation, yet sometimes roused into a frenzy promotes misfortune.†

The varying treatment of the French reformers depended then on the divers combinations of these several elements, on the ever-changing posture of external politics, on the activity of the reformers themselves, and on the complexion which all those circumstances wore in the view of Francis, the Queen Mother, and their advisers.

This thirty years' reign may be divided into three nearly equal parts. During the first, 1515 to 1525, little or no severity was used by the government. The second was marked by some executions, but the legal machine seems to have been not then in full working order. The third began with the terrible year of the placards (1534-5), saw the gradual arrangement of procedure, and concluded with the massacre of the Vaudois, the execution of the Fourteen of Meaux, and others.

* Compare Crowe's History of France (1860), Vol. II, pp. 574, 578, etc. Michelet, Vol. VIII, pp. 215, 216. Baird, Rise of the Huguenots, Vol. I, pp. 71, 72. Toussaints du Plessis, Vol. II, p. 282. Compare also Note 18, hereafter.

† See Haag: preface. Sismondi, Vol. XVI, pp. 197, 235, 236, 345, 359, 425. The "Journal," pp. 176 etc., 201, 232, 244, 245, 249, 280. Michelet, Vol. VIII, p. 263. Compare also Note 24 hereafter.

During the first of these three periods, the French Court seems not to have apprehended any great danger to the Church. No doubt the King himself was a great promoter of the Renaissance in France, and favoured that heterogeneous party of mental illumination which, opposing fanatical ignorance as such, promised then to shed a glittering lustre on the reign. So little anxiety did he feel for the Church's position, that in 1524 he even allowed in his presence the acting of some mystery play, wherein the Pope and monks were treated with derision.

However, the disastrous battle of Pavia, the King's short captivity, and troubles in Suabia and Lorraine, put the country in panic. Louise, now Regent, consulted with the Sorbonne, the *Parlement* and the Pope. This spirited woman sought to divide the enemies of France, obtaining in 1525 a defensive alliance with England. But she saw also in a papal alliance a chance of deliverance for her son and support for France. The Church at that time, though no absolute arbiter of Europe's fate, could powerfully assist either Francis I or his great rival the Emperor Charles. The odium theologicum was let loose, not to be easily chained again. Thus began the second period of the reign. The *Parlement*, sensitive as to its own authority, agreed to the appointment of a special mixed commission against heretics; and Louise ordered the publication of Clement VII's bull in that business, which Michelet condemns as not less cruel than the Roman Inquisition. Another historian ejaculates:—“*Triste émulation entre Rome et le gallicanisme.*” Francis I was himself indeed no certain ally for the Pope; but later on in this second period the outward submission of a proud nation to the Roman See was exemplified at the Marseilles conference. For in 1533 King Francis, his sons and his nobles, there greeted Pope Clement VII with a pompous servility that would surprise or amuse the most exacting of barbarous tyrants.*

In such a state of things there suddenly appeared the placards of 1534. This event acted like a brusque declaration of war in the religious world of France. The document, printed at Neufchâtel and distributed about the streets and cross-roads of Paris, plainly attacks the priesthood with the Mass as idolatrous and vicious, and expounds a distinct doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Whereas Briçonnet had directed men's eyes to certain ancient authorities, the present propagandist

* Cf: generally, Note 17, hereafter; also Haag, preface, and pièces justificatives; Michelet, Vol. VIII, p. 371; Martin, Histoire de France, (1878), Vol. VIII, pp. 151, 152; Sismondi, Vol. XVI, pp. 230 etc., 404, 405.

ventures some striking conclusions therefrom. One copy is said to have been affixed to the King's own door. Indignant and no doubt startled, he at once reverted to or reindorsed the policy for some time active, and but lately moderated within his kingdom. The pomp at Marseilles was now followed in 1535 by a more gloomy state procession in Paris. King Francis set an example of devotion to the sacrament of the altar by attending the Host, head bare and torch in hand, on a day when six heretics suffered death. Sismondi's assertion that the king witnessed their actual execution is doubted by Michelet.* That point is of less historical importance than the extravagant injunctions to inform and to destroy, which he delivered after dinner. Henceforward a succession of edicts deal severely with the heretics, though with divers degrees of leniency and oppression. The accomplished DuBellay, the mystical Marguerite and the German protestant princes no doubt from time to time inclined the King to mercy; while the increasingly powerful Spanish party, grouped around Montmorency and the Dauphin, were on the side of an inflamed clergy little restrained by a now corrupted *Parlement*. The *Parlement* did however refuse to register an extraordinary edict of the King, (after the Placards), in suppression of printing, for which the Sorbonne had even before petitioned. To allay distrust of the Church, or to attain the success of a punitive policy, it was needful to enlist the full co-operation of the French Courts of Justice. Eventually in 1540 the noted edict of Fontainebleau, containing a formal recital that the king wishes to satisfy his duty and title of "*très chrestien*," established a course of procedure for the Royal courts in set terms. Unwilling officials were exhorted to prosecute zealously, and were threatened with penalties. Heresy was declared to contain within itself High Treason "*divine et humaine*," and sedition. Thus a grotesque ecclesiastical discipline was regularly enforced on laymen by the French courts of law. Yet it is something to the credit of the invalid King that, notwithstanding all the tragedies of his reign, his death in 1547 is said to have caused five thousand persons to seek safety at Geneva. The celebrated chamber known as the "*Chambre Ardente*" does not seem to have been organized till 1547-8.†

* Sismondi, XVI, 424-426; Michelet, VIII, 411-413; The "Journal" pp. 442-444.

† Compare Weiss, *La Chambre Ardente*, (1889,) LXXII, footnote. See also note 105 a. hereafter.

But what was the course of events at Meaux in particular which in 1546 brought that congregation under the harsh discipline of torture and death? It seems that, whether Briçonnet would approve it or not, a school of thought had early arisen at Meaux, of which, about twelve years after his death, this church was the result. Even in Briçonnet's and Lefèvre's time there were held colloquies of wool-carders and other supposed ignorant people in the very cathedral itself after Roussel's discourses or readings there. We can hardly think that such an assembly survived the proceedings of 1525, at any rate in that building. Indeed the "*Histoire ecclésiastique des Églises réformées*" dates the early dissipation of that body at 1523. But the effect of the preachings of Roussel and others at Meaux was that very shortly, according to Haag, "*elles convertirent la plupart des ouvriers des nombreuses fabriques de Meaux.*" One cannot lay down for certain the exact form of doctrine to which these were converted. Some guide is found in the general religious movement then overspreading Europe, which took so special and distinct a form at Geneva and Strasburg. With this latter place at least Meaux was in some correspondence, and a letter of 1525, written by Roussel at Strasburg to Le Sueur at Meaux, gives an important indication of the sacramental opinions then probably engaging both communities. We have also the contemporary case of the young scholar Pavanes, who suffered death for some specific doctrine of the Lord's Supper, probably the same. The cases of Denis de Rieux and of Jean LeClerc give further indications. Again, the "*Bourgeois de Paris*," while speaking of the year 1526, comments on the great spread of Lutheran heresy at Meaux and gives some slight detail. He mentions also a native of Meaux who died for repudiating the worship of the Virgin in 1528. Upon a review of the evidence we find that about this time there were persons at Meaux who accepted, at least, views so characteristic of the Protestant or Evangelical movement as :—one Divine Sacrifice, repudiation of the mass and of transubstantiation, as well as of purgatory, indulgences, prayers for the departed or to the Virgin Mary, images, holy water, and the Pope's authority.*

History says that, later on, congregations of reformers were in existence at different places. The Meaux Gospellers had apparently a sort of preëminent fame; and the so-called "luthériens de Meaux" might soon become not only proverbial as such in France, but possibly known to the world as

* "Journal" pp. 277, 375. See also Notes 21, 29, hereafter.

organizers of a metropolitan church. The aspirations noticed by Crespin in his account of the Meaux reformers imply that that town was looked on as the centre from whence a light should spread over all France.

These Gospellers, who came occasionally upon the stage of history as sufferers for protesting against Mass or Pope, whose own various meetings were held here and there, but in secret or by the favour of some rich or great man,* these Gospellers were I suppose without any real organization, and, while condemning the decay and abuse of the church's ministry, had as yet no set scheme of discipline among themselves. Can we not easily picture the state of things at Meaux itself, among men whose ideas were, with all their enthusiasm, still perhaps unsettled in some points of doctrine, who also, when met together for worship, would choose on each occasion for their minister him who seemed to know most scripture? A congregation so incoherent and irregular was, unless composed of very sober minds, obviously open to all the risks of anarchy, disintegration and ruin. We know not at what time Étienne Mangin the Lorrainer went to Meaux. Lorraine was an early field of religious persecution, Meaux an early centre of religious activity. Mangin was probably related to a former curé at Meaux of that name, one of Briçonnet's readers, and to Faron Mangin of Meaux whom Crespin praises for his work at Orleans. He is described by Toussaints du Plessis as "*Cardeur de laine*"; and, since the family history attributes to him property at Meaux, and is corroborated by the fact now very well ascertained that he had a house at the *Grand Marché*, with a long garden abutting on the ramparts, we must suppose that he was either retired from business, or else a master employing some of that heretical trade of wool-carders. He may well have been a type of those well instructed men of business, who, combining an ardent energy with firm opinions and practical sense, have at different periods of history moulded its course. It is clear that in a large upper room at his house was in 1546 collected a congregation from town and country, freshly organized on the model of the Strasburg Refugee Church, to attend the ministrations of Pierre LeClerc. This Pierre, brother of Jean LeClerc, was well-read in French books of theology, and was, after fasting and prayer, solemnly appointed to the permanent superintendence of this little Church's worship. The discipline necessary

* Compare the recitals to the Edict of Fontainebleau, 1540, Haag, La France protestante, (pièces justificatives).

to any successful association for a common purpose was thus introduced among the Meaux Gospellers by these two men, who were doubtless fully acquainted with the wretched details of many executions for heresy, and with the horrors of the Vaudois massacre of 1545. There can be little doubt that the definite organization of a "Reformed" Church at Meaux was approved at Strasburg, and was part of that general forward movement after 1541 in the protestant system of the South, noticed by Maimbourg, who attributes it to Calvin. It would be highly interesting to find out what were, if any, the relations between Calvin and the Meldensian leaders: and whether LeClerc was by him in any sense either nominated for the suffrages of the congregation or else confirmed in his office. The genius of these particular churches appears however to have been rather representative than dynastic. The organization was itself presbyterian.

To compare the early work of Briçonnet at Meaux with that of the later Mangin and LeClerc is both interesting and touching. Each attributed a high importance to the study of the gospels, but they reached or accepted different doctrines. Each introduced or restored discipline; and each, though very differently, suffered for doing so.

When the sixty are apprehended in 1546 at Mangin's house, so soon after this perilous venture of a "Reformed Church" within France, do we find any signs of rebellion, sedition, iconoclasm? On the contrary, there is no sign of any offence, apart from religious dissent, either visible in their own demeanour, or reflected in the very judgment of the court that dealt with them. Even if they or their friends sang with enthusiasm on the way to prison a psalm, wherein they figuratively condemned this violence and claimed to be sufferers in the cause of God; even if Pierre LeClerc, when pestered later with hostile injunctions, indignantly quoted some words recorded of a more ancient encounter, surely it would need a pedantic martinet of silence to attach any blame whatever there.*

Of the death of the Fourteen the reader will find in Crespin's and Rochard's accounts sufficient details. Could Mangin now speak to us, perhaps he would rejoice more in the quiet behaviour of the congregation and the self-possessed constancy of his fellow sufferers than in any other feature of the story. The willing devotion of these reformers themselves need not however prevent us from

* See the translations hereafter, and notes.

deploring the savage view of life and religion which inflicted such punishments upon them; which indeed so darkened those pages of history with blood, that the important tragedy of the Fourteen of Meaux is hardly conspicuous among many martyrdoms and wholesale massacres.

What were the various degrees of conviction, of constancy, or of supposed guilt, among the sixty prisoners, we do not know. The judgment, outspoken and even opprobrious in its general condemnation of their "Lutheran" doctrines, is yet far more detailed as to punishment than it is as to crime.* Fourteen of them were evidently regarded as chief offenders. After enduring those inquisitorial tortures called the *Question extraordinaire*, and firmly refusing to name their brethren in religion, the Fourteen were burnt. Seven or eight of these, including Mangin and LeClere, first suffered the mutilation of their tongues. The others may have either promised not to address the crowd, or, at last overpowered by bodily and mental exhaustion, conceded some point of doctrine.†

This is certainly not the place to discuss the ground and sanction of those tenets for which the Fourteen died. The tenets themselves may be gathered from the old Geneva and Strasburg liturgy, edited and re-printed in 1867 by Baum and Cunitz among Calvin's works. The presbyterian organization and discipline at Strasburg, and (by necessary inference) at Meaux, will be found in Valerandus Polla's interesting pamphlet of 1551.‡ We must doubtless allow for the necessary modifications at Meaux, where as yet no other sister churches existed.

Such chief points in their teaching or actions as were odious to the current opinion of that time may, I think, be gathered from the various authorities, and set down broadly as follows. Most of them appear more or less clearly in the narrative of Crespin.

- (i). They relied on the scriptures as an exposition of religion.
- (ii). They rejected transubstantiation, the adoration of the elements, the sacrificial use of the Mass, the worship of the Virgin Mary, confession to Roman priests, supremacy of the Pope.

* See the translation and note 49 hereafter.

† Compare Crespin and Rochard hereafter, and note 66. See also a postscript or rider to the judgment.

‡ Particularly referred to in one of the notes hereafter.

- (iii). They held that the gospel religion was more spiritual than that taught by the priests.
- (iv). It must be inferred that these Meaux reformers held the usual protestant views of justification, use of only two sacraments, and so on.
- (v). Rejecting the Mass as corrupt, they believed in the spiritual benefit of the Lord's Supper, and accounted this, as celebrated then at Geneva and Strasburg, a restoration of the ancient Christian ordinance.
- (vi). They thought it valuable or dutiful to hold assemblies for reading and expounding the gospels, for prayer to God, and for use of the Lord's Supper. And, whereas the toleration of their views seemed at last hopeless under the Roman system, they regarded it as right or dutiful, under these circumstances, to solemnly and independently appoint a pastor for their edification, and for administering the Lord's Supper *; and also to adopt a presbyterian organization for the permanent control of their congregation.
- (vii). They believed that theirs was the true cause of God, and had His support. Also that their pastor, LeClerc, had some gift from Him.†

The above sketch merely represents the salient points of difference. An elaborate scheme of the theology of the Meaux Gospellers or reformers, though it might be hazardously conjectured from the various influences of Briçonnet, Lefèvre,

* The reader, though he may dislike the words, will certainly accept the intimation of Crespin, that this particular boldness mightily inflamed the clergy. These, whatever their own character, conduct, and attainments might be, would by a claim of apostolical succession profess a mysterious and exclusive power, and seek to support an exclusive right, to discharge all such offices both instructional and ministerial. That claim, in connection with the dogma of "Transubstantiation," and their supposed power over the benefits of religion, and salvation, was the final secret of the great awe in which they were held in the middleages. The views of Augustine, an orthodox opponent of heretics in the Fifth Century, and perhaps the declarations of Paul in the First, were now being restored to comfort the afflicted with some doctrine of God's supremacy. For Calvin, more than a thousand years after the controversy between Augustine and Pelagius, preached, again, Divine predestination to salvation. We may wonder whether Augustine, had he seen the Middle Ages, would have applauded the solemn establishment of this *ecclesiola*, or condemned it as schismatic. In the present case the Judgment contains indications that the independent action of the defendants in 1546 was considered one of their most serious offences. [See Crespin, Toussaints du Plessis, the Judgment, and Notes hereafter.]

† See at least a phrase of Crespin's hereafter.

Calvin, and the Strasburg churches, or indeed from other sources also, cannot be exhaustively laid down here, nor ever perhaps in complete detail. So far indeed as it was then elaborated, it probably differed little from that of Calvin and the French Refugee Church at Strasburg.*

However the reader may be inclined to view the tenets and discipline, we are obliged to conclude that the enterprising and firm conduct of these men encouraged the timid, and eventually helped towards the establishment in France of a strong party for independent opinion. That party soon became numerous indeed at Meaux and in France, receiving the support of noble and simple adherents. Churches soon sprang up in many places and the first Synod of the "Reformed" Churches in France was held in 1559. A deplorable though perhaps inevitable civil war however broke out. The French protestants were eventually almost exterminated by the desperate massacre of S. Bartholomew's day 1572. But their resolute devotion was part of a profoundly remarkable, less troubled, and more rapidly successful movement in Europe at large.

It should be perhaps noted that the leaders at Meaux in 1546 were, through Strasburg and Calvin, connected with the reformers of Geneva, who, during severe civil and religious struggles, to some extent borrowed and used in their turn the policy of compulsion or punishment, under which the French protestants were themselves so bitterly suffering. There is no sign that their co-religionists of the Meaux congregation under Mangin and LeClere desired any such weapon, justified or excused as it might then appear to be by very formidable precedents. France along with the rest of Europe truly furnished types of fortitude, enterprise and moderation, worthy to pioneer and to die for that intellectual liberty at least, whose principles were for a time ignorantly thwarted by those in power, and were according to Guizot† not then properly understood by the reformers themselves.

Seeing the many desperate expedients to which ignorance, selfishness and fear have perpetually led mankind, we ought to observe great moderation when we apply even obvious

* The most specific feature of their liturgy, the substitution of the Lord's Supper for the Mass, is dealt with in one of the notes appended to the translations.

† "Histoire de la civilisation en Europe" Paris, Edition 1856, Douzième Leçon, pp. 345, 346. Compare with this Michelet's emphatic estimate of the service rendered to intellect by that "Contraction suprême de la Réforme sur le roc de Genève". Histoire de France. Vol. VIII, p. 15.

principles to the criticism of past times. But no apologist for mediæval opinions and manners will convince thoughtful persons that adherence to the religious views of the day ought to be a condition for peaceable life and protection. Boisterous offences against various forms of religion, and insults to doctrine established and not established, may indeed be moderately punished as dangerous to peace and hurtful to good conduct or social discipline; while every really healthy state may and ought to protect itself against the undue power of spiritual leaders. For they are not always spiritually minded, devout and wise: not always examples of patriotism and behaviour; nor always content with even that ghostly influence to which mankind so readily bows. But to punish with torture and death either the leaders or the followers of a religious cause that does not imply any wrongdoing, cannot be excused even plausibly except by a superhuman allowance of wisdom and virtue, or indeed by an abject lack of them. No doubt these propositions seem to-day to be platitudes too mild and commonplace to insist on. They were far from being so considered in Europe considerably after the dawn of the modern era. But their acceptance now will probably lead people of any persuasion to regard with admiration the conduct, and with compassion the cruel sufferings, of these Meaux Gospellers, whose actions and professions seem to modern minds quite free from punishable offence.

Those who talk lightly of the suffering reformers should bear in mind that it was not to them a question of mere speculation or of casual interest. There was, in very acute form, an extreme and inhuman discipline arrayed against their doctrines. It was plainly a question not only of torture and capital punishment, but of judicial reproach, and also of probable ruin to their families. This grave fact entirely removes their enterprise from all comparison with the licensed freedom of our modern quill, or with our sleek and indifferent indulgence of any devout or even fantastic idea. We need not and will not discuss how far Mangin, LeClerc, and the other twelve, had attained exact theological or metaphysical truth: the grand ambition of innumerable and opposed philosophers and theologians throughout time. We need not discuss the claims of these (or any martyrs in the universe) to the title "Martyr" in its absolute or transcendental sense. Its strict and its careless use seem often to depend more on the opinions of those who lightly read, than of those who have painfully made history. The thoughtful reader however

will certainly deem the Fourteen well worthy of such poor crown as man can award to his devoted brother. And the friends of the Fourteen themselves, who sought not worldly happiness, but truth, and the glory of Another, must be content if we rank with them many also whose thoughts were not as theirs. The Strasburg and Geneva liturgy of that time, (whereof complete monuments remain, which also Meaux almost certainly used), was simple, elevated, severe, and agreeable to good conduct. We need not laboriously ascertain how far these thinkers were accomplished in primitive, orthodox according to mediæval, or prophetic of modern theology; whether they reasoned correctly as to Substance and Appearance; Spiritual Presence; Free Will, Predestination, or Causation; Justification, Faith, Grace, Works, and Sacrifice; the episcopal Laying on of hands; or as to the critical problems of Revelation, Tradition, Inspiration, and Writing. Their aim we must perceive to have been, in most black times, a moral and a spiritual aim; their worship aspiring and reflective; their conduct blameless and heroic. The firm constancy to their faith and friends, fitting sequel to the courage they showed in organizing this church, must be commended by any one that reads their story.

These last are some of the prime virtues, then illustrated at the rack and stake in many countries, and, though not of course approved in every period of history, yet generally admired by humane persons. There is some danger of that brave conduct being minimized and disparaged by our own ungrateful age, which, so fully benefiting by it, has itself had no pressing need to practise it. We meanly regard even devoted men of action with an eye askance, pretend to analyse their aims, and almost demand that a hero of the past should be also a philosopher of to-day. Let it be that the long-silent "Fourteen" died for religious faith. We have to seek about in their strong hearts for a sentiment easy of comprehension to the uncontrolled minds of the nineteenth century. As, then, the intent fixing of the eyes on some spot in the heavens seems to bring an unseen and lesser star into the edge of our view, so those men of Meaux, in the strenuous pursuit of their convictions, may have dimly perceived that pale illumination, wherein we wantonly exult to-day, as if we had ourselves discovered, not inherited, intellectual and religious liberty.

To you, for whom the following accounts have been collated, the fate of Étienne Mangin must be particularly touching.

He was cut off in the pursuit of that "Reformed Religion" for which he is said to have gone to Meaux. Of its definite establishment there he was a regulator or moderator, exhibiting, if we may judge from consequences, such discretion only as would agree with firm principles and with courage. We will hope that his and his companions' conduct, doubtless honoured by generous opponents and by any that learn this history, may far in the future be remembered, as an example of lofty fortitude, by the posterity of your own little Étienne.

I am greatly obliged to you for having pointed out a short passage in an old book, which has opened to me a view of so much interest: and remain,

Your sincere friend,

HERBERT M. BOWER.

Elmerofts, Ripon, 1894.

Translations.

Translation of a Chapter from Jean Crespin's (1) *Actiones et Monumenta Martyrum* (MDLX) (Folio 117, verso. etc.)

THE PERSECUTION OF THE MELDENSES.

The remarkable confession of Gospel doctrine, and persecution of the faithful among the Meldenses, of whom fourteen suffered the extreme punishment of burning.

Meaux illuminated by the Gospel.

Among the many cities of the kingdom of France, which were by the word of God made sharers and partakers in heavenly grace, the town of Meaux (2) should be given the first place.(3) It is situated in Brie on the river Marne at a distance of ten leagues from Paris. Very few communities will be found in which, though under the unholy tyranny of Antichrist, so great faith was shown in proclaiming the truth of God's word; such zeal and fervour in its acceptance; such vigour in its growth; and where, after a very rapid expansion, it was established and defended with so much firmness. Now the mode by which the Lord enlightened this city, whither hardly any other (4) kind of men resort save artisans and mechanics, was of this nature. Guillaume Briçonnet (5) was Bishop there, a man of the highest literary training. At that time he was fired indeed with a praiseworthy zeal both for learning the truth and for imparting it to others. When he was first made Bishop he duly visited the churches of his diocese and discharged the duties of inspection as a true pastor should.(6) He thus found that the people were quite without the knowledge of God,(7) for their teaching by the Franciscans and other mendicant friars consisted solely of matters pertinent to their cloister and to the filling of the

Briçonnet,
Bishop of
Meaux.

belly.⁽⁸⁾ On discovering the impostures and tricks of these, the Bishop's heart was deeply moved with a holy zeal. He withdrew from them the right to preach anywhere in his diocese,⁽⁹⁾ and replaced them by calling in other men, whose probity of life was as thoroughly established as their learning and understanding in holy things. Among these were: Jaques Lefèvre of Étapes,⁽¹⁰⁾ Michel d'Arande,⁽¹¹⁾ Martial,⁽¹²⁾ and Gerard Roussel.⁽¹³⁾ The faith and diligence of these men assisted the extraordinary zeal and fervour of the Bishop, who was himself at that time actively spreading the truth of God, and indeed spared no expense in the preparation of books that might be conducive to this end.⁽¹⁴⁾ The knowledge of the Gospel was thus propagated far and wide. The brilliant fame of this great and comfortable work of God sounded through all France.⁽¹⁵⁾ To some it came as the sweet breath of life, while others found it instead a stumbling block and offence.⁽¹⁶⁾ However, in this church the seed sown began to flourish daily more and more. It yielded the richest fruit to the consolation and well-being of the elect. But at last Satan, prince of darkness, and the greatest foe to this wholesome light, perceiving that the ruin of his kingdom was imminent, called to action his familiar slaves. These were certainly the Franciscans. They summoned Bishop Briçonnet to judgment before the supreme Court⁽¹⁷⁾ on a charge of heresy.⁽¹⁸⁾ The doctors of the Sorbonne and other enemies of the truth readily joined their party. With such instruments to his hand Satan quickly conquered the faith of the Bishop; and, after attaining his defection, attacked the rest with all the more power. These however he found more firm and constant in the faith. Some of them were burnt, and among their number that man of whom we treated at the end of the first book. This Jaques Pavaues⁽²⁰⁾ began to teach the truth with such fervency of soul that he was the first to suffer death by fire in Paris. The chief ground for this punishment was his advocacy of that doctrine concerning the Supper which but few then recognized. Others were scourged, exposed with ignominy in a public place, or sent into exile, and cast out of the kingdom itself.⁽²¹⁾ In a word the enemies of the Gospel would never cease their work till all liberty to preach the truth should be taken away, till that wholesome understanding should be crushed, that lately risen light extinguished. Indeed no sooner had the Franciscans succeeded by persistent effort and bold scheming in the re-establishment of their accustomed assemblies, than they

The Franciscans forbidden to preach.

Briçonnet's defection from the Gospel.⁽¹⁹⁾

Jaques Pavaues.

Persecution of the people of Meaux.

