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MARGUERITE OF NAVARRE AND THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE

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Bachelor of Arts
Westminster College, 1924.

A T H E S I S

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Sacred Theology in
The Biblical Seminary in New York

April 15, 1928.

18508

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15474 - 1528

OUTLINE OF THESIS

INTRODUCTION

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FRANCIS AND MARGUERITE

Much has been written of Marguerite of Navarre portraying her life, her virtues, her wit, her wealth of learning and especially the beauty of her literary style as shown in her poetry and in the Heptameron. Passing notice has also been paid to her influence on the Reformation in France and the part that she, consciously or unconsciously, played in its promotion. But it has been little more than passing notice in most cases, the primary interest being placed on other phases of her life. As the title indicates this paper plans to dwell on this phase of her life, setting forth the contribution that this brilliant woman made to a movement which she never officially endorsed but one which she nevertheless aided materially by her attitude toward its personnel in its pre-revolutionary days.

The subject of the Reformation in France is one that few authors have covered and they,

while recognizing the importance of Marguerite's influence as brought to bear at certain crucial times in the beginning of the movement, have not given anything even approximating a careful treatment of it. Others who have written of the life of Marguerite have dwelt on the other phases of her life, reviewing this connection with the Reformation as but a brief part of her life. So if only to give credit where credit is due, this paper hopes in a small way to give the recognition she deserves for the part she played in this movement.

In view of the subject of this paper it is to be expected that the method of treatment must be quite strictly a topical one. Therefore such points do not have a close connection with the subject, even though they may be of great interest cannot find a place in this work. Pleasant as it would be to turn aside to view 'The Field of the Cloth of Gold' and all the affairs of Francis in his campaigns, his wars, and the more frivolous actions of his court, or the

many other aspects of life which are a part of the background and of the career of Marguerite, such excursions are for us impossible. We must confine ourselves to the Rise of the Reformation in France during the time of Marguerite and her brother Francis. As a means of better understanding her position and her actions we will step aside to view as well as it is possible, from this distant time, the character of her religious life and the character of the life of the times in which she lived, and her characteristics as a writer in so far as they show her conceptions of religious ideas of her time.

Of the books on Marguerite that have been written in English, the two volume life by Freer is by far the most complete, and it is from her work that I got my introduction to the subject. For my discussions of the 'Group of Meau' the first volume of M. Herminjard's collection of the Correspondance of the Reformers. For the chapter on the religious life of Marguerite I drew my sources from F. Genin two collections of the letters of Marguerite, also some of the correspondence between Marguerite and Briconnet as they are found in the 'Correspondance des Reformateurs' of Herminjard. The poetry of Marguerite

is compiled in a volume 'Les Marguerites de la Marguerite'. As far as I know there has been no translation made of any of these works. The only work of Marguerite that has been translated is the 'Heptameron'. For general histories of the movement the 'Rise of the Huguenots' by Baird is the most thorough. Gaillard's 'Histoire de François Premier' is very complete. The other sources used are listed in the bibliography.

The treatment is divided into seven chapters, the division for the first five is chronological, the last two topical. Chapter one will be introductory in nature, bringing before us the chief character in the movement and the picture in brief of her times. Chapters two to five deal directly with the Reformation movement from its inception at Paris and its first trial at Meaux thru to the end of her life, showing the contacts that Marguerite had with it at Paris, Meaux, Navarre and many other places. Chapter six will be a consideration of the character of her religious life as seen in her writings. And in the last chapter, after a short account of her final days and her death, an attempt will be made to estimate the extent of her contribution to the Rise of the Reformation in France.

CHAPTER I

BIRTH OF MARGUERITE AND FRANCIS

"My daughter was born in the 1492, the 11th day of April at two o'clock in the morning; that is to say the tenth day fourteen hours and ten minutes counting after the fashion of the astronomers. (1)

Francis, by the grace of God, King of France and my pacific Caesar, took his first experience of earthly light at Cognac about ten hours after noon, the 12th day of September 1494.' (2)

So read the sixth and seventh entries in the Journal of Louise de Savoie, wife of Charles, duke of Angoulême. Behind them there lies a history as there does behind every bit of such writing. These are particularly interesting to us for they record the first fruits of the union of people and they also record the beginning of the lives of the two most outstanding characters in the history of France (in the years) from 1515 to 1547.

Following an attempted rebellion, the Count of Angoulême was disgraced at court and later, when a prisoner of the English, was forced to pay so great

(1) Petitot, Journal of Louise of Savoy. p 390.

(2) Petitot. Ibid. p. 390.

a ransom that it left him impoverished. (3) Yet he was closely connected with the reigning house of France, being third in succession. Because of this, Philip of Savoie disregarded his poverty and consented to his proposal for the hand of his daughter, Louise. (4) At their marriage, Philip settled on his daughter a dowry of 35,000 livres, (5) which, for a man of his position, was meagre.

Their marriage was an unusual happy one. As was not altogether common in such cases there seems to have been real affection between the two. Though they had to spend their time away from court, it seems to have been no hardship to them. Charles preferred a quiet life, his time to the organization of his estates. Louise seems to have been so much in love that she was content to be with him. She was a well educated woman and spent most of her time in study and reading, (6). an enjoyment which she passed on to both of her children.

Charles and Louise spent the first year of their married life at Angoulême where Marguerite was born. (1) Two years later at Cognac, she gave birth to her son Francis, who was the idol of her life, destined to be Francis I of France. (2).

3. Freer, Life of Mar. d'Angouleme, vol I p. 9
4. Duclaux, Margaret of Angouleme, p. 16 and 17.
5. Chas. gave Louisa the castles of Cognac & Romarentin See Freer. op. cit. p 13.
6. Duclaux, op. cit. p. 17

The joy that Louise had over the birth of her two children was not long unalloyed, for we read the next entry after the announcements of their births that on 'the first day of January of the year 1496 I lost my husband.' (1) The fever that caused his death was common in those days of poor drainage and sanitation, and after a month's suffering Charles died (2) leaving his twenty-year old wife with two small children to rear. During all the time of his sickness, Louise was his careful and loving nurse, and when he died she nearly followed in this path, for with her body racked and worn, her spirit was well-nigh broken. (3) For some weeks she lay at death's door when not even her daughter could arouse in her any sign of interest. But she was too young to die of a broken heart and when she finally recovered, she took up the duties that devolved upon her as the manager of the estates of her late husband and as the mother of her two children, who, when Charles VIII (4) died without heirs, became of national importance, heir-presumptive to the throne of Louis XII.

- (1) Petitot, Journal of Louise of Savoy. p. 390.
- (2) Freer p. 18
- (3) Duclaux p. 19
- (4) April 6, 1498.

THEIR EDUCATION

The next few years for Louise were years of anxiety, of ambition, of intrigue. Success crowned her efforts when her "king Caesar" Francis ascended The Throne of France. Having set her heart on the throne for her son - or was it the only means remaining for her to express her own boundless ambition? (5) - Louise went about the training of her children as befitted the rank that they were to hold in life. As Louise was a well-educated woman, she herself directed the education of Marguerite until the death of Charles VIII when she was six and one half years old. Marguerite proved herself to be a pupil of exceptional intelligence and promise. But the duties that devolved upon Louise in the care of her estates were so many and pressing that she had to relinquish the training of her children. With the sanction of the king, Louis XII, Louise chose Mme. Chatillon, wife of a former attendant of the king, as governess for Marguerite. She came with the recommendation from the king that she was 'eminently qualified to discharge the arduous duties of gouvernante

(5) William seems to think so. William Pearl of Princesses. p. 19.

to his cousin, Princess Marguerite' (6). If we are to believe all the reports of her eulogists concerning the extent of Marguerite's learning, then Mme. Chatillon did well the work for which she was employed. She must have been personally very attractive to Marguerite for when Marguerite was married Madam went with her as her first lady of honor. (1) The Marechal de Gie, who as he was the superintendent appointed over the education of Francis, was in an excellent position to know, describes Marguerite just before her marriage, as 'tres belle et bien sage de son age' (2). All reports of her progress agree that it was extraordinary. She was well versed in Italian, Spanish and Latin; she knew a little Greek and under the great teacher Paul Paradis, made acquaintance with Hebrew. (3) She wrote and spoke her French language with ease and elegance. Her special interest was in the study of theology and philosophy. Robert Hurault, Abbe of Saint Martin d'Autan (4) was her instructor. She deserved Brantome's estimate that 'she was a princess of enlarged mind, being very

(6) Ibid.

(1) Brantome, Dames Illustres, Mar. de Navarre.

(2) Ibid

(3) Chas. de St. Marthe: Ovaision Funelre de Marguerite de Navarre. Tome 1, p. 41 - 43.

(4) Lefranc, Mar. de Navarre et la Platonisme de France. Biblio thique de l'ecole des chartes. vol 58. p. 260

able both as to her natural and her acquired endowments. (5). Not the least among her "natural endowments" was a cheerful, sweet and generous disposition. This was noticeable to all and one writes that 'she showed in her eyes her countenance, her deportment, her speech and indeed in all her actions that the Sprit of God had been vouchsafed to her. (6).

In the education of her son, Louise was not the only one interested, for the heir-presumptive of the throne was naturally the center of interest to the court. Consequently we find Louis XII interfering in the education of Francis. The heir to the throne was too important to be trained by a woman, so the king appointed tutors to educate him as befitted a possible King. The Marechal de Gie was named overseer of his education, (7) but the one who had the most influence on the young man was the Sieur de Boisy, Artus Gouffier. (8). De Boisy had served a long term in the French army in Taly and it is to his influence that the later aspirations of Francis to imitate the Italians are to be laid. Besides education in the

(5) Brantome: Dames Illustres

(6) Chas de St. Marthe. op. cit. (after Freer)

(7) Williams op. cit. P. 28

(8) Ibid p. 35

arts, Francis received the customary physical training to fit him for a military life. The opportunities and advantages in the etiquette of court life were such that training of the young Duc de Valois became one of the most polished courtiers of the most polished court in Europe.

THE CORONATION OF FRANCIS

The Record found in the journal of Louise of her Hopes and fears in her plans for her son as most interesting. This son on whom she based all her ambitions and whom she really loved, (1) was not always sure of the throne. The rivalry between Louise and Anne, the queen of Louis XII, was intense. The journal itself best portrays this in Louise's own words.

"The day of the Conversion of St. Paul, 25th of January, 1501, about two hours after noon, my king, my lord, my Caesar and my son was run away with across the fields, near Amboise, on a palfrey which had been given him by the Marechal de Gié, and so great was the danger that those who were present thought it irreparable. But God, the Protector of widows and the Defender of orphans, foreseeing the future would not forsake me, knowing that if an accident had so suddenly robbed me of my love, I should have been too miserably to endure it.' (2).

(1) Williams doubts if she loved anyone.

(2) Petitot. Journal de Louise). 391

The queen was expecting an heir. To the relief of Louise she bore a daughter, who was later to be the wife of Francis. Again the queen was enceinte and was sent to Blois, where Louise was residing, for the time of confinement. This time she did bear a son, but we read the fierce joy behind the words of Louise that 'he was not able to retard the elevation of my Caesar for he had no life.' (1)

Then came the interlude which lead up to the betrothal of Francis and Claude. This was so strongly opposed by the queen, that it was arranged on the explicit orders of the thought-to-be-dying king. (2)

The record

"the year 1507, May 22, - - - two hours after noon was confirmed the marriage engagement at present, between my son and Madame Claude." (3)

was the colmination of a long drawn out intrigue in which Louise was victorious.

But again all Louise hopes and plans trembled in the balance as Anne was for the third time enceinte.

The accouchement took place at Blois and there

'Madame Renée, sister of Madame Claude was born - -, the 29th of October, 1510.' (4)

- (1) Ibid
- (2) Freer op. cit. p. 45
- (3) Petitot op. cit. 391.
- (4) Ibid.

Apparent relief from all such worries comes when we read

"Anne, queen of France, died the 9th of January, 1514, and has left me the administration of her effects, her fortunes and her daughters.' (1)

But Louis XII was as desirous as his former wife had been to leave an heir to his throne and a new period of suspense begins for Louise when the king 'very old and decrepit' (2) went to Paris to meet his new queen. But Louis did not survive this marriage longer than three months and all the dreams and ambitions of Louis were fulfilled when on 'the first day of January 1515, my son, king of France'. (3)

THE STATUS OF FRANCE

What was the condition of this nation of which Francis has become king? What was its status politically, socially, intellectually and religiously? Fortunately the record for this period is full and we have no difficulty discovering.

- (1) Petitot op. cit. 391
- (2) Ibid
- (3) Ibid

POLITICAL STATUS

Politically the kingdom of France was more a nation, in the modern sense of the word, than any of her rivals, excepting England perhaps. Her land while not so extensive as that of Spain or of the Empire was yet much more homogeneous. Her people also, although not altogether of the same race, yet in the main spoke the same language and were actuated by the same impulses. The feudal struggle was practically over, for in the person of Louis XII there was united to the throne, thru his queen, the most powerful houses in France. 'The French monarchy was supreme. In Louis XII there was united to the throne the one house that might have disputed the supremacy with the crown, namely Orleans. The throne itself, thanks to the wise judicial and financial measures of Louis XII, was popular with its subjects. The country was indeed a unit.' (1)

Such was the hopeful internal condition of France when Francis ascended the throne. But whereas Louis in his director of the internal policies had been wise, he had been in his foreign affairs extremely

(1) Macdonald, History of France, vol II p. 3.

foolish. The out-look was far from bright. Since the death of Gaston de Foix (1) and the destruction of his army at Ravenna, the success of the French arms had been negligible. Ferdinand of Spain had seized the opportunity to attack and take the greater part of Navarre. (2). The French army was disorganized and the country was surrounded by enemies, - England on the west, the armies of Maximilian on the north and south-east, the Swiss who since the days of Charles VIII had small reason to be friendly were on the east, and the Pope and the king of Spain were urging on the Holy Alliance against the French. In an attempt to offset this, Louis had revived the 'Auld Alliance' by a new treaty with the Scots, who helped none at all for this brought into the field Henry VIII of England, who had formerly been only a passive enemy. Henry defeated the French at the 'Battle of the Spurs' and his armies killed the new ally from Scotland. (3) This war was ended by a treaty of peace sealed by the marriage of Henry's younger sister Mary to the king of France. (4) Treaties with the Swiss and with Venice laid the way for a more permanent peace if Francis chose to take

(1) 1512.

(2) MacDonalld op. cit. vol I. p 363

(3) Ibid

(4) Freer op. cit. p.

it. But even with these treaties, while with the Emperor, Ferdinand and the Pope were against her, France's position was precarious.

SOCIAL STATUS

The social status in consideration of France, we shall pay particular attention to the economic and judicial condition of the kingdom. Thanks to Louis XI, a king who was not in the least attractive either in any external sense or in his dealings with his fellows, and who was hated by most with whom he had to do, the kingdom of France had been put on a solid economic and judicial base. When the kingdom emerged from the Hundred Years War, with ruined trade, its intellectual, judicial and economic life, left it weakened, torn and bleeding and nearly helpless, he determinedly set about to rebuilt it. In this effort he used any and every method. Enraged by his *actions* his former fellows formed a 'League for the Public Weal', this Louis slowly and surely broke up by the effective process of consecutively breaking its individual members and adding their possessions to the crown (1). From his methods he earned the title

(1) Mac Donald op. cit. 325 ff.

'the Universal Spider', (1) But his building was not limited to this phase, but extended into other realms. He instituted new parlements which brought the "king's justice nearer the people. (2) This judicial organization was improved considerably by Louis XII, who limited even more the power of the nobles. (3). Louis XI had taken active interest in the economic life of his kingdom. He opened countless roads, and canals to assist trading, he founded many manufactories, markets and fairs through out the realm and thereby attracted to France the skilled artisans and craftsmen of the neighboring countries. (4). He established printing presses in the great cities. (5) Through him, for the first time since Charlemagne, a postal service was organized. (6) He placed on the main roads of France, at stages four leagues apart, a series of post-houses with relays of horses and a post-master at each. 'In fact he prepared the meagre and sickly kingdom, which he inherited, for a great outburst of prosperity and culture and when he died in 1483, - - - he had lifted France into the first rank of Nations. (7)

(1) Duclaux, History of France p. 106

(2) Duray, History of France p. 252.

