

Monahan Rensselaert  
Philadelphia 2/10/55  
No. 3.

Vol. III.

# Translations and Reprints

FROM THE

## Original Sources of European History

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PERIOD OF THE LATER REFORMATION

EDITED BY MERRICK WHITCOMB, PH.D.

REVISED EDITION

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PUBLISHED BY

The Department of History of the University of Pennsylvania.

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Philadelphia, Pa., 1902.

Sold by the Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia;  
or LONGMANS, GREEN & Co., New York, N. Y.

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## I. THE ABDICATION OF CHARLES V.

I. SPEECH OF CHARLES V. AT BRUSSELS.<sup>1</sup>

Migne: Charles Quint: son abdication, son séjour et sa mort au monastère de Yuste. pp. 93-98. French.

Although Philibert has fully explained to you, my friends, the causes which have determined me to surrender these states and leave them to my son Don Philip, in order that he may possess and rule them, yet I wish to say certain things with my own mouth. You will remember that upon the 5th of February of this year there had elapsed forty years since my grandfather the emperor Maximilian, in the same place and at the same hour declared my majority at the age of fifteen, withdrew me from the guardianship under which I had remained up to that time and made me master of myself. The following year, which was my sixteenth, king Ferdinand died, my mother's father and my grandfather, in the kingdom over which I then commenced to reign, because my beloved mother, who has but lately died, was left, after the death of my father, with disordered judgment and never sufficiently recovered her health to become mistress of herself.

At that time I went to Spain, by way of the sea. Soon came the death of my grandfather Maximilian, in my 19th year, and although I was still young they conferred upon me in his stead the imperial dignity. I had no inordinate ambition to rule a multitude of kingdoms, but merely sought to secure the welfare of Germany, to provide for the defence of Flanders, to consecrate my forces to the safety of Christianity against the Turk and to labor for the extension of the Christian religion. But although such zeal was mine, I was unable to show so much of it as I might have wished, on account of the troubles raised by the heresies of Luther and the other innovators of Germany, and on account of serious war into which the hostility and envy of neighboring princes had driven me, and from which I have safely emerged, thanks to the favor of God.

This is the fourth time that I go to Spain, there to bury myself. I wish to say to you that nothing I have ever experienced has given me so much pain or rested so heavily upon my soul as that which I experience in parting from you to-day, without leaving behind me that peace and quiet which I so much desired. My sister Mary who in my

<sup>1</sup> A full account of the circumstances under which this speech was made will be found in Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic," Vol. I., Cap. I.

absence has governed you so wisely and defended you so well, has explained to you, in the last assembly, the reasons for my determination. I am no longer able to attend to my affairs without great bodily fatigue and consequent detriment to the affairs of the state. The cares which so great a responsibility involves; the extreme dejection it causes; my health already ruined; all these leave me no longer the strength sufficient for governing the states which God has confided to me. The little strength that remains to me is rapidly disappearing. So I should long ago have put down the burden, if my son's immaturity and my mother's incapacity had not forced both my spirit and my body to sustain its weight until this hour.

The last time that I went to Germany I had determined to do what you see me do to-day, but I could not bring myself to do it when I saw the wretched condition of the Christian state, a prey to such a multitude of disturbances, of innovations, of singular opinions as to faith, of worse than civil wars, and fallen finally into so many lamentable disorders. I was turned from my purpose because my ills were not yet so great, and I hoped to make an end of all these things and restore the peace. In order that I might not be wanting in my duty I risked my strength, my goods, my repose and my life for the safety of Christianity and the defence of my subjects. From this struggle I emerged with a portion of the things I desired. But the king of France and certain Germans, failing to preserve the peace and amity they had sworn, marched against me and were upon the point of seizing my person. The king of France took the city of Metz, and I, in the dead of winter, exposed to intense cold, in the midst of snow and blood, advanced with a powerful army raised at my own expense to retake the city and restore the Empire. The Germans saw that I had not yet laid aside the imperial crown and had no disposition to allow its majesty to be diminished.

I have carried out what God has permitted, since the outcome of our efforts depends upon the will of God. We human beings act according to our powers, our strength, our spirit, and God awards the victory and permits defeat. I have ever done as I was able, and God has aided me. I return to him boundless thanks for having succored me in my greatest trials and in all my dangers.

To-day I feel so exhausted that I should not be of any aid to you, as you see yourselves. In my present state of dejection and weakness, I should have to render a great and serious account to God and

man, if I did not lay aside authority, as I have resolved to do, since my son, king Philip, is of an age sufficiently advanced to be able to govern you, and he will be, I hope, a good prince to all my beloved subjects.

I am determined then to retire to Spain, to yield to my son Philip the possession of all my states, and to my brother, the king of the Romans, the Empire. I particularly commend to you my son, and I ask of you in remembrance of me, that you extend to him the love which you have always borne towards me; moreover I ask you to preserve among yourselves the same affection and harmony. Be obedient towards justice, zealous in the observance of the laws, preserve respect for all that merits it, and do not refuse to grant to authority the support of which it stands in need.

Above all, beware of infection from the sects of neighboring lands. Extirpate at once the germs, if they appear in your midst, for fear lest they may spread abroad and utterly overthrow your state, and lest you may fall into the direst calamities. As to the manner in which I have governed you I confess that I have been more than once deceived, led astray by the inexperience of youth, by the hasty conclusions of young manhood, or by some other fault of human weakness. Nevertheless I make bold to assert, that never of my knowledge or by my will has wrong or violence been done to any of my subjects. If then any can complain of having suffered such, I aver that it is unknown to me and against my will; I declare before all the world that I regret it from the bottom of my heart, and I beseech all present, and those who are not here as well, to wish me well and to pardon me.

## 2. THE LIBRARY OF CHARLES V. AT SAN YUSTE.

Migne: Charles Quint: son abdication, etc., pp. 217-218. French.

The *Almagest*, the great astronomical work of Ptolemy.

The Imperial Astronomy, by Santa Cruz, who had given lessons in mathematics to Charles V.

Caesar's Commentaries, in Italian<sup>1</sup> [Tuscan].

History of Spain, ancient and mediaeval, edited by Florian de Ocampo.

<sup>1</sup> Charles V. was not proficient in Latin. This study had been neglected purposely by his instructors, as inconsistent with the purposes of the prince's future career. The Emperor in 1550 commenced to write his own "Commentaries." It is likely that the manuscript was destroyed by Philip II. after the Emperor's death.

The "Consolations" of Boethius, of which there were several copies, in French, Italian and Latin.

Commentaries upon the German War, by the Grand Commander of Alcantara.<sup>1</sup>

Caballero Determinado, a poetical romance.<sup>2</sup>

Meditations of St. Augustine and two other books of pious meditations.

The works of Dr. Constantin Ponce de la Fuente,<sup>3</sup> and of Father Pedro de Soto upon Christian Doctrine.

Sum of Christian Mysteries, by Tittleman.

Two breviaries, a missal, two illuminated psalters, the commentary of Father Thomas de Portocarrero upon the Psalm: "*In te, Domine, speravi.*"

Selected prayers from the Bible.

### 3. THE GOLD OF THE INDIES—1559.

Michele Soriano: *Relazione di Spagna*. Ed. Albèri, I.-3, pp. 342-343. Italian.