Secret
assemblies
of the faith-
ful.

began over again to thrust on the people their familiar falsehoods. Nevertheless, thorough and complete as were their attempts, they did not so far succeed as to eradicate the truth from those many hearts wherein its knowledge was fixed and imprinted; they could not wipe it out. Pious men in whose souls the fear of God along with that knowledge had found a home, saw clearly enough that the truth was banished from public places, as well as liberty to worship God in a simple worship.⁽²²⁾ They therefore began to hold among themselves secret assemblies, following the example of the prophets under Ahab's rule, and of those Christians who in the infant days of the church were forced by horrible persecutions to seek out hidden places of worship. So these men acting in the fear of God would meet together, sometimes at a house, again in some retired valley or cave, or indeed in the very thickets and forests, as the means and opportunity offered. At any such meeting or assemblage, that one among them who, they thought, had most knowledge and training in the holy Scripture, would comfort the others, giving them instruction and exhortation from the Divine word. When this office was performed they would then all join in cordial and fervent prayer to God. And there was continually nourished and fostered among them the hope that all France⁽²³⁾ would soon receive the Gospel and throw off the impious and wicked tyranny of Anti-christ. However, after long waiting, they came to see that the time was still far distant⁽²⁴⁾ when religion should be again cleansed of her impurities, and that on the other hand the foul superstitions and abominations introduced by the Pope daily grew and were more confirmed in the Church. Therefore very many of the more fervent in spirit, who, from their first reception of the doctrine, had kept themselves quite pure and undefiled from all idolatry of Masses, resolved in the year 1546 to establish among themselves a small and dutiful church on a certain model. They were impelled to this course mainly by the example of a French church which had been excellently established at Strasburg,⁽²⁵⁾ and was at that time famous far and wide for its religion. Some of them therefore visited this church, and carefully enquired into it.^(25a) The chief authors and regulators of this undertaking were: Estienne Mangin,⁽²⁶⁾ a very good man of advanced years; and Pierre LeClerc,⁽²⁷⁾ by skill and profession a earder, but exceedingly well versed in sacred literature, at least so far as it was treated in the French language. These men with some forty or fifty others took

A small
church
founded at
Meaux.

Mangin and
Le Clerc.

counsel together as to electing a minister from among them, who should preach to them the word of God and administer the sacraments. They did this in no spirit of rashness or levity; for they all with one consent first devoted several days to fasting and prayer; after which they proceeded to elect their minister, and Pierre LeClerc was chosen by their unanimous voice.^(27a) This man showed the greatest diligence in supporting the office so undertaken. He collected the people together to the house of Mangin⁽²⁸⁾ on the Lord's days and festivals. In such assemblies he would expound to them the scripture as God had imparted to him grace and power. At these meetings they united in prayer and supplication to God, and sang psalms and spiritual songs. They testified there that they never would give adherence to Papistical idolatries, after which they celebrated once or twice the holy Supper⁽²⁹⁾ as it had been established by Christ the Lord. So in a short time this small church increased to such degree that three hundred or four hundred of both sexes and of all ages were found flocking to it; and that not from the city only, but also from country districts to a circuit of five or six leagues.⁽³⁰⁾ This caused them to be forthwith discovered and watched by some mischievous persons. They were indeed warned by certain friends and kind people to be on their guard against the crafty devices in preparation for them. Their reply was, that even the hairs of their head were numbered and that would occur which to God might seem fit.⁽³¹⁾ In the year 1546 then⁽³²⁾ on the eighth of September, a day consecrated by the Papists for celebrating the nativity of the virgin Mary, there came to the magistrate at the seventh hour of the morning an informer, who declared that the congregation had already begun to collect. On receiving this information the magistrate⁽³³⁾ of the city came to the house of Mangin aforesaid. The Provost⁽³⁴⁾ also came with his escort and officials, as well as that officer whose duty is to superintend the apprehension and punishment of robbers throughout that district.⁽³⁵⁾ He also was encompassed by a strong band of attendants.⁽³⁶⁾ At this moment⁽³⁷⁾ Pierre LeClerc was in the midst of the congregation expounding a certain passage of Paul's first epistle to the Corinthians. The whole were gathered together in an upper room. The officers' attendants, who entered here, stood for some time in a silent group as if thunderstruck. At length the Examiner⁽³⁸⁾ put the question, what brought so many persons there and kept them from attending their own parishes. Merely that which thou seest,

The true
practice of
the Supper.

said LeClerc; But wait with patience until we bring these duties to a close. Then said the other officers of the Magistracy: Nay, but you must go to prison. Let us go, said he, if God has thought fit. At the same moment he suffered himself to be bound and tied. His gentleness was imitated by all the rest, both men and women, sixty two ⁽³⁹⁾ in number. Among these was a girl, as yet too young to understand the degree of animosity and oppression with which the truth of God's word was met. When she perceived that she was led away in bonds for being found at a meeting so good and holy, she said to the magistrate: If you had seized me in a disorderly house or in some shameful place, you would never have cared to constrain me with these bonds. The magistrate used his authority to silence her, and ordered the whole multitude to be brought into the city jail.⁽⁴⁰⁾ This was indeed a sight to wonder at, when so many persons of each sex were led away by so few, and shewed therein so much docility and willingness. For had they shown any will to resist, they could easily have been freed by their kinsfolk and neighbours who were in that city. So far were these, however, from meditating any violence or rebellion, that on the other hand their progress through the streets was blithe and cheerful. They sang psalms, and especially with uplifted voices the 79th: O God, the heathen are come. ⁽⁴¹⁾ As soon as they were shut up in the prison an enquiry was instituted into their impious meetings ⁽⁴²⁾ and conventicles, for, by such invidious and slanderous names, was designated their most sacred assemblage. Among other accusations this was brought as the gravest charge against them: that they had ventured to perform the Supper of the Lord. ⁽⁴³⁾ And as to this matter it would be vain indeed to ask what offence and exasperation ⁽⁴⁴⁾ the mere phrase would have aroused in the whole order of monks and priests. They saw here that their estimation was being destroyed; and further that their authority, hitherto inviolate and long guarded with such anxious care, was now slipping away into the hands of the unskilled. They saw also that the rich sacrifice, which among themselves was less a celebration of the memory of Christ than a careful preparation for the satisfaction of mere appetite, ⁽⁴⁵⁾ was already vanishing away in smoke. As soon as they had carefully enquired into every circumstance tending to overwhelm their defence, ⁽⁴⁶⁾ they placed them bound on carriages without so much as straw litter to give them a chance of repose; and brought them with

The independent speech of a girl.

A sight to move the wonder of angels and men.

People of Meaux taken away to Paris.

every care for speedy journey to Paris, no interruption or relaxation thereof being permitted. Notwithstanding that very many of them were already worn out by age and toil, as well as weakened by the exertion of the journey and motion of the vehicles, yet they ceased not to exhort and encourage each other by the way. On entering the city of Paris they still sang psalms on their way to the prison of the Palace, ⁽⁴⁷⁾ where they were received only to be further harassed by piteous torments. These inflictions were indeed heavy and unremitted; nay, they were most carefully selected for their severity, especially in the case of fourteen defendants who were condemned to death by the supreme court in Paris. ⁽⁴⁸⁾ This is amply established from the decision of the judges, which was then published in Paris to perpetuate the memory of the affair. ⁽⁴⁹⁾ Indeed that sentence comprehends the greatest judicial severity, especially against the fourteen men, who, being the most steadfast of all in the confession of their faith and of their holy doctrine, were therefore subject to the gravest accusations. These were ⁽⁵⁰⁾ Pierre LeClerc, Estienne Mangin, Jaques Bouchebec, Jean Brissebarre, Henry Hutinot, Thomas Honoré, Jean Baudouin, Jean Flesche, Jean Piquery, Pierre Piquery, Jean Matheflon, Philippe Petit, Michel Caillon, and François LeClerc, who were all condemned to be first drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution ⁽⁵¹⁾ and then burnt alive in the great market place at Meaux close to the house of Mangin. Punishments of less severity, but still various in degree, were ordained for the rest, who were less conspicuous for their firmness and constancy in the pious doctrine they had adopted. These cases included both sexes. Some were beaten with rods and sent into exile; and it was ordained that others should be spectators of the bitter punishment suffered by those fourteen we have named, being themselves stationed in the greatest ignominy. One among them was ordered to be hung up by the armpits, his neck in a noose, and in that posture made a spectator of their extreme punishment. ⁽⁵²⁾ Indeed some women were condemned to look on in disgrace while the execution of the men was carried out. ⁽⁵³⁾ Finally it was decreed and ordained by the same court that the house of the aforesaid Mangin, which it was said had been used for their meetings, should be entirely razed to the ground, for a perpetual mark of their impiety, as it was pronounced to be. On that spot a chapel was to be reared, wherein the Mass should be celebrated on each Thursday, ⁽⁵⁴⁾ a service instituted for the adoration of

Judgment
of the Parle-
ment de
Paris.

Names of the
fourteen
who were
burnt.

Barbarous
rage against
buildings.

that chief god of the Papists which they falsely pretend is in the sacrament. The necessary supplies for this were to be furnished ⁽⁵⁵⁾ from the property and fortunes of those men whom they would cruelly spoil of everything, even life itself. Such are the glorious monuments of a Parisian Areopagitic Council, the injustice of which will be easily estimated by any one that has tolerably sound judgment. But let us see what was the subsequent management of the business after this decree was made. The counsellors of that chamber then having pronounced the sentence, Satan was not content with the blood of the innocent. He perceived that in fact nothing had been done of real benefit to his kingdom, nay, that he was vanquished and confounded should these remain steady in their confession of the truth they had adopted. He therefore tried by every argument to lead them away from their determined opinion, seeking to pervert their constancy which force could not break. At that time the Premier President of the Court was Pierre Liset, originator and contriver of all ill. ⁽⁵⁶⁾ He strove to persuade the rest of the senatorial judges that the fourteen who were condemned to death should be separated from one another and distributed among the monasteries, and that so the faith and constancy of each might be examined apart from the others. At last, having tried them by all methods and found their attempts powerless to weaken their resolution, and that it was impossible by any means to lead them from the opinions they had adopted, they handed them over to Gilles Bertelot, ⁽⁵⁷⁾ who at that time was Provost Marshal, to be brought back to Meaux for punishment. The fourteen aforesaid were placed in a vehicle by themselves; and, by way of molesting them in every way, and depriving them of all solace, two of the Sorbonne doctors ⁽⁵⁸⁾, Maillard and Picard ⁽⁵⁹⁾, mounted on mules, rode close to their carriages, and ceased not to bellow into their deafened ears such hateful words as might seduce them from the truth. This went so far that Pierre Le Clerc was moved with indignation, and said to Picard: Get thee from us Satan, and hinder us not from remembering and pondering on the benefits our God has given us. In the course of this journey, full as it was of all annoyance, an event by God's providence occurred which is assuredly memorable. It cheered and confirmed these unfortunate people, so wearied with every hardship both in soul and body, and their strength nearly worn out. As they passed through the forest of Livry, which is three leagues from Paris, a certain man, a master weaver, came out from the neighbouring

The witnesses of Christ are in their death victors over satan.

Maillard and Picard the Achilles of the priesthood.

Unhoped comfort.

village of Couberon to meet them. ^(59a) He followed their carriages and began exhorting them to hold fast the confession of the truth, saying: Be strong and of good courage, brethren and friends, and be not weary in that faithful testimony you owe to the Gospel. However, the carriages were moving forward at such a high speed that he could not be easily heard by those who were in front. So, raising his hand to heaven, he cried out: Brethren, remember him that is in heaven above. Then the escort and other attendants in the train of the Provost Marshal, deeming the man a Lutheran, ⁽⁶¹⁾ bound him fast, without any enquiry, and so cast him into the carriage where the fourteen were already in bonds. Such are the wonderful ways of the Lord, understood by none but those who make trial of his good will and providence. He ever relieves them in their infirmities and in their saddest tribulation. This man, who so appeared by God's goodness to them on their road, not only renewed their strength with his vigorous and zealous ardour, but also restored confirmed and refreshed their hearts by this latest proclamation of God's promises. Some of them avowed that new strength came to them by the unlooked for meeting with this man as if he had been an angel sent from heaven. Those who were silent through the weight of their grief began to lift up their heads and rejoice in the holy Spirit. Thus did this artizan, coming out of the forest solitude, animate them in their guardianship of the cause of our Lord Jesus Christ. Shortly after this they came to the district called Livry ⁽⁶⁰⁾, where the people, pouring out from all the places round, on to the road by which the defendants had to travel, easily recognised that man who had come forward. Indeed some of them cried, saying that he was a Lutheran ⁽⁶¹⁾ and better deserved the punishment of fire than did those with whom he was placed. This moved the Provost Marshal and his escort to bind him more firmly. There is recounted a similar story of a certain martyr in the primitive church, who most willingly offered himself to share the punishment of those whom he saw being led to their death. Being unknown, he received the name of Adauctus ⁽⁶²⁾ because by him was increased the number of Jesus Christ's holiest martyrs and witnesses. On arriving at Meaux they shut them all up in the prison, and then began to interrogate them, with tortures extraordinary ⁽⁶³⁾ as they are called. This method was employed especially in the case of the aforesaid fourteen, to obtain the accusation of those who cherished the same doctrine. None

Christian
encourage-
ment from a
countryman

God's won-
derful provi-
dence.

God knows
how to de-
liver his
people from
trial.

A virtue more than human.

The absurdity of transubstantiation.

Mangin spoke after his tongue was cut off.

The faithful as sheep appointed to be slain.

however were named or accused by a word of theirs. In this inquisition their limbs were cruelly racked, and all but torn asunder, by the ministers of torture ; yet it is said that the executioners were exhorted by one of exceptional fortitude, who cried out to them not to spare the wretched body since it had so much resisted the spirit and will of the Creator. On the next day, ⁽⁶⁴⁾ whereon their punishment was to be carried out, the doctors of theology renewed the discussion with them, dealing especially with the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But Picard and the rest were uncertain of their argument, and had nothing whatever to say when LeClerc asked them what was the ground for their transubstantiation, and whether in eating the bread or in drinking the wine they perceived any taste of flesh or of blood.⁽⁶⁵⁾ In the end these terms were offered, that any who were willing to whisper into the ear of the priest, which is a phrase they use for confessing sins, should obtain some favour, and their tongues should not be cut off. Out of the fourteen above named, then, seven accepted this condition,⁽⁶⁶⁾ whether because they considered it of little moment, or because they thought they could by this stipulation redeem the privilege of speech. This caused profound sorrow to the others, whose resolution was never relaxed, nor their determination ever abandoned, for threat or promise. Now at the second hour of the afternoon, which had been fixed for the execution of their punishment, when they were led out of prison the executioner first demanded of Estienne Mangin to put forth his tongue. He put it forth in ready compliance. It was then cut off, and he, spitting out blood, yet spoke in a manner to be fairly understood, and prayed three times with such phrases as : Blessed be the name of the Lord. He was presently dragged upon a hurdle, as was LeClerc also. ⁽⁵¹⁾ ⁽⁶⁷⁾ ^(66a) The rest, however, were placed on a cart, and so carried off. Those that were not condemned to death followed close by on foot, to the great market place. Here were fourteen gibbets put up in a circle in the neighbourhood of Mangin's house.⁽⁶⁸⁾ A separate gibbet was also erected, a little further off, on which was to be hung up by his armpits a youth called Michel Piquery ⁽⁶⁹⁾ whose tender age, and the shame it would cause, saved him from being burnt. Then like lambs for the sacrifice these men were bound fast by the executioners. ⁽⁷⁰⁾ Those whose tongues had been cut off still ceased not to call with stammering voice on the Lord ; while the others, who had the full use of speech, kept singing psalms. This threw the priests and monks present into a frenzy of

rage, who on their part struck up their monotonous chants;(72) O Salutaris Hostia,(73) then, Salve regina,(74) and other like blasphemies. Nor did they leave off this impious and insane singing until those most holy victims (75) were burnt and consumed as a sacrifice of sweetest savour. On the following day, (76) the eighth of the month, the adversaries, as if they had well conducted their operations, and were willing to bring the truth conquered and captive to adorn their triumph, arranged a magnificent procession. Here they carried round that all healing idol of theirs (77) accompanied by numberless torches and tapers lighted at the height of day. Arrived at the place of execution, where the fire was still burning, they there set up their idol. Picard then mounted a platform in the middle of the market place, covered with a canopy or golden integument, a splendid and comfortable protection for the head of some luxurious person. So placed, that remarkable theologian began after his wont to rage without measure against those on whom punishment had been carried out. His exhibition of anger went so far that he distinctly affirmed it was necessary to salvation to believe that they were condemned to the pit of hell,(79) and that, should an angel from heaven say otherwise, he was to be rejected; nay, that God himself would not be God unless he condemned them for ever. However, the wives of the burned men could never be brought to that opinion of their husbands, even on being liberated from prison. (80) On the other hand they rather contended that during the whole time they had spent together in this life, they had found their husbands blameless in the fear of the Lord and in true piety, and that this integrity is generally the companion of eternal life. Now their enemies were not satiated nor contented with shedding the blood of these men, but summoned all their zeal and endeavour to the work of scattering the Lord's flock, of crushing and entirely wiping them out. Thus many of them, fugitives from this great and barbarous persecution, came into various towns near and distant. (81) This scattering and dispersing of the Church caused the Gospel to be more spread abroad. Each man took upon him the duty and study to use every occasion for confessing and testifying to the truth. Such was at Orleans (82) and other places the behaviour of Pharon Mangin (83), who showed the greatest fervency of spirit; such also at Aubigny (84) was the conduct of Pierre called Bon-pain (85) who soon after was burnt at Paris. (86)

The mad bel-
lowing of the
priests. (71)

Public
prayer
before the
couches of
the gods. (78)

Behold thy
Rhadaman-
thus.

The wives'
loyalty to
their hus-
bands.

A benefit
from the
dispersal of
the faithful.

Translation of certain passages from an old MS., in the Public Library at Meaux; entitled

“*Antiquitez De la Ville de Meaux.*

“*. Par Claude Rochard*

“*Mtre Chirurgien Juré et Chirurgien*

“*du grand Hotel Dieu dudit Meaux*”

1721.

[*At page 379 of the First Part.*]

In the year 1546 on the day of the Nativity of Our Lady the Lieutenant General of the said Meaux who then was *Maître* Philippe Rhumet, and the King's Attorney⁽⁸⁷⁾ who was *Maître* Louis Cosset, were advised that at the *Marché* of the said Meaux were assembling many persons both from the said *Marché* and from the country, who held conventicles⁽⁸⁸⁾ at the abode of Estienne Mangin and that they entered the said house over the ramparts.⁽⁸⁹⁾ The said Lieutenant General and his King's Attorney having been advised hereof, they sent for the Provost of the city who was *Maître* Adrien de la Personne, and all the sergeants⁽⁹⁰⁾ of the said Meaux, and with them the Provost Marshal, by name Gilles Berthelot, with all his archers⁽⁹¹⁾. In entering the said house they feigned that they would seize some persons who, they said, had stolen salt in some boats that were on the river. The assemblage of all these officers took place at the abode of *Maître* Antoine du Guet an attorney dwelling in the *Place Saint Maur*.⁽⁹²⁾ As soon as they were all assembled they walked some by the *Grand Marché* and the others over the ramparts towards *la folie*.⁽⁹³⁾ The said *Sieur* Rhumet was the first to enter the house, and opened the upper room^(93a) where were assembled those whom they sought; and when he saw so large an assembly, not having his retinue near at hand, he certainly had some fear, as he afterwards owned.⁽⁹⁴⁾ At last he shut again the door of the said upper room and, while awaiting his band, he listened to what was being said. One of those that were within, called Pierre LeClere, who was reading and explaining some text of the Bible, continued nevertheless, though they had perceived the said Lieutenant General, and though they even heard some noise from those who attended him. And at that moment when he was joined by those people they went in there armed; and, having made provision of ropes, they took and bound the said Estienne Mangin and all the others, whom they brought to the prisons of the castle of the said Meaux;⁽⁹⁵⁾ the number of which

prisoners, men as well as women, girls and lads of an age to marry, sixty; against whom charge was made; and being examined they were all brought into the Court with their charge; in which Court by judgment⁽⁹⁶⁾ made in the Chamber of Vacations, the said LeClere, Mangin, and twelve other men were condemned to be burnt alive

[At page 397 of the same MS.] “Execution de l’arrest des “Quatorze Huguenots (^{96a}) Bruslez Vifs au grand Marché de “Meaux.”

Following the said judgment and to cause it to be executed the seventh day of October in the said year 1546, the said imprisoned Blasphemers were put into the hands of Gilles Berthelot Provost Marshal (⁹⁷) who conducted and brought them, assisted by his lieutenants and archers, into the said town of Meaux on the said day. Two doctors were appointed by the said court or chamber namely *Maître* Maillard and *Maître* Picard who were conveyed to the said Meaux, to subdue and convert the said blasphemers. (^{97a}) And the next morning the Lieutenant General of the said Meaux, accompanied by the Lieutenant Particular (^{97b}), King’s Attorney and Advocate, the Provost, with several other officers of justice in different ranks of the said Meaux (⁹⁸), caused the torture and *question extraordinaire* to be given to fourteen of the said Lutherans according to the import of the said sentence. On the said day people began to throw down and demolish the house of the said Estienne Mangin, where the said blasphemers had been found and made prisoners in the act of holding their conventicles; and before the said house the next following day of the said month they erected fourteen gibbets in a circle at the *Grand Marché* of the said Meaux; and in the midst of them was a great quantity of faggots, straw and gunpowder, brimstone, balks of timber; and close by there was a great platform for those who should not be punished with death, and who had to be present at the said execution; and around the said gibbets there was a barrier to place the officers of justice apart from the said blasphemers and heretics, on account of the great quantity of people at Meaux. And before the said Huguenots came from prison the tongues of eight (⁹⁹) of the

said blasphemers were cut off, because they would not confess at all nor turn to the Catholic faith, and died stubborn. On the said day the said blasphemers and heretics were brought to the said *Grand Marché*, to be executed. The Provost Marshal walked first with his lieutenants and archers, the said Mangin and LeClerc ^(66a) were seated each on a hurdle, ⁽⁵¹⁾ on which they were brought to the place of punishment; after went three carts whereon were the other heretical blasphemers, and after walked on foot the rest of the said prisoners; and behind them walked the said Lieutenants General and Particular, King's Attorney and Advocate, and the Provost of Meaux, with several advocates and attorneys and the chief merchants of the said Meaux, who accompanied them to the said *Marché*, and in this order they passed before the cathedral church of Saint Estienne. Being arrived at the *Grand Marché* the said fourteen heretical Blasphemers were bound with ropes and iron chains, each to a gibbet, by the executioner of the High Justice of the city of Paris with that of the *Baillage* ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ of the said Meaux; then they were raised into the air having their faces towards each other, their heads and breasts towards the fire, which was lighted shortly after, and were thus burnt alive. ^(100a) During the said execution a young lad called Louis Piquery ⁽¹⁰¹⁾ was continually in the air hung by the armpits to a gibbet which was near. There were sung: O Salutaris hostia, and other hymns in honour of God and of the glorious Virgin, wherein the priests and the people sang, and this was done until the said fourteen were burnt and fallen into the said fire. And that Piquery, after the execution, was beaten with rods by the executioner of the said Meaux. And upon a platform adjoining the said place of the execution were the rest of the poor imprudent people, who had been present at the diabolical readings, and at the blasphemies against the honour of God and of our mother holy Church. The which were to the number of thirty-six, ^(101a) both men and women, of whom there were four in shirts the rope round the neck, who ⁽¹⁰²⁾ were flogged and beaten with rods at the said *Grand Marché* and cross-roads (*), of the said Meaux, after which they were brought back to the prisons of the said place.

The next day there was made a general procession at the said Meaux, where was carried in great reverence the body of our Lord Jesus Christ. [First came] the scholars and other children of the said Meaux; thereafter the torches which were to the full number of 3000, or about, and perhaps more; after followed the clergymen, namely the monks of our Lady

of Chaage, and other monks of the said Meaux, each in his place and in very good order⁽¹⁰³⁾; after walked the chaplains and vicars of the said Meaux, and the Canons, with many clergymen both of the said Meaux and of other places who were in great number; and after was the precious body of Our Lord; then walked the said prisoners in order two and two; after them walked the officers of justice and governors of the said Meaux; after walked the citizens, holding in their hands each a torch; after walked many considerable gentlewomen and young ladies and citizens' ladies of the said City and *Grand Marché* of the said Meaux, bearing also each one a taper in their hands; and were in this order up to the place where the said execution was done. There was made a sermon, on the holy sacrament of the altar, by *Maître François Picard*, and at that place was put a very rich altar⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ where lay the precious body of our Saviour Jesus Christ. During the sermon the said heretics were on a platform placed near the spot where the preacher was, having each a torch in their hands, being in shirts, and the women barefooted, holding each a taper in their hands. The sermon being finished, the precious body of our Saviour was escorted again to the church of Saint Estienne where these criminals were again caused to kneel for some time.

Translation of a passage from the "Histoire de l'Église de Meaux par Dom Toussaints du Plessis, Benedictin de la congregation de S. Maur."

Paris MDCCXXI.

[NOTE.—This author earlier deals with the movement at Meaux under Briçonnet. And any student of that period of history, and especially of the local dispute, will do well to consult those pages. After further relating troubles which he attributes to the Concordat, as well as the contest between Bishop Jean de Buz and the convent of Faremoutier, and the anxious position of Meaux when the Emperor approached it in 1544, Toussaints du Plessis gives a short account of the affair of the Fourteen. The few marginal references, not necessary to translate here, are to Lenfant, and to Toussaints du Plessis' own work, vide *suprà*, p. 2, and footnote.]

Toussaints du Plessis. Hist. de l'Égl: de Meaux, Tome I. p: 348:—

XXXV. ARRÊT DES QUATORZE À MEAUX.

In the midst of these troubles the Church had to combat foes of another sort, over whom she could triumph only by encountering losses irreparable. In the diocese of Meaux the heretics were making specially dangerous progress. They held public assemblies for the practice of their religion. ⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ They there set forth their doctrines on the gospel; even the laymen seeking to usurp the holy ministry. In 1546 a company of sixty were surprised at the house of one called Étienne Mangin, a carder of wool, at the *Grand Marché* of Meaux.⁽²⁶⁾ The Lieutenant General and the King's Attorney visited the place. They apprehended the people, the prosecution of whose case was taken before the *Parlement*. Since they were not all equally guilty, the judges awarded them divers kinds of punishment more or less severe. Étienne Mangin and thirteen others were condemned to be burnt alive at the *Grand Marché* after undergoing the *question extraordinaire*. He, and one called Pierre LeClere, son or kinsman to one Jean LeClere ⁽²¹⁾ ⁽²⁷⁾, of whom we have already spoken, being as culpable and as obstinate as Mangin, these two were dragged on hurdles ⁽⁵¹⁾ to the place of execution and the others brought in carts. A young child, called Louis Piguery ⁽⁵²⁾, whose tender age rendered him the less criminal, was condemned to be merely hung up by his armpits, then beaten at the hands of the executioner, and shut up for the

rest of his days in the abbey of S. Faron, at the charges of the Bishop of Meaux. He was converted in the sequel: the monks entrusted to him some occupation in the monastery; and, at his death, having given signs of sincere repentance, he was buried at the foot of the great porch (*portail*). Some of the others were condemned to the rod, and to banishment, after attending the execution of the fourteen prime (offenders), the rope on the neck. Others were only condemned to be present at that execution, head bare, and torch in hand; others to make *amende honorable* to God and to the law before the gate of the Cathedral Church, with heads bare, in shirts, and holding in the hand a burning taper; while some were merely to be present at a solemn procession, which should take place in reparation for that outrage. Lastly it was ordered that the house of Mangin should be demolished, and that, to perpetuate the memory of his sentence there should be built on the spot a chapel for a perpetual Thursday celebration of the high and solemn Mass of the holy sacrament. The decree was on the 7th of October executed in all its details except this last article, for which sufficient funds could not at that time be found. (55) The decree is of the 4th of October, 1546; and it is called at Meaux "*L'Arrêt des Quatorze*," from the fourteen chief offenders, who alone were condemned to death, but that of a sort to instil terror, and to serve for an example to all their accomplices.

