Jeanne D'Albret: A Puritan at the Court of Catherine de Medici

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JEANNE D' ALBRET

(A Puritan at the Court of Catherine de Medici)

By

Mother Mary Hortensia, S.H.C.J.

A Thesis Submitted in Partial
Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Master of Arts

in

Loyola University

1939
Vita

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INTRODUCTION

Europe in the Sixteenth Century was passing through an upheaval equalled probably only by the convulsions she is experiencing today. Luther in Germany, Calvin in France, and Elizabeth in England were shaking society to its foundations, while Philip II, with traditional Hapsburg conservatism, was trying to stem the tide by the Inquisition, and the pope, against strong national opposition, was pushing forward the decrees of the Council of Trent. Strangely enough, in this critical period of unrest, woman stepped from her obscurity in the historical background to become the directing force in an age of conflict, --Catherine de Medici was at the helm in France, Elizabeth in England, Mary Stuart in Scotland, Margaret of Parma in the Netherlands, and Jeanne d'Albret in Navarre.

The name of Navarre brings in its train a wealth of romance, nestling as it does in the Pyrenees between France and Spain. It was at Pamplona, the one-time capital of the Spanish Navarre, that Ignatius Loyola fought and was wounded. It was from Navarre that the White-Plumed Knight rode forth to be crowned King of France. He entered France as the champion of the Reform, yet after abjuring herey and adopting the Catholic faith, he earned the title of Henry, the Great. His mother, Jeanne d'Albret, was an ardent supporter of the Reform, and in the vigor of her character and the fire of her passions, was a formidable adversary of Catherine
de Medici, who used her as a foil against Philip II, and when it suited her purpose, negotiated a marriage between Jeanne's son, Henri, and her youngest daughter, Marguerite.

French history of this century is replete with diplomatic intrigue and the conflict between Church and State. Non-Catholic writers seem to have sensed its dramatic appeal, and have written on it copiously. They have treated the Reformers as heroes and martyrs, emphasizing at the same time the corruption of the Catholic party, so that such a character as the Cardinal de Lorraine appears only as a scheming politician, ready to sacrifice both church and state to gain his own ends, while Catherine de Medici is nothing but a murderess. Coligny and Jeanne d'Albret, on the contrary, are models of asceticism, zealous only for purity of worship. A closer study of the situation reveals that ambition for political power and greed for church property were really the dominant incentives among the so-called Reformers, and the iconoclasm of Jeanne d'Albret, the sovereign princess of Navarre, equalled, if it did not surpass, the butchery of St. Bartholomew's Eve. Further investigation reveals that the ferocity of La Noue's campaigns was a close match for the ruthlessness of Montluc's.

The following chapters are but a brief attempt to reveal the character of Jeanne d'Albret and the forces that formed that vindictive woman, of whom d'Aubigne, her contemporary and coreligionist said, "She had nothing of the woman in her save her sex."¹

CHAPTER I

JEANNE'S HERITAGE

The early history of Navarre is clouded in obscurity. At various times from the ninth to the fourteenth century, it had maintained its independence, but was always threatened by the superior forces of Aragon and Castile. At other times, it had been subject to France, whose protection it sought to escape Castilian domination. In 1328, however, it regained its separate sovereignty. In that year, Charles IV of France died. His mother, Jeanne, had been proclaimed Queen of Navarre upon the death of her father, Henri, brother and heir of Thibault II, who died in 1253, while on an expedition with Louis IX. Henri was married to Princess Blanche, a niece of Louis IX, and from this marriage there was only one heir, Jeanne. Through the efforts of the Queen-Mother, Blanche, Jeanne was married to Philip of France, so that Navarre became an appendage to the French crown. This condition continued under the next three reigns,--Louis X, Philip V, and Charles IV, three sons of Jeanne. At the death of Charles IV, since he left no issue, the French crown passed to Philip VI of Valois. The states of Navarre took advantage of this break in the line to recognize Jeanne as their sovereign, as the Salic law does not hold in Spain, and they were weary of foreign domination. 1 At first

Philip of Valois, who had now ascended the French throne, objected, but after securing some concessions, withdrew his opposition and recognized Jeanne's coronation.

In spite of the difficulties in maintaining their independence, the Navarrese preserved a high degree of democracy in their local government. Seignobos says that the mountaineers of Bearn and Bigorre never became feudalistic; they always remained free peasants.2 Mariana tells us that the Navarrese conducted what seems like a near-approach to the New England town-meeting.3 This is not at all strange in the Spanish peninsula, where the Castilians demanded an oath from their king before his accession to the throne to preserve the liberties of the people, while they promised allegiance only so long as he upheld the traditional constitution.4 This sturdy independence is probably responsible, at least in part, for the importance of the little buffer state of Navarre, which, though small and comparatively unproductive, exercised considerable influence upon the diplomacy of Catherine de Medici. Nor was Philip II unmindful of its importance, since it is the gateway between Spain and France.

Jeanne died in 1349, and was succeeded by her eldest son, Charles II, who in turn was followed by Charles III in 1387. His reign was long and peaceful, due to alliances with Castile (his queen, Lenora, was princess of Castile) and with France (he was granted the title of Duke of Nemours).5

4. Ibid., 347.
5. G. Mercer Adam, 212.
He died in 1425, and was succeeded by his daughter, Blanche, and her con-
sort, Juan of Aragon. In 1441, Blanche died, leaving the sceptre to her
son, Charles IV, according to the will of his grandfather. Civil war now
broke out, (1451), since Juan, father of Charles IV, had no intention of
relinquishing during his life-time the power which he had shared with
Blanche. The Biamontese faction, who supported the claims of Charles IV,
appealed to the King of Castile and the King of France for aid against
Juan of Aragon. The French, who had just conquered Guienne from England,
seized Pamplona. Juan with the support of the Agramontese faction and
the aid of the Earl of Lerin regained the town. Charles IV died
September 13, 1454. The escutcheon on his coat of arms is significant
of the history of Navarre, two fierce mastiffs, fighting for a bone,
signifying France and Castile contending for Navarre.

On the death of Juan, in 1479, Lenora was crowned, but died the
following month. Francis-Phebus, the offspring of her son Gaston, who
had died in battle, 1469, came to the throne. He, too, died after a short
reign, and was succeeded by his sister, Catherine. She married Jean
d'Albert, who, through the claims of his wife, became King of Navarre.
He was lord of Perigieux, Limoges, and Dreux. This marriage caused great
opposition in Navarre, where it was traditional to consult the Cortes
before contracting marriage with a foreign prince.

John, Viscomte of Narbonne and uncle of the Queen, contested that

7. Ibid., 404.
8. Ibid., 445.
since his elder brother, Gaston, had died before his mother, he, and not Catherine, was the rightful heir. The Earl of Lerin was at this time in possession of Pamplona. Both factions had recourse to Ferdinand of Castile. At first he promised to support the King and Queen Catherine, but later allied himself with John, the pretender. Catherine now turned to the King of France for aid against Ferdinand. He made an alliance with Jean d'Albret to restore Navarre to him as soon as the wars in Italy were over, for Charles VIII had begun that series of wars in the peninsula which Francis I carried on to his ruin. Pope Julius II, hearing of this, and understanding how the King of Navarre "favored and assisted the enemies of the Church", resolved with the advice of the College of Cardinals to take the course that was usual against schismatic princes. He pronounced sentence of excommunication on the King and Queen of Navarre, depriving them of their regal style and dignity, and laying their dominions open to any one who would take possession of them.

King Ferdinand, having obtained this judgment against them, kept it secret, hoping to reduce them to his terms by some other method. The following month he sent Peter de Honbanon from Burgos to declare to the royal pair how much they had deviated from their true interests, and to induce them to break their allegiance with France. He also required them to deliver up their son to marry one of Ferdinand's granddaughters,—Elizabeth or Catherine.

Catherine and Jean refused to comply with any of these terms, and continued their preparation for war, for they were greatly encouraged by news brought

10. Ibid.
from Italy of the success of the French.

Ferdinand planned to lay siege to Pamplona, sending the Duke of Alva into Navarre on July 21, 1512. The Queen had gone to Bearn, and the King, losing all hope of defending the city, fled to Lumbiere. Pamplona surrendered immediately to the Duke of Alva. Upon this, John, the pretender, whose cause Ferdinand had espoused, sent three commissioners to the Duke to negotiate that the King of Spain should hold the whole kingdom in trust for his son, the Prince of Viana. Ferdinand ignored the proposal. In a short time, the people of Salazar and Roncales revolted. The Marshal of Navarre, who up to this time had remained neutral, declared for King Jean and France. There are two passes between Navarre and France, Valderroncal and Valderroncas. The Duke of Alva took up the latter, while King Jean led his forces to the former in the middle of October, 1512. Jean encamped about two hundred leagues from Pamplona, hoping that the city would declare for him, but the Spanish army held it. The French endeavored to divert Ferdinand's forces, and cut off his supplies. A terrible siege lasted for about a month, but on the last day of November the French were forced to retreat. When Leo X became pope, an "accord" was reached between the King of France and the King of Castile whereby Naples went to France, and Navarre was secured to Ferdinand under a truce that was to last one year. Thus all the territory of Catherine was taken from her and awarded to the Catholic King. The possessions of Jean d'Albret and the sting of their humiliation were all that remained

11. G. Mercer Adam, 216.
12. Mariana, 551.
to the exiled pair. Brooding over her misfortunes, Catherine nourished a
resentment toward Ferdinand, and what amounted to hatred for the Pope,
which was passed on to her granddaughter, Jeanne, and formulated her
religious and political tendencies.

The future Queen of Navarre was also strongly influenced by the
literary flare and religious sympathies of her mother, Margaret d'Angouleme,
sister of Francis I, who ascended the throne of France in 1515. He was a
cousin of Louis XII, who left no male issue. His mother, Louisa of Savoy,
hoping the fates would be kind to her children, trained them to rule.
It was the ambition of Francis I to regain for France what the gentleness
of Louis XII had lost, Navarre and Milan. As soon as he began his cam-
paign in Italy, Ferdinand assembled the Cortes in each of his provinces
to ask for money to carry on the war which was imminent. The Cortes of
Burgoes provided 150 million maravedies if Navarre would be united to
Castile rather than to Aragon as it was formerly. From his acceptance of
this revenue, it is clear that Ferdinand had no intention of releasing
Navarre at the expiration of the "accord". At the battle of Pavia,
Francis I met disaster and became the prisoner of Charles V, so all hope
of Navarre's rescue by France vanished. Catherine and Jean d'Albret both
died in 1515, leaving a son, Henri, who married Marguerite d'Angouleme,
the sister of Francis I, cementing the bond between France and the house
of d'Albret. From this marriage only one child lived,--Jeanne, who married
Antoine de Bourbon, and because of this alliance, and her heritage, Navarre,

figured prominently at the court of Catherine de Medici.

Politically, and by ties of kinship and marriage, Catherine and Jeanne should have been allies, but differences of religion put them in opposing camps. A sketch of the activities of Marguerite d'Angouleme, Jeanne's mother, will show how she introduced Calvinism into Bearn. Jeanne, in her turn, fostered Protestantism; in fact, by some authors, she is called the leader of the Huguenots, and on this account involved Navarre in the Wars of Religion.