From New Spain are obtained gold and silver, cochineal, (little insects like flies,) from which crimson dye is made, leather, cotton, sugar and other things; but from Peru nothing is obtained except minerals. The fifth part of all that is produced goes to the king, but since the gold and silver is brought to Spain and he has a tenth part of that which goes to the mint and is refined and coined, he eventually gets one-fourth of the whole sum, which fourth does not exceed in all four or five hundred thousand ducats, although it is reckoned not alone at millions, but at millions of pounds.<sup>4</sup> Nor is it

<sup>1</sup> The war of 1546-7. This work had a particular interest for Charles V. It had been written almost from his dictation by Luis de Avila y Zuñiga, translated into Latin by van Male and extensively circulated both in French and Italian.

<sup>2</sup> This poetical romance was originally written in French by Olivier de la Marche, to commemorate the adventurous life of Charles le Téméraire, great-grandfather of Charles V. The Emperor made a great part of it into Castilian rhyme, and the translation was finished by Fernand de Acuña. The copy at San Yuste was the Spanish translation, printed in 1555 by Jean Sleitz, at Antwerp.

<sup>3</sup> Whose bones and effigy were afterwards burned at an auto-da-fé in Seville, October, 1559, upon the occasion of the marriage of Philip II. with Isabella of France.

<sup>4</sup> According to Humboldt, *Nouvelle-Espagne*, IV., p. 562, the annual export of gold from America to Europe, between 1500 and 1545, amounted to 3,000,000 piasters; from 1545 to 1600 to 11,000,000 piasters. 1545 was the date of the opening of the Potosi mines. Ranke (*Fürsten and Völker*, I., 347 ff,) estimates the amount introduced into Spain, about 1525, at not much over 2,000,000 francs, and after 1550 at six times as much.

likely that it will long remain at this figure, because great quantities of gold and silver are no longer found upon the surface of the earth, as they have been in past years; and to penetrate into the bowels of the earth requires greater effort, skill and outlay, and the Spaniards are not willing to do the work themselves, and the natives cannot be forced to do so, because the Emperor has freed them from all obligation of service as soon as they accept the Christian religion. Wherefore it is necessary to acquire negro slaves, who are brought from the coasts of Africa, both within and without the Straits, and these are selling dearer every day, because on account of their natural lack of strength and the change of climate, added to the lack of discretion upon the part of their masters in making them work too hard and giving them too little to eat, they fall sick and the greater part of them die.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. REVENUES OF THE KING OF SPAIN—1559.

M. Soriano: *Relazione*, etc., I.-3, pp. 363-364. Italian.

From these his realms his majesty receives every year an income of five millions of gold in times of peace:<sup>2</sup> one and one-half millions from Spain; a half million from the Indies; one from Naples and Sicily, and another from Flanders and the Low Countries. But his expenses are six millions, and this excess is covered by extraordinary taxes according to his pleasure, whence it appears that he could control only a small amount of money for special undertakings, since he consumes for his ordinary needs everything that he derives from his realms. But looked at from another point of view, the Emperor, his father, although he had the same burdens, was nevertheless able to carry on extensive wars and enterprises in Italy and outside of Italy, both by

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<sup>1</sup> Earlier, in 1532, Niccolo Tiepolo, Ambassador to Charles V., writes concerning the Indies: "It is impossible to say anything certain about the Indies, because the income they afford varies greatly, so that in some years it has amounted to 150,000 ducats, and in other years it has not exceeded 30,000 ducats, and in this way it is more or less, according as there is brought from there in ships more or less gold and other minerals, which pay one-fifth to the crown: but the average income, one year with another, might be put at about 150,000 ducats." A Venetian ducat was estimated to be about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  francs.

<sup>2</sup> In later years, when Philip's expenses, owing to his great projects, were some fourteen millions, although greater revenues were extracted from his realms, a considerable part of this outlay was covered by loans, obtained, so the Venetians relate, at high rates of interest, even at 24 per cent.

land and sea, and the same king was able in these later years to maintain great armies in Flanders, in Piedmont, in Lombardy and in the kingdom, and many soldiers in Africa against the Turk. So that we may calculate that he spent more than ten millions of gold; wherefore it may be put down as a fact that although expenses may exceed income, yet a way is not wanting to great princes, whereby they may find large sums of money in times of great need, particularly in the case of the king of Spain, not so much on account of the mines which are found in Spain and the Indies, of which the Spanish nation, according to its custom, makes no great account, as from the fact that he has so many states and so many subjects and nearly all are rich, and from them he has had so much aid, not through force or violence, but for the most part with common consent of the people, persuaded that public and private interest demanded such a policy.

It would appear that the great results which the Spaniards have accomplished are not to be ascribed to the financial strength derived from the mines, because you see on one side France and the Turk, extremely rich without mines, and on the other the Emperor, with more mines in his realms than all the rest of Europe possesses, always in need.

## II. THE GENEVAN REFORMATION.

### I. PREDESTINATION.

J. Calvin: *Institutio Religionis Christianae*. Liber III., Cap. XXI., § 7. Latin.

The works of John Calvin have been translated into English and published by the Calvin Translation Society in forty-seven volumes. Edinburgh, 1844-1854.

Therefore we say that the Scripture shows that God, by His eternal and immutable counsel once for all determined both those whom He desired one day to admit to salvation and those whom He would give back to destruction. We affirm that this counsel as to the elect is founded upon His gratuitous mercy, without any respect to human merit; but to those whom He has handed over to damnation, by His just and blameless though incomprehensible judgment, the way of life is closed.

In the case of the elect we regard calling<sup>1</sup> as an evidence of election, and justification another token of its manifestation, until they arrive in glory, where its fulness shall be found. Just as God seals His

<sup>1</sup> Vocationem.

elect by calling and justification, so by shutting out the rejected ones either from the knowledge of His name or the sanctification of His spirit He makes known to them the judgment that awaits them.

## 2. EXTRACT FROM THE GENEVAN CATECHISM OF 1541.

J. Calvin: *Opera quae omnia supersunt*. Ed. Baum, Cunitz and Reuss. Vol. VI., pp. 127-130. French (and Latin).

The Genevan Catechism was first published in French in 1536, in Latin in 1538 (vide *J. Calvin: Opera, etc.*, Vol. V., pp. 313-362). A later arrangement was in French, 1541; Latin, 1545. In regard to the successive versions and their extensive circulation Theodore de Bèze, in his life of Calvin, writes as follows: "Calvin also wrote a catechism in French and Latin, not at all differing from the former one, but much enlarged and in the form of question and answer. This may well be termed an admirable work, and has been so much approved in foreign countries that it has not only been translated into a great number of living languages, such as German, English, Scotch, Flemish and Spanish, but also into Hebrew by Emanuel Tremmelius, a Christian Jew, and most eloquently into Greek by Henry Stephen."

It is to be noted that Bèze records that Calvin's doctrinal statements suffered no modification as the movement of which he was the head progressed. In this respect his intellectual history differed widely from that of the Wittenberg reformer.

### *Concerning the Lord's Supper.*

*The minister.* Have we in the supper simply a signification of the things above mentioned, or are they given to us in reality?

*The child.* Since Jesus Christ is truth itself there can be no doubt that the promises he has made regarding the supper are accomplished, and that what is figured there is verified there also. Wherefore according as he promises and represents I have no doubt that he makes us partakers of his own substance, in order that he may unite us with him in one life.

*The minister.* But how may this be, when the body of Jesus Christ is in heaven, and we are on this earthly pilgrimage?

*The child.* It comes about through the incomprehensible power of his spirit, which may indeed unite things widely separated in space.

*The minister.* You do not understand then that the body is enclosed in the bread, or the blood in the cup?

*The child.* No. On the contrary, in order that the reality of the sacrament be achieved our hearts must be raised to heaven, where Jesus Christ dwells in the glory of the Father, whence we await him for our redemption; and we are not to seek him in these corruptible elements.