Translation of the Judgment :

OR

" *Arrêt de Meaux.*" (105a)

[NOTE.—The following is a translation of the judgment of the *Parlement de Paris* in the case of the Meaux congregation of 1546. The *Histoire des Martyrs*, 1582, and various other books, give more or less complete copies of that judgment. Compare *Toussaints du Plessis*, II, 292; and *Carro*, 510. In view of the slight differences among them, it seems best to use the official register itself. By the kind offices of M. Weiss, (Secretary to the "*Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*," at Paris,) I have been furnished with a careful copy of the original *Arrêt de Meaux*, from the *Registres Criminels du Parlement de Paris*, in the *Archives Nationales*, at Paris; which I have translated literally below. Punctuation is here added for convenience of the reader.]

Monday fourth day of October the year fifteen hundred and forty-six in the *Chambre du domaine* with doors closed for consultation. The said day ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾. Whereas the Chamber prescribed by the King at vacation time has taken cognizance of ⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ the criminal process made by the Bailly of Meaux, or his Lieutenants General and Particular, against Pierre LeClere, Estienne Mengin, Jaques Bouchebec, Jehan Brisebarre, Henry Hutinot, Thomas Honoré, Jehan Beaudouyn, Jehan Flesche, Jehan Picquery, Pierre Picquery, Jehan Mathetton, Philippe Petit, Michel Caillon, Francoys LeClere, Loys Picquery, Jehan Vincent, Adrian Grongnet, Loys Coquement, Pasquier Fouace, Pierre Coquement, Jehan Delaborde, Claude Petitpain, Michel Dumont, Jehan Roussel, Pierre Javelle, Nicolas Fleury, Jehan Fournier, Georges Desprez, Nicolas de Moucy, Leonard LeRoy, Pasquette widow of the late Guillaume Picquery, Jehan Lemoyne, Jehan Atignan, Jehanne Cheron wife of Loys Coquement, Guillemecte wife of Jehan Saillard, Marguerite wife of Estienne Mengin, Martine wife of Pierre LeClere, Pierre Darabye, Jaques LeVeau, Yvon Coignart, Jehan de Laurencerye the elder, Jehan de Laurenye the younger, Guillaume de Laurencerye, Denis Guillot, Pierre Chevallet, Phelippes Turpin, Jullienne wife of Pasquier Fouace, Jehanne Guilleminot, Bastienne wife of Thomas Honoré, Marguerite wife of Jehan Delestre, Marguerite Rossignol, Catherine daughter of Jehan Ricourt, Jehanne Gameuse, Guillemecte wife of Leonard LeRoy, Jehanne widow of the late Macé Rougebec, Jehanne wife of Nicolas Codet, Pauline widow of the late Adam Leconte, Marguerite widow of the late Jehan Vollent, Perrecte Mengin and Marion Mengin: ^(107a) all prisoners in

the *conciergerie* of the palace, by reason of the offences and crimes (^{107b}) of heresy and execrable blasphemies, private conventicles, and illicit assemblies, schisms and errors bearing appearance of idolatry (^{107c}): by them committed respectively in the house of Estienne Mengin, in which the said prisoners had assembled themselves and committed the said offences against the honour of our Saviour and Redeemer Jhesus Christ, of the holy sacrament of the altar, commandments of our mother holy Church, and her catholic doctrine. The conclusions taken upon this by the King's Attorney General: and all considered. It shall be pronounced that the said Chamber, for reparation of the said scandalous and pernicious offences and crimes more fully contained in the said process,^(107d) has condemned and does condemn the said prisoners: that is to say the said Pierre LeClere, Estienne Mengin, Jaques Bouchebec, Jehan Brisebarre, Henry Hutinot, Thomas Honoré, Jehan Baudouyn, Jehan Flesche, Jehan Picquery, Pierre Picquery, Jehan Matheflon, Philippe Petit, Michel Caillon, and Francoys LeClere, to be burned and consumed by fire alive at the *Grant Marché* of Meaulx, at the place most convenient and near to that Mengin's house wherein the said offences and crimes have been committed. Whereto the said Pierre Leclere and Mengin shall be dragged on a hurdle, and the others above named brought in carts from the place of the prisons of the said Meaulx, and the books found in their possession also consumed by fire. And has declared and does declare the property of those prisoners appropriated and confiscated to the King. The said Chamber nevertheless orders that before the execution of the said fourteen prisoners they shall be put to the torture and question extraordinary to declare and report their abettors⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ allies and accomplices, and other persons suspected of their sect and error. And the said Loys Picquery to be hung up by the armpits at a gibbet which shall be set and planted near and adjoining the place where is done the execution of the said fourteen prisoners condemned to the fire: on which gibbet he shall remain hung up during the said execution; and after shall be flogged at the said *Marché* by the executioner of the high Court of Justice; and that done, placed and shut up at the monastery of Saint Faron of the said Meaulx for ever at the costs of the Bishop of Meaulx. And the said Loys Coquement, Jehan Vincent, Adrian Gronget, and Pasquier Fouace, to attend at the said execution by fire of the said condemned, the rope round the neck, and after to be beaten and flogged with rods, the said rope round the neck:

the said Coquement and Fouace on three different days, having the rope round the neck : and the said Vincent and Grongnet once at the cross-roads of the said Meaulx : and again the said Grongnet to be flogged at the village of Sacy once at the cross-roads of the said place, the rope round the neck. And the said Chamber has banished and does banish them from out this realm for five years, on pain of the halter. Before which execution ⁽¹⁰⁸¹⁾ has condemned and does condemn them together : the said Pierre Coquement, Jehan Delaborde, Pierre Petitpain, Michel Dumont, Jehan Roussel, Pierre Javelle, Nicolas Fleury, Jehan Fournier, Georges Desprez, Nicolas de Moucy, Leonard LeRoy, Pasquette widow of the late Guillaume Picquery, Jehan Lemoyne, Jehan Attignan, Jehanne Cheron wife of Loys Coquement, Guillemecte wife of Jehan Saillart, Martine wife of the said Pierre LeClere, and Marguerite wife of the said Estienne Mengin, for the offences and crimes by them committed, to attend at the execution of death of the said fourteen condemned ; the men to have their heads bare : the said women being near to them, and separately, in such manner that people be able to distinguish them among the others : and that done, to make *amende honorable* : the men to have their feet and heads bare and to be in shirts : and the women to have their feet bare : before the principal gate of the cathedral church of the said Meaulx : having each of them in their hands a torch of wax lighted, of the weight of two pounds : and to say and declare each of them in a loud voice, that with folly temerity and indiscretion they had been present at the said conventicles held in the house of the said Estienne Mengin, to hear the readings ^(108a) in French of the said Pierre LeClere, for which they request mercy and pardon of God the King and Justice. Furthermore after the said *amendes honorables* the above named shall attend all having the said torches, at a general procession which shall be made at the said Meaulx for a grand solemn Mass which shall be said and celebrated in the said church, and at the discourse which shall be made there by a doctor in theology, exhorting the people : singularly and chiefly of the reverence and adoration of the precious body of our Lord Jhesus Christ, and veneration for the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary mother of God, and for the male and female Saints of Paradise : also ^(108b) of the observance of the commandments of our mother holy Church, reverence for her doctrine, detestation and reprobation of the said conventicles and private assemblies, reading and interpretation by laymen and mechanics from books in French that

are reprobated and condemned, and dogmatizings, and erroneous discourses (^{108c}) made by the said laymen upon the holy Gospels. Likewise the said Chamber has condemned and does condemn the said Pierre Darabye, Jaques LeVeau, Yvon Coignart, Jehan de Laurencerie the elder, Jehan de Laurencerye, Guillaume de Laurencerie, Denis Guillot, Pierre Chevallet, Phelippes Turpin, Julianne wife of Pasquier Fouace, for the said offences by them committed, to attend and be present, having each of them a taper of a *quarteron* of wax in their hands, at the said procession, Mass, and discourse; also to attend without taper at the execution of death upon the said fourteen condemned: the men alone to have their heads bare: and the women apart from the assembly, in such manner that they can be distinguished from among the others. And the said Jehanne Guillemillot, Bastienne wife of Thomas Honoré, to attend throughout at the discourse and Mass; and after the said discourse made, and the exhortations which are to be made (as) above named, to request and ask pardon of God, for the faults heretofore committed by them fully comprehended in the said process. And as to the said Marguerite wife of Jean Delestre, Marguerite Rossignol, (¹⁰⁹) daughter of Jehan Ricourt, Guillemecte wife of Leonard LeRoy, and Jehanne Gameuse: the said Chamber has ordered and does order that for them the prisons shall be thrown open; and nevertheless (^{108d}) has made and does make injunctions and prohibitions against being present hereafter at the discourses and readings of the said laymen, (at the) conventicles and illicit assemblies, on pain of the halter. And over and above the said Chamber has delivered and does deliver fully from the said prisons the said Jehanne widow of the late Macé Rougebec, Jehanne wife of Nicolas Codet, Pauline widow of the late Adam Leconte, Marguerite widow of the late Jehan Vollant, Perrecte and Marion Mengins. And in order that the said offences and crimes above named which have been committed in the house of the said Mengin, may be in perpetual detestation to all posterity, and that the memory of their punishment may remain for example, to furnish and induce, in the wicked, fear of committing like offences and crimes, and to invite and impel the good along the straight line of the catholic faith (¹¹⁰) and doctrine of our mother holy Church: (^{110a}) has ordered and does order that the said house of the said Estienne Mengin, in which have been performed the said conventicles and forbidden readings of the holy scripture by the said Pierre LeClerc, presumptuously

and with temerity interpreting and expounding it, and also the said blasphemous and scandalous Supper, mentioned in the said process, bearing appearance of idolatry,^(110b) shall be thrown down and demolished wholly and entirely, and on the said spot shall be built and constructed a chapel which shall be dedicated and consecrated in honour of the holy sacrament of the altar: Wherein shall be celebrated a grand Mass of the said holy sacrament every Thursday, at the hour of seven: And to found this, the said Chamber has ordered and does order that such sum of money shall be taken as shall be advised by the Bailly of Meaux or his Lieutenants General and Particular, [having] called with them the Advocate and Attorney of the King to the tribunal, upon the confiscated property of the said prisoners. And the said Chamber, being duly informed, that from day to day that unhappy and damnable Lutheran sect, and others like [it] heretical, increase greatly in the said town and diocese of Meaux, and that there are a great number of them who are secretly and hiddenly tainted and infected therewith: has ordered and does order that both in the said town of Meaux, after the execution of the aforesaid, and at those other towns of that jurisdiction⁽¹¹¹⁾ at which there is a royal tribunal having direct dependency on the Court, ^(111a) shall be published with sound of trumpet and by public crier,⁽¹¹²⁾ provisionally and until otherwise provided by the king or his Court of *Parlement* in session, that it has forbidden and forbids all the subjects of the said *Seigneur* living within the said jurisdiction to say and maintain in public or in secret any erroneous or scandalous talk and blasphemy against the honour of God, of the holy sacrament of the altar, and of the very holy Virgin mother of God, of the male and female Saints of Paradise, and other sacraments commandments and doctrines of our mother holy catholic Church: and that on pain of being consumed by fire or otherwise grievously punished according as the nature and gravity of the said crimes require, without any hope of mitigation of penalty afterwards. And furthermore, considering the great suspicion that one may have both by the said process and by several other experiences which have been known in the said Court of *Parlement*, that there are still many Lutherans and heretics at the said Meaux and in very great number; and that it is enjoined on the Bishops by the holy Council of Lateran⁽¹¹³⁾ to use diligence in making enquiries or causing enquiries to be made against all those who are suspected of heresy or who are found dissidents from the usual manner of living of the true catholic

christians; and that of the said Council of Lateran and other holy Councils the very christian King is conservator and his Court of *Parlement*: The said Chamber provisionally and until by the King or the said Court in session shall be otherwise ordered, has enjoined and does enjoin the said Bishop of Meaulx to execute or cause to be executed the content of the said Council of Lateran, both in the said town of Meaulx and other places of his diocese, and cause inquest diligently and secretly to be made by good and sufficient persons against all those who are tainted with that unhappy and pernicious sect and heresy; and to proceed against those who are subject to his cognizance and power, as are persons ecclesiastic who are in holy orders: and as far as degradation, if it comes to that and the case requires it: and as to the lay and clerical persons not having holy orders, of whom the cognizance belongs to the lay judges by the King's edict, to warn thereof the judges of the said *Seigneur*, and to send to them the charges and informations, or the duplicate of them, which shall have been made by his judges and officers, so that those informations considered by the said lay judges may be there carried on with the greatest diligence possible, as it shall reasonably befit. And meanwhile has the said Chamber charged all the residents in the said town of Meaulx and within the diocese of the said Meaulx, to bring or cause to be brought within eight days after the publication of this present judgment, all the books which they have in French of the holy Scripture, or concerning the christian doctrine, to the registry of the bailliage of Meaulx, and this on pain of forfeiture of body and property: to be there kept and set apart, to the end that by the said Chamber or the said Court in session may be ordered concerning them that which shall reasonably befit. And charges the said Bailly and Lieutenants General and Particular of the said Meaulx, to prosecute diligently those who shall not have obeyed the said order: and the King's Advocate and Attorney at the said tribunal to do the duties of solicitor and prosecutor therein, and to cause the informations to be sent *lightly* ⁽¹¹⁴⁾ closed and sealed to the registry of the said Court in order that when they are considered ^(114a) orders and proceedings may be taken against the disobedient so as it shall reasonably befit. Beyond this, the said chamber exhorts the said Bishop of Meaulx, in order to prevent the said pestilent sect from the power of further progress, to assign some good and notable persons, doctors in theology, learned and expert in discourses and instructions of the people, for the purpose that, in the Cathedral and parochial

churches of the said Meaulx and in all the other parochial churches of the said diocese, they may carefully exhort and admonish the inhabitants and residents in all the said diocese, to keep observe and revere the holy catholic faith, prevent oppose and contradict the unhappy heretics, who wish to impugn it, and disclose them to justice so as to attain their chastisement. And also to take pains by good and holy remonstrances and admonitions, to restore ^(114b) those who are tainted with them to the light of the holy catholic faith, and to leave the shades of the unhappy Lutheran sect, and other heresies which have been scattered heretofore in the said town and diocese of Meaulx against the honour of the blessed Saviour, faith and doctrine of the catholic Church. And to put the present judgment into execution according to the form and tenour, the Chamber has sent and does send the prisoners back before the said Bailly of Meaulx or his said Lieutenants. At which execution shall attend also the King's Advocate and Attorney.

P. LIZET. ⁽¹¹⁵⁾

DEZASSES. ⁽¹¹⁶⁾

And nevertheless is reserved in the mind of the Court ^(116a) that if the said Loys Picquery show hereafter by token of word or deed that he is obstinate or pertinacious in the said errors, in that case the Chamber has condemned him to be consumed alive by fire, as the others.

P. LIZET.

DEZASSES.

And nevertheless is reserved in the mind of the court ^(116a) that if the said prisoners condemned to death persist in their errors, and do not turn again and accept conversion, ⁽¹¹⁷⁾ as is required, to God and to his holy catholic faith, declaring that they have greatly trespassed, and would go on and say any scandalous talk, the tongue of him or of those among them who remain obstinate and pertinacious shall be cut off, upon leaving the prison or at the place where they begin to blaspheme and to speak against the holy catholic faith.

P. LIZET.

DEZASSES.

And also is reserved in the mind of the court ^(116a) that where the goods of the said condemned to death, which have been confiscated by this present judgment, did not suffice ^(117a) for the construction and endowment of the chapel, the Attorney General of the King and the Bishop of Meaulx having been heard, if it is found that there has been notable negligence in the Bishop, and that (he) has not had such diligence as he is responsible for ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ by the holy decrees, he shall be bound to make good what remains for the construction, erection, and endowment of the said chapel.

P. LIZET.

DEZASSES.

Notes.

NOTE 1 :—

JEAN CRESPIN, AND THE ACTIONES MARTYRUM :—Jean Crespin, the historian of Protestant Martyrs, was born at Arras very early in the sixteenth century. After imbibing at Louvain university some of the new ideas then agitating the religious world, he went to Paris, where he adopted the profession of advocate. He was present at the martyrdom of Claude LePeintre in 1540, and was deeply impressed with the young man's constancy. It is said that on that occasion he conceived the project of his great work. He returned to his birthplace in 1544, and fell under suspicion of heterodoxy. During his absence at Tournay, which he visited in 1545, sentence of banishment from Artois was pronounced against him. He went to Strasburg in that year and was well received by Bucer. In the same year he seems to have addressed to Calvin some exhortation or encouragement to activity. We may suppose that he there had personal knowledge of Estienne Mangin and Pierre LeClerc: for the deputation from Meaux visited Strasburg, in 1546, before the terrible event which he relates in this chapter. In 1548, Crespin arrived at Geneva with Théodore de Bèze and other friends. Here he settled his family, founded his printing establishment, and carried out his intention to publish a history of the Martyrs. This did not prevent his partaking in the reform movement at his own birth-place in 1566, nor his visiting Antwerp in the same and also in a later year. On his return to Geneva he busied himself with protestant books composed in, or translated into French. He was a good lawyer, and well versed in literature both Greek and Latin. His *chef d'œuvre* is the "*Histoire des Martyrs*," little known in England, but a great authority among the French protestants. It had an immense sale in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We are told that it was, with the Huguenots, almost as constant a fireside companion as the Bible or the Psalter. Preachers quoted it in the pulpit; and in many churches it was publicly read at the evening service. The

first edition is said to have been "*Le livre des Martyrs*," published in 1554. There was a Latin translation by Badnellus, called "*Acta Martyrum*," in 1556. Another Latin edition, called "*Actiones et Monumenta Martyrum*," appeared in 1560, from which I have here translated into English the chapter on the Meaux Martyrs of 1546. There were subsequent French editions, generally entitled "*Histoire des Martyrs*," of which the chief were dated respectively: 1570, 1582, (a most handsome volume), 1597, 1608, and 1619. Several of these, including "*Le livre des Martyrs*" 1554, I have not had the advantage of seeing. The 1619 edition, a folio volume of 1760 pages, was the basis of a careful modern publication at Toulouse in 1885 etc. I am indebted to this last book for facts concerning Crespin and his great work, as well as for other assistance.

The copy used for the present translation is of the Latin edition, 1560, quarto. The paper is thin; the print a firm italic almost throughout, and excellently set. The pagination is on one side only; and this highly interesting edition lacks the elegance of 1556. The title page is unusual. It bears sensational representation of martyrdoms, surmounted by the clouds of heaven. Above these clouds, which shed a ray of blessing downwards, appear celestial figures distributing martyrs' crowns. The very device of Crespin in the centre of the page, representing as usual the anchor, with shank and stock entwined and surmounted by the serpent, the shank flanked by the letters I C, and grasped by hands wreathed in smoke, even that elaborately symbolic device is, in this edition, amplified, by the open sea appearing below it, and supporting certain prodigious figures. A Greek and Latin motto, on opposite margins of this page, prays the reader to bear witness to the fidelity of Christ's followers. There are numerous marginal notes to the text.

Crespin died in 1572, (which was also the year of the St. Bartholomew); and Eustache Vignon, his son in law, took up the management of the press.

I do not know any English translation or edition of Crespin's work, except the abridged or arranged book, called "Popish Tyranny etc," by Maddock, (London, 1780). The translation of the "*Histoire des Martyrs*" 1619, which Haag (*La France protestante*: "Crespin,") says was made in 1764, I have not seen. It is, however, highly interesting to find the English Wieleff named, with Huss, in the title to the "*Actiones et Monumenta Martyrum*," as the point from which that history starts.

NOTE 2:—

OPPIDUM MELDENSE: MEAUX EN BRIE:—Meaux, Meldae, the Roman Fixtulinum or Jatinum, was in early times the chief town of two districts: namely the *Pagus Meldicus* northward: and the *Pagus Brigensis* southward, so named from “*Brige*” (according to Toussaints du Plessis) a Celtic word for “Bridge.” This town suffered from famine in the struggles between Huns and Romans, between Gauls and Franks. Its sufferings were relieved by the sainted, and still remembered, Celine. Clovis obtained possession of the town in 486. Meaux was the seat of an ancient and important bishopric, in which diocese arose many abbeys and monasteries, the first being the abbey of Faremoutier (or Eboriae) founded about 617. Sometime probably about the year 700, Wilfrid, the Yorkshire Bishop, and advocate of Roman authority, falling sick on a journey through Gaul, was brought to Meaux. Here, say the “*Offices of St. Wilfrid*,” (Whitham’s Edition, Ripon, 1893: pp. 22, 23,) the Angel Michael appeared to him. The town of Meaux was sacked and burnt by the Normans in 862, and again, after a vigorous resistance, in 888. Upon these disasters closely followed a number of petty wars, and bad seasons, so that famine and pestilence wasted the district during the first half of the eleventh century. In the tenth century the discipline of the Church at Meaux had fallen to a very low point, but was reformed by Bishop Gilbert. Certain small councils took place here, in and after the year 1080, exhibiting disputes and excommunications. About this time, several hardy adventurers from Meaux, having, under their leader Gamel, rendered good service to the Norman Conqueror of Britain, were rewarded with a settlement on the Humber in Yorkshire. I hope antiquarians may be able to settle the question, curious to any Yorkshireman, of the origin of the names “Brie” and “Eboriae”, discussed by Toussaints du Plessis, Tome, I, Note xvii. In 1179 Meaux received a communal charter, and, about the same time, became the seat of a “*grand baillage*.” From the 12th century onward, the poor were cared for, in the reorganization of the old Saint Lazare, and foundation of several hospitals and charities.

It is thought that, anciently, the river Marne took a somewhat different course, and a wider sweep, than at present. Possibly this is still traceable in a tiny water-course, partly seen in the Sketch Plan, and leading out NNE. from the fosse on the east of the town. But Carro considers it almost certain, from an old cartulary which he cites, that (even if not long before) yet in the thirteenth century the present bed of the

river was represented at least by a considerable branch, (see *Histoire de Meaux*, 12, 112, 507). The *Marché*, thereby cut off from the town, and long so striking a feature of the place, seems to have received its first fortifications from the *Comte de Champagne*; whom we find in that century in serious disagreement with the Bishop of Meaux.

The place was now conspicuously the key to the River Marne; and the Town might have shewn a more confident front to the *Jacquerie* of the fourteenth century, but for disputes between the citizens on the right bank and the *Marché* on the left. The nobles however, who maintained themselves within the Fortifications of the *Marché*, issued therefrom, slew nearly seven thousand of the insurgents, and fired the town. In the next century the garrison and inhabitants of Meaux offered a stubborn resistance to the English King Henry V, and distinguished themselves by enduring a siege of seven months: first defending the entire place, and at last making the *Marché* their citadel. The mills in the river could at last no longer supply food; and, after several assaults, the garrison capitulated on the 11th May, 1422. Meaux remained for seventeen years under English rule. In 1439 the *Marché* sustained an attack from French troops established in the town: and the English garrison eventually withdrew to Rouen. The end of the fifteenth century was marked at Meaux by perpetual struggles between the Regular clergy and the Episcopal authority, and vain reforms attempted by the latter.

The opening of the sixteenth century shows this diocese under Bishop Briçonnet taking the lead in the new movement; and, soon after, furnishing even an organized congregation of Gospellers, or "Reformed" Church, under Mangin and LeClerc, whose punishment is related by Crespin. The speedy rise of the Gospellers here had been no doubt partially due to the proximity of the Flemish and Lorraine frontiers, and some community of trade, favouring intercourse of ideas. In the campaign of 1544 the advance guards of the Emperor Charles V arrived at La Ferté: and, before the peace of Crespy, the district was in imminent peril of furnishing a battle ground for three great nations. The vigour of the new ideas, soon supported by a section of the nobles, is seen in the year 1554, when a marriage "*à la façon de Genève*" was celebrated in the *Marché*, then almost entirely Protestant. In subsequent years the religious dispute became further embittered. A domiciliary and iconoclastic warfare, on both sides of the river, prevailed; and eventually the fortifications of the *Marché* were partly destroyed by Royal authority. In 1567 an escort of six thousand Swiss

joined the King at Meaux, saving him from the proposed *Coup de main* of Prince Condé. In 1572 Meaux was afflicted with the horrors of the St. Bartholomew Massacre and pillage, and in 1577 the Catholic League was sworn here. The end of the world was expected in 1580; when an Aurora Borealis caused all the church bells to be rung, and peremptorily compelled the populace to prayer. The Royal troops attacked Meaux in 1589, and took the *Marché*, but on the approach of the League's reinforcements, presently retired from it. The civil war, so dubious for the cause of religion on either side, made sad havoc about this place, and the town could scarcely hold the houseless refugees from suburb and country, as well as the Lanzknechts, or other troops, so constantly marching through. Meaux offered her submission to King Henri IV in December 1593, and was the first city that opened her gates to him in 1594.