On his accession to the throne, Francis I raised his mother, Louisa of Savoy, to the rank of Duchess of Angouleme, and married his sister, Marguerite, at the age of seventeen, to the Duc d'Alencon. While at this court, she promoted a literary circle of which Clement Marot, the Reformist poet, was the center. In 1521, she published the "Heptameron", a collection of witty satires on the abuses of the day, written in the style of the "Decameron". The effect of her ridicule and exposures was so pernicious, producing a lack of faith, scepticism and moral decline, that she was severely condemned by de Thou. At the same time, she supported the preaching of Lefevre, an exponent of the Reform, and made the Bishop of Meaux (Count de Briconnet) her confidant. The latter had undertaken the reform of his diocese by founding a school of theology where Calvinistic doctrines were taught. The Franciscans at Meaux

17. Ibid., Vol. I, 103.
denounced the bishop publicly for introducing "reformers" in the pulpits in his diocese. Charges were brought against him, as well as Lefevre, to the Sorbonne, where the syndic, Beda, condemned both of them. Through the influence of Marguerite, Lefevre was summoned to the court at Blois, where he was given a hearing to establish his innocence of heresy, much to the consternation of the judges of the Sorbonne. Somewhat later, the Bishop of Meaux was summoned before the Inquisitorial Commission, where he retracted and soon retired. Marguerite expressed deep regret at his "defection", and here her correspondence with him ceased.

The Sorbonne next took action against Louis Berquin. His books were condemned May 13, 1553, pending his formal trial for heresy. Marguerite's intercession saved him from this ordeal. At this time, she was residing in Lyons, where she authorized Michel d'Arande, a disciple of the Reform, to preach publicly. The same patronage was accorded to Antoine Papillon, whose translation of Luther's books on monastic vows had been condemned by the Sorbonne, and to Antoine du Blet and Vaugris, also leaders of the Reform at Lyons. As the Pope, in league with the Emperor against the aggressions of Francis I, was at this time the avowed enemy of France, Louisa, Duchess of Angouleme, acting as regent during the absence of Francis I in the Italian campaigns, made no objection to the activities of Marguerite, which helped to weaken the papal authority in southern France. The Dominicans at Lyons, however, protested to the Sorbonne,

demanding the arrest of Seville of Grenoble and Maigret, an apostate Dominican who was preaching under the patronage of Marguerite. Beda,* the syndic of the Sorbonne, lauded the action of the Dominicans, but once more Marguerite's influence with Francis I obtained a mandate forbidding their arrest. About this time Francis I was defeated at Pavia, and taken prisoner by Charles V. Louisa decided upon a conciliatory policy toward the pope, and through the Sorbonne, consulted him on a proper attitude toward heretics. Clement VII proposed the introduction of the Inquisition in France. A decree of Parlement 22 established an Inquisitorial Commission, which was soon enacting wholesale executions. In answer to an appeal from Marguerite, Francis I sent a mandate to his mother to withhold all action against heresy until his return. Parlement remonstrated, but without avail.

*Note:—Noel Beda is not to be confused with Theodore Beza, the Calvinist. Beda was a fearless priest, syndic of the Sorbonne when it was most conservative and was functioning as the Inquisitorial Commission of France. He incurred the displeasure of Francis I by condemning his sister, Marguerite d'Angouleme, for patronizing the heretical preachers. His sermon, delivered January 15, 1519, in defense of the Church, and in refutation of the teachings of Lefevre, Marguerite's favorite, is extant. A copy of it is available in the Rare Volume Room of the Newberry Library. The volume gives no place or date of publication; presumably it was Paris, for it was delivered there, and judged from the type and style, (it is in Latin in old Gothic lettering) it was published in the middle or latter half of the Sixteenth Century. Beda died in 1560.

Due d'Alençon had died, leaving Marguerite free for another alliance. On January 24, 1527, her nuptials with Henri I of Navarre were celebrated. During the following summer, Roussel, a reformer for whom Marguerite had great admiration, was imprisoned by the Sorbonne. Marguerite pleaded for his release, and invited him to Bearn, where she now resided as Queen of Navarre. She conferred upon him the Abbey of Clairac. He was later made Bishop of Oleron, and was henceforth always retained as Marguerite's chaplain. She also invited Lefevre, formerly condemned by the Sorbonne, to reside at her court at Pau. Francis I, on the contrary, was anxious to incur the favor of the Pope, who had suffered recently at the hands of the Emperor, Charles V. Persecution of the Huguenots began systematically, and in spite of Marguerite's entreaties in his behalf, Berquin was burned at the stake, April 24, 1529. In 1532, the Sorbonne had condemned Marguerite's book "Le Miroir de l'Ame Pecheress", but at the request of Francis I the ban was removed. The same year the College of Navarre presented a morality play, portraying the Queen of Navarre as the patron of Reformers. Francis I caused the arrest of the players, and had Beda, who was suspected of the authorship of the farce, exiled for two years. The following year, Calvin was

24. Ibid., Vol. II, 16.
27. Ibid., Vol. II, 122.
arrested in Paris, but once more Marguerite's protection was invoked to secure his release. It was into this atmosphere of political and religious controversy that Jeanne d'Albret was born, November 16, 1529, the daughter and sole heir of Henri I of Navarre and Marguerite d'Angouleme, destined through the manoeuvres of Catherine de Medici to be mother of one of the great kings of France,—Henry IV.


Note:—Martha W. Freer, (Life of Marguerite de Angouleme, Cleveland, 1895.) gives the date of her birth as January 7, 1528, so does Rochambeau (editor of Lettres d'Antoine de Bourbon et de Jeanne d'Albret, Paris, 1877.) I have given preference to Bordenave because he was a contemporary of Jeanne and wrote his history at her request.
GENEALOGY OF JEANNE D' ALBRET

Thibault II (King of Navarre) - - - - - - Henry (his brother and heir) d. 1253
Philip IV of France - married - - - Jeanne (proclaimed Queen d. 1349 of Navarre at the death of her father)

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<th>Philip V</th>
<th>Charles IV</th>
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<td>d. 1316</td>
<td>d. 1322</td>
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Held crowns of France and Navarre

Recognized as Queen of Navarre 1329

Charles II d. 1387

Lenora, Princess of Castile - married - - - Charles III d. 1425

Juana -- Juan of Aragon - married - - - Blanche of Castile d. 1479

(Second wife of Juan of Aragon)

Charles IV Clare Lenora d. 1454 d. 1479

(married Henry IV)

(married Count of Foix)

Juana Ferdinand Madeleine (married Isabella of Castile)

Gaston of Foix John of Narbonne d. 1469

Francis Phebus Catherine (married Jean d'Albret) d. 1516

Marguerite d'Angouleme married Henri I

Antoine de Bourbon married Jeanne d'Albret

Henri II (IV of France) married Marguerite of Valois
GENEALOGY OF MARGUERITE OF VALOIS

Louis XII ——— Charles d'Orleans (cousin)

(married Louisa of Savoy)

Francis I

Henri II

(married Catherine de Medici)

Marguerite d'Angouleme

(married Henri of Navarre)

Jeanne d'Albret

Francis II Charles IX Henri III Marguerite married Henri II
(married Mary of Scots)
of Valois
CHAPTER II

EARLY LIFE AND MARRIAGE

Shortly after the birth of Jeanne, Marguerite and the King of Navarre made a brief visit to Blois where Francis I was holding court. When they were about to return to Nerac, Francis insisted that Jeanne should remain under his guardianship. It is probable that besides the fondness Francis felt for his niece, political motives urged this step. He was well aware of Henry of Navarre's ardent desire to regain the Upper Navarre, usurped by Ferdinand of Spain, and that Jeanne was heir to her father's dominions—Bearn, Foix, Armagnac, Albert, Bigorre, and Comminges, over which, in the case of his death, she would reign with the title of Queen, a dowry worth consideration. Rumor had already reached the ear of Francis I that Charles V had made an offer to Henry for the marriage of Jeanne to his son Philip. Whatever truth there is in this report, this much is certain—Francis assigned the royal castle of Plessis les Tours to the princess, and supported her household there in spite of her father's opposition.

When she was twelve years of age, he arranged for her marriage to the Duke of Cleves, who had appealed to Francis I to support his claims to the duchy of Guelders, with which the Emperor refused to invest him.

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., II, 107.
because he had espoused the Protestant religion. Francis I favored the marriage since it would further his alliances with the Protestant princes of Germany against the Emperor. Both Jeanne and her father showed great displeasure at the proposed alliance, but the King ordered her to be brought to court for the celebration of the nuptials. In this extremity, on July 15, 1540, she drew up a curious document of protest against her compulsory nuptials, which she signed and had countersigned by three officials. Notwithstanding her resolute spirit of opposition which was condemned by her mother in a letter to Francis, Jeanne was forced to submit. So indisposed was she on the day of the wedding, that Francis I ordered Constable de Montmorency to carry the princess to the altar. During the festivities that followed, Jeanne remained sullen, and at their close, after Cleves had returned to Germany, she accompanied her parents to Pau, which she visited for the first time.

The strange document recording Jeanne's repugnance to the alliance proved a convenient asset, for in September, 1543, Cleves capitulated to the Emperor who had agreed to restore his rank on condition that he return to the practice of his Catholic faith, and renounce his alliance with the King of France. Cleves accepted the conditions, and demanded

4. Ibid., II, 246.
5. Bordenave, 32.
6. Ibid.
9. Ibid., II, 257.
10. Ibid., II, 288.
of Francis I that his consort, the Princess of Navarre, be conducted to Aix-la-Chapelle, according to the marriage contract. Jeanne produced her document of protest, and both parties filed separate suits with the Holy See for the annulment of the nuptials. On Easter, 1545, in the presence of Cardinal de Tournon, Archbishop of Vienne, and the Bishop of Macon, Jeanne renewed her protests, which were forwarded to the Pope.\textsuperscript{11} A few months later Paul IV issued a decree annulling the marriage and leaving both parties free to contract fresh alliances. Early in the year 1548, Henri II, of France, commenced negotiations with the King of Navarre for the marriage of Jeanne to Antoine de Bourbon, Duc de Vendome, who was wealthy and held the first rank after the king's children. On October 1, 1548, while the court was at Moulins, the marriage was solemnized. Jeanne and her husband then visited Bearn, to receive the homage of the states as the successors of King Henry, Jeanne's father.\textsuperscript{12} At the death of Henry, May 25, 1555, however, the Navarrese refused to swear allegiance to Antoine, and only after long discussion did they finally pay homage to both Jeanne and her consort.\textsuperscript{13} Antoine also met with opposition at the papal court. He sent an envoy to pay his homage to the pope, and thus obtain recognition as a sovereign prince, but due to Spanish opposition, the pope deferred recognition until December 14, 1560;\textsuperscript{14} for even as early as 1555, Antoine was openly supporting the Reform.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., II, 293.
\textsuperscript{12} Ibid., II, 342.
\textsuperscript{13} Bordenave, 52.
\textsuperscript{15} M. de Rochambeau, editor of \textit{Lettres d'Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret}, Paris, 1877, Intro.
In December, 1553, Jeanne had given birth to a son, Henri, at Pau. Shortly afterwards Antoine and Jeanne returned to the court of France, leaving Henri to be raised there under the care of Suzanne de Bourbon, wife of Jean d'Albret. Antoine visited the court at Amiens again in 1557, hoping to press his wife's claims to the Spanish Navarre during the negotiations of Cateau-Cambresis. As he was disappointed that his interests were ignored, Henri II tried to prevail upon him to cede Lower Navarre to him in exchange for an equal territory in central France. Jeanne agreed to this provided the Bearness would acquiesce. In this she was following the precedent of Francis I, who met the demands of Charles V for Burgundy with a similar subterfuge. As the ambassadors of Burgundy had denied that Francis I had power to transfer their allegiance, so, too, the Foras of Bearn refused to pay homage to the French crown.

At this time, (1557), Jeanne was supporting the reform so openly that she received a severe rebuke from Paul IV through Cardinal d'Armagnac. Henri II threatened to take possession of Navarre if Antoine did not take steps to suppress heresy there. Jeanne then decided to visit Henri II personally, but distrusting Antoine's vacillating character, she appointed Cardinal d'Armagnac as her lieutenant during her absence. Never again did

17. Rochambeau, V.
18. Freer, Marguerite d'Angouleme, I, 356.
19. Freer, Jeanne d'Albret, I, 106.
20. Ibid., 126.
she share the sceptre with her consort. During this visit Henri II arranged for the marriage of his daughter, Marguerite de Valois, with Henry of Navarre. In 1559, Jeanne gave birth to a daughter, for whom Catherine de Medici stood as god-mother, giving the child her name. At this time, Philip II was organizing a league for the extirpation of heresy, which gained the ardent support of the Guise. Jeanne knew that she was hated by Philip II as the claimant to one of his crowns, while the Guise were hostile to Antoine as the first prince of the blood, and to his heretical opinions, so she returned to Bearn.