(3) MacDonal. Hds. of France vol. 1. p. 364

(4) Duray, op. cit. p. 252

(5) Ibid. and See here Duclaux p. 10.

(6) Ibid and Duclaux

(7) Duclaux op. cit. p. 106

What he built up was not disturbed by his two successors. Rather they, especially Louis XII (1) added to it. So Francis came into possession of a healthy and prosperous kingdom, happy and contented socially and economically. He inherited a kingdom rich, favorable to the reigning house, with the people looking to him to be what they had called his predecessor, 'The Father of his people'. (2).

INTELLECTUAL STATUS

The date of the reign of Francis gives us an almost complete statement of the intellectual status of his realm. 1515 found Francis not only the heir of the political domains but also of all the results of the campaigns into Italy made by both Charles VIII and Louis XII. These expeditions, while of no political value, opened for France the door into the New Learning, the Renaissance. When the French armies entered Italy in 1494, the Italian Renaissance was at its height. It is not surprising then that this should have great influence upon the crowd of young nobles who followed Charles into Italy. When they returned to France they

(1) See MacDonald of Louis XII, vol. i. p. 363 ff.

(2) Loyal Serviteur after MacDonald vol. I. p. 365

brought with them books and pictures, and more important, writers and artists. All this, added to the other influences that came in from Italy, aroused a nation, naturally intellectual, to a revival of classicism. 'It is impossible to over-estimate the influence of this new learning on the religious life of France' (1). And this turning of the mind of France to all things old, opened it also to all things new.

There were other influences that led to open-mindedness. There had been many inventions and discoveries which helped to usher in a new era by destroying the old. The invention of gunpowder and its general use made the older style of warfare impossible. It was this that was responsible for the success of Charles VIII in Italy. The circumnavigation of the globe, the discovery of new lands, the ensuing richness of Spain gave dreams of like riches to other nations. But the most potent force for the distribution of the news of discoveries, whether of new lands or of new thoughts, was the printing press. All these influences helped to awaken France intellectually, craving the new ideas with all this aristocracy of learning and made her eager to learn and open-minded in her search for truth.

(1) Duclaux, a Short His. of France. p. 103.

This introduces a period comparable, in a way, to the Elizabethan period in England. Francis was so much a part of this movement that he set himself up as its leader and wishes himself to be called the 'The Father of Letters'. (1)

RELIGIOUS STATUS

So far the picture has been one of pleasant prospects and hope for the immediate future. When we turn to consider the religious status a different picture unfolds before us. There is an old saying 'Like priest, like people', and when we turn to the priests, we find them both morally and religiously very low.

In examples from contemporary literature we find the priests and monks placed very low. For example, in the Heptameron where the purpose of the stories is to portray some act of seduction or the like, we find the names of priests occasionally (2) and the names of Franciscan monks so frequently that Oisille exclaims, "Will we never have done with them?". (3)

(1) Gailliard, Histoire de Francois I Roi de France, Pere des Letters.

(2) Novel XXIX 33-35

(3) p. 31, 34 et. 41, 46, 48 al.

This characteristic was not limited to the monks but was the scandal of the entire clergy from the Pope down to the humbles priest. (1) Not that there were none who lived decent, honorable lives, but they were the exception and the other type was expected and proverbial. (2) Especially was this true of France, for there, since the Pragmatic Sanction, the court had the oversight of the appointment of the clergy, and though, as Baird says (3) their life before that time was not of Arcadian simplicity", yet there can be nothing said for the uplifting effect that this had upon the clergy. Out of this Pragmatic Sanction grew an abuse which certainly led to a general disregard of the sacredness of the priest's office, namely the granting of benefices to men, who were either already married and therefore could not take them, or who were opposed to entering the order. (4) These were reluctant to give up the incomes and so were allowed to take out these benefices in the name of another who was already within the order, but they still received the income. In this way the ranks of the clergy were filled with men who had no thought for their office other

(1) See d'Aubigne, Baird, Beza, et al.

(2) See Baird, Rise of Hug. vol 1. p.

(3) Ibid p.

(4) Brantomes, Digression contre le Election

than to line their pockets with gold. Disregard for the laws of the church naturally followed and its ministry became corrupted. Brantome, one of the class of income-drawing benefice holders says of this group of men, that "they were as debauched as gens-d' armes", (1) all this has its bearing on the Reformation as the Catholic historian saw when he wrote

"This was the door, this was the spacious gateway by which heresies entered France. For the ministers sent from Geneva were easily able to create in people a hatred of the priests and friars, by simply weighing in the balance the life led by the latter". (2)

As the quotation shows there were some who hated all this and many who opposed it with all their force. To them came the Reformation.

Immorality was not the only abuse that turned the hearts of many to seek a reform. Great as was the influence of the moral degeneracy of the clergy called for a reform, yet the influence of the religious degeneracy into which the whole worship of the church had fallen called louder. The true spirit of worship had departed and in its place was the worship of relics, of images and even of idols. We read from the pen of one, who was in the midst of it all and for a time a

(1) Ibid

(2) Correro, Relazione,

partaker in it, that it was that the body of the church addressed its worship (1) almost entirely to relics. These relics might be of anything. In one church the hair of the Blessed Virgin was worshipped.(2) In another, the conveniently dropped sword of Michael, the arch-angel was revered. (3) St. Dionysius, more fortunate than most mortals had two bodies evidently for both Ratisbon and St. Denis possessed a body which they adored as his. (4). Every church had its particular relic and it was to this relic that homage and worship was paid. In other places pagan statues came in for their share of worship, for Farel tells us that at Meaux an Isis received homage and was honored by burning candles. (5). Also at Polignac an Apollo was the centre of veneration. Even when his shrine was converted into a stable, the surroundings could not keep devotees from prostrating themselves before it. All this went on with the knowledge and assistance of the priests. (6)

That Astrology and magic was practiced is shown by interesting notations found in the life of

- (1) Baird, *opcit.* chap. 1,
- (2) Calvin, *Advertissement tres utile du grand profit qui revilndroit a la Chretiente.*
- (3) Ibid
- (4) Ibid
- (5) Farel, *Du Vrai usage de la croix* (Hebui
- (6) Ibid

Louise of Savoie. Before she had borne any children she visited an astrologer monk and asked if she should bear a son and if so, what would be his lot in life. When told that she would have a son and that he would be a king, she went home satisfied. (1) Another more interesting example is in the 'prophecy of Nostradamus'. (2) The Heptameron relates an interesting attempt to take the life of Marguerite by the use of waxen figures and the muttering of curses over these figures which it was supposed would work its influence on the persons represented. (3)

The Scriptures were practically unknown not only by the people but by the clergy as well. (4) Both estates were completely steeped in superstition and ignorance. Worship had lost its true meaning. Such is the picture that is drawn for us by the records of the day. But there is something missing in this picture and that is the mass of people who from the background are struggling up to the front. These are those who saw these abuses and hated them, the reformers and their followers. Both Catholic and Protestant reformers came from this group and found their adherents among the

(1) Boyle, Dictionnaire Historique, art. Francois I.

(2) Baird. op. cit. p. 47

(3) Heptameron, Novel 1.

people pictured here. This is the picture of France, politically, socially, intellectually and religiously when Francis I came to the throne.

THE FIRST MARRIAGE OF MARGUERITE

But where was Marguerite during this time of intrigue and counter-intrigue between Louise and Queen Anne? She was a piece in this great game of chess. When Louise succeeded in bringing about the marriage of Madame Claude to her son, much against Anne's will, Anne's revenge fell upon Marguerite. Although Louise had succeeded in elevating her son to a higher rank by marriage, Anne resolved not to permit her to raise her daughter. Instead Anne took it upon herself to arrange the marriage of Marguerite (1). Consequently when an ambassage arrived from Spain asking the hand of Marguerite for Charles (2) of 1508, Anne succeeded in persuading Louis to refuse the proposal on the plea that Charles was only eight years of age where as Marguerite was twice his age. (3) One cannot stop to wonder what would have been the result, not only

(1) Freer, vol 1. p. 50

(2). Genin, Notice sur Marguerite etc. p. 4

(3). Charles was born 1500.

in the relations between Spain and France, but upon the history of the entire continent, had this marriage been arranged. Perhaps Charles might have had a different attitude toward the Protestants of Germany. Perhaps his morose son, Philip, if born to Marguerite would not have developed into the monomaniac that he became, and he might have learned to laugh at other things than the massacre of seventy-thousand fellow-beings. But this is just another of history's "might-have-been," for the marriage did not take place. Some time before this there had been talk of affiancing Marguerite to Henry, the son of Henry VII. (1) But Marguerite was near enough to the throne at the time of these negotiations for the Henry to marry his son to her, and that plan failed.

Anne looked about her own court for a suitable consort for Marguerite and her choice fell on Charles, duke d'Alençon. From the stand-point of rank, he was the most eligible, being descended from the youngest brother of Philip VI. (2) Louis favored the match, for it offered a solution of a bothersome lawsuit over the rights of the present duc d'Alençon

(1) Freer. Vol 1, p. 34

(2) Ibid p. 46 ff.

or the crown to the county of Armagnac. If this marriage was arranged Louis would give this county to Marguerite as a wedding gift. (1) With both Anne and Louis favoring, it was only natural the match should be settled. On the 9th of October, 1509, Marguerite was married to Charles duc d'Alençon at Blois. (2) The cardinal de Nantes was officiating prelate. (3) Louis XII showed great honor to the bride, leading her both to and from the alter. (4)

But what of the bride and groom. Marguerite appears to have been so universal a favorite that Queen Anne went out of her way to favor her and King Louis "loved her with all his heart, as dearly as if she were his own daughter". (5) Everyone who came into contact with her, was attracted to her both by the beauty of her face and the beauty of her character. (6) On the other hand Gevin says of her husband that he was a "prince sans figure, sans, esprit, sans aucun merite." (7) It was a marriage between beauty and the beast, and in it Marguerite naturally was unhappy. At the time of Francis accession to the throne Marguerite had been married six years,

- (1) Obhagary Hist. de Foix et Beava Petitot
- (2) Journal de Louise de Savoie.
- (3) Ibid
- (4) St. Gelais his. de Louis XII (After Freer p. 51)
- (5) Freer p. 49
- (6) Saint Marthe. Oraison funetre.
- (7) Genin op. cit. p. 5

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER II

THE GROUP OF MEAUX

- 1 - Meaux
- 2 - William Briçonnet
- 3 - Jacques Lefèvre d'Étapes.
- 4 - William Farel
- 5 - Religious Life of Lefèvre and Farel
 - a - Their devotion to Romish Customs
 - b - Their emancipation thru the study of the Scriptures.
 - 1 - Lefèvre commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul.
 - 2 - Farel and Lefèvre emerge into the light.
- 6 - Lefèvre and the Sorbonne
 - a - The Treaties on the "Three Marys".

CHAPTER II

THE GROUP OF MEAUX

Not far from Paris was a city where new ideas were being carried out. This city was the seat of a bishopric, but the program of ecclesiastical life was very different from that found in most French bishoprics. The bishop of the diocese did not spend his time in court, advancing his own interests or leading the life of a courtier, but he stayed in his charge and put his whole heart into the building up of his parish. Around him were gathered a group of like-minded friends and advisers to help him in his plans. Together they wrought a great change. They cleared the pulpits of the mendicant monks, who related stories from the Golden Legend in place of sermons and begged contributions, (1) and filled them with zealous preachers who preached the gospel and expounded the New Testament. The priests in this diocese were ordered to remain in their parishes and everywhere the attitude towards the sacred calling was solemnized, and a reform movement seemed to be on in earnest. (2)

(1) cf. Baird, Rise of the Huguenots, vol. i., p. 75.

(2) Farmer, Essays on French history, C.F. also d'Aubigne, His. of the Reform. Vol III.

Who was this bishop who went about his work in such a manner? What group of men was it that he gathered around him? What was their purposes?

WILLIAM BRICONNET

On March 19, 1516 (1), King Francis I had appointed William Briçonnet Bishop of Meaux. This was the culmination of a series of promotions given him as proof of the favor of the King. This favor extended from father to son, for Briçonnet's father was Cardinal of San Malo, who by virtue of his office as Archbishop of Rheims had officiated at the coronation of Louis XII. (2) For further services rendered to the king he was later advanced to the position of Cardinal. (3). Briçonnet had entered the orders after the death of his wife, (4) leaving behind him the diplomatic career which he might have enjoyed in view of the favor that was his at court and of his position as Count Montbrun. When he entered the orders he did not leave this favor behind him, for he was "successively created Archdeacon of Rheims and Avignon,

(1) Baird, op. cit. p. 73. Farmer, ibid, p. 11.

(2) Henri Graf, Essai sur la Vie et les Ecrits de Jacques Lefevre, p. 11 ff.

(3) Graf, ibid. Herminjard, Corresp. etc. pa. 3, note 1.

(4) D'Aubigne, Reformation in Time of Calvin, Vol 1. p. 401

abbot of Saint Germain-des-Pres and Bishop of Lodeve and Meaux." (1)

Shortly after his appointment to the bishopric of Meaux, he was sent to Rome to treat with the Pope as a representative of Francis I. So well did he speak on the behalf of France that his speech was printed. (2) When he returned to France he was received with marked favor. There lay before him the road to advancement in both church and state and had he chosen to ride on the tide of royal favor no one can say how far he might have gone. But other thoughts and ideals stirred within him. On this mission to Rome as well as on a previous one under Louis XII, Briçonnet had come into close contact with the Church at Rome and he came back to France persuaded of the necessity of reform. This was not the first time that he had seen the need for it, (3) but how he felt it to be imperative.

A reform begins at home. The bishop looked at his own diocese to see how he might better conditions there. He felt the need of assistance for the work before him and he turned to a man whom he had known in Paris, the one to whom he owed his introduction to the New

(1) Baird, Rise of the Hug. vol. 1. p. 72

(2) See Gaillard, Histoire de Francois Ier. vol. v, (after Freer)

(3) In his experience as abbot of the monastery at St. Germain-des-pres.

Testament (1) and who had dedicated to him (Briconnet) his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles. (2) In their former acquaintances (3) Briconnet had been greatly impressed with the wisdom and piety of his friend. To whom could be better turn than to him? Accordingly the Bishop invited Jacques Lefèvre to come to Meaux and help him in this work and to bring others with him.

JACQUES LEFÈVRE d'ÉTAPLES

As early as 1493 we find Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples perhaps better known as Jacobus Faber Stapulensis, listed in the faculty of the University of Paris. (4). He was born in 1455 in the village of Étaples in Picardy. (5) "It is impossible to determine what were his first studies (6) or in what year he first arrived at Paris. He appears to have been possessed of ecclesiastical dignities and benefices, but he renounced them, and, giving up to his family, the property which he had at Étaples, devoted himself to the study of letters and of philosophy." (7) He had travelled much

(1) D'Aubigne, His of Ref. vol. iii, p. 401

(2) Herminjard, Correspondance des Ref. vol. i, p. 3.

(3) They had known each other for some time. Lefevre accompanied Briconnet to the funeral of his father the Cardinal in 1514.

(4) Farmer, Essays etc. p. 4. (After Graf)

(5) Herminjard, Correspondance etc. vol. i. pa. 3, note 2

(6) Note here d'Aubigne's quotation from Beza that he (Lefevre) had a "barbarous Education."