*The minister.* You understand then that there are two things in this sacrament: the natural bread and wine, which we see with the eye, touch with the hand and perceive with the taste; and Jesus Christ, through whom our souls are inwardly nourished?

*The child.* I do. In such a way moreover that we have there the very witness and so say a pledge of the resurrection of our bodies; since they are made partakers in the symbol of life.

### 3. DECISION OF CONSISTORY IN CASE OF HERETICAL PRACTICES.

J. Calvin: Opera quae omnia supersunt. Ed. Baum, Cunitz and Reuss. Vol. XXI., p. 387. French.

The following fragments, numbered 3, 4 and 5, may seem to afford a milder view of the Genevan government than has been commonly accepted. It is believed, however, that they represent more accurately the average activity of the organs of the Genevan state than the exceptional cases which appear in the narratives of most historians of the Reformation. It was only after all gentler methods had proven ineffective, or where the aggressor received the support of one of the factions that were seeking to destroy the state, that a resort was had to measures of violence.

*Tuesday 31.<sup>1</sup> Consistory.* The sister of Sr. Curtet, Lucesse, to whom remonstrances have been made on account of her going with certain monies to have masses said at Nussy<sup>2</sup> by the monks of St. Claire. Questioned whether she has no scruples as to what she says. Replied that her father and mother have brought her up to obey a different law from the one now in force here: however she does not despise the present law. Asked as to when was the festival of St. Felix, she replied that it was yesterday. Asked if she had not fasted, she replied that she fasted when it pleased her. Asked if she did not desire to pray to a single God; said that she did. Asked if she did not pray to St. Felix; said that she prayed to St. Felix and other saints who interceded for her. She is very obstinate. Decision that she be sent to some minister of her choice every sermon day and that the Lord's supper be withheld from her. *Calvin present.*

<sup>1</sup> August, 1546.

<sup>2</sup> Annecy. (?)

4. SELECTIONS FROM ORDINANCES FOR THE REGULATION OF THE CHURCHES  
DEPENDENT UPON THE SIGNORY OF GENEVA—1547.<sup>1</sup>

J. Calvin: Opera, Vol. X., p. 51 et seq. French.

*Concerning the Time of Assembling at Church.*

That the temples be closed for the rest of the time,<sup>2</sup> in order that no one shall enter therein out of hours, impelled thereto by superstition; and if any one be found engaged in any special act of devotion therein or near by he shall be admonished for it: if it be found to be of a superstitious nature for which simple correction is inadequate, then he shall be chastised.

*Blasphemy.*

Whoever shall have blasphemed, swearing by the body or by the blood of our Lord, or in similar manner, he shall be made to kiss the earth for the first offence; for the second to pay 5 sous, and for the third 6 sous, and for the last offence be put in the pillory for one hour.

*Drunkennes.*

1. That no one shall invite another to drink under penalty of 3 sous.
2. That taverns shall be closed during the sermon, under penalty that the tavern-keeper shall pay 3 sous, and whoever may be found therein shall pay the same amount.
3. If any one be found intoxicated he shall pay for the first offence 3 sous and shall be remanded to the consistory; for the second offence he shall be held to pay the sum of 6 sous, and for the third 10 sous and be put in prison.
4. That no one shall make *roiaumes*<sup>3</sup> under penalty of 10 sous.

*Songs and Dances.*

If any one sing immoral, dissolute or outrageous songs, or dance the *virollet* or other dance, he shall be put in prison for three days and then sent to the consistory.

*Usury.*

That no one shall take upon interest or profit more than five per

<sup>1</sup>The group of ordinances from which the following examples are taken was intended for the village churches in the territory of Geneva.

<sup>2</sup>Referring to ordinances regulating the holding of religious services.

<sup>3</sup>"Grandes fêtes." Godefroy.

cent. upon penalty of confiscation of the principal and of being condemned to make restitution as the case may demand.

*Games.*

That no one shall play at any dissolute game or at any game whatsoever it may be, neither for gold nor silver nor for any excessive stake, upon penalty of 5 sous and forfeiture of stake played for.

5. EXTRACTS FROM ECCLESIASTICAL ORDINANCES OF 1561.

J. Calvin: Opera, Vol. X., pp. 107-108. French.

*How soon Marriage must be Consummated after the Promise is Made.*

After the promise is made the marriage shall not be deferred more than six weeks; otherwise the parties shall be called before the consistory, in order that they may be admonished. If they do not obey they shall be remanded to the council and be constrained to celebrate the marriage.

*Banns and Conditions.*

That the bans shall be published three Sundays in the church prior to the marriage, having first received the signature of the chief syndic as a certificate of recognition of the parties; in such a way, however, that the marriage may take place at the third publication, and if one of the parties be resident in another parish there shall be also a certificate from the said place.

*Concerning the Celebration of the Marriage.*

That the parties at the time when they are to be married shall go modestly to the church, without drummers and minstrels, preserving an order and gravity becoming to Christians; and this before the last stroke of the bell, in order that the marriage blessing may be given before the sermon. If they are negligent and come too late they shall be sent away.

*Of the Common Residence of Husband and Wife.*

That the husband shall have his wife with him and they shall live in the same house, maintaining a common household, and if it should happen that one should leave the other to live apart they shall be summoned in order that they may be remonstrated with and constrained to return, the one to the other.

## 6. COMPLAINT OF NICHOLAS DE LA FONTAINE AGAINST SERVETUS.

*Process of 14 August, 1553, before the Lesser Council of Geneva.*

J. Calvin: Opera, Vol. XIII., pp. 727-731. French.

Among the possible reasons which prevented Calvin from appearing personally against Servetus there was one which must have seemed of itself sufficient. The laws regulating criminal actions in Geneva required that in certain grave cases the complainant himself should be incarcerated pending the trial. Calvin's delicate health and his great and constant usefulness in the administration of the state rendered a prolonged absence from the public life of Geneva impracticable.

Nevertheless Calvin is to be regarded as the author of the prosecution, and in this and in the subsequent burning of Servetus his course met the approval of the most advanced theologians of the time. The idea that diverse religious views might be tolerated in the same political area made little headway during the sixteenth century. The Peace of Augsburg and the Edict of Nantes are evidences of this. In so far, however, as a broader concept was beginning to make its way, its beginnings are not to be sought in the minds of those who were sharpening their prejudices with acrimonious doctrinal disputation: and even when a glimmering of the modern solution appears, as in the public utterances of Chancellor L'Hôpital, its expression seems to have evoked no favorable response.

*Nicholas de la Fontaine*<sup>1</sup> asserts that he has instituted proceedings against Michael Servetus, and on this account he has allowed himself to be held prisoner in criminal process.

1. I.<sup>2</sup> In the first place that about twenty-four years ago the defendant commenced to annoy the churches of Germany with his errors and heresies, and was condemned and took to flight in order to escape the punishment prepared for him.<sup>3</sup>

2. II. *Item*, that on or about this time he printed a wretched book, which has infected many people.<sup>4</sup>

3. III. *Item*, that since that time he has not ceased by all means in his power to scatter his poison, as much by his construction of biblical text, as by certain annotations which he has made upon Ptolemy.

4. IV. *Item*, that since that time he has printed in secrecy another book containing endless blasphemies.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas de la Fontaine was a refugee in Geneva and entered the service of Calvin, by whom he was employed as secretary.

<sup>2</sup> There were as originally conceived forty articles, but prior to the presentation the number was reduced to thirty-eight, and both sets of numerals, Roman and Arabic, are preserved in the original document.

<sup>3</sup> It is impossible to substantiate this accusation except in so far as it may be justified in the publication of a book: *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, 1531.