When the death of Henri II became imminent, Constable Montmorency, who had always befriended Jeanne because of his friendship with her mother, urgently summoned Jeanne and Antoine to court, fearing the influence of the Guise would usurp the privileges of the princes of the blood. Jeanne answered with enthusiasm, but Antoine, with his usual hesitancy, delayed until Francis II had officially declared that he had chosen the uncles of his wife, Duc de Guise and Cardinal de Lorraine, to rule the realm during his minority. According to French tradition, Antoine, first prince of the blood, should have been appointed regent. Jeanne did her utmost to arouse her husband, writing to her brother-in-law,

22. Ibid., 129.
23. Ibid., 169.
24. Rochambeau, V.
Freer, Jeanne d'Albret, I, 150.
25. De Thou, Historiarium sui temporis, I, quoted by Freer, Jeanne d'Albret, I, 158.
26. Ibid., I, 168.
Ralph Roeder, Catherine de Medici, N. Y., 1937, 165.
Prince Conde, to second her efforts, since this would give her husband the leadership of the Reform movement. Freer attributes Antoine's procrastination to a rumor that

if he molested the princes of Lorraine in their functions as ministers of the royal pair, Philip II would support them by sending the Spanish viceroy of Navarre to invest Bayonne. 27

She thinks that Philip II feared that Antoine would use the French troops to recover the Spanish Navarre.

As soon as Antoine and Prince Conde left for the French court Jeanne made a tour of Navarre, strengthening its fortifications and issuing letters patent appointing her son, Henri, lieutenant-general of Bearn, with Cardinal d'Armagnac as his Associate in government, in case of any unforeseen event. 28 She refused to attend the coronation of Francis II at Rheims, September 18, 1559. 29 After the ceremony, Antoine entered the Council and demanded the convocation of the Etats-General, which according to tradition should confirm the regent in office. At the meeting, a letter from Philip was read threatening any French subject who dared to oppose the young king, his brother-in-law, and the ministers he had appointed. 30

In December, 1559, Jeanne left Navarreins, where she had gone on leaving Nerac, with her children. She journeyed to Bordeaux with her son to meet Antoine who was escorting Elizabeth, the bride of Philip II, to the border. Antoine had welcomed this occasion of friendly offices as

27. Freer, Jeanne d'Albret, I, 169.
29. Ibid., 176.
30. Ibid., 178.
as an opportunity to negotiate with Philip II for the return of the Spanish Navarre. After receiving his appeals, the King of Spain inquired as to whether Antoine had the sanction of his own government for any such transaction. The ambassador from France said he had no instructions, so Philip replied that there would be no change in the terms of the Conference of Cambresis.

The religious situation in France in 1560 was becoming alarming. The wavering attitude of Antoine de Bourbon, the open support of Prince Conde, and the discontent of many nobles, who, as Montluc said, "found the tyranny of the Guise heavier than the tyranny of the Pope", greatly increased the numbers of the Reform party. Adams says that in France the middle and upper class turned to Calvinism rather than the lower class, as in England and Germany. Political ambition and greed for church property were strong incentives, especially in the southwest. Protestantism grew rapidly in the region between the Loire and the Pyrenees from these elements rather than from those who adhered strictly to the principles of the Reform.

Cardinal de Lorraine was chief commissioner of the Inquisitorial Commission, and Cardinal d'Armagnac was appointed Inquisitor-General over the duchy of Albret and the principality of Bearn. The Cardinal traversed Guienne, visiting Poitiers, Toulouse, and Narbonne. When he

32. George B. Adams, Growth of the French Nation, N. Y., 1897, 166.
33. Mémoires de Castelnau, 40.
reached Pau, Jeanne received him with all the honors due his rank, but issued an order prohibiting all public disputations on religious matters by the Bishops of Oleron and Lescar, thus tying the hands of the Cardinal. She granted the Inquisitor permission to investigate, but reserved to herself as sovereign princess the right to arrest and punish. When the Cardinal caused the arrest of Barrau, a minister of the Reform, Jeanne issued a warrant for his release, declaring the Cardinal's action unauthorized.

After the conspiracy of Amboise (March 15, 1560), Jeanne made Bearn a refuge for the Reformers. Along with the heretics came many political malcontents who were growing ever more numerous under the aggressive policy of the Guise. Because of Antoine's instability, Jeanne turned to Conde as leader of the Reform, which she supported jealously. Pastor describes him as "ambitious, cunning, pleasure-loving, yet a man of great energy and resolution." When he was implicated in the Conspiracy of Amboise, he took refuge at Nerac where Jeanne received him warmly. Francis II then ordered Antoine to bring his brother to court. Jeanne tried to dissuade him from complying. Because of this delay, Catherine de Medici sent Cardinal de Bourbon to admonish the King and Queen of Navarre to obey the royal mandate. Jeanne now wrote to Constable Montmorency, whom the Guise had suspended from office, to use

34. Ibid.
35. Pastor, XVI, 154.
36. LaPlanche, quoted by Freer, I, 185.
his influence to protect her husband and the Prince. Upon their departure, Jeanne fortified the garrisons of Navarre. At the same time she sent Pierre d'Albret as envoy to Pius IV on an errand of conciliation, to assure him that it was not her intention to alienate any church property. The pope, exceedingly angry at her sanction of heresy in Bearn, refused to receive her ambassador. Jeanne then had recourse to Cardinal Muret, who interceded for her. Freer believes that Catherine de Medici also pleaded for Jeanne with the pope. This is not unlikely, for on the death of Francis II, she leaned toward the Huguenots to outweigh the influence of the Guise, soliciting sympathy and support from Montmorency who had been dismissed from court by the Guise faction. On arriving at Orleans with Antoine and his suite, Prince Conde was arrested (October 31, 1560), and imprisoned for his share in the Conspiracy of Amboise. After the death of Francis II (December 5, 1560), Catherine de Medici, anxious to conciliate Antoine de Bourbon to allow her to exercise the regency during the minority of Charles IX, secured Conde's pardon and appointed Antoine lieutenant-general, restoring Coligny to his former rank as admiral. Jeanne was greatly encouraged by these advances of the Huguenot party. She gave a Franciscan convent at Condon to a Protestant community at Bearn, and at Nerac she converted a spacious monastery into a church with quarters for its ministers at her own expense.

37. Ibid., 192.
38. Ibid., 197.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., 200.
41. Paul Van Dyke, Catherine de Medici, N. Y., 1922, I, 173.
42. Freer, Jeanne d'Albret, I, 215.
While at Nerac she received a letter from Catherine de Medici, urging her speedy arrival at Fountainebleau, where she and Antoine shared the administration of the government. To satisfy her own ambitions at this time, Catherine was extending her tolerance of the Huguenots still further,—she allowed every noble to entertain his favorite preacher at court; Coligny brought a disciple of Calvin from Geneva, whose preaching was attended by Catherine herself. The papal nuncio, Gaulteria, and the Spanish ambassador wrote to their respective governments, remonstrating about the license prevailing at court. Pius IV sent Catherine a reprimand (April, 1561) but feared to take a decisive step which might mean an open break, leaving him at the mercy of Philip II. To counteract the growing strength of the Huguenot party, the Triumvirate was formed by the Duc de Guise, Constable Montmorency, and Marshal St. Andre, whose purpose was the extirpation of heresy by supporting the pope and Philip II to defeat the Huguenots at home and the German princes abroad. They soon induced Antoine to join them. Moreover he had fallen an easy prey in the hands of the wily Spanish ambassador, Chantonnay, whom Catherine suspected was bargaining with him to exchange the Albret claims to Navarre for Sardinia. Castelnau says that at the same time Cardinal Hippolyte d'Este, the papal legate recently sent to Paris to promulgate the decrees of the Council of Trent, was emphasizing in the mind of Antoine

43. Pastor, XVI, 160.  
44. Ibid.  
45. Ibid.  
46. Van Dyke, I, 245.  
  Daniel, VII, 220.  
47. Pastor, XVI, 161.
his nearness to the throne of France, and the possibility of being deprived
of the right of accession by excommunication if he joined the Huguenots.\textsuperscript{48}
The Cardinal reminded him of the action of Julius II against Jean d'Albret
and Catherine of Navarre. On the contrary, if he declared himself a
Catholic, the kingdom of Navarre might be returned to him. Catherine,
fearful that these overtures would win her coadjutor over to the Guise
faction, pressed her invitation to Jeanne to come to Paris, announcing
to her the Colloquy of Poissy,\textsuperscript{49} scheduled to take place in July, 1561,
which the Queen of Navarre hailed with joy.

She crossed the country slowly, and in towns where the recently pro-
mulgated edict, (Edict of July), which greatly restricted the practice
of the Reform, was not being enforced by the magistrates, she restored
churches to her coreligionists. Her passage to Paris was the occasion
of a great Protestant revival;\textsuperscript{50} five thousand Huguenots came from the
Ile de France to assist at services with her. She arrived
August 29, 1561, at St. Germain, where she was received with great honor.

Although the Council of Trent was in session, France had sent no
delegates. Charles IX wrote some time before that he intended to intrust
to the Council all the decisions on religious questions which arose in his
kingdom. There was great rejoicing over such a plan throughout the realm,
for Henri II did not permit the French bishops to attend the sessions
in 1545. He, like his father, Francis I, had alliances with the Turkish

\textsuperscript{48} Castelnau, 161.
\textsuperscript{49} Daniel, VII, 214.
\textsuperscript{50} Mariejol, 45.
sultan and the German princes. The bishops, on their side, were eager to
have the court reform the priests and monks, and were scandalized when
they heard that the Council intended to prescribe the residence of
bishops. Their rancour led them to seek revenge. They supported the
"Politiques", a third party in France, demanding a National Council, 51
the purpose of which was to establish a sort of Spanish Inquisition in
France, less out of zeal for God's glory than to insure control of the
Church by the French court. Catherine welcomed the scheme as a compromise
on which she could ride between the two parties, Catholic and Huguenot,
for the Reform ministers were to be given a hearing. The Cardinal
de Lorraine and the chancellor, l'Hospital, also supported it, but for
different reasons; the former because it was another move of Gallicanism,
the latter because he hoped to gain concessions for the Reform. So, in
place of sending delegates to the Oecumenical Council, the Huguenot
Chancellor, l'Hospital, opened the Colloque de Poissy, July 31, 1561,
in the presence of the wily Catherine, her eleven-year old son, Charles IX,
and a group of ambitious and luke-warm bishops, to discuss religious
reform in France. It is outside the scope of this paper to follow all
its developments, but a few details will show its effect on Jeanne and
the Huguenot party.

Bishops outside the court circle were led to believe that the National
Council was to elect delegates and to prepare subjects for discussion

which would be forwarded to the Council of Trent for decision. Even under these circumstances, when Catherine issued invitations to the Colloque de Poissy, only forty prelates out of a possible hundred and forty-three responded. Quoting Claude Haton, Evenett says that number would not have come but for the influence of the Cardinal de Lorraine. L'Hospital's opening speech made the government's purpose clear,—this was to be a substitute for the Council of Trent. Some of the bishops were amazed and indignant, feeling that they had been drawn into the affair under false pretenses, but saw no way of withdrawing.