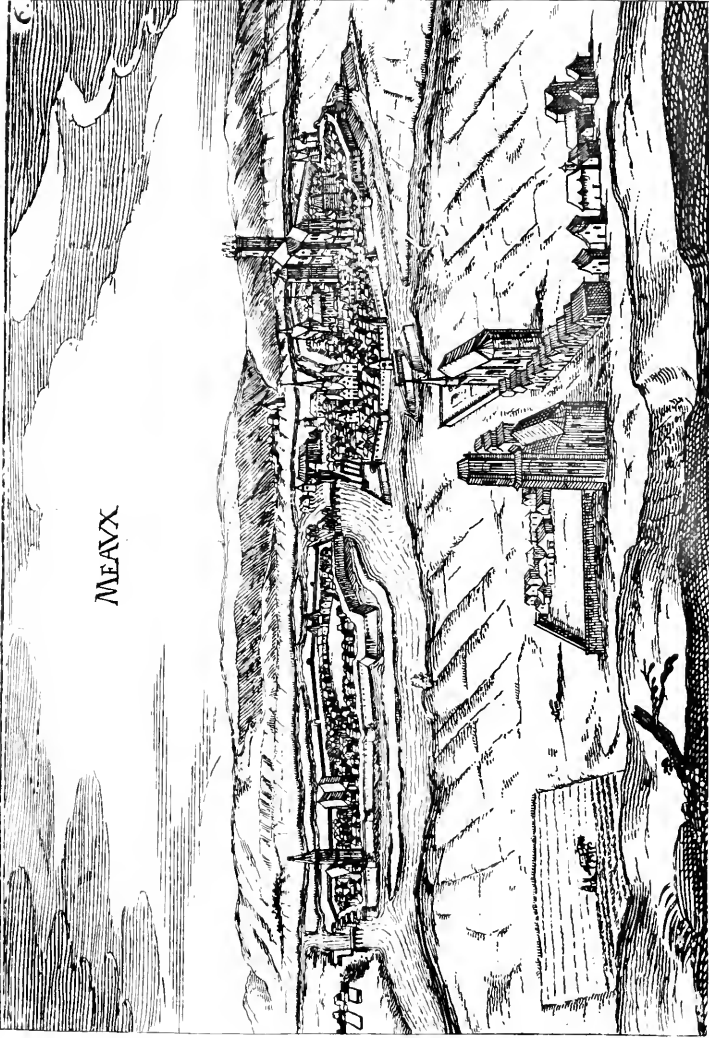
Almost a century after Briçonnet, a fresh religious movement took place at Meaux. Here again was the reform of the clergy zealously and firmly pursued by Vieupont: whose mantle, with some of his spirit, descended upon Bishop Belleau in 1633. The See was later occupied by the brilliant Bossuet, who was not prevented by his literary abstraction from dealing practically with the individual affairs of the diocese, or with the Religious houses. Some of these were by no means examples of conduct, and they still here and there, as for instance the Jouarre Convent, propounded their allegiance to the Pope alone, offering a grotesque resistance to both Gallican Bishop and *Parlement*. The same episcopate saw the loss of nearly a thousand families, driven away by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685: a severe blow to the woollen and agricultural industries.

In the earlier and middle part of the next century, Meaux was free enough from the disturbances of war and religion, to concern herself busily with municipal affairs, as well as with literature and other arts. We find a certain Mangin of Mitry in this district, an architect of fame, who attempted perhaps a less refractory problem, than did old Étienne Mangin of Meaux in 1546. Commerce also seemed to attain a satisfactory progress; and the trade in corn, meal, and wool, as well as the making of the celebrated *Fromage de Brie*, lent prosperity to the neighbourhood. The growing weight of the commoners, or *Tiers État*, became pretty clear at Meaux as this unstable age wore on. The recommendations for the new Constitution shewed a conciliatory moderation on the part of the Nobles of the district, and substantial, though not complete, agreement by the Clergy and the *Tiers État* respectively.

Events at Paris broke the treacherous calm throughout France. On the 4th of September, 1792, a body of armed men from Paris visited Meaux, inflamed the roughs of the town, and extorted from the Council the liberation of two debtors. They even demanded the names of other prisoners, or, by way of compromise, their immediate trial and death sentence at the hands of the Council itself. Such fantastic insolence being firmly resisted by the officers of the town, the mob took all on themselves, straightway seized the prison, and murdered seven priests and seven other captives. Perhaps some reader will find a fatal irony in the number fourteen, and remember the tragedy near two hundred and fifty years earlier. We may, however, heartily join with Carro, the historian of the town, in praising the sane moderation generally shown by its representatives during this giddy and spasmodic period. But these could not either ignore the *Sansculottes de S. Martin*, or arrest the general democratic tyranny; which not only exacted from all officials an oath of eternal hatred for Royalty, minted the Ecclesiastical vessels, shut up the Churches, and curiously turned the Cathedral into a Temple of Reason, but, further, treated each individual as a child, fixed prices and wages by law, and imposed excessive and arbitrary requisitions.

This political fashion was fortunately followed by one that paid attention to the real instruction of real children in the schools. The speedy relaxation of ignorant and ambitious methods soon led to the Royalist reaction, which itself again called forth a recrudescence of the Democratic inquisition. But the air was possibly clearer when the nineteenth century opened, and a *sous-préfet* was duly proclaimed at Meaux, under the brand new Consular Constitution.

M. Carro, to whose careful "*Histoire de Meaux*" I am deeply indebted, remarks with perspicacity that, though the people of that district have constantly reflected the influences of dominant power civil and religious, yet, when left to themselves, they have shown energy and goodness of heart: the latter in benefits to the unfortunate, the former in resistance to oppression and to foreign invasion. Since he wrote, yet another vast catastrophe has swept over this district, which neither of those qualities could in the slightest avert. The great international contest, of 1870 and 1871, filled this place with German foes for 377 days, and the city is thought to have lost in that year 1,500,000 francs.



MEAUX

*Meaux from the Eastward. Early Seventeenth Century.
The Position to the left showing an open place, with the spire, clock tower.*

NOTE 3:—

SENIORITY OF THE MEAUX "REFORMED" CHURCH:—The phrase used in the text doubtless conveys a priority of importance. As regards priority of date it would seemingly be as fitting.

Although we may quite agree with Doctor Johnson, that the discovery of two apples and three pears in an orchard would not justify the assertion that there was fruit there,* yet the story related by Crespin, and confirmed by many writers, indicates that at Meaux was planted, if soon again uprooted, the first tree of a fruitful orchard.

As to the commanding influence of certain early preachings and discussions in the town and diocese of Meaux, historians seem agreed. The fact that this place was the cradle of the French Reformation is doubtless generally accepted; and so intimates a writer in the "*Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*" (Tome: XV, p. 148). D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation contains constant allusions to Meaux as a central influence in France in early days. Baird's History of the Rise of the Huguenots traces the Reformatory movement in France to the University of Paris, whose remarkable teacher Lefèvre joined Briçonnet at Meaux. (Rise of the Huguenots, 1880, Vol. I, pp. 67 etc). Maimbourg says that certain of Briçonnet's subordinates had taken advantage of his authority to lay at Meaux the foundations of a Luthero-Zwinglian heresy, which had since unhappily spread through a great part of the kingdom. (*Histoire du Calvinisme*, 1682, pp. 12, 13). The "*Luthériens de Meaux*" were proverbial. (*Histoire ecclés: des égl: réf:;* Edition 1883 etc., Tome I, p. 67.) The Benedictine historian, Dom Toussaints du Plessis says, with obvious grief:—"Le diocèse de Meaux est le premier qui ait eu le malheur d'ouvrir son sein aux novateurs." (*Histoire de l'Égl: de Meaux*, Tome I, p. 325). Sismondi and Michelet, in the course of their several histories, indicate the importance they attach to that movement. (Sismondi "*Histoire des Français*," Tome XVI, pp. 113, 114). (Michelet "*Histoire de France*," 1857, Vol. VIII, pp. 144, 180, etc.)

A passage in Baird (I. 253), introducing his account of the martyrdom, seems to imply that there had been several congregations in this diocese of Meaux. Doubtless there were several Gospellers' congregations of some kind in France at this time. Had they any organization or permanent plan? From the story told in the text, and cited by Baird, it would seem

* Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson. Edition 1823: Vol. II, pp. 96, 97.

not. At Meaux was adopted in 1546, by the congregation there, a definite scheme of organization modelled on that of the Refuge Church at Strasburg, which can be fairly described to day. [See text above, and notes hereafter.] Meaux was thus aligned with the great Strasburg movement. It should be remarked that the phrase used by the "*Actiones et Monumenta Martyrum*" is "*Ecclesiola*."

This adventurous act was immediately visited by the authorities with a crushing punishment. The reader will, however, find that the French movement went on and increased. There was a small and influential "*Église*" at Orleans from 1547 [*Bulletin*, Tome XVIII, p. 122.] And we are told that, at the end of the reign of Francis I, the reformation had penetrated to seventeen provinces or sub-divisions of provinces, and into about thirty-three towns. [*Bulletin*, 6th year, p. 171; where also may be found a list, headed by Meaux in the Champagne.] What organization each of these congregations adopted I cannot say. Eventually in 1555, (nine years after the Meaux affair,) a church, also on the Strasburg model, was founded at Paris; at which city in 1559 took place a great Synod of the "Reformed" Churches in France. [Cf. *Hist. Ecclés. d. Égl. Réf.*, 1883, Tome I, pp. 119, 120 and footnote. *Hist. du Synode Général*, etc. Paris, 1872, p. XIII.]

To restore the ruins of the Meaux organization of 1546 was, after the foundation of the Paris church, undertaken by La Chasse, a missionary from Paris. (*Hist. Ecclés. ibid.* p. 121.)

The Society of the Waldenses, or *Vaudois*,* whether Calvin borrowed from it or not, must, with its own peculiar traditions, with its own reformation, be considered a somewhat distinct phenomenon. In a former age, these preachers of poverty and religion had spread their influence over a large part of Europe, but had, by persecution, been driven to use for some time a still precarious refuge, about the Alpine regions of Dauphiny and Piedmont. Early in the sixteenth century their deputies, Morel and Masson, attended a conference with German and Swiss reformers. In 1532 the Waldenses held a synod at Chanforans in the valley of the Angrogne. They then quite renounced the Roman authority, and assimilated themselves to the Swiss congregations. In 1545 they suffered a brutal massacre at the hands of Minier *Baron d'Oppède*. How far

* Compare the *Hist. Ecclés.* as to the antiquity, and the 1541 confession, of the *Vaudois* (Edition 1883, Tome I, p. 47.) The origin of the Society is in some dispute. See Comba's *History of the Waldenses of Italy*, (English Edition, 1889).

indignation at this led to any organization of the protestant movement in France proper, or especially in the East French group of towns, such as Meaux, Sens, and Senlis, would nowadays be a most difficult enquiry. [See the "*Bulletin*," 6th year, p. 172; and compare Maimbourg, pp. 77, 78.]

The Paris church of 1555, above named, has been rather rashly designated the first French protestant church. And an obvious misprint of one figure in Bernard Picart's "*Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses etc.*" (Amsterdam, 1733, Tome. 3., p. 298) antedates the foundation of even that Church by ten years. For "La Riviere," there mentioned as minister, can hardly fail to be that *Sieur de la Riviere*, who is celebrated by the *Histoire des Martyrs* as having, at the early age of twenty-two, founded the Paris church of 1555. (Compare also *Hist: Ecclés: d. Égl: réf:* Edition 1883, Tome I, pp. 118, 119). Again, I do not know the authority for a phrase in the "*Bulletin*" (6th year, p. 172) which seems to attribute to Senlis the formation of the first church in 1546: though it plainly appears from the *Histoire ecclésiastique des Églises réformées* [Ed: 1883, Tome I, p. 70], that certain meetings for prayer at Senlis received help from refugees, after the dispersal of the Meaux church, A critique on Carro's *Histoire de Meaux*, in another number of the "*Bulletin*" (15th year p. 149.) calls the congregation surprised at Meaux in 1546 "*la première assemblée huguenote.*" [As to the phrase "*Huguenot*" see note 96a.]

In point of fact "Church," "Église," "Ecclesia," are words easily used in a loose sense. We know what disputes may arise by the mere mention of Church "Catholic," "Roman," "Greek," "Anglican," "Gallican," and so on. Churches "Lutheran" or "Reformed" would seem to most people in the early sixteenth century fantastic or impossible; and the extreme reformers of doctrine and discipline, entertaining a transcendental, or spiritual, view of the "Church," were themselves probably careless to define the word exactly in its other, easier, concrete sense, as applied to any visible organization. The phrase has then been used later, perhaps, rather vaguely in the case of these Gospellers' Congregations, which, with less or more stability, had not yet the desired cohesive strength given by discipline on a common plan. The *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises Réformées* itself speaks of the "Église" at Meaux, of 1523, immediately before describing that "*Première organisation d'une Église en France,*" of 1546. [See Edition 1883, Tome I, p. 67; marginal notes].

The introduction of system, or plan, was evidently the great point. It is doubtless due to Calvin that such a plan was adopted. And, in the strict sense of being a real unit in the developing series of "Reformed" Churches, Meaux had (within France) apparently some seniority, as she had among the earlier assemblages of Gospellers, out of which that unit had appeared.

A marginal note, above mentioned, to the "*Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises Réformées*," (Edition 1883, Tome I. p. 67), indicates the congregation of 1546 at Meaux as the first organization of such a Church in France. It is evidently the opinion of Baird, [Vol. I. 253, etc.] There seems every reason to accept this as correct. It is agreeable to the natural likelihood of the situation, and to the swift, severe, and wholesale punishment which followed. [See notes I and 86. Also *Hist. d. Mart.*, Toulouse edition, p. 536, footnote.]

NOTE 4:—

Industries have flourished at Meaux for centuries, particularly those connected with wool and agricultural produce. Some ancient mills still stand in the river. The town is, however, distinguished also in ecclesiastical and military history; and Carro tells us that Meaux swarmed with lawyers in 1536. (*Hist. de Meaux*, p. 190). A thousand troubles and distractions have not destroyed the energy of the people, who can to-day show a prosperous and industrious condition. The population is now about twelve thousand.

NOTE 5:—

GUILLIELMUS BRÏCONNETUS:—Guillaume Briçonnet: Comte de Montbrun: Bishop successively of Lodève and of Meaux. He was in 1507 appointed to the Abbey of S. Germain, and in the same year sent by Louis XII as ambassador to Rome. He early showed a love of learning, and desire for ecclesiastical reform, introducing, against great opposition, some amendments within his abbey. He attended the Councils both of Pisa and of the Lateran. It has been suggested that he had much to do with the adoption of the Concordat. This seems uncertain. [Compare "*Notice héraldique sur les Évêques de Meaux*," Longpérier, Meaux, 1876, p. 77; and "*Histoire généalogique de la Maison des Briçonnets*," Bretonneau, Paris, 1621, p. 139]. He was indeed in 1516 appointed Bishop of Meaux, and again accredited to Rome as Ambassador of King Francis I. Crespin's account evidently commences with

Briçonnet's return to Meaux in 1518, when he at once took up the duties of his diocese.

The Bishop's famous correspondence with Marguerite, sister to the king, though clothed with a mystical, or at least metaphorical, mannerism, is thought to show a mind or heart of high aspiration. Bretonneau's "*Histoire généalogique*," above cited, has a title page illustrated with portraits. That of Guillaume Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux, is striking. The face is well proportioned, distinct, and distinguished. The nose is aquiline; the mouth well formed and expressive; the eyes large; forehead not remarkably high; the eyebrows high and firm; cheek bones rather pronounced; chin firm but delicate. There is great distance from eye to ear. The expression is anxious and careworn.

NOTE 6.

Briçonnet, upon his return from Rome in 1518, immediately took measures to restore the ancient discipline of the church. See "*Histoire généalogique de la Maison des Briçonnets*." (Bretonneau, above cited, pp. 132, etc.), and "*Histoire de l'Église de Meaux*" (Dom Toussaints du Plessis, 1731, Tome I, pp. 326 etc.). He found that his parochial clergy were generally absent, and indeed that barely fourteen in the whole diocese were capable of duly teaching the people and administering the sacraments. From note XLV in Toussaints Du Plessis' first volume, we gather that the diocese included about two hundred parishes. The Bishop's first determination, accordingly, was to enjoin on his *curés* the duty of residence; which he did, with and without penalties attached, at several Synods held: on 13th October, 1518, 7th January and 27th October, 1520, and again in 1526. Toussaints du Plessis, usually so careful in detail, is not quite distinct as to the actual extent of the Visitations also held by the Bishop. A passage on pages 328, 329, of Tome I, seems to refer to two Visitations, namely in 1518 and 1524. More detail still will be found in Bretonneau's history above mentioned. He specially alludes, at p. 164, etc., to Visitations of 1518, 1519, 1520, 1524; and to Synods of 1523, and 1526.

NOTE 7:—

Briçonnet in the interest of good conduct, prohibited in 1520 certain public dances, customary on Sundays and Feasts of the Virgin: a prohibition supported by Royal letters patent

published at Meaux in 1521. (Compare Bretonneau p. 191 ; and Toussaints du Plessis. Tome I. 327.)

Again, finding that the Mystery Plays had lost any quality they formerly possessed of edification, and now exhibited a multitude of gross and unworthy ideas, he forbade in 1527 that any should be given except with the approval of himself or his Grand Vicars. Carro makes some curious remarks on the later career of certain actors in those plays. [*Hist. d. Meaux*, p. 212, 213.]

NOTE 8:—

THE CORDELIERS OR FRANCISCANS had a monastery close to the town wall. Their church alone remains, as S. Nicolas. Their representation, whether there or elsewhere, of St. Francis with the *Stigmata*, was forbidden by Bishop Briçonnet, and by the *Parlement*, in 1521.

The Benedictine Dom Toussaints Du Plessis says that they used to preach wherever they pleased, as much for a living as to save souls, and that with or without the license of the Bishop. Though they had no cure of souls, they did not scruple to administer Confession and Easter Communion.

The same historian gives in his "*pièces justificatives*" a very quaint example of controversy. The Franciscans of Meaux exhibited, in the later litigation, a series of articles which they imputed to their foe Martial Mazurier. These articles condemn the saying Mass for money ; state that taking five farthings (*six blancs*) for a Mass was a sale of God, and therefore greater Simony than merely selling such a thing as a Canonry or office of the Church ; that it would be better to give away five farthings for God's sake than to hand them over to the priest : that money was better thrown into the river than given at certain Church collections ; that obits were inventions of the devil, and their foundation the ruin of souls ; that simple folk might collect together on Feast days, and at other times, to discuss the Bible and the Catholic Faith. That it was laudable and useful that the simple should have the Psalter in the tongue understood by them ; and several other propositions. It is equally interesting to read, that Mazurier denied having advanced any such views, and then authorized the Superior of the Cordeliers to preach the exact contrary in his name in the Church of St. Martin. [*Toussaints du Plessis* Tome II. 278 : Tome I. 331, 332. See also hereafter, Notes 12, and 18.]

NOTE 9:—

According to Toussaints du Plessis, Briçonnet had not actually stopped the preaching of the Franciscans before the eventful year 1525. In that year, however, we find them appealing to the *Parlement de Paris* against some prohibitory order, which the Bishop had obtained from the Civil Judges. The *Parlement* compromised the question, by ordering that the Franciscans should not preach in the town of Meaux on any morning, or any afternoon, when the Bishop either preached himself or heard a sermon. A breach of this qualified order being presently charged against them, they entered as pleas:—Want of notice; that the Bishop vexatiously mounted the pulpit; and that their Superior did stop the conventual preacher as soon as he was notified. In August the Bishop appeared before the *Parlement* to seek judgment in this matter. However in October the Franciscans obtained a more serious order in the case of several persons and the Bishop. (See Text, and Note 18.)

NOTE 10:—

JACOBUS FABER STAPULENSIS:—Jacques Lefèvre; or Fabri: of Étapes in Picardy, has been accounted the father of the Reformation in France, if not even the herald of Luther. He was a teacher in the University of Paris, and famous for his learning. Among his most important performances were the publication in 1512 of a commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, in 1523 a commentary on the Four Evangelists, and in 1522 or 1523 a translation, in parts, of the New Testament into French. He published in 1530 a translation of the whole Bible. He took refuge at Meaux, about 1521, from the persecutions of Beda and the Sorbonne. Faber had a considerable influence over Briçonnet: also over Farel, the fiery propagandist at Meaux, and founder of the Swiss school of theology. Parts, at least, of the Bible, (doubtless in his translations,) were read by artizans, and were for a time fashionable at Court. His Commentary on the Gospels* is said to have been seized; and the *Parlement* to have ordered, in 1525, the suppression of his publication of the fifty-two epistles and gospels for the year for use at Meaux.

Bishop Briçonnet made Lefèvre his *Grand Vicaire* in 1523, but the episcopal protection did not entirely avail him. He

* A copy of his Commentary is in Ripon Minster Library. Probably many were abroad before the seizure. See, concerning these publications, "*La France Protestante.*"

was included in the important prosecutions at Meaux in 1525, and retired thence to Strasburg, but was recalled first to Blois and afterward to Nérac; where, sheltered by Marguerite, the King's sister and Queen of Navarre, he spent his last years; dying almost a centenarian, in 1536 or 1537. He never quitted the established Church. There is a touching story that this aged scholar, shortly before his death, burst into tears at the Queen's table, for grief that, having taught persons who had sealed their faith with their blood, he had himself used a place of refuge. (Cf. Biographical Dictionary, London, 1784; "*Faber* [*Jacobus*.]") This incident, long held in doubt, has latterly been supported by further research. (Cf. Baird, Vol. I, pp. 95, 96, and note.)

NOTE 11 :—

MICHAEL ARANDENSIS:—Michel d'Arande; was a pupil of Lefèvre. Like Briçonnet, he inclined to a sort of mysticism. He had formerly been a hermit, and at one time gave Scripture readings to the Queen Mother. He subsequently preached at Alençon and Bourges. Marguerite of Navarre took him into her service as *Aumônier*.

NOTE 12 :—

MARTIALIS:—Martial Mazurier; a famous preacher, and principal of the College of St. Michael at Paris; was appointed *curé* of St. Martin at the *Grand Marché* of Meaux apparently about 1523. In this or the following year, the Bishop, after revoking the powers of certain of his own preachers, who he thought went too far, seems to have repudiated Luther's doctrine, and insisted on certain principles of the Catholic Church. [See Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 328; also Bretonneau: p. 198; and, differing as to date and circumstance, Baird's Rise of the Huguenots: Vol. I. 81.] Martial ventured to throw down the image of St. Francis outside the Convent Gate, and was imprisoned at Paris on suspicion of heresy, but cleared himself. His argument with the dejected Pavannes indicates that the orator entertained a somewhat mystical attitude of mind. (see note 20.) He was included in the heresy-prosecutions by the Franciscans in 1525. [See notes 8 and 18.]

NOTE 13 :—

GERARDUS RUFUS:—Girard Ruffi; Gérard Roussel; and the BISHOP'S READERS:—Gérard Roussel, a Doctor in Theology, one of Briçonnet's first party of preachers, was appointed, by the

Bishop, to S. Saintin; and afterwards to be Canon and Treasurer of the Cathedral. He is counted by Dom Toussaints du Plessis, along with Guillaume Farel, Jaques Lefèvre, and François Vatable, as among that body of very accomplished Greek and Hebrew Scholars, whom the Bishop, in accordance with the desire of the King to favour learning, attracted to his diocese. The Benedictine historian, while rejoicing that all of these four, except Farel, held to the Catholic religion, and while indicating that heresy had also some further source, yet observes that the Bishop was the innocent cause of opinions growing up in his diocese which he afterwards combated with all his might. As a matter of fact Gérard Roussel was in 1524, under the Bishop's authority, giving frequent expositions, rather than orations, from the epistles of St. Paul, in the vulgar tongue, as we learn by a famous letter from Lefèvre to Farel, published in Herminjard's "*Correspondance des Réformateurs.*"

The subject of Briçonnet's missionaries and readers cannot be left here. The same letter adds that the Bishop had also ordered the other principal places in his diocese to be furnished with "purer readers." Lefèvre mentions by name Jean Gadon, Nicolas Mangin (whom we find *Curé de Saint Saintin* in the proceedings of 1525, who is said also by Herminjard to have been related to the Mangins of 1546), Nicolas de Neufchasteau, and Jean Mesnil.

Toussaints du Plessis includes in the Bishop's second series of preachers in 1523, Michel Roussel, Arnaud Roussel, and Pierre Caroli; who, according to him, seemed, together with Martial Mazurier and many others, at first to combat the evil of the new opinions, but several of whom, including Caroli, fell themselves under suspicion. The same historian tells us that Briçonnet early divided his diocese into thirty-two preaching stations, which he specifies in a note. Gérard Roussel was comprehended in the legal proceedings of 1525, joined Lefèvre in his retreat from Meaux, and was afterwards appointed by the Queen of Navarre to the Bishopric of Oleron.

There is a remarkable passage in Maimbourg's "*Histoire du Calvinisme,*" [Paris, 1682, pp. 19, 20.]; where Roussel's doctrines, especially of the sacrament, as preached at Bearn, are noticed. He died in 1549. (See also notes 18 and 29).

NOTE 14:—

BRIÇONNET'S DISTRIBUTION OF THE GOSPELS:—We may easily agree with Herminjard that the King himself probably

protected, at least till 1524, the free preaching of the gospels, from the intolerance of the Sorbonne, and the jurisdiction of the *Parlement*. Even in 1525 while the King was in captivity, we find a letter in the nature of a prohibition, or arrest of proceedings, addressed by him from Madrid to the *Parlement* on behalf of Lefèvre, dated 12th November. (See note 18).

Whether or not the Bishop, counting on this support, went at first further than he would without it, at any rate he introduced into the diocese of Meaux public readings of the Gospels in the vulgar tongue, enjoining the vicars themselves, in the absence of the preachers, to read to their parishioners the Epistle and Gospel of the day. Lefèvre, in his letter to Farel of 1524 above mentioned [Cf: Note 13, above,] states that this reading was being done in that year. Besides this the Bishop is said by Herminjard to have distributed gratis among the poorer people Lefèvre's translation of the Gospels; and indeed a main charge preferred by the Cordeliers against the Bishop was, according to Toussaints du Plessis, that he had distributed to the poor many copies of the New Testament and of the Psalms of David translated into the vulgar tongue by the King's order. [Cf: Herminjard, *Corresp. d. Réf.*: text and notes. Also Toussaints d. Pl. Tome I, p. 331.]

NOTE 15:—

THE SPREAD OF THIS TEACHING THROUGH FRANCE:— Herminjard says that so soon as 1524, Grenoble, Lyons, Alençon, Bourges, Paris, and Meaux had already heard the Gospel preached. He also prints a letter (Farel to Scheffer, 2 April, 1524) wherein the writer places Meaux first in his list of French towns concerned in the gospel movement.