<sup>4</sup> *Dialogorum de Trinitate*, 1532.

<sup>5</sup> *Christianismi Restitutio*, 1533.

5. V. *Item*, that while detained in prison in the city of Vienne, when he saw that they were willing to pardon him on condition of his recanting, he found means to escape from prison.

VI. Said Nicholas demands that said Servetus be examined upon all these points.

VII. And since he is able to evade the question by pretending that his blasphemies and heresies are nought else than good doctrine, said Nicholas proposes certain articles upon which he demands said heretic be examined.

6. VIII. To wit, whether he has not written and falsely taught and published that to believe that in a single essence of God there are three distinct persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is to create four phantoms, which cannot and ought not to be imagined.

7. IX. *Item*, that to put such distinction into the essence of God is to cause God to be divided into three parts, and that this is a three-headed devil, like to Cerberus, whom the ancient poets have called the dog of hell, a monster, and things equally injurious.

8. X. *Item*, whether he has not maintained such blasphemies most injuriously, as much against the ancient doctors, such as St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, Chrysostom, Athanasius and the like as against all those who sought in our time to elevate Christianity, even to calling Melanchthon a man without faith, son of the Devil, Belial and Satan.

9. XI. *Item*, whether he does not say that our Lord Jesus Christ is not the Son of God, except in so much as he was conceived of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the virgin Mary.

10. XII. *Item*, that those who believe Jesus Christ to have been the word of God the Father, engendered through all eternity, have a scheme of redemption which is fanciful and of the nature of sorcery.

11. XIII. *Item*, that Jesus Christ is God, insomuch as God has caused him to be such.

12. XIV. *Item*, that the flesh of Jesus Christ came from heaven and from the substance of God.

13. XV. *Item*, that divinity was imparted to Jesus Christ only when he was made man, and afterwards spiritually communicated to the apostles on the day of Pentecost.

14. XVI. *Item*, that when it is said that Jesus Christ is of the same essence as his Father, it is the same as saying that in this man Jesus Christ there is the same Trinity, power and will as with God, and not that the word of God dwells and subsists in his essence.

15. XVII. *Item*, whether he does not condemn those who seek in the essence of God His holy spirit, saying that all those who believe in the Trinity are atheists.<sup>1</sup>

16. XVIII. *Item*, that those who believe in any distinction of property in the essence of God dissipate His nature and reduce it to fragments.

17. XIX. *Item*, that the word of God is no other thing than the flesh of Jesus Christ.

18. XX. *Item*, that the flesh of Jesus Christ was engendered, out of the same substance of God by a word which he calls "seminal."

19. XXI. That the essence of the flesh and of the soul of Jesus Christ is the divinity of this word and of the breath which God has breathed forth.

20. XXII. *Item*, that if Jesus Christ were the Son of God otherwise than on account of his humanity, because that is engendered out of the substance of God, then he would not be really dead. For if he is dead he is no longer the Son of God.

21. XXIII. *Item*, that when St. John says that the word was in God, it is the same as saying that the man Jesus Christ was there.

22. XXIV. *Item*, that the essence of the angels and of our souls is of the substance of God.

23. XXV. *Item*, that the substance of Jesus Christ is that which was in the skies, and that this is the same substance whence proceed the angels and our souls.

24. XXVI. *Item*, instead of confessing three persons in the essence of God, or three hypostases which have each His property, he says that God is a single entity, containing one hundred thousand essences, so that He is a portion of us, and that we are a portion of His spirit.

25. XXVII. *Item*, in consequence whereof not alone the models of all creatures are in God, but also the material forms, so that our souls are of the substantial seed of the word of God.

26. XXVIII. *Item*, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God because he has the elements of the substance of the Father, to wit: fire, air and water.

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<sup>1</sup> Servetus in the third interrogatory replies to this that he does not apply the term atheist to those who believe in the Trinity, "but those who disguise it as something which it is not, that is to say, those who make a real distinction in the divine essence, for these in dividing God remove the unity of the divine essence." Calvin insisted that the distinction was a real one.

27. XXIX. *Item*, that the soul of man is mortal, and that the only thing which is immortal is an elementary breath, which is the substance that Jesus Christ now possesses in heaven and which is also the elementary and divine and incorruptible substance of the Holy Ghost.

28. XXX. *Item*, that the Fathers under the Law have never received the spirit of regeneration.

29. XXXI. *Item*, that by the sin of Adam the soul of man as well as the body was made mortal.

30. XXXII. *Item*, that little children are sinless, and moreover are incapable of redemption until they come of age.

31. XXXIII. *Item*, that they do not commit mortal sin up to the age of twenty.

32. XXXIV. *Item*, that the baptism of little children is an invention of the Devil, an infernal falsehood tending to the destruction of all Christianity.

33. XXXV. *Item*, that the word of God is no longer that which it was before the incarnation of Jesus Christ, because its substance was the clearness of the skies and is now made flesh.

34. XXXVI. *Item*, that however much he confesses that the philosophers have erred in saying that the word was God Himself, he says that Jesus Christ, insomuch as he is man, was always in God and that from Him is the divinity of the world.

35. XXXVII. *Item*, that the air is the Spirit of God and that God is called Spirit, because he breathes life in all things by His spirit of air.

36. XXXVIII. *Item*, the soul of man insomuch as it possesses many divine properties is full of an affinity of God's.

37. XXXIX. *Item*, that in the person of Msr. Calvin, minister of the word of God in the Church of Geneva, he has defamed with printed book the doctrine which he preached, uttering all the injurious and blasphemous things which it is possible to invent.

38. XL. And because he knows well that his said book could not be tolerated even among Papists, insomuch as it destroyed all the foundations of Christianity, therefore he hid himself at the house of William Guerou, at that time proof corrector, as said Guerou has testified.

39. Said Nicholas demands that the said Servetus should be compelled to respond as to the fact of the articles here presented, without entering into dispute as to whether the doctrine is true or not, because that will appear later on.

In the articles of the Procureur Général are to be found several charges not incorporated in the complaint of Nicholas de la Fontaine. Among these are the following:

18. *Item*, whether he has married, and if he answers that he has not, he shall be asked why, in consideration of his age, he could refrain so long from marriage.

21. *Item*, whether he did not know that his doctrine was pernicious, considering that he favors the Jews and Turks, by making excuses for them, and if he has not studied the Koran in order to disprove and controvert the doctrine and religion that the Christian churches hold, together with other profane books, from which people ought to abstain in matters of religion, according to the doctrine of St. Paul.

22. *Item*, whether the said book Koran is not a bad book, full of blasphemies.

### III. THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE.

#### I. THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE—1558.

Relazione de Giovanni Sorano. Ed. Albèri, I.,-2, pp. 406-409. Italian.

The Reports of the Venetian Ambassadors offer an invaluable source of information regarding the affairs of Europe during the sixteenth century. They differ in character from the French accounts of the time, in which the interest of the narrator was centered principally upon the political activity of individuals. With the growing tendency to discover the economic facts that underlay and actuated this individual effort the Venetian Relations are likely to enjoy an increasing share of the attention of students.

The inhabitants of the kingdom are divided into four classes of persons, viz: nobles; men of the long robe; peasantry; and clergy. The nobles, under which designation are included lords and princes, do not dwell in the cities, but in the villages, in their castles, and for the most part give little attention to letters, but are either soldiers or follow the court, leaving the management of the house and the revenues to their wives.