Cardinal de Tournon was elected president because of seniority. Cardinals de Lorraine, d'Armagnac, de Bourbon, de Guise, and Chatillon, as well as forty bishops and a large number of canonists attended. Cardinal de Chatillon, who was secretly an apostate, offered hospitality to Theodore Beza and twelve Calvinist ministers in order that they might be present to defend Calvin's teachings. Evenett calls this "Chatillon's surprise house-party." They did not arrive until August 17. Meanwhile the discussions were prolonged pointlessly to keep the assembly in session until their coming. The pope sent a special envoy, accompanied by Lainez, the Jesuit General. The nuncio had received instructions to take no part in the discussions, but to report the proceedings to Rome. Catherine saw to it that this messenger was robbed, so that no news of the Colloque

53. Rohrbacher, XXIV, 322.
54. Evenett, 293.
55. Rohrbacher, XXIV, 322.
reached Rome till the nuncio returned.  

At last Theodore Beza arrived. Evenett describes him as:

handsome, aristocratic, refined, and so eloquent that he could hold even a hostile audience spell-bound, so that he might be said to suggest that angel to whose false doctrines we have been taught to turn a deaf ear.

He was invited to a private audience at which Catherine, Antoine de Bourbon, (whom he had instructed the previous year at the castle in Nerac in the Calvinist tenets), Jeanne d'Albret, and the Cardinal de Lorraine were present. The Cardinal encouraged Beza to speak frankly, saying that he knew him only through his writings on the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which appeared to him heretical. Beza repudiated the Cardinal's insinuations warmly, while on his side, the Cardinal, in an effort to satisfy the Queen, remained non-committal. This policy laid him open to the accusation of having yielded ground to Beza.

On August 25, Cardinal d'Armagnac notified the delegates that the Calvinist ministers were to be given an open hearing. Cardinal de Tournon, as president, made no protest, nor did Cardinal de Lorraine suggest any. The papal nuncio remonstrated against their weakness, but without avail. The bishops and other prelates refused to make any answer to the topics that might be proposed, and declared that all the material that was presented should be forwarded to Rome for decision. The controversy hinged on the Blessed Sacrament. Beza had written in one

56. Evenett, 295.
57. Ibid., 308-320.
58. Ibid.
of his books that Christ was present "non magis in coena quam in coeno."

When the Cardinal de Lorraine challenged him on this point, he rejected it as impious and detested by the whole Calvinist party. But later in the heat of the argument, he said that in regard to the place and presence of Christ according to human nature, "His Body was as far from the Bread as the most high Heavens are from the earth." At these words the whole assembly shivered with horror, for now in an unguarded moment he had shown his real belief. Cardinal de Tournon sprang to his feet, and cried, "He blasphemeth." 59

Beza was answered the following day by Cardinal de Lorraine, but no record was made of his speech. The Cardinal was followed by Lainez, the Jesuit General, who spoke eloquently and fearlessly. He addressed himself directly to the Queen-mother, reminding her of the dangers of treating with those outside the Church. "One should not listen to them, the Scriptures warn us, calling them wolves in sheep's clothing, and serpents, and foxes." He showed how each succeeding heresy from the Pelagians to the Calvinists have called themselves part of the Catholic Church, have taught heretical doctrines secretly to their disciples, yet denied them when challenged publicly. He suggested two methods by which the Queen should handle her present problem,—

(a) Not to listen to the heretics since she and her councillors had neither the authority nor the training to decide on matters so subtle and so abstract, but to refer them to the General Council. Local Councils should not be held when a General Council is in session. Hence the best

59. Rohrbacher, XXIV, 322, et seq.
solution for the present situation would be to send all the prelates there assembled to the Council of Trent, which by its nature was entitled to the assistance of the Holy Spirit.

The doctors of the new religion, if, as they always boasted, their only object was to learn all truth, could betake themselves there with all security. The Sovereign Pontiff would give them safe-conduct.

Here Lainez breaks off to say that he believes they do not wish to be instructed, but rather wish to spread the poison of their precepts. Indeed, he continues, instead of listening to the oracles of the Church, they are eager to preach themselves and to carry on interminable harangues. As to the second method, he says, if it is not so excellent as the first, is, at least, not all bad,—

(b) Since the Queen, in her desire to win them over, has granted such indulgence to those of the new religion as to summon them to court, let the conferences be held only in the presence of those versed in theology, where there would be less danger of perversion.

In answer to Pierre Martyr, the apostate monk from Florence, and companion of Beza, Lainez made a fervent confession of his belief in the Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, appealing to the Queen-Mother to persevere in the Catholic faith as the Church teaches it, and then she could assuredly hope for God’s protection; whereas, if she set her desire to satisfy men above her desire to satisfy God, should she not fear the loss of her temporal realm as well as her spiritual kingdom? He then prayed that God would grant her and her son, the King, the grace to persevere in the faith, and that He would not permit a realm which had always been so Christian,
and which had served as an example to others, to abandon the faith.
Finally, he concluded by warning both the sovereigns and the nobility not to be soiled by the contagion of the new sects and modern errors.

Catherine chose the latter method, and appointed five lukewarm Catholics and five Calvinists, with Beza as their leader, to continue the conferences in private. These were as fruitless as the German diets, and accomplished nothing. They were finally dissolved on October 14, when the King decided to send ambassadors to the Council of Trent. No good and much harm was done by the Colloque, for the dissension from the General Council and the condescension shown to Beza and his apostate companions gave the Huguenots an audacity they had never displayed before. 60

Jeanne's next move was to send an accredited ambassador, d'Ozance, to Madrid to demand from Philip II the restitution of the Spanish Navarre. D'Ozance was furnished by Catherine de Medici with letters to the French ambassador at Madrid and to Philip II himself, while Charles IX dictated a letter, the earliest written by him still extant, 61 to his sister Elizabeth, Philip's consort, praying her to intercede with her husband to grant the request of the sovereign of Bearn. From this we may conclude that Catherine de Medici saw in Jeanne the possibility of a valuable ally or a powerful foe. As one author has said,

60. Ibid., XXIV, 322.
To the Queen-Mother's far-seeing mind, the Queen of Navarre and her son represented valuable hostages,... Jeanne was her surety for peace with Spain; while she appeared to cover the Queen of Navarre with her protection, Spain dared not invade the province of Bearn. Henry of Navarre, while he remained at the court, was hostage for the safety of her sons from the designs of the Protestants.... But her younger rival, Jeanne, matching a sure instinct and a sad apprehension, combined with a lively and instructed intelligence, against the theatrical subtlety and dissimulation of the Florentine, easily penetrated her designs.62

The response of Philip II was couched in no wavering terms: the restitution of Navarre would mean war to the finish on heresy, and Antoine would have to subdue and punish Comte and the princes of the house of Chatillon.63 Seeing that little more could be accomplished by her presence in Paris, Jeanne departed with her daughter, Catherine, while Antoine, now definitely allied to the Catholic party, kept Henri with him at St. Germain.

After the Colloque de Poissy, the Calvinists grew more bold under Catherine's tolerance.64 Persecution of Catholics became violent in the south. During the autumn of 1561, two hundred Catholics were massacred at Montpelier, sixty churches and convents were sacked, and one hundred fifty priests were put to the sword.65 In December, a similar attack was made on Nimes. Languet, the Huguenot historian, says that at this time no priest dared to show his head in Gascony, Languedoc, nor in Provence.66

63. d'Ozance's report, Freer, Jeanne d'Albret, I, 239.
64. Pastor, XVI, 174.
66. Loughnan, 160.
Yet Catherine, in spite of the pressure brought upon her by Cardinal Hippolyte, would not modify her policy of toleration, so much did she fear the power of the Guise and the Triumvirate. The greatest concession she would grant was the Edict of January, 1562, which forbade persecution on both sides, pending the decisions of a Church Council to be called in the near future. This edict satisfied neither side, for the Calvinists clamored for the complete destruction of the Church which they regarded as idolatrous. At a synod of seventy ministers held at Nîmes, February, 1562, a decree was passed to destroy all the churches in the city and compel Catholics to accept Calvinism. On February 23, the work of destruction began; all the priests were driven out of the diocese. It is evident from such outbreaks that the Huguenots would never have been satisfied with toleration; their aim was the abolition of the Church and political domination; so the Catholics were facing a death struggle.

At this point the Catholic reaction began. Antoine de Bourbon, led by the empty promises of the King of Spain and the subtle influence of Cardinal Hippolyte, not only arrived at the point of favoring the Inquisition in France, but even invited the Duc de Guise to return to court. On his way the duke's men had an encounter with the Huguenots at Wassy, March 1, 1562. During the riot that followed, several were killed, about two hundred were wounded, and the duke's face was cut with a stone.

68. Zeller, L, 37.
69. Mariejol, 52.
70. Pastor, XVI, 181.
71. Report of d'Este, March 3, 1562, (quoted by Pastor, XVI, 181.)
Theodore Beza headed a delegation which demanded redress from Antoine, as coregent, for the murder of the Calvinists, but he was outraged that the duke had been injured. Pastor says that Von Ranke (Franzosische) attaches too much importance to this incident, and from archives proves that the duke was not to blame for this affair. Mariejol is of the same opinion. However, it was disastrous because of the existing state of excitement, and, as de Thou says, "gave the signal for religious and civil wars." Loughman describes it as "the spark desired by the Huguenots to set flame to the materials they had prepared."

72. Freer, Jeanne d'Albret, I, 257.
73. Pastor, XVI, 182.
74. Mariejol, 58.
75. Loughman, 162.
CHAPTER III

RELIGIOUS WARS

The incident at Vassy astonished the court, for the two parties had been at peace since the proclamation of the Edict of January, 1562. The official report published by the Protestants claimed that between fifty and sixty Huguenots had been killed. Various interpretations were put upon the affair; some said it was unpremeditated, others that it was the zeal of the Catholics against the heretics. The Duc de Guise proceeded to Paris, where he received a warm welcome, March 20, for Paris was strongly Catholic. The King of Navarre, the Constable Montmorency, and Marshal St. Andre were with the court of Fountainebleau. Conde at this time was close to the Queen Mother, and he also had a following at Paris. The King of Navarre, feeling that Catherine and Charles IX were not safe enough at Fountainebleau, urged them to flee to Paris. Conde, Coligny, and the other Calvinist leaders left, March 24, 1562, for Orleans which they made the Huguenot stronghold. Catherine hoped to avert a crisis

1. Castelnau, 166.
2. Mariejol, 52.
by compromise. She named Cardinal de Bourbon, who was not strongly Orthodox, governor of Paris, hoping thereby to satisfy both parties. The Triumvirate, however, ordered the troops to be ready by May 15, and the Huguenots continued their preparations for war. Conde issued a manifesto on April 18, 1562, declaring that he was taking up arms to deliver the King and his mother from the tyranny of the Guise and to enforce the Edict of January. The manifesto was forwarded to the princes of Germany where it was received with enthusiasm. By April of that year, the Huguenot forces under Conde were in possession of the region south of the Loire, Angers, Tours, Blois, and they marched into Lyons on April 30.

