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REFORMATION, WAR AND SOCIETY IN CAEN,

LOWER NORMANDY: 1558-1610

A Dissertation Presented

By

MARYELISE SUFFERN LAMET

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

September 1978

History



MARYELISE SUFFERN LAMET

1978

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REFORMATION, WAR AND SOCIETY IN CAEN,

LOWER NORMANDY: 1558-1610

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Preface

This dissertation was conceived as a study of the development of the Reformation in Caen, focusing particularly on the Reformed community. A unique source exists on which to base the study of this group, the unusually complete series of sixteenth-century baptismal and marriage registers. To date no such series has been analyzed in depth. I was convinced that with such an extensive collection it must be possible to bring to life the individuals who decided for "la nouvelle oppinion," but the question was how most effectively to use the thousands of entries. The registers had already served as the foundation for Sophronyme Beaujour's 1877 history of the Reformed church of Caen, and within the limits of his era, Beaujour's study is a model. Nonetheless, I was certain that by using the computer technology now available, I would be able to analyze and interpret these sources more completely.¹

The vastness of the source, some 7,749 baptisms alone mentioning between 25,000 and 30,000 individuals, called for selection. Even with the aid of the computer the analysis of all the data would have been a project for an équipe. It was decided to focus on the earliest period of Reformed strength, the 1560's, for the initial computer study. These early years were known to have been a time when there was great enthusiasm for the Reform in Caen, and it was believed that a detailed study of the baptismal and marriage records

might shed some light on the reasons for this vitality.

With an extremely rich basic source at my disposal, I then turned to the broader task of bringing to life the city in which these thousands of Protestants had lived.² The first problem encountered was the paucity of secondary studies from which to draw the necessary picture.³ As a result I have felt that it is necessary to dedicate the first three chapters of this work to a detailed examination of the society, economy and institutions of Caen in the mid-sixteenth century. Only with a knowledge of the nature of Caen's overall population, governmental and ecclesiastical structure, educational organization and economy is it possible to understand the development of the period of the Reform.

The Reformation cannot be studied in a vacuum. This period of change which has so long been the domain of either partisan church historians or analysts of national political development was in fact a time of tremendous social upheaval.⁴ The three chapters of part Two provide both a narrative and analytical discussion of the peak period of the Reformation in Caen, the years from 1558 to 1568. During this entire decade the Réformés enjoyed tremendous influence, in terms both of numbers and of power. Using this period as the in-depth focus of the study, it is possible to see how individuals, society and institutions were affected by the turmoil of these years. The final section follows the Réformés' development and the history of the city through the century. This treatment of a longer period allows us to explore the response of the Caen Protestants and the city as a whole to the Religious Wars.

A word on mechanics. Where necessary, dates have been changed to count the new year from 1 January rather than Easter. The calendar shift took place in France in 1564, but was only adopted slowly. In Caen the year actually began to be counted from January only in 1567. Sixteenth-century spelling and punctuation have been retained in all quotations. French terminology for offices and governmental bodies has in general been used because English translations tend to obscure the unique character of the French institutions (ex.: parlement ≠ parliament). These terms are underlined except where their use in English is general enough that they are included in the Oxford English Dictionary (exs.: echevin, presidial, parlement, bailliage).

This study owes much to many people. Miriam Usher Chrisman's own approach to the sixteenth-century city inspired me to undertake an urban study. Her enthusiasm, support and encouragement, particularly in the face of the computer, carried this dissertation through its years of inception to final completion. As both advisor and friend her guidance has been beyond measure.

Training received from Archibald R. Lewis while completing my master's degree helped prepare me for the challenges of this project. Some of the initial research was done while I was a fellow at the Center for Reformation Research in Summer 1972. A grant from the Alliance française supported part of the research from 1973 to 1975.

The staffs of the Archives départementales du Calvados and the Bibliothèque municipale de Caen, Fonds normands, were extremely

helpful in my eternal search for yet one more document. Many members of the Eglise réformée of Caen provided encouragement for the project through their personal enthusiasm and warm welcome. Agnès de St. Blanquat Parmentier, formerly assistant archivist at the Archives départementales du Calvados, cheerfully answered innumerable questions, relaying her belief that the project was worthwhile in her suggestions and her friendship. Nancy L. Roelker's interest in Caen confirmed my early plans for research, and her comments and suggestions in the latter stages of writing were invaluable. Robert M. Kingdon recommended several points of comparison in the substance of chapter Five.

This dissertation would never have moved from idea to form and substance without the day-to-day support provided by my husband Sterling. In the midst of his own historical research he constantly found time to discuss my latest dilemma or pull us both out of our notecards and microfilms enough to regain perspective. We have shared and survived the exhilarating but sometimes overwhelming task of completing two dissertations working simultaneously in one study. Finally, we have both been aided immeasurably in the final stages of our work by our newborn daughter Eugenia, whose cheerful disposition and willingness to take her naps has inspired and enabled us to complete the projects.

FOOTNOTES - PREFACE

¹See Appendix 12: The Baptismal and marriage registers of the Caen Reformed Church, 1560-1614 on the registers as a source and the methodology used in this study. Sophronyme Beaujour, Essai sur l'histoire de l'Eglise réformée de Caen (Caen, 1877).

²The debt of this dissertation to the work of Miriam U. Chrisman on Strasbourg during the Reform is obvious. Miriam Usher Chrisman, Strasbourg and the Reform, A Study in the Process of Change (New Haven, Ct., 1967). The wave of interest in sixteenth-century French urban development, reflected in a panel on Early Modern French Cities at Duke University in March 1973 and the seminar on Religion and society in Sixteenth-century France: A Report on Urban and Rural Cases planned for the 1978 meeting of the Society for French Historical Studies, represents the general historiographical context into which this study of Caen and the Reform should be placed. On the current development of urban and local history see J. Meyer, "Quelques vues sur l'histoire des villes à l'époque moderne," Annales - ESC, 29 (1974), 1551-1568 and Pierre Goubert, "Local History: in Historical Studies Today, ed. Felix Gilbert and Stephan R. Graubard (New York, 1972), pp. 300-14.

³In contrast to Strasbourg and many of the other cities which have been the subjects of recent study, Caen's late medieval and early modern economic and institutional development was not studied by nineteenth-century scholars in any comprehensive way. Jean-Claude Perrot's magisterial study of eighteenth-century Caen focuses on the issue of modern urbanization to the extent that late medieval and sixteenth-century Caen figure minimally even in his background discussions. Jean-Claude Perrot, Genèse d'une ville moderne, Caen au XVIIIe siècle (Paris and The Hague, 1975).

⁴J. H. M. Salmon has argued in his recent study of sixteenth-century France that the basic framework of the ancien régime was determined in the crisis of the period between 1559 and 1598. J. H. M. Salmon, Society in Crisis, France in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1975), pp. 13-16 & 309-28.

ABSTRACT

Reformation, War and Society in Caen,

Lower Normandy: 1558-1610

(September 1978)

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Directed by: Professor Miriam U. Chrisman

The study traces the development of the Reformation in the northern French city of Caen between 1558 and 1610. The focus is social, particular emphasis being placed upon the implantation, growth and contraction of the Reformed Church. The central questions addressed are how did the Protestant community develop within the context of a city of secondary political and economic importance and what was the impact of the Reformation and Religious Wars on such a city.

Chapters I, II and III provide a detailed introduction to the city of Caen in the mid-sixteenth century. The particular character of her institutions and population is described revealing a city of 12-20,000 inhabitants, free of direct intervention by bishop or parlement with a balanced but somewhat unspectacular economy and a thriving university and intellectual community.

Chapter IV deals with the pre-reform and establishment of the Reformed Church in Caen through 1568. The seeds of Protestant

strength were sown from 1520 to 1558 in the university community, among the Caen clergy and in the populace as a whole. In 1558 Caen became host to an established church on the Reformed model. Reaching a high point in 1562 and 1563 when the city was wracked by violence stemming from religious, economic and political factors, the Protestant movement retained significant influence in Caen through the 1560's.

Chapter V examines the Reformed community of Caen during its period of greatest strength, 1560-1568. The organization and functioning of the Reformed Church is also described. The geographical, economic and occupational character of the Reformed population suggests that the movement drew on all parts of the city. Yet, it is argued that the elite of both wealth and government contributed particularly strikingly to its ranks. Strength in both numbers and influence accounted for Protestant success in Caen.

Chapter VI explores the impact of the early years of the Reformation in Caen. The populace felt the burdens of heavy taxation and the frequent presence of troops, while local prerogatives were impinged upon by royal authority. Reformed influence on both municipal and royal officialdom was great, resulting in the toleration of religious diversity rather than conflict. The Roman Catholic Church experienced both physical and psychological damage in 1562 and 1563, which was only gradually repaired through the century. The Reformation had an obvious and striking impact on the university and the printing industry during these years.

Chapter VII examines the course of the Wars of Religion and

their impact on Caen from 1568 to 1598. While the city and her population suffered from the rigors of war, she was free from the violence experienced elsewhere.

Chapter VIII examines the Reformed community after 1568. Though the Protestants never again enjoyed the numbers and power which they had in the sixties, they emerged from thirty years of war, flight and abjuration a strong and active element in the life of Caen. The Epilogue describes how the Roman Catholics and Protestants of Caen collaborated in opposing the establishment of the Jesuits in their city. This incident reflects the tradition of cooperation which had developed between the two confessions over the last half of the sixteenth century.

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Abbreviations

ADC	Archives départementales du Calvados, Caen
AMC	Archives municipales de Caen
<u>Annales - ESC</u>	<u>Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations</u>
<u>Annales - N</u>	<u>Annales de Normandie</u>
BMC	Bibliothèque municipale de Caen, Fonds normands
BN	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
<u>BSAN</u>	<u>Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie</u>
<u>BSHPF</u>	<u>Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestantisme français</u>
<u>Bibl. Hum. & Ren.</u>	<u>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance - Travaux et Documents</u>
<u>Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques</u>	<u>Bulletin historique et philologique Comité des travaux historique et scientifique</u>
CM	Collection Mancel, Caen
Hsupp	Série H supplement - Hôpitaux, Archives départementales du Calvados
HSL - Publication	Publication of the Huguenot Society of London
<u>Huguenot Society Proceedings</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London</u>
<u>MAC</u>	<u>Mémoires: L'Académie nationale des Sciences, Arts et Belles-Lettres de Caen</u>

MSAN

Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires
de Normandie

MSHN

Mélanges: Documents de la Société
de l'Histoire de Normandie

PSHN

Publication de la Société de l'Histoire
de Normandie

INTRODUCTION

Ceste ville de Caen, amy lecteur, est de tous recogneue la seconde ville en ordre de la Province de Normandie, et la premiere du bas pays du Duché, situee au mitan d'icelle,. . . au jugement de chacun qui la voit et contemple [elle] est l'une des plus belles, spacieuse, plaisante, et delectable que l'on puisse regarder, soit en situation, structure de murailles, de temples, tours, piramides, bastimens, hauts pavillons, et edifices, grandes et larges rues au nombre de quarante, sans celles des fauxbourgs, accompaignede et embrassee tant d'amont que d'aval, de deux amples et plaisantes prairies de largeur viron demy lieuë, et de longueur à perte de veue, encloses d'assez grosses et hautes colines ou costaux, au pied desquels flue et reflue ceste grosse riviere d'Oulne [Orne],. . . qui la ceint et orne selon le flot et replot de la mer, qui enfla deux fois le jour,¹

Charles de Bourgeville's (1504-93) description of his native city in the opening pages of Book II of his Recherches et antiquitez du duché de Normandie. . . conveys an impression of architectural grandeur and space. Situated at the confluence of the Orne and Odon Rivers, about twelve kilometers from the sea, Caen dominates a fertile plain which extends north to the Channel and south toward Falaise and the bocage. To the east the plain turns into the marshes of the Dives River Valley (Vallée d'Auge), a rich source of peat, fish and wild birds which was gradually drained for use as pasturage in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. Westward, marshy soil creates the pasture lands of the Bessin, surrounding the episcopal center of Bayeux.²

Caen is located between the hills on which its chateau and the suburb of Vaucelles are situated. In the sixteenth century the two rivers wound in and around the city giving its chief residential quarter, the Ile St. Jean, a truly insular character, with the Grande rue St. Jean (41) bisecting the marshy island from north to south.³ The inclining tower of the Church of St. Jean still bears witness to the city's boggy foundations, which threatened all quarters with the problems of dampness and occasional flooding. Thus, the water which was largely responsible for the establishment of a city in this site was at the same time an obstacle to urban health and development.⁴

Despite evidence which confirms Gallo-Roman occupation near Caen and convincing arguments which etymologically link the name Caen to the Celtic word cadomagos (catumagos), meaning field of battle, not until the early eleventh century is there firm documentation of the town's existence.⁵ In charters dating from 1024 and 1027 Caen is mentioned as a town (bourg) of some size and activity with churches, a fair, mills, vineyards, pasture (prés) and an office for the collection of the tonlieu.⁶ This ducal bourg was given added importance when William the Conqueror and his wife Mathilda chose it as the site of their penitential abbeys, the Abbey of La Trinité (Abbaye aux Dames, established in 1062) and the Abbey of St. Etienne (Abbaye aux Hommes, established in 1064). The two abbeys were granted sizable landholdings in Normandy and England as well as the control and governance of the bourgs which, it was assumed, would grow up around their abbatial buildings. At the same time, to encourage the commercial development

of this strategic site, the dukes had extended a privileged status in financial and judicial matters to the inhabitants of the ducal bourg. These same privileges were also granted to those dwelling in the two abbatial bourgs.⁷

Caen was not only a commercial and religious center, but also a military stronghold, and the eleventh century saw its utilization as a fortified citadel, the fortress standing where the chateau is now located in the northeast corner of the ducal bourg. It is doubtful, however, that there were substantial walls around the city before the fourteenth century and even then only around the royal bourg.⁸

Following the civil wars among William the Conqueror's descendants and the solidification of Plantagenet authority under Henry II, Caen increased in political importance. Located on the most direct route between England and the Angevin possessions to the south of Normandy, it became the center, insofar as the itinerant Plantagenets had a center, of the Angevin Empire. The Norman Exchequer was established in the chateau, and Caen was frequently used as a residence by Henry II and John.⁹ During the twelfth century the urban agglomeration which William I had encouraged developed as a thriving commercial center and gained the status of commune, on the model of the Etablissements de Rouen. The 1203 charter of John confirming Caen's privileges was reaffirmed by Philip-Augustus in 1204 and 1220 after Normandy had passed under French domination.¹⁰ These privileges were reconfirmed by successive French and English rulers of Normandy, but by the sixteenth century the city had taken on the somewhat less

distinct status of bonne ville.¹¹

Under the French régime Caen declined in political importance. Nevertheless, the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century was the golden age of medieval economic development. Despite the rupture of traditional commercial ties wrought by the French victory, Caen became an important textile and dyeing center with an active port dealing in local agricultural produce, fish, and the wines of Bordeaux and Burgundy. The commercial rivalry of Caen and Rouen was already evident at this time.¹²

This prosperous, relatively tranquil period ended with the resumption of open conflict between the French and the English. The taking of Caen by Edward III in 1346 caused extensive destruction in parts of the city, and for the first time the ducal bourg was surrounded by walls, separating it from the abbatial bourgs. The fortified center became a refuge for large numbers of people from the suburbs and from the countryside; resulting internal disorder and conflicts over defense responsibilities led to uprisings between 1358 and 1363.¹³ After 1370 the situation improved as the French succeeded in the reconquest of large parts of Normandy and reconstruction of the city was undertaken. The security was short-lived, however, and from 1400 until the final cessation of hostilities in the mid-fifteenth century Caen suffered intermittent crisis conditions and general commercial stagnation.¹⁴

The final return to French control in 1450 signalled the gradual resumption of Norman commercial activity and the rekindling

of the traditional rivalry between Caen and Rouen.¹⁵ Under the English from 1417 to 1450 Caen had been viewed as the capital of the Duchy of Normandy and was favored with the establishment of a university in 1432.¹⁶ Thus, despite the supremacy of Upper Normandy in maritime commerce¹⁷ and royal administrative and judicial affairs¹⁸, it was in Lower Normandy that the Norman Renaissance flourished. Endowed with a university, several printers, an active port, an important conventual establishment and a significant military fortress, Caen was the undisputed key city of Lower Normandy in 1558.¹⁹ In the following three chapters I will discuss in more detail the nature of the city's social, political, economic and religious institutions in the sixteenth century as a foundation for the next section which will trace Caen's development during the decisive decade of the 1560's. From 1558 to 1568 the city was confronted both by the religious revolt known as the Reformation and the beginning of the civil anarchy known as the Religious Wars. The remainder of the study will follow the problems which arose in the 1560's through the end of the century in order to measure their ultimate impact on the development of Caen and her people.

FOOTNOTES - INTRODUCTION

¹Charles de Bourgueville, sieur de Bras, Les Recherches et Antiquitez de la Province de Neustrie, à Présent duché de Normandie comme des villes remarquables d'icelle: Mais plus spécialement de la Ville et Université de Caen (2 bks. separately paginated in 1 vol., (Caen, 1588), II, 2, 5. This is the only sixteenth-century chronicle for Caen. Charles de Bourgueville (1504-93) was a prominent member of the Caen magistracy from the 1530's until his death. In 1568 he was appointed by the king to the important post of lieutenant general of the bailli. While his devout Roman Catholic position is clearly apparent in the narrative, the work is an invaluable source for both the late sixteenth century and the city's earlier history. It was republished several times in the eighteenth century and again in 1833. All citations will be taken from the original 1588 edition unless otherwise indicated.

²Hilda Ormsby, France - a Regional and Economic Geography (London and New York, 1950), pp. 149-53; Léopold Delisle, Etudes sur la condition de la classe agricole et l'état de l'agriculture en Normandie au Moyen Age (Evreux 1851), pp. 282-83; René-Norbert Sauvage, L'Abbaye de Saint-Martin de Troarn au diocèse de Bayeux, des origines au seizième siècle, MSAN, 34 (1911 - entire volume), 250.

³See Map 1: Charles de Bourgueville's pre-1562 map of Caen. "Le vray Pourtraict de la ville de Caen" was probably drawn up by de Bourgueville prior to 1562 since the effects of the Protestant iconoclasm of 1562-63 are not shown. It was originally published in François de Belle-forest and Sebastien Munster, La Cosmographie universelle de tout le monde recueillie par plusieurs auteurs (Paris, 1575), I, pt. 2, 121-22. It was republished, incorrectly dated 1585, both in the 1833 edition of de Bourgueville's Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen and separately in a large format. Map 1 is taken from a copy of the latter in the Archives départementales du Calvados, 5PL3. Numbers and letters noted in the text in parentheses following the mention of sites in Caen refer to this map.

⁴Nicole Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen de 1381 à 1416 (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 1961), p. 2; Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, p. 55.