The French are, generally speaking, suspicious, high spirited and impatient of restraint, wherefore it is noticeable that in war, after the first dash is over, they are almost useless. They are more liberal away from home than at home; nevertheless, whoever accommodates himself to their moods will find them for the most part courteous. They avoid labor in so far as they are able, and above all it is a peculiarity of the French-

man that he reflects little, and therefore very many of their conclusions are hastily arrived at; whence it often happens that they have no sooner finished an undertaking than they perceive its error and repent of it; but the strength of the kingdom is great enough to overcome all these errors.

There is no special burden upon the nobility beyond that which arises from their feudal holdings, which is to go to war at their own expense with such a number of horsemen as may be determined by the conditions of their investiture, in default of which they are condemned to pay money, and now the burden has become so great by reason of continued warfare that the nobility of France is seen to be almost wholly impoverished.

This militia is called the *arrière-ban*, because those who compose it are the last who are obliged to go to war and are for the defence of the kingdom. They are able to bring out about 16,000 horse, and they do not all come out at one time, but only that part for which an immediate need is felt; and from the fact that it is a very inferior soldiery, since the lords do not themselves go to war, but send their retainers and these badly equipped, it is understood that the king intends to do away with the obligation to send men to war and substitute a proportionate money payment, with which he may increase the number of his men-at-arms.

The second class embraces those who are called men of the long robe, and is divided into two groups. The first, which is the better bred, is made up of those who occupy judicial positions and all the other officials of the palace and those as well who manage the finances and accounts of the king. All these offices his majesty sells for the lifetime of the purchaser, and their honor and advantage is so great that they are bought at high prices. They enjoy also many important privileges, as though they were nobles, and easily secure the same for their descendants.

The other group is that of the merchants, who have personally no way of gaining a share in any sort of distinction, but if they wish to give a certain position to their sons they have them made doctors, whereby a judicial career is open to them equally with the members of the former group; and it may be said moreover that in them principally the wealth of France is to be found. No special burden is laid upon this class beyond the maintenance of 50,000 infantry for four months, for the defence of the kingdom in time of war, which contri-

bution has been for some time so modified that all the inhabitants of the cities and other walled places now contribute to it. But because the greater part of these who have offices from the king are exempt by special privilege, the burden has come to rest wholly upon those who are least able to bear it.

The third class is the peasantry, who are extremely poor, principally on account of the heavy taxes which they pay to the king, since they are obliged to pay an ordinary *taille* of four millions of francs; and also on account of the *aides*, which amount to six hundred thousand; in addition to this a million francs to augment the number of men-at-arms; and, outside of all this, in times of war, the *taille* has at times been increased in amount two millions of francs; to which burdens those peasants alone contribute who work the soil. The assessments are made first upon the provinces, are then distributed by villages, and the peasants arrange the further *per capita* assessment, each one being responsible for the others, in such a way that the king actually receives the whole amount that he has demanded.

The fourth class is the clergy, in which are comprised the 117 bishoprics, 15 archbishoprics and 1230 abbasies, besides an infinite number of priories and benefices, which altogether amount in value to six million francs of income, and in ordinary time the king levies upon these an annual tax of four-tenths; and sometimes, in case of war, even up to six-tenths. But from the fact that the assessment is made very loosely and upon an estimate of incomes as they existed many years ago, they do not render more than 300,000 francs for each tenth. The disposition of all these benefices belongs to the king, except in the case of those which become vacant through the death of those prelates who die at the Roman court, and these belong to the pope. The authority for this disposition was first granted by pope Leo; then enlarged by Clement and finally confirmed by pope Julius II.; nor shall I omit to say that these benefices are for the most part awarded with little respect for sacred things and by simple favor, or to recompense benefits conferred, with little consideration for the personality of the applicant; in such a way that whoever has served the king in war or otherwise desires no better thing by way of being rewarded than with benefices; wherefore it is a common thing to see a man who yesterday was a soldier or merchant, to-day a bishop or abbot: and if he has a wife and cannot assume ecclesiastical garb he is allowed to put his benefice under the name of another and retain

the revenues for himself. And it is on this account, as well as through the evil tendencies of the time, that heresy has increased to such an extent in this realm, that they say there are at present 400,000 Lutherans,<sup>1</sup> so united by intercourse and mutual understanding that it is with great difficulty that any method may be found of remedying this state of affairs.

## 2. THE FRENCH PROPOSITIONS.

Paolo Sarpi: *Istoria del Concilio Tridentino*. Vol. II., pp. 429-431. Italian.

The French propositions are presented as setting forth the program of the conservative element which aimed at reform without doctrinal division. The propositions are described as representing the desires of the court party in France, which at this time earnestly desired to arrive at some substantial bases of national religious union. The propositions were offered to the council of Trent in 1563, but had little influence upon the decisions of that body. Contemporary writers have expressed their doubts of the vigor exhibited by the French prelates in pressing a series of reforms whose adoption would have been so prejudicial to their pecuniary aspirations.

1. That priests shall not be ordained until of mature years, well recommended by the people, and their merits proven by a good past life; that their carnal offences shall be punished, and their transgressions, according to the canons.

2. That the sum of holy orders shall not be conferred in one day or at one time, but that he who is to be ordained to the higher shall first be approved in the lower.

3. That no priest shall be ordained, to whom is not given at the same time a benefice or ministry, according to the Council of Chalcedon, at which time a presbyterial title without its office was unknown.

4. That due functions shall be restored to deacons and other sacred orders, so that they may not appear to be empty names and merely ceremonial.

5. That priests and other ministers of the church shall attend to their vocations, and not meddle in any office except in the ministry of God.

7. That no one shall be made bishop who is not of lawful age, manners and doctrine, that he may teach and give an example to the people.

6. That no one shall be made a parish priest who is not of ap-

<sup>1</sup> In the early period of the religious disturbances in France all adherents to heretical confessions were called Lutherans, whether their inspiration came from Saxony or Switzerland.

proved honesty, that he may teach the people, celebrate the sacrifice, administer the sacraments and teach their use and effect upon recipients.

8. That no one shall be created abbot or conventual prior who has not studied the sacred letters in a university of note, and obtained the master's degree or some other.

9. That the bishop, of himself or by means of others, as many as are needed, according to the extent of the diocese, shall be obliged to preach every Sunday and Holy Day, in Lent, upon the days of fasting, and in Advent, and always when it is desirable.

10. That the parish priest shall do the same when there are hearers.

11. That the abbot and conventual prior shall read the Scriptures and found a hospital, in order that the ancient schools and the care of strangers may be restored to the monasteries.

12. That bishops, parish priests, abbots and other ecclesiastics who are unable to perform their office, shall receive for this purpose coadjutors or surrender their benefices.

13. That there shall be ordained concerning the catechism and summary instruction in Christian doctrine that which His Imperial Majesty has proposed to the Council.

14. That a single benefice shall be conferred upon one person, doing away with the distinction of quality in individuals and the compatible and incompatible benefices, new distinctions unknown to the ancient decrees, and the cause of great disturbance in the Catholic church; and the regular benefices shall be given to regular, and the secular benefices to secular clergy.

15. That whoever at the present time has two or more benefices may retain that one only which he shall choose within a brief period of time; otherwise he shall incur the penalty of the ancient canons.

16. That in order to remove all cause of avarice from the sacerdotal order nothing shall be demanded, under any pretext whatsoever, for the administration of holy things; but it shall be provided that the curates<sup>1</sup> and two or more clerks shall have sufficient for them to live upon and exercise hospitality; the bishop shall accomplish this by the union of benefices, or by assigning tithes for this purpose, or where

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<sup>1</sup>*Curati*, not in the sense of the French *curé*, i. e., parish priest; but assistants to the priest.

this is not possible the sovereign may make provision by subvention or by collections imposed upon the parishes.