(7) Graf, Essai sur la vie etc. p. 5.

in Europe and even in Asia - for the considerable fortune which he possessed enabled him to do so (1)- and to this experience he added a proficiency in mathematics, in biblical literature, and in astronomy. (2). "He lived ordinarily at Paris and acquired a great reputation by his lectures in mathematics and especially in Astronomy, - - -; the friends of letters honored him, regarding him as the restorer of the true philosophy of Aristotle." (3) Because of his great reputation as a man of learning (4) and as the restorer of letters in France, (5) Lefèvre had gathered about him a group of the more studious members of the University of Paris. Though "there was nothing pleasing in his small, meagre person, those with whom he came in contact soon lost sight of the unattractiveness of the outward man in contemplating the brilliancy of his wonderfully active mind." (6)

WILLIAM FAREL

One member of this group of students, around Lefèvre was William Farel, who had matriculated in the

- (1) Farmer, op. cit. p. 4 (following Graf, p. 5.)
- (2) See list of works collected by Graf, Essai etc. pp 14-20
- (3) Graf, ibid, p. 9 ff.
- (4) d'Aubigne, His. de Reform. vol. iii. p. 382.
- (5) Chas. de St. Marthe, (after Baird)
- (6) Farmer, p. 6.

University in 1510. (1) He had not come to Paris with the willing consent of his father. On the contrary the elder Farel was much opposed to these studious tendencies of his son and pointed out to him the example of his countryman, Du Terrail, Bayard, ("Le chevelier sans peur et sans reproche") as one more worthy to follow. Ever since his birth in 1489 in the small town of Gap in Dauphiné, William had been trained to know nothing but "his rosary and his sword" but he was no longer content with this. His was too penetrating a mind and too lively an imagination to be limited to such a life and he "early evinced a desire for knowledge." (2) He persistently asked permission from his father to devote himself to study, and, though his father raised many objections at first, he finally consented and in 1510 we find William Farel enrolled as one of the twenty thousand students of the University of Paris, the "Mēcca of Learning".

Once there Farel applied himself faithfully to study. All the interest and determination that had held him to his purpose in spite of the objections of his family were now centered in his studies. With them he united a fervent devotion to his religious duties.

(1) d'Aubigne, p. 378.

(2) d'Aubigne, His. of Ref. vol. iii. p. 378.

He had been "brought up in all the observances of Romish devotion" (1) by his parents who "were among the most devoted servants of the Pope." (2) They believed everything, and they early trained their children in the worship of relics and images (3) and in all the superstitions of the day. When he came to Paris, Farel brought all this with him and he "was constantly to be seen in the churches praying to some saint, chanting the mass, or devoutly repeating his hours." (4) He says of this time of his life that "I am horror struck when I consider the hours, the prayers, and the divine honors, which I myself have offered and caused other to offer to the cross and other such things." (5)

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF LEEVRE AND FAREL

As he went on his "pious pilgrimages" Farel was struck with the devotion of another whom he very frequently saw in the churches where he went. "Never have I seen a chanter of mass sing it with greater reverence" (6) said Farel of him. He desired to become acquainted with this worshipper, especially when he

(1) Farel, Du Vrai Usage du Croix, (after d'Aubigne)

(2) Ibid, (D'Aubigne, p. 375)

(3) Du Vrai Usage etc, p. 237, (after d'Aubigne)

(4) Farmer, Essays on French History, p. 7.

(5) Farel, Du Vrai etc, p. 232.

(6) Epistre de Farel a tous Seigneurs, Peuples et Pasteurs.
(After Baird.)

discovered that this devout man was none other than the celebrated teacher, Lefèvre. When they met Lefevre cordially received him in to his fellowship.

DEVOTION TO ROMISH CUSTOMS

This was the beginning of the friendship between these two men who were destined to introduce into France the seeds of the Reformation. But this was not yet to be, for they were steeped in all the observances of the Romish church. "Lefèvre was scrupulous in the performance of his religious duties, especially devout in his attendance at Mass, assiduous in his devotion to the Virgin Mary. In his zeal for the church he had undertaken to compile the lives of the saints whose names appear in the Roman calendar." (1) Farel was not a whit behind him for he says of himself, "In truth the Papacy was not and is not so papal as my heart has been, for so effectually had it blinded my eyes and perverted my being that if any person had been approved by the Pope he appeared to me like a god, and if anyone said or did anything against the Pope or his authority, I would have wished such a one to be ruined and destroyed." (2).

(1) Farmer, Essays etc. p. 8.

(2) Farel, Epistre a tous Seign. etc. pa. 164 (after Baird, p. 70)

EMANCIPATION THRU THE STUDY OF THE SCRIPTURES ON THE
PAULINA EPISTLES

Lefèvre had already started on the study of the Scriptures (1) and when Farel joined his group he must have been at work on his "Commentaire sur les Epitres de St. Paul" which he published in 1512. (2) Very probably under his influence Farel began the study of the Scriptures, and this study raised questioning doubts for what he read there did not agree with the practices of the church around him. "Alas" he said, "I do not well understand these things: I must give a different meaning to the scriptures than that which they seem to have. I must keep to the interpretation of the church, and indeed of the Pope". (3) And so for a time he forsook the study of the Bible and returned to his old paths.

But Lefèvre was finding his way thru the Scriptures and in 1512, five years before Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the cathedral at Wittenberg, he gave public expression in his Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul to the cardinal doctrine of

- (1) The first work that Lefevre published on the Bible was an edition comparing the different versions of the Psalms with a commentary, which he completed at St. Germain-des-Pres in 1508.
- (2) See dedication of this work to Briconnet in Herminjard Corres. etc, vol. i. p. 3
- (3) Farellus Natali Galeoto, Herminjard, vol. iii.

the Reformation. (1) In his dedication of this commentary to Bricconnet, Lefevre announces these doctrines.

"When we read these commentaries we should the less regard the men who have composed them, in order that we may the more find in them signs of spiritual life and true nourishment for the soul. On the contrary, it is then that we should recognize the divine virtue that descends from on high and Him from whom it truly proceeds, and, having recognized it, we should struggle with ourselves that we may follow it with all purity of heart and with all the piety of which we are capable, since that is the only means of approaching Him who does all in all. The world will be cursed for its work; it will never yield anything but thorns and thistles; consequently what we may do as the result of our new birth is not at all our work but that of a divine benediction. Those who shall comprehend that these Epistles are a gift from God will make real progress. Since Paul is but an instrument - 'You seek in me,' he says himself, 'the proof that Christ speaks in me.' It is here in fact that Christ's doctrine appears and not that of any other. It follows therefore that those who shall study it will drink with joy, as the divine oracle says, of the water at the fountain-head of salvation. Those therefore who shall undertake this study with devout sentiments will make progress in piety, not through Paul, or any other man, but through Christ and His divine Spirit." (2)

"It is interesting to examine," Graf says of this commentary, "what his opinions were upon some of the principal

- (1) See discussion by Williams who denies that Lefevre rejected the doctrine of substantiation. Opposed to him are Farmer, Graf, and Freer.
- (2) Herminjard, Correspondance des Reformateurs, vol. 1, P. 3 ff. (After Farmer, p. 11 and 12.

points which were shortly to cause such profound schism between the Catholic and Protestant churches, before the time when Luther put his hand to that reformatory movement of which men had for so long felt the need. We find these opinions in his Commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul, where, without ever passing the bounds of mildness and moderation, he does not fear to express openly the sentiments which the study of the Apostolic writings suggest to him. He is far from having a doctrine developed after a rigorous manner upon the reports of free will and of grace, of faith and of works, but in following the precepts of Paul he does not at all lose sight of those of John and of the Evangelists. 'As Adam, by the sin which he committed, brought death upon himself and thus gave death entrance into the world, thus all those who have sinned - in eo in quo peccaverunt, - that is to say by their own sin have brought death upon themselves. And thus the Apostle does not appear to wish to say that all have sinned, since he adds that death has reigned from the time of Adam to Moses upon those who have not sinned. Thus they who have not sinned at all are dead also, not on account of sin but from likeness to the disobedience of Adam. Christ is the source of all justification, Adam the covering of all disobedience. The likeness of Christ is life, the likeness of Adam, death. The works of faith are the signs of faith, of a living faith which gives justification. There are here two parts; one confines itself to works, the other to faith regardless of works. John refutes one, Paul the other. And you, if you have honestly of heart, will have confidence neither in faith nor works, but in God. Seek first to obtain the salvation of God by faith after Paul and then add works to faith after John, since they are the signs of a living faith'".

LEFEVRE AND FAREL EMERGE

Unlike Luther, Lefèvre wrote for scholars. He had no idea of breaking with the Church. In fact for the next few years it appears as though he had not grasped the real significance of this doctrine for two years later we find him still steadfast in his devotion to images and relics. (1) In 1516 Luther writes of him

Nam et Stapulens, (Lefevre) Viro alioqri
(bone deus) quam spiritually it sincerissimo,
haec intelligentia deest in interpretando
divinas literas, quae tamen plenissime
adest in propria vita agendo, et a liena
exhortando. (2)

(1) Farmer, p. 18 Baird Rise of Hug. vol. 1. p. 70, 71
(2) Herminjard, Corresp. des. Ref. vol. 1 p. 26 Luther
to Spalatin.

As late as 1519 Garean^{us} writes to Zwingli (1) that Lefèvre was starting "Une Legendes des Saints" and asks for the history of those of Zurich. But in Farel, Lefèvre had a pupil who led him out of all this. Having taken up the study of Hebrew and Greek the better to master the New Testament, Farel gradually (2) won his way out of the doctrines of popery, and then by his arguments induced Lefèvre to abandon his saint worship and prayers for the dead. (3) Tho as early as 1512 Lefèvre saw the proximity of a coming change as he expressed it to Farel. "My son the world is going to be renewed and you will see it." (4) He did not enter into this idea with a purpose to bring it about. Thus it can be rightly said with M. Herminjard (5) "that with the exception of the first symptoms, at least the decisive beginnings of the French Reformation we can hardly place prior to the year 1520. Until about that period Lefèvre was still only the fore-runner. The sentiments and convictions manifested in his Commentary of 1512, disclosed without doubt a spirit much attracted to the Gospel, but the influence of that writing was very restricted, and the Sorbonne, far from condemning

(1) Herminjard, Ibid p. 41

(2) Farel, A Tous Seigneurs, etc. It was necessary that popery should have fallen down little by little from my heart.

(3) Herminjard, Ibid p. 41, note.

(4) Herminjard Ibid p. 5

(5) Corresp. etc. vol 1, p. 239 note

the doctrines that would infallibly cause the book to produce some fermentation in public opinion, contended themselves by denouncing that portion of the Commentary in which the author maintains that the Latin translation of the New Testament was the work of St. Jerome. The Commentary of 1512 was but the very imperfect prelude to the Manifestation of the Gospel."

LEFEVRE'S TREATISES "THE THREE MARYS"

But trouble was coming and out of it was to grow the Reformation. In 1518 Lefèvre published a treatise entitled The Three Marys in which he sought to prove that Mary, the sister of Lazarus, Mary Magdalene and "the woman which was a sinner" were not one and the same person. (1) It came at the wrong time. The Sorbonne was in no mood to brook any deviation from the accepted position of the church, nor did they approve that "a simple Master of Arts should presume to investigate matters that they considered fell to the province of Doctors of Theology alone." (2) Trivial as this seems to us it was the cause of a heated debate between

(1) Baird, Rise of the Huguenots, vol. 1 p. 71

(2) Herminjard, Correspondance etc. p. 51.

the "ignorant but pedantic syndic" (1) of the theological faculty of the Sorbonne, Natalis Beda and Lefèvre. Beda won and on the 9th of November 1521 the Sorbonne declared that he was a heretic who should maintain the truth of Lefèvre's position. (2) Had not William Petit, the king confessor induced Francis to interfere, it might have gone hard with Lefevre.

It was in the summer of 1521 that Lefevre received this invitation from Briçonnet and accompanied by Farel, Michel d'Arande, Gerard Roussel he accepted, only too glad to get away from the outcry of the Sorbonne to the peace of the bishopric, where with congenial fellows he could carry out his plans for a needed reform.

(1) Baird, Ibid, p. 71

(2) Farmer, Essays etc. p. 21. Baird Ibid p. 71, 72.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER III

Title - Marguerite at Meaux

1 - The Religious Training of Marguerite

- (a) The Period of her youth
- (b) Her uncongenial Marriage
- (c) Her life at Court

Marguerite and Briçonnet
Madame de Chatillon

2 - Marguerite and Louise at Meaux

3 - Louise and Francis and the Reform

4 - The Spread of the Doctrine

5 - Persecution

- (a) Briçonnet's Defection
- (b) Marguerite and the Persecution

CHAPTER III

SKETCH OF THE RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE OF MARGUERITE

Before going further it is necessary to understand as clearly as possible the nature of the religious life of Marguerite of Valois at this time, in order to appreciate her motives in assisting those who fell afoul the persecuting arm of the Church. Perhaps the best way to portray this is to trace through her life the growth she made in her religious experience. In her religious life, up to this time, there are three distinguishable periods, and these will give us a fairly complete understanding of her actions.

HER YOUTH

The first of these is the period of her youth before her marriage to the Duc d'Alençon. This is the time when we see her learning at the feet of great masters. We have noticed before that Marguerite's first contact with the ancient philosophies did not date from her maturity but that she took up the study of philosophy and theology when yet a child. A contemporary, Charles de Saint-Marthe, writes that the preceptors of Marguerite,

among whom figure in the first rank Robert Hurault, 'had initiated their gracious pupil into the elements of profane philosophy. (1) Of course, the new and most interesting element in the profane philosophy was Plato, and Marguerite from the very first was brought into contact with Plato and Platonism, for which she developed a great admiration and liking. She showed herself to be active and capable in 'the realm of pure thought'.(2) A further glance at her teachers is sufficient to show why she took such a great interest in this New-old philosophy. In the course of her studies she became acquainted with Bessarion and Marcile Ficin 'than whom among the promoters of the resurrection of Platonism it is not possible to cite any more illustrious'.(3)

Along with philosophy the study of Scriptures was not neglected, for in her curriculum we find Saint-Marthe estimating her familiarity with the Holy Scriptures as second only to her advancement on philosophy. One wonders who her perceptor might have been, for we have no record that any such instruction was given. Williams,(4) does say that Hurault introduced her to theology and from him as well as from her teacher of Hebrew, Paradis, she

(1) Chas. de St. Marthe *Oraison Funebre*

(2) A Lefrance Mar. of Navarre alt the Platonism de la Renaissance

(3) Lefrance, *ibed* p. 261

(4) Williams, *Pearl of Princesses*

probably learned to know and to love her bible. But it remained for a greater than any yet mentioned to complete her introduction to philosophy and theology, namely, Nicholas de Cuse. Though at that time he had been dead some years, he has yet been called the 'father of the Reform ecclesiastical and intellectual! Through his writings he contributed greatly to the molding of the thought of Marguerite. (1)

Partly because of her femininity and partly because of her mystical tendency Marguerite's philosophy was different from that of her perceptors. Up to this time the predominant influence was Platonism strongly tinged with Christian theology. It was 'a love of truth and a zeal for human improvement.' (2)

HER UNCONGENIAL MARRIAGE

This era was followed by a period with a double aspect. To get relief from the company of a husband, none too congenial, she devoted herself to

(1) Lefranc op. cit. p. 264-271

(2) Lefranc, ibid p.

studies and to friends who gave her the desired intellectual companionship. She had, as her constant companion, Mme. de Chatillon and doubtless this woman, who later was more than suspected of being 'bitten by the new doctrines', (1) led her on in her study of philosophy and helped to keep open to new things the mind that learned so easily. Marguerite tended toward the religious and the mystical and, though 'Lutheranism' as such did not yet exist, she with her Lady of Honor 'went forth to seek it'.(2)

With the coronation of Francis came relief from the companionship of her husband. Just why there sprang up between Marguerite and her husband no affection of a real or a lasting sort is not anywhere satisfactorily explained though the 'Bibliophiles Francaise' offers a rather dubious explanation.(3) But such was the case when Francis, not satisfied to have his court ruled by so unattractive a queen as his wife Claude, invited his sister to join him and be the first lady of his court. She acquiesced with alacrity.(4) Thus we enter upon the third period of her religious training when she spends

- (1) Brantome, Dames Illustres
- (2) Duclaux, p.27
- (3) See Novel of the Haptameron
- (4) Duclaux, p. 28

the next few years in the life of Francis' court.

HER LIFE AT THE COURT OF FRANCIS I.