D'Aubigné furnishes from some old records at Landouzy-la-ville, in the department of Aisne, a picturesque account of the labourers from Thierache visiting the harvests at Meaux, conversing with the inhabitants, and then returning home with ideas which led to the foundation of one of the oldest evangelical churches in the kingdom. [See History of the Reformation, White's translation, Vol. III, 379 and footnotes. Compare also above, Note 3.]

NOTE 16:—

“alijs verò contrà in offensionem” :—Perhaps the most firm and powerful opposition offered was that of the Sorbonne, a Theological College in Paris: a Society of such authority in the Clerical world, that its opinion in hard matters of

Divinity had weight beyond the frontiers of France: nay, the Roman *Curia* itself consulted the Sorbonne, giving it the title of "*Concilium in Gallia subsistens*." Though properly a Society of theological scholars and pupils, it followed the crude example set by many priesthoods, and invaded the region of politics. The Sorbonne in the sixteenth century seriously imperilled its credit as a learned body, by the active part which it took in the persecutions of the unorthodox. Though it inclined to suppress the art of printing in 1533, we must not however forget that it had materially assisted the introduction of that art into France in 1469. [Compare also Introduction above.]

NOTE 17:—

"ad summam Curiam":—That is, the Court of *Parlement*: an ancient Sovereign Court composed of clerical as well as lay judges. It had a great tradition of ecclesiastical, baronial, and knightly membership, which seems to have been extended to inferior ranks not much before 1484. The *Parlement*, hitherto somewhat jealous of independent Episcopal process, agreed in 1525 to the appointment of a mixed commission, consisting of two of their own members to act with two doctors of the Sorbonne in heresy cases. Very full powers were conferred, including secret inquiry against Lutherans, bodily arrest, seizure of goods, and other matters. Pope Clement VII, in May 1525, issued a bull, and addressed a brief to the *Parlement*, approving this measure, instilling fresh zeal, and adding full powers even against Archbishops, as well as permission to occupy lands, castles, etc. The Queen Regent, by letters patent ordered the execution of this bull. [Cf. notes 24, 105a, and the Introduction above.]

NOTE 18:—

PROCEEDINGS AGAINST BRIÇONNET:—The extended litigation between Briçonnet and the Franciscans came to a climax on the 3rd of October, 1525, almost exactly twenty-one years before the death of the Fourteen of Meaux. The Bishop was, on the information of the Franciscan Society, and of the King's Attorney, included in a decree of the Court of *Parlement*; which ordered, by name, the Apprehension of seven or eight inhabitants of the town; Summons to Nicole Dupré an advocate; Transfer of certain prisoners charged with heresy, from the Bishop's prison to the *Conciergerie* at Paris; Summons to the Bishop to attend

for examination, by two Counsellors of the King, concerning the contents of the informations laid before the Court; Submission of these informations to the Judges delegate of the Holy Apostolic See on the matter of heresies for the determination of the proceedings in the cases of Pierre Caroli, Martial Mazurier, doctors in theology, Gérard, treasurer of Meaux Cathedral, Nicole Mangin, *Curé* of St. Saintin, Brother Jean Prevost, a Cordelier, and Jaques Fabri also named in those informations; Power to the aforesaid Judges delegate to apprehend Caroli, Gérard, and Prevost, and to summon Fabri and Mangin; and Request to the Queen Regent to be pleased to send a certain Michel before the Judges delegate, since his evidence was alleged to be material. (Compare notes 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, also Toussaints du Plessis, Tome II, pp. 280, 281.)

By way of appeal against this order, the Bishop of Meaux in person petitioned the Court on Oct. 20th, so far as his case was concerned, to hear it in open court and not by commission. This was refused, and his interrogation by Jacques Menager and André Verjus, Counsellors of that court, ordered. [An interesting, and perhaps significant, incident is related by Bretonneau: who says at p. 198 that the Bishop condemned the doctrines of Luther in 1524, at his visitation. Among Briçonnet's hearers at the church of S. Christophe in the town, April 1, were the Premier President of the *Parlement de Paris*, and André Veruist, Counsellor of that Court.] On 12th November, 1525, there was despatched to the "*Parlement de Paris*" a letter from the King at Madrid in favour of Fabri, Caroli, and Gérard; reciting that he understood that among the theologians of the University there was considerable malevolence especially against Fabri; and enjoining the Court to suspend these proceedings till the King's return. (See notes 10 and 14).

On the last day of November 1525, the *Parlement*, after reciting that they had received the report on heresies from the Judges delegate of the Pope, and from the commissioners of the Court appointed to interrogate those suspected of Lutheran heresy, orders payment by the Bishop of two hundred *livres*, costs in these proceedings; which sum was paid by the Bishop on the 4th of December.

On the 15th of December the *Parlement* records its receipt of letters from the King and from the Queen Regent, in arrest of proceedings against the three above named defendants; but nevertheless allows the Judges delegate and the Commissioners to proceed in the case of these and other suspects.

On the 19th of December the *Parlement* orders the Bishop to be examined by Verjus and Menager on a certain book, "*Contenant les Évangiles en françois, et s'il a fait faire les exhortations et annotations apposées au dit livre.*"

On the 29th December the Court of *Parlement* issues a kind of Mandamus to certain officials to proceed with diligence in certain cases, and especially to seek discovery of the authorship of certain songs, and to the Bishop to assist them in this last duty. (See T. du Plessis, Tome II, 280 to 284, for these proceedings.)

NOTE 19 :—

(Marginal) "*Brignonetus ab Euangelio deficit*":—These notes are not intended for the discussion of theological doctrine ; but it is necessary here to remark that the Bishop's private opinions have been severally claimed by historians of opposite parties, on behalf of their own different ways of thinking. A fair explanation of his action seems to be, that the Bishop was all along most keenly alive to the Church's impaired discipline ; and, observing some decay of old doctrine, hoped a great rejuvenescence from those ancient wells called the Gospels ; and that he at first hardly appreciated the various doctrinal effects of such study, while devoting himself both to the instruction of the people from these important books, and to disciplinary reform. Perhaps the firmness of his resolution, or of his views, did not equal the fervour of his zeal.

Certain quotations, used by Baird to show inconsistency in the Bishop's expressions concerning the clergy, will hardly support that charge. His consistent policy at Meaux was to instil into the negligent parish priests his own view of their high instructional responsibility. He himself, a distinguished ecclesiastic, doubtless felt a keen *esprit de corps*, and heartily condemned its general degradation by the clergy, [Cf: however, Baird, Vol I, 80, 81]. He was, in *this* respect, singularly like the English Dean Colet.

Toussaints du Plessis, who insists on the Catholicity of the Bishop's views, notes his Synod of 1523, when the Bishop expressed himself strongly against the opinions of Luther, and supported the doctrine of Purgatory, and the invocation of saints, [Compare note 12]. Similar views were vigorously repeated by him in several pulpits, at his visitation in 1524. (T. d. Pl., Tome I, 328, 329 ; Cf: also Bretonneau p. 198). If the careful Benedictine be here correct, then the inclination of Baird to assign a later date for Brignonnet's "pusillanimous

defection" can hardly succeed. (Cf: Rise of the Huguenots, 1880, Vol. I, p. 81). I do not know what was the heresy of the "notorious" shoemaker, excommunicated by Briçonnet in 1525. [Cf: Note 21, hereafter.]

The boldness, or desperation, of the dissidents at Meaux, who about this time tore down the Pope's bull of indulgence (ordering a fast and participation in the Sacrament) from the Cathedral door, and replaced it by a proclamation that the Pope was Antichrist, very probably caused the Bishop equal distress and indignation. His public censure of this act was slighted by a fresh offence. This time were destroyed, with some sharp instrument, certain forms of prayer attached to the Cathedral walls, or to small wooden tablets, for the use of worshippers. Toussaints du Plessis professes to see here a presage of the later religious war, and charges the perpetrators with meditating some carnage of the Catholics. He gives, however, not the slightest further evidence in support of this theory: which his great assiduity in matters of fact and of detail, together with his fidelity, would certainly have placed on record, had there been any. Perhaps he bases his surmise on the fact, that the Pope's Bull, above named, was to obtain, from God, Peace among Christian Princes. But the event itself must have been bitterly painful to a pastor like Briçonnet. [Compare also the Introduction above.]

We ought not surely to hold the Bishop personally responsible for the punishments of flogging, branding, and banishment, inflicted by the *Parlement* in the case of the proclamation against the Pope; nor for the ultimate result of the process against a certain Pauvant for heresy, wherein Briçonnet had (March 1525) appointed by order of the *Parlement*, two theological Commissioners. (See notes 20, 21.) But, painful as were some proceedings with which even he may have been officially connected, we must, in the light of all these events, and with the deepest regard for Crespin's important and practically contemporaneous opinion, yet hesitate to endorse the bald charge of "defection."

The Protestant historian, D'Aubigné, though he attributes to Briçonnet a mystic quietism, seems in another place to claim for Protestantism that Bishop's doctrinal convictions; and even deplors that he did not die in the contest. [Compare D'Aub. Hist. Reformation. Translation, Vol. III, pp. 372, 459.] But cannot we rejoice, rather, that this active Bishop, so zealous a reformer of manners and of discipline, did not perish in the intestine wars of dogma? D'Aubigné suggests further

(Vol. III of Translation, p. 454) that both Briçonnet and Le Fèvre were themselves official iconoclasts, though he is constrained to somewhat discount in a footnote the value of the authority he uses.

Here is the translation of a short passage from Carro's judicious "*Histoire de Meaux*," where he says in reference to Briçonnet and other persons affected by the famous legal proceedings which marked the end of the year 1525:—"However he was successful or fortunate in sustaining the test of examination. Nor does it appear that any very disastrous consequences to the prisoners resulted from the proceedings, which had connected their case with his. The King, and indeed the Queen Regent, had intervened in favour of Fabri, Caroli, and Gérard: but the majority of the defendants left the diocese; and Mazurier, among others, after being admitted into the diocese of Paris, distinguished himself in the sequel by preaching violently against the Lutherans." (Carro. *Hist. d. Meaux*, p. 195).

NOTE 20:—

Iacobus Pauaneus:—Jaques Pavanes, or Pavannes: Jacques Pauvant. The passage referred to relates that Jaques Pavanes of the Boulogne district on the English Channel, was one of the pious and learned men encouraged by Bishop Briçonnet of Meaux, and was imprisoned in 1524. (Compare Note 19). Baird indicates among the declared opinions of Pauvant: the denial of purgatory, the assertion that God had no vicar, repudiation of excessive reliance on doctors of the Church, rejection of the customary salutation "Hail Queen, Mother of Mercy!". He is said to have denied the propriety of offering candles to the saints, and to have maintained that baptism was only a sign, holy water nothing, papal bulls and indulgences an imposture of the devil, the Mass of no avail for remission of sins but unprofitable to the hearer, and that the Word of God was all sufficient. [Baird, Vol. I, pp. 89, 90.] In prison he was visited by various disputants. Among others, Doctor Martial endeavoured to change his views (Cf. Note 12), and said "Thou art wrong, Jacques, in thinking only of the waves on the surface of the sea, while neglecting its depths." And it is related that this phrase, "Thou art wrong, Jacques", ("*erras Jacobe*") became proverbial in Meaux. [Cf: *Actiones et Monumenta Martyrum*, (1560), leaf 52, *verso*.]

Pavanes was persuaded to adopt the *amende honorable* (*emendationem honorariam*): but the memory of that conces-

sion caused him acute distress, and he afterwards consistently professed his principles, welcoming the sentence of death, which he now regarded as the restoration of his honour. He was burned alive at Paris, showing the greatest readiness and the greatest firmness. A note to the Toulouse Edition (1885) of the *Histoire des Martyrs*, says in reference to Jaques Pavane's death in 1525—"Ces dates ne sont pas exactes." Baird, in his "Rise of the Huguenots" (p. 91, footnote 4) gives some reasons for assigning 1526. The *Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Edition 1883, Vol. I, p. 14,) gives 1525 as the date, and, in a footnote, refers to the *Histoire des Martyrs*. [See further, *Hist. d. Meaux*, Carro, p. 193. Compare also Note 21, hereafter.]

NOTE 21 :—

PUNISHMENTS AND PROSECUTIONS EITHER AT MEAUX OR UPON MELDENSES FOR ALLEGED HERESY AND THE LIKE:—Jean LeClerc, a wool-comber or carder, elder brother of that Pierre LeClerc who suffered in 1546 at Meaux, had been punished by the *Parlement* for a placard posted in 1523 on the Cathedral door at that town, denouncing the Pope as Antichrist (compare note 19.) His mother who was present at his punishment of flogging and branding, cried out "*Vive Jésus Christ et ses enseignes.*" Afterwards, while living as a carder at Metz (not then a part of French territory,) where Chatelaine and he actively propagated their views, he one night left the town for a small place in the neighbourhood, whither a solemn procession should come the next day. He there destroyed the images. When charged with this, he confessed it, and announced that Jesus Christ, God manifest in the flesh, should alone be adored. After suffering extreme and brutal tortures, during which he sang from the CXVth Psalm "*Leurs idoles sont or et argent ouvrage de main d'homme, &c.*" he was at last burnt to death. This Jean LeClerc has been called by some Protestant historians the first Martyr of the Gospel in France, who thus imply that he suffered death before Pauvant above mentioned (Note 20.) The year was 1524 or 1525. [Compare Crespin, *Actiones et M. Martyrum*, 1560, p. 46, who gives one of the dates in LeClerc's case as MDXIII doubtless intending MDXXIII: *Histoire Eccl. d. Égl. Réf.*, Edition 1883, Tome I, p. 14; *Histoire des Martyrs*, Edition 1885, 494; Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 330; D'Aubigné (translation) Vol. III, 389, 390, etc., 401, etc.; Baird Vol. I, pp. 87-89; Also the Introduction above, p. 19, footnote.]

Bishop Briçonnet of Meaux was, by decree of the *Parlement* in 1525, ordered to appoint to Vicariat four specified commissioners in the cases of Saulnier and the above named Pauvant (Note 20). [Compare Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 330; II, 227.]

In 1525, Briçonnet excommunicated one Antoine Sextetelle “*notoirement diffamé pour crime d’herésie*”; also those who should give him asylum. [Cf. Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, p. 332.] In the same year took place the notable proceedings against Briçonnet himself, and others. The names of the persons to be actually apprehended under the order of the *Parlement*, dated 3rd October, 1525, (see note 18, above), were “*Honoré Gambier, Ponce Duchesne, la femme de Pierre Bodart, Catherine de la Tour, un nommé Quentin, un autre nommé Fontenay Cardeur, Antoinette Sextetete, & un nommé Jean Joueur de Rebets, demeurant en la dite Ville de Meaux, & Jean Barbier, fils du Maistre de l’Hospital Jean Rose au dit Meaux;*” besides the three that the Judges delegate were commissioned to apprehend. It seems probable that some, if not all, of these, (being included in this particular order), were subjected to a charge of heresy. [See Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 332, 333; Tome II, 280, 281.] As to these proceedings of 1525 against Briçonnet, Lefèvre, and others, see above, Notes 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 19.

The “*Journal d’un Bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François Premier,*” published by Lalanne in 1854, gives an account on page 276, of a decree of the *Parlement* against the books of Luther, Feb. 5th, 1526, and recounts also the penalty of “*amende honorable*” which a young man of Meaux underwent at Paris on Christmas Eve, 1526, for following the sect of Luther. Part of his punishment was to declare false and damnable, and to see burnt before him, certain books, which he had translated from Latin into French. A term of imprisonment followed. His name in the printed text is left blank. It was possibly Jaques Pavannes. One unnamed, [who might possibly be he,] was, according to the “*Journal,*” burnt at Paris, August 28, 1526. [See *ibid.* pp. 276, 277, 291, 292: also Baird, Vol. I, p. 91, footnote 4: compare note 20, above.]

On the 14th of April, 1526, as we are told by the same authority [page 284], a fuller of woollen cloth, resident at Meaux, also performed the “*amende honorable,*” first at Paris, and then at Meaux. The “*Journal*” states that, narrowly escaping death by fire, this person, also unnamed, was cast into the Bishop’s prison at Meaux to live there on bread and

water for seven years. He was, according to that authority, of Lutheran opinion, denying that one should pray for the departed, use holy water or revere images.

On the 15th of December, 1528, a Seine boatman, a native of Meaux, was burnt at Paris, for having said that the Virgin Mary had no more power than her image, which he held and contemptuously broke. (*Journal d'un Bourgeois*, etc., p. 375.)

In 1528 a man designated as "Denis de Rieux" was burnt at Meaux for saying that the Mass was a real renunciation of Christ's death and passion: "*ce qu'il maintient jusques au dernier souspir.*" [*Hist. Eccl. d. Égl. Réf.*, Ed. 1883, Vol. I, p. 15.]. Briçonnet had visited him in prison, and vainly implored him to withdraw his statement. [Carro, p. 197: who, by some slip, dates the event ten years too late. Compare Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 337, 338.]

The numbers of this party at Meaux had now greatly increased; and in that same year, 1528, some hardy persons, with a kind of bravado (perhaps connected with the contemporary iconoclasm in Paris), had posted on the Cathedral doors a fictitious bull under the Pope's name, purporting to revoke the bulls of former popes against Luther. It would be as difficult to blame the laws or the magistrates of any country for in some way chastising conduct of this kind, as to feel surprise that the more ignorant among a fresh and growing party should be guilty of it. The eight culprits received the humiliating and quasi-religious penalty of "*amende honorable.*" [See Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 337.]

In 1530, a Canon of the cathedral of Meaux, called Papillon, being suspected of heresy, was brought to the *conciergerie* at Paris, though the Bishop had claimed jurisdiction. His fate is uncertain, but he did not return to Meaux. The bishop appointed two counsellors of the *Parlement* his vicars in this case. [Carro 197; Toussaints du Plessis Tome I. 338; II. 284.]

In 1535, a year especially marked by cruel bloodshed in several countries, a man of the Meaux district, named Antoine Poille, suffered at Paris. [*Hist. Eccl. d. Égl. Réf.*, Edn. 1883, Vol. I, pp. 34, 35.]

The death of Pierre Bonpain, of Meaux, which seems in some text of the "*Histoire Ecclésiastique*" to have been assigned to the year 1544, most probably took place after the dispersal of the Meaux assembly in 1546. [See Crespin, translation p. 43. above; and *Hist. Ecclés. d. Égl. Réf.*, Edn. 1883, Tome I, p. 51, footnote; also Note 85 hereafter.]

Sismondi mentions two Meldensian sufferers in some connection with the early movement at Meaux. (*Hist. des Fr.* XVI, 114.) Apparently he alludes to Jean LeClere and Jacques Pavaues. These cases are immediately followed in the *Histoire Eccl. des Églises Réformées* by that of the Hermit of Livry on the Paris-Meaux road. (Edn. 1883, Vol. I, pp. 14, 15.)

Beyond the several cases above enumerated I am not acquainted with the detail of any religious prosecutions, at Meaux or upon Meldenses, in the period of twenty-two years from 1523 to 1545. It appears from Toussaints du Plessis (Tome I, p. 338) that Bishop Briçonnet shortly after the Ecclesiastical case of Papillon, that is about 1529 or 1530, made over to Martin Ruzé, a councillor of the Court, and "*Grand Chantre*," or Precentor, at Paris, certain wide powers. These comprised episcopal jurisdiction against heretics in town, suburb, and *Marché*. Here the reader will bear in mind that the episcopal jurisdiction was at that time in France somewhat limited; and, had been with papal encouragement commuted, at least in part, for the enormous powers which the *Parlement* transferred, or allotted, to special joint commissioners lay and clerical. I do not know how long those powers were exercised. [Compare notes 17, 105a.] Though Toussaints du Plessis (Tome I, p. 330) credits the Bishop with zealous prosecution of Sectaries in 1525, we may perhaps entertain the hope that he used, up to his death in 1534, some influence to modify that sanguinary policy he could not arrest. However, there were other sufferers in France, and the style of punishment mentioned in the text is quite agreeable to the penalties of those days. It is worth while to remind the reader, that the sentence of exile said to have been passed on some, could claim sympathetic mention from Jean Crespin himself, who was banished from Artois in 1545. [*Hist. d. Mart.* Toulouse Edition, p. IX.]

NOTE 22:—

THE DOCTRINAL MOVEMENT CHECKED AT MEAUX:—The Franciscans had doubtless obtained in 1525 a tactical success. The best known of the readers and preachers left Meaux. (See Notes, 13, 18, and 19). The Bishop however, remaining, showed his continued zeal for reform and instruction. At his Synod of 1526, the *Curés* were again urged by him to reside. In reply they pressed upon him the need for preachers, and the shortcomings and avarice of the Franciscans. Briçonnet did

consent to a compromise whereby the latter should fill certain pulpits in the diocese, while the Bishop assisted the other preaching stations out of his own pocket. But at the same time he vigorously admonished the *Curés* to regard preaching as an essential part of their own duties, reiterated the injunctions of his former Synods, and ordered them to appoint vicars in case of necessary absence. He applied himself diligently to reforming the manners of the people, showing full regard also for authorised ceremonial, and insisting on the parochial organization for Confession and Easter Communion. (See also Notes, 6, 7, and 8. *Histoire Ecclés: des Églises Réformées*, Edition 1883, Vol. I, p. 11, note. And Toussaints du Plessis, *Histoire de l'Église de Meaux*, Vol. I. p. 335, 336, 337; also Bretonneau, *Hist: de la maison des Briçonets*, pp: 164, 189, 197, etc:)

The more bold, or more desperate, of the doctrinal reformers however betook themselves to an unhappy policy of turbulent lampoons. (Cf. Notes 19 and 21). No Bishop, mystic, false, or faithful, was likely to extremely favour a party whose prominent, though perhaps unauthorised, exponents insulted authority; and Briçonnet's notions of episcopal duty would naturally bring him into some antagonism with these methods.

Briçonnet died in January 1534, leaving a memory famous at Meaux, and at S. Germain des Prez, for his liberal benefactions; and, while doubtful in the judgment of partisans, interesting at least to any one that considers that lowering and electric period of history. [Compare Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, p. 338; *Hist. Eccl. d. Église réf*: Ed. 1883, Tome I, p. 11, and footnote.]

NOTE 23:—

(See Notes 3 and 24).

NOTE 24:—

PROSPECTS FOR THE GOSPELLERS UNDER FRANCIS I OF FRANCE:—There can be little doubt that Francis was willing at first to show a certain royal favour to the new learning: a disposition fostered by his sister Marguerite, and encouraged by such men as Briçonnet and the brothers DuBellay. The fortunes of war threw the King for a time into a Spanish prison. An omen of his country's future appears in the circumstances of his liberation. In January, 1526, the King had, to gain his liberty, concluded the discreditable treaty of

Madrid, comprising the cession of much territory to the Emperor, Charles V, and the yielding of his two sons as hostages. However, the Notables in Council repudiated the cession of Burgundy; and the King, refusing to return to his captivity, at once sought to strengthen himself by alliance with various powers, including the Pope. For this, no doubt, the Queen Mother had prepared the way already. Upon this followed the sack of Rome by an army of adventurers, supposed Imperial; and eventually the peace of Cambrai, which released the King's sons from captivity in 1529.

About this time, then, there were several causes inclining the King to quit his grand monarchic liberalism, for the party of repression. In that direction pointed his own alliance with the Pope, and the rivalry of the Emperor Charles. Again Francis needed money, and, on that account, an assembly of Notables in 1527 was able to extort from him an actual promise to extirpate heresy. [Compare also Notes 15 to 18, as well as the Introduction above.]

In whatever degree the King's policy was affected by the personal influences of his mother Louise, and his gloomy son Henry, a certain force was the potent Chancellor Du Prat, who perceived a close connection between heresy and blasphemy. For connecting their views with disorder some of the reformers unwisely afforded a handle; by songs perhaps then current at Meaux, which are said by Toussaints du Plessis to have insulted the *Parlement*; by an irritating destruction, elsewhere, of images; and by that intrusive use of dogmatic placards which became the occasion for the "bloody year" 1534-5. The "*Bourgeois de Paris*" records a great number of executions in that year; and mentions a rumour (uncorroborated according to the editor of that book) that Pope Paul* addressed a remonstrance to Francis. [See that "*Journal*," pp. 458-9 and footnote, also *préface*, p. iv]. The historian of the French Reformed Churches specially names among those many victims one Antoine Poille, a poor mason of the Meaux district, who he says was worthy of the prize among martyrs for the cruelty of his sufferings. [Cf: *Hist: Ecclés: des Égl: réf:*—Edition 1883, Vol: 1, pp. 34, 35]. (Cf. Note 21).

Pope Clement VII is supposed to have gone so far in 1533 as to invite Francis I to combine with the Emperor and German Princes, in war against the followers of Luther and Zwingli. The King however refused to do so, desiring on the contrary for himself the friendship of the Elector of

* Paul III became Pope in 1534.

Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. And it has been remarked that though Francis burned heretics in his own dominions, he supported the league of Schmalkald abroad; his protean policy, throughout, being unduly and irregularly swayed by personal jealousy, and hostility to the Emperor. From time to time he abated, or intermitted, the punishment of "heretics," as his foreign policy seemed to require. In 1535 a so-called "edict of tolerance" was a partial concession to the indignant German protestants, and possibly to that rumoured remonstrance above mentioned. This paradoxical state of things becomes more interesting still if Ranke is correct in a conclusion drawn from his researches. That historian advances the opinion, that even Pope Clement himself knew of, if he did not actually approve the campaign, whereby the Landgrave of Hesse restored the Duke of Wirtemberg to his estates then held by Austria. This rapidly successful campaign is thought to have led, in the end, to the firm establishment of the Reformation in Germany, and was assisted by Francis, if not even countenanced by a political Pope.

The King was, however, so offended by the "placards", that in 1535 he sent an edict to the *Parlement*, forbidding the art of printing to be exercised. This the *Parlement* successfully refused to register, and it was soon suspended. In 1540 we see the King promulgating the Edict of Fontainebleau to formulate proceedings against heretics, and this was followed up by a Decree of the *Parlement* of 1st July, 1542, establishing the censorship of the Sorbonne over the printing of books. On the 21st of July, 1542, Pope Paul III issued his bull: establishing the Supreme Inquisition at Rome, clothed with enormous powers, animated by the austere Caraffa, and supported by the Founder of the Jesuits. Though this Papal Inquisition could not, perhaps, actually claim incorporation with the Law of France, yet in the next year a French Royal Ordinance distinctly declared that Heresy was to be punished as Sedition, and almost contemporaneously the twenty-five articles of faith, promulgated by the Sorbonne, were by letters patent given the force of law.

In 1544 the wars of Charles V and Francis I came to an end at the Peace of Crespy. And in 1545, (may we hope without the actual personal concurrence of the invalid Francis?) an inhuman massacre of the Vaudois took place.