Jeanne d'Albret sent six thousand troops to Conde, with whose help, the Huguenots took possession of La Rochelle; in fact, they now had "from Nevers to Nantes." At this time she was governing Navarre alone in a critical situation, for Montluc, the surly old warrior, was on the northern border, the Duke of Alburquerque, viceroy of Navarre, on the Spanish border, and Pius IV was threatening her with the interdict, as civil wars threatened from within. She issued an ordinance for the effectual fortification of her realm, whereupon Catherine de Medici wrote to her entreatying her to use her good offices with Conde. Jeanne answered that she had forwarded Catherine's message to the Prince, and that he

8. Mariejol, 60.
10. Mariejol, 61.
11. Ibid., 62.
12. Freer, Jeanne d'Albret, I, 277.
13. Zeller, I, 55, (Commentaires de Montluc.)
replied that he had no other desire save that of serving the Queen and her son in all things, but he could not lay down arms while they were still the captives of the Guise. 14*

Antoine de Bourbon sent an envoy, Boulogne, to persuade the states of Navarre to protest against the Reform which Jeanne had legalized in her kingdom. Boulogne was arrested and imprisoned for life by Jeanne's orders. 15 Massacres continued on both sides until July when the Civil War took on an international character. Conde appealed to Elizabeth of England and the German princes, while the Triumvirate looked to Philip II and the pope. The pope promised financial aid provided Catherine would withdraw all edicts favorable to the Huguenots, 16 and banish from court all the Calvinists, including l'Hospital. Catherine was obdurate, so by September, Pius IV was forced to mitigate the conditions, and it was not until January, 1563, that Parlement accepted his terms. 17 Conde had concluded the Treaty of Hampton, by which Elizabeth agreed to aid the Huguenots with men and money, provided Havre was given over to the English. 18 Parlement then passed an edict declaring the Huguenot chieftains guilty of treason. 19

The siege of Rouen began in September, 1563. On October 25, Antoine de Bourbon died from a bullet wound he had received in a drawn battle.

15. Ibid., 300.
17. Ibid., XVI, 185.
His death was small loss to the Catholic party, for he died

...as he had lived, brave, indecisive, and voluptuous,...
after listening to the exhortations of a priest and a
minister, so that no one could tell whether he died a
Catholic or a Protestant.20

His physician left on record that he died wishing to hold to the Confession
of Augsburg.21 His death left Jeanne a widow at the age of thirty-four.

The fall of Rouen was followed by the Battle of Dreux, after which
the Duc de Guise was assassinated, February 18. The Catholic party was
now without a leader. Marshal St. Andre had been killed on November 18, 1562;
Montmorency was a prisoner and the Cardinal de Lorraine was away at the
Council of Trent. The Huguenots, too, had suffered severe losses,—
Bourges and Rouen had fallen, and Conde was a prisoner. In this situation,
Catherine effected a compromise.22 She won over Conde so that Montmorency
was set free, and these two negotiated the treaty that closed the first
Civil War, March 12, 1563. The Edict of Amboise, published March 19,
allowed the princes to practise the Reform in their own households, and
to hold public services in one city in each district except Paris.23

No one was satisfied with the peace. Coligny and Beza felt that
Conde had betrayed the interests of the party,24 and from the first
refused to accept the terms. Philip II, as well as Pius IV, saw in the
edict an inadmissible principle. Cardinal Hippolyte d'Este was recalled

23. d'Aumale, I, 224.
24. Pastor, XVI, 188.
to Rome at its promulgation. At the end of March, Pius IV declared
that Jeanne d'Albret had forfeited her kingdom. Yet the war was a
decided victory for the Catholic party, for the ruthlessness of its
campaigns had revealed the real character of the Huguenot leaders.
The Venetian ambassador reported the situation in the following terms:

If it had not been for the war, France at present
would be Huguenot because the people were so rapidly
changing their faith, and the ministers had acquired
such credit among them that they persuaded them whichever way they wished. But when they passed from words
to arms and commenced to rob, to ruin, and to kill,
employing a thousand cruelties, the people commenced
to say, "What sort of religion is this? These men pretend to understand the Gospel better than others and where do they find any indication that Christ commanded us to take the goods of our neighbors and to murder our comrades?"

Van Dyke says, "The influence of the Reformed Church in France, either
actual or potential, was never as great after April 1, 1563, as it had been before."

Catherine appointed Montluc to see to it that the Edict of Amboise
was observed. This was no unnecessary precaution, for large sections of the country continued to be disturbed by the zeal of the people who did not accept the terms of the peace treaty. The focus of the trouble was in Guienne over which Montluc was lieutenant-governor. He complained to Catherine of the "pernicious activities of that strong Huguenot, the

25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
28. Ibid., 179.
Queen of Navarre."

In June, Jeanne had called her council and published letters patent interdicting the Catholic religion within the limits of Bearn, and authorizing the seizure of church property, annexing it to the crown, and establishing an ecclesiastical council to administer the revenues. She also issued a warrant for the removal of images, relics, and shrines, and for the confiscation of sacred vessels. The archives show that she sanctioned the plundering of churches, and engaged preachers from Geneva for the confiscated pulpits. Philip's ambassador, d'Escurra, after remonstrating with her in vain, sent a report of her persistent heresy and the discontent of her vassals. Philip II wrote to the Queen, admonishing her. She replied that she was following her conscience, and as a sovereign, requested that he should not interfere in her realm. She even intimated that if Philip should invade her kingdom, she would be supported by Catherine de Medici.

In September, 1563, Pius IV sent a warning to Jeanne, and on October 22, he caused a summons to be issued by the Inquisition, commanding her to appear in Rome to answer a charge of heresy, on pain of losing her kingdom if she failed to obey. She did not appear, so sentence was passed against her for default and contempt. Her lands and her title to

29. Memoires de Montluc, IV, 246, quoted by Van Dyke, I, 301.
31. Letter in full quoted by Freer, I, 345.
32. Castelnau, 334.
Montluc, IV, 246.
Conde, II, 119.
33. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican, quoted by Pastor, XVI, 194.
mobility were under interdict and thrown open to the first conqueror, as Julius II had done against Jean d'Albret, her paternal grandfather. Charles IX, who had declared his majority on August 17, 1563, protested vigorously, and through the Cardinal de Lorraine represented to the pope that:

...he had no jurisdiction over the Queen of Navarre, since she held most of her lands subject to the King of France, and the interdict was a violation of the treaties and concordat between the pope and the French kings, the first protectors of the Apostolic See.

The pope did not revoke the bull, but took no action. Pastor says that Pius IV was undoubtedly within his rights, but the time was inopportune for procedure. Cardinal de Lorraine had called his attention to the fact that in thus insisting on strict justice, he was furthering the cause of the Huguenots, who desired to prevent the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent in France. He believed that such measures should be taken only after this matter had been satisfactorily accomplished. Freer thinks that Catherine de Medici feared that if the pope could depose Jeanne, he might take similar action against her. It is more likely that she feared an invasion by Philip II into Bearn. So after considering the political complications, the pope deferred the publication of sentence.

34. Castelnau, 334.
35. Ibid.; Mariejol, 85.
36. Pastor, XVI, 195.
37. Freer, Jeanne d'Albret, II, 14.
38. Ibid., II, 119, 153, (Lettres de Catherine d'Medici.)
Cardinal d'Armagnac had resumed his inquisitorial functions in Southern France. One of his first acts was to reprimand Jeanne, who answered him with a torrent of abuse for his worldliness, for his devotion to politics rather than to a study of the Scriptures, and for his criticisms of her actions in Bearn, for which she claimed that she was responsible to God alone. She professed her belief in the teachings of Calvin and Beza, and advised the Cardinal to study their works, in order that he might learn the "true religion." Apparently the Cardinal had warned her that God would not protect a kingdom in which His church was persecuted. She calls his attention to the fact that by the confiscations of ecclesiastical property, she is enhancing the inheritance of her son.*

After the publication of the pope's indictment, when Jeanne's persecution of the Church was at its height, the Parlements of Bordeaux and Toulouse issued decrees pronouncing her sovereign rights over Bearn invalid, and stating that that principality was subject to the controlling power of the King of France; therefore, the Queen could not establish a new religion without the consent of the King, nor could she alienate ecclesiastical property.39 Jeanne resolved to visit Charles IX, since he had defended her against the pope. She left Grammont in charge of Navarre. He had been in the suite of Conde, and through Montmorency,

*Note:—Freer, Jeanne d'Albret, I, 352, gives this remarkable letter in full, quoted from Mémoires de Conde, IV, 594.

Jeanne had obtained his release from court. In January, 1564, she left Pau with eight Calvinist ministers and a group of lawyers from Foix and Bearn to defend the legitimacy of her sovereign rights. She arrived in Vendome in March. Meanwhile the suit relative to her sovereignty was being carried on in Paris. It was decided in her favor and the decree to this effect was signed by Charles IX when he reached Lyons.

Catherine de Medici had determined to make a tour of the realm with the King after the proclamation of his majority. The court left Paris in March, 1564, and traveled constantly for about two years. The Queen of Navarre came to salute the King at Macon, with her eight ministers. Her appearance at court was a signal for a Huguenot revival, for Jeanne invited all the heretics to hear her preachers. Catherine was greatly aroused by this demonstration, which probably provoked the Edict of Lyons, June 24, 1564, forbidding the exercise of the Reform cults in all places where the King was holding court during the time of his sojourn. Jeanne then took leave of Catherine and proceeded to Vendome where she arrived in July, 1564. By this time Lower Navarre had broken out in revolt, led by the ecclesiastics who had been despoiled of their benefices. Grammont took strenuous measures to suppress the insurrection. Meanwhile, Montluc was concentrating on the French border, and Philip's forces were gathering at Barcelona.

40. Ibid., II, 24.
41. Mariejol, 88.
42. Mariejol, 88.
43. Van Dyke, I, 340.
44. Freer, II, 43.
Jeanne returned to Navarreins.

The following year, 1565, Charles IX and his suite entered Pau, after the Queen-mother had had her long-cherished interview with her daughter, Elizabeth, Philip's consort, at Bayonne.* Charles IX showed great displeasure at the devastation wrought in the churches by Jeanne's decrees.45 This made no change in her policy, however, for in the following year, she issued an ordinance forbidding May processions.46 The citizens of Pauiers became so riotous that the Queen had to ask for aid from Charles IX to put down the revolt.47 In July of the same year, 1566, she issued letters patent forbidding ecclesiastics in Bearn, Foix, and Navarre to confer benefices. The lapsed benefices were to be conferred by the board that administered the confiscated revenues of the priesthood. This decree was given to Grammont to be published immediately.48

Jeanne now obtained permission from Charles IX, in spite of Catherine's protests, to take her son, Henri, who had followed the French court since the death of his father, on a visit to Vendome. While there she received

*Note:--Catherine hoped in this interview to arrange advantageous marriages for her children, but Philip II, through his emissary, the Duke of Alba, gave her no satisfaction. As Jeanne did not attend, although it was held in her territory, and the results of the conferences were kept secret, strong suspicions were aroused among the Huguenots. However, nothing definite ever came of it.

45. Freer, II, 63.
46. Ibid., II, 69.
47. Ibid., II, 69.
48. Ibid., II, 71.
news of another uprising in Bearn led by a league instituted by Jean
d'Albret, Abbe de Pontac, whose purpose was to resist Jeanne's legaliza-
tion of Calvinism in Navarre. Grammont had suspended the publication
of Jeanne's Edict of July regarding the conferring of benefices, and
waited until a delegation could call upon the Queen. Jeanne used the
occasion to return to Pau, taking Henri with her, thereby violating her
promise to Catherine to return him to the French court. She did nothing
to conciliate the Catholics, but organized a campaign to demolish the
churches. In her political ambitions and her greed for ecclesiastical
property, she was a close follower of Henry VIII.*

She now called the states of Bearn and Lower Navarre, and presented
her son and heir. She had been petitioned by the Bishop of Oleron to
revoke the Edict of July, but encouraged by the states of Bearn, she
maintained it. The states of Foix and Navarre refused to consider any
other business until the edict was revoked, so Jeanne sent Grammont to
adjourn them. Finally, by way of compromise, the Queen issued an ordinance
granting temporal equality to the Reform Church and the Catholic Church.
The Bishop of Oleron refused to countenance the decree, and demanded the

*Note:—Yet her admiring biographer, Martha W. Freer, sees nothing
derogatory in all these acts, but portrays her as the poor victim of the
persecution of the pope, the threats of Philip II, and the inconstancy
of Catherine de Medici.