5

On the origins of Caen see Charles Joret, "Note sur le nom de Caen," Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques (1895), pp. 351-52; Henri Prentout, "Introduction à l'Histoire, MAC, Partie littéraire - IV, (1903), pp. 24-29; Henri Prentout, "Les origines de Caen," BSAN, 33 (1918), 193-208; George Huard, La Paroisse et l'église St-Pierre de Caen des origines au milieu de XVIe siècle, MSAN, 35 (1925-entire volume), 23-30; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 3; Michel de Bouärd, ed., Histoire de la Normandie (Toulouse, 1970), pp. 37, 38, 58, 63, 168-69.

6

Prentout, "Introduction à Caen," p. 29; Henri Legras, Le bourg de Caen, tenure à cens et tenure à rente, XIe - XVe siècles (Paris, 1911), p. 39; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 4; Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, p. 30. The tonlieu was the fee paid by merchants for the right to sell at a market. R. Grandsaignes d'Hauterive, Dictionnaire d'Ancien Français - Moyen Age et Renaissance (Paris, 1947), p. 562. Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, p. 118 gives a more general definition: "droits utiles sur le commerce et les transports".

7

"Le bourg que j'ai donne au saint, je veux qu'il le tienne librement, pleinement et paisiblement comme je tiens le mien et que toutes les coutumes que j'ai dans mon Bourg, le saint [abbot acting for the saint] les ait dans le sien." ADC, H 1830, no. 1 (quoted in Legras, Bourgage de Caen, p. 40). See also Legras, Bourgage de Caen, pp. 35-42 and 59; Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, pp. 30-31.

8

Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, pp. 58-59; Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, pp. 33-35. When Normandy came under French control the ducal bourg became the royal bourg. My references will reflect these changes.

9

Prentout, "Introduction à Caen," pp. 33-34; D. Tourmente, Le port de Caen; étude économique avec une introduction historique (Caen, 1914), pp. 3-5.

10

Pierre Carel, Histoire de la ville de Caen depuis Philippe-Auguste jusqu'à Charles IX (Paris, 1886), pp. 21, 26 (henceforth Carel, Histoire de Caen - I); Pierre Carel, Etude sur la commune de Caen; suivie de la liste des Echevins. Analyse du Matrologe de la ville et du Registre du Ceremonial (Caen, 1888), pp. 1-2; Henri Prentout, "Etudes sur quelques points d'histoire de Normandie--Les origines de la Commune et des Etablissements de Rouen," MAC (1929), p. 53; Prentout, "Introduction à Caen," p. 34; Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, p. 32.

¹¹The charters of confirmation are in the Archives municipales de Caen, AA 1 and 2: Matrologe de la Ville de Caen. These volumes were severely damaged in a fire in 1891. Therefore, it is necessary to refer to nineteenth-century summaries of their contents: Carel, Etude sur Caen, pp. 98-308; M. Méritte-Longchamp, Mélanges historiques extraits du matrologe de la ville de Caen (Bibliothèque municipale de Caen, MS in-4. 237). See also Carel, Etude sur Caen, pp. 14-15; Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, p. 33.

¹²Prentout, "Introduction à Caen," pp. 35-36; Tourmente, Le port de Caen, pp. 6-9; Michel Mollat, Le commerce maritime normand à la fin du Moyen Age (Paris, 1952), p. 14; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 7.

¹³AMC, AA 1, ff. 24 & 33 (Carel, Etude sur Caen, pp. 122-23); Guillaume-Stanislas Trébutien, Caen, son histoire, ses monuments, son commerce et ses environs (Caen, 1877), pp. 19-21; Prentout, "Introduction à Caen", pp. 39-40; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 8-13, 37-39.

¹⁴In 1408 the port of Caen was entirely empty and despite relative prosperity and some resumption of commercial contacts between 1424 and 1435, the first half of the fifteenth century was dominated by war and very little development. Mollat, Commerce maritime normand, pp. 19, 21 and 25-52. See also Trébutien, Caen, son Histoire, pp. 22-28; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 13-18, 32.

¹⁵Mollat, Commerce maritime normand, pp. 14, 65-132.

¹⁶Bouard, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 230-31.

¹⁷Mollat, Commerce maritime normand, pp. 332-33, 454.

¹⁸In February, 1515 the Norman Exchequer became the Parlement of Normandy seated at Rouen. On the exchequer and parlement see Amable Floquet, Essai historique sur l'Echiquier de Normandie (Rouen, 1840); Amable Floquet, Histoire du Parlement de Normandie (7 vols. Rouen, 1840-41); Henri Prentout, "La création de l'Echiquier perpétuel," Revue historique du Droit français et étranger (1923), pp. 152-53.

¹⁹This continued to be true in the 1590's when Henri IV wrote of Caen, "vous est de plus grande importance que tout aultre." AMC, BB 27, f. 80r. (29 December 1589).

PART I

CAEN IN THE MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In 1558 a Protestant congregation came together in Caen and established itself as a church. During its first decade this heretical church attracted the allegiance of at least half of the city's population. Throughout the sixteenth century the Protestants remained a significant minority despite years of persecution and war. The question of how Caen became a Reformed center and the process of adjustment which took place during the decades of the late sixteenth century will concern us throughout this study. First, however, we must look more closely at what kind of place this city of Caen was in the mid-sixteenth century. What set it apart from the countryside around it? What did it look like to the citizen living in one of its parishes? How many people called themselves Caennais? How was it governed? Was it prosperous and why? What was the character of the Roman Catholic church from which so many were won to Protestantism in the 1550's and 1560's? What institutions and developments paved the way for the Reform? The answers to all of these questions will enable us to understand better the religious, social, political and economic changes which took place during the years between 1558 and 1610.

C H A P T E R I

GOVERNMENT AND THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

A. Human Geography

Sixteenth-century Caen was an integral part of the web of intermingling administrative and judicial divisions of ancien régime France. The city was the seat of a généralité, roughly equivalent to the area known as Lower Normandy. This designation was relatively recent, dating from the reforms of 1542 and 1552 which organized the bureau de finances and trésorier général to administer royal taxes.¹ Since each généralité was subdivided into élections, Caen also served as the seat of an élection. This telescoping of power characteristic of the ancien régime was repeated in the other areas of administration and justice; Caen was the seat of bailliage, prévôté, vicomté and sergenterie as well. Needless to say, the functions and personnel of all of these spheres of government created a confusing and often redundant situation in the capital city.²

While at the hub of much of the activity in the bailliage and généralité, Caen was, in contrast, removed from the influence of several phases of royal and ecclesiastical affairs. As far as the church was concerned, Caen was part of the diocese of Bayeux, and to the smaller neighboring city belonged the prestige of serving as the episcopal seat. Equally important, Caen escaped both the pressures and the prestige of a parlement city, save for a short period in the

late sixteenth century. Furthermore, Paris, at a distance of about 240 kilometers over poor roads and no direct waterway, had comparatively little impact on day to day affairs in Caen.³

While Caen strongly reflected the character of the countryside which surrounded it, the city was also in many ways set off from its environs. The motivation behind the granting of charters of privilege to Caen by the Norman dukes was both economic and military. The urban privileges extended to the Caennais essentially gave them a favored position in terms of taxation and permitted a distinct and gradually freer system of land tenure within the city.⁴ Originally, these legal distinctions, separating the citizens of the three bourgs of Caen from those in the countryside, were quite clear although the geographical lines dividing town and country were always rather vague, due to the absence of walls surrounding and uniting the three bourgs physically.⁵ Briefly, this is the administrative context within which Caen served as key city of Lower Normandy.

Documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries indicate that Caennais were thought of in three general groups: bourgeois, manants and habitants.⁶ Archival records give no indication of the distinction made between these three groups. There is no Livre de la Bourgeoisie nor are there references to the granting of bourgeois status to immigrants.⁷ Thus, despite the fact that the sixteenth-century Caen bourgeois conscientiously entered in notarial and church records that he was a bourgeois, it is impossible to fix any definite legal basis for this designation. Usage indicates that the terms bourgeois(e)

and honnête homme or honnête femme were reserved for the more prosperous and wealthy Caennais, while manants and habitants were applied to all other dwellers in the city.

By the mid-sixteenth century the visual distinction between the city and countryside was undoubtedly striking, as Caen enjoyed a period of pronounced economic and architectural growth following the end of the Hundred Years War.⁸ At the same time, however, the tangible privileges which distinguished the inhabitants of these two areas were becoming increasingly vague. Migration from city to country and vice versa added to the blurring of legal distinctions. In the fourteenth century concern over the influx of immigrants had led to legislation which limited the right to engage in commerce within Caen to those born there or who had ". . .demeuré continuellement par an et par jour et contribue aux coust fraictz et mission d'icelle ville. . ."9. Again in 1634 there was an attempt to define more clearly who could enjoy bourgeois privileges,¹⁰ but on neither occasion was a mechanism established to assure that the law was executed. Owing to this vagueness, the term bourgeois de Caen defies simple definition. Originally related to land tenure and residence within the city for a period of time, the appellation "bourgeois" had already begun in the sixteenth century to mean a status and a way of life as it would in eighteenth and nineteenth-century France, rather than having any strict legal meaning.¹¹ Furthermore, the growth of royal control over many French cities, including Caen, during the period following the Hundred Years War, which prevented them from exercising the degree of political

independence and related self-consciousness enjoyed by Dutch or Imperial Free cities at this time, confirmed the blurring of definitions.

The sole reason that bourgeois status was important in sixteenth century Caen was related to taxation. Despite repeated pleas to royal authorities for ville franche status, Caen was subject to the *taille*. In 1484 through the influence of the bailli, Alain Goïon, Grand Ecuier de France, the city did obtain the privilege of paying the *taille* via taxes on goods (tarifs: aides or octrois), rather than through the more onerous assessments of the personal *taille*.¹² In addition to removing the arbitrariness of the personal tax, this system spread the tax burden more evenly over all the inhabitants of the city, often forcing persons otherwise exempt to contribute.¹³

This privileged form of collection led many who did not actually reside in Caen to try to claim bourgeois status. As de Bourgueville noted, it also created an impetus to immigration, swelling the suburb of St. Julien in the 1540's and 1550's.¹⁴ One would think that attempts to close loopholes would have led to a stricter definition of terms and status. On the contrary, endless legal battles did little more than add to the confusion. In 1634 a royal edict declared that the taille tarifé privilege was to be extended to new bourgeois only after ten years of residence, but again no system was instituted to keep records on entering bourgeois.¹⁵

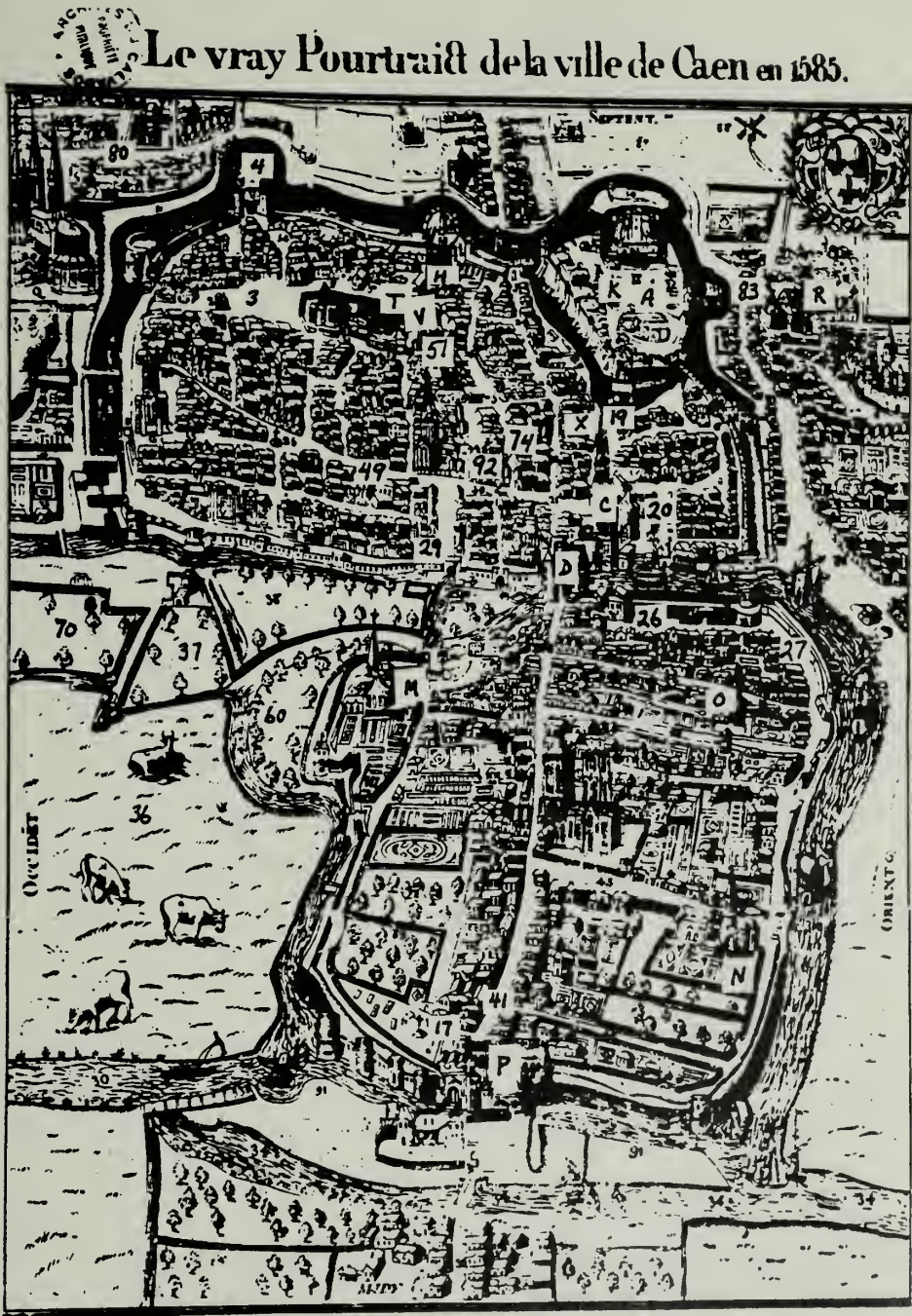
In the sixteenth century the problem of who was a Caen bourgeois was further exacerbated by the vagueness of the understanding of Caen's geographical limits. Contemporary discussions in both de Bourgueville's

chronicle and municipal records reflect a concept of greater Caen which included the three bourgs and two additional suburbs, disregarding the presence of enclaves which did not fall within the legal limits of the city. Boundaries between the bourgs and the parishes within them were by no means clear and did not always coincide.¹⁶ At the root of this confusion is the process of Caen's physical development and the general lack of clarity in the urban vocabulary of medieval and early modern Europe.¹⁷

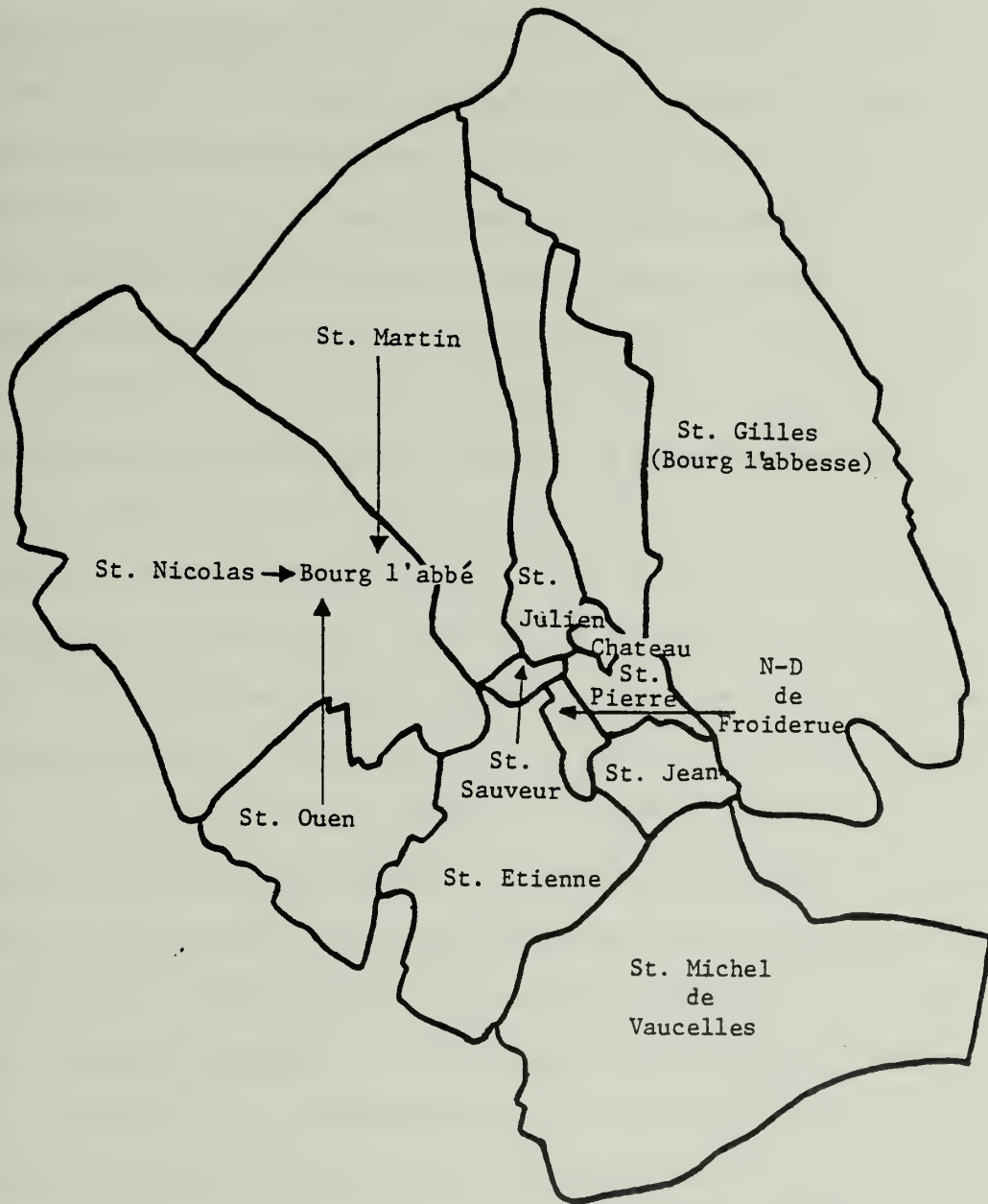
From the eleventh through the eighteenth centuries the territory occupied by the city was divided into the three ancient bourgs.¹⁸ De Bourgueville in his 1562 map included only the royal bourg as the "ville de Caen".¹⁹ This view was confirmed in his textual description of the city and its parishes where Caen, the royal bourg, was divided into the five parishes of the old city to the north of the bridge of St. Pierre and the city hall (maison de ville) (D) and the Ile St. Jean to the south of the bridge, containing parts of two parishes. After devoting ten pages to these areas, he allowed only two pages for the four "suburbs": the bourg of the abbot (Bourg l'abbé) (80), the bourg of the abbess (Bourg l'abbesse) (83), St. Michel de Vaucelles and St. Julien, which together comprised six parishes. His description gives us one sixteenth-century citizen's view of his city. Unquestionably the royal bourg was the center of urban activity, and the two abbatial bourgs, despite similar charters of foundation, remained on the fringe.²⁰

Although I have stressed the similar origins of the three bourgs, some points of contrast in their pre-sixteenth-century development did

Map 1: Charles de Bourgueville's pre-1562 map of Caen (source: ADC, 5PL3).