As regards the special situation at Meaux we must note that Briçonnet had been succeeded in 1534 by the Chancellor Du Prat. He was followed in 1535 by Jean de Buz, whom Carro

in his *Histoire de Meaux* condemns as "*Prélat scandaleux*," a term corroborated by the short account there given of him. Neither of these Bishops was likely to protect the Gospellers, even if he could. Therefore, when we are independently told that Étienne Mangin came from Lorraine to Meaux "*pour embrasser la religion réformée*" (See note 26), we surmise:—either that he had been attracted by Briçonnet's shelter, and by Nicole Mangin's official readership, before the proceedings of 1525; or else, perhaps, that those of advanced view had so grown in numbers and strength at Meaux, that, though compelled to secrecy as mentioned in the text, they could yet offer some religious advantages to a Lorrainer, [Cf. note 13.] Toussaints du Plessis in recording the dangerous progress made by "the heretics" at Meaux, prior to the affair of 1546, states that they held public assemblies for the exercise of their religion. This may generally refer either to earlier years: or to a fresh and bolder policy, possibly Mangin's own; or, further, some of those meetings, supposed secret by Crespin, were perhaps known to the great party of the priesthood.

Upon the whole, prospects were certainly dubious for the Gospellers of Meaux at this time; and their anxiety, which we see through Crespin's medium, had a very solid foundation in hard facts. [Compare Notes 105a, 113, also the Introduction above.]

NOTE 25 :—

Argentinæ: at Strasburg. The Senate or Council of Strasburg had in 1538 opened a Church there for the benefit of French refugees. Jean Calvin held the post of preacher, and was succeeded by Pierre Brully. While at Strasburg Calvin wrote his tract on the Lord's Supper, which appeared in French in 1540.

NOTE 25a :—

CONSTITUTION AND DISCIPLINE OF THE FRENCH REFUGEE CHURCH AT STRASBURG:—A Latin pamphlet of 1551, entitled "*Liturgia sacra seu Ritus ministerii in Ecclesia peregrinorum profugorum propter Evangelium Christi Argentinæ*," by Valerandus Polla, 12°, preserved in the British Museum, gives some account of this. The work is specially interesting to Englishmen as it is dedicated to Edward VI of England; and was probably written by that Poullain who superintended in that reign the Strangers' Reformed Church at Glastonbury. The qualification of the writer to describe the methods of the

Strasburg Church, so early as 1546 or before, may be concluded from a statement in the dedicatory preface, that he had, eight years before writing the pamphlet, gone to the Church at Strasburg, and for some years ministered there as a Presbyter. He claims for this Church, that none are purer or come nearer to that of Apostolic times; though he praises others, including that of Geneva, saying that this last was for many years presided over by Jean Calvin the original founder of the Refugee Church at Strasburg. [As to Poullain, compare Schickler, "*Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre*," (1892), Tome I, pp. 59-72].

The chapter of this pamphlet, headed "*De ordinatione ministrorum, et eorum institutione, ac de disciplina ecclesiastica*," opens with the statement: "*Primum episcopus seu pastor totius ecclesie suffragiis designatur.*" The writer then describes a method of official nomination, election, examination, approval, and imposition of hands. The elders of the church, together with the pastors of other churches of the city, act in some capacity of moderators to the popular choice; and the election is safe-guarded by repetition and other precautions.

Another section of the chapter speaks of the presbyters or elders, as joined with the pastor for consultation and church management. There are twelve of them if so many suitable can be found. A less elaborate system than that used in the case of the pastor (but with several safeguards) is adopted; the object throughout being, evidently, to obtain men suitable to the office and to their brethren, as well as approved by the people. The person finally chosen receives his office by laying on of hands from the pastor.

The same chapter further on speaks of the deacons. There are four of them; and their duty is to look after charities and the poor. This office is annual, though that of the presbyters is perpetual; but the method of choice and confirmation is the same. The pastor chooses a fifth deacon to help him in the sacraments; and, seemingly, there is an official musician, for "*Chorales etiam à Pastore & Senioribus jubetur.*"

Again, the elders choose two of their number to compose disputes; which, if too difficult, come before the whole of the elders.

Throughout, no one is allowed to give a vote who has not first professed the faith. There is a section of this chapter on discipline and excommunication. In the case of public or open offences, public repentance (*poenitentia*) is enjoined for the obstinate, who, if still persistent, are liable to

excommunication. In private or hidden offences, private admonition is generally given in the council of the elders, and persistence would then be openly denounced by the pastor. If this fails, then, after several admonitions and due space of time, excommunication from the church services follows. The friends of the culprit are, however, still to admonish him to repent. If they are successful he may be formally re-admitted to the services. Profession of the faith is necessary to membership of the church. The chapter closes with a prayer for God's blessing on the Senate of Strasburg for harbouring, and favouring, a Refugee Church there.

The reader will doubtless imagine that some modifications in detail would be necessary in starting a fresh organization at Meaux, where, notwithstanding the vigour of the congregation from town and country, no "Reformed" churches as yet existed. It would be idle to speculate at length on the different offices or positions, held in the new organization at Meaux by each of the fourteen who suffered. LeClerc was seemingly the "Pastor." Beyond that we cannot speak with any certainty. That the constituted officials, all or most of them, suffered, seems likely. [Cf. note 3.]

NOTE 26:—

STEPHANUS MANGINUS: Estienne or Étienne Mangin, or Mengin:—A short account of him is given in an old French manuscript book of the Mangin family, now in the possession of Miss Mangin, of West Knoyle, near Bath. It is there stated that Estienne Mangin originally came from S. Nicolas in Lorraine. He left that place to embrace the Reformed Religion, withdrawing to the town of Meaux en Brie, at ten leagues distance from Paris. He was well acquainted with Meaux, having houses and other property there. [It may be noted by the way, that his christian name was that of the titular Saint of the Meaux cathedral.] He took thither Marguerite his wife, of which marriage were born three children, namely:—François Mangin, born 1531, married Claudina Censier; Perette Mangin; and Marion Mangin. The said Estienne Mangin died at Meaux the 7th October, 1546, a martyr for the Reformed Religion. After putting him to the question *ordinaire* and *extraordinaire*, they cut out his tongue, and burned him alive with thirteen others at the *Marché* of Meaux, in pursuance of the judgment of the *Parlement* of Paris, for having caused to be preached in his house at Meaux the Word of God. Marguerite his wife was cou-

denmed to be present at the execution of the fourteen martyrs who were all burnt alive for having made profession of the Reformed Religion, and to make *amende honorable* barefoot and holding a lighted wax torch of two pounds weight, to be present at a general procession and ask pardon, etc. And the said Perette and Marion Mangin were ordered to be discharged from prison. The MS. adds that this appears from the history of the Martyrs written by Jean Crespin in the year 1570, dedicated to the faithful of Jesus Christ, book 3, page 162; and that François Mangin was absent from Meaux, and withdrew to Metz.

The memory of Estienne Mangin is preserved by his direct descendants, of that name, in England to-day.

Appended is the genealogy of this family. It is furnished by Mr. E. A. Mangin, now living at Aldfield, near Ripon, Yorkshire. Haag's account of this family in "*La France protestante*" (Paris 1846, etc.) under the article "*Mangin*," is tentative and incomplete; while his reference to Mangin of Meaux, under the heading "*Le Clerc*," indicates a slip of the pen in the christian name. A modern, though undated, letter, in the possession of Mr. E. A. Mangin, gives some colour for the supposition that Estienne Mangin (or Mengin) of 1546 may have been descended from the ancient family of that name, represented by Henry de Mengin in 1180 one of the Barons de Mengin, of Menghen on the Sarre in Lorraine. I leave the suggestion for others to test or work out from the French genealogical authorities. There is said to be a village in Lorraine called Mangienne.

NOTE 27:—

PETRUS CLERICUS: Pierre LeClerc:— was the younger brother of Jean LeClerc, who was executed at Metz in 1524-5. Their mother seems to have been devoted to the Gospellers' tenets, but their father to the contrary view. (See Note 21; Crespin *Actiones et M: Martyrum*, 46.; also *Hist. des Martyrs*, Toulouse Ed: 1885, pp. 244, and 494, Note.) The Latin text uses a curious circumlocution to define the theological learning of Pierre LeClerc:—" *eo quidem genere sermonis, qui Gallorum proprius est*," (118, verso.) I know not whether this is intended to include the Provençal or Waldensian literature.

NOTE 28.—

MANGIN'S HOUSE:—This was at the *Grand Marché*, as we learn from the text. It was also near to the ramparts, accord-

Kingin Pedigree.

1880-1885

1885-1890

Year	Month	Day	Name	Age	Sex	Parents	Spouse	Children	Notes
1880	Jan	1	John Kingin	25	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1881	Feb	15	Mary Kingin	24	F	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	John Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1882	Mar	1	John Kingin	23	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1883	Apr	15	Mary Kingin	22	F	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	John Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1884	May	1	John Kingin	21	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1885	Jun	15	Mary Kingin	20	F	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	John Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1886	Jul	1	John Kingin	19	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1887	Aug	15	Mary Kingin	18	F	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	John Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1888	Sep	1	John Kingin	17	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1889	Oct	15	Mary Kingin	16	F	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	John Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1890	Nov	1	John Kingin	15	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1891	Dec	15	Mary Kingin	14	F	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	John Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1892	Jan	1	John Kingin	13	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1893	Feb	15	Mary Kingin	12	F	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	John Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1894	Mar	1	John Kingin	11	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1895	Apr	15	Mary Kingin	10	F	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	John Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1896	May	1	John Kingin	9	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1897	Jun	15	Mary Kingin	8	F	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	John Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1898	Jul	1	John Kingin	7	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1899	Aug	15	Mary Kingin	6	F	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	John Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1900	Sep	1	John Kingin	5	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1901	Oct	15	Mary Kingin	4	F	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	John Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1902	Nov	1	John Kingin	3	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1903	Dec	15	Mary Kingin	2	F	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	John Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	
1904	Jan	1	John Kingin	1	M	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	Mary Kingin	John Kingin, Mary Kingin	

ing to certain details given by Rochar. (See translation above, and Note 93 below).

NOTE 29 :—

CELEBRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER BY THE GOSPELLERS, OR "REFORMED" CHURCH, AT MEAUX :—The reader will most likely tolerate the exclusion of doctrinal argument from these notes. But the posture of the Gospellers, as well as that of their opponents, had speedily become so instinct with doctrinal energy, and so closely associated with the several ways of observing this rite, that some enquiry into the new liturgy is almost indispensable. The action of the Gospellers in this matter was treated as a most grievous offence; and, since the judgment condemns their liturgy without mercy, it will be just to ask what it was.

In the chapter of Crespin here translated it is said that Jaques Pavanes had been earlier burned at Paris "*nomine eius potissimum doctrine quam de Carne pauci tum cognoverant.*" (See "*Actiones*", 118. Cf. Note 20). Doubtless this was a doctrine opposed to the then accepted Transubstantiation. This opposition comes out clearly in the case of the Fourteen, where Crespin alludes to the disputation with the Sorbonne doctors. Calvin's treatise on the Body and Blood of Christ appeared in 1540. He was preacher at Strasburg till about that date. And it was but five or six years after, that the deputation from Meaux sought in the French Refugee Church at Strasburg a model for their own congregation. (See text: also Notes 3, 25). The intimate connection between Calvin, the Swiss Church, a Church at Strasburg, and Farel who formerly preached at Meaux, is matter of history. Dom Toussaints du Plessis, when he refers to the next period (i.e. about 1550 to 1560), calls the heresy "*Calvinisme.*" (T. du Pl. Tome I, 350.) On the whole, therefore, it may be taken as almost certain that the sacramental doctrine of the Meaux Gospellers in 1546 was akin to that of Calvin.

It appears quite plain that their great tenacity in this contest of doctrine was far from being a merely negative attitude. They performed in their own way the actual ceremony "once or twice" before they were apprehended. Many of those who assisted to found this church had long abjured the Mass, (see text), which no doubt increased their wish for what they considered a much purer and better authenticated form of spiritual comfort. The proper observance of this rite

is also mentioned in the text as one of the great objects to be attained by those solemn proceedings taken in constituting their minister. They therefore considered it a matter of high importance. There was a great deal of courage needed for such an undertaking as this. The bread, consecrated by a priest claiming apostolical succession, was to their neighbours an object of adoration; and heresy was held to be a capital offence. The Meaux reformers do not appear to have claimed that actual priestly succession, and, in the absence of such traditional authority, this congregation was open to sacerdotal attack. For the reformers, in celebrating the Supper, ran the serious risk not only of being supposed to profane some service they could not perform, but also of being held to account as holy elements that could not, by their minister, undergo Transubstantiation. The entire story, however, plainly contradicts any idea of, or wish for, actual worship of the elements. [See also Note 107c.]

An interesting contribution, bearing on the history of the Meaux liturgy, is furnished in Herminjard's collection: "*Correspondance des Réformateurs.*" The method of partaking in the Supper at a Church at Strasburg, so early as 1525, is detailed in a letter there printed. This letter has a special interest, as it was written by Gérard Roussel, at Strasburg, to Nicolas Le Sueur, in Meaux itself. (See *Corresp. d. Réf.* I, 410.) The passage in question, which is in Latin, may be thus translated:—"There is a table standing forward in an open part of the church, so as to be visible to all; they do not call it an altar, since it is considered to be of that nature by those only who have changed the Supper of Christ into a sacrifice; but it does not differ at all from what are commonly known as altars. The minister draws near to this table, so, however, that his face is turned towards the people, and not his back; which latter custom was hitherto observed by those sacrificial priests, who, as if they bore before them some species* of God, so esteemed this service, as to think that their backs, and not their faces, should be in view of the people. Seated at the table,† with his face turned to the people, so that all eyes may look towards him, he first utters certain prayers drawn from scripture, and that in few words; then they all sing some psalm, which done, and some further prayers having been uttered by the minister (*per ministrum*), he ascends the chair, and first reads in the

* or "form"; [Latin: *speciem*.]

† or "Stationing himself before [or "at"] the table"; [Latin: *Assidens mensæ*.]

“understanding of all, the scripture that he intends to expound. He proceeds to expound it at some length, citing other passages of scripture which bear on the matter, but so, however, as to observe the proportion of faith,* and to convey no idea that does not point to faith and its attendant charity. When the discourse is finished he returns to the table; the symbol” (*symbolum* i.e. the Apostles’ creed) “is sung by all; after which done, he explains to the community the use for which Christ left to us the ordinance of His supper” (*in quem usum Christus suam nobis reliquerit Coenam*): “disclosing in a few words the benefit of Christ’s death and of his blood, which was shed on the cross; then he recounts the words of Christ, as they were written by the evangelists or by Paul. Then, with those who wish to draw near (for no one is compelled though all are invited), he shares the bread and the wine, true symbols of the body and blood of Christ, left by him to his apostles for remembrance of his death. While the communion is performed and each receives his portion of the supper, Kyrie Eleeson is sung by all, and they seem thus to give thanks in a hymn for the benefit received. The communion is performed in such manner that the minister receives last, and indeed that which remains over. When this is done each withdraws to his own home, to return after luncheon” (*a prandio*) “to the greater church, wherein about the twelfth hour a discourse to the people is made by one of the ministers.”

Another authority, Röhrich, tells us in his “*Geschichte der Reformation im Elsass*,” (Strasburg, 1830, Theil I, 202,) that the chief service, including apparently the Lord’s Supper, took place each Sunday, at seven in summer, and eight in winter, and lasted about two hours. The same book mentions the form of words with which the bread was handed to the communicants:—“*Gedenket, glaubet, verkündet dass Christüs der Herr für euch gestorben ist*”: (“Remember, believe, proclaim that Christ the Lord died for you.”) (Cf. Röhrich, *ibid.*, p. 210.)

It will be borne in mind that a French refugee Church at Strasburg was established in 1538. (See Note 25). And further evidence of very high value as to the nature of the Meaux celebration is furnished by the ancient Geneva and Strasburg Communion Service: which itself would seem to have been an attempt to establish an authoritative use for the

*This phrase was used to denote the proportion which the gospel doctrines have been held to bear to one another. Compare Romans XII, 6; and Hook’s Church Dictionary, “Analogy of Faith.”

French-speaking protestants. [The Paris Church of 1555 was also formed on the model of Strasburg, Cf: Note 3, above.] The VIth Volume of Baum and Cunitz' "*Joannis Calvinii opera*" (Brunswick, 1867) contains a reprint of "*La Forme des Prières et chantz ecclésiastiques avec la manière d'administrer les Sacrements etc.*" MDXLII. This ancient and extremely rare prayer-book, [which itself I have never seen,] was reprinted by the above-named editors, with an introduction, and references to further editions or books: viz., 1545 (Strasburg), 1547, etc. At the grave risk of unduly swelling these notes, an abstract of that Communion Service ought I think to be given here. It is drawn from the above-named Brunswick publication.

The order of service opens with directions as to notice on the previous Sunday, exclusion of children until taught and professed, instruction of ignorant strangers.

On the day itself the minister must allude in his sermon to the signification and proper reception of this service. The 1545 edition contains a long exposition, enforcing the need of prayer, confession, and praise, and of deep reverence; the convenience of the vulgar tongue; and the principal doctrine that the partakers should live in Christ, and Christ in them. Then are to follow prayers, and the confession of faith, as a testimony that all will live and die in the doctrine and religion of Christianity: [perhaps the profession mentioned by Crespin, (see above, p 37.), unless that was more distinctly directed against the casuistry of the Nicodemites; Cf: *Hist: d: Égl: Réf:* Edition 1883, Tome I, 66]. The edition of 1545 says that meanwhile the minister prepares on the table the bread and the wine; and in the same edition there follows a prayer in set form to God the Father, acknowledging the benefit of Christ's death, and asking the gift of a proper and beneficial celebration of this remembrance; also the Lord's prayer.

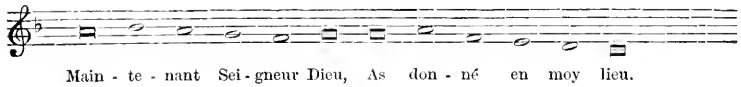
Now follows an exhortation from the XIth chapter of I. Corinthians: "I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you: that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed" [This can, I think, hardly fail to have been the passage from the named epistle, which, according to Crespin, was being expounded by LeClerc when apprehended. Rochard also mentions that LeClerc was then engaged in reading and explaining some text. (See above, pp 37, 44.)] The exhortation goes on to pronounce excommunicate such as are idolaters, heretics, dissolute, etc.; for that the Supper is only for the faithful servants of Christ. Then a paragraph exhorts

that each should examine his conscience, repent, believe, and renounce all malice. There follows the assertion that, if conscience assures of this frame of mind, you are accepted of God, and may come to this Sacrament. It is next pointed out that natural temptations are not to prevent those that hate evil and love the Lord, since the Sacrament is "*une médecine pour les pauvres malades.*" Faith in Christ's promises is then taught; also an instruction, directing the recipient to look beyond the bread and wine to a heavenly nourishment accomplished within the soul; the sacrament being taken as a pledge of the merit (*justice*) imputed by Christ's death and passion. The people are then exhorted to lift up their souls to Jesus Christ in the glory of the Father; to avoid the error of contemplating the tangible signs as if He were in them; but to seek the truth spiritually.

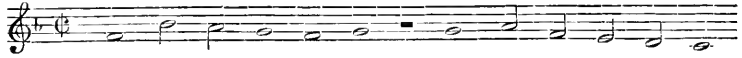
After this the ministers distribute the bread and the cup to the people, these being warned to come with reverence and in good order. Meanwhile psalms are sung or a suitable portion of scripture read. At the end, thanks are formally given. The distribution is prescribed with more detail in the edition of 1545. The minister is to receive first both bread and wine: then he administers to the deacon, and thereafter to the whole congregation (*Église*), saying:—"Take, eat, the body of Jesus, which was given over to death for you," ("*Prenez, mangez, le corps de Jésus, qui à été livré à mort pour vous.*") The deacon administers the cup saying:—"This is the cup of the New Testament with the blood of Jesus, which was shed for you" ("*C'est le calice du nouveau Testament au sang de Jésus, qui a été respandu pour vous.*") Meanwhile the congregation sings the Psalm "I will give thanks unto Thee" ("*Louange et grace ie te etc. . . .*" Ps. 138 *de la première édition.*) A form of thanksgiving is set out (in 1545), which acknowledges the benefit of Christ's death and communion, and asks for continued benefit, to the glory of the Trinity; after this the Chant of Simeon is prescribed, and then the minister is to dismiss the people with a benediction.

The book closes with a long paragraph, apparently not part of the service, claiming that they had restored the true and ancient Sacrament, not destroyed it.

Two very early French openings of the "*Cantique de Siméon*" are given in Douen's "*Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot*" (1878), Tome. I, p. 632.



and



How far the above Liturgy was adopted by the Meaux Gospellers, or Church, of 1546, will perhaps never be conclusively proved. It is so extraordinarily close in date, and in the circumstances of the history, that one can hardly err in attributing to them the use "once or twice" of this very striking religious service.

NOTE 30:—

As to adherents of these views among the country people compare Note 15; See also Rochard's account, (translation, p. 44).

NOTE 31:—

It was remarked by a friend who heard this passage, that it showed these people were Calvinists. The inuendo here was, obviously, to fix on the Gospellers the doctrine of Predestination; which doctrine was indeed soon after (i.e. in 1562) even professed by the English Clergy in their XVIIth Article of Religion.

There is every reason to suppose that the Meaux congregation accepted generally Calvin's theology. The statement in the text would, however, most likely befit any religion that taught trust in a Supreme Being. Resignation to the Divine Will would, I suppose, seem dutiful, to such determined and convinced readers of the Gospel history of the Passion. This attitude of mind does not mark attachment to either side in the metaphysical, and therefore chronic, question of Free Will.

Michelet, in thoughtful and eloquent sentences, describes the passionate yearning for some firm comfort in the desperately troubled sixteenth century: a feeling which doubtless was at first soothed at Meaux by the gentle preachings of Briçonnet, but took a more definite intellectual form in the sombre confidence of Calvinism. [Cf. Michelet "*Histoire de France*," 1857, Vol. VIII, pp. 15, 144, 180, 199.]

NOTE 32 :—

Another account of the proceedings and execution, containing many peculiar details, and substantially agreeing with this, is contained in Rochard's MS. [See translation above.] Rochard seems to treat the event from a point of view opposed to the sufferers. See also Toussaints du Plessis, [translation above].

NOTE 33 :—

"Magistratus eius vrbis." This was the "*Lieutenant général civil et criminel*," Philip Rhumet. (See Carro, p. 205; also Rochard.)

NOTE 34 :—

"Praepositus." The "*prévôt de la Ville*"; *Maitre* Adrien de la Personne. (Cf. Carro, pp. 205, 214; and Rochard.)

NOTE 35 :—

That is, the "*Prévôt des Maréchaux*"; or Provost Marshal. (Cf. Carro, p. 205, and Rochard.) This was Gilles Berthelot: (See p. 40, above, and Note 57.)

NOTE 36 :—

The higher officials also included the "*Procureur du Roi*," or King's Attorney, Louis Cosset, who had consulted with the *Lieutenant Général* beforehand. The historian of Meaux attributes to "*Louis Cosset, procureur du roi*," in 1572, an active and greedy part in the St. Bartholomew massacre at that town. (Carro, pp. 205, 229-231.)

NOTE 37 :—

The reader is here specially invited to compare Rochard's detailed account of the raid; and the sketch plan. (See p. 44; and Notes 93, 95.)

NOTE 38 :—

"Quaesitor." The "*Histoire des Martyrs*," 1582, says:— "*Puis le Lieutenant leur demanda . . .*." Sismondi notices the appointment, in 1515, of "*Enquêteurs*" to the different Courts of Baillis and Seneschals. [*Hist. des Fr.* Tome XVI, 15.]

NOTE 39 :—

The number of persons apprehended has been variously



given. It was certainly about sixty. [See translations, pp. 38, 45, 48, 50; also Toussaints du Plessis, Vol. II, p. 292. *La France Protestante (pièces justificatives)*; Fox, edition 1846, Vol. I. p. 134.]

NOTE 40:—

Doubtless the *Château*, or Castle, mentioned by Rochar. [Cf. p. 44: and note 95. See sketch-plan.]

NOTE 41:—

Though there is some difficulty in finding an authentic version of the 79th Psalm, with tune, before the Bourgeois Bible of 1560, yet a comparison of various authorities seems to justify a confident surmise that the following words and tune were used by the Meaux captives, or their friends, on this striking occasion. This version is taken from the "*Pseaumes de David, Mis en Rime par Clément Marot et Théodore de Besze,*" appearing at the end of "*La Bible*" printed by Iaquy, Daudeau, and Bourgeois, (1560). I am informed that it also occurs in the edition of "*La Bible*" of Barbier and Courteau, 1559. Further, a high literary authority at Geneva tells me that, while Pierre Davantes' edition of the Psalms with music, (1560), bears upon its title a distinct reference to an older and less easy method for singing the Psalms of Marot and de Bèze, the identical tune in question may well have been published or adopted even so soon as 1543. A copy of the Davantes Psalter, 1560, above named, is, or recently was, in possession of Mr. R. S. Faber, hon. sec. of the Huguenot Society of London.

Riggenbach's "*Der Kirchengesang in Basel seit der Reformation,*" (Basel, 1870,) refers to the "*Forme des prières etc.*" (Geneva, 1542). [which he calls A]; to the same book (Strasburg, 1545) [called B]; and to the "*Lyons Psalter,*" (1549) [called C]; as well as to another Lyons edition by de Tournes (1563) [called D]. [See Riggenbach *ibid*: p. 172]. He says on page 181: that Psalm 79 fails to appear in A; while B and D entirely agree together; and C varies only in the first note  instead of .

Now a comparison of the version of de Tournes 1563 (Lyons), with that of Bourgeois 1560, exhibits no variation between them beyond the mere spelling of the words. And, since Riggenbach, in the passage above referred to, asserts the agreement of de Tournes 1563 with the Strasburg edition of 1545, we must conclude that the Meaux correspondents with Strasburg, in 1545-6, probably sang their Psalm, with rhymes and

tune, as reprinted later by Bourgeois. It seems that, at least in the Strasburg Refugee Church, there was an official musician; which indicates considerable attention to music in that Church. [Cf: Note 25a.]