49. Ibid., 74.
50. Ibid., 77.
51. Ibid., 80.
restoration of church ornaments confiscated by the Queen's orders. In 52 response, she sold the treasures. During the uprisings that followed, Philip II sent continuous protests to Catherine, but she took no action, 53 although at this time she was favoring the Catholic party and had brought about a reconciliation between the Cardinal de Lorraine, the widow of the Duc de Guise, and Admiral Coligny. 54

In the fall of 1566, Philip II planned an expedition to the Netherlands under the Duke of Alba to quell the heresy growing so rapidly there. His plan included a march through France by agreement with Catherine de Medici. She consented to this arrangement with misgivings, and as a precautionary measure, engaged six thousand Swiss guards. She ordered d'Andelot, the nephew of Montmorency who had once been arrested on charges of heresy and was released only because of the pleading of his uncle, to prepare for war. This preparation was presumably for defense in case of any emergency that might arise during the passing of Philip's troops, for he was constantly threatening Catherine for her tolerance of heresy. The governor of Champagne, because of rumors that the Huguenots were also gathering their forces, refused to allow d'Andelot to inspect the border garrisons, and two colonels refused to obey him. 55

Conde had left the Court on July 11, 1566, disappointed that he had not been made lieutenant-governor at the death of Antoine de Bourbon. 56

52. Freer, II, 83.
53. Van Dyke, I, 340.
55. Van Dyke, I, 135, 349, (d'Aumale, I, 383).
56. Mariejol, 95.
On September 9, 1567, twelve Huguenot chiefs met at the chateau of Admiral Coligny at Chatillon. The news of the arrest of two heretic nobles in the Netherlands, Counts d'Egmont and de Horn, along with the dismissal of the Chancellor l'Hospital, which left the Guise with unrestricted power, served to strengthen their already growing suspicions. At this conference they decided that on September 28, they would rise suddenly in arms in all parts of the kingdom for a threefold purpose:

I. To get possession of the most important cities.
II. To seize the king and his mother.
III. To attack and demolish the Swiss guard.

At Brussels, Castelnau met three men who told him of this plot to seize the king and to make war on the councillors who wished to destroy the Reform. He in turn told the story to the Constable Montmorency, who refused to believe it. Meanwhile the Huguenot forces were gathering quietly. Catherine took alarm about September 25. She sent for the Swiss guards to come to Meaux where the court had taken refuge. When they arrived, Catherine, and the king, and his councillors set out for Paris under their escort. On the way, they met a band of about five hundred horsemen led by Conde who demanded the right to speak to the king, and to present a petition from his party. He was refused. The king was exceedingly angry at being forced to flee to Paris, and Catherine was still surprised that the whole country was rising up against them.

57. Memoires de La Noue, III, 56, 57, (Quoted by Van Dyke, I, 352).
58. Castelnau, 375.
60. Mariejol, 96.
   Van Dyke, I, 375, (quoting Castelnau).
Conde led the Huguenot forces on to Paris, arriving on September 29, the plan being to starve out the city. Coligny followed and encamped at St. Denis. Montmorency and Tavannes were placed in charge of the royal troops. The situation had become acute, for the Huguenots were now in possession of about twelve towns. Only constant revolt in her own realm kept Jeanne from supporting Conde. By November 10, 1567, the Constable's forces were strong enough to engage in drawn battle at St. Denis, a plain near Paris. In the melee the Constable was mortally wounded, yet the Catholic line outnumbered the Huguenots and forced Conde to retreat. Since the outcome was still undecisive, both sides sought help from abroad,—the Huguenots from Elizabeth and the German princes, while Catherine appealed to Philip II and Pius V. Philip promised her the use of all his forces, and the pope offered his assistance, provided that all the Huguenots would be dismissed from the court.

Conde had retreated to Orleans with his 30,000 men, so Catherine felt that she was now in command of the situation, and feared that by accepting Philip's help, she would put herself within his grasp. So she arranged for the Peace of Longjumeau on February 23, 1568, which revoked the Edict of Roussillon, promulgated in 1564, and left the Huguenots in the same situation they were in under the Edict of Amboise, issued at the

61. Zeller, LI, 82 (d'Aubigne).
62. Van Dyke, I, 358.
63. Freer, II, 96.
64. Zeller, LI, 93, (d'Aubigne).
65. Van Dyke, I, 373.
66. Castelnau, 412.
67. Pastor, XVIII, 111.
69. Ibid., 38, (Castelnau).
close of the First Civil War, five years earlier. Catherine did not want
either side to feel the exultation of victory. Both the papal nuncio
and the Spanish ambassador made strong remonstrances against this treaty.

The Huguenots were equally dissatisfied and blamed Conde for not securing
more favorable terms. Mariejol thinks he was anxious for peace that he
might intervene in the Lowlands in favor of his coreligionists, Counts
d'Egmont and de Horn, who had been under arrest since September 9, 1567,
and were to be executed on June 5, 1568.

After their second attempt to capture the King in the fall of 1567,
Catherine became definitely hostile to the Huguenots. She dismissed
l'Hospital. He retired to his estates on October 7, 1568. Pastor
attributes his fall to the conditions laid down by Pius V for the sale
of ecclesiastical property by the French government to relieve the financial
stress. The Guise faction at the court was organized into the Holy
League of which Philip II was also a member. Catherine was adopting a
conciliatory attitude toward the latter, for she hoped to marry her
daughter, Marguerite, to the King of Portugal, and she needed Philip's
assent.

When the Edict of Longjumeau was published in Lower Navarre and Foix,
de Luxe, a Catholic who had led an insurrection against Jeanne d'Albret,

70. Pastor, XVIII, 116.
71. Mariejol, 105.
72. Pastor, XVIII, 117.
73. Castelnau, 427.
74. Pastor, XVIII, 117.
75. Mariejol, 105.
asked Catherine de Medici to act as intercessor for him and all the rebels with the Queen of Navarre. She did so, and Jeanne agreed to grant an amnesty. Ironically enough, de Luxe was decorated later by Charles IX for having kept Jeanne occupied at home during the recent war. 76

The peace that followed was worse than war. The royal officers found it impossible to enforce the Edict. 77 In Orleans the Huguenots persecuted the Catholics, and in Rouen the Catholics took revenge on the heretics. Catherine was making open preparation for the next war. In June, 1568, she sent Ruscellai to ask the pope for financial aid. 78 She set a guard over the town of Noyers whither Conde and the Admiral had withdrawn. 79 According to the memoirs of Tavannes, Catherine sent him a command to arrest Conde in Noyers. Tavannes replied that "if her Majesty declared open war, he would know how to serve her." Meanwhile, he notified Conde that a trap was being laid for him. 80 Conde left Noyers on August 23, 1568, accompanied by his wife and children, the Admiral, and an escort of forty or fifty horsemen. They made their way to La Rochelle. 81

In September the French court retaliated by issuing an edict stating that since the Huguenots had not availed themselves of the privileges granted them, all worship except that of the Catholic Church was forbidden. Preachers were given fourteen days to get out of France. 82 Under these

76. De Thou, quoted by Freer, II, 105.
78. Castelnau, 429.
79. Mariejol, 105.
81 Castelnau, 430.
82. Pastor, XVIII, 117 (quoting de Thou); Daniel VII, 347; Castelnau, 432; James W. Thompson, Wars of Religion in France, Chicago, 1909, 366.
conditions, the Queen of Navarre, who had been staying at Bearn, decided to seek shelter for herself and her son with Conde. She was accompanied by 3,000 infantry and 400 cavalrymen. She made her way across Quinéne in spite of presence of Montluc's army there, and sent a messenger to the king and his mother to state the cause for which she and Conde were banding together, viz., the preservation of the king.

D'Andelot, whom the royal officers had refused to obey when Catherine put him in command, Montgomery, whose lance had accidentally pierced and killed Henry II in the tournament during the marriage festivities of his daughter, Elizabeth, to Philip II, and La Noue, the veteran commander of the iron arm, joined forces with Conde, bringing him 2,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, raised in Bretagne. The Duc d'Anjou, now in charge of the royal troops although he was still a mere lad, was assembling his forces to exterminate the heretics. An edict was issued discharging all officers from the royal army who professed the new religion. In this tense situation, Elizabeth of England sent six cannon, money, and munitions to Conde. In January, 1569, both sides went into winter quarters. France had engaged Swiss mercenaries, and called on German princes rather than accept help from Philip II. Pastor says that the Third Civil War was carried on by both sides with the greatest

83. Castelnau, 431.
84. Zeller, LI, 113, (Bordenave).
85. Castelnau, 433.
86. Zeller, LI, 123.
Daniel, VII, 347.
87. Castelnau, 436.
88. Pastor, XVIII, 118.
89. Ibid.
violence and cruelty. This may have been due to the character of the two women who were in the opposing camps, Catherine de Medici and Jeanne d'Albret. Mariejol says of the latter:

The ardour of her soul was passionately attached to the Reform, and set against Catholicism which she held responsible for all her misfortunes, while she detested the Guise with fervor.\textsuperscript{90}

Jeanne, on her arrival in La Rochelle, was invited to preside over the Huguenot Council to elect the commander-in-chief of the army. Conde was chosen, but he declined in favor of Jeanne's son, Henri. Jeanne refused to accept the honor for her son and supported the choice of Conde.\textsuperscript{91} The Council made Jeanne minister of finance and commissaire of La Rochelle. Her first move was to send Chastellier to Elizabeth to explain the cause of the war and ask for financial aid.\textsuperscript{92} She then renewed the alliances with the German princes.

On March 13, 1569, the two armies met in the battle of Jarnac, during which Conde was mortally wounded.\textsuperscript{93} By March 19, the news was brought to Pius V of the victory of the royal troops, and on April 23, twelve Huguenot standards, including those of Conde and Navarre, captured during this battle, arrived at Rome.\textsuperscript{94} Pius V sent congratulations to the King of France, urging him to seize the fortified places in the Kingdom of Navarre, and to carry on the war until the Huguenots were

\textsuperscript{90} Mariejol, 106.
\textsuperscript{91} Freer, II, 138.
\textsuperscript{92} Bordenave, 166.
\textsuperscript{93} Castelnau, 447.
\textsuperscript{94} Pastor, XVIII, 121.
destroyed. Similar dispatches were sent to Catherine, the Guise, to the Duc de Montpensier, and to the Duc de Nevers.\textsuperscript{95}

At this time, the Prince of Navarre was fifteen years of age. Jeanne did not allow herself to be discouraged by the death of Conde. Instead she summoned the troops and presented to them her son and young Conde as their leaders, at the same time appealing to the men with tears courageously to support the Reform and their princes.\textsuperscript{96} Mariejol regards this as a bit of strategy,

\begin{quote}
\textit{to give a semblance of legitimacy to the revolt, so that in opposing the king, abused by perverse counsellors, the princes of the blood were defending the state and the crown against the king himself.}\textsuperscript{97}
\end{quote}

Coligny remained lieutenant-governor of Navarre, and was in reality now the sole leader of the Huguenot party. Jeanne appointed Montgomery in charge of the forces.\textsuperscript{98} The campaigns that followed through the summer ran with blood; after each success, the Huguenots burned towns and slew women and children until even Beza was afraid that God would punish them.\textsuperscript{100} Images, crucifixes, altars, churches, and convents were mutilated, bodies were dug from graves and desecrated.\textsuperscript{101} These outrages were matched on the Catholic side, although some commanders, e.g., the Duc d'Aumale, Biron, and the Huguenot captain, d'Aubigne, tried to stop this frenzy. Others, like Montluc, encouraged it.\textsuperscript{102}

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{96} Castelneau, 455.
\textsuperscript{97} Mariejol, 108.
\textsuperscript{98} Bordenave, 258.
\textsuperscript{99} Mariejol, 110; Bordenave, 212.
\textsuperscript{100} Van Dyke, II, 13, (quoting d'Aubigne).
\textsuperscript{101} Pastor, XVIII, 122, (Briefs of Pius V).
\textsuperscript{102} Van Dyke, II, 14, (quoting d'Aubigne).
When Terride was carrying on a campaign in Navarre, and Navarrenin was under siege, Admiral Coligny presented each officer in the Huguenot army with a gold medallion, bearing the image of Jeanne, and the inscription "Pax assuree, victoire entiere, ou mort honneste," to encourage them to follow the steadfastness of their Queen in her resolution to die for the Reform, and to unite the hearts and wills of this strange army to carry on the war. Montgomery marched in Gascony, recovered the places taken by Terride, raised the siege of Navarrenin, captured Ortez, the capital of Foix, and reestablished the Queen there.