17. That in the parish masses the gospel shall be clearly expounded with reference to the capacity of the people, and the prayers which the parish priest recites with the people shall be in the vulgar tongue, and when the sacrifice has been finished in Latin public prayers shall also be said in the vulgar tongue, and at the same time, and at other hours, spiritual hymns or psalms of David, approved by the bishop may be sung.

18. That the ancient decrees of Leo and Gelasius, for communion under both kinds, be renewed.

19. That previous to the administration of each sacrament there shall be given an explanation in the vulgar tongue, in order that the ignorant may understand its use and efficacy.

20. That according to the ancient canons benefices may not be conferred by vicars, but by the bishops themselves, before the expiration of six months, otherwise the collation shall pass to the next higher prelate and so on to the pope.

21. That the mandates establishing expectatives, regresses, resignations in confidence and commendations shall be revoked, and banished from the church, as contrary to the decrees.

22. That resignations in favor shall be wholly done away with in the Roman curia, since they are equivalent to the election or naming of a successor, a thing prohibited by the canons.

23. That simple priories, from which, contrary to the conditions of their establishment, the cure of souls has been taken away and assigned to a permanent vicar with a small portion of the tithes or other income, shall upon the first vacancy be restored to their former condition.

24. That in the case of benefices, with which is conjoined no office of preaching or of the administration of sacrifices, or other ecclesiastical burden, some spiritual function shall be assigned by the bishop, with the advice of his chapter, since it is neither right nor permissible that a benefice should exist without its office.

25. That pensions may not be imposed upon benefices and those so imposed shall be abolished, in order that the ecclesiastical income may be expended for the maintenance of pastors and the poor, and for other pious works.

26. That ecclesiastical jurisdiction throughout the diocese shall be restored in its entirety to the bishop and all exemptions removed,

except in case of the heads of orders and monasteries which are subject to them, and those who constitute the general chapters, to whom exemptions are granted by lawful title; with this provision however, that they may not be exempted from correction.

27. That the bishop may not use his jurisdiction nor determine the important affairs of the diocese except with the advice of his chapter; and the canons shall reside continuously in the cathedral and shall be of good habits, educated and at least twenty-five years of age: for previous to that age, since the law does not concede to them the control of their own goods, they ought not to be given as councillors to a bishop.

28. That the degrees of consanguinity, of affinity and spiritual kinship be observed or reformed anew; but it shall not be permitted to grant dispensations in these cases except to kings and princes for the public good.

29. That since many troubles have arisen on account of images, the synod shall provide that the people may be taught what they ought to believe concerning them, and that the abuses and superstitions, if any have been introduced into the worship, shall be removed. The same shall be done in the matter of indulgences, pilgrimages, relics of saints, and of companies or confraternities.

30. That the custom of public and ancient penance for serious and public sins shall be restored to the Catholic church and put in use, and also the custom of fastings and other sorrowful exercises and public prayers, to appease the wrath of God.

31. That excommunication may not be decreed for any sort of offence or contumacy, but only for the heaviest offences and those in which the offender perseveres after admonition.

32. That in order to abbreviate or do away with suits at law concerning benefices, with which the whole ecclesiastical order is contaminated, the distinctions of *petitores* and *possessores*, newly invented in these cases, shall be removed; the nominations of the universities shall be abolished; the bishop shall be instructed to confer benefices not upon him who seeks but upon him who flees them and is worthy; and the deserving may be known if, after having received his degree from the university, he shall have employed some time in preaching, with the consent of the bishop and the approbation of the people.

33. That when a suit regarding benefices arises, a steward shall be chosen, and the litigants shall elect arbitrators; and in case they fail

to do so the bishop shall appoint them, and they shall determine the case within six months, without appeal.

34. That episcopal synods shall be held at least once a year; provincial synods every third year; and general synods, unless something shall prevent, every tenth year.

### 3. THE COLLOQUY OF POISSY.

Theodore de Bèze. (?) *Histoire Ecclésiastique des Églises Réformées au Royaume de France.* Ed. Geneva (Antwerp), 1580. Vol. I., pp. 449 and 500. French.

*These are the equitable conditions which we request may be observed in the conference or dispute touching the matter of religion;*<sup>1</sup>

That bishops, abbés and other ecclesiastics shall not be constituted in any way our judges, in view of the fact that they are our opponents.

That it may please you, sire, to preside at the colloquy, accompanied by the queen, your mother, the king of Navarre and other princes of the blood and notable persons of good life and holy doctrine, who have no interest in the case, in order that good order may be maintained and all strife and confusion avoided.

That all points of difference may be judged and decided according to the simple word of God, as contained in the Old and New Testament, since our faith can be founded upon this alone, and that where any difficulty arises concerning the interpretation of words, they shall use the Hebrew for the Old and the Greek for the New Testament.

That two secretaries shall be chosen upon each side, who shall arrange together the subjects of dispute for each day, and their lists shall not be considered as determined until they have been examined and signed by both parties.

*Speech of the King at the Opening of the Colloquy, September 9th, 1561.*

Gentlemen, I have caused you to be assembled from the various places of my realm, in order that you may afford me counsel upon that which my chancellor will propose to you, praying you to put away all passion, that we may arrive at such results as will tend to the repose of all my subjects, to the honor of God, to the clearing of our consciences and to the public peace; things which I so ardently desire that I have determined that you shall not depart hence, until you have established good order, so that my subjects may henceforth dwell together in peace and unity, which things I hope you may accomplish,

<sup>1</sup> These conditions formed the substance of a petition presented by the Reformed leaders to Charles IX.

and in so doing you will afford me occasion for extending to you the same protection which the kings my predecessors have accorded you.

#### 4. DEATH OF COLIGNY.

Histoire de M. de Thou des choses arrivées de son temps. Paris, 1659. Vol. III., pp. 660-662. French.

Meanwhile Coligny awoke and recognized from the noise that a riot was taking place. Nevertheless he remained assured of the king's good will, of which he was persuaded by his credulity or by Teligny, his son-in-law; and he believed the populace had been stirred up by the Guises and that quiet would be restored as soon as it was seen that soldiers of the guard under the command of Cosseins had been detailed to protect him and guard his property.

But when he perceived that the noise increased and that some one had fired an arquebuse in the courtyard of his dwelling, then at length conjecturing what it might be, but too late, he arose from his bed and having put on his dressing-gown he said his prayers, leaning against the wall. Lebonne held the key of the chamber, and when Cosseins commanded him in the king's name to open the door he obeyed at once without fear and apprehending nothing. But scarcely was Cosseins in the room when Labonne, who stood in his way, was killed with a dagger-thrust. The Swiss, who were in the courtyard, when they saw this, fled into the house and closed the door, piling against it tables and all the furniture they could find. It was in the first scrimmage that a Swiss was killed with a ball from an arquebuse fired by one of Cosseins' people. But finally the conspirators broke through the door and mounted the stairway, Cosseins, Attin, Corberan de Cordillac, Seigneur de Sarlabous, first captains of the regiment of the guards, Achilles Petrucci of Siena, all armed with cuirasses, and Besme the German, who had been brought up as a page in the house of Guise; for the duke of Guise was lodged at court, together with the great nobles and others who accompanied him.

After Coligny had said his prayers with Merlin the minister, he said without any appearance of alarm to those who were present, and almost all were surgeons, for few of them were of his retinue: "I see clearly that which they seek, and I am ready steadfastly to suffer that death which I have never feared and which for a long time past I have pictured to myself. I consider myself happy in feeling the approach of death and in being ready to die in God, by whose grace I hope

for the life everlasting. I have no further need of human succor. Go then from this place, my friends, as quickly as you may, for fear lest you shall be involved in my misfortune, and that some day your wives shall curse me as the author of your loss. For me it is enough that God is here, to whose goodness I commend my soul, which is so soon to issue from my body." After those words they ascended to an upper room whence they sought safety in flight here and there upon the tiles.