Another writer, of great authority, has handled this subject itself. M. Douen contributes to the "*Bulletin*" of the "*Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme Français*," Tom xxviii, an article which, dealing with the Psalm sung at Meaux, and commenting on the vigorous character of the melody, says that it was sung in unison and not yet harmonized in 1546; that the words were by Clément Marot (verses 1 and 6) (1543), melody by Louis Bourgeois (1544). Two stanzas "*Les gens entrés sont*" etc: are then quoted; but the article unfortunately does not quote the actual music. However, this same writer, in his studious book "*Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot*," gives (Tome I, p. 726), among his comparisons, the first eight notes (in a different clef) of the tune printed below, as the opening of the 79th Psalm [Bourgeois], and collates with it Attaignant's "*Secourez moy Madame*."

Perhaps the reader will excuse the length of the above observations, if he bears in mind the difficulty of fixing, for certain, details so transient, with materials so rare. Nay, some Psalters of about that date may well be lost altogether. The conclusion from such facts as I can command is nearly irresistible, that the tune and words sung by the Meaux captives, or their friends in the street, on the 8th of September, 1546, were those here given. [See p. 98.]

NOTE 42:—

"Sabbatha": in the sense of pagan or profane assemblies. In this controversy each side charged the other with heathen observances. (See above, pp: 36, 43, 51, 54; also Notes 77, 78, 107c.)

NOTE 43:—

Compare Translations, pp: 48, 51, 52, 53, 54; also Note 107c, and Note 29.

NOTE 44:—

The "*Histoire des Martyrs*," (1582), says:—"fut autant troublé qu' Herodes iudis."

NOTE 45:—

"Quàm ad culinam ventris colendam tuendamque com-
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Les gens en-trez sont en ton he-ni-ta-sy, Ils ont joi-lu, Sei-gneur, par leur ou-tra-ge Ton Tem-ple Saint,

Je-ru-sa-lem des-truite, Si qu'en mor-ceaux de pier-res l'ont re-duit-te, Ils ont haul-lé les corps De tes Ser-uit-teus

mots Aux cor-beaux pour les joi-sire La chair des biē-vi-vāns Aux a-ni-maux, sui-vāns Bois de plei-ne chā-pes-tre

First verse of the seventy-ninth Psalm. [See Note 41, p. 96 above.]

N.B.—The *Histoire des Martyrs* (ed. 1885) says, in a footnote, that the Psalm in Marot's verses was "*Souvent chanté par les huguenots.*" [I find there, however, no assistance as to the tune.]

paratum." Referring perhaps to the sale of the Church's comforts by the begging friars, or others, to their own material gain. (Cf. Note 8; and also Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, 331, 335, 336; and II, 278.) Perhaps, however, this is Crespin's comment on the sacrifice by priestly manducation, or consumption of the elements at Mass. Compare the bitter remarks in Hook's Church Dictionary (1852), pp: 400, 401.

NOTE 46 :—

"Postquã omnia, quæ ad causam innocentiãque eorum premendam pertinebant, diligenter essent expiscati." The text of the "*Histoire des Martyrs*," in the Toulouse edition of 1885 etc., says:—"Or, après qu'on eut malicieusement inventé contre eux tout ce qui serroit à les gener et charger, ils furent menez" The examination, or even trial, of all the prisoners would probably be needed, before sending them for judgment to the "*Parlement de Paris*." The proceedings would, no doubt, in this striking case, be very full, and might comprise several alternative or cumulative charges. If quite fairly conducted, they would still seem long and vexatious. Ten years before, it had been thought necessary to reduce by law the great number of lawyers at Meaux. [Cf. Carro, p. 190.] (Compare Note 105a. Also Note 107c.)

NOTE 47 :—

"Ad Palatinum carcerem":—*Conciergerie* [or *Consièrgerie*] *du Palais*. (See the Judgment, translation, p. 51.)

NOTE 48 :—

"A Summa Curia Parisiensi." That is, the "*Parlement de Paris*," in this case acting by its Vacation representatives. The King annually issued his letters patent nominating a court for the autumn vacation. The oldest court of this nature in France was that of the "*Chambre des Vacations*" of the "*Parlement de Paris*," which had a complete criminal jurisdiction. [See also Notes 105a, and 106.]

NOTE 49 :—

This judgment, or decree, the "*Arrêt de Meaux*," is in the present volume translated at length, from the best authority; see p. 50. [Compare also the slightly varying versions given in *Histoire d. Martyrs*, 1582; Toussaints du Plessis, Tome II, 292; Carro, p. 510, etc.; and *La France*

Protestante, "pièces justificatives."] The "memory of the affair" would, however, in the absence of collateral evidence, remain rather puzzling to anyone that enquired into the heresy. No detail thereof appears on this Record, which may follow some contemporary custom, of either stating each offence in the most general terms that fit the law, or of deliberately suppressing the details of what was thought a dangerous belief. This judgment at any rate refers to the legal process, instead of itself setting out the detail of the offences. Sismondi remarks, in reference to a provincial Council held at Bourges in 1528:— "*Sous le présidence du Cardinal de Tournon, qui condamna toutes les croyances des Luthériens, sans les rapporter, de peur de contribuer à les répandre.*" [*Histoire des Français*, Paris, 1833, Vol. 16, p. 361.] Compare also Baird, I, 217, as to destruction of the official record of trials; and a case mentioned on page 450 of the "*Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris.*"

See, further, the Introduction, above, pp. 13, 14, 28, 29; and Notes, 66, 25a, 29, 46, 107c.

NOTE 50:—

The following are the Latin forms of the names in Crespin's text, 1560, used for translation:—*Petrus Clericus*, *Stephanus Manginus*, *Iacobus Bouchebecus*, *Ioã. Brisebar'*, *Henricus Hutinot'*, *Thomas Honoratus*, *Ioan. Baudouinus*, *Ioã. Fleschus Ioan. Piquerius*, *Petr' Piquerius*, *Ioã. Mateflonus*, *Philipp' Paru'*, *Michael Caillous*, & *Franciscus Clericus*. Compare, however, the French forms in the Judgment, pages 51, 52, above; and the slightly different spellings in "*Histoire des Martyrs*", [1582.]

NOTE 51:—

The judgment mentions the hurdle for two defendants only: *LeClerc* and *Mangin*. The others were to be placed in carts. This agrees with the narrative of the execution given later on in the text (see translation, p. 42; See also *Rochard*, translation, p. 46; and the Judgment, translation, p. 51.)

NOTE 52:—

In the "*Hist. d. Mart.*" 1582, there seems to be some confusion between *Louys Piquery* named in the decree, and *Michel Piquery* mentioned in relating the execution. *Toussaints du Plessis* in his account of the execution speaks of "*Un jeune enfant, nommé Louis Piquery.*" (See translation, p. 48.) It appears, however, from a rider to the judgment itself, that the lad would have suffered death, had he been "obstinate or pertinacious." (See translation, p. 56.)

NOTE 53:—

Crespin's Latin text does not mention that a few prisoners were ordered to be set free: among them Perette and Marion Mangin. (See translation, p. 53.) These were children of Estienne. (See Note 26). One of the women condemned to look on was Marguerite, wife of Estienne Mangin. (See translation, p. 52, and Note 26; however, as to the widow's name, some possible doubt may be raised by the proceedings mentioned in Note 93.) Rochard's MS. in the Town Library at Meaux has a curious mistake on page 382, where the wife of Mangin is counted among ten excepted from punishment. She is in the judgment distinctly sentenced.

NOTE 54:—

The 7th October, 1546, was a Thursday. Dr. Downing, Superintendent of the Nautical Almanac, has kindly answered this question. (See also pp. 42, 45, 49, 54; and Note 64.)

NOTE 55:—

This was not done, for lack of money. Carro says:—"*Mais soit qu'ils fussent tous peu pourvus de biens, soit que la confiscation déjà précédemment déclarée au profit du roi dût passer avant celle qui concernait la pieuse fondation, celle-ci n'eut pas lieu faute d'argent.*" (*Hist: d: Meaux*, p. 208). This subject is dealt with by Rochard; see his MS., p. 382. [Cf: also Note 93, referring to Mangin's house; and an interesting rider to the judgment, translation, p. 56.]

NOTE 56:—

"*Petrus Lisetus primus tũ curiæ præses.*" Pierre Lizet, born in 1482, was appointed Premier President in 1529. To him has been attributed the institution of the "*Chambre particulière*," for trying heretics, in 1547-8. [See *Hist: ecclés:* edition 1883, Tome. I, p. 50, Note; Weiss "*La chambre ardente*", pp. LXXI, LXXVII, etc. Cf: the judgment, translation, p. 56; also "*Hist: d: Mart:*" 1885, etc., a marginal note to the judgment as there given].

NOTE 57:—

"*Aegidio Bertheloto, qui latrunculatoris tum officio fungebatur.*" Strictly; the judge in larceny or in robbery cases. "*Preost des Mareschaux*" *Hist. d. Mart.* 1582. [Cf. Rochard, translation, p. 45; and see Note 35.]

NOTE 58:—

“Duo Sorbonici Doctores.”

NOTE 59:—

MAILLARD and PICARD:—Maillard is said to have been the person that recommended, after the execution of Jean Chapot, that the obstinate should have their tongues cut out, because all would be lost if the condemned were allowed to speak. An iron ball in the mouth was sometimes used instead, as a gag. (Cf: *Hist: ecclés: des égl; réf: Edⁿ 1883, Vol. I, p. 71, 72; and Baird, Hist: of the Rise of the Huguenots, I, 257.*)

Maillard and Picard were nominated together as disputants or theological officials. (Cf: *Hist: ecclés: d: égl: réf: Edⁿ 1883, I, 71, etc.; also Rochard, translation, p. 45.*) [Cf: also Notes 105a; and 16.]

NOTE 59a:—

The village “Coubron” lies eastward of the “*Forêt de Bondy*,” at some distance from the Paris-Meaux road, which passes Livry. Fox’s “Book of Martyrs,” (Edn. 1846, II, 134,) boldly puts “Couberon, a weaver,” among the fourteen executed, placing “Peter Clerk” separately above that list. This hazardous explanation of the enthusiast’s doubtful fate seems to impute greater powers to the Provost Marshal, or other officers, than they then possessed. [See Note 105a.]

NOTE 60:—

“Ad Pagū Liurium nominatum perucnerunt.” This country seems to have harboured the forbidden ideas. “*Pavanes fut suivi quelque temps après par un surnommé l’Hermite de Liury, qui est une bourgade sur le chemin de Meaux.*” (*Histoire des Martyrs, 1582; Cf. Sismondi XVI, 240.*)

NOTE 61:—

“Lutheranum”:—This term was at that time often applied generally, as a reproach, to the reformers or dissidents, who held views opposed to Rome, notwithstanding the theological differences among themselves. Even the ancient community of the Vaudois were sometimes included under this phrase. (Compare Crespin “*Actiones Martyrum*,” 1560, the chapter headed “*Merindolii incolæ*,” 88, verso.) The French Protestants were later known as Barefeet or “*Pieds Nus*,” and as “*Huguenots*.” (See Note 96a.) The special sense of the word “Lutheran,” which later distinguished a section of protest-

ants, was not yet, I think, apprehended or intended by French Churchmen. (Cf. however Smiles, "The Huguenots," 1868, p. 22, note.)

NOTE 62:—

The Increase; the Increased; or, the Devoted. "*Comme qui droit Surcroist*," (*Hist: d: Mart: 1582.*)

NOTE 63.

"*Tormentis extraordinarijs.*" (Cf: translations, pp. 45, 48, 51.)

NOTE 64:—

"*Postero die*":—A note to the 1885 edition of the "*Hist: d: Mart:*" says—"Ce fut donc le 7 qu'ils furent exécutés et non le 4, comme le disent les éditeurs des *Calvini opera XII*, p. 411." As to this, even the distinct Rochard is rather confusing, who makes less use of dates than of the perpetual phrases: "*Le dit jour*", and "*lendemain.*" However the judgment itself, dated of Monday the fourth, apparently contemplated that the execution should be on a Thursday, which the 7th of the month was. (See further Note 54.)

NOTE 65:—

The noted controversy of Transubstantiation was doubtless a field of very warm fighting. Its importance, closely connected as it was with the adoration of the host, and also with the priests' powers, was recognized by both sides in the reformation campaign. [Cf: Translation above, p. 38; also Notes 43, 44, 45.] The doctrine itself had been definitely affirmed, along with the apostolical succession of priests, by the IVth Lateran Council, which assembled in 1215. [See "*Summa conciliorum omnium ordinata*," Bail, Paris, 1675.]

The minister, in his dispute with Picard, seems to rely more on common sense than on other arguments. Though Crespin says LeClerc knew theology in French, we may suppose he was no schoolman. However, Crespin himself was a good scholar, and must be read with some caution when he implies that this Picard, the official theologian, had nothing coherent to say about the scholastic distinctions of Substance, Accident, Appearance; and that he even abstained from making a flank attack with the Lutheran weapon of Consubstantiation.

Though Crespin probably had but one-sided evidence as to this episode, he is in general well corroborated and sound in his statements of historical fact. If we are reluctant to

impute abject controversial ignorance to Picard, yet it is likely enough that the cramping influence of mediæval school learning put many church disputants into some difficulty, when their premises and methods were questioned afresh by vigorous intellects.

NOTE 66:—

“Septē eã conditionē acceperūt”:—The historians vary here somewhat as to the details. Fox’s Book of Martyrs [Edition 1846], gives the place of execution, as the spot where this horrid operation was performed; and says that seven refused the condition.

Again, Carro says that eight had their tongues cut out before quitting prison for the execution. (*Hist. d. Meaux*, p. 207.) See also Roehard’s account. [Translation, p. 45.] But Toussaints du Plessis does not, in his very short account, allude to this additional severity. [Translation, pp. 48, 49.]

Carro, says that the object was to prevent the condemned from saying too much before the people, which is corroborated by an important rider to the Judgment itself, (see the translation, p. 56.) [Compare further Baird. Vol. I, 217. See also Notes 49, 59.] A case in 1533 is mentioned by the “*Histoire Eccl. d. Eyl. Réf.*,” [Edition 1883, Vol. I, p.23.]

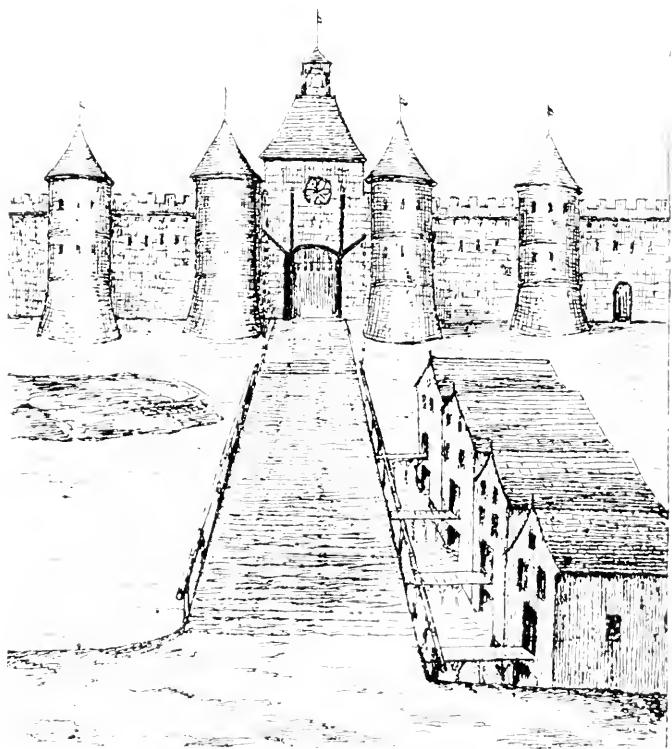
This last-named work, at page 67, mentions by name Mangin only, in reference to this infliction in the Meaux case. But the account there is short, and this a side touch. [Compare also Laval’s “History of the Reformation in France,” 1737, Vol. 1, pp. 61, 62.]

The plain conclusion upon the whole is that seven or eight, including Mangin and LeClere, suffered the loss of their tongues before quitting the prison.

Martin, in his “*Histoire de France*,” (1878, Vol. VIII, p. 343), referring to this martyrdom, and to the allegation that Mangin spoke after his tongue was cut off, says ironically:—“*La Réforme commençait d’avoir aussi ses miracles.*” Whether the historians, Crespin and Bèze, thought this a miracle or not, we do not know; and ourselves need hardly so account it. A resolute man might, as an accomplished medical authority tells me, make a very simple ejaculation intelligible to willing hearers. The executioner probably did not use the searching skill of an anatomist. The phrases of the historians are respectively “*previdere*,” and “*couper*.”

NOTE 66a:—

LeClere is in error called Guillaume, not Pierre, in the



Le Pont et la Sorte du Marebè
avant la démolition de 1562 et après un crevas de Janvier
Bridge and Gateway, by which the Procession with the Fourteen
would pass to the place of Execution

short account of the execution itself given by the "*Histoire Écclésiastique*," (Edition 1883, Vol. I, p. 69), which, however, has called him "Pierre" in the rest of the story. (*Ibid.* pp. 67, 68.)

NOTE 67:—

THE FORM OF PROCESSION:—Compare p. 46; and Note 51. It appears from Rochard that it went past the Cathedral. That route from the *Château* to the *Grand Marché* would extend to several hundred metres. (See plan.)

NOTE 68:—

THE EXECUTION:—Rochard gives an account of the preparations for and accomplishment of this ghastly holocaust. (See translation, pp. 45, 46.)

NOTE 69:—

"Adolescens, Michael Piquerius nominatus".—(See Note 52.)

NOTE 70:—

Carro says that each of the fourteen was made fast high up on his gibbet, his face towards the pile to be fired. (*Hist. d. Meaux*, p. 208). (Cf. Rochard, translation, p. 46.) There is a painful representation of a posture somewhat like this on the title page to the *Actiones Martyrum*. (See above, Note 1.)

NOTE 71:—

(Marginal). "Furiosus Sacrificulorū boatus."

NOTE 72:—

"Decantare ipsi quoque cœperunt."

NOTE 73:—

O Saving Victim.

NOTE 74:—

Hail Queen.

NOTE 75:—

"Sanctissimæ hostiæ":—It is of course impossible to adequately reproduce, in English, the historian's grim play on the ecclesiastical word "*hostia*."

NOTE 76 :—

The procession of the next day is fully described by Rochard, (translation, pp. 46, 47.) The curious may consult Toussaints du Plessis, who gives (at pp. 336, 337 of Vol. I) a minute account of the order to be observed at Meaux generally in Procession of the Sacrament. The proper rank and precedence of the different ecclesiastical bodies are there dealt with, as well as some claim to exemption, and even attendance “without prejudice,” [*sans conséquence pour l'avenir.*”]

The reader may possibly enjoy the complacency of Rochard's account of what took place on the present occasion, after the human sacrifice now completed. The bright scene was adorned with the ecclesiastical pomp, and buxom beauty, of Meaux. Our delights are however interrupted by the apparition of those penitents, whose widowed and broken hearts were now scrupulously crushed, by the highest Court in a country that had been the example of chivalry.

NOTE 77 :—

“Panaceū illud suum idolum.”

NOTE 78 :—

This marginal: “*Supplicatio ad pulvinaria decorum*”: refers to the pagan *lectisternium*, a sacrificial feast, when the ancients used to place images of the gods reclining on couches in the streets, with tables and food before them. The triumph of a general was sometimes honoured with such a *Supplicatio*. No doubt Crespin is here commenting on a temporary altar; which Rochard calls “*un tres somptueux reposoir.*” (See translation p. 47; also Notes 42, 43.)

NOTE 79 :—

“In profundum infernū.”

NOTE 80 :—

The 1582 edition of the “*Histoire des Martyrs*” says :—
 “*Or toutefois quelque chose qu'il peust iargonner, il ne seut tant faire qu'il peust induire les femmes à confesser au sortir de prison que leurs maris fussent damnez.*”

NOTE 81 :—

Crespin relates in another part of his book the striking episode of Saintin Nivet, who shortly after returned to Meaux, with the object of filling one of the many vacant places in that

congregation. Arrested at Meaux, he shewed the customary confidence or courage, and was burned at Paris. (Cf. Crespin *Actiões Martyrum*, 139, verso, etc.; also Weiss, C.)

NOTE 82 :—

“Aureliæ.”

NOTE 83 :—

“Faronus Măginus.”—Pharon or Faron Mangin:—The “*Histoire ecclésiastique d: égl: réf:* 1580, (edⁿ Paris 1883, Vol. I, p. 70) says (perhaps following Crespin):—“*Un autre, nommé Faron Mangin, se retira à Orleans, où il fit un grand fruit.*” And the “*Bulletin d. l. Soc. de l'hist. du Prot. français,*” (Tome xviii, p. 122,) mentions the Orleans Church as having, from its foundation in 1547, speedily become an important centre for the new opinions.

NOTE 84 :—

“Aubigniaci” :—Aubigny on the Cher.

NOTE 85 :—

“Petr’ Bōpanius” :—There is some confusion between the historians as to the martyrdom of Pierre Bonpain, alleged to have taken place in 1544. (See the text and notes of *Hist: d: Mart:* Toulouse Edition, 1885, etc., pp. 500, 501; and *Hist: Eccl: d: Égl: réf:* 1883 etc. Vol. I, p. 51, and footnote.)

NOTE 86 :—

DISPERSAL OF THE MEAUX CHURCH :—Certain other persons are named in the “*Hist. Ecclés. des Égl. Réf.*,” 1580, (ed. 1883, Vol. I, p. 70.) Jean Gouion is there said to have retired with others to Senlis, where meetings were held for prayer in the “*Rue de Meaux.*” The arrest and death of Palé and Chauvin did not entirely extinguish the movement there.

Estienne Pouillot, a Norman, left Meaux for the neighbourhood of Soissons: where he imparted his views, was seized, brought to Paris, and suffered the loss of his tongue, and death by fire, with a load of books upon his shoulders.

Carro’s and Toussaints du Plessis’ careful histories imply a vast spread of protestant opinions at Meaux within a few years after the affair of the Fourteen. [Cf. Carro, pp. 217, 218; Toussaints du Pl., Tome I, 350, 351.] What view any of us may take as to the inevitableness of the Huguenot war that soon engaged France, and swamped Meaux, does not affect

the irresistible conviction that France was injured by the forcible and temporary suppression of the French Protestants. The subsequent history could be but touched upon in Note 2. Our own country has received benefit from the intellect, industry, and conduct, of French Huguenots; who from time to time, and in considerable numbers, sought a home here.

NOTE 87:—

“Procureur du Roy.”

NOTE 88:—

“Conuenticulles”:—(Cf. pp. 38, 51, also Note 42.)

NOTE 89:—

The reader is requested to look at the sketch-plan, and to compare Notes 2, 92, and 93.

The plan is based on a comparison of various authorities, including: Le Blondel's “*Petit Guide*,” and Carro's “*Histoire*”; the plans, ancient and modern, contained therein, and in Rochard's M.S.; as well as a facsimile by Joly (Paris) of a drawing dated 1609; two seventeenth century prints representing Meaux; a photograph of a plan dated 1738, and preserved in the town library; a personal visit (though I took no measurements then); and communications and modern tracings of the *Grand Marché* from M. Moussé, (See Note 93). Though some considerable care has been needed to project even so sketchy a plan, owing to the various alterations made at Meaux about the time in question and ever since, I trust the attempt is fairly successful. To-day the ramparts are almost entirely gone, and the *Château* is destroyed. (Cf. Note 95.)

NOTE 90:—

“Sergens.” Those who had to carry out the Magistrates' orders. Compare:—

“As this fell Sergeant, death,
Is strict in his arrest.”

Shakspeare, Hamlet, Act V, Scene II.

NOTE 91:—

“Archers”:—Formerly this word signified also “Thief-takers.”

MEAUX IN 1546

an attempted sketch plan.

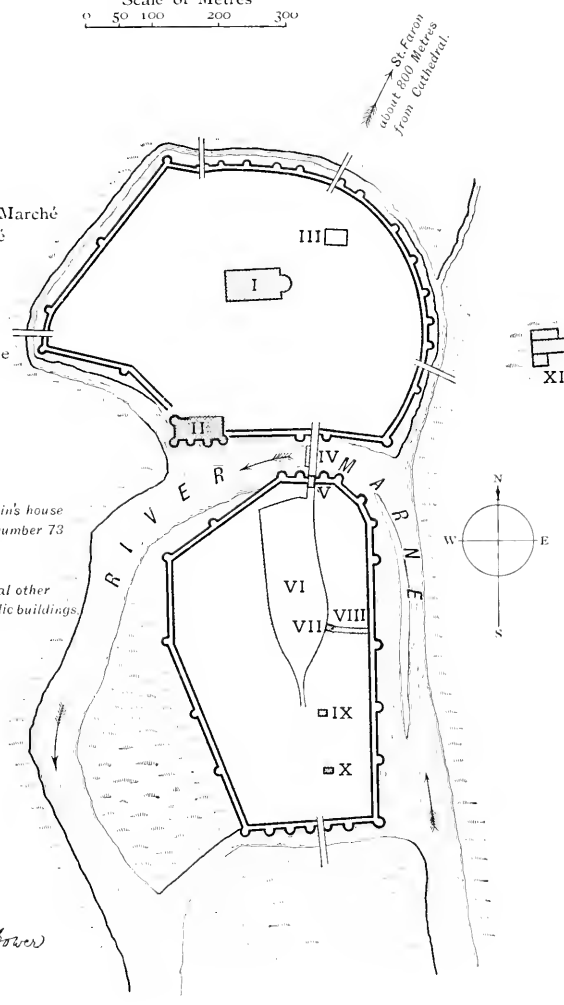
Scale of Mètres
0 50 100 200 300

Explanation.

- I. Cathedral
- II. Château
- III. Place S. Maur
- IV. Bridge over to the Marché
- V. Gate of the Marché
- VI. Grand Marché
- VII. Estienne Mangin's house.
- VIII. Garden extending from Mangin's house to the Ramparts.
- IX. S. Martin
- X. S. Saintin
- XI. Cordeliers.

NOTE. (1) The site of Mangin's house is now occupied by number 73 Rue du Marché.

NOTE. (2) There were several other churches besides public buildings not delineated here.



Herbert M. Bower
1893

NOTE 92 :—

The *Place S. Maur* is, and I conclude was, near the Cathedral in the N.E. part of the town of Meaux, and about three hundred metres north of the bridge that crosses over to the *Marché*. Its situation is close to the ancient bed of the river Marne, and near to the present minute water course called "*le Brasset*." Prints representing Meaux so late as the seventeenth century show also a fosse, or else a stream, of some size, outside the ramparts, and connected with the main course of the river. [See plan.] [Cf. also T. d. Pl., Tome I, 3, as to the old river. See, further, Note 2, above.]