Map 2: Caen parishes (16th century).



Map based on Jean-Claude Perrot, Genèse d'une ville moderne: Caen au XVIIIe siècle (The Hague and Paris, 1975), p. 43.

exist. In his study of the legal character of the bourgage of Caen, Henry Legras sheds light on the origins of these differences. With respect to seigneurial exploitation of the land, there was a marked contrast between the royal bourg and the Bourg L'abbesse, with the Bourg l'abbé falling between them. The royal bourg offered considerably more freedom from local taxation, guard duty and responsibilities for street repair and drain cleaning, probably because the king, as a distant landlord, was tempted to extend privileges in return for lump sums or promises of loyalty.²¹ The abbatial bourgs, though often administered for absentee lords, continued to be the seats of more direct seigneurial control. In the Bourg l'abbesse, residents were subject to corvées unknown elsewhere in Caen and were called to active participation in guard duty.²² The burdens on inhabitants of the Bourg l'abbé were less onerous but sufficiently annoying to cause some of its inhabitants to attempt to claim citizenship in the royal bourg.²³

In the realms of land tenure and the right to alienate land, similar contrasts existed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. While the inhabitants of the royal bourg were "franc et quitte de toutes charges", in the Bourg l'abbé some limitations continued, and in the Bourg l'abbesse the right to freely alienate was virtually unknown.²⁴ It is essential not to over emphasize these differences, for all of the bourgage of Caen enjoyed privileged status vis à vis the countryside. Nevertheless, they do give us insight into why the royal bourg was unquestionably the commercial and artisanal center of the city.

The city sector with which a sixteenth-century Caennais identified

most closely was his parish, and it was this name which appeared most often in notarial and later in Protestant record books next to that of an individual. The city was broken down into twelve parishes.²⁵ To the west were three parishes lying primarily in the Bourg l'abbé with small sections in the royal bourg: St. Nicolas, St. Martin and St. Ouen (also called St. Barthélemy in the sixteenth century). Where they overlapped with or bordered on the royal bourg, these parishes were populated by artisans and tradesmen, such as the tanners in St. Martin and St. Ouen.²⁶ For the most part they were made up of garden plots and, at their perimeters, open fields. The abbatial seigneur retained interest in the cultivation of lands around the walled Abbey to ensure adequate food for the monks.²⁷

To the northeast of the city was the parish of St. Gilles whose boundaries roughly coincided with the Bourg l'abbesse. Again, though there were artisans and shops along its border with the royal bourg, St. Gilles was primarily a rural parish. As in the Bourg l'abbé, the abbatial seigneur retained lands around the abbey which were cultivated to provide for the nuns. Up to 1580 the abbey records refer to vineyards in this quarter, but the poor quality of Lower Norman wines undoubtedly explains the decline of their exploitation in the late sixteenth century.²⁸

Two other "suburban" parishes fell within the area of greater Caen in the sixteenth century: St. Michel de Vaucelles, to the south of the city center, and St. Julien, to the north. Though St. Julien attracted inhabitants who sought Caen's taille tarifié,²⁹ a large part of the suburb

was still subject to various feudal impositions. Caen bourgeois, particularly merchants, avoided this quarter in order to escape costly taxation of their merchandise.³⁰ The population, therefore, was primarily made up of poor laborers, probably including a good number of stonecutters, for in addition to gardens and fields, St. Julien was the site of several white freestone quarries (pierre de taille) for which Caen was famous.³¹

St. Michael de Vaucelles, separated from the city parishes by the course of the Orne River, was on a hilltop. It was the site of some artisan activity, but as the other suburbs it fell under seigneurial control (the abbot of St. Etienne) and contained extensive garden and orchard areas. Thus, six of the parishes in Caen were to some extent still rural in the sixteenth century.

The heart of the city, generally corresponding to the limits of the royal bourg, included six parishes: St. Pierre, St. Jean, N^otre-Dame de Froiderue, St. Sauveur, St. Etienne le Vieux (so called to differentiate it from the Abbey), and St. Georges. These parishes were all at least partially within the city walls by the fifteenth century, a notable advantage attested to by the extensive immigration into them from suburban and outlying areas which took place during the Hundred Years War.³²

The Ile St. Jean included small parts of two parishes: St. Pierre (to the north and east--St. Pierre-en-ile), St. Michel de Vaucelles (to the south); as well as the large parish of St. Jean. The center of the island was the major residential quarter of the city, and through the

eighteenth century it would be the home of most of Caen's noble and wealthy bourgeois families. Its proximity to the open meadows (prairies) of St. Etienne le Vieux, large garden areas within the walls and extensive holdings by religious communities gave it a relatively open character despite considerable early sixteenth-century construction activity.³³

The parish of St. Pierre was the administrative and business center of the city, containing its major parish church (C), the chateau (A), the bailliage and presidial courts (X) and the residences and warehouses of Caen's most important merchants.³⁴ Extending onto the Ile St. Jean, St. Pierre included the wharves and storehouses of the port (26). In the quarter north of the bridge were located the new market (19), the grain market (Halle à bled or Tripot) (92), the fish market (20) and an important part of the city's dyeing industry (74). Heavily built-up, St. Pierre contained few religious establishments, though it was the site of the bishop of Bayeux' Caen palace (O). Located within the chateau, the parish church of St. Georges (K) served the area of the military installation. Its parishioners were garrison soldiers from outside. Consequently, it had virtually no involvement in the life of the city and was usually referred to as part of St. Pierre.

The parish of Nôtre-Dame de Froiderue, located southwest of St. Pierre, was characterized by the dense occupation and intense economic activity of its larger neighbor. It was the site of the slaughterhouse (29), the royal weigh house and the apple and charcoal markets. The Grande Rue(49) extended from the church of St. Pierre through this

quarter, lined so thickly with houses, shops and porches that de Bourgueville felt its beauty was greatly compromised and called for the demolition of some of the porches.³⁵ Both St. Pierre and N^otre-Dame de Froiderue had mixed populations of artisans, merchants and administrative and judicial officials.

Though small in area, the parish of St. Sauveur was important as the site of the city's major marketplace (3), the Franciscan monastery (H) and most of the University buildings (T and V). Populated primarily by the student community, it also contained numerous shops.³⁶ The parish of St. Etienne le Vieux, bordering St. Sauveur, N^otre-Dame de Froiderue and St. Jean, contained some shops and residences. By virtue of its riverside position St. Etienne was the center of the tanning and dyeing trades in Caen.³⁷ Extending beyond the city walls, it was also made up of the meadows and fields southwest of Caen (36, 37, 60 and 70). In addition to serving an agricultural purpose, de Bourgueville tells us that parts of the meadow near the city were used by the Caennais for recreation.³⁸

On the edge of the city were hamlets which, while being within the limits of greater Caen, retained an identity apart. These included Couvrechef in the parish of St. Gilles, La Folie in the parish of St. Martin and the area around the leprosarium, known as La Maladrerie, in the parish of St. Nicolas. Beyond the city itself lay the outskirts or banlieue. Originally this was a privileged area extending one league around the city within which cultivated land was held in franc-allevu and not taxed.³⁹ In the sixteenth century the banlieue of Caen was synonymous with the sergenterie of Caen, under the judicial jurisdiction

Map 3: Caen and the banlieue (16th century).



Map based on Jean-Claude Perrot, Genèse d'une ville moderne: Caen au XVIIIe siècle (The Hague and Paris, 1975), p. 42.

of the royal sergeant. The irregular four kilometer ring around the city included the nine parishes of Authie, Bretteville-sur-Odon, Cormelles, Herouville, Louvigny, St. Contest, St. Germain de la Blanche Herbe, St. Ursin d'Epron and Venoix.⁴⁰ Not legally part of the sergenterie but also within the same ring around Caen lay the parishes of Ste. Paix (incorporated into Caen in 1718), Mondeville, Ifs, Allemagne and Carpiquet. All of these parishes lived in a symbiotic relationship with the regional capital on which they bordered.

With some idea of the urban geography of Caen, we can now move on to the question of how many people lived in the city. Unfortunately, the answer to this is extremely elusive. To begin, the fact that Charles VIII granted the privilege of the taille tarifé greatly complicates the problem of estimating Caen's sixteenth-century population. Until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the régime of the intendants assured regular attention to the collection of population figures, estimates of French urban populations must be based on fiscal records, most frequently those for the taille. Since Caennais paid the taille indirectly rather than personally, no roles for its collection exist.

In the absence of taille records, Norman parishes often have another possible source of statistics, fouage records. The fouage (also referred to as monnage) was "une sorte de taxe de rachat volontariement payée au duc par ces sujets pour qu'il s'abstienne de meur, c'est à dire de changer, les espèces monetaire en usage dans la province."⁴¹ This tax of twelve deniers per hearth was collected triannually, and there

exist parish by parish records for parts of Caen from the Middle Ages on.⁴² These records must be used with the caution required in all demographic analysis of fiscal accounts, especially those based on reckonings in hearths. The work done by Nicole Simon provides a useful enumeration of the late medieval population of Caen using these sources.⁴³

The dearth of sixteenth-century records for Caen's population is particularly exasperating in light of the fact that up until the 1944 bombardment of the city, there existed late sixteenth-century Roman Catholic registers of baptisms which, along with the extant Protestant registers, would have enable one to estimate the levels of population during the years of the Reformation and Religious Wars.⁴⁴ In light of this loss we are forced to skip into the seventeenth century and use the work of Jean-Claude Perrot to conclude our indirect estimate of the sixteenth-century population.

In his discussion of the problems encountered in the study of Caen's seventeenth and eighteenth-century demographic patterns, Perrot attributes some of the difficulties to a natural ". . . méfiance des collectivités devant les enquêtes gouvernementales. . ." ⁴⁵. He cites the example from our period of the royal commission established in 1570 under Guillaume Postel, sieur des Fourneaux, to facilitate the equalization of the assiette des tailles for Normandy. This commission was to draw up a description of the goods and status of all the province's inhabitants. Objections by the procureur of the Estates of Normandy and the Cour des Aides in Rouen frustrated these attempts however. It was believed that such an inquiry was ". . . chose jamais advenue en ce

royaume, et. . . ung perilleux et damageable évènement, au prejudice du bien et commerce public,. . ."46 Consequently, no inquiry was made, in fact, there exists no concrete data until the 1666 Dénombrement des Bourgeois de Caen, drawn up at the request of Colbert.⁴⁷

What then can be said on the basis of this rather limited documentation? First, calculating on the basis of a coefficient of 3.5 persons per hearth, N. Simon has estimated the overall population of the eleven parishes of Caen (St. Georges being included in St. Pierre) as fluctuating between 7,000 in the late fourteenth century and 5,000 in the early fifteenth century.⁴⁸ Undoubtedly these figures reflect the impact of the mid-fourteenth-century plague, which struck Caen as elsewhere, together with the effects of the Hundred Years War. Despite lack of numerical evidence for real population growth, the city was referred to in 1365 as "moult peuplée". This resulted from immigration into the city from the countryside, particularly in the late fourteenth century. By 1434 there were signs that the outlying population had regained some strength, but the overall indication for the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries is one of population stagnation, punctuated by periodic sharp increases and declines.⁴⁹

In contrast to the dense population within the city walls noted during the late fourteenth century,⁵⁰ contemporaries in the late fifteenth century spoke of underpopulation.⁵¹ The plague seems to have been largely responsible for this state. In fact, in 1500 the echevins of Caen authorized the establishment of "un cimetière commun et général, attendu que la peste et autres maladies avoient, par ci-devant, rendu ceux de

la ville insuffisants."⁵² This plan was never put into effect, but it reveals the city's belief that it was gripped by death.⁵³ Though recurring epidemics afflicted Caen after 1500, notably in 1547, civil construction within the city indicates a gradual growth of population in the early sixteenth century.⁵⁴

The authors of chapter Nine of the Histoire de la Normandie concluded that, except for the 1583-84 plague, the years between 1550 and 1600 were characterized by better conditions in Caen, which led to population stability. But firm figures for this period are extremely elusive, and the traditional estimate of 20,000 in 1608 must be viewed as only tentative.⁵⁵

With the 1695 estimate for the capitation figures appear for the first time which are more reliable. Vauban used this hearth census as the source for his "Nombre des familles qui se sont trouvées les années précédentes dans les paroisses de la ville et faubourgs de Caen, 1699". Based on a 4.5 coefficient per hearth, he arrived at a population of about 26,000 for the eleven Caen parishes.⁵⁶ By the Revolution more ample documentation reveals that the population of Caen had risen to 34,000 - 36,000.⁵⁷

Looking at the information provided by a 1491 fouage record and Vauban's 1695 estimate more closely, we can get an idea of where in the city the Caen population was concentrated. In both the late fifteenth and late seventeenth centuries the artisanal central parishes of the royal bourg comprised the largest percentage of the city's total population. During the period from 1491 to 1699, the suburbs, particularly

TABLE 1: The Population of Caen in 1491 and 1695.

PARISH	1491		1695	
	number hearths	per cent	number persons	per cent
St. Jean	142	12.2%	3375	12.8%
St. Pierre	374	32.1	5820	22.1
N-D de Froiderue	112	9.6	2385	9.1
St. Etienne	124	10.7	1912	7.3
St. Sauveur	50	4.3	2182	8.3
		56.7%		46.8%
Bourg l'abbé				
-St. Martin	51	4.4	945	3.6
-St. Nicolas	106	9.1	2700	10.3
-St. Ouen	30	2.6	765	2.9
Sub-total (Bourg l'abbé)	187	16.1	4410	16.8
Bourg l'abbesse				
-St. Gilles	78	6.7	1665	6.3
		31.1%		40.4%
St. Michel de Vaucelles	72	6.2	2475	9.4
St. Julien	25	2.1	2092	7.9
- TOTAL	1164	100.0	26316	100.0

Sources: Nicole Simon, *La vie économique et social à Caen de 1381 à 1416* (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 1961), p. 219 - 1491 fouage record; Jean-Claude Perrot, *Genèse d'une ville moderne: Caen au XVIIIe siècle* (The Hague and Paris, 1975), pp. 1021-22 - 1695 estimate for the capitation from Vauban's "Nombre des familles qui se sont trouvées les années précédentes dans les paroisses de la ville et faubourgs de Caen, 1699."

St. Julien and St. Michel de Vaucelles, attracted a large number of new inhabitants. The residential quarter of St. Jean accounted for about one-eighth of the city's population in both 1491 and 1695.⁵⁸

Clearly it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions about Caen's late sixteenth-century population from this limited data. However, it seems likely that it fell between a minimum of 12,000 and a maximum of 20,000. This placed Caen among the second level of French cities which included Amiens, Aix, Dijon, La Rochelle, Montpellier, Rennes and others. Jean-Claude Perrot has argued persuasively that the study of these centers of lower magnitude, which were not dominated by any one economic or political factor, may reveal more about the early modern French urban situation than the study of Paris or the great port cities.⁵⁹ This point is certainly no less true for the turbulent sixteenth century than for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries upon which his work focuses.

B. Municipal Government and the Structure of Public Responsibility

The municipal government of Caen first took shape during the twelfth century under the Norman dukes, modeled on the Etablissements de Rouen, which influenced the organization of so many cities in the Plantagenet Empire.⁶⁰ This regime allowed moderate freedom of action to the city, while leaving the final control over the choice of the key governmental figure, the mayor (maire), in the hands of the duke or king. The city proposed three candidates from which the sovereign chose one as mayor. Thus, from the very beginning these Norman cities

were tied closely to the central authority. The system enabled the Capetians to make significant inroads into urban independence. By the mid-fourteenth century Caen's mayor was the royal bailli.⁶¹ There were a number of urban committees, but after an outbreak of social conflict in 1325 the six city magistrates (échevins) emerged as the most important governmental corporate body. Chosen by a general assembly of notable Caennais, they were advised by a council of eighteen. This latter council was an informal body which was not mentioned in the 1466 confirmation of the city's privileges by Louis XI and had disappeared by the sixteenth century.⁶² Despite the increasing importance of the royally appointed bailli, whose function was usually discharged by one of his lieutenants,⁶³ Caen retained the right to elect its echevins and several other municipal officials.

By 1364 when Charles V reaffirmed Caen's statutes the basic features of the city government had emerged.⁶⁴ The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries would be characterized by the fluctuation of power between royal and local elements, the most significant factors being the continuing importance of the echevins in municipal affairs and the evolution of the position of lieutenant general of the bailli as an office quite independent of royal control. By the late sixteenth century it had become hereditary in the Caen family of Charles de Bourgueville, sieur de Bras, and his son-in-law, Jean Vauquelin, sieur de la Fresnaye.⁶⁵ At the same time municipal autonomy was gradually undermined by the multiplication of royal judicial and financial offices, which were used by the Caen elite to gain social and economic prestige.⁶⁶

The resultant blurring of lines between the jurisdiction of the city and the king prepared the way for the centralizing activities of Henri IV and his council.⁶⁷ This lack of distinction between urban and royal authority is revealed in the list of the city magistracy (corps de l'hôtel commun de la ville) prepared to accompany a request for their ennoblement in September, 1589. This included the echevins, the city attorney (procureur syndic), the city tax collector (receveur des deniers commun) and the city secretary (greffier), all locally elected. In addition, it included the lieutenants of the bailli, the king's attorney (procureur du roi) and the king's counsel (avocat du roi), all royal officials.⁶⁸ To contemporary eyes the corps de ville was a combination of local and royal personnel, a view entirely consistent with the reality of the evolving nature of the royal officier class in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.⁶⁹ In fact, interaction between local and royal authority was the primary dynamic element of sixteenth-century political life in Caen.