On October 3, 1569, a decisive battle was fought near Montcontour. This completely routed the Huguenots. Yet Catherine was, as ever, reluctant to let either side claim a decisive victory. It had been evident from the battle of Jarnac how little use the French would make of their successes. The pope was constantly urging Charles IX to profit by his favorable position, and push the war to a finish; but the king was growing jealous of the popularity of his brother, d'Anjou, and Catherine replied that her son was old enough to manage his own affairs. Henri de Guise had left the court because he had been refused the hand of Marguerite de Valois; the country was in a wretched state as the result of the war's devastation; finances were failing; a month of siege had weakened the royal army, so Catherine wanted peace. She sent Castelnau

103. Castelnau, 459.
104. Bordenave, 260.
105. de Thou, Historiarium sui temporis, London, 1733, I, 45; Thompson, 388.
106. Pastor, XVIII, 125.
107. Mariejol, 110.
108. Mariejol, 110.
to Jeanne at La Rochelle. 109

When rumors of these negotiations to end the war reached the pope, he wrote to Charles IX, (January 29, 1570), pleading with him to make no peace with the enemies of religion. 110 On April 23, he reiterated his appeal, but all was of no avail. On July 14, an amnesty was declared, and on August 8, the king laid down his arms at St. Germain. The Edict of Pacification, published on August 21, was more favorable to the Huguenots than any previous one. They obtained freedom of conscience, and freedom of worship in the territory of the nobles, and in a number of cities, except Paris and wherever the court was residing. They also gained the privilege of holding office. Finally they were given four cities as security,—La Rochelle, La Charite, Montauban, and Cognac, forming a state within a state. 111 This edict expressly recognized the Queen of Navarre, her son Henri, and the young Prince Conde as allies and loyal subjects. 112 It was carried to the Queen of Navarre at La Rochelle, who received it amidst great rejoicing. 113

110. Pastor, XVIII, 128.
111. Pastor, XVIII, 130.
112. Van Dyke, II, 36.
CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE NEGOTIATIONS

After the publication of the peace of St. Germain, the Orthodox nobles left the court,—Cardinal de Lorraine, the Duc de Montpensier, Duc de Nevers, and Duc de Nemours. The Duc de Guise had already gone. The Spanish ambassador and the papal nuncio were vehement in their protests against the peace terms. Pius V was sure that such "shameful" terms would bring worse disturbances than those which had gone before. He sent a special envoy, Bramante, to Charles IX to remind him of the glorious age of his ancestors in whose realm the religious unity was so long unbroken. The provisions in the Treaty of St. Germain had destroyed that unity, and would therefore bring ruin to France. It was the opinion of the pope that Charles IX had accepted these terms to disarm the rebels that he might proceed against them later. He instructed Bramante that if this were so, to encourage the plan, and assure Charles that he would assist him in exterminating the heretics, who were a danger to Church and State alike.

1. Van Dyke, II, 36.
2. Pastor, XVIII, 130, (Letter to Catherine de Medici).
3. Ibid., 132.
The remonstrances of the nobles, the pope, and his nuncio had no effect. Catherine's mind at this time was wholly occupied with dreams for the marriage of her children. The possibility of a union between the Duc d'Anjou and Elizabeth was being seriously considered. This would ally France and England against Spain. To accomplish this Catherine would need the support of Protestant France; but Jeanne d'Albret, fearing a snare behind the queen-mother's friendly overtures, responded coolly to her advances. The Huguenot forces had not disbanded, having only retired to La Rochelle, where Jeanne and the Protestant nobles had established themselves. The Queen of Navarre declined to leave even to attend the wedding of Charles IX to Elizabeth of Austria, on November 26, 1570.

While Catherine was angling for Elizabeth, she did not neglect the possibilities of her youngest daughter, Marguerite. First she turned to the King of Portugal, and for this project, she needed the friendship of Philip II, but the King of Portugal declined. Then her eye turned upon Henri of Navarre. Some of her courtiers thought that union would be a master-stroke if it would detach Henri from the Protestant party and Coligny, and at the same time conquer him for the party at court. Fear lest the Reformers might be planning a match between Elizabeth and Henri strengthened Catherine's decision. She began her proposals to Jeanne August 25, 1571. At this time, Charles wrote to Fenelon, his ambassador

5. Mariejol, 114.
6. Ibid.
8. Ibid., LII, 2.
in England, "If the Queen or her ministry make any proposals to you, speak as if the marriage [Marguerite's to Henri of Navarre] were already arranged for, as indeed it will be when it suits me." 9

Jeanne was still indifferent to Catherine's advances. As Louis of Nassau alone had influence enough on the Queen of Navarre to change her dispositions, Catherine was obliged to seek his good offices. 10 To Jeanne the marriage seemed honorable enough, but the difference in religion made her hesitate. 11 Knowing from long experience the natural dissimulation of those with whom she had to deal, she feared this marriage would bring ruin on the Reform, and the fortunes of the house of Bourbon would be assimilated by the house of Valois. 12 The chiefs of the Reform importuned her to accept this offer, even threatening to abandon her if she disdained it. 13

Charles IX at this time was becoming restive under the domineering hand of his mother. Coligny saw his opportunity to interest the king in the affairs of the Netherlands, where Philip had embarked on a strenuous effort to wipe out heresy. He cultivated the friendship of the young king, emphasizing in his mind the stories of Philip II's oppressive rule in the Lowlands. Charles, who had placed a price upon Coligny's head as a traitor the year before, now invited him to come to Court. He left La Rochelle, and arrived at Blois September 12, 1571, and

9. Ibid., LII, 2.
10. Mariejol, 117.
12. Ibid., LII, 3.
13. Ibid., LII, 2.
soon gained a great influence over the king.\footnote{Pastor, XVIII, 135.}

When the admiral left La Rochelle, Jeanne returned to Pau,\footnote{Freer, II, 235.} where she convoked the assembly of Bearn, to present to them a new Puritanical code, outlawing games of chance, public dance-halls, luxurious banquets, costly clothing, and public processions. The taking of oaths was forbidden, and blasphemy was punishable by fine, imprisonment, and even exile. In the same act she interdicted the Catholic faith in the kingdom, made attendance at Calvinist services compulsory, and disposed of all church property. This caused little hardship in Bearn, for nearly all the inhabitants belonged to the new sects, but it was a source of bitter strife in Navarre and Foix, who turned to Spain for help.\footnote{Ibid., II, 258, (Letter of Jeanne, November 29, 1571).}

Catherine welcomed Coligny graciously, for she was eager to push forward the negotiations of Marguerite's marriage to Henri of Navarre. She was likewise anxious to recover the four cities given as security by the Treaty of St. Germain. When the Queen-mother approached the admiral on the latter question, he excused himself, saying he lacked the authority of the Princes. Catherine then said she desired to see Jeanne at the court in order to further the marriage plans.\footnote{Mariejol, 118.} Coligny replied that the Queen of Navarre was afraid of some ambush to ensnare her at court, and she would be even more fearful if he urged her coming. In spite of the misgivings she felt because of Coligny's influence over
Charles IX, Catherine continued to treat him cordially, for this was the
price of the marriage of her daughter to the Prince of Navarre. Charles
began to proclaim that he wished this marriage "of the Preche to the
Mass" to signify the union of the Catholics and the Huguenots in his
realm. The Pope replied to this announcement that so long as Henri
was a Huguenot, he would under no circumstances grant the dispensation
for the marriage.

In January, 1572, Charles sent an embassy to Pau to further the
negotiations for the marriage with Jeanne. She demanded that the Reform
ritual be used and that the pair should reside in Bearn, for the
opponents at her court, comparatively few in number and less prominent
than the others, said they feared lest the young prince by this marriage
would espouse "a master in the mother, as well as the daughter;" that he
would be drawn from the Reform and attracted to Catholicism by command
of Charles IX, the authority of the Queen-mother, and the attractive
ways of his wife. The Queen of Navarre, fearing to irritate Charles IX,
and those of the Reform who favored the marriage, finally decided to visit
the French court to complete the negotiations. So, with an escort of five
hundred nobles, headed by M. de Biron, sent by Charles IX, she left Bearn,
December, 1571.

18. Ibid., 120.
22. Zeller, LII, 3, (Bordenave).
23. Ibid., LII, 17, (Memoires de Marguerite de Valois).
The victory of Lepanto gave Pius V new courage to save the Catholic cause in France. He redoubled his efforts to prevent this marriage. At the same time that Jeanne was setting out, he sent Cardinal Alexandrini as a special envoy to the French court to complain against the continued attempts to accomplish this union. The Pope declared that if it were performed in spite of the Church, he would declare the children incapable of succession. On February 9, 1572, the Cardinal was joined by Francis Borgia, the Jesuit General, who supported the nuncio, and left no room to doubt that the Pope would never consent to this marriage.

Jeanne arrived at the court in January. The negotiations were drawn out over a period of three months, for both the queens had their own ends in view, both were obstinate, and while Catherine had a stronger support in the court, Jeanne was backed by Coligny, now the king's favorite. Catherine's dissimulations were a great trial to Jeanne, who, if she was fanatical, was at least frank, sincere, and consistent. Her letter to Henri explains the situation at court.

Letter of Jeanne to Henri, January 24, 1572:

Since affairs have to be managed carefully, I pray you not to budge from Bearn till you get a second dispatch from me. If you are on the road, turn back and take shelter, for here they speak only of having you come before the contract is concluded; the queen has said to me two or three times that the terms depend entirely upon you; and because I see that the lady believes that all that I have said comes from me, and that you have different ideas, I pray

24. Ibid., LII, 19.
25. Pastor, XVIII, 140.
you, when you write to me, command and entreat me to remember well all that you have said, especially in regard to finding out what is the will of Madame [Marguerite] on the matter of religion; and that it is only that which hinders you from deciding, and finally, showing on your side that she may believe in your good will. This will greatly advance matters, I assure you. I am in great distress, and have great need of patience.

I tell you that Madame has done me all the honor possible, and has told me frankly that she finds you agreeable. From her bearing and good judgment, along with the credit she has with the Queen, her mother, the King, and his brothers, if she embraces the Reform, I can say that we shall be the happiest people in the world, and not only our house, but the whole kingdom of France will have part in this hour. If, on the contrary, she remains obstinate in her religion, being devoted to it, as they say she is, this marriage will bring not only ruin to our friends, but such support to the papists, that in spite of the good will the Queen-mother bears us, we will be ruined along with the Reform in France.27

Commenting on the frivolity of the court life, she says:

My sister [the widow of the late Prince Conde] and my niece [fiancee of the young Prince Conde] are here. They are as intimate as your two fingers, and amuse themselves perpetually.... I find them very changed, and in a manner strange and evil. If you do not know how to love with better grace than your cousin, do not mix up in such affairs at all.28

On February 21, she writes to Henri:

I beseech you, my son, finally pray to God, for if ever you had need of His assistance, it is at this hour; and since you are so conspicuous, and everyone has his eye on you, have a care to attend sermons and prayers, for you see, as the Queen has said to me several times, people make use of everything for their own ends.29

27. Translated from Lettres d'Antoine de Bourbon et de Jehanne d'Albret, 340.
29. Ibid., LII, 23.
Henri answered his mother’s first letter on March 1.