Meanwhile the conspirators, having burst through the door of the chamber, entered, and when Besme, sword in hand, had demanded of Coligny, who stood near the door, "Are you Coligny?" Coligny replied, "Yes, I am he," with fearless countenance. "But you, young man, respect these white hairs. What is it you would do? You cannot shorten by many days this life of mine." As he spoke Besme gave him a sword thrust through the body, and having withdrawn his sword, another thrust in the mouth, by which his countenance was disfigured. So Coligny fell, killed with many thrusts. Others have written that Coligny in dying pronounced as though in anger these words: "Would that I at least might die at the hands of a soldier and not a valet." But Attin, one of the murderers, has reported as I have written, and added that he never saw any one less afraid in so great a peril, nor die more steadfastly.

Then the duke of Guise inquired of Besme from the courtyard if the thing were done, and when Besme answered him that it was, the duke replied that the Chevalier d'Angoulême was unable to believe it unless he saw it; and at the same time that he made the inquiry they threw the body through the window into the courtyard, disfigured as it was with blood. When the Chevalier d'Angoulême, who could scarcely believe his eyes, had wiped away with a cloth the blood which overran the face and finally had recognized him, some say that he spurned the body with his foot. However this may be, when he left the house with his followers he said: "Cheer up, my friends! Let us do thoroughly that which we have begun. The king commands it." He frequently repeated these words and as soon as they had caused the palace clock to strike, on every side arose the cry "To arms," and the people ran to the house of Coligny. After his body had been insultingly treated in every way, they threw it into a neighboring stable and finally cut off his head, which they sent to Rome. They also cut off his privates and his hands and feet and dragged his body through the streets to the bank of the Seine, a thing which he had formerly almost prophesied, although he did not think of anything like this.

As the children were throwing the body into the river, it was dragged out and placed upon the gibbet of Montfaucon, where it hung by the feet in chains of iron; and then they built a fire beneath, by which he was burned without being consumed; so that he was, so to speak, tortured with all the elements, since he was killed upon the earth, thrown into the water, placed upon the fire, and finally put to hang in the air. After he had served for several days as a spectacle to gratify the hate of many and arouse the just indignation of many others, who reckoned that this fury of the people would cost the king of France many a sorrowful day, François de Montmorency, who was nearly related to the dead man, and still more his friend, and who moreover had escaped in time the danger, had him taken by night from the gibbet by trusty men and carried to Chantilly, where he was buried in the chapel.

#### 5. THE ARTICLES OF THE LEAGUE.

P. V. Palma Cayet: *Chronologie Novenaire*. Ed. Buchon, pp. 8-9. French.

*In the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, our only true God, to whom be glory and honor.*

I. The association of Catholic princes, lords and gentlemen is intended to be and shall be formed for the purpose of establishing the law of God in its entirety; to restore and maintain the holy service of the same according to the form and manner of the holy Catholic Apostolic Roman church, abjuring and renouncing all errors to the contrary.

II. To maintain king Henry, third of this name, by the grace of God, and his successors, very Christian kings, in the state, splendor, authority, duty, service and obedience which are due him from his subjects, as is contained in the articles which shall be presented to him at the meeting of the Estates, which he swears and promises to protect at his consecration and coronation, solemnly asserting that he will do nothing prejudicial to that which shall be ordained by the said Estates.

III. To restore to the provinces of this kingdom and the Estates of the same the ancient rights, prerogatives, franchises and liberties, such as they were in the time of Clovis, the first Christian king, and still better and more profitable, if such are to be found, under the protection above named.

IV. In case there be any hindrance, opposition or rebellion against that which has been stated above, let it come from whatsoever source

it may, the said associates shall be bound and obliged to make use of all their possessions and means, and their very selves, even to death, in order to punish, chastise and fall upon those who have sought to constrain and hinder them; and to see to it that all the provisions above related shall be put into execution in reality and in fact.

V. In case any of the associates, their subjects, friends and allies should be molested, oppressed and made subject to investigation in the cases above mentioned by any person whatsoever, the said associates shall be bound to make use of their persons, goods and means, for the purpose of obtaining revenge upon those who have been guilty of the said oppressions and annoyances, whether by way of judicial process or by force of arms, making no exception of any person whatsoever.

VI. If it should come to pass that any of the associates, after having sworn an oath to the said association, should wish to retire or withdraw from the same under any pretext whatsoever (which may God forbid), such persons, falling away from their agreements, shall be injured in person and possessions, in all ways which may be devised, as enemies of God, rebels, violators of the public peace, without the said associates being disturbed or subject to investigation, either in public or in private.

VII. The said associates shall swear absolute and ready obedience and service to the head who shall be selected, to follow him and give counsel and comfort, as much for the support and preservation of the said association as for the destruction of those who set themselves against it, without respect of persons: and defaulting and dilatory members shall be punished by authority of the head and according to regulations laid down by him, to which the said associates shall submit themselves.

VIII. Notice shall be given to all Catholics in incorporated towns and villages and they shall be summoned secretly by the local governors to enter into the said association and to furnish their due proportion of arms and men for the purpose of the same, each according to his power and ability.

IX. That those who are unwilling to enter into the said association shall be considered enemies of the same and be subject to all sorts of injuries and annoyances.

X. It is forbidden to the said associates to enter into disputes or feuds among themselves without permission of the head, by whose

decision offenders shall be punished, as much for the purpose of obtaining honorable satisfaction, as in other cases.

XI. If for the protection or the greater security of the said associates any treaty should be made with the provinces of this realm, it shall be in the form above indicated and under the same conditions whether the association be extended to the said towns or demanded by them, unless the heads shall hold another opinion.

XII. I swear by God the Creator, upon the Gospels, and upon penalty of anathema and eternal damnation, that I have entered into this holy Catholic association according to the form of the agreement which has now been read to me, loyally and sincerely, be it to command, to obey, or to serve; and I promise upon my life and my honor, not to spare myself up to the last drop of my blood; and that I will not oppose the association or withdraw from it on account of any command, pretext, or excuse, whatever may be the occasion.

#### 6. FRENCH POLITICAL VERSES OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

Pierre de Lestoile: Mémoires et Journal. Ed. Michaud, Vol. XIV., p. 16 et. seq. French.

Par l'oeil, l'espaule, et l'oreille,  
 Dieu a fait en France merveille;  
 Par l'oreille, l'espaule et l'oeil,  
 Dieu a mis trois rois au cerceuil;  
 Par l'oeil, l'oreille et l'espaule,  
 Dieu a tué trois rois en Gaule,  
 Antoine François et Henry,  
 Qui de lui point n'ont en soucy.

*By the eye, the shoulder and the ear God has worked wonders in France; by the ear, the shoulder and the eye God has brought three kings to the bier; by the eye, the ear and the shoulder God has killed three kings in Gaul: Anthony, Francis and Henry, who never troubled themselves at all about Him.*

Cy gist (mais c'est mal entendu,  
 Le mot pour lui est trop honneste):  
 Ici l'admiral est pendu  
 Par les pieds, à faute de teste.