NOTE 93 :—

THE HOUSE OF MANGIN—*Maison des Quatorze* :—The house of Mangin, where these meetings, so important to the new movement and to France, were held, has not been easy to locate: and I was repeatedly told at Meaux that nothing was known of the site, and even that its discovery could not be hoped for.

It has been suggested that a quite modern church shows the spot. The church meant is, doubtless, that of *Notre Dame du Marché*, standing about half-way down the *Rue Madame Dassé*, which now leads eastward from the southern end of the great Market Place to the *Quai de Bellevue*. The site indicated, though not abutting on the open space, would still fairly agree with the approach of the two parties, as related generally by Rochard; except that the phrase "*la folie*" is not yet conclusively explained.

However, it will be in the reader's memory that, when the house of Mangin was to be destroyed, the site was ordered to be used for building a chapel, wherein a Thursday Mass was to be said. (See pp. 39, 53, 54, 56). Rochard states at page 382 of his MS. that this last was not done, for want of money: so much being needed for scaffolds, etcetera. He adds that the spot was given to the *Hôtel Dieu* of Meaux.

I have requested, and happily obtained, the very valuable assistance of Monsieur Moussé, *Économé Secrétaire à l'Hospice Général de Meaux*: a great institution that has received the properties and duties of the old *Hôtel Dieu*, as well as those of other hospitals in and about Meaux. This gentleman's researches, vigorously undertaken among the archives of the Hospital, have been extended to other quarters. Certain official plans and registers preserved at Meaux, and, (by courtesy of the notaries of that place), various old deeds, have been

subject to his scrutiny. The generous undertaking has been carried out with great care and severity, those touchstones of antiquarian study.

The result of his work is to successfully establish the site of this most interesting house.

There seems to have been an official enquiry on the 12th of October, 1558. Inspection and report were made by two master masons at Meaux, and two other persons, as to the position, length, width, and value, of the site of Étienne Mangin's house, demolished according to the "*Arrêt des 14*" of the 4th October, 1546.

The report of the experts was accompanied by another, from Philippe Rumet, Lieutenant General of the baillage of Meaux, addressed to *MM: les Gens de Comptes à Paris*, and dated the 11th of October, 1558.

At that time the site was still a waste space, but it is suggestive indeed to find that it abutted on a long shaped garden, extending to the ramparts, and thus doubtless facilitating communication with the river and the country.

A third of the late Mangin's property was claimed by the successors of Jehanne Chériot, named as the widow. Their claim was allowed; though the christian name (unless it be a second one) does not accord with the 1546 Judgment, (see pp. 50, 52), and the family history, (see Note 26). The other two thirds of this vacant spot passed as a gift from the King, Henri II, to the *Maison Dieu*, by Letters Patent delivered at Fontainebleau in June 1556. The house was not rebuilt till the year 1566.

The site, which M. Moussé has been able to trace down to 1789 under the name "*Maison des Quatorze*," rendered something in the nature of a ground-rent to the *Maison Dieu*, from 1566. This was in 1809 bought up by M. Pépin, who already owned the house built upon that site. He was still the owner in 1818, according to an official plan and register of that date. From him its occupation subsequently passed to one Leclerc, as is implied in a notarial deed of 1525.

Pépin, however, according to the said plan and register of the *Marché* in 1818, owned at that time another house also on the same side of the *Marché*, which fact has given rise to some considerable difficulty. For it now became needful to distinguish carefully the documents of title to those two houses, Nos. 31 and 71, in order to identify the site of the old *Maison des Quatorze*, on which ground-rent had formerly been paid to the *Maison Dieu*. The difficulty was complicated by the

fact, that the present No. 71 *Rue du Marché*, is not the No. 71 of Pépin's time, which has become No. 73. Again there was some confusion possible as to the occupancy of the back premises of Nos. 71 and 73. The *Rue du Marché* runs down the eastern side of the open space of the *Marché*, forming in fact a slightly curved boundary in that part of it.

A prolonged inspection of documents led M. Moussé to the definite conclusion that No. 31 had a quite different origin. Pépin and his wife had acquired this house on the 22nd *Ventôse*, in the year X, (that is about 1802), from one Charles Lemaire. It was at length ascertained from the documents of title to the present No. 71, that this also was not the site in question. Eventually a comparison of rental and conveyance established the site of the present No. 73, as that of the "*Maison des Quatorze*." The property, which formerly ran back, from a frontage on the *Grand Marché*, to the eastern ramparts themselves, was curtailed in length, when the "*Promenade de Bellevue*" was formed, roughly on the alignment of those ramparts. But the *width* on frontage, of the modern shop, No. 73, accords exactly with the report of the experts who measured the waste site of Mangin's house in 1558. They measured it "*dans œuvre*," (inside in the clear,) and found it sixteen feet wide. The foot, in that time and country, amounted to thirty-three-and-a-half centimetres modern, as near as may be; and sixteen of those feet come to about five metres forty. M. Moussé has taken a measure of the modern front of No. 73, also "*dans œuvre*." It amounts to five metres forty, almost exactly; and the entire front of of the house, including two side walls, amounts to about six metres thirty-five.

The considerations above suggested in support of the hypothesis that the very modern Church mentioned might mark the site of Mangin's house, apply on the other hand with equal or still greater force in favour of No. 73 *Rue du Marché*. The claim of this house is, as we have seen, further supported by documentary evidence, and measurements; and its situation agrees better with the directions given as to the place of execution (Cf. pp. 39, 45, 48, 51.)

No one can avoid locating somewhere a striking event. It needs a prodigiously lofty or mean mind to ignore the real situation of acts tragical or heroic. Meaux seems to have kept alive for some two hundred and fifty years a tradition, or at least a phrase, now timely recovered and confirmed by an officer of her most beneficent institution.

The modest spot in a country town, where Mangin lived, organized with LeClere and others the earliest church within France of the "Reformed Religion," and opposite which these two, with twelve companions, endured a horrible death, such a place will be striking perchance to the ignorant and the curious, will probably be touching to Huguenots and to Meldenses, and must certainly interest any native of that country, or any visitor, who reflects on the movement of the sixteenth century, and on the large share which the "*Grand Marché*" of Meaux had in it.

NOTE 94 :—

"Il ne laissa pas que d'auoir peur ainsy qu'il l'auoua après."

NOTE 95 :—

In Carro's "*Histoire de Meaux*" are given both a plan, and two views, of the *Château*, as at different dates, along with a full account of it. (See that work, pp. 81, etc.) The *Château*, several times altered, was interesting both for its ancient history, and for its gloomy contribution to the later massacres of 1572 and 1792, as well as for the imprisonment of the Martyrs of 1546. When Carro wrote (1865), and indeed till a year or two ago, its latest buildings were still standing. But its final demolition was completed the other day, making room for a totally uninteresting public office. The situation is on the right, or town side, of the river; abuts on the *Rue des Vieux Moulins*, and the *Quai Victor Hugo*; is about two hundred metres, S.S.W. from the Cathedral, and rather less than two hundred metres West from the bridge over to the *Marché*. The master builder, in charge of the works, showed me several antique curiosities dug up on that spot, including a small stone axe head. The prisons covered a large space. (See also the sketch-plan of Meaux).

NOTE 96 :—

That is, by the Vacation Judges of the *Parlement de Paris*. [See pp. 39, 48, 50; and Notes 48, 49, 105a].

NOTE 96a :—

"Huguenots":—This phrase of Rochard's is perhaps an anachronism, but it is hazardous to assert even that, so obscure is the origin of the name, or its use. Browning's "*History of the Huguenots*" (fourth edition), enumerates ten derivations. *Hus*; *Hugues*, a Sacramentarian; *Hugh Capet*; and *Hugon's* tower at Tours; *Huguenen*, a Flemish word meaning Puritans;

together with *Huguenote*, meaning a common pot for cooking; and a few other suggestions, are in that work discussed and subordinated to the etymology often received, which traces this term to *Eignot*, *Eidgenossen*,=*federati*=leagued together. This is the derivation insisted upon by Maimbourg, who says that, after Calvin returned to Geneva in 1541, his doctrine and discipline were followed by the protestants of France, since that time called "Huguenots" and "Calvinists." (*Hist: du Calvinisme*", 1682, pp. 50, 51.)

At the risk of appearing presumptuous in view of such authorities, I would venture to point out the vast change which the first syllable, (important in accent, and essential to the meaning of the word), must then have undergone even in a short time, in passing from the Teutonic to the Gallic speech. Such a change could only be readily explained, by the conversion into some very popular, or very ridiculous, phrase, that sounded somewhat like it in French. And it is indeed possible, that such a process may have combined some of the other suggested derivations.

Before making up his mind the student will perhaps consider the valuable remarks appearing at Vol. I, pp. 307, 308, of the *Histoire d. Égl: Réf:* (1883 edition); where the annotator disapproves of the derivation from "*Eignot*." At that place the text itself inclines to adopt the derivation "*Huguet*," a sort of goblin king of the night, at Tours; which nickname was thence applied to protestants by the priests, from their using the cover of night for safe attendance at their Divine service. An episode at Angers, narrated in the *Hist. d. Martyrs* (Toulouse edition, Vol. III, p. 303), may perhaps support this theory.

Littre's "*Dictionnaire de la langue Française*" (1877) contains a long paragraph on the etymology of "*Huguenot*." The derivation from "*eidgenossen*" is discussed and disfavoured. "*Huguenot*" is there said to have been a proper name long before the Reformation, even in the fourteenth century. And it is asserted that the first written mention of it, in connection with Calvinists, appears under the form "*huguenaulx*", in a letter from the Comte de Villars, 11 November, 1560. [Compare also "Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London", Vol. 2, pp 249 etc. Vol. 3, pp 420 etc. .] Whatever view of the derivation may be adopted by the reader, or ultimately by scholars, the term itself, (well enough established before Rochard's own time,) was apparently not yet used by writers, to designate the French Protestants when the Fourteen were burnt

in 1546, though Carro says that "Huguenots," "Calvinists," and "Protestants", were names indifferently used in 1563. (*Histoire de Meaux*, p. 224). No doubt the word "*Huguenot*" was employed by friends, and foes, to designate the party, before that time; and probably it was in popular use before anyone wrote it down.

Another very interesting nick-name was applied to that party. One sign of penitence, occasionally imposed by law on some, (and voluntarily adopted by others,) was to walk barefoot in a procession. (Cf. the Judgment, p. 52.) In 1561, the Meaux "*huguenots*" made public processions into neighbouring villages with their preacher; and, though armed, many of them adopted the fancy of going barefoot. They then received the name "*Pieds-Nus*", which they long retained. (See Carro's "*Histoire de Meaux*," p. 218.) (As to the earlier term "Lutheran", see Note 61.)

NOTE 97:—

"Preuost des Mareschaux de France".

NOTE 97a:—

See Note 59.

NOTE 97b:—

"Lieutenant Particulier".

NOTE 98:—

"Avec plusieurs autres officiers et gens de justice dudit Meaux".

NOTE 99:—

See p. 42. Also Notes 66, 59: and p. 56.

NOTE 100:—

"Baillage." :— Compare Note 2, page 59.

NOTE 100a:—

See pp. 42, 43. Also Note 70.

NOTE 101:—

See pp. 42, 48, 51, 56. Also Note 52.

NOTE 101a:—

There appears to be some discrepancy between this number and the details given in the judgment. [See pp: 51-53.]

NOTE 102:—

Men, not women. [See the Judgment, pp. 51, 52.]

NOTE*:—

“Carrefours.” [Cf: also pp: 51, 52.]

NOTE 103:—

As to the proper order in detail of the great processions at Meaux, see T. d. Plessis, Tome. I, pp. 336, 337.

NOTE 104:—

“Et auquel lieu estoit vn tres somptueux reposoir”. [Cf: Note 78.]

NOTE 105:—

Cf: Note 24, (towards end).

NOTE 105a:—

LEGAL PROCEDURE:—M. Weiss, in his book “*La Chambre Ardente*,” (Paris, 1889), p. LXXI, &c., deals with the established legal procedure against alleged heretics. He dates the actual formation of the “*Chambre particulière*” at 1547-8; but this date need not concern us, as the appointment of that body was made merely to ease the pressure of religious cases before the “*Parlement*,” involving probably no further amendment of procedure. This procedure itself doubtless fell within the Edict of Fontainebleau, 1540, and the Declaration of 23 July, 1543, together with the general law of France. The reader will bear in mind the supposed sovereign jurisdiction of the “*Parlement*,” which Court had curtailed the Bishops’ powers to arrest those not in orders, who were suspected of heresy,—but afterwards (with encouragement from Rome) granted enormous powers to a mixed commission. [Cf: Note 17. See also Haag, pp. V, etc., and *pièces justificatives*. And Baird, Vol. I, pp. 124, etc.] Against suspects not in orders some sort of proceedings were no doubt open to the Bishops, their Vicars, or the Inquisitor of the Faith; but were undertaken with fuller powers by the King’s officials, namely Baillis, Seneschals, or their Lieutenants General and Particular. The several Royal Courts could, in these cases, try the defendants,

but not even themselves pronounce final sentence, nor (it seems) award torture; for such acts must be done by the *Parlement*. Below the Baillis and Seneschals again came the Provosts and other inferior judges, who could only proceed by enquiry, information, and apprehension; which done, they had to send the informations and charges, with the prisoners, for trial, before the Baillis, Seneschals, etc. It was thus easier for the secular officers of the King, than for the Bishops, to conduct proceedings against the unordained. So the royal officers were, as a rule, the authorities that sent laymen to the *Parlement* for judgment. In these cases it seems that final sentence, or even award of torture, was reserved to the exclusive jurisdiction of the *Parlement*; which could probably revise the facts upon enquiry. The Bishops were, however, responsible in some degree to the *Parlement* for the orthodoxy, even of laymen, within their dioceses. They had, in some cases at least, to bear the costs of sending the accused, with their "*sommiers*", or official papers, up to Paris, and other costs. Again the judgment in the Meaux case contains, towards the end, a very important reference to the Lateran Council (obviously the IVth of that name, see Note 113), which *required* Bishops to take *certain* proceedings with a view to prosecution.

[Compare generally:—Baird; Weiss; *Hist. Eccl.* Edition 1883; also the Edict of Fontainebleau, 1540, given in *La France protestante*, "*pièces justificatives*"; The judgment, translation, p. 51, (dealing with support of Loys Picquery); pp. 54, 56, (cost of the intended chapel); pp. 54, 55, (citation of Lateran Council)].

It is clear from the accounts of Crespin, and of Rochard, that the local officers of the Baillage of Meaux, as well as the town Provost, and the Provost Marshal, took part in the present apprehension. This would seem to give, at least, two jurisdictions within which proceedings might originate; one, the Baillage, which could also carry on the trial, though not itself award sentence, or torture. From this jurisdiction the prisoners would, after enquiry (or trial), be duly sent before the *Parlement*. The supreme tribunal in the present case was the Vacation Court of the *Parlement de Paris*. [Cf. the recital to the judgment, translation, p. 50, also Note 48.] I cannot say how far the extraordinary powers of appointing a small commission, under the *Parlement's* arrangement of 1525, were used at any stage of this process. [Cf. Notes 17, 33 to 36, 46, 48, 106.] M. Weiss informs me that the counter-signature "Dezasses," at the foot of the judgment, is that of a Counsellor

of this Court, who had been commissioned to go to Meaux for process against the heretics. [Cf. further his "*Chambre ardente*" p. LXXV.] The reader will have noticed the activity shown by the theologians Picard and Maillard after the judgment; and has, perhaps, formed a more distinct idea than myself, as to their exact legal position. [Cf. translations, pp. 40, 42, 45, 56; also Note 59.]

NOTE 106 :—

Here, as M. Weiss informs me, the names of the judges would be in place, but are not written out.

NOTE 107 :—

"Veu."

NOTE 107a :—

Sixty prisoners are contained in this recital. One of them, Catherine Ricourt, is not distinctly named in the operative part later on. The error is however probably clerical. (See Note 109.) Again Claude Petitpain appears in the recital; but Pierre Petitpain in the operative part.

NOTE 107b :—

"Cas et crimes."

NOTE 107c :—

* "référans espèce de ydolatrie":—Possibly: "*directing* a species of idolatry." Charges of impiety, profanity, heresy, one could understand a tribunal entertaining, in those days when dogma controlled justice. But idolatry was hardly a likely charge, in the case of those people, whose whole zeal was, satisfactorily or otherwise, employed in the search after more *spiritual* worship.

One can, however, hardly read this phrase as conveying anything else than an insinuation against the reformers. It would be far-fetched, and hardly grammatical, to see in it some assertion that one of the protestant "errors" was to charge the *Roman* worship with an appearance or species of idolatry. This, no doubt, many of them did. In this sense the passage would run "Schisms and errors *imputing* a species (or appearance) of idolatry" (to someone). Such a strained rendering would not well agree with the later use of the same phrase. (See translation p. 54.) Taking the words, then, to convey

* In this and following quotations, accents are added where needful.

some insinuation of idolatry against the prisoners, one or two remarks become necessary, to reach a possible meaning for such a phrase.

In the first place it will be noticed that this improbable charge is not directly or distinctly made. (Cf. Note 49). Nay, it is only added rather tentatively or uncertainly at the end of this short list of general words. One might be disposed perhaps to consider it a mere epithet for heresy, on the assumption that anyone who does not think with you, is not only a heretic, but a pagan, and probably an idolater. Later on in the judgment, however, the same phrase is used in designating the celebration, by the prisoners, of the last Supper. And, though the Judges of the *Parlement de Paris*, in the reign of Francis I, were not beyond taint of bigotry, it is fair to ask what grounds they can have had for such an expression, and proper to look closely at what really did take place. M. Weiss tells me that the formula occurs in many other judgments, to mark an alleged schism from the only christian church.

The reader will find in Note 29 an account of the Lord's Supper, as celebrated by the reformers. It seems likely that no claim to apostolic succession was made by the minister so solemnly appointed by the congregation. Thus a charge may have been grounded on the use, by them, of the Lord's Supper, without a priest ordained according to custom. Crespin says that the reformers' boldness in that matter was the gravest charge against them. And the judges of the court, when satisfied that these people attributed *some* religious value to that observance, may have held them guilty of imitating even the Roman act of adoration, without the elements being *effectually* consecrated, or *Transubstantiation effected*. Though the "Reformed Church" repudiated Transubstantiation, yet it is quite conceivable that by some skilful advocacy, or by some confusion of theological metaphysics, or both, this vague but disparaging phrase might be, in this sense, inserted in the judgment. [Cf. Note 29. Also translation above, p. 38; and Note 46.]

It is just possible that the expression, (which is, among many harsher epithets, perhaps the most gravely offensive one in the judgment), may be an early scintillation of that fantastic charge of worshipping the Bible itself, which the populace of Angers insinuated against the Huguenots in 1562. (See *Hist. d. Mart.*, Toulouse Edn., Vol. III, p. 303.)

A calm reader will very likely be, on the whole, disposed

to think this expletive one more sign of that bitter animosity with which a threatened, though dominant, persuasion treated its opponents. And, if established, it would very obviously have been a useful countercharge; for the protestants were blaming the Romanists themselves, on the ground of worshipping the consecrated bread, and images.

The Primitive Christians, and others also, have suffered from religious calumny. [Compare Comba's "Hist. of the Waldenses of Italy," English Edition, 1889, pp. 274, 277; Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" 1828, Vol. II, pp. 162-170; Lecky's "History of European Morals," (10th Edition) Vol. I, pp. 414, etc.]

NOTE 107d:—

As to the absence of details, and of the process referred to, see some observations in Note 49.

NOTE 108:—

The MS. copy has "*facteurs*." Query, however: "*fauteurs*"? The former seems senseless; so I have adopted the latter, on the assumption of some clerical error.

NOTE 108i:—

Supply: "the said chamber."

NOTE 108a:—

"lectures."

NOTE 108b:—

"ensemble."

NOTE 108c:—

"prédications abusives."

NOTE 108d:—

Supply: "the said Chamber."

NOTE 109:—

Query; Supply: "Catherine" (?). Compare the recital; and also Haag's *La France protestante*, "*pièces justificatives*."

NOTE 110:—

"inviter et inciter les bons en la droiture de la foy catholique."

NOTE 110a :—

Supply : “ the said Chamber.”

NOTE 110b :—

[(*or*) : blasphemy, and etc., etc., (?)]. “ Et aussi lad. blaphème
“ et scandaleuse cène mentionnée aud. procès référant espèce
“ d'ydolatrie.” [Cf: Note 107c above].

NOTE 111 :—

“ ressort.”

NOTE 111a :—

“ èsquelles y a siège royal ressortissans sans moien à la
court.”

NOTE 112 :—

“ et cry public.”

NOTE 113 :—

The Vth Lateran Council, which assembled in 1512, and whose sessions extended over several years, does not, upon examination of its proceedings, shew any satisfactory authority for this reference by the *Parlement de Paris*.

The IVth Lateran Council however, which assembled in 1215, contains the provision most likely referred to. This assemblage of four hundred Bishops and eight hundred other Fathers, though doubtless primarily concerned with the opinions of the Albigenses and others, yet speaks in very comprehensive style on both doctrine and discipline, and in fact deals with an enormous variety of subjects. Among other decisions, it affirms the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and the Apostolic succession of priests; saying that no one is able to accomplish that act but a properly ordained priest. It deplores the revolt of the Greek Church from Roman Supremacy; and the conduct of some Greek priests, who treated sacramental administrations by Latin priests as void or even impious. It strives to assert more discipline among the clergy, especially in the matters of extortion and immorality. It forbids anyone to hold at once two benefices with cure of souls attached. It repudiates the election by the secular power to either cathedral or regular churches. It asserts that the constitutions of princes are not to prejudice the churches; and even offers crusaders' remission of sins to exterminators of heretics, where the temporal lord neglects that

task after due requisition. It contains numerous other decisions.

The authority cited by the *Parlement de Paris* in the judgment of 1546 is, no doubt, that decree of this Council which enjoins archbishops and bishops to make enquiry, by themselves or their archdeacons, or proper and respectable persons, in those parishes where heretics have been reputed to live. These places they are to visit once or twice in the year, and take sworn evidence of three or more people, or, if necessary, of the whole neighbourhood. Anyone that knows of heretics there, or of persons celebrating secret conventicles, or disagreeing with the usual conversation of the faithful in life and behaviour, is to carefully indicate them to the bishop; whereupon the bishop is to summon those accused. [See "*Summa conciliorum omnium ordinata etc.*" Bail, Paris, MDCLXXV, Tome. I, pp. 413 etc., and pp. 607 etc.]

It is remarkable that the French "*Parlement de Paris*," in its mandate to these ecclesiastical officers, is citing a Council whose views in a different matter, (concerning appointment to abbeys and cathedrals), were contravened, or denied, at the Vth Lateran Council. The Concordat between the Pope and the French King, which (for a consideration) assigned to that prince the right to nominate, though subject to Papal approval, to a vast number of cathedral and regular churches, was officially read at a session of this later Council; and, (after great opposition), registered by the *Parlement*. (See Introduction, pp. 6, 21.) It would need a profound ecclesiastical historian and lawyer, to settle the famous question of the Pope's dominion over the Vth Lateran (or any) Council. It is equally hard, and at least as important, to say, what is the exact degree of subjection, wherewith a French *Parlement*, consisting of judges orthodox for the time, would regard a decree of the Western Church. The policy, or religion, if not the jurisprudence, of this Supreme Court, during the period in question, seems to accept, with altered procedure, Ecclesiastical authority over mankind. [Compare Notes 16, 17, 18, 24, 105a; also "*Summa Conciliorum, etc.*," above cited; Bishop Jewel's "*Defence of the apology of the Church of England*," and "*Epistola ad D. Scipionem*," Parker Society "*Jewel*," [4], pp. 919, 1,110; Paolo Sarpi, (Transl. 1629), pp. 99, 111, etc. 135, 136, 842, 852].

NOTE 114:—

"féablement": Query "fidèlement" (?) (Cf. Carro, p. 516).

NOTE 114a:—
 “veues.”

NOTE 114b:—
 “réduire.”

NOTE 115:—
 This P. Lizet was the Premier President. (Cf. Note 56.)
 [The reader of the “*Histoire des Martyrs*”, and of some other authorities, may remark the sole signature “Malon” at the foot of the judgment as given by them. This was, I am informed, a “*greffier criminel*.” No doubt he had appended his name as copyist.]

NOTE 116:—
 This was a counsellor and commissioner of the court. (Cf. Note 105a.)

NOTE 116a.—
 “*in mente curie.*”

NOTE 117:—
 “et ilz ne se retournent et convertissent.”

NOTE 117a:—
 [(*or*): that if, and so far as. . . . should not suffice.] “que où
 “les biens desd. condenez à mort qui ont esté confisque par
 “ce présent arrest ne suffisoient.”

NOTE 118:—
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* Families inter-married (*See Mangin Pedigree Sheet*):

Addison, Bessonnet, Censier, Chambers, Clasquin, Corneille, Coulez, Cresswell, Crommelin, D'Abzac, De la Cloche, De Lalande, De Marsal, D'Erlon, De St. Aubin, De Vigneulle, Didelot, Dunn, Espinasse, Frazer, Goulet, Graujanbe, Herff, Holmes, Hone, Hunter, Jacquier, Michellet, Mitalat, Montague, Nangreave, Neynoe, Orde, Piersené, Peltre, Rindsfous, Simpson, Tuke, Villain, Wyndham.

[*For* De Mengin *see* p. 88; *For* Mangin of Mitry *see* p. 61.]

CORRIGENDA.

—0—

- PAGE 7, *line 34, for* necessarilly *read* necessarily.
,, 25, *footnote, after 375, add* and other authorities.
,, ,, ,, ,, Notes ,, 20.
,, 31, *line 20, for* so considered *read* acted on.
,, 51, ,, 1, ,, *conciergerie read* consiergerie.
,, 61, ,, 5, *after* when *add* the appearance of.
,, 65, ,, 22, ,, Church *for* , *read* .
,, 81, ,, 8, ,, enumerated *add* [i.e. in Notes 8 to 21, inclusive].
,, ,, ,, 30, ,, days. *add* Compare the punishments mentioned above
at page 76 ; (See Toussaints du Plessis, Tome I, pp.
329, 330).
.. 84, *line 15, for* Wirtemberg *read* Wirtemberg.
,, 94, *second music line: In the Signature, for* A flat *read* B flat.
,, 100, *line 26, for* 51, 52, *read* 50, 51.
,, 110, ,, 36, ,, 1525 ,, 1825.
,, 118, ,, 7, ,, disposed ,, disposed.
,, 119, ,, 9, ,, 274, 277 ,, 274—277.

PAGE 117, *line 12, after* Veu *add* par la chambre ordonnée par le Roy au
temps de vacations.

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