To read an account of the doings of that court and especially of the kings of the court would be to say that this was a period of learning by opposites, 'this do not and thou shalt live'.(1) Gathered around Marguerite we find a group of the literary men of the day, poets and all those who considered themselves versed in the new learning. This group was composed of the most brilliant members of the court of Francis. In spite of all of its brilliance it can hardly be claimed that it was conducive to healthy spiritual growth. Yet Marguerite did not forget to pray in times of stress(2) and more it showed her need for her strength. This leads us over into the third period for it is here that Marguerite met and became at least slightly acquainted with her future spiritual advisor, William Briçonnet. For the Bishop of Meaux, thanks to his defence of the French nation before the councils in Rome, was now in high favor at the court of Francis. Though we have no record of

(1) Gailliard, Hist. de Francois I tome III & IV

(2) William, Pearl of Princesses p.67,68,69.

their meeting or of their mutual acquaintance yet there seems to be no reason why they should not have met and have become acquainted since they had so many things in common. (1) Such an acquaintance is indicated in the first letter that Marguerite addressed to him.

"June 1521

Monsieur de Meaux:

Knowing that there is but one thing needful, I have recourse to you to entreat you that you will be, by prayer, the means that God may be pleased to lead M. d'Alençon according to His holy will. For by the King's command, M. d'Alençon is setting out as Lieutenant-General of the army and I misdoubt me will not return without war. And since peace and victory are in His hand, and believing you will wish well not only to the public good of the kingdom, but also to my husband and to myself, I demand your spiritual service, since I must needs meddle with many things which may well make me afraid. And again, tomorrow my Aunt of Nemours, leaves me for Savoy, whereupon I recommend her and myself to you, and pray you, if you think this a fit season to let Master Michel (d'Arande) make a journey hither, which I only desire for the glory of God, leaving it to your discretion and His.

La toute vostra, Marguerite (2)

This letter introduces us to the third stage of her growth in the religious life that later distinguished her. The immediate reasons for it are apparent in the

(1) See Freer, Life of Marguerite d'Angouleme vol. I Chap. IV & V.

(2) Heptameron, Correspondences des Reformation, vol. I, p.65.

letter itself. Francis in going to war left the reins of the government in the hands of the other two members of the 'little trinity'(1). Not only so but Marguerite's husband was going in command of the army and Marguerite felt the need of strength since she must meddle with many things which may well make her afraid'. Contrary to some authorities we hold that it was this and her aforementioned mystical tendencies which were the main reasons for her turning from the older forms of worship to this Bishop, who by this time must certainly have been famous for his reforms.(2). It is not necessary to except Marguerite from the rule that held in France, that 'for the first twenty years the Renaissance and the Reformation went hand in hand. Scholars, reformers, poets, philosophers, wits and mystics all made common cause against the rule of ignorance and convention and the imprisonment of the imagination.'(3)

Whatever her motives, certain it is that Marguerite turned to this new faith as preached by the reformers in Meaux and in most particulars adopted it as her own. She voluntarily placed herself under the tutelage of Brisçonnet and his disciples asking as her

(1) Marguerite, Francis & Louise

(2) See Williams, p. 125

(3) Sichel after Williams p 67

guide the Bishop's own chaplain, Michel d'Arande. When d'Arande came, which he did shortly after her request, he read to her court group a portion of the New Testament every day. Later Marguerite appointed him her almoner. With his spiritual guidance and with the assistance received from the letters of the Bishop - which correspondence will be taken up later - Marguerite was won enthusiastically over to the side of the reformers.

She brought to this new influence the platonism that had been hers from her early teachers. Combining with this Platonism a certain theological tendency she had a fine basis for new superstructure of belief into which the group of Meaux would and did lead her. Such in the main is the history of her development up to the time of her visit to Meaux when she came into actual contact with this group as a whole in their reforming work.

For the result of their influence and a more complete estimate and summary of Marguerite's religious life and convictions, with a record of her correspondence with Briçonnet see Chapter 6. In view of the work upon which LeFèvre and d'Arande were engaged it was only natural that one result of this contact should be a renewed interest in the New Testament. They desired to lead her to

discover with then that 'the savor of divine food is so sweet that it renders the mind insatiable, the more one tastes, the more one desires it.'(1)

MADAME de CHATILLON

During the course of the year 1520 one of Marguerite's spiritual advisers disappeared from her life and it might be well to pause and bestow on her the credit due. Madame de Chatillon retired from her position as the first Lady of Honor to Marguerite and aside from Brantome's assertion (2) that she was clandestinely married to Cardinal Du Bellay, we know of no reason why she should have done so. There seems to be no doubt of her partiality towards the new faith, which came pouring into France in the form of printed pamphlets from the north. These pamphlets were at first regarded as part of the Renaissance and as such were looked on with favor. Mme. de Chatillon seems to have had cautionary influence over her protege for when she left Marguerite came out much more openly in favor of this new faith. Perhaps because of this more open stand, or perhaps because of a growing

(1) Hermingard op.cit. vol.I Bric. to Marg. p
(2) Brantome, Dames Illustres

friendship for Briconnet, Marguerite decides to visit Meaux and in the year 1521 we find her there.(1)

AT MEAUX

While at Meaux Marguerite was accompanied by her mother and the two royal ladies were surrounded by these men of new principles and faith. For eight days the mother and the sister of the king sat and listened to the exposition of the Scriptures by one, Lefevre who had electrified the Sorbonne with the eloquence of his speech and thought. This had its effect on both Marguerite and her mother. Marguerite asked eagerly for continued instruction and even Louise expressed an interest and a desire to know more of the matter.(2) Briconnet, in response to Marguerite's request, urged Lefevre and d'Arande to hasten in their work of translating the New Testament.(3)

But the stay at Meaux was short and Marguerite soon moved on with her mother and companion to meet her brother returning from the relief of the besieged city of Mezières. In their companionship together

(1) Farmer, Essays on French His. p. 23 Hermingaid op cit. pp78-84

(2) Hermingaid p 77

(3) Hermingaid p 84

the subject of Meaux and the reformers evidently was discussed and both the king and his mother must have expressed favorable opinions of the work for we read in a letter from Marguerite to Lefèvre that 'the King and Mad and Madame are more than ever inclined to aid the reform of the Church and resolved to let the world know the truth of God is no heresy'.(1)

This as an excellent time for furthering the plan to acquaint the royal family with the true character of their work. Michel d'Arande is introduced into the King's family as chaplain and there exerted his undoubted abilities in the direction of turning their sympathy and help towards a reform.(2) Though this seems to have been without effect on Francis, Madame appears to have been influenced by it for we read in another letter of Marguerite's that following a gift to Louise of a translation of the Pauline Epistles by Lefèvre, 'Madame has begun to read in the Holy Scriptures.' (3).

(1) Mar. - Bric. after Duclaux p. 54

(2) Freer op. cit. vol. I p. 172

(3) Genin Lettre de Mar. second collection no.

LOUISE & FRANCIS AND THE REFORM

But this was not lasting. Though Marguerite might be blind to the true attitude of her brother and mother and write of their interest in the reform and that 'you know the confidence that she (Madame) and the king have in you', (1) yet there was no depth to this interest. 'No man can serve two masters' was never truer than in the cases of Louise and Francis. The conflicting interest in the case of Louise that pulled two strongly for any real interest in the reform was her ambition for herself and her son. This ambition allowed no room for the meek and humble spirit demanded by the new doctrine. And while she had no reverence for the spiritual side of the Catholic Church (2) yet the temporal power was too real for her to make Rome an enemy of France. 'Any other religion would prejudice my state' (3) was the answer that Francis gave to the suggestion that he change his religion. But to his refusal there was also another aspect. The history of the court and life of Francis will show the other

- (1) Freer Ibid
- (2) See Duclaux p. 55
- (3) Duclaux, *Ibid.*

reasons. This reform held too high a moral standard for the keeper of at least two mistresses(1) and the 'hero' of so many licentious stories. So in spite of Marguerite's assertions the reformers could not look to that source for any real assistance. In Francis and Louise they had no dependable helpers,

SPREAD OF THE DOCTRINE

The time, however, was rapidly approaching when they would need help. From the standpoint of the reformers everything was progressing rapidly and smoothly. Everywhere they went people were gladly accepting their doctrines(2). The time was propitious for such a revival. Not only were all the people disgusted by the state of affairs in the Church at large and desirous of a reform, but that particular time was a time of war and they were near starvation. The "Field of the Cloth of Gold" had exhausted the treasury of France. When war came France had no money, so the people were taxed very heavily to meet this emergency. 'Half starved, afraid, abandoned, they made for their refuge

(1) Madame Chateaubriand, Madame d'Etamples

(2) Letter of Lefevre to Farel, Heringaid Vol. I, p.

(3) Duclaux, chap.

a faith uncredited and unknown'(1) there is little to conder at. They needed support in their trouble, and they went for strength to the source that promised them so much. The economic condition of the people seemed to have helped very materially the rapid spread of the new faith. Nor was that all. There is in the heart of every man a desire for communion with God, and these new preachers set before the people not only the opportunity but urged the necessity of such a communion. Whereas the Church offered them forgiveness in the form of indulgences or penance, these new preachers proclaimed forgiveness a gift, free 'without money and with price. These preachers not only preached but put into their hands tracts and translations from the New Testament. These were prepared for them by Lefevre and printed by the Bishop(2), and those who could not afford to pay for them, thanks to the Bishop, might have them free. Further, these new preachers led on the way to which they pointed, and lived lives very different from those of the surrounding clergy. It was no wonder that those who heard and understood followed them eagerly.

(1) Duclaux, chap.

(2) Hermingard, vol. I p.

So general did this acceptance become that it attracted considerable notice. In the 'Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris' we read

'In the year 1520 there arose in the duchy of Saxony, in Germany, a heretic doctor named Martin Luther, who said many things against the power of the Pope - - and wrote several books which were printed and published through all the cities of Germany and France -- and in 1521 there was a great famine, so that in all Paris no corn and no bread were to be bought for any price, and throughout the land of Normandy a still greater famine and scarcity of corn and of bread, so that ten bushels of wheat sold for ten livres. And it must be noted that the greater part of the town of Meaux was infected by the doctrines of Luther'.(1)

PERSECUTION

By this time the orthodox party was very much aroused to the necessity of bringing this heresy to a halt, and they were in no mood to tolerate any innovation (2). To Béda, who led the defense of the faith, such heresy was to be extirpated at any cost. They did not differentiate between the moderate and radical forms of heresy. Meaux was near enough to Paris to receive considerable attention from the Sorbonne,

(1) Journal d' un Bourgeois p. 2

(2) They had written against Lefevre thesis that every one should know their bible.

espeziially since Lefevre had gone there from the University. Nor was the Sorbonne the only enemy watching them. In the early days of the reform, even before he had invited Lefèvre and his colleagues to come down and help him, Briçonnet had closed all the pulpits of his diocese to the Franciscan Friars(1) who very naturally were angry at this insult to their order and to their pocket-book. They only waited for a favorable opportunity to repay the Bishop in coin of their own choosing. This likeness to the Lutheran heresy was their opportunity and they were not slow to denounce him to the Sorbonne. And the Sorbonne, unable to carry out on the person of Luther the fate to which they had condemned him (2) turned to this group upon whom they could act and summarily brought them to bar. Naturally the Bishop was the first to receive the attack, and though at first he replied boldly enough, calling the doctors of the Sorbonne 'Pharisees and false prophets'(3), he weakened before their repeated attacks.

He was not of the stuff whereof martyrs are

(1) Heringard vol. 1, p.

(2) " op. cit. p.

(3) Gaillard, Histoire de Francois 1 er

made'(1) and looked at from a Protestant point of view, it is to be regretted that he was not. For if a man of his rank, not only in the Church, but in the realm as well, had stepped out in revolt from the Church no one knows the numbers that might have followed. He had around him a group of men that with a forceful leader would have made a deep impression on the whole nation. Trained men they were, Lefèvre, Farel, Roussél, Mazurier and d'Arande who thought with the best and whose lives were without fault before all men. But Briconnet faltered, temporized and gradually yielded until finally he had lost all his courage(2). He counselled those around him to lessen their activities and to cease awhile from their work. In a letter to Marguerite we read:

"Let it please you to slacken the fire for some time. The wood you wish to burn is so green that it will put out the fire; and we counsel you (for several reasons of which I hope to tell you the rest some day) to leave it alone; if you do not wish to extinguish the brand as well as the surplus which desires to burn and to inflame others.'(3)

Before the attacks of the Sorbonne led by the syndic Beda and aided by the erstwhile friend of the

(1) Farmer

(2) See Synodal decrees in Hermingard

(3) Bréc. to Mar. Hermingard vol. I.

reform, Mazurier, Brignonet yielded all. He signed official documents which were completely opposed to his former position. In a Synodal Decree he condemned the books of Martin Luther and he denounced Luther himself as one who was plotting the overthrow of 'the estate which keeps all the rest in the path of duty'(1). This is quite different from the two descriptions of the clergy that he gives in his letter to Marguerite, for there he describes them as 'the estate by the coldness of which all others are frozen'(2) and again as 'that which is the ruin of all the rest'.(3)

Not satisfied with this, however, the Sorbonne proceeds to make him turn against his old friends, and he warns the clergy in his diocese to beware of those 'brought in by himself'(4) who under the cover of preaching the Gospel had 'Dared in defiance of the Evangelical truth to preach that purgatory does not exist and that consequently we must not pray for the dead, nor invoke the very Holy Virgin Mary nor the saints.'(5) Thus he escaped with a whole skin.

- (1) Heringard vol. I p. 156
(2) Ibid p. 86
(3) Ibid p. 154
(4) Ibid p. 157
(5) Ibid p. 157

MARGUERITE AND THE PERSECUTION

What part did Marguerite play in all this? She was helpless. A sovereign with the power of life and death in the province of Berry, she was unable to prevent Michel d'Arande from being silenced. But that she was interested and willing to help is quite apparent in the letter she wrote to Briconnet at this time.

'If you think that in anything I can serve or pleasure you or yours, I pray you tell me; and believe that every trouble will turn to my comfort. Eternal peace be yours after these wars which you wage for the faith, in which wars you desire to die. La toute vostre, Marguerite.' (1)

Though she offered the protection of her influence to Briconnet, we have no record of her trying to extend it further at that time, except to d'Arande. Neither indeed did the Bishop help them, for he signed a revocation of their license to preach and further, expelled them from his diocese. Heavy must have been the hearts of Lefèvre, Farel and Roussel, who had looked on the Bishop as a man of God¹, when they heard of the capitulation of their friend and as silently turned away from their promising work to go elsewhere only a little more than four years after Marguerite had been with them at Meaux.

(1) Ibid

The persecution was not over. Still dissatisfied, the Sorbonne forced Briçonnet to preach against the Lutheran 'pest'(1) and still later he sat as Judge at the trial of one of his former disciples, Leclerc,(2) and passed sentence that he be whipped with rods on three successive days through the streets of Meaux and finally be branded on the forehead and expelled from the kingdom.

Marguerite stepped into the place left by the defection of the Bishop and did all in her power to undo the work of the Sorbonne. It was a sad blow to all the hopes based on this group of reformers, but she succeeded in a small way in repairing the disaster. By obtaining the appointment of a special commission to examine the charges against Lefèvre. He was exonerated and she secured his recall and also that of Roussel.(3) Berquin had been arrested, but by the clever artifice of representing to the King that the Sorbonne had overstepped itself in arresting one of his officers without obtaining his royal sanction, Marguerite obtained his release.(4)

(1) Heringard op. cit P. 171

(2) Ibid p. 321 read Duplessis account.in His de'l'Eglise de Meaux.

(3) Baird p. 8

(4) Baird

Thus in a small way she met the situation but the outlook was far less hopeful than it had been. In spite of all that, even with the work Marguerite had done, the persecution had accomplished much. Farel was out of the country(1). The Bishop had completely retracted and was under his pledged word not to attempt to repeat his experiment.(2) Lefèvre and d'Arande were in the country, but the one was completely under the direction of Briçonnet, while the spirit of Lefèvre was nearly broken.(3) It was a sorry ending to a very promising beginning and worse times were to follow.