Despite considerable loss of early documents, partially occasioned by the evacuation of the city hall by the corps de ville at several points in the late sixteenth century⁷⁰, it is possible to recreate the setting and activities related to Caen's municipal elections in the mid-sixteenth century. These elections, a central event in the political life of the city, reflected the interactive character of urban government.⁷¹

Every three years on Ash Wednesday, a special general assembly was called by the lieutenant general of the bailli.⁷² The town crier

announced the date and time of the gathering at the major public squares and the city sergeants presented the greffier with lists of the notables whom they had personally summoned.⁷³ The city hall on the bridge of St. Pierre, where the echevins met weekly, was too small to accomodate these general assemblies; consequently, they were held in the bailliage and presidial court building, close by, or at the Jacobin convent (M). In addition to the bourgeois notables and representatives from the parishes who made up the body of the assembly, members of the current corps de ville, the vicomte, occasionally the bailli and some of the lawyers of the bailliage court would attend. The royal financial administration of the area was represented, and, in rare instances, the royal governor of Normandy might even be present.⁷⁴ The clergy and the urban militia sent representatives from time to time, but surprisingly there was neither a special deputy from the university nor any representation of the various guilds (corps des métiers).⁷⁵

The officials to be chosen at these elections included the six echevins, the receveur des deniers communs, two administrators for the Hôtel-Dieu and two administrators for the leprosarium, Beaulieu.⁷⁶ The discussion of nominations was dominated by the royal and municipal officials, who gradually narrowed the choice to a relatively small group of nominees. The final selection was then made by the entire assembly. Though men with royal appointments were prohibited by a royal edict of October, 1547 from actually serving in municipal elective posts, their influence on the choice of these men was clearly strong.⁷⁷

Following their election the six new echevins proceeded to take the oath of office before the bailli or his lieutenant and the vicomte.⁷⁸ Some of the features of these elections were still quite fluid in the sixteenth century. The number of bourgeois and officers attending varied from year to year as did the social status of the echevins elected. The assembly might range in size from 80 to 300 men, but both these persons and those finally chosen as echevins tended to be drawn from a loose patriciate made up of the most prosperous Caennais, both nobles and non-nobles, all of whom were Caen bourgeois.⁷⁹

Though electoral assemblies were the only such gathering required by tradition, it was regular practice to call assemblies of the bourgeois, manants and habitants whenever a major decision was to be made by the magistracy. The decision to call the assembly might be made by the echevins, the bailli or his lieutenants, the governor of the chateau or visiting royal emissaries. The occasion might be a question of finance, a royal entry into the city, opposition to an edict from the king or from the Parlement at Rouen, the election of deputies to the Estates of Normandy, the election of a greffier or procureur syndic for a life term, a problem with violence in the city, a threat of war or any other matter calling for a broader consensus of opinion than that of the corps de ville.⁸⁰ These assemblies spread the responsibility for a decision over a less-identifiable group than the corps de ville or magistrates themselves.

As in the case of the Ash Wednesday meeting, the lieutenant general of the bailli formally called the gathering, and it was

announced both publicly and personally to a chosen group of notables, who were often selected particularly because of the nature of the question being discussed.⁸¹ The assemblies varied in size from just the magistrates and a council of advisors to mass meetings including several thousand Caennais.⁸² In most cases the echevins alone or in consultation with the assembly made the final decision. In others, no decision was reached until representatives of the parishes had gone back and consulted their "constituencies".⁸³ The general assemblies were the major non-royal political arena in Caen outside the corps de ville, but their constantly changing character makes it impossible to define them precisely. While subject to outside pressure, they reflected the potential for independent action alive in sixteenth-century Caen.

As noted above, the city magistracy reflected a combination of municipal and royal personnel. By the mid-sixteenth century all of the magistrates came from Caen families. Thus, while the lieutenants of the bailli, the procureur du roi and the avocat du roi all theoretically represented the king's will, the decisions made in the chambers of the city hall invariably reflected that will modified by the interests of the city.⁸⁴ Throughout the century there were attempts to replace various local elected officials with officials who had bought their positions from the king. In the case of the creation of a royal receveur des deniers commun in 1542, the city succeeded in having the new office suppressed in 1552, and thus retained traditional control of the local treasury.⁸⁵ On the other hand, the procureur syndic, although an elected

official, was subject to royal intervention when internal rivalries among the Caen magistrates threatened his authority in the late 1560's.⁸⁶

Turning to look more closely at those offices which were primarily municipal, the six echevins formed the core of the city's government. At least four were required to be present to sign any document or letter originating in the corps de ville.⁸⁷ Though de Bourgueville writes that these positions were eagerly sought after and that those serving often wished unjustly to be continued in office in order to benefit from the power to appoint minor officials, the records indicate that service was often an onerous duty which at times those elected attempted to avoid.⁸⁸ In addition to patronage, the echevins enjoyed a small salary of twenty livres per year, a yearly allocation of wine and exemption from certain taxes (charges).⁸⁹ Yet, echevins were banned from holding the lucrative farms of the city's aides and octrois.⁹⁰

When the echevins took their oath of office on Ash Wednesday they summarized their major duties and obligations.⁹¹ It clearly stipulated that they were subject to the officers of the king. Specifically, this meant that the bailli or one of his lieutenants presided over all meetings of the corps. The responsibilities of the echevins were to defend the liberties and privileges of the city, assure its defense and supervise its financial administration. In the administration of the city's finances they were aided by the receveur des deniers commun who acted as treasurer. The long delays before yearly accounts were rendered by the receveur to the echevins reflects both the frequent absence of cooperation between them and the difficulty

of balancing the city budget. Furthermore, intervention by royal agencies, the chambre des comptes, the cours des aides and the bureau des finances, made finances one of the most complex areas of municipal government.⁹² Defense was another major area which involved the echevins with numerous outside governing agencies. Public assistance was more local in nature, here they supervised the administrators of the Hôtel-Dieu and the leprosarium, checking their accounts and reports with little surveillance from above.

Louis XI's reaffirmation of the city's charter in 1466 spelled out several other duties which still occupied much of their time in the sixteenth century.⁹³ The echevins were granted the right to send representatives wherever the city's interests required it. This might be to the Parlement of Normandy, the cours des aides at Rouen, the royal court, the provincial governor or elsewhere. For example, in 1592 Caen sent three representatives to England to buy cannon needed for the city fortifications. They had discovered that prices in England were better than in Holland.⁹⁴ The representatives were the echevins themselves, the greffier or, most often, the procureur syndic. This latter official served frequently as deputy to the parlement, governor and court, acting as the official defender of the communal interest, a sort of attorney general for the city.⁹⁵

The echevins were given the right to appoint to the offices controlled by the city "toutes bonnes personnes de ladite ville qu'il leur plaist, déchus de leurs biens par fortune ou autrement, . . ." ⁹⁶.
 Though many of these positions were granted as a form of assistance to

needy Caennais, the power of appointment was also a rich source of patronage for the echevins. Furthermore, the appointment of these officials gave the echevins a role in the regulation of public works and commerce within the city.⁹⁷ In 1547 Henri II reaffirmed the right of the echevins, under the authority of the bailli or his lieutenant, to supervise the policing of the city.⁹⁸ This vague form of police coverage continued until the unrest of the Religious Wars required the establishment of a separate bureau de la police.⁹⁹ Thus, in the mid-sixteenth century the magistrates of Caen theoretically controlled most of the important executive and many administrative functions of the government. Nevertheless, by 1555 civil and criminal justice were firmly in the hands of the royal bailliage and presidial courts. Attempts by French towns to regain jurisdiction over civil justice at the 1588 Estates General were in vain.¹⁰⁰

The bailliage of senechausée, which had developed in the early Middle Ages, continued to be the basic organ of royal administration in early modern France.¹⁰¹ As we have seen, the Caen corps de ville was composed of both locally elected officials and representatives of the bailliage jurisdiction. By the sixteenth century the bailli of Caen was a member of the lower nobility, from 1538 to 1587 a member of the family of d'Auberville, who rarely resided in Caen. His primary personal responsibility was the military function of his office. At the beginning of the century the bailli and the royal governor of the chateau were one, but by 1555 the office of governor of the chateau had become separate and more closely linked with the provincial governor.¹⁰²

The bailli never completely lost the right to exercise the many functions which came with his position as intermediary between the king and his subjects. In fact, during the Religious Wars he was quite often in Caen. The everyday responsibilities relating to both administration and justice had fallen upon the bailli's lieutenants however. The lieutenant-général or the lieutenant-particulier presided at all important meetings and assemblies and was directly responsible for defense, finances, police (maintenance of order, public assistance and regulation of the guilds) and conservation of the University's privileges.¹⁰³ In many of these functions they worked hand in hand with the echevins. Representing the royal interests as public attorneys or ministers before the corps de ville and the various courts of the bailliage were the procureur du roi and the avocat du roi.¹⁰⁴ While these bailliage officials were intimately involved in the affairs of the city, they also exercised functions relating to the larger sphere of the bailliage of Caen, of which the city was simply the seat.¹⁰⁵

In the bailliage of Caen the most important courts were the assizes, held at fixed dates in the various vicomtés and still active in the sixteenth century, the civil and criminal tribunals of the bailliage and the presidial court. The presidial, established at Caen in September, 1552, was envisaged as a supplement to the parlement receiving appeals from the bailliage tribunals which would otherwise have gone straight to Rouen. The personnel of the presidial was the same as that of the bailliage tribunals: the lieutenants of the bailli and a complement of lawyers (avocats), prosecutors (procureurs) and

counsellors (conseillers), and these men, therefore, judged civil and criminal cases both in the first instance and on appeal.¹⁰⁶ Below the level of the bailliage courts were those of the vicomté of Caen, headed by the vicomte, in the sixteenth century a member of the lower nobility, and a full staff of attorneys. Finally, within the vicomté were numerous hereditary sergenteries, headed by the sergents à l'épée whose duty it was to execute sentences of justice.¹⁰⁷ Within the city of Caen the overlapping levels of the judicial hierarchy gave rise to confusion and occasionally to minor conflicts. Members of all levels participated quite freely in city government, attending the important public and private meetings held in the city hall.

The chief court of appeals for all disputes arising in Caen was the Parlement of Rouen. Developing out of the court of the exchequer of the Norman dukes, it had long been permambulatory, though originally established at Caen. Yet when it was made a parlement in 1515, the seat chosen was Rouen. From 1589 to 1594 the parlement sat in Caen because of the Wars of the League, but at the end of this period it returned to Rouen.¹⁰⁸ By virtue of its role as both a court of justice and an arm of royal administration and regulation, the parlement often made its influence felt directly on the city of Caen, despite its relatively distant location.¹⁰⁹

Parallel to and often overlapping with the judicial-administrative hierarchy was a financial hierarchy whose jurisdiction covered the collection of taxes and all other royal revenues and the control of accounts.¹¹⁰ Traditionally most of the city's financial affairs had

been dealt with by the receveur des deniers commun and the corps de ville. Nevertheless by the sixteenth century the right to control the accounts of receipts was frequently challenged by both the chambre des comptes of Paris and later of Rouen (established in 1580) and numerous royal financial officials.¹¹¹

The administration of the royal tax structure was complex and conflict-ridden. Seated at Caen, the bureau des finances of the generality of Caen with its full complement of officers made its presence felt on the city despite the latter's exemption from direct payment of the taille. The frequent attendance of the royal tax officers at important city assemblies adds to the impression that, in this realm, there was but limited room for truly independent action by the corps de ville. The major court of appeals in financial matters, the cour des aides, was at Rouen.¹¹²

Under normal circumstances, the city's revenues from the aides and octrois and rents on municipal properties could have met basic financial obligations: the taille to the king, salaries of city officials and chateau personnel, rents owed by the city and miscellaneous small expenses. In fact in 1568, for which we have a summary record, there was a 2000 livres surplus.¹¹³ However, these ordinary liabilities were always increased by a lengthy list of extraordinary expenses, primarily for military needs, occasionally for special events like a royal entry into the city. These exceptional charges far surpassed the budgetary surplus, necessitating the local equivalent to the ad hoc financing which characterized the royal budget throughout the

ancien régime. The usual expedients were deficit spending, personal levies on the citizenry in the form of assessments on each parish (which ended up being like a personal taille payment) and forced loans or sales of rents to wealthy citizens.¹¹⁴ These measures were usually not implemented before a lengthy process of appeals for lowering the extraordinary royal levy had been exhausted.¹¹⁵

How did these financial burdens affect the individual citizen? The weight of taxation was varied but in general heavy. Exempt from many of the indirect taxes on goods (coutumes) levied outside the city limits or on foreigners trading in Caen, the Caennais was nonetheless subject to the full range of aides and octrois used for the payment in lieu of the personal taille and for city defense. These sales taxes weighed heaviest on the lower class Caennais who spent a proportionally larger part of his total earnings on the food, drink and clothing on which they were levied. The right to levy these tarifs on goods sold in the city had been granted to the echevins from the fourteenth century on. During the sixteenth century there were constant attempts to create new octrois which the city could use for other expenses (not only the taille and defense).¹¹⁶ In addition to these assessments by the local authority, the Caennais were subject to the usual royal levy of the salt tax (gabelle), since Caen was in a region of full împot. The high rate of the salt tax, coupled with the poor quality of salt from the royal warehouses and the enforcement of quotas of purchase, created both resentment and a strong temptation to engage in fraudulent trade with the salt producing areas to the west (Cotentin and Brittany).¹¹⁷ Added to these encumbrances were extraordinary levies which were placed

on both wealthy and average citizens from time to time in order to meet royal requests and local defense needs. Overall, the burden of royal taxation was heavier on Normandy than on most of the rest of the realm.¹¹⁸ Despite arguments that the province was prosperous enough to absorb these impositions, it is impossible to ignore its inevitable impact at the individual level, where the comparatively prosperous position of the region was not necessarily appreciated.

As elsewhere, in Caen the care of those most hard hit by financial burdens or incapacitated by illness and unable to care for themselves was traditionally the responsibility of the church. Nevertheless, even in the earliest years of Caen's existence as an urban center, secular authority played an important part in the establishment of institutions of assistance. Long before the sixteenth century, which has been seen by many as the turning point in the movement of secularization of assistance in France¹¹⁹, the Caen bourgeoisie claimed the right, as founders, to elect the prior and supervise the administration of the Hôtel-Dieu.¹²⁰ Whether or not these claims were valid, after 1291 the echevins did control the appointment of the prior and oversee his activities.¹²¹

The Hôtel-Dieu was to be the most important of the welfare institutions of medieval Caen though it was by no means the earliest nor was it alone in serving the city's poor and sick. There were at least seven other hospitals established from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Many of these were short-lived and quite limited in the populations which they served.¹²² For example, the Hôpital de St.

Gilles established in 1070, was supervised by the abbess of La Trinité and served the poor of the Bourg l'abbesse. In 1453 a private citizen, Roger Lair, founded a refuge for the poor in the parish of St. Nicholas. Yet, despite great pains on his part to see that his legacy would not be misused, the foundation never seems to have flourished.¹²³

With the arrival of leprosy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries three leprosariums or maladreries were founded: the Hôpital de la Ste. Trinité (la Petite Maladrerie, 1070) by Lanfranc, the Hôpital de Nôtre-Dame de Beaulieu (la Grande Maladrerie, 1160) by Duke Henri II and the Hôpital de St. Thomas, dit l'Abattu (late twelfth century).¹²⁴ Each of the three bourgs was therefore prepared to care for the scourge of leprosy and did so until the disease gradually disappeared in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

While the city had early taken over the supervision of the major welfare foundations, the personnel of these institutions continued to be part clerical and part lay. The titular head of the Hôtel-Dieu was the prior, but the city elected bourgeois administrators for both that foundation and the leprosarium at Beaulieu. At the Hôtel-Dieu Augustinian canons oversaw the care of the poor and sick by nuns, however, by 1540 payed servants had replaced the nuns in ministering to the needs of the ill.¹²⁵

Throughout the Middle Ages there were periodic complaints about the prior's misuse of funds and neglect of the poor.¹²⁶ The revenues of both the Hotel-Dieu and the smaller hospitals and leprosariums were based primarily on legacies and grants by the pious. A minor source

of support, but one with much symbolic importance, was the deniers à dieu originally granted to the Hôtel-Dieu by the city's merchants in the thirteenth century. These taxes on commercial activity were ceremonially carried by the corps d'arts et métiers to the Hôtel-Dieu annually on Pentecost. De Bourgueville testifies that, as was the case for many institutions and individuals dependent upon fixed incomes, the charitable foundations suffered in the sixteenth century because of inflation as well as from negligent administrators.¹²⁷ Furthermore, in Caen there was little support based on general taxation and no general administrative body, bureau des pauvres, to coordinate welfare activities. Such bureaus were becoming more common in French cities at this time.¹²⁸

It is therefore not surprising that when the Grands Jours (assizes) held at Bayeux in 1540 ordered a reform of the welfare foundations in the bailliages of Caen and Cotentin, there was much to be done at Caen. An entire report on physical conditions, administration, quality of care and revenues of both the Hôtel-Dieu and the leprosarium at Beaulieu was ordered to be drawn up. The long-lost foundation titles of the Hôtel-Dieu were to be searched for, and, above all, the misuse of funds by the prior and canons was to be brought to an end. The details of the arrêt clearly indicate that the quality of care provided at this point was extremely low. The intention of the Grands Jours was to reorganize the welfare foundations of Caen in order to provide for the poor and sick of the city in an orderly manner, rather than leave their care in the current haphazard state.¹²⁹

Concurrent with the arrêt of December 1540 a general assembly was held in Caen on 21 January 1541 to deliberate on the best ways to care for the city's poor. This is the first concrete indication in the municipal archives that the city fathers recognized the insufficiency of traditional institutions to meet current welfare needs. Plans were drawn up to register the poor in each parish and take up a collection for the deserving poor. Permanent boxes for gifts "pour les pauvres" were to be put in all churches, and the abbot and abbess were to be asked for contributions. All public begging was outlawed under pain of corporal punishment, and non-Caen poor were to leave the city within three days.¹³⁰

On 26 March 1541 the bailli informed the corps de ville that he had received a copy of the December arrêt and decried the delay in its transmission to him. The following week, on 29 March 1541, the secular administrators of the leprosarium at Beaulieu were ordered to appear, and the echevins made an inspectiōn of the Hôtel-Dieu.¹³¹ They expressed displeasure with the prior's lack of progress in executing the reforms spelled out in the arrêt. Specifically, he was called upon to make basic repairs to the building and bring the keeping of accounts into better order. It is clear from this inspection that the sick and poor housed in Hôtel-Dieu at this time lacked both secure shelter and adequate furnishings.¹³² A further report on 10 May 1541 on the progress of improvements indicated that sheets and light were being provided for the poor and a campaign to collect revenues outstanding had been mounted.¹³³ This is the last that we hear of the 1540 Grands Jours

arrêt, but the issue of improved care for the poor was by no means dead. The later sixteenth century saw this problem surface again in Caen as the number of poor increased and the city fathers felt threatened.