*Here lies—(but that isn't just the thing; the word is too decent for him):—here is hung the Admiral, by the feet, in default of a head.*

S'on demande la convenance  
 De Catherine et Jezabel,  
 L'une, ruine d' Israel ;  
 L'autre ruine de la France.  
 L'une estoit de malice extremesme,  
 Et l'autre est la malice mesme.  
 Enfin le judgement fut tel :  
 Par une vengeance divine,  
 Les chiens mangerent Jezabel ;  
 La charonge de Catherine  
 Sera différent en ce point  
 Car les chiens mesmes nen vovdront point.

*If you ask the points of resemblance between Catherine and Fezebel, one was the ruin of Israel; the other the ruin of France. One was extremely malicious; the other is malice itself. In a word the judgment would be like this: By an act of divine vengeance the dogs devoured Fezebel; the carrion of Catherine will have a different fate in this respect, because the very dogs will have nothing to do with it.*

Registre-Journal de Henri III. Ed. Michaud, Vol. XIV., p. 198.

TOUTE A TOUTES SAUSSES.

Le pauvre peuple endure tout,  
 Les gens d'armes ravagent tout,  
 La Sainte Eglise paye tout,  
 Les favoris demandent tout,  
 Le bon roi accorde tout,  
 Le parlement vérifie tout,  
 Le chancelier scelle tout,  
 Le Reine mere conduit tout,  
 Le Pape leur pardonne tout,  
 Chicot tout seul se rit de tout,  
 Le diable à la fin aura tout.

*The poor people endure all, the troops plunder all, the holy church pays all, the favorites demand all, the good king yields all, the parlement approves all, the chancellor seals all, the queen mother conducts all, the pope pardons all to them, Chicot<sup>1</sup> is the only one who laughs at all, the devil will eventually have all.*

<sup>1</sup> Probably a sixteenth century "Punch," who is supposed to recite the above.

## 7. EXTRACTS FROM THE EDICT OF NANTES.

Dumont: Corps Diplomatique. Vol. V., p. 545 et seq. French.

The Edict of Nantes, called the Edict of Henry IV., for the Pacification of the troubles of his Realm, was given at Nantes in the month of April, 1598, and published in Parlement February 15, 1599. It is of great length, containing 92 articles in the body of the edict, to which are appended 56 special articles. Out of these a few articles have been selected which seemed to embody the more important provisions concerning the settlement of the religious disorders in France.

III. We ordain that the Catholic Apostolic and Roman religion shall be restored and reëstablished in all places and localities of this our kingdom and countries subject to our sway, where the exercise of the same has been interrupted, in order that it may be peaceably and freely exercised, without any trouble or hindrance. Forbidding very expressly all persons of whatsoever estate, quality or condition, under the penalties recited above,<sup>1</sup> from troubling, molesting or disturbing ecclesiastics in the celebration of divine service, in the enjoyment or perception of tithes, fruits or revenues of their benefices, and all other rights and dues belonging to them; and that all those who during the troubles have taken possession of churches, houses, goods or revenues belonging to the said ecclesiastics, and who retain and occupy the same, shall surrender to them entire possession and peaceable enjoyment of such rights, liberties and sureties as they had before they were deprived of them. Forbidding thus very expressly to those of the said religion called Reformed<sup>2</sup> to have preaching or perform other exercise of the said religion in churches, houses and habitations of the said ecclesiastics.

VI. And in order to leave no occasion for troubles or differences between our subjects we have permitted and herewith permit those of the said religion called Reformed to live and abide in all the cities and places of this our kingdom and countries of our sway, without being annoyed, molested or compelled to do anything in the matter of religion contrary to their consciences, nor for this reason to be subject to visitation in houses and places where they desire to dwell, upon condition that they comport themselves in other respects according to that which is contained in this our present edict.

VII. It is permitted to all lords, gentlemen and other persons, natives and others as well, making profession of the said religion called

<sup>1</sup> Of punishment as a breaker of the peace and disturber of the public repose.

<sup>2</sup> "*Ladite Religion prétendue Réformée.*"

Reformed, having high justice or full military tenure <sup>1</sup> [as in Normandy] in our realm or in the countries of our sway, be it as proprietor or in usufruct, in whole or in half, or for a third part, to enjoy in their houses of said high justice or tenure as above mentioned, which they shall be required to name before our bailiffs and seneschals, each one in his jurisdiction, as their principal domiciles, the exercise of the said religion, so long as they there reside ; and in their absence their wives, or indeed their family, or any part of the same ; and even if the right of high justice or full military tenure be in controversy, nevertheless the exercise of the said religion may be enjoyed, providing the aforesaid persons shall be in actual possession of the said right of high justice, even though our own Procureur Général be a party to the suit. We hereby permit the enjoyment of the said religion in their other houses of high justice or military tenure as aforesaid only when they are there present, and not otherwise : all this equally for themselves, their families and subjects as well as for others who desire to be present.

VIII. In houses of fiefs, where those of the said religion have not the said high justice or military tenure, the exercise of the said religion may be enjoyed for the family alone. It is not however intended, in case there should happen to arrive other persons, up to the number of thirty outside of the family, whether it be upon the occasion of a baptism, visits of friends or otherwise, that this should be cause for investigation : provided also that the said houses shall not be within the cities, towns or villages belonging to Catholic lords other than ourselves, having the right of high justice, in which the said Catholic lords shall have their houses. In which case those of the said religion shall not be able to enjoy said exercise in said towns or villages, unless by permission and leave of said lords high justices, and not otherwise.

IX. We also permit those of the said religion to make and continue the exercise of the same in all villages and places of our dominion where it was established by them and publicly enjoyed several and divers times in the year 1597, up to the end of the month of August, notwithstanding all decrees and judgments to the contrary.

XIII. We very expressly forbid to all those of the said religion the exercise, either in respect to ministry, regulation, discipline or the public instruction of children, and otherwise, in this our kingdom and

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<sup>1</sup> " *Fief de Haubert*," a grade of nobility ranking next below barons.

lands of our dominion, of all that concerns religion, otherwise than in the places permitted and granted by the present Edict.

XIV. As well from performing any function of the said religion in our court or retinue, or equally in our lands and territories beyond the mountains, or in our city of Paris or within five leagues of the said city: at the same time those of the said religion who live in the said lands and territories beyond the mountains and in our said city, and for five leagues thereabout, may not be investigated in their houses, nor constrained to do anything in respect to religion contrary to their consciences, providing they comport themselves in other respects according to that which is contained in our present Edict.

XV. And it will not be allowed to exercise the said religion in the armies, except in the quarters of those chiefs who may be of that confession, not however in those quarters wherein our own person is lodged.

XVIII. We also forbid all our subjects of whatever quality and condition, from carrying off by force or persuasion, against the will of their parents, the children of the said religion, in order to cause them to be baptised or confirmed in the Catholic Apostolic and Roman church: and the same is forbidden to those of the said religion called Reformed, upon penalty of being punished with especial severity.

XXI. Books concerning the said religion called Reformed may not be printed and publicly sold, except in cities and places where the public exercise of the said religion is permitted. And as for the other books, which may be printed in other cities, they shall be examined and investigated, as much by our officers as by theologians, according as it is prescribed in our ordinances. We forbid very expressly the printing, publishing and sale of all books, pamphlets and writings of a defamatory character, upon the penalty indicated in our ordinances: and we enjoin our judges and officers to carry out this order.

XXII. We ordain that there shall be no difference or distinction made in respect to the said religion, in receiving pupils to be instructed in universities, colleges and schools; nor in receiving the sick and poor into hospitals, retreats and public charities.

XXIII. Those of the said religion called Reformed shall be obliged to respect the laws of the Catholic Apostolic and Roman church, recognized in this our kingdom, for the consummation of marriages contracted or to be contracted as regards the degrees of consanguinity and kinship.



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