- (1) At Strasbourg. He had left earlier. See letters of Lefevre,
(2) Baird op.cit p. (and Roussel to him in
(Hermingard op.cit. pp
(3) Hermingard p.447 (220,232,270.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER IV

Title - MARGUERITE AND PERSECUTIONS

- 1 - Louise de Berquin and the Sorbonne
 - a - Marguerite rescues Berquin.
- 2 - The Reform during the Milan Expedition.
 - a - Louise, the Regent.
 - b - The Reform at Lyons.
- 3 - The Imprisonment of Francis in Spain.
 - a - The Battle of Pavia
 - b - Official Persecution of the reform by the regent.
 - c - Royal Intervention.
 - 1 - Plan to win Francis to the Reform.
- 4 - Henry of Navarre.
- 5 - Marguerite's second marriage.

CHAPTER IV

LOUISE de BERQUIN AND THE SORBONNE

Not satisfied with the success of their work at Meaux, the leaders of the Sorbone were determined to uproot all heresy. The next victim marked for destruction by the sanguinary Beda was Louis de Berquin, a gentleman of Artois and an officier of the king's body-guard. The friend of Erasmus (1), at this time in the prime of life (2), Berquin had, because of his learning and purity acquired an enviable reputation at the court of Francis I (3). Erasmus held in great admiration his Christian qualities, his purity of life, - rare among the nobles of that court - his kindness and generous care for the poor, his freedom from ostentation and his hatred of all injustice (4). Like others who had gone before him ' he was originally observer of the ordinances of the Church' (5) Because of his dislike of injustice, he turned against Beda and the party at the Sorbonne, attacking 'those odious hornets' (6)

- (1) Herminjard, Corres. des Ref. Vol II, p. 183. Erasmus to Utenkoven.
- (2) Erasmus puts his age in 1528 at 43, the author of the "Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris" at 50.
- (3) d'Aubigne rates him as the most learned of the nobility. Erasmus is boundless in his admiration of his learning, courage and his other qualities.
- (4) Baird, Rise of Hug. Vol 1, p. 129
- (5) Erasmus to Utenboven, Herminjard op. cit. vol II p. 183
- (6) Theo. Berza, His. of the Ref. Ecel.

'in their very nests' (1). It was but natural that, opposing Beda, he should notice the works of his other opponents. At first curious, then interested, he finally came to have a profound admiration for the writings of Lefevre, Luther, Erasmus and Melancthon. So great indeed was this admiration that he began to translate their works into French. He also wrote and had printed treatises on the leading doctrines of the Christian faith. Because Berquin asserted that it was heretical to invoke the Virgin Mary, instead of the Holy Spirit, or to call her 'our Hope' and 'our Life', since these titles belong to God alone, (2) Beda obtained a permit to search Berquin's house and seize heretical books and papers. Finding the object of his search, Beda took the works of Lefevre, Luther, and the others, with the writings of Berquin himself and laid them before the faculty of the Sorbonne. They condemned all his works to be burned (May 13, 1523) and this sentence was confirmed by Parlemeute. Refusing to recant his errors, Berquin was thrust into prison to await a formal trial for heresy, which meant almost certain condemnation to the stake. (3).

(1) Theo. Bega, His. of the Ref. Eccl.

(2) Gailliard. His de Francois I, tome IV

(3) Bayle, Dictionnaire Historique, art, Berquin.

Into this situation came Marguerite (1). The friends of Berquin appealed to her to use her influence in his behalf. Looking over the case she observed that the arrest had been made without the king's knowledge. Whereas Francis might not have bothered himself about the matter had it been placed before him as one of religious controversy, Marguerite knew him well enough to know that he was an absolute autocrat. So, cleverly veiling the reason behind her statement, she represented to the king the insolence of the Sorbonne in arresting one of his officers without first ascertaining his royal pleasure. Well did Marguerite know her brother. Francis promptly despatched an officer, one captain Frederick (2) to liberate Berquin with orders 'to break open the prisons' gates if you meet with resistance' (3) In such manner Marguerite came to the aid of those persecuted by the Sorbonne, using in their defence all the wit, cleverness and influence of which she was capable.

THE REFORM DURING THE MILAN EXPEDITION

But events were approaching that put Beda and all his group into the remote background. The kingdom

(1) See Freer p.

(2) Baird, op. cit. p. 130 note.

(3) Gailliard, His. de France tome IV.

was being invaded from two points. On the north the English army under the duke of Suffolk had advanced to a point eleven leagues from Paris. (1) On the south the Spanish forces under the generalship of the traitor Bourbon, had pursued Bonnivet from Milan and had led his troops into France. He was laying ambitious plans for the conquering of the remainder of the country. (2) But due to the jealousy of his brother officers, he was delayed and thus gave Francis an opportunity to mobilize an army, with which he succeeded in putting to flight the imperial troops, and accompanying his troops much against the will of his mother, pursued them to Pavia. (3)

LOUISE THE REGENT

During the absence of the king of this campaign, Louise was appointed regent, and well did she meet the responsibilities thus thrust upon her.

"Her genius, energy and devotedness, saved France from ruin. When all seemed lost - when the sceptre of France was broken, its monarch a prisoner, and its finances ruined, it was the vigorous and wise administration of the duchess d'Angoulême that restored confidence throughout the country; and it was her genius which directed the policy of the formidable league threatening destruction to

- (1) Meuroire de Martin du Bellay after Freer, op. cit.vol.1 p224
- (2) Ibid P. 237
- (3) Louise wrote to Francis not to cross the Alps until he had talked with her. But she was met by his messenger saying he had already gone. Gailliard. his. de Francois I. tome IV.

Charles's colossal empire, when he seemed to be at the very summit of his prosperity. Louisa was one of those remarkable women who in French history seemed raised to power to meet some extraordinary emergency". (1)

What was the attitude of the regent toward the reform? As ever, Louise directed her policies from a political standpoint. When Francis was victorious and the Pope was an open enemy of France, Louise did not see the necessity of hindering the reform, or of aiding the Pope by any other means. But when Francis was in prison and the Pope must be won to Francis' side at any cost, the story was very different. The reform was no longer countenanced by the regent.

THE REFORM AT LYONS

The court, during the campaign in Provence, had been moved to Lyons, where it remained during the Milannese expedition. To Marguerite at Lyons came the evangelical teachers, since they were unable to remain at Meaux or Paris. Michel d'Arande was with her, and 'he preached the pure gospel before her'. (2) Antoine de Blet (3) was there and Vaugris, another leader of

(1) Freer, Life of Mar. d'Angouleme, vol I. p. 241 - 242

(2) Herminjard, Correspondance etc. vol 1 p 315.

(3) Ibid p. 207 note.

the reformed party in Lyons, all of them working for the spread of the evangelical doctrines. At this time, Seville writes of Marguerite that 'there is today no one more evangelical than the duchess d'Alencon. (1)

But the Dominican monks did not quietly acquiesce to the preaching of this new doctrine. They communicated with the Sorbonne and demanded the arrest of two of the preachers of the new doctrines, one Seville, of Grenoble, and Maigret of Lyons. The latter was a converted Dominican. This was work to the liking of the Sorbonne, and 'the arrest of Seville was decreed, and their arrangement for heresy instantly commenced'. (2) But again Marguerite interfered. She wrote to her brother and informed him of the matter against Seville. Francis replied with a royal mandate, forbidding the Parlemeute and the Sorbonne to pursue any criminal process against the accused and commanding his release. (3) Maigret had eluded arrest up to this time, and now returned and preached publicly in Lyons, until 'the disastrous battle of Pavia gave the death blow to the work of reform throughout the country' (4). This attitude on the part of Marguerite

(1) Ibid p. 315

(2) Freer, op. cit. p. 245

(3) Herminjard vol. I. p. 309

(4) Freer op. cit. p. 245.

naturally brought to her the confidence and hope of the reforming party. So great was this confidence, that when sometime later Maigret was imprisoned, Coct wrote to Farel, 'that Maigret is in prison at Lyons. But Marguerite d'Alençon is here: prise be to God.' (1) Marguerite was victor once again in her encounter with the Sorbonne, which had to draw back from persecuting the friends of the sister of the king.

THE IMPRISONMENT OF FRANCIS

15473

But the Sorbonne's time was coming. The winter of 1524 passed in comparative quiet and peace for the adherents of the reform. It was the lull before the storm, before the 'death-blow to the work of reform'. On the 25th of February, 1525, the battle of Pavia was fought and though Francis acquitted himself nobly, fighting bravely to the last, yet because of the stupidity of his brother-in-law, the duke d'Alençon, (2) he was defeated and made prisoner by the Marquis de Lannoy. (3) This battle was fought on the birthday of Charles V and no greater nor more pleasing birthday gift could have been given to him

- (1) Herminjard p. 309. coct-Farel.
- (2) Memoir de du Bellay
- (3) Pomperant offered to bring the constable de Bourbon to accept Francis sword, but Francis refused.

than the persons of Francis and of Henry of Navarre. This de Lannoy realized for when he wrote to his master reporting the outcome of the battle and the capture of Francis, he added;

"Sire, I think you remember the saying of M. de Bersole, 'that God sends to men once in their lives a fruitful August, but that if they allow it to pass without gathering a harvest, it is a chance whether the opportunity is given them again.'" (1)

Charles did not need to be reminded of that or of similar ideas. They were already working in his brain.

The captivity of Francis and his writings, plans, plots, oaths, lie outside the scope of this paper. Charles V made good use of his opportunity and forced Francis to promise many things, but to no purpose for Francis had already privately sworn to a group of his fellow countrymen that any promises he might make would be of no value and not binding upon him. (2) To the immediate history of the reform, two consequences are important. First, the change in the attitude of the regent, an second, the terms of his release which demanded has hostages his two sons.

(1) Lanz. Correspondenz des Kaisers, Karl V
(2) Gailliard, His. de Francois. I tome IV.

OFFICIAL PERSECUTION

The absence of Francis was an invaluable opportunity and the Sorbonne had no intentions of missing it. Inflamed by their syndic, Beda (1) the Sorbonne and the Parlemeute united to demand the complete eradication of heresy from the realm, since because of it, all this trouble had descended upon them.

"Heresy has raised its head among us and the king by failing to erect scaffolds against it, has drawn down the wrath of heavy on the kingdom." (2)

At first the regent opposed this attitude, but when bands of armed peasants from Germany, claiming to be partisans of the reformed religion, invaded Lorraine and Alsace, coming even into Burgundy, (3) Louise not only withdrew her protection but also resolved on the proscription of the 'innovators'. (4) Marguerite must have objected to this. (5) Great must have been the surprise and satisfaction of the Sorbonne when a bishop arrived from the court to inform the Faculty that - 'Luther's detestable doctrines were everywhere gaining fresh adherents throughout the kingdom' (6) and to request the advice of the Sorbonne

- (1) See speech of Beda quoted by Freer vol I. p. 217
- (2) Gailliard, op. cit. tome V
- (3) Mezeray, Grande His. de France. (After Freer)
- (4) Gailliard, op. cit. tome V.
- (5) Freer, op. cit. p. 279. There is no record in writing that she did.
- (6) Gailliard ibid.

on means for the extirpation of these doctrines. The content of this advice, gladly given we may imagine, was that

'since the sermons, the disputations, the protests and books which we have so frequently put forth against this heresy fail in arresting its progress, the writings of these heretics must be prohibited by proclamation; if these measures are not sufficient, force and constraint must be employed against the persons of these false teachers; for those who resist the light must be subdued by punishments and terrors.' (1)

A new and more potent factor now entered in the person of the Pope. By giving his ratification of the appointment of Duprat (2) to the archbishopric of Sens, and by extending to Louise the hope of stirring up Italy to the benefit of Francis, Clement VII won the regent. Then he proposed to her the introduction into France of the Inquisition. (3) This proposition was assented to by the Council of the Regent, who then appointed a committee 'instigated by a holy zeal and a fervent abhorrence of these novelties' (4) to look into this matter. The report of this committee, coupled with the advice of the Sorbonne, resulted in the appointing by Parlemeute of a commission, composed of theologians and lawyers, to judge the accused heretics and 'that hereafter all who are

(1) Crevier - His of the University.

(2) Favorite of Louise

(3) Gailliard, His de Francois, Vol 2 Lavissee. His.de France vol.

(4) Mss. of the bibliotheque St. Genevieve, Paris. After Freer p. 281.

declared Lutherans to these deputies by the bishops or the judges of the Church, may be delivered over to the secular arm, that is to say, to the said Parlements, which for the same shall condemn them to be burned alive.' (1)

ROYAL INTERVENTION

Marguerite did what could be done by warning her friends. Lefèvre left Blois at word from her and went to Strasbourg. This commission was above Marguerite and so we read in a letter that

"Madame d'Alençon caused him (Jehan Vaugry) to send out word that she can no longer write to the King or to any others." (2)

This lack of protection was soon felt. 'The fire of persecution blazed throughout the land' (3) Louis de Berquin was again thrown into prison and condemned. Briconnet, Bishop of Meaux, was summoned before Parlemeute and was again compelled to recant. Many others were apprehended, some to suffer death, others to recant.(4) Besought on all sides to aid the reformers, Marguerite finally wrote to her brother (5)

(1)

(2) Herminjard, op. cit. vol. 1, p. 313.

(3) Duplessis - His del'Eglise de Meaux

(4) Marguerite recanted.

(5) Mar. to Francis Genin op. cit. No. 54

and to Montmorency. (1) Francis replied with a command to Parlemeute to release Berquin. (2)

Accompanying the order for Berquin's release were strict directions to the regent to intimate officially to the Parlemeute that it was the pleasure of the king that all processess pending against 'ces hommes d'excellent savoir' (3) should be suspended until after his return. Also all executions for heresy should be stopped until Francis had sanctioned them (4). These orders were cheerfully carried out by Marguerite and her mother.

PLAN TO WIN FRANCIS TO REFORM

Once more the situation seemed favorable to the reformers, the Lefèvre, Roussel and others entertained hopes for the conversion of the king to their side. Marguerite had worked long and faithfully at this task. Most of her letters to her brother exhort him in some way to recognize God in his life, (5) She entered into their plans and to this end carried on a correspondance with the Count Sigismond of Hohenlohe,

(1) Mar. to Montomrency.

(2) His de Paris - Registre du Parlemeute (after Freer p. 306

(3) Ibid. His

(4) See discussion of Louisa's Attitude in this by Freer p. 306

(5) Letters of Mar. to Francis. Especially that of May 1525

inviting him to visit the king, certain that his learning and manners would win Francis. (1)

The logical time to strike seemed to be upon the return of the king to France, to bring Count Sigismond to court and to let him plead the case of the reformers and strive to win Francis to their side. Marguerite was more than interested in this plan. She it was who had formed it and it was she who should make the invitation when she judged the time propitious. (2) But the proper time never came. Their plans were doomed. When Francis was given his liberty he left behind as hostages for his good faith, his two sons, the princes of France. Now all his energies were directed to the deliverance of these boys, so Marguerite had to write to the Count

"I cannot tell you all the grief I feel, for I clearly see that the state of affairs is such that your coming cannot be productive of the comfort you would desire. It is not that the king would not be glad to see you, but he has not yet accomplished the deliverance of the king's children, which the king esteems as important as the deliverance of his own person. I do not think the time propitious." (3)

Nothing must interfere in this work of liberating the princes and therefore no excuse must be given the Pope to turn against France. Family and political reason

- (1) Herminjard vol. I. letters No. 171, 175, 179.
- (2) Note letter of Eras
- (3) Herminjard op. cit. p. 441. My own translation. Baird translates it somewhat differently.

combined against them, the reformers had to give up their hope for the present conversion of Francis.

HENRY OF NAVARRE

Among those who shared the captivity of Francis in Spain was Henri d'Albret, king of Navarre. He had been imprisoned at Pavia, quartered in the castle there. He had offered the emperor a large ransom (1) which was refused. The emperor was holding him to force him to buy his liberty at the price of his claims on the kingdom of Navarre. His case seemed hopeless, but 'he was - endowed with singular ingenuity, abounding in admirable and subtle invention, and in finding remedy for things apparently most hopeless', (2) and he succeeded in effecting his escape. He fled from Pavia to Lyons, where Madame and Marguerite held court.