In April 1543 the echevins appealed to the Parlement of Rouen that "le nombre desd. pauvres est tellement augmenté que les asmes volontaires que font lesd. Bourgeois et habitans ne peuvent satisfaire à l'aliments desd. pauvres." They wanted the parlement to authorize a regular weekly levy by the city on the abbeys, merchants and other wealthy citizens -- "le fort portant le foible" -- so that they would have an assured sum to use in feeding the poor.¹³⁴ There was no immediate follow-up on this request, but on 29 April 1550 a general assembly was held to deal with the continuing problem of poor beggars in the city. An ordinance of sixteen articles was drawn up with the authorization of the parlement. It included measures to exhort the populace on the giving of alms, register the poor, prohibit public begging, delegate responsibility to various parish representatives to assure sufficient weekly funds to feed the poor, provide that the able-bodied "pauvres passans" (non-Caennais) participate in public works projects in return for alms and assure that the sick poor were cared for at the Hôtel-Dieu.¹³⁵

The city records indicate that these statutes had been put into effect by 24 May 1550.¹³⁶ They were the most extensive series of articles on the problem of poor relief yet promulgated in Caen, and they appear to have served as the basis for the city welfare program through the century. Notably, they did not include provisions for the

establishment of a bureau des pauvres, and, as we will see in later chapters, the crises of the late sixteenth century severely strained this mid-century welfare program.

During the 1550's the city's control of the Hôtel-Dieu and the major leprosarium was challenged by the king. While the Caen echevins had been willing to follow the arrêts of 1540 issued by royal authorities concerning the Hôtel-Dieu and Beaulieu, they were not willing to allow the king to appoint the prior of the Hôtel-Dieu or the superintendent of the leprosarium. From 1555 to 1557 conflict raged over royal appointments to these positions, but by 1557 both were held by men nominated by the city.¹³⁷ These incidents once again reflect one of the major tensions at work in the sixteenth-century French city -- the conflict between municipal privilege and royal prerogative.

The final area of public responsibility which was well-defined in sixteenth-century Caen was defense. In addition to contributing to the general protection of the realm via the taille and extraordinary levies, the city had a defense system of its own. This system was tripartite: the royal chateau and its garrison, the city militia responsible for guard of city walls and gates and the separate guards of the two abbatial bourgs. The importance of defense in the late sixteenth century necessitates a discussion of these in more detail.

The major feature of Caen's fortifications up to the Hundred Years War had been the chateau in the center of the royal bourg, reinforced by earthworks around that bourg. After the fall of the city to the English in 1346, walls were built around the six central

parishes. This would remain the line of the city wall through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The exclusion of the two abbatial bourgs from the enclosed city was partially responsible for the confusion relating to city limits which was noted earlier. Though forced to contribute to the upkeep of the city walls, the inhabitants of the Bourg l'abbé and Bourg l'abbesse also had to give personal service as guards of the walls which protected these religious establishments, only benefiting from the city walls in time of grave danger.¹³⁸

The city watch (guet), as described by de Bourgueville, different in times of peace from wartime. In peacetime it was limited to a sergeant (marechal) and an unspecified number of non-bourgeois residents, who met under the bridge of St. Pierre each evening to assure public order within the city throughout the night. In time of war the watch was expanded to include sixteen bourgeois officers, commanding groups of armed men who made regular rounds of the walls, gates and towers. Both of these forces fell under the direction of the captain of the chateau, who was paid a salary by the city and is not to be confused with the royal governor of the chateau. By the sixteenth century personal service in the city watch could be avoided by Caen bourgeois.¹³⁹

There was also a city militia ". . . pour y maintenir un bon ordre. . ." ¹⁴⁰, made up of twenty-two to twenty-nine cohorts of men (dixaines) representing all three bourgs and the suburbs. This group was first called up in 1536 by François I. Each dixaine probably numbered about 100 men, since de Bourgueville reported there were 2,300 to 2,400 men in the force in the 1540's. The twenty-two to

twenty-nine dixaine leaders were responsible to four canton commanders, who were notable Caennais.¹⁴¹ Weekly arms practice for the dixaines was encouraged, and in 1557 Henri II officially established the yearly shooting competition known as the Papegay.¹⁴² Prior to the establishment of the dixaines there had been other defensive bodies, and the Papegay tradition may have developed out of their exercises.¹⁴³ Ensuing kings reconfirmed this annual competition in order to encourage military prowess among the Caennais; indeed these were a familiar feature of sixteenth-century urban life.

Because of its strategic importance the chateau was the key to the city's defenses. Manned by a professional garrison, financed by a quarterly fiscal imposition on the inhabitants of a portion of the vicomté of Caen, there was no longer any direct service by Caennais or inhabitants of the surrounding area in the sixteenth century.¹⁴⁴ Though the chateau's strength contributed to the city's security in a tangible way, the problems of an unruly garrison of troops and intervention in local affairs by the governor of the chateau or his lieutenant led de Bourgueville to voice the municipal resentment of this outside element.¹⁴⁵ This situation is yet another example of the intermingling of municipal and royal authority which so strongly influenced the structure of public life in sixteenth-century Caen.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER I

¹R. Doucet. Les Institutions de la France au XVIe siècle (Paris, 1948), p. 293.

²De Bourgueville discusses the various "estats seculiers de Noblesse, Duchez, Contez, Baronnies de la Normandie, Courts Souverains, Bailliages et Vicontez d'icelle, tant en general que particulier, . . ." de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, I, 43-65. Though a man deeply involved in the workings of Lower Norman government, he does not present a picture which appreciably clarifies the confusion created by the multiplicity of offices, officials and overlapping roles converging on Caen. This is essentially because the nature of the ancien régime stubbornly precludes rigid systematization.

³Legras, Bourgage de Caen, pp. 40-42, 59.

⁴Ibid., pp. 42, 125-27.

⁵Ibid., p. 38; Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, pp. 28-51.

⁶Examples of references to these three groups are found throughout the Matrologe (AMC, AA 1&2) and the Deliberations of the Corps de ville (AMC, BB1 - 38: 1535 - 1610 with lacunae). The so-called Deliberations are an invaluable source for the study of sixteenth-century Caen. They include the minutes of meetings of the corps de ville and general assemblies as well as city correspondance and related papers. The registers begin briefly in 1535, running to 1541, only to pick up again in 1562. After 1562, the series is relatively continuous, the only gap being from 1568 to 1570. The summary of their contents drawn up by Gustave Dupont in 1888 (BMC, MS In-f. 197) is a valuable guide to their contents though its page references are inaccurate. See also Legras, Bourgage de Caen, pp. 45-46.

⁷This latter lacuna is particularly revealing in light of the fact that I have found evidence of a sizable refugee community in Caen during the years of the Religious Wars in the late sixteenth century.

⁸Prentout, "Introduction à Caen," p. 41.

⁹Quoted in Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 57, n. 45.

¹⁰A. Fontaine, "Conflits à propos de la taille entre bourgeois de Caen et habitants de la campagne aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles," Annales - N (1953), p. 236.

¹¹Doucet, Institutions de la France, pp. 368-69; Fontaine, "Conflits-taille, pp. 232, 245.

¹²de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 74-75.

¹³Fontaine, "Conflits - taille," pp. 229-30.

¹⁴de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 24.

¹⁵Fontaine, "Conflits - taille," p. 236.

¹⁶Documents related to legal battles indicate that boundary controversies continued to rage throughout the ancien régime. See Legras, Bourgage de Caen, pp. 28-31, 60-61; Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, pp. 31-66; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 23; Perrot, Caen au XVIII^e siècle, pp. 37-45, 953-57 (Annexe 1).

¹⁷Perrot presents a full discussion of the general confusion in urban vocabulary. Perrot, Caen au XVIII^e siècle, pp. 28-51.

¹⁸Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 20-21, 37-39; Perrot, Caen au XVIII^e siècle, pp. 33-37.

¹⁹See Map 1: Charles de Bourgueville's pre-1562 map; Map 2: Caen parishes.

²⁰de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 3-24.

²¹Legras, Bourgage de Caen, pp. 86, 92-95.

- 22
Ibid., pp. 86-91; Abbé Gervais de la Rue, Essais historiques sur la ville de Caen et son arrondissement (2 vols., Caen, 1820), I, 305.
- 23
 Legras, Bourgage de Caen, pp. 91-92.
- 24
Ibid., pp. 155-27 (quote, p. 126).
- 25
 A full discussion of the parishes in their ecclesiastical context will be found in chapter Three.
- 26
 Jules Pépin, Notice sur la paroisse St. Martin de Caen (Caen, 1882), p. 5; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 23-24.
- 27
 Legras, Bourgage de Caen, p. 91.
- 28
 de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 312; Jules Pépin, Notice sur la paroisse St. Gilles (Caen, 1884), p. 169.
- 29
 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 24.
- 30
 Much of the parish was in the fief of Montenay (seated in Venoux). de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 193 and 317; Jules Pépin, Notice sur la paroisse St. Julien de Caen (Caen, 1882), pp. 98-99.
- 31
 ". . . la plus blanche, polie et tendre pierre de taille que l'on puisse trouver puis s'endurcit estant mise en oeuvre, de sorte que l'iniure du temps et la force de l'air ny gelée ne luy peut nuire ny faire dommage," de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 24. Pierre de taille from Caen was used in the construction of both the Tower of London and Westminster Abbey. See Ormsby, France—a geography, p. 515, n. 1; Tourmente, Le port de Caen, pp. 6-7.
- 32
 Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 11-12.
- 33
 Within St. Jean were located the Hôtel-Dieu (P), part of the Carmelite monastery (N) and the Dominican monastery (M). On de Bourgueville's map the main street of this quarter is bordered by only a single row of houses, in contrast to the dense occupation of the artisanal-administrative-university parishes north of the bridge. See André Conqueret, L'ancienne paroisse et l'église St. Jean de Caen (Caen, 1932), pp. 13-16; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à

Caen, p. 20; de Bourgueville, Recherches and Antiquitez, II, 11-13.

34 Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, pp. 30-66.

35 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 25.

36 Ibid., pp. 18-19.

37 Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 23.

38". . . auxquelles [meadows] les habitants et jeunesse se pourmentent, prennent plaisir à la saison du Printemps, et de Este mesmes les escoliers de l'Université, les uns à sauter, luitier, courir, iouer aux barres, nager en la riviere qui les enclo, tirer de l'arc, et prendre toutes honnestes recreations,. . ." de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 5.

Gabriel Vanel feels that de Bourgueville's description of the meadows near Caen and his drawing of them on his pre-1562 map represents the situation in his youth (early and mid-sixteenth century). By the late sixteenth century population growth had led to crowding in the city, and in 1620 the bailli and echevins undertook to expand the city into this area. The royal fair and Jesuits had already made beginnings in this direction in 1598 and 1608. Gabriel Vanel, Une grande ville aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (3 vols., Caen, 1910), I, 138-41.

39 Legras, Bourgage de Caen, pp. 30-39. A lieu (league) equals approximately 2.5 miles (4 kilometers).

40 See Map 3: Caen and the banlieue. See also Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, pp. 45-47; Michel Nortier, "Recherches sur l'étendue, les subdivisions et la population des Vicomtés de Caen et de Falaise du XIVE siècle," BSAN, 54 (1957-58), 101-45. Nortier includes two other parishes for the fourteenth century: Lebisey and Bitot (p. 107). Paul Jubert, "La Sergenterie du fied du pled de l'épée de la ville et banlieue de Caen," BSAN, 57 (1963-64), 394-438. Jubert gives a full history of the sergent du fied du pled de l'épée in Caen.

41

E. Bridey, "Une page oubliée des coutumiers normands, le chapitre de monneage," BSAN, 48 (1940), 100-101. See also Nortier, "Recherches sur les Vicomtés de Caen et de Falaise," pp. 107, 132-134; Michel Nortier, "Contribution a l'étude de la population de la Normandie au bas Moyen Age (XIVE-XVIIe siècles) - Inventaire des Rôles de Fouage et d'Aide. Première série: Rôles de Fouage Paroissiaux de

1368 à 1419 (BN, MSS français 25902-25905)," Cahier Léopold Delisle, 19 (1970), 1-92; Michel Nortier, Inventaire des Rôles de Fouage et d'Aide. Deuxième série : Rôles de l'aide de 1421," Cahier Léopold Delisle, 20 (1971), 1-73; Lucien Musset, "Recherches sur quelques survivances de la fiscalité ducale," BSAN, 55 (1959-60), 420-35; F. Lot, "L'état des paroisses et des feux de 1328," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 90 (1929), 51-107, 256-315.

⁴²Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 49, n. 9. These fouage records are dispersed among the Bibliothèque nationale, the ADC, the BMC and the Collection Mancel (Caen). The largest holdings are in the Bibliothèque nationale, but to date there exist no inventories which would sort out the disarray of their current classification. Michel Nortier is in the process of working with these records but has not yet reached the sixteenth century. Therefore, though I have been able to use Nicole Simon's analysis of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century fouage records for Caen, it was impossible for me to analyze those records which may exist for the sixteenth century. Correspondance with Jean-Claude Perrot and Nicole Simon has led me to conclude that these would be the only population sources for sixteenth century Caen. I hope to use them at a later date.

43

Ibid., pp. 45-58, 219-20.

44

AMC, GG scattered. The earliest Roman Catholic records were those of the parish of St. Sauveur, starting in 1568. The entire series was destroyed, while the Protestant records of baptisms and marriages, filed in ADC, C 1565-77, were safely moved out of the city before the bombardment began. See Appendix 12. The Protestant documents will be discussed in detail in chapters Four and Six. On the exploitation of baptismal and marriage records see Louis Henry, Manuel de démographie historique (Geneva and Paris, 1960) and Philip Benedict, "Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-century Rouen: The Demographic Effects of the Religious Wars," French Historical Studies, 9 (Fall 1975), 209-34.

45

Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, p. 100. Perrot devotes two chapters (chapters Three and Four) to the question of Caen's population but deals primarily with data available for the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

46

Charles de Robillard de Beurepaire, ed., Cahiers des Etats de Normandie sous le règne de Charles IX (1561-74) (Rouen, 1891), pp. 235-38 (quote, p. 236).

47 AMC, BB 133 (1666 Dénombrement des Bourgeois de Caen). See Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, pp. 101-03, 113-20 for a full discussion of the 17th century sources and the reasons for relying on the 1695 capitation estimate rather than the 1666 list.

48 This coefficient is based on Simon's estimation of hearth size in Caen drawn from a study of notarial records. In 1365 there were 1861 hearths (11 parishes) and in 1434 there were 1200 hearths (6 parishes). She adjusted her total figures for exemptions (clergy, nobility, poor, widows, judicial officials and soldiers). Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 46-54.

49 Ibid., pp. 49-58, 220.

50 Ibid., p. 49.

51 In Louis XI's 1466 confirmation of the city's privileges there is a reference to Caen as "moult dépeuplée." AMC, AA 1, f. 84 (text in ADC, C 6824, p. 3). In March, 1483 Charles VIII granted a tax advantage to the city in light of its depopulation, occasioned by the plague and the flight of inhabitants during the preceding six years. AMC, AA 1, f. 106 (Carel, Etude sur Caen, p. 163).

52 Quoted in Bouård, Histoire de la Normandie, p. 321. The map on p. 323 represents the change in Caen's population between 1479 and 1518, when fouage records indicate a decline from 1300 hearths to 330 hearths, the result of outbreaks of the plague in 1483-84 and 1517 (pp. 323-24).

53 Henri Navel, "Projet d'un cimetière interparoissial à Caen en 1500," BSAN, 51 (1948-51), 324-25.

54 Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 20.

55 The authors of chapter Nine are P. Chaunu, J.-P. Bardet, J.-M. Gouesse, P. Gouhier, Anne Vallez and J.-M. Vallez, who are all connected to the Centre de recherches d'histoire quantitative of the Université de Caen. Bouård, Histoire de la Normandie, p. 324.

Tertius Chandler and Gerald Fox, 3,000 Years of Urban Growth (New York, 1974), p. 111 make the following estimates of the Caen population: 1400 - 18,000; 1500- 25,000; 1600 - 30,000; 1700-37,000. I feel that their estimates are a bit high.

Sophronyme Beaujour alludes to a population of 20,000 in 1608. Beaujour inserted the figure 20,000 in his summary of the minutes of the 4 November 1608 General Assembly regarding the introduction of the Jesuits to Caen. In the minutes themselves (AMC, BB 38, ff. 71r.) there is no such figure. Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 199.

⁵⁶Perrot feels that this is an acceptable figure despite the likelihood that hearths were underestimated and that the coefficient is too high (the factors roughly balance one another out). Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, pp. 102-03, 116-20, 143-45.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 145.

⁵⁸See Table 1: The Population of Caen in 1491 and 1699.

⁵⁹See D.E.C. Eversley, "Population Growth Curves," in Introduction to English Historical Demography, ed. E. A. Wrigley (London, 1966), pp. 266-68 on methods of estimating population growth. See Chandler and Fox, Urban Growth, pp. 27-28, 108-22 on the populations of other French cities. See also Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, pp. 7-8.

⁶⁰Prentout, "Etablissements de Rouen," pp. 1-53; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 62; Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 172-73.

⁶¹Abbé Gervais de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques sur la ville de Caen et son arrondissement (2 vols., Caen, 1842), I, 89; Carel, Etude sur Caen, p. 2; Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 173, 224-225.

⁶²AMC, AA 1, ff. 85-87 (September 1466) (text in ADC, C 6824, pp. 3-8). See also Carel, Etude sur Caen, pp. 3-8; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 62-64; Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 199, 209-10.

⁶³The bailli, a member of the lower nobility, was chosen by the king. By the sixteenth century these primarily military men had delegated most of their administrative and judicial duties to their lieutenant general and lieutenant particular and were not normally resident in Caen. Carel, Histoire de Caen - I, p. 243; Pierre Carel, "Notes sur les magistrats du Bailliage et Siège présidial de Caen, suivie de la liste desdits magistrats (1552-1790)," BSAN, 20 (1899), 588-89.

⁶⁴AMC, AA 1, f. (1364) (Carel, Etude sur Caen, pp. 98-100); Carel, Etude sur Caen, pp. 3-6, 8-9; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 63-64.

⁶⁵The basic study of the government of Caen in the sixteenth century is Jean Yver, "L'Administration municipale à Caen à la fin du XVIe siècle et au début du XVIIe siècle," MAC, 12 (1952), 14. See also Carel, "Les magistrats du Bailliage," pp. 620-21.

⁶⁶Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 68, 75-77, 84.

⁶⁷Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," pp. 39-45.

⁶⁸AMC, BB 27, f. 53.

⁶⁹Roland Mousnier, La vénalité des offices en France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII (Paris, 1971), pp. 331, 665-68.

⁷⁰Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," p. 5, n. 3.

⁷¹The first records of these elections are in AMC, AA 1, f. 2 (August, 1364). More detailed descriptions including lists of notables and full minutes appear for the first time in AMC, BB 1, f. 30 (14 February, 1537) and ff. 72-78 (11 February, 1540).

⁷²In the fourteenth century the election was held in January and installation took place on Ash Wednesday. Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 63. By the sixteenth century both were on the same day.

⁷³There exist no statutory specifications regarding who might attend and vote at the general assemblies.