...I see from your discourse that people urge me to come to court for no reason but to separate me from you and the Reform. But I beg you to believe that nothing which they say will make me do that, for there will never be a more obedient son than I will be. I would do great wrong otherwise, since I owe you so much for all you have undertaken, and are undertaking for my advantage.

Jeanne’s next letter gives a picture of the struggle between the two Queen-mothers.

My son, I am in such extremity... I have to negotiate all in a manner just the reverse of what I hoped for, and was promised to me. I had no liberty to speak either to the King or to Madame,—only to the Queen, who tosses me about on a pitch-fork. As for Madame, I see her only at the house of her mother, the Queen, and she goes to her room only at hours which are very inconvenient for me. As for Monsieur [the duc d'Anjou], he advises me and quite confidentially, but that as you know, is half bantering, and half dissimulation. I have not been able to give your letter to Madame, I have told her that I will show it to her. She is very discreet, and responds in general terms of obedience and reverence to you and to me as if she were your wife.

Seeing then, my son, that nothing advances, they wish to hurry me, while I carry things on with order. I have spoken to the Queen three or four times. She only mocks me, and reports the contrary of what I have said to her, in order that my friends will blame me. I do not know how to deceive as she does. When I say, "Madame, they say that you have made such and such a proposal", and it is the very thing she has said, she denies it, and laughs in my face.

On leaving her, I have a band of Huguenots who come to entertain me, but more to spy upon me, than assist me. Yet I am not without counsel, for everyone

30. Ibid., LII, 23.
gives me advice, and no two agree. I was brought here under the promise that the Queen and I could come to terms. She is only amusing herself, and takes back nothing regarding the Mass, concerning which her words never agree with her actions.

If you could know the pain in which I am, you would pity me, for I am straitened on every side with vain proposals and mockery, instead of being treated with the gravity the case deserves... As for Madame, she is beautiful and of good grace, but brought up in a most evil and corrupt company. Your cousin [Conde's fiancée] is so changed; she shows no sign of belonging to the Reform, except that she does not go to Mass; as for the rest of her manner of living, she acts like the papists, save for idolatry; and my sister, the Princess, is even worse.

Report will tell you how the King conducts himself. It is a pity. I would not for anything in the world have you come here to stay. That is why I wish you to marry and retire away from this corruption... If you were here you would not escape without a special grace from God.

I am still of the same opinion,—you must return to Bearn. My son, you judged from my first letter these people are trying only to separate you from God and me. You will judge the same from my latest advice, and from the pain I suffer for you.

Blois, March 8, 1572.

The postscript of this same letter shows how completely Catherine de Medici had Marguerite under her control.

P.S. My son, since I last wrote, having no way of showing your letter to Madame, I told her that I had it. She said to me that when these proposals had first begun, everyone knew of what religion she was, and that she was devoted to it. I told her that those who were carrying on the negotiations now did not say that, and that the question of religion had been made to appear very easy to me; otherwise I would not have undertaken this affair, and I prayed her to think the matter over. Other times
that I have spoken to her, she has not answered so positively and so rudely; I believe she speaks as they make her speak, and that the proposals that were made to you of her desire for the Reform were only to make you listen. I have lost no occasion of drawing from her something which would satisfy me; I asked her in the evening if she wished to ask anything concerning you. She answered not a word. When I pressed her, she said, "I am not allowed to ask anything without leave." Others only command me to make you come, but I tell you the contrary.31

The negotiations continued to grow more difficult; beside the question of religion, Jeanne's pretensions were increasing,—she claimed the government of Guienne for her son, (which her father and her husband had held,) d'Armagnac, and the great part of Gascony; as Madame's dower, she demanded all the coast from Bayonne to La Rochelle.32 These countries, united to Navarre, would assure Henri of the possession of the richest and most industrious part of the kingdom. It was necessary at last to have recourse to intermediaries, for the two Queen-mothers still came to no agreement. Jeanne sent for her chancellor, Francourt, the Count of Nassau, and her general, La Noue, to act as her counsellors.33 At length, the contract was signed on April 11, 1572. There was to be a double ceremony, the Reform ritual outside the Cathedral to satisfy Henri, followed by a Mass for Marguerite; the ceremonies were to be conducted by Cardinal de Bourbon, Henri's uncle. The marriage articles were then sent to the Cardinal de Lorraine at Rome to obtain the dispensation, which Pius V steadfastly refused to give.

31. Ibid., LII, 28.
32. Ibid., LII, 27.
33. Ibid.
As the prince was not expected for a few months, Jeanne retired to Vendome. From there she went to Paris to shop for the bride. Either from nerve-strain resulting from the battle of wits with Catherine, or from over-exertion, she fell ill, and after three-days' sickness, died on June 10, 1572, of pleurisy, at the age of forty-four. She was buried with all the cold absence of ceremony prescribed by the Reform, as she had ordered in the will drawn up two days before her death, in the Church of St. George at Vendome, beside her husband.

Two months later, Prince Henri came to the court with an escort of eight hundred nobles. Clad in mourning, he visited the tomb of his mother; then changing to festive array, he was received by the King with great honor. The nuptials took place on August 18, 1572, although the dispensation had not arrived from Rome. Marguerite notes in her memoirs that the ceremony was accompanied by a triumph and magnificence such as none other of her rank had ever experienced. Then follows a description of the grandeur of her clothes, the curiosity of the crowd, and the separation from Henri as she was led into the Cathedral for the Mass.

Catherine de Medici had triumphed. The death of Jeanne d'Albret left the Huguenots with Coligny as their only leader, for d'Andelot had died in 1569, and the Cardinal de Chatillon on February 14, 1571. The horrors of the recent wars, the sight of ruined churches, and dismantled altars gave rise to a Catholic revival in France, while the grim reserve

34. Ibid., LII, 36.
35. Ibid., LII, 47, (Memoires de Marguerite de Valois)
36. Ibid., LII, 47.
of Pius V increased the prestige of the papacy even among those who had hitherto given little thought to religion.\footnote{Pastor, XVIII, 149.} His uncompromising austerity left nothing for even the Huguenots to condemn. Catherine had nothing to fear either from the Guise or from the Reform party, and she knew she could count on the loyalty of Catholic France. Was it success that made her insanely jealous of Coligny's influence on the king and drove her to the madness of St. Bartholomew's Eve?
CONCLUSION

Jeanne's adherence to Calvinism in spite of her early training at the court of Francis I is not altogether strange. At the age of twelve, she was taken to Pau, where her mother, Marguerite d'Angouleme, then queen of Navarre, supported a literary circle of heretical psalmsters and preachers. Marguerite's interest in the new sect seems to have been desire for novelty rather than conviction, since she never wholly abandoned the Catholic faith. For Jeanne, however, Calvinism held a stronger appeal,--it justified her antipathy toward the pope, fostered by her father, Henri, son of Catherine de Foix, who was interdicted by Julius II. The action of the pope cost Catherine her kingdom, the Spanish Navarre; for Ferdinand, the Catholic, seized the opportunity to accession it. Henri never gave up hope of recovering his inheritance, always regarding the king of Spain and the pope as his enemies, passing this sentiment on to his daughter.

Jeanne's marriage to Antoine de Bourbon, whose vacillating character made him follow the law of expediency even in matters of religion, served only to separate her still further from the true faith, by establishing a life-long bond with her brother-in-law, Prince Conde, the Huguenot leader. Although she turned to the Constable Montmorency, an old friend of her mother's, whenever she needed an intercessor at court, his loyalty
to the Church never influenced her in any way. When she was about to leave Navarre to visit Charles IX in 1557, her confidence in Antoine de Bourbon having been shaken by his indiscretions at home and abroad, Jeanne showed her trust in Cardinal d'Armagnac by naming him lieutenant-governor of her kingdom, and guardian of her son in case of any unforeseen event. Yet when he, as an old friend, admonished her for outlawing Catholicism throughout her domains, she answered him by a lengthy letter, full of venom and the angry self-defense that rises when one tries to justify an evil deed. Her contempt for the warnings and citations of the pope was an imitation of the attitude of Elizabeth, who was interdicted at the same time, and whose financial aid supported the Huguenots against England's traditional enemy,--the king of France.

The whole development of Jeanne's character proves that it is not religious conviction that moves sovereigns to persecute the Church, but an insatiable desire for power and greed for Church property. It certainly was not merely freedom of conscience that the Huguenot leaders sought, for although each of the three Wars of Religion ended in a military victory for the Catholic Party, it suited Catherine de Medici's purpose to make a treaty granting concessions to the Huguenots; yet they were never satisfied. The Edict of Amboise (March 19, 1563) permitted the Reform services in the households of the nobles, and public worship in one town in each district; the treaty of Longjumeau (February 23, 1568)

1. Freer, I, 130.
2. Ibid., I, 352.
practically renewed the same privileges; while the treaty of St. Germain (August 10, 1570) added the right to hold office, and to retain four towns as security. Even after this, the Huguenot army did not disband, but established itself at La Rochelle, whither Jeanne d'Albret and Admiral Coligny had retired. When Coligny was summoned to court by Charles IX, Jeanne returned to Pau to issue ordinances, not of tolerance, but interdicting Catholicism in her realm, and legalizing the plunder of churches and convents, the destruction of crucifixes and images, the desecration of altars, and the sale of sacred vessels and ornaments. In seeking purity of worship, she completely disregarded the fundamental principle of justice, confiscating church property and devoting its revenues to her own enterprise, the university of Bearn, under the administration of a council of Calvinists. 3 Her biographer, Martha W. Freer, says that the language of her edicts is equalled only by that of Henry VIII. 4 Was not her motive the same as his,—greed?

The detailed accounts of the campaigns in southern France and Navarre during the Wars of Religion, 5 carried on by La Noue on the Huguenot side and Montluc on the Royalist, are so similar to the sensational newspaper accounts of the present war in Spain, it is hard to believe that the date is 1569 and not 1939,—ruthless murders, wanton destruction and pillage, and even desecration of graves. It is scarcely less surprising to see how perfectly the description of the methods of

3. Ibid., I, 328.
4. Ibid., I, 326.
5. Pastor, XVI, 180, gives a description of the outrages in 1561; Freer, II, 182, gives those of 1569, quoting memoirs of Castelnau, Montluc, Tavannes, and de Thou.
heretics found in the address of Lainez, delivered at the Colloque de Poissy, fits the tactics of Communists today. And may it not be said that the cause of the persecution of the Church in France in the Sixteenth Century was fundamentally the same as that to which Aileen O'Brien* ascribes the condition in Spain today, viz., the apathy of the Catholics themselves? Such men as Cardinal de Chatillon, who threw open his house to Beza and his companions during the Colloque de Poissy, Cardinal de Bourbon, who performed the marriage ceremony of Henri of Navarre and Marguerite de Valois in defiance of the pope, the seven French bishops who were cited to appear before the Inquisition at Rome to answer charges of heresy, (six of whom ignored the summons, and the seventh pleaded guilty and retracted),6 not to mention the ever-compromising Catherine de Medici, formed the opening wedge for the destructive campaigns led by Conde, Beza, Coligny, and Jeanne d'Albret. Yet the very methods of these persecutors,--their deception, their greed, and their brutality brought on their own destruction. After the First War of Religion, Calvinism lost its death grip on France, not because of its military defeat, but because its followers were disillusioned.7 Jeanne's own son soon wearied of bloodshed, and sought peace and unity in the Church, through which he achieved both temporal and spiritual success, giving France an age of constructive prosperity, so that he is known and loved today as Henry the Great, while Jeanne d'Albret is all but forgotten.

*Note:--American lecturer, authorized by the Spanish Cardinal to present the Catholic situation in Spain to American audiences.

6. Pastor, XVI, 190.
7. Van Dyke, I, 279.
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(Chapters XI and XII discuss the progress of the Reform in France and the reasons for its growth.)


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Rev. Eneas B. Goodwin March 23, 1939