Henry had at this time just completed his twenty-second year. (3)

"His features were handsome; and his bearing erect and noble. His mind was cultivated and his temper frank, loyal and chivalrous. He excelled in athletic exercises; and surpassed most of the cavaliers in wrestling, tilting fencing, running at the ring and in feats of horsemanship." (4)

- (1) Lavissee, Histoire de France vol
- (2) Olhagary, His. de Foix, Bearu et Navarre.
- (3) He was born April 3, 1503.
- (4) Freer, op. cit. p. 454.

He united with this proficiency in these athletic accomplishments a profound love of learning. (1) He was tolerant in his religious opinions and enquired earnestly into things religious. Because of their similarity of tastes in both politics and in thought, Henry and Marguerite became warm friends. This feeling rapidly grew to love on the part of Henry and eight days after he arrived in Lyons he had asked the regent for her daughter's hand, had been accepted and the marriage contract drawn up. (2) Though these plans went forward so rapidly they were delayed by the approaching of Francis from his captivity, as Louise decided to wait until he should set his approval upon the projected marriage.

MARGUERITE'S SECOND MARRIAGE

When Francis returned he did not look with favor on Henry's suit for the hand of his sister. He had other plans for her, plans that would forward the schemes for revenge which he was forming, and he knew that Henry could give him no material assistance. (3) But these schemes came to an end without accomplishing

(1) See Olhagary's enthusiastic description in his work.

(2) Henry arrived at Lyons Christmas Eve, 1525 and the marriage contract is dated Jan. 3, 1526.

(3) See Freer, op. cit. pp. 478-496.

their purposes, and in the end Francis gave his approval to the marriage of Marguerite and Henry. They were wedded January 24, 1527, at St. Germain-en-laye. (1) The time of her marriage was a time of national depression, due to the absence of the princes. On this account, their wedding was not celebrated with any extraordinary rejoicing or display. But whatever lack there may have been in the way of popular rejoicing, there was no lack of celebration of this event by the scholars of the day. (2) Literary men throughout all of Europe sought to do honor to the new queen of Navarre. The best tribute of them is that of Marot, her own poet, who dedicates to Marguerite a poem descriptive of her excellent qualities.

Une Douceur Assise en belle face,
Qui la beauté des plus belle efface;
D'un regard chaste ou n'habite nul vice;
D'un rond parler, sans fard, sans artifice;
Si Beau, si bon, que qui cent ans l'ourroit,
Ja decent ans fascher ne s'en pourroit;
Ung vif esprit, ung scavoir qui estonne,
Et par sus tout, une grace tant bonne,
Soit a se taire ou soit en devisant
Que je voudrois estre asses souffisant
Pour an papier escripre son merite.
Ainsy qu'elle est dedans mon cueur escripte
Tous ces beaux dons et mille davantaige
Sout et ung corps ne de hault parentaige
Et de grandeur tant droicte et bien formee
Que faicte faicte semble expres pour estre aymee
D'hommes et Dieux. (3)

(1) Olhagary, His. de Foix, etc.

(2) Freer, op. cit. p. 500

(3) Epistre de Marot a la duchesse d'Alencon.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER V

Title - THE QUEEN OF NAVARRE

1 - In Navarre.

- a - Marguerite at Fontainebleau
- b - Persecution by Francis.
- c - The Group of Nerac
- d - Administration in Navarre.
- e - The Reform in Navarre.

2 - Outside of Navarre.

- a - Marguerite and the Movement as a whole.
- b-- Marguerite and Individual reformers.
- c - Opposition of the Catholic Party.
 - 1 - In Paris
 - 2 - Outside of Paris.

3-- Inconsistencies

- a - Treaty of Crespy
- b - Massacre of the Waldenses
- c - Failure to come out openly as a Protestant.

CHAPTER V.

MARGUERITE AS QUEEN OF NAVARRE

In the preceding chapters we have followed with considerable care, the rise of the Reformation in France and the part which Marguerite, sister to King Frances I. played in it. The scenes have been near Paris and closely connected with the court. In this chapter the action is for the most part removed to Navarre. The material for this period is so abundant, and the instances of Marguerite's contacts with reformers and savants are so numerous that it is too great a task to attempt to include them all in a paper of this length. Therefore, in dealing with Marguerite's influence in Navarre, on the spread of "the heresy", typical instances will be selected which will give a fair picture of her life, her court, her dealings with the reformers and Catholics. Finally we will consider some of the actions and attitudes of Marguerite which seem inconsistent. If anything is omitted that to the reader appears to be of great importance, it is not that its importance is not recognized but that it could not be includ-

ed in this space. Many things of interest and importance are passed over for lack of space.

Marguerite at Fontainebleau: In the first years of her life as queen of Navarre, Marguerite was quite happy. During this period we do not read in her correspondence with her brother any expression of desire to be with him. She had now a husband with whom she had much in common. They both loved literature, science and art, and although Henry was not committed to the religious opinions of his wife, yet he did not oppose them. They appear to have lived happily together.(1) When the king went to Fere to carry on negotiations with Henry VIII,⁽²⁾ her husband accompanied him and Marguerite was left alone at Fontainebleau. Here she was in the company of Lefèvre (3) who, at Marguerite's suggestion, had been appointed tutor of the youngest son of Francis, the little duke d'Angouleme. One wonders what must have been their conversation in those days of rather close companionship. Probably it was then that the friendship which afterward marked their relations(4) was formed. Lefevre, in his enforced sojourn in Strasbourg, fell into the company of Roussel, himself a religious refugee. They became warm friends and together participated in conferences

(1) See here Declaux, who seems to think there was no happiness in their union.

(2) Lavisse, Histoire de France.

(3) See Frier, Life of Marguerite, Vol.II p. 37

(4) Bayle, Diction naive, Historique Article. Lefevre.

(5)

on Strausbourg with Capito and Count Sigismound.(1)
When the persecution ceased, Roussel returned to France to preach there. "But his learning and piety exceeded his discretion", (2) and the Sorbonne soon sought him out. He was accused of heresy (3) and put into prison. Marguerite petitioned Francis and succeeded in obtaining his release. From there, with Marguerite's permission, he went to Beard.(4)
The gentleness and benevolent charity of Roussel's disposition recommended him to Marguerite's notice, and he eventually became one of the most prominent personages at the court of Nérac". Roussel was not the only one that Marguerite saved from the Sorbonne. Not long before, thru her intercession (5) Berquin had again been freed from his prison and no doubt her influence saved more than one from the stake.

PERSECUTION BY FRANCIS

About this time an event occurred that inflamed the king to persecute all heretics. While Francis was in session with a council of bishops considering what measures should be adopted against the Lutherans, some persons mutilated an image of the virgin. This act prompted the

- (1) See Chapter 4.
- (2) Freer, *ibid* p.39
- (3) He advocated the administration of the mass in both kinds to the laity.
- (4) Freer, *ibid*, p.39
- (5) See letters of Marguerite to Francis and to Montmorency quoted by Freer, vol.1, p.489 ff.

king to declare himself strongly on the side of the mother church, with parades and masses and, more to the point, with severe edicts against the reformers which led to a general persecution.(1) Among the first to be apprehended was Berquin, who was agains tried and sentenced, in spite of Marguerite's appeal to her brother to release him.(2) When Berquin refused to recant and appealed, he was quickly condemned and just as hurriedly executed.(3)

"The flames of this bonfire (execution of Berquin) lit up many pale and scared faces throughout the whole of France." (4) When one who had twice been saved from the Sorbonne and the flames by the influence of Marguerite was executed in spite of her renewed intercession, and in spite of his rank, what fate could the other reformers expect?

THE GROUP OF NERAC

Though Marguerite could no longer be their protectress in France yet she could and did offer a haven to which they could repair. When the Sorbonne turned its attention again to the aged Lefèvre, Marguerite succeeded in having him transferred from Blois to Nerac.(5) So at

(1) D'Aubique, His of the Ref. vol.IV. Baird Rise of Aug.vol.1p141

(2) Letter of Marguerite to Francis I

(3) Baird, ibid chap. 4. note on p.126,

(4) Duclaux op. cit. p.126

(5) Mar. to Montmorency about his exchange

the age of eighty-eight Lefevre departed to pass the rest of his days at peace in Navarre. Roussel was already there, and gradually others came to take advantage of this place of refuge. Those that came were not limited to the reformers. Clement Marot, Desperriens, Antoine Heroet, "gay young poets" came into her household with d'Arande, Baduel and notable other reformers.(1) In such a manner were gathered together those known as "the group of Nerac".

The words "group of Nerac" bring to mind the other "group of Meaux". But the work of the "group of Nerac" was only similar to that of the "group of Meaux" as the personnel of the former is similar to that of the latter. The group of Meaux was composed entirely of church-men gathered together for the avowed purpose of carrying out a reform.

The group of Nérac on the other hand was in no sense such a unit, since they were a group gathered together to escape persecution from the Sorbonne, that was opposed first to heresy and next to learning as the door whereby heresy entered in.(2) Consequently it is but natural that the activity of the second group should be different.

(1) Duclaux p. 126

(2) Le "Apology for Herodotus" by Henri Estienne He records that Beda retorted to Bude in the presence of Francis I that Hebrew and Greek would be the source of many heresies." Intro.

Lindsay described the conduct of her "household":

"When the weather permitted, the whole company went for a stroll in the park after the discussion, and then seated themselves near a 'pleasant fountain' on the turf, 'so soft and delicate that they needed neither carpet nor cushions'. There one of the ladies-in-waiting (thirty dames or demoiselles belonged to the "Household') read aloud a tale from the Heptameron, not forgetting the improving conversation which concludes each story. This gave rise to an animated talk, after which they returned to the Palace. In the evening the 'household' assembled again in a hall, fitted as a simple theatre, to witness one of the Comedies or Pastorals which the Queen delighted to write, and in which, through a medium as strange as the Contes, she inculcated her mystical Christianity, and gave expression to her longings for a reformation in the Church and society. Her court was the precursor of the salons which in a later age exercised such a powerful influence on French political, literary and social life".(1)

ADMINISTRATION IN NAVARRE

In the government Henry and Marguerite showed
great administrative ability.

(1) Lindsay, Reformation in Lands beyond Germany .

"The country, though fertile and productive, remained barren and uncultivated through the neglect of its inhabitants, but under the administration of the sovereigns, its aspect soon changed for the better. They invited from France a numerous company of laborers, mechanics and engineers, who cultivated and drained the country. They embellished and fortified their towns and built magnificent palaces and castles. Amongst other designs accomplished by them, they enlarged the castle of Pan and surrounded it by gardens, the most fanciful and beautiful in Europe. After thus providing suitable accommodations for themselves, they re-established order in the police regulations of the principality, providing security to life and property and for the proper observance of the laws. They established a chamber to judge suits, both criminal and civil, and from the decrees of this court they suffered no appeal. They undertook the reformation also of Le Fors d'Oleron, a local court, which for many years had fallen into great disrepute for its venality and corruptions. Altogether, the sovereigns by their example and excellent deportment, contributed much to civilize the people. To defend themselves against a second invasion from Spain, and to place their capital

in comparative security, Henry and Marguerite fortified the town of Navarreins, a place situated on the River Gave; and constructed strong ramparts, vastrous and towers in the fashion then most approved of throughout Europe."

Hilarion de Coste. "Eloges et Vies des Reines et Princesses Illustres.

Marguerite did more than make this country of hers a refuge for the oppressed. The attitude which she had while in France toward the reform she brought down to Navarre. There unhampered by the Sorbonne, she materially aided the reformers in their work. She appointed Roussel to be one of her chaplains and, what was more startling, had him prwach witjout his cassock before the court.(1) With the help of those reformers who had gathered about her in Beard she drew up a statement of faith which she later presented to her brother.(2) Henry did not object to her work nor did he join with her in it except to accompany her to the ministrations of Lefevre and Roussel.(3) She provided a place for the asemblies of Protestants in a secret chamber appertaining to the Royal Mint at Pau.(4) These assemblies were conducted with profound secrecy, after nightfall. Marguerite frequently attended and some say that Henry also joined her.(5)

MARGUERITE AND THE REFORM OUTSIDE NAVARRE

Outside of Navarre, Marguerite continued to aid the reformers and their cause whenever opportunity

(1) See Freer op. cil. vol. II p. 203

(2) La Messe a Sept. Points

(3) Freer, ibid, p. 204

(4) Florinond, His de'l Heresie Verillas His de l'Herisie
After Freer)

(5) Beza and Freer Remond l'Verillas deny it.

offered. All the influence that was hers politically she brought to bear in favor of the ambassadors of the "League of Smalkalden", whom she received and protected at Fontainebleau, later sending them on to Blois with a letter to Montmorency (1) commending them and their cause to his good graces. When the time seemed "propitious" Marguerite projected a visit of one of the German reformers, Melancthon, to France. Francis wrote Melancthon and offered him a professorship which was declined(2). But Melancthon was welcomed to Paris to confer with the theologians. Though the visit was without reunion, yet it shows the direction of Marguerite's work for reform.

MARGUERITE AND INDIVIDUAL REFORMERS

Marguerite both aided individuals and used her political influence for the movement as a whole. It was known all over Europe that Marguerite was the person to whom to appeal in need. Erasmus wrote to her, commending her for the good work she had done in the past and mentions the needlessness of exhorting her to continue to do so.(3) Melancthon wrote to her in behalf of a friend Claude Baduel,

- (1) Letters of Marguerite to Montmorency
- (2) Bayle Dict. Historique article Melancthon
- (3) Erasmus to Marguerite Ides of Aug. 1527

that "it would be truly royal chairy, and one profitable to the Church, for your Highness to aid and support such a mind as this", and "the holy prophet Isaiah, alluding such almsgiving, says, that queens shall be the nursing mothers of students of Holy Writ; as such the church has long universally acknowledged you."(1) Marguerite aided Baduel in completing his education. We read also that she sent Calvin money when he was in Strasbourg (2) No one can tell how many others she helped in this way.

She also used the influence she had with her brother. When Cop and Calvin fled from Paris following Cop's address as Rector of the University(3), the Parliament drew up orders for the arrest of Calvin. Friends of Calvin appealed to Marguerite to help him. She not only secured an order to stop the pursuit (4) but procured permission for Calvin to reside at Angouleme. These events and many others similar to them show that Marguerite had the cause of the reformers at heart.

OPPOSITION OF THE CATHOLIC PARTY

But what of the Catholic party in Paris? Were they quietly accepting this attitude of Marguerite's

(1) Melancthon to Marguerite (Freer p. 213)

(2) Duclaux p. 130(?) also Freer P. 213

(3) See Baird, Lindsay, Freer, d'Aubique et al

(4) See Gailliard His. de François 1 er. Tome V Mar. knew Cal.

without any attempts at reprisals? Far from it. The Sorbonne was not an organization which accepted such reverses without an attempt at retaliation. They let no opportunity go by without trying to repay the sister of the king. "What a triumph for the theologians of Paris to achieve the humiliation of the queen of Navarre" said Beda (1). But care was needed in this opposition ^{to the} powerful sister of the king, and it was not until 1532 that anything was openly spoken against her. (2) But in the next year the Sorbonne put Marguerite's poem "Le Mirroir de l'Ame Pecheresse" on the list of prohibited works, claiming to be ignorant of the author. When Francis heard of it he was in a rage and ordered Nicholas Cop (3) into his presence to discover the guilty party. Next he ordered Bishop Senlis to repudiate the charge of heresy, and finally ordered the revocation of the censure of the poem. (4) Marguerite had won the first tilt, because the king was on her side.