⁷⁴AMC, BB 28, f. 25r. (27 February, 1591). The governor was present. In the early sixteenth century the governor of Normandy was usually a prince of the blood or the dauphin. Later in the century three governors were appointed for the province, but the post was reunited under the duke of Joyeuse at the end of the century, de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, I, 62.

⁷⁵Yver, "Administration municipales à Caen," p. 9.

⁷⁶AMC, AA 1, ff. 85-87 (September, 1466) (text in ADC, C 6824, pp. 3-8).

⁷⁷Isambert, Jourdon and Decrusy, Recueil général des Anciennes Lois françaises (420-1789) (20 vols., Paris, 1821-33), XIII, 34-35 (October, 1547). In 1547 two Caen echevins were dismissed because of such a conflict of interest. Carel, Etude sur Caen, p. 181; Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," pp. 7-8.

⁷⁸See Appendix 1: The Oath of Office of the Caen Echevins. For lists of the echevins in the sixteenth century see Carel, Etude sur Caen, pp. 56-70.

⁷⁹During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries electoral procedures underwent a progressive process of solidification. In 1613 the Parlement at Rouen spelled out rules of order to be followed at Caen for the Ash Wednesday assemblies. AMC, AA 2, ff. 62-63 (Carel, Etude sur Caen, pp. 200-202). In 1631 the number of bourgeois representatives per parish and official representatives from the various city corps were fixed. Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," pp. 9-10; Carel, Etude sur Caen, p. 203. Finally in 1704 the makeup of the Echevinage was defined as two noblemen, two bourgeois (living nobly) and two merchants. de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, I, 105.

⁸⁰AMC, BB 1-38, passim.

⁸¹Apothecaries, barbers and doctors were consulted concerning measures to be taken against the plague. AMC, BB 21, ff. 118-21 (11 Sept. 1582). Merchants were summoned regarding the collection of a new sales tax. AMC, BB 29, f. 55 (9 April, 1593).

⁸²There were 3,000 to 4,000 attendants at the meeting regarding the coming of the Jesuits to Caen. (AMC, BB 38, ff. 71r.-72r., 4 November, 1608). More typically the assemblies were small. For example on 23 February 1566 twenty notables including the echevins, avocat du roi, procureur syndic, and deputy to the provincial estates met to choose a new élu. AMC, BB 5, f. 122.

⁸³Parish representatives consult their "constituencies": AMC, BB 29, ff. 4-29 (7-17 March, 1593). This case was in contrast to the normal situation in which the assembly voted and then made a binding decision regarding public policy or personnel, such as in the election of the echevins every three years.

⁸⁴Carel, "Les magistrats du Bailliage," pp. 620-23. The lists of the magistrates of the bailliage and presidial courts are filled with the names of Caen's major families. A useful contemporary view of who were the notable citizens of Caen is Jacques de Cahaigues, Eloges des citoyens de la ville de Caen, première centurie, trans. Augustin de Blangy (Caen, 1880, originally published in Latin in 1609).

⁸⁵In January, 1552 Henri II granted lettres-patentes which suppressed the office of royal receveur des deniers communs on condition that the city reimburse the present holder of that office. AMC, AA 1, ff. 184-85 (text in Méritte-Longchamp, Mélanges historiques, I, 317-23)). The royal office had been created in 1542. Doucet, Institutions de la France, p. 378. This affair did not clear up until 1554 when the royal receveur, R. Hermyer, finally lost all claim to authority over the local treasury. AMC, CC 349 (1548-51); AMC, BB 116 (1552-54).

⁸⁶AMC, BB 114 (1567-72). The documents in this folder detail a conflict between Jean Fernagu, procureur syndic, and the echevins over the former's right to be called to all meetings concerning important city affairs. On the procureur syndic see also Paul Jubert, "Le procureur-syndic de la ville de Caen au XVI^e siècle." Revue historique de droit français et étranger, 4th series, 19-20 (1940-41), 459-60.

⁸⁷AMC, AA 1, ff. 85-87 (September, 1466).

⁸⁸de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 53; Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," pp. 11-12; Carel, Etude sur Caen, pp. 21-22. Throughout the sixteenth-century Deliberations there are frequent references to reminders made to the echevins that they should hold weekly meetings, traditionally on Saturday, and should attend meetings regularly, not attempting to send substitutes. AMC, BB 2, f. 60 (15 April, 1563); BB 3, f. 41r. (12 August, 1563); BB 27, f. 81v. (11 January, 1590). In 1564 two of the newly elected echevins, Michel Anger and Thomas Lebrethon, tried to decline election but were ordered to take the oath and exercise their functions. AMC, BB 4, ff. 16-17 (26 February, 1564).

⁸⁹AMC, CC 345 (4) (1459); Carel, Etude sur Caen, p. 41 (6 January, 1568): salary. AMC, BB 1, f. 49r. (26 January, 1537): wine. Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," p. 12: tax exemption.

⁹⁰See Appendix 1: The Oath of Office of the Caen Echevins.

⁹¹Ibid.

- 92 Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," pp. 16-27, 31-39.
- 93 AMC, AA 1, ff. 85-87 (September 1466).
- 94 AMC, EE 32 ff. 36v.-38v. (1592).
- 95 Lucien Romier, "Les députés des villes en Cour au XVI^e siècle," Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques (1909), pp. 510-511; Doucet, Institutions de la France, p. 378; Jubert, "Le procureur-syndic de la ville de Caen au XVI^e siècle," pp. 459-60.
- 96 ADC, C 6824, p. 5; AMC, BB 17, ff. 15-17 (1579 list of minor city offices).
- 97 In 1527 an ordonnance of the bailli specified that he, his lieutenants and the echevins were to supervise the city markets. AMC, AA 1, ff. 146-48 (2 February, 1528) (Carel, Etude sur Caen, p. 172).
- 98 AMC, AA 1, f. 186 (October, 1547) (Carel, Etude sur Caen, p. 181). For an instance when the echevins were clearly viewed as police officials see AMC, BB 3, f. 20r. (20 June, 1563).
- 99 AMC, BB 19, f. 27r. (9 February, 1580). Four notables were named to the bureau.
- 100 Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," p. 15 n. 27. The two royal abbays did retain some judicial authority over their bourgs and other lands. In the sixteenth century the activity of their courts seems to have been largely limited to civil affairs involving land disputes. ADC, 14B.
- 101 Doucet, Institutions de la France, pp. 251-70; Michel Béziers, Chronologie historique des baillis et gouverneurs de Caen avec un discours préliminaire sur l'institution des baillis en Normandie (Caen, 1769).
- 102 Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," p. 13; Doucet, Institutions de la France, p. 262.
- 103 Carel, Histoire de Caen - I, pp. 243-45.
- 104 Carel, "Les magistrats du Bailliage," p. 592.

105

The bailliage of Caen (one of seven under the Parlement of Rouen) was divided into four vicomtés: Caen, Bayeux, Vire and Falaise (plus seats at Thorigny and Evrecy). In the Archives départementales du Calvados the bailliage of Caen is referred to as the grand bailliage and the vicomté of Caen as the bailliage. Gildas Bernard and Agnès de St-Blanquat, Guide provisoire des Archives départementales du Calvados (2 vols., Caen, 1972), pp. 39-50 (Série B: Cours et Juridictions 1B). However, de Bourgueville and Lucien Romier refer to these same divisions as bailliage and vicomté. de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, I, 54-59; Lucien Romier, ed., Lettres et chevauchées du Bureau des Finances de Caen sous Henri IV (Rouen and Paris, 1910), p. xiii. I will follow de Bourgueville and Romier's usage. Because Caen was the seat of both levels of jurisdiction, the distinction of functions of various officers was frequently blurred. It is sufficient to note that their presence enhanced Caen's position as a center for litigation.

106

See Doucet, Institutions de la France, pp. 259-61, 264-67 for a general discussion of the competences of the courts and Carel, "Les magistrats du Bailliage," pp. 583-639 for a description of the Caen situation.

107

Romier, Bureau des Finances, p. xiv; Nortier, "Recherches sur les Vicomtés de Caen et de Falaise," passim; Paul Jubert, "Vicbaillis et grande prévôté générale de Normandie (1550-1660)," BSAN, 55 (1959-60), 87-113 passim; Jubert, "Sergenterie du fied du pled," passim.

108

See Introduction, n. 18 on the Parlement of Rouen. On the Parlement's stay in Caen see chapter Eight and Jules Lair, Histoire du Parlement de Normandie depuis sa translation à Caen, au mois de juin 1589, jusqu'à son retour à Rouen, en avril 1594 (Caen, 1861).

109

Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," pp. 27-30; Alfred Gallier, "Histoire de la boucherie caennaise sous l'ancien régime," Mémoire de la Société vétérinaire des départements du Calvados, de la Manche et de l'Orne 27 (1902), 141.

110

See Romier, Bureau des Finances, pp. xi-xxv and Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," pp. 31-39 for details on this hierarchy in Lower Normandy. Constantly evolving the financial hierarchy in the late sixteenth century lacked specialization and, despite attempts at reform, was plagued by poor administration and much abuse of function. Lucien Romier, "Lettres inédits de Sully au trésoriers généraux de France à Caen (1599-1610)," Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques, (1909), pp. 543-45.

- 111 Doucet, Institutions de la France, p. 192; Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," pp. 31-33.
- 112 Intervention by the bureau des finances and the cours des aides ranged from actual matters of taxation (the taille and the gabelle) to the realm of public works (roads and river access to the city). Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," p. 34. De Bourgueville staunchly supported the control of matters relating to the "aydes [payées] au lieu des tailles" by the bailli of Caen - not the bureau des finances or cours des aides. de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 78.
- 113 AMC, BB 8, ff. 77-80 (1 January 1568) (Carel, Etude sur Caen, pp. 38-43); Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen", pp. 16-18.
- 114 AMC, BB 3, f. 50 (12 August, 1563) - deficit spending; AMC, 30, ff. 51-52 (6 April, 1594) - parish allocations; AMC, BB 3, f. 97 (31 August, 1563), BB 6, ff. 1-14 (26 October, 1566), BB 9, f. 19 (12 June, 1570) - forced loans and rents; BMC, MS In-f. 132 ff. 128-151 (27 April, 1568) - Royal levy on the wealthy citizens of Caen. Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," pp. 20-23.
- 115 AMC, BB 6, ff. 41, 42, 49 (December, 1566); Pierre Carel, Histoire de la ville de Caen sous Charles IX, Henri III et Henri IV (Paris, 1887), pp. 191-201 (1588) (henceforth Carel, Histoire de Caen - II).
- 116 Yver, "Administration municipale a Caen," pp. 23-27; de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 74-75.
- 117 Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 73-74; Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 274-76; AMC, BB 26, ff. 29-30 (28 March 1588 riots in Caen over an increase in salt prices).
- 118 Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 273-77.
- 119 Among others see Jean-Pierre Gutton, La société et les pauvres en Europe (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles) (Paris, 1974), p. 106.
- 120 AMC, AA 1, f. 15 (1295 conflict between the bishop of Bayeux and the Caen bourgeois) (Carel, Etude sur Caen, pp. 107-08); AMC AA 1, ff. 73-74 (1437 election of the prior by bourgeois of Caen) (Carel,

Etude sur Caen, pp. 147-49); AMC, BB 1, f. 87 (1541 auditing of the prior's accounts); de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 34.

121 de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 200-16, 228-29. De la Rue makes a case that the bourgeois usurped control in the mid-13th century, the Hôtel-Dieu having been established in the 12th century before the corps de ville even existed. He believes that the appointment of the prior was controlled by the abbot of St. Etienne and the abbess of La Trinité originally. The impetus for foundation may in fact have come from duke Henri II; AMC, AA 1, f. 14 (1291 ordinance regarding the Hôtel-Dieu) AMC, GG 447:14); AMC, GG 447:4 (13th-century case in which the prior misused funds and was reprimanded by city officials) (AMC, AA 1, f. 15, 1291); Pierre Daniel Huet, Les origines de la ville de Caen et les lieux circonvoisins (2nd ed., Rouen, 1706), pp. 208-09. On similar control of the Grande Maladrerie by the city see T. Raulin, "La Foire de St. Siméon et St. Jude vulgairement appelée foire aux malades ou de la Maladrerie de Beaulieu ou de Bicêtre, tenue dans la banlieue ouest de Caen, depuis la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours," BSAN, 16 (1892), 207.

122 See Appendix 2: The Welfare Foundations of Medieval Caen and de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 169-237.

123 de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 181-82, 232-36.

124 Ibid., 183-84, 187-200; Raulin, "La foire de St. Siméon et St. Jude," passim; T. Raulin, "Les derniers malades de la leproserie de Nôtre-Dame de Beaulieu ou grande maladrerie de Caen aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles," Année Médicale de Caen (August 1890), pp. 179-84.

125 Abbé Léon Jules, "La Madeleine de Caen," BSAN, 46 (1938), 13; Abbé Jacques Laffetay, Histoire du Diocèse de Bayeux (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles) (2 vols., Bayeux, 1855 & 1876), I, L; de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 34; de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 217-19; ADC, Hsupp, Reg. 1, p. 226; AMC, BB 2, ff. 27-29, 108v. (1563 examples of the election of secular administrators for the Hôtel-Dieu and Beaulieu); see above n. 76.

126 AMC, AA 1, f. 14 (1291 ordinance of the Hôtel-Dieu) (AMC, GG 447:14). The 1291 ordinance was in direct response to such abuses and it clearly spelled out limitations on the prior. The position of prior of the Hôtel-Dieu was fraught with conflicts because the cleric was often a person of considerable prestige, known in the circles of king and pope, who had many divergent interests, (de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 220-21).

¹²⁷ADC, Hsupp, Reg. 1, pp. 221, 223, 232; AMC, BB 1, ff. 16, 38, 52v., 65v., 82, 101-02 (1536-41 deniers à dieu); ADC, Hsupp, Liasse 61 #1 (donations); de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 33; de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 222-24. In 1564-65 the deniers à dieu amounted to a mere 27 livres as compared to total revenues (rents) of 1000 livres plus a large revenue of goods in kind (ADC, Hsupp, Reg. 99). See chapter Two, p. 70, n. 58.

¹²⁸ADC, Hsupp, Reg. 1, p. 221; Gutton, Société et les pauvres, pp. 108-08; G. Panel, Documents concernant les pauvres de Rouen (3 vols., Paris and Rouen, 1917-19), I, xvi-xx, 19-28 (1534 ordonnance establishing a bureau des pauvres in Rouen). In Rouen the impetus for the establishment of a bureau des pauvres came from the parlement. The fact that Caen was not the seat of a sovereign court was probably crucial in determining the nature of her response to this social problem.

¹²⁹ADC, Hsupp, Liasse 62 #1 (1540 text of the arrêt of the Grands Jours of Bayeux).

¹³⁰de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 133-35; AMC, AA 1, ff. 167-68 (20 January 1541 general assembly on the poor) (Méritte-Longchamp, Mélanges historiques, I, 304-06). See ADC, Hsupp, Reg. 1, pp. 236-37 on royal ordinnances versus begging since 1350. There had been unsuccessful attempts to keep records of the poor, control begging and reform the Hôtel-Dieu prior to this meeting. AMC, BB 1, f. 34 - 14 March 1536 reform of the Hôtel-Dieu, AMC, BB 1, f. 83 - 1 June 1540 meeting on begging and the poor.

¹³¹AMC, BB 1, f. 90 (26 March 1541). The administrator of Beaulieu had been in office for thirty years so the possibility of long-term abuse of funds was great.

¹³²AMC, BB 1, ff. 91-92 (29 March 1541).

¹³³AMC, BB 1, ff. 98v. - 99 (10 May 1541).

¹³⁴AMC, AA 1, f. 169r. (12 April 1543) (Méritte-Longchamp, Mélanges historiques, I, 308-09).

¹³⁵AMC, AA 1, ff. 167-72 (29 April 1550) (Carel, Histoire de Caen - I, pp. 222-23 and Méritte-Longchamp, Mélanges historiques, I, 310-16).

- 136
AMC, AA 1, f. 172 (24 May 1550) (Méritte-Longchamp, Mélanges historiques, I, 316).
- 137
AMC, AA 1, ff. 173-74 (13 January 1555) (Méritte-Longchamp, Mélanges historiques, I, 324-28); Raulin, "La foire de St. Siméon et St. Jude," pp. 263-64.
- 138
Part of the parish of St. Jean was not walled until later, and the abbatial bourgs sufficed with walls around only the monasteries. Legras, Bourgage de Caen, pp. 73-74, 90-91; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 12, 49-40; 79-80; Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, pp. 33-37.
- 139
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 54-55; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 81-82.
- 140
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 55.
- 141
Ibid.; AMC, BB 1, ff. 17-23 (7 July and 10 August, 1536).
- 142
AMC, AA 1, ff. 200-20 (27 August, 1557) (Méritte-Longchamps, Mélanges historiques, I, 199-203).
- 143
In 1358 the duke of Normandy, Charles, had established a company of fifty cross-bowmen (arbalestriers). de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 178-79, 390-91.
- 144
Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 77-78.
- 145
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 55-56.

C H A P T E R I I

THE ECONOMY

Located on the confluence of two waterways opening on the Channel and in the center of a rich region of pasture land and grain fields, Caen was a city of both maritime and agricultural importance in the sixteenth century. The city was the chief regional market of Lower Normandy as well as a secondary port in the network of Norman commerce with other parts of Europe. De Bourgueville's description of market day in the late sixteenth century gives us a vivid picture of the varied activities which the citizens of Caen would have encountered on a Monday.

. . . lequel marché qui se tient au Lundy est l'un des plus remarquables qui soit en Normandie, par ce qu'il y afflue un nombre comme infiny de peuple, et de toutes marchandises des autres Bailliages, mesmes du pays de Bretagne, tant de bestaux, harats, bleds, pommes, cidres, draps, bois, charbon, que autres sortes: Et peut on plustot appeller une foire que marché auquel ceux de l'estat de noblesse se fournissent de draps de soye, d'accoutrements, de vins, meubles exquis de maison, bagues, vaiselles, orfeveries, et autres precieuses et rares marchandises qui ne se trouvent aux petites villes de la basse Normandie.¹

He was naturally proud of the exotic goods in which some Caen merchants dealt but did not neglect to mention local products. The Caen market,

clearly more than a local exchange of agricultural goods, attracted all types of people to the booths of its merchants and craftsmen. On these days the city would have been crowded with villagers buying staples, merchant speculators and noblemen and their ladies seeking silks and velvets.²

The Caen economy had made a significant recovery from the difficult period of the Hundred Years War when Normandy was intermittently plagued by violence, open warfare, depopulation and a breakdown of both production and traditional commercial links. Recovery began slowly, only really taking hold after 1475, but by the mid-sixteenth century Caen had regained her position as an important link in the network of supply and transfer of goods via the larger commercial centers of Rouen, Paris, London and the Low Countries.³

With the commercial and demographic revival came the city's development as a secondary financial center, indicated in the letters patent to 5 June, 1550 of Henri II transferring the Hotel des Monnaies from St. Lô to Caen. Caen was:

. . . lieu plus à propos et en laquelle, tant pour la multitude du peuple et marchands qui y abondent et fréquentent par chacun jour que pour y être établie une des Recettes générales du pays de Normandie, il ne peut être qu'il n'y abonde grande quantité de billon qui ne pourrait commodément converti en bonne monnaie s'il n'y avait tel établissement.⁴

The central feature of the Caen economy was its balanced and relatively traditional character. To Rouen, Dieppe, recently founded Le Havre and the ports of Brittany belonged the vigorous growth and prosperity ushered in by commercial specialization. In contrast Caen

retained the diversity of an earlier era. As a typical regional center in which many economic activities flourished, Caen was strongly characterized by what she was not: neither a major port located on excellent waterways nor a city dominated by the new wave of industrial or commercial specialization.⁵ Rather, she was an urban center in the midst of an agricultural plain, on a rather poor waterway, in which a wide variety of trades and industries were practiced.