The "Affair of the Placards" (5) enraged the king, and he ordered the arrest of all the Lutheran preachers in the city. Among these were Roussel and two Augustine monks, also proteges of Marguerite who had

- (1) Freer op cit vol.II p.184 (She gives no source)
- (2) See letter of Marguerite to Montmorency on subject
- (3) Rector of the University
- (4) See Freer p.189, 190
- (5) Oct. 18, 1534.

procured license for them to preach in Paris. When news came to her that they had been arrested and were to be tried, she naturally wrote on their behalf to her Montmorency.(1) But the king having given heed to the insinuations of the council against her, was in no mood to listen to her plea. Finally he ordered her to Paris to answer the charges against her. Francis received her with reproaches as being the cause of the evils of the kingdom.(2) But she soon assumed her wonted position in the favor of her brother, and answered all these charges as being false. She succeeded also in obtaining the freedom of the German preachers who had been seized and of most of the Frenchmen.(3)

OPPOSITION OUTSIDE OF PARIS

This opposition to Marguerite was not limited to Paris. In sympathy with the Sorbonne, the college of Navarre produced a "moralite" or allegorical play: In the first scene of the performance, a woman, meant to represent the queen of Navarre, was introduced, sitting with a spinning wheel before her, in the act of dropping her spindle in order to take a copy of the holy gospels

(1) Marguerite to Montmorency

(2) Gaillard, His. de Francois I er tome V

(3) Six were burned to death with terrible tortures. See Baird P. 177.

translated into the French language, which a hideous demon was presenting to her. After much controversial dialogue between the personages of the drama, abounding in insolent allusions to the sectarians and their patroness, the farce terminated by the transformation of the queen herself into a diabolical spirit and by her departure for the infernal regions. (1) The result of this was the arrest of those who played in the farce and of the principal of the college. The king was intent on punishing them severely but Marguerite pleaded their cause so well that after a few weeks in prison they were released. (2) Out of this came the dismissal of an old enemy of reform, Noel Beda, who was banished for some part he was reported to have had in this production. His pardon was secured by the Sorbonne and he returned only to have his banishment made imprisonment after a speech against the king. (3)

Opposition reached its highest point however, in the court of Marguerite when a plot was formed to poison her. Enraged at her attempt to remove the Bishop of Comdom (4) a number of his friends plotted together to poison the queen during the celebration of High Mass on

(1) Freer op. cit vol.II p. 191

(2) Saint Marthe, Ovaision Funalra

(3) He died in prison

(4) Marguerite to Francis demanding his removal.

Christmas Day, by burning deadly drugs in the censers which were to be wafted around her in homage. But Henry heard of it and ordered the arrest of the leader, Baron de Leseure, (1) but he escaped to Spain.(2)

INCONSISTENCIES

Marguerite survived the plots and opposition of her enemies and opponents, proving to be the rock on which more than one of them was broken.(3) In general she remained true to her friends and her aims, but in a few instances we wonder at her attitude.

1. TREATY OF CRESPIY

The first one of these events at which we wonder is her enthusiams at the signing of the treaty of Crespy. This Treaty which included among other things the stipulation that Francis should withdraw his protection from the Protestant provinces of Germany and that he should undertake to subdue the power of the Turks and arrest the progress of heresy. It is to be wondered that Marguerite did not see the results of this treaty but she seems not to have done

(1) The Baron was a zealous partisan of Rome Freer p. 385
(2) Mss. in Bibliotheque Royale (after Freer)

so, for we read in her letter to Francis that this Treaty would give peace "not to us alone, but to all Christendom". This she said of the treaty that brought into France the Inquisition and was the beginning of all the later persecutions.

2. MASSACRE OF WALDENSES

The other event at which we hear no protest from Marguerite is the massacre of Waldenses. Cardinal Tournou finally succeeded in getting from Francis permission to stamp out the "heretics and rebels". What followed is only too well known. The horror of the massacre and the destruction of the country have been told time and again. Strange to say, there seems to have been no action on the part of Marguerite for those poor people. It is hard to understand the change. Perhaps it was a feeling of helplessness, or perhaps she believed that the Vaudois were really rebels. We cannot say. She makes no note of it.

3. FAILURE TO JOIN PROTESTANTS

Another thing in her life that is hard to explain is her refusal to come out and openly join the

ranks of the reformers. This attitude will be considered in the next chapter. There are few lives on earth that show no inconsistencies, and Marguerite's was not one of them. In the main, she was consistent but these are undoubted and startling exceptions.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER VI

Title - THE RELIGION OF MARGUERITE AS SEEN IN HER WRITINGS.

- 1 - Her correspondance with Pope Paul III
- 2 - Her correspondance with
 - a - Non reformers
 - b - Reformers
- 3 - Her Poetry
- 4 - The Heptameron
- 3 - La Messe a Sept. Points.

CHAPTER VI

HER RELIGIOUS LIFE AS SEEN IN HER WRITINGS

We have traced more or less completely the attitude of Marguerite toward the reform and the reformers up to 1540. We have seen that in most instances Marguerite sided with the reformers, whenever possible using all her influence in their favor. Judging from her actions toward the friends of the Reform we might suppose that she also became a Protestant. But such is not the case. She never severed her connection with the church of Rome. Why was it that Marguerite, whose 'sympathies went to the first reformers and to their religious views; who shared their ardors, their enthusiasms, their loves; who imbued with their ideas reflected their works as a mirror' (1), never openly joined their ranks?

Perhaps the best reason why Marguerite never openly joined the ranks of the Protestants is found in the answer that Francis gave to Montmorency. Francis and Montmorency were conferring on the spread of heresy and possible measures to curb it. Montmorency turned to the

(1) Mar. & Pope Paul III. Cutters of p. 323.

King and said if he really was desirous to do away with heresy the place to begin was with his own sister (1). But Francis would not heed. "No. It cannot be true" he said, "she loves me too much for that" (2). Marguerite did love him too much to hurt his plans or to ruin the "little trinity" by declaring for the outlawed party.

Marguerite kept her official contact with the Catholic church for political and sisterly reasons. For the sake of her kingdom and for the sake of her brother she refrained from following in the footsteps of Calvin and Farel.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH POPE PAUL III

There is no doubt that she never left the church. When Calvinism came forward and opposed itself to Catholicism as such, we see Marguerite draw back and officially at least (3) return to her old form of worship, and to the end of her days remain a good Catholic. Remond records that at her last confession she affirmed the fact that she had always been true to the mother church (4). Further

(1) This was a step in the downfall of Montmorency.

(2) Brantomes, *Dame Illustres*, *Man de Valois* (?).

(3) Marq. Paul III p.323.

(4) Remond, *his de l'Herese*, after Kelly '*Memoir de Marq.*'

there are extant many letters written by her to Pope Paul III, which show that she even kept up a desultory correspondence with the Papacy (1). This correspondence was not religious but political in character. We read in one of Paul's letters to Marguerite the reason why the Papacy was willing to keep on friendly terms with her in spite of the complaints that must have been lodged against her by the Sorbonne. The Papacy was

"not ignorant that the king is gifted of all the virtues and that he need not make place for any of his predecessors in regard to the affection which he holds towards the apostolic age. Nevertheless your (Marguerite) influence is so great with him, so great is the love that attaches you to him---that we sincerely request you to use your influence with your brother in our favor" (2).

In return for the 'use of her influence" Marguerite makes the demand that they favor her porteges. (3).

In all this correspondence we find only one reference by Marguerite to Paul III about the reform of the Church, when she maively lines up Francis I, Charles V and Paul as "si bien ensemble" that they will be able to "reformer et conserver la Christiente"(4). Which leads us to wonder if the word "reform" had under

(1) Marg.-Paul III, 321, 322, notes.

(2) Ibid, p.321.

(3) In the case of the marriage of Victoria Francese and Francionde Lorraine.

(4) Marg. - Paul, III, p.321.

the pen of the queen of Navarre the meaning that we are accustomed to give it today.

THE CHARACTER OF HER RELIGION

What was the religion of Marguerite? She defended the Protestants yet remained a Catholic. Because of this seeming inconsistency of conduct it is only natural that there should be a divergence of opinion in the matter. We have those who say that she was always a true Catholic. "In proportion as she drew near to the end (of her life) she adhered with all her strength to the dogmas of the Catholic faith which had always been hers" (1). Opposed to these we find the opinion that she was essentially Protestant in thought.

"That which constituted the foundation of the poem 'Prisons' of the queen of Navarre, which is composed of more than 6,000 lines, is all simply Protestant thought. 'God is all, the rest is nothing' it is the summary of the Christian Institution, (2) it is the 'Christian Institution' in its entirety, and however chilled in her regard of Calvin when she published or wrote her 'Prisons' the queen of Navarre was entirely saturated by calvinistic thought". (3)

Such is the problem and as far as we can discover for ourselves the solution lies in her thoughts expressed so well and so voluminously in her writings. The problem is approached through the three different classes

(1) Rene Dominic, - Revue de Deux Monde. June 15, 1896, P. 93.

(2) A statement of the Protestant position by John Calvin.

(3) Emile Foquet - Cosmopolis, April 1896, P. 177.

of her writings, letters poetry and the collection of her stories known as the Heptameron.

THE RELIGION OF MARGUERITE AS SHOWN IN HER LETTERS

The letters of Marguerite can be divided into two classes according to their recipients; the reformers and those whose interest was not in the reform. For the purpose of this thesis those written to non reformers are not of great importance, although we find one thought ever present (1) namely, that God is all around us and that in every act of our lives we see His hand working out His will. But this is not peculiar to Marguerite (2). In some letters Marguerite brings in religious topics and exhorts her readers to be studious and faithful to their religious life (3).

It is, however, in her correspondence with the reformers on religious topics that Marguerite quite naturally expresses her religious views. With one particularly does she do so more than with others, namely, Briçonnet. Their correspondence fills 800 pages (4) and it is carried on in metaphorical terms, an interchange of thought hard to follow.

- (1) Picking ten letters at random, 2-Madame, 5 - Francis 3- Montmorency, nine have the name of God employed in some sense.
- (2) See letter of Francis to his mother after the battle of Pavid, where Francis says that God will take care of him.
- (3) See correspondence with her "Aunt of Savoy" and some letters to Francis and Madame.
- (4) Dubhaux, op.cit. p.51.

Out of this we can gather four things. Briconnet was her spiritual leader from whom she would learn "the way of salvation" (1) "When Briconnet deigns to descent from the searing altitude of his similes and parables, nothing can be more edifying and touching than his exhortations to the duchess, bidding her take comfort and persevere in the good path" (2). Another element in her religious life is a desire for a mystical absorption in God. This is perhaps the most pronounced emphasis given by the Bishop and is followed in part by Marguerite, though she professes not to understand him at times (3). A third element we find to be a desire for and a pleasure in the study of the scriptures (4). A fourth element is the desire to propagate this faith of hers. Indeed Duclaux (5) suggests that this was the whole cause of their correspondence, a desire to convert the royal family. Prayer holds a prominent place. Several times she refers to herself as well as the other members of her family to the Bishop as a subject for prayer. In a letter to Count Sigismund she writes, "I trust that he who, despite my demerits, has inspired you with this opinion of me will deign to accomplish this work; leading me in the path of Truth to

- (1) See letter quoted by Freer. OP.cit. vol.1, p.169-170.
- (2) Freer, op.cit. p. 168
- (3) M - B. The poor wanderer cannot understand.
- (4) This is not apparent after her visit to Meaux.
- (5) Duclaux op.cit. pp.54035.

obtain which, I pray you refuse me not your prayers.-----I hope moreover by the infinite mercies of God that thru your aid the truth may prevail." This letter is terminated by an expression of the writer's desire to see the Count that he might instruct her more fully in the knowledge of truth.(1).

This letter is a fair summary of her religion as shown by her correspondence. There is here stated her allegiance at least to the ideals of the Count and Bishop, both of whom were working for a reform, the one within the church, the other without, a Protestant working with Lutherans. Apart from her expressed sympathy with this reform, there is nothing in her letters that would brand her thought as Protestant. It is however difficult to discount that evident sympathy.

HER RELIGION AS SHOWN IN HER POETRY

When we come into her religious poetry we find the real statement of her religious beliefs. In poetry, Marguerite loses her reticence and expresses without hindrance or qualification her beliefs and aspirations. All that we have noticed in her correspondence is there. The omnipresent, omnipotent God:

(2)

(1) Marg. Count Sigmund.

(2) Noticed in her correspondence with the Count, Bric, her brother.

Quand il formoit les Cieux par sa Parole
Le feu et l'air, la Terre et l'eau tant molle
Qui le servoit a sy grande oeuvre faire?
Quand tant d'Esleuz eservoit en son rolle
Oriel serviteur estoit son prothocole
Pour noublier ce quil vouloit parfaire? (1)

The same idea is brought into a study of history when in "Le Triomphe de l'Agneau" Marguerite traces thru history the working of the divine will.

Her pleasure in the scriptures is evident thru her knowledge of them. In one poem alone, Ce Miroir de l'Ame Pecheresse, Princess Elizabeth counted more than one hundred and fifty direct references to the Scripture. She was acquainted with the entire scripture seeing that she read them in both Greek and Hebrew (2) but she was partial to "The gospels, the prophecs, particularly Jeremiah and Isiah, Genesis, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. St Paul and the Gospel of John were her particular favorites in the New Testament, while she liked Job the best in the Old Testament.

From her study of the New Testament and the tutelage of Briconnet she came to desire mystic union with God thru Jesus Christ.

(1) Oraison de l'Ame Fidele.

(2) Abel Franc, Le religieuse ideas.

9

Aymez donc, Dieu qui sy tres amiable,
Sans rien avoir en vostre cueur que luy,
Croyez qui il est tout bon et veritable,
Et tous, les biens que purrez anjoind qui
Sand Faire, faictes sans lendemain attendre
Mais le tout faict n'y mettez vostre appuy. (1)

Out of this mystic life comes an appreciation of
Christ not often acquired and she writes of Him:

Vostre mon est sy grande et admirable
Que natural esprit ou raisonnable,
Ne vous scauroit nonimier parfaitement:
Tous nous avez estant innominable,
Dont vostre sens est sy tres pet capable
Qu'il ne congnoit que c'est, quoy re comment.
Il ne suffit de croire seulement
Que de tout bien estes commencement,
Moyen et fui, en tous temps immuable,
Puisaant, bon, beau, sapient, veritable,
Car tous les noms que nostre entendement
Vous peult donner en chose vraysemblable,
Cela n'est rien, veu qu' indiciblement
Estes cluy qui Estes, vrayement,
Dond a vous est le scavior importable
Mais cognoissant que mostre sauvement
Vieut de Jesus, Nom sur tous admirable,
Savour Jesus, vous, appelle humblement. (2)

In her writings we find all the cardinal doctrines
of the church enlarged upon. Marguerite goes with Calvin
along the road of the origin of man's sin (3), and the
inability of anything to save men except Jesus Christ. (4)

(1) Dialogue en dorme de orision nocturne.

(2) Oraison de l' Aimé fidele.

(3) See Mirrior de l' Ame Pechrent.

(4) See Oraison de Notre Saviour Jesus Christ.

En (Christ) seul est seuve salvation
 Pour les Esteuz qu'il luy a pleu choisir
 Car Celluy seul qui a voulu mourir
 A tout pour vous gaigne et merite
 Reins plus ne fault scul-haitter ne guevir
 Il nous donne par sa grand charite
 Tous ses bienfaictz, merites et labeurs (1)

And Christ alone is our salvation. The work that we do does not in any way help us.

Er par l'oeuvre saulve re serez pas
 La bonne oeuvre, c'est la bon cueur naif
 Remply de foy, par chairte prouvee
 A son prochain in tout secours hastif (2)

When pressed with the eternal question of those who hold to the efficacy of good works. "Why then do good works at all," she replies:

Pour t'obeir et Suivre ton vouloir
 Ne croy-ant point les human enseigneurs-
 Main ton esprit seul, qui le fait valoir (3)

And the love of God is the proper work for us after he has saved us

Se ceste Amour dont te devours aymer
 Venoit de nous l-on Pourroit estimer
 Qe'elle servit bien courte et fort petite
 Mais si l'Amour de toi vient enflammer
 Notre ame et coeur, mettant a sec la mer
 De noz peches par sa grace et merite
 Ceste Amour la naura fin ny limite.

 Ce corps pesant est refait tout nouveau
 Leger luisant, chauld contre sa nature
 Par l'unison du doux feu de l'Agneau
 An Createur seuble la cfeature (4)

- (1) Dialogue, etc.
- (2) Dialogue en forme de vision nocturne
- (3) Oraison de l'Ame fidele
- (4) Ibid.