A. Economic Activity

The nature of Caen's sixteenth-century economy is revealed in the Statuts et ordonnances de la Prévosté de Caen, printed in Caen in 1598 but actually dating from as early as 1582.⁶ As de Bourgueville's description of market day indicates, agricultural products bound for urban consumption were a major element of local commerce: grains from the plain around Caen, livestock brought to the city for slaughter, fresh vegetables, flowers and milk products hawked by street vendors, both fresh and saltwater fish and the increasingly popular beverage cider.⁷

The agricultural richness of Caen's surroundings meant that her merchants seldom had to go very far afield to provision the city, except in periods of famine when Caen traders might be found in Rouen buying grain to feed the Lower Norman population.⁸ This comfortable assurance of essential supplies, along with the unquestionable superiority of the Seine waterway, partially explains why only a handful of Caen merchants entered the arena of long-distance commerce. The trade in food stuffs was primarily local, the Caen wharves serving

as the center for transshipment to the smaller cities of Lower Normandy and occasionally the exchange of specialities, such as cider, bound for Rouen.⁹ The relationship between countryside and city was close, with Caennais often owning or financing livestock and grain production on the plain or more distant pasture lands and providing the cider presses which processed the apples grown in the countryside.¹⁰

The most important industry in sixteenth-century Caen, as in so many early modern towns, was textile production. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries Caen's cloth had been well-known in Italian and German markets, particularly her durable serges (saies), a twilled woolen cloth used for clothing and bedcovers.¹¹ In the early thirteenth century an attempt to introduce Merino sheep onto the plain of Caen was unsuccessful but attests to the appetite of the textile industry for wool.¹² During the Hundred Years War this vigorous textile industry experienced a serious decline,¹³ but by the mid-sixteenth century it had recovered to the extent that one contemporary estimated that there were at least 4,000 workers employed daily in the production of woolen cloth alone.¹⁴ Undoubtedly, textiles contributed to the fortunes of many of the wealthiest families in Caen.¹⁵

In addition to serviceable fabrics, canvas, linen, serge and other woolens, sixteenth-century Caen produced its complement of luxury goods such as velvet, embroidered table linens (damask) and silk purses. The latter were coveted by Renaissance courtiers and patricians throughout northern Europe.¹⁶ Auxiliary trades to textile production such as sheep sheering, spinning, fulling and dyeing were also important

in the Caen economy. The two rivers with branches running through and under several of the city quarters provided the water so important to the dyers. Caen's blue and scarlet fabrics were particularly well-known because of local sources of two important dyes. Woad or pastel (vouède or guède), used in dying blues until superseded by indigo, was available in such abundance that it supported an active export trade in dyestuffs not only with other Norman textile centers but also England and Holland. Of lesser importance but still noteworthy was the local production of madder (garence) used to obtain a red dye.¹⁷

Second only in importance to the textile industry was tanning. Again the proximity of waterways was important, as was the magnitude of local livestock production and the availability of tanning compounds, thaon or ecorce de chêne from the nearby forest of Cinglais. By the sixteenth century skins had to be imported in order to meet the industry's needs. Other artisans worked alongside the tanners such as shoemakers, purse-makers and parchment makers.¹⁸ The Caen economy also represented a full range of basic trades including metal working¹⁹, carpentry and cabinet work, food processing, printing²⁰ and general construction and stone masonry, both encouraged by the civil building boom in renaissance Caen.²¹ Together these activities bear witness to a well integrated economy, free from excessive domination by any one sector of production or exchange.

Despite her maritime location, Caen's role as a port had long been somewhat hampered by the vagaries of the Orne River, her waterway to the sea. The Orne wound inland from the outport of Ouistreham

to Caen through a network of marshes, doubling the distance ships had to travel to reach the city's wharves. Furthermore, the river was unpredictable. A changing course and fluctuating water levels made pilots essential to guide ships safely from the Channel. This added up to high toll charges on cargoes and an overall costlier call at the port of Caen than elsewhere. The revival of commercial activity in the sixteenth century led to canalization schemes to improve the Orne. The first project, completed in 1531, cut the distance between city and coast via the river by about two and one-half miles.²²

Transport of goods to the hinterland was largely overland. The major routes were the old Roman road between Bayeux and Lisieux, the road to Rouen and the route south toward Paris to the east and Falaise to the west. The poor condition of these roads meant that short range coastal links were used whenever possible.²³

The traditional rivalry between Caen and Rouen, born in the Middle Ages when the English dukes of Normandy favored Caen, continued to be significant only in areas such as representation and precedence at the provincial Estates. Rouen's commercial ascendancy was unquestionable.²⁴ Disadvantages with regard to transport meant that Caen had assumed a secondary role as a port city. As the ports of the mouth of the Seine, with support from Paris, and the Breton ports on the Atlantic developed their modern dominance, Caen remained a local center.²⁵

Caen merchants formed only a small contingent in the market places of international commerce at Rouen, Paris, London and Antwerp

in the sixteenth century. The scale of this participation is reflected in the records of foreign merchants registered at Antwerp, 1460-1585. Caen was represented by 11 merchants (1520-84), 2 percent of the total from Normandy. In comparison Rouen sent 431, 83 percent of the Norman contingent, Dieppe sent 52 (1525-84) and Le Havre (1546-84) sent 16.²⁶ Caen's link with English ports was probably closer, but there are no firm statistics available like those of Coornaert for Antwerp.²⁷ Brittany dominated maritime activity to the south and, in general, the role of Norman ports in trade with the New World was surprisingly small in the sixteenth century.²⁸ Nonetheless, de Cahaignes testified in his Eloges that two Caen families, the Rouxels and Etienne du Val, sieur de Mondrainville, were active in trade with many parts of Europe, Africa (Barbary) and the New World as entrepreneurs in a wide variety of activities.²⁹ The Baillehache family also carried on notable international trade.³⁰

On the testimony of de Bourgueville we know that Caen attracted merchants from the major commercial centers of western Europe: Paris, Rouen, Orléans, Antwerp and London, bringing wine and other goods not available locally.³¹ Lacking a fair of its own, Caen was also visited by merchants on their way to Guibray, a suburb of Falaise, where an important regional fair was held each August.³²

Trade at Caen focused on her own textiles, agricultural products and raw materials of Lower Normandy, wine, spices, foreign cloth and exotic goods. Salt was an important commodity of commerce as Caen was the chief port of provisionment for the greniers at Falaise,

Argentan, Sées, Alençon, Diesmes (Dives ?), Bellême, Nogent le Rotrou and Bayeux, as well as her own. Though some salt was produced in this zone of sel d'impôt at the center of Lower Normandy, most of it was imported from a distance by Caen and Rouen merchants for redistribution.³³ Surplus wool was exported until the seventeenth century when products from the New World replaced its use in the dyeing industry, and much of the wool, alum and skins used in the textile and tanning industries came from outside Caen's immediate region.³⁴ Thus, while by no means in the forefront of commercial developments in sixteenth-century Normandy, the Lower Norman capital and chief port had a well-balanced range of activities which assured the provisionment and prosperity of her inhabitants under normal conditions.

The level of Caen's early sixteenth-century economic activity as it varied from one industry to another or overall from year to year is extremely elusive.³⁵ Contemporary evidence does enable us to note some price fluctuations. Charles de Bourgueville, our faithful observer of the Caen scene, reported that there was a great scarcity of wheat in 1546 which temporarily pushed prices up to thirty sols tournois per boisseau compared to two to three sols tournois per boisseau at the beginning of the century.³⁶ Though he may have been exaggerating somewhat, current research into the crise de subsistance in early modern France confirms that crop failures did lead to periodic steep fluctuations in food prices.³⁷ Caen and its surroundings were frequently plagued by destructive floods, particularly before the 1531 work on the Orne was completed.³⁸ Drought and other factors

might also cause crop failure, as was the case in 1556 and 1559.³⁹

In general, Caen followed the trend of price rise experienced not only in Normandy but also throughout much of the rest of France and Europe in the early sixteenth century. Figures on wheat prices compiled by the nineteenth-century historian Abbé de la Rue reflect a gradual rise from two to three sols tournois per boisseau in circa 1520 to four to five sols tournois per boisseau in circa 1550, a doubling in price.⁴⁰ De Bourgueville recorded a similar rise in the prices of other commodities. Everything from wine and butter to textiles and labor went up in price from the time of his youth when, he wrote, "les vivres et toutes marchandises estoient à prix competant."⁴¹

B. Economic Structure

Within the city manufacturing and commercial activity was located in specific areas, contributing to the particular character of each quarter. The wheat, bread, fish and cloth halls, which came under the jurisdiction of the royal vicomté official, the garde des halles, were all in the central parishes of St. Pierre, Nôtre-Dame de Froiderue, St. Sauveur and the northern edge of St. Etienne. Slaughterhouses and butcher shops were also in this area.⁴² Shops in which a variety of goods were made and sold lined the Grande rue (49), the rue des Quaiz (26 & 27) and the many side streets of the central city.⁴³ These parishes bustled with business particularly on Monday and Friday market days. Coinciding with the local livestock market,

the Monday gathering, when all activity fell under the supervision of the garde des halles, was by far the more important of the two markets.⁴⁴

The city supported close to 100 occupations which were either supervised by city officials or show evidence of having had an internal organization.⁴⁵ These can be broken down into food industries, textiles, leather processing, building trades and wood processing, metal industries, all of which were concerned with production. Every phase of production was represented. The leather trades included those who sold the undressed skins, the tanners, those who made the tanning compound, and the parchment makers. The leather they prepared was then used by the shoemakers, purse and glovemakers, saddlemakers and makers of packsaddles and collars. The metal workers were similarly divided into specialized groups such as the goldsmiths, gunsmiths, blacksmiths, coopersmiths, cutlers, locksmiths, makers of tin wire, makers of hardware for bridles and leadworkers. Other industries similarly reflect the diversity of the Caen economy.

In addition to commerce and industry, a number of service-related activities were central to the city's economy. Among those with a corporate identity in the sixteenth century were the money changers, apothecaries, surgeons and barbers and lawyers. The presence of presidial, bailliage and lower courts created an important commerce in law and attracted more people to the city's markets. With its academic population, the university contributed further to the service-related sector of the economy, while providing yet additional customers for the shops and inns of Caen.

The regulatory organization upon which much of our knowledge of these occupations is based was strongly influenced by several basic features of sixteenth-century life: the coexistence of multiple and frequently conflicting offices, the amalgamation of local and royal authority and the intermingling of the secular and religious in all areas of life. In this context there were several levels of economic regulation: semi-functionary officials, sworn inspectors of the trades (gardes or jurés) and guilds legally constituted with statutes (communautés or corporations des métiers).⁴⁶

The public inspectors of various phases of the economy were the forty-one city officials who filled twenty-two offices. Several of these posts, such as the town crier and the master of the clock, had less distinctly economic duties. In general, however, these men were responsible for assuring that the proper weights and measures were used in all transactions, supervising activities at the market places and halls or acting as brokers in commercial transactions. Because of the profits to be made, the offices of mesureur du tripot/halle à bled, mesureur de verdages and officier du poids du roi were particularly sought after and by the late sixteenth century were becoming hereditary.⁴⁷ All were traditionally appointments made by the echevins, but, as in so many realms of municipal administration, royal authority in the person of the bailli intervened at the time when the officials were sworn into office. Furthermore, the late sixteenth century witnessed numerous attempts by the king to take over patronage of these offices.⁴⁸

In addition to the city officials there was another corps of men responsible for the supervision of individual trades and goods, the gardes, jurés or visiteurs.⁴⁹ By the mid-sixteenth century there were seventy-three areas for which jurés might be appointed, though a few were neglected because of the decline of the trade. Beer brewing was supplanted by cider production, for example. De Bourgueville described the function of these men as, "avoir l'oeil et le soing qu'il ne s'y commette abus. . ." ⁵⁰ The provisioning of the city was closely supervised by the jurés of the grain, fish and butcher halls, who inspected the quality of food sold and ordered fines and confiscation of substandard goods.⁵¹ Jurés of other trades were to carry out similar quality control functions on the part of city and guild. In addition they were to keep a record of all new masters received into the guilds in order that the royal tax due upon becoming a master would be paid. These lists were either never kept or have been lost.⁵²

The lists of jurés for 1574 to 1580 indicate that there was often more than one man for each trade and that the same men were frequently reappointed from year to year. In fact some individuals served as jurés for several trades at the same time. The pecuniary benefits available to the holder probably explain this accumulation of offices. In theory these posts were to be granted to Caen bourgeois who had come upon hard times.⁵³ It is difficult to establish how many of these jurés were public officials, city appointees acting as special auxiliaries to the city's mesureurs, auneurs and courtiers, and how

many were the chief masters of the trade itself, appointed by the guilds. Both authorities were represented on the 1574-80 lists, some jurés being designated as "pour le mestier" and others as "pour la ville". The relations between the two groups of jurés were not without tension as they represented potentially conflicting vested interests. Furthermore, there is evidence that the city magistrates themselves intervened in economic supervision when public complaints indicated that the other authorities were not assuring honest price and good quality.⁵⁴

The range of trades represented in the lists of jurés and city officials indicates the variety of activities taking place in Caen. A comparison of the short list of Caen trades organized in guilds (thirty-one) with the list of the occupations practiced in the sixteenth century (ninety) confirms the point that many important activities were not formally organized.⁵⁵ For a number of occupations such as gunsmith, coppersmith, furrier, poultryman and fish merchant there is no indication of statutory administration. Nevertheless, it is clear that many trades which did not have formal guild status did have some form of internal organization which supervised the choice of jurés for the trade and collected dues to be presented to the Hôtel-Dieu at Pentecost. In fact, whereas only thirty-three percent of the occupations practiced in Caen showed any evidence of guild organization, sixty-six percent acted collectively in certain situations.⁵⁶ Clearly, what we are faced with is an economic situation which refuses to fit into any neat mold.⁵⁷

The importance of the trades as corps in the city's social and political order was minimal. The existing guilds played no regular active role in the city government or defense. The procession on Pentecost to the Hôtel-Dieu by representatives of some of the trades, carrying required contributions from their members, was the unique occasion when some of the city's occupations acted as a group.⁵⁸ Throughout the sixteenth century efforts were made by the echevins, vicomte and parlement to organize the Caen trades and collect their records.⁵⁹ Yet it was only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under pressure from Colbert that the internal organization of the city's economic order began to be rationalized.⁶⁰

In a situation as fluid as this, the conflict between masters and journeymen was minimal. There is no evidence that the sixteenth century witnessed major clashes between these groups in any of the Caen trades. There were conflicts among various trades, such as the taillandiers and couturiers versus the chaussetiers, concerning their respective spheres of activity.⁶¹ Another type of friction in the economic sector was that between the Caen butchers and merchants and their foreign counterparts whether local Normans or Englishmen.⁶² This tension between Caennais and outsiders was a common problem in the realm of economic activities, and it further confirms the city's local orientation.⁶³

For that small group of trades which were formally established with guild statutes, what did that organization mean? Clearly, it could not have been crucial to actual practicing of a craft. Michel

de Bouärd and Nicole Simon suggest that these economic associations were linked in their evolution to religious brotherhoods, the confréries de charité, such as the Confrérie de Nôtre-Dame de Mars of the Cutlers, originally authorized by the Abbey of Ardennes near Caen in 1206.⁶⁴ The terms of the letters of confirmation of this brotherhood indicate that already the regulation of economic activity had begun to take some precedence over the religious mutual aid functions of the group.⁶⁵

The interconnection of royal, municipal and church jurisdictions was clearly apparent in the realm of guild organization. Often receiving initial recognition from a church or abbey, the guilds went on to develop close ties with the magistracy, the bailli and other royal officials whose approval lent these associations legitimacy. For example, the carpenters sought royal letters patent in 1532 to strengthen their body which had first received statutes around 1500.⁶⁶ The majority of the trades for which fifteenth or sixteenth-century statutes exist continued to have some tie with a church or monastery. Nevertheless, the founding statutes of the Caen apothecaries' guild, dated 1547, fail to mention a confrérie for its members, addressing the regulation of the apothecaries by the faculty of medicine of the University of Caen from a definitely secular standpoint.⁶⁷

It is risky to generalize from the single example of the apothecaries because they were early a highly professional group linked with the faculty of medicine. Nonetheless, by the mid-sixteenth century, in several trades the economic functions and royal or municipal regulations of the group seemed to be separating from the group's

religious mutual aid activities. In 1517 the butchers contracted with the church of N^otre-Dame de Froiderue that a mass be said for the guild each Sunday. The tone of the agreement suggests that guild and confrérie were quite distinct though sharing a common membership.⁶⁸ On the other hand extreme care must be exercised in analyzing these documents for, as Coornaert wrote in his study of French guilds, "One would have surprised many of the confrères of these trades by trying to discern the dividing line between the spiritual and the temporal in their organizations."⁶⁹

Thus far, the internal organization of the Caen economy has been discussed. In medieval and early modern Europe the key to non-local commercial exchange was the fair. The fact that Caen was without a major fair throughout the sixteenth century further highlights her secondary economic position. Several small fairs drew local commercial activity to the city, but the major fair in the Caen region was the one held in August at Guibray, a suburb of Falaise.⁷⁰ This was the case despite the fact that in 1470 Louis XI had established two royal fairs lasting two weeks each at Caen. Caen had been chosen less because she was

. . .grande et spacieuse et bien peuplée,
 assise en bon et fertile pays près de la
 mer, et l'une des villes de nostre Royaume
 ou lesdits marchans pourront mieux et
 convenablement s'assembler, et venir de
 toutes parts tant par mer que par terre. . .⁷¹

as the letters of foundation said, than because Rouen was menaced by a blockade. When this threat was removed in 1477, Louis XI transferred the fairs to Rouen which had been requesting a fair since 1466.