Therefore it is to God we should pray:

-----en pas qui a genoulx
Patenastrait en l'Eglise soyez
Mais en tous lieux layniant par dessus tout (1)

The true christiannis the one who follows in the path of his Lord and counts his salvation as certain "par sa grace et parole congneue" (2) Marguerite concludes per poem "Le Miroir de l'Ame Pecherste" with a fine statement of the christians security based on the love of God:

-----qui m'en separera?
Certes du Ciel la tres grand hauteur
Ny de l'enfer l'abisme et profondeur
Ny la largeur de toute ceste terre,
Morte, ne peche qui taut me fait de guerre,
ne me pourront separer un seul jour
De la grande charite et amour
Que mon Pere, par Jesus Christ, me porte (3)

(1) Ibidogues, 100.

(2) Dialogues, etc. 100.

But so far, these beliefs might be claimed by both sides, with the exception of the doctrines concerning good works. Although they weigh somewhat more heavily toward the Protestant side, especially when considered in the light of her own day. However we do not need to limit ourselves to these statements. Marguerite has attacked certain doctrines of the Roman Church. In her "Miroir" she writes against the sacrament of penance as not satisfying the true spiritual life. (Nowhere in her poetry is purgatory mentioned.) The other sacraments are seldom written of and always their efficacy is rejected. Saints and works are useless:

Quel est le nom, telle est vostre louenge,
Tant que je croy qu'il n'ya Saint ny Ange
Qui au Parfait j'aimais y seeust attendre
Si pour jeusner allez nuds piedz en lange
Battre mon corps ainsi que ble en grange
Ou cent Psaultiers a dire me contraindere,
Je vous pouvois assez louer, sans feuidere
Je le ferois; mais je ne puis restreindre
(Ainsi qu' un corps tient en soy ce qu'il mange)
Vostre vertu, non le bout de la frange
Assez louer; car le louenge est mouidre
Que la bonte qui re se mue ou change (1)

(1) Oraison de Notre Saviour, Jesus Christ, Her last poem.

This seems to go against the theory of Mr. Dominic that she was always a true Roman Catholic. There remains yet to be discussed of Marguerite's writings the "Heptameron". This collection of stories, scandalous in part and frivolous altogether, presents a parallel in her writings to her actions in not joining outright the Protestant group and in not objecting to the wholesale murder of the Waldensians. But lest we judge her harshly let us remember that the morals and conventions of her day were not those of ours and probably in writing these stories she thought no more of them than a woman of today would think of writing stories of her society group. However in these stories, Marguerite had a purpose other than to amuse (1), namely to point a moral as she does at the end of each story. Strange as the means employed may seem to us, there can be no doubt of this being the purpose. A good example of this method is found in Novel XXX.

The gist of the story is this::

A widow, not believing the report brought to her by one of her maids that her son was soliciting the maid had this girl appoint a tryst with the boy, which she, (the mother) intending to reprove her son, kept. But the mother

(1) See discussion on the date of the Heptameron in Duclaux and Freer.

waited too long and was with child by her own son.

"No sooner was the sin committed than she was seized with the most poignant remorse and her repentance lasted as long as her life-----But instead of humbling herself, and owing that of ourselves alone and without the aid of God, we can do nothing but sin, she thought by her own efforts and by her tears to repair the past and prevent future mischief, always imputing her sin to the occasion, and not to wickedness for which there is no remedy but the grace of God."

(1)

The widow sent her son away and after her child, a girl, was born, sent her away also. Later the mother told her son to marry whom he chose, which he did, marrying his sister's daughter, to the lasting grief of the mother.

The tale is followed by a discourse on the weakness of humanity and the need to rely on God for strength.

"The sovereign remedy, then, is to commend oneself to God; for, unless He upholds us by His power, His virtue and His goodness, we not only fall, but take pleasure in falling." (2)

By such salacious tales Marguerite endeavored to teach the truths of morality and religion. Much as we may laud the end in view, the method is not of the best, that is certain. But in these discourses we learn much of the character of her religion as applied to the situations of life. Most of the doctrines of the poems we find here especially that of God's grace and the inability of works to save (3)

(1) Heptamenon, Book II P.39

(2) Ibid p.4.

(3) See Novels 33,36,38.

"I choose this story of recent date, ladies, in order that the hypocrisy of those who believe themselves more religious than others may not so beguile you as to make your faith quit the right party and induce you to hope for salvation in any other than Him who will have no companion in the work of our creation and our redemption. He alone is almighty to save us in eternity and to comfort us in this life, and deliver us out of our afflictions." (1)

The abuse of the confession is laughed at, (2) the monks are the butt of many of the stories and are generally shown up in a very poor light. (3)

Taken as a whole the writings of Marguerite substantiate the claim that she was Protestant in her thought and conception of religion, and that she was essentially at variance with the Catholic positions of her day. Fortunately there is a statement of Marguerite's religion formulated by herself with the aid of some of the reformers who were with her at Nevae Le Masse as Sept Points. (4) This bears out the contention of the Protestant bias of the queen of Navarre. So evident was this that when Marguerite gave it to Francis he is said to have remarked that 'it smelled of faggots.' (5) In this article, so named because it differed in seven of its articles from the doctrine and practice of the

(1) B K L p.176

(2) Novel 41

(3) See Novel 5 11a, 11b, 22, 23, 29, 31, 33, 51, 46, 48.

(4) See Williams, The Pearl of Princesses. pp

Roman Church, we find Marguerite's doctrine of the Church. The sum of it is that Marguerite hoped that the reform as put forward by the reformers might be sanctioned by the Church of Rome, and that the church might continue under the leadership of Rome, cleansed of its errors in doctrine and practice and free from all superstition. Protestant in religious life and content of teaching, but Catholic in polity. This is the dream which Marguerite held for the Church (1).

(1) Freer, vol. 11, p. 170, also Williams.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTER VII

Title - CONCLUSION

- 1 - The Death of Marguerite.
- 2 - Contemporary Tributes to her.
- 3 - The Contribution of Marguerite to the Reformation in France.
 - a - During her life.
 - b - In the advancement of learning.
 - c - In her protection of the reform.
- 4 - After her death.
 - a - Jeanne d'Albret
 - b - The Huguenots of Navarre

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSION

Misfortune seemed to settle upon the House of Valois. The king was afflicted with an incurable disease and was never free from pain. Defeated in his campaign he had signed the unfortunate and humiliating Treaty of Crespy (1). His favorite son, the Duke of Orleans, had died of the plague. (2) And in 1547, March 31, the king expired after a long period of suffering. Marguerite was all that was left of the 'little trinity'. Then was fulfilled the prophecy that she had made years ago to her brother

"Monseigneur, I entreat you to do me the justice to believe that if I said I thought I should be the longest survivor, it was only inspired by the dread that God had doomed me to suffer the very perfection of misfortunes and trials which he could inflict on one of his creatures." (3)

And Marguerite was so bowed down with her sorrow that she writes::

Je n'ay plus ny pere, ny mere
Ny soeur, ny frieve
Simon Dieu seul auquel j'espere;
Qui sur le ciel et terre impere

J'ay mis du tout en oubliance
Le monde, et parens et amis;
Biens et honneurs en abondance
Je les tiens pour mes enemies (4)

(1) June 1546 after Freer.

(2) September 8, 1545.

(3) Mar. Francis I.

(4) Man cemertes de la Marguerite, p 502.

And she implored the aid of death to relieve her of her grief (1)

The Marguerite had not long to await the remaining days were not happy. Her daughter, Jaanne d' Albert, was married to the Duke de Vendome much against her mother's will. (2) Ill health took her and she was forced to relinquish all executive duties to her husband. She herself sums up this period in the last lines of poetry that she wrote:

Je Cherche aultant la croix et la desire
Comme aultrefois je l'ay voulu fouyr,
Je cherche aultant par tourment en jouyr
Comme aultrefois jay craint son dur martyre,
Car ceste croix mon ame a Dieu attire
Dont tous les biens qu'au monde p uis avoir
Quicter je veulx, la croix me doibt souffive (3)

On the first of December 1549, Marguerite was forced to take to her bed as it proved for the last time. After an illness of three weeks the Queen of Navarre died, having received extreme unction from a priest, Gilles Caillau. (4) So passed out from this life the Pearl of Princesses, having set on her lips the name thrice repeated of Him whom she had sought to serve on earth, "Jesus" (5)

(1) See poem Chausan Faicte pan la Royne de Navarre au mois aperes la mort du Roy.

(2) See description given by Dulaux of this marriage, p. 3622-ff

(3) Le Miroir de Jesus Christ Crucified.

(4) Freer, Life of Mar. d'Angoulene, vol II, p. 508. This priest is the one who claims she said that she had always been true to the Roman Catholic Church.

(5) Olhagary, His. de Bearn de Funelner }
Chas de St Marthe, Oraison de Funelon } After Freer, ibid p. 508

"Alas" writes the historian of Navarre, "Who can describe the mourning made thruout Bearn and Foix. It seemed as if the sun had withdrawn its rays so that the day became as gloomy night, that the Muses had fled from the earth and that all the learned, wearied of existence, fell, annihilated beneath the dread blow." (1)

"As Marguerite's patronage of the learned amongst her own countrymen had been universal, so all were eager to unite in her praise. From the learned enthusiast, Guillaume Pastel, to the most insignificant court poet, each consecrated to her memory some tribute of gratitude." (2)-----Among those who write of her are Calvin, Beza, Melanchthon, Montluc, Annyot, Rousard, DeBellay, Daurat, Denisot, BeThou and St. Marthe. Freer selects as the best tribute to her the lines of Bousard::

This honor to her name was not limited to France. England gave "the most brilliant meed of praise" to the name of the queen of Navarre. Elizabeth, Princess and later Queen of England, translated her poem (3) *Le Miroir de l'Amé Pecheresse*. The Seymour sisters wrote one hundred Latin verses in honor of the queen. (4)

- (1) Olhagary, *His de Bearn et Navarre*, after Freer *ibid* p.509
- (2) Freef, *Life of Mar d'Angoulime*, vol.ii, p.514.
- (3) There is a photographic copy of this translation in the N.Y. Public Library with all the interesting notes made by the Princess.
- (4) Remond, *HP d l'beresie*.

"Queen Marguerite died at the castle of Odos, in Bigorre, December 21, 1549 at the age of fifty-seven. The ceremonies of her lying-in-state were magnificent and prolonged. The queen's remains were visited by hundreds of her poor subjects of Bearn and Foix; and the tears shed over her bier formed a more glorious tribute of praise to her virtues than the elegies and eulogiums by which all the learned of Europe celebrated the memory of their benefactress." (1)

CONTRIBUTIONS OF MARGUERITE TO THE REFORMATION

There is no doubt that Marguerite contributed largely to the rise and development of the Reformation in France. Even those who hold that Marguerite was always on the Catholic side admit this:

"It is particularly observed by all the historians of both parties that this princess was the sole cause, without signing any ill, of the preservation of the French Lutherans, and that the Church, which afterward took the name of Reformed, was not stifled in its cradle," (2)

says a Catholic historian of her. What was the extent of her contributions? What was the importance of them? How long did they last?

(1) Freer p. 510

(2) Remond, His. d. l'heresie.

In considering the extent of her contributions we might divide these according to time. First those made in her own day and second, those started by her which did not bear fruit until she was gone. Again division can be made of her contribution to her own day into two lines, the contribution to learning and the contribution to the Reformation proper.

Those who refuse to allow the religious sentiments of Marguerite as a ruling motive of her life (1) refer to all her actions in the behalf of the reformers as an expression of her passion for learning. There is no question that all her life Marguerite was a patroness of learning and was always ready to assist students and savants who were worthy. Nor is there any question that this extension of learning was helpful to the spread of the Reformation doctrines. When Beza was listing those reformers who contributed most, he placed the portrait of Francis I at the head. This needed defense and he gave it thus:

"Pious spectator, do not shudder at the sight of this adversary Ought he not to have a part in this honor, who expelled barbarism from the world, and with a firm hand substituted in its stead three languages and sound learning, to be as it were the portals to the new building that was to be erected."(2)

If Francis deserved a place in the list of reformers on account of his patronage of learning, how much more did Marguerite, who was the power behind the throne? The great contributions of Francis to learning were his founding of the College of France and his inviting to his court and kingdom the learned men of his day. It is to the Cardinal Du Bellay, Guillaume Bude and Marguerite that the real credit should go for the founding of the College of France.(3) Not only this, but the college of

1) Duclaux, Remond, Verillas, Maimbourg.

2) Theo. de Beza, Histoire Ecclesiastique. (after d'Aubigne, op. cit. p.403)

3) See discussion of this in Duclaux, op. cit. p. 133ff.

Bourges was known as 'Marguerite's college' because of her patronage,(1) and to Marguerite should go the high place accorded by Beza to Francis, for she was the impelling influence in the whole Movement of the Renaissance.

A more direct influence upon the course of the Reformation in France is due to Marguerite's protection of the Reformers. This paper has traced with care the conduct of the sister of the king in protecting and aiding them. Time and again we read in her letters to Francis and Montmorency, intercessions for those who were to be punished for adherence to the Lutheran doctrines. Her defence of Berquin, her assistance to the group of Meaux and her later protection of reformers are examples of her constant readiness to use her undoubted influence with her brother in their behalf. This was perhaps the 'sole cause' of the life and spread of these doctrines in the environs of Paris, where the influence of the Sorbonne was so strong. The prominence she gave to the study of the Scriptures in her own life and the earnestness with which she tried to have others study them, was not without effect.(2) Her influence was not limited to Paris. When she went to Navarre, as we have seen, she took with her a group of men, reformers, savants and poets, and gave them a refuge in her court. From here her protection went out over all the country. Not only was her court a haven of refuge, but as always, her influence and her money were at the disposal of those who were in need of them. Calvin was among those who received pecuniary assistance as well

- 1) Freer, op. cit. When Melancthon persuaded Mar. a student, he pleaded that the student had attended 'her' college at Bourges.
- 2) Freer, (Ibid) related an incident when Mar. conversed a long time with a visiting prelate on the necessity of Scripture study.

3)

protection bot at home and abroad.(1) Her influence was not limited to individuals, but in one instance her intercession with her brother saved the lives of a whole city.(2)

There can be no gainsaying the fact of her sympathy and protection for the Reformers, though perhaps not every one would go as far as Remond and make her influence wholly responsible for the rise of the Reformation. There is sometimes a tendency among the general historians of the Reformation from the Protestant standpoint to belittle her contribution. This is a mistake, for the history of the times show that there was not one person, up to the time of Calvin, who influenced the Reformation in France more than Marguerite.

"The evil that men do lives after them,
The good if oft interred with their bones."

From the standpoint of a Roman Catholic this might be true of Marguerite. But from the standpoint of the Reformation this is not so. It was not until Marguerite had been dead some time that the greatest of her contributions became apparent. This greatest of her contributions was the way in which the people of Navarre joined the Protestant ranks and followed under the great leader of the Protestant party, Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of Marguerite and Queen of Navarre. She was one of the most remarkable women in a day of remarkable women. Protestantism in France owes both of these contributions to the dead queen. For it was through the protection and sympathy of Marguerite that the reformers could go out and preach their doctrines over this country and win so many to their side. And it was to her mother that Jeanne d'Albret owed her

bias toward these doctrines which later became a conviction strong enough to send her to the battle field for them.

Marguerite is dead, but through her letters and poems we can see the picture of a woman to whom the Protestant cause owes much. Her influence goes beyond France into Switzerland, Germany and England. (1) END
The influence of her life will be sure to be felt by those who pierce beneath the surface of the Heptameron and reach the soul of the woman who could live in the day when life was common and yet see the value of it; who could rise above the injuries done to her and plead for the lives of her injurers; who throughout all her life could love those who were unworthy of her love; and who could so clearly see the reality and purpose of religion at a time when ritual and superstition were the order of the day that she could write:

"Je cherche aultant la croix."

FINIS

1) Anne Boleyn was one of her ladies of honor while at Meaux.

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