Though Caen provided an advantageous location for trade with England, it could not compete with Rouen as a link to Paris nor with the Low Country fairs at Bruges, Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, which continued to dominate the attention of Norman merchants.⁷²

In early documents there are references to a fair at Caen, the Foire du pré, held in the Cercle (60) for nine days each October, which flourished through the fifteenth century. De Bourgueville attributed its decline to the establishment of the two royal fairs in 1470. The terms of their letters patent and their short existence at Caen argue that this was not necessarily the sole cause of its decadence, however. In the mid-sixteenth century, although it continued to be announced in the traditional manner, the Foire du pré was no longer functioning.⁷³

There were four fairs which continued to be active in the sixteenth century under the auspices of religious and hospital establishments. The Fair of St. Michel (held in September at the feast of St. Michel) and the Fair of the Trinity (held between Pentecost and the feast of the Trinity) were established by William the Conqueror for the benefit of the Abbaye aux Hommes and Abbaye aux Dames respectively. They were held in the suburbs, and all transactions came under the jurisdiction of the conventual houses. In the 1490's they had been lengthened from one to three days each. The Abbaye aux Hommes also administered the Fair of St. Etienne held on the day after Christmas.⁷⁴

The level of activity at the abbatial fairs is difficult to determine; the Fairs of the Trinity and St. Michel were important enough to the revenues of the two abbeys for them to strongly oppose the potentially injurious royal fairs established in 1470.⁷⁵ The sixteenth-century records of the farm of the revenues collected at the Fair of St. Michel indicate an increase in its worth during the century. This does not necessarily imply growth in activity because it could have been caused by inflation.⁷⁶ Finally, Caen's leprosarium, located in the Bourg l'abbé, benefited from the revenues of the Fair of St. Simon and St. Jude, established in the twelfth century. It was held on October 28 and supervised by the administrators of the leprosarium to benefit the lepers.⁷⁷

Just as royal, municipal and trade personnel intermingled in the administration of the Caen economy, so intertwining secular and religious authorities were involved in the supervision of her fairs and impinged upon the individual guild member. The importance of the church in sixteenth-century life, as both a spiritual and a temporal force, calls us now to turn to a discussion of its status in Caen on the eve of the Reformation.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER II

¹ de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 13. See Appendix 3: Economic activity in Caen - narratives, for other descriptions of the Caen economy. See Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, pp. 175-76 on Caen's dual nature.

² Katharine Fedden, Manor Life in Old France, from the journal of the Sire de Gouberville for the years 1549-62 (New York, 1967, original 1933), pp. 51, 53.

³ Legras, Bourgage de Caen, pp. 3-4; Tourmente, Le port de Caen, pp. 11-12; Mollat, Commerce maritime normand, pp. 65-75, 116, 286.

⁴ AMC, FF 2 (2), (5 June, 1550). This transfer led to conflict between Caen and St. Lô because the latter did not want to lose its ancient status as seat of a mint. A shortage of currency in Caen in 1549, which had led to severe disruptions in commercial activity, was behind the transfer. See also Carel, Histoire de Caen - I, pp. 231-33.

⁵ Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, p. 8. In speaking of eighteenth-century Caen, Perrot describes the city's essential character: "Tous les changements qu'elle nous propose s'opèrent dans une hibernation régionale d'autant plus profonde que la partie haute de la province fixait les rumeurs industrielles et océanique de l'avenir. La Basse-Normandie fut longtemps réduite aux acquêts urbains les moins évitables. Caen, entre toutes, fut une cité de croissance minime jusqu'à ces dernières décennies ou la guerre et l'anéantissement précipitèrent le changement." Much of this characterization applies to sixteenth-century Caen as well.

⁶ Statuts et ordonnances de la Prévosté de Caen avec les privilèges aux bourgeois, manans et habitans (BMC, MS In-4. 232). This manuscript is a copy made by M. Méritte-Longchamp of the 1598 version printed by Jacques Le Bas at Caen, of which no original exists at Caen. This record of taxes to be paid on items sold in Caen was signed by the city greffier René Le Nicollas. Thus, it must date from before his death in 1582. This document has been consulted in order to determine what types of goods were taxed, and therefore,

we may assume, sold, at Caen in the late sixteenth century. The work of both Simon and Perrot indicates that in the non-industrial realm there was considerable continuity in the nature of the Caen economy through the late medieval and early modern periods. Levels might change, but the objects exchanged remained essentially the same. See Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 118-50 and Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, pp. 177-273. A comparison of the items mentioned in René-Norbert Sauvage, ed., "Les coutûmes des métiers de Caen en 1326 - documents", MAC, (1941), pp. 1-31 and Statuts et ordonnances - 1598 corroborates this point.

⁷ Statuts of ordonnances - 1598, pp. 1-17, passim; Julien le Paulmier, Traité du vin et du cidre (Caen, 1589, Latin original 1588). In this early treatise on cider we learn that until the sixteenth century wine and beer rivaled cider as the favored Norman beverage, but that during this century cider became unquestionably the dominant drink. Through the sixteenth century wine continued to be consumed by the wealthy, supporting a limited import trade. The fact that the Norman climate was not conducive to wine production and did have many orchard areas were major factors in cider's rising popularity. See de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 26 (see Appendix 3); Delisle, Etudes sur la classe agricole, pp. 470, 478.

⁸ Mollat, Commerce maritime normand, p. 325 (Archives municipales de Rouen, A 10, f. 261v. (12 June, 1512)). Rouen interests complained about Caennais buying grain, fearing scarcity for their own city.

⁹ Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 126, 133, 137-38.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 121-24, 127-29, 138; de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, I, 306.

¹¹ Hektor Ammann, "Die Anfänge des Aktivhandels und der Tucheinfuhr aus Nordwesteuropa nach dem Mittelmeergebiet," in Studi in Onore di Armando Saporì (2 vols., Milan, 1957), I, 281; Lucien Musset, "Nouveaux documents sur l'industrie textile normande au Moyen Age," BSAN, 53 (1955), p. 290, 54 (1957-58), p. 541.

¹² Association française pour l'avancement des sciences, Caen et Calvados (Caen, 1894), pp. 436-37.

¹³ Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 140-43; Bouârd, Histoire de la Normandie, p. 232. The large number of Caen exiles to Brittany during the wars was an important factor in the decline.

- 14
de Cahaignes, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, p. 141, see Appendix 3; Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, p. 246. The author of the chapter on the fifteenth century notes that there was a marked decline in urban textile activity in Normandy because of the growth of "cottage industry". Only a detailed study of notary records would establish the extent to which this was true in the Caen area. See n. 35 on notary records.
- 15
Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 143.
- 16
de Cahaignes, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 98-102, 140-42 (Eloge 15 - Les Graindorges, manufacturers of damask, and Eloge 29 - Jacques le Bouteiller, manufacturer of silk purses). Gifts of these fine linens and silk purses by the city of Caen to notables who served or favored the city were frequently noted in the Deliberations (AMC, BB 1-38).
de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 332. One of the Caen purses found its way to the Princess of Orange as a gift from Joseph Scaliger, who had received it from Jacques de Cahaignes.
Vanel, Une grande ville, I, 34. Other recipients of Caen luxury goods included Elizabeth of England and Marie de Medici.
See also de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 26; Statuts et ordonnances - 1598, pp. 8-10.
- 17
de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 329-30; Delisle, Etudes sur la classe agricole, pp. 328-33; L. Gosselin, "De la vouède aux environs de Caen," MAC, (1928), pp. 228-31; Z. W. Sneller & W. S. Unger, ed., Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Handel met Frankrijk, 753-1585 (vol. 1, Den Haag, 1930), I, 579-80; E. M. Carus-Wilson, ed., The overseas trade of Bristol in the later Middle Ages, (London, 1937), pp. 274, 286, 337; Emile Coornaert, Les Français et le commerce international à Anvers - fin du XVe et XVIe siècle (2 vols., Paris, 1961), II, 104; Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 203-04; de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 25-26 (see Appendix 3).
- 18
Statuts et ordonnances - 1598, pp. 5-6; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 143-46.
- 19
Statuts et ordonnances - 1598, pp. 4-5; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 146-47.
- 20
de Cahaignes, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 336-38 (Eloge 87 - Jacques Le Febvre, carpenter and wood carver). Le Febvre's work not only graced the stalls of churches in Caen and the area but also was to be found in the English court in the form of a

bed made for Queen Elizabeth.

Léopold Delisle, Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen avant le milieu du XVI^e siècle (2 vols., Caen, 1904); also in BSAN, 23-24 (1903-04) (reprint Amsterdam, 1969). Delisle's work is the basic guide to printing in early sixteenth-century Caen. Unfortunately, there is no similar work on the second half of the century. See chapter Three, pp.121-25 for a discussion of printing in Caen.

21

Henri Prentout, "Les maîtres-maçons de la Renaissance à Caen", Compte-rendu du LXXV^e Congrès archéologique de France (tenue à Caen, 1908) (2 vols., Caen, 1909), II, 699-724.

22

The distance as the crow flies is about 12 kilometers. Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 42-43; Bouârd, Histoire de la Normandie, p. 205; de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 98-103. De Bourgueville was a strong supporter of projects to make the Orne more navigable. He unsuccessfully pled for the resumption of the 1540-48 plan to improve it in his 1588 history.

23

Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 44; Mollat, Commerce maritime normand, pp. 286, n. 66; 287.

24

Mollat, Commerce maritime normand, pp. 14, 125, 329; Charles Richard, "Notes sur quelques documents relatifs à l'histoire de Caen et de Rouen," MSAN, 14 (1844), 333-50, passim.

25

Coornaert, Les Français et le commerce à Anvers, I, 229-30. "Les rapports de la Normandie avec Anvers reflètent à la fois la destinée du port de l'Escaut et celle de la Normandie elle-même. Rouen grandit tout au long du siècle, même à travers les guerres de religion. Dans l'insuccès des efforts tentés par et pour Caen apparaît, non pas nouvelle, certes, mais plus nette qu'aux siècles antérieurs, la contrainte des conditions physiques sur l'orientation du commerce."

26

Ibid., I, 374-80. Coornaert discusses the Norman contingent at Antwerp in general (I, 217-30). The secondary importance of Caen is clear.

27

Mollat, Commerce maritime normand, pp. 133-76 (esp. pp. 151, 162, 166); Bouârd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 289-90. The major sources on foreigners in sixteenth-century England are: William Cunningham, Alien Immigrants to England (London, 1867), pp. 137-89;

R.E.G. Kirk & E.F. Kirk, eds., Returns of aliens dwelling in the city and suburbs of London - Henry VIII to James I (4 vols., Aberdeen, 1900-08); William Page, ed., Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England, 1509-1603 (Lymington, 1893); William Shaw, ed., Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization for Aliens in England and Ireland, 1603-1700 (Lymington, 1911). They give very limited information on places of origin and do not tell us about transient merchants.

²⁸ Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 293-96.

²⁹ de Cahaigues, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 66-69, 146-51 (Eloge 6-Guillaume Rouxel and Eloge 31 - Etienne du Val, sieur de Mondrainville). Another Caen family, the Escovilles, had commercial connections with the Hennequins of Paris. Mollat, Commerce maritime normand, p. 329.

³⁰ Coornaert, Les Français et le commerce à Anvers, I, 229.

³¹ de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 25 (see Appendix 3).

³² O. Bire, "Etude historique de la Foire de Guibray, depuis l'origine jusqu'au XVIIe siècle" and "Etude juridique de la Foire de Guibray," in Congrès du Millenaire de la Normandie (2 vols., Rouen, 1912), I, 310-24, 549-62; passim.

³³ de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 25 (see Appendix 3); Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 133-35; Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 274-76 (map p. 275).

³⁴ Gosselin, "La vouède de Caen", pp. 230-31; Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, p. 204.

³⁵ No series of statistical indicators exists to permit the measurement of the volume of port activity or the volume of exchange at the various halles (grain, bread, cloth, meat and fish). Frequent changes in the rate of taxation and the absence of accounts makes it virtually impossible to draw any firm conclusions regarding economic activity based on the city tax farms (AMC, CC 250-68) or the coutumes of the Vicomte (Statuts et ordonnances - 1598).

Notary records might yield valuable information on the sixteenth-century Caen economy. Perrot discusses the problems encountered in interpreting this and other economic data (Perrot,

Caen au XVII^e siècle, pp. 177-81). Because of the absence of both descriptive inventories and Contrôle des actes to the contents of sixteenth-century notary records, it was impossible for me to include an analysis of this potentially rich source within the scope of the present study. I hope to pursue this at a later date. Unfortunately, there are relatively few registers of transactions involving movable goods, which would yield the richest information on commerce and industry. On the Norman tabellionage and notary records see: Bernard and de St-Blanquat, Guide provisoire, ADC, pp. 71-73; A. Barnabé, Recherches historiques sur le tabellionage royal principalement en Normandie (Rouen, 1863); Pierre Gouhier, "Le fonctionnement de l'enregistrement sous l'Ancien Régime," Annales - N, (1966) pp. 185-92.

36
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 139.

37
Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Les Paysans de Languedoc (Paris, 1969), pp. 154-63; J. Meuvret, "Les crises de substistances et la démographie de la France," Population, (1946), pp. 643-51.

38
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 101; Perrot, Caen au XVIII^e siècle, pp. 54-78.

39
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 158; de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, II, 369-70.

40
de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, I, 181-72; Abbé Gervais de la Rue, Anecdotes caenoises (BMC, MS In-4. 219), ff. 10v.-12r.; René Jouanne, "Les monographies normandes et l'histoire des prix," Normannia, 4 (1931), 71, 95-104. Jouanne discusses the reliability of de la Rue's data and concludes that, ". . . les tableaux de Caen. . . nous ont paru vraisemblables. . ." (p. 97). On the early sixteenth-century price rise in general see also: Mollat, Commerce maritime normand, p. 375; Henri Hauser, Recherches et documents sur l'histoire des prix en France de 1500 à 1800 (Paris, 1936), pp. 69-71, 159-94; A.P. Usher, "The general course of wheat prices in France, 1350-1788," The Review of Economic Statistics, 11 (1930), 159-69; Micheline Baulant, "Le prix des grains à Paris," Annales - ESC, (1968), pp. 520-40.

41
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 82-83; Charles Gervais, "Sur la revolution dans la valeur des métaux précieux," MSAN, 20 (1853), 166-70.

⁴² See Map 1: Charles de Bourgueville's pre-1562 map of Caen and chapter One, pp. 7-15, on city quarters. On the independent control of shops and slaughterhouses by the butchers see: de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 170; Alfred Gaillier, "La boucherie caennaise", pp. 105-06; Lucien Musset, "Lettres patentes de Charles IX pour la grande boucherie de Caen, 12 août 1573," BSAN, 51 (1948-51), 422-24.

⁴³ The makers of leather purses (tassetiers) worked in tiny shops called cages à tassetier on the rue des Quai. de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 332.

⁴⁴ Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 96.

⁴⁵ See Appendix 7: Occupations practiced in sixteenth-century Caen.

⁴⁶ See the following appendices: 4: Officiers de la ville de Caen, late sixteenth century. 5: Trades and merchandise for which there were sworn inspectors, Caen (1574-80). 6: Inventory of Caen guilds. 7: Occupations practiced in sixteenth-century Caen. These appendices provide the essential background for the rest of this chapter.

⁴⁷ AMC, BB 27, f. 63v. (1589).

⁴⁸ AMC, AA 1, f. 1 (9 July, 1364 reaffirmation of city statutes assuring municipal authority over offices) (Carel, Etude sur Caen, p. 98); AMC, BB 21, ff. 20-21 (December 1581 - March 1582 objections by the echevins to Henri III's appointment of courtier and aulneur de draps and toiles). Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 89-92 indicates that royal infringement on echevinal authority to appoint these officials occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as well.

⁴⁹ AMC, HH 2, ff. 57-94 (Lists of sworn inspectors, 1574-80). The terms garde, juré and visiteur, meaning sworn inspector, were used interchangeably in Caen records.

⁵⁰ de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 53; Emile Coornaert, Les corporations en France avant 1789 (2nd ed.; Paris, 1968), pp. 206-09 defines their function similarly.

51 In some cases the confiscated goods were used to feed the "paouvre de l'hospital ou . . . paouvres religieux." Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 92-93.

52 AMC, HH 2, f. 70 (1575). The calls for better record keeping were in vain.

53, "[The echevins should] pourvoir aux offices vacans les bourgeois qui de bien aisez sont decheuz de biens, non pas par leur malversation mais par fortune et vieillesse. . ." de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 53. This policy was not strictly followed for de Bourgueville was complaining about abuses.

54 AMC, AA 1, ff. 135-37 (1511 regulation of bread quality) (Carel, Etude sur Caen, p. 170; Gallier, "La boucherie caennaise", p. 207.)

55 See Appendix 6: Inventory of Caen guilds and Appendix 7: Occupations practiced in sixteenth-century Caen.

56 See Appendix 7. Of ninety trades, thirty-one (33%) had some form of guild organization and sixty (66%) are known to have acted collectively in certain situations.

57 Emile Coornaert believes that the distinction between sworn crafts (métiers jurés) and so-called free crafts is of only limited use, particularly before the seventeenth century. Thus, the fact that trades with and without formal statutes and maitrises were both regulated by the city and métier appointed jurés of Caen is not surprising. The French term corporation, usually used by modern scholars when discussing the variety of institutions relating to French economic associations under the ancien régime, was actually borrowed from English in the eighteenth century. I have translated it as guild though care must be taken not to assume that the English word implies characteristics unique to the British Isles. Coornaert, Les corporations en France, pp. 23-32; Emile Coornaert, "French Guilds under the Old Regime," in Essays in French Economic History, ed. Rondo Cameron (Homewood, Ill., 1970), p. 124.

Jean-Claude Perrot's discussion of the organization of the Caen economy reveals that the fluidity of the sixteenth century persisted until the era of Colbert and to some extent beyond. Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, pp. 321-22.

Though the deniers à dieu contributions from trades comprised but a small part of the total revenue in deniers of the Hôtel-Dieu (for example, in 1564-65, there were at least 1000 livres of rents due and only 27 livres paid in deniers à dieu (ADC, Hsupp, Reg. 99, ff. 1-16 ff - non-foliated)), these gifts were symbolically important, as reflected in the records of court actions against those defaulting on payment (ADC, Hsupp, liasse 23 #2 - 1448-1683). A comparison of lists of annual gifts and information concerning the rate of a trade's contribution would hopefully indicate the approximate size of a given trade. Unfortunately, only two trades provide us with the necessary data:

1578: Bonnetiers and chapeliers - circa 19 contributors

1578: Charpentiers, serruriers, maçons, and couvreurs - circa 32 contributors

These figures are very tentative because there is much evidence that payment of the deniers à dieu was avoided by many artisans. The above estimates are based on rates given in ADC, Hsupp, liasse 23 #1 (1570 & 1571 rulings by the bailli establishing standard rates for these two trade groups) and the records of the gifts collected in 1578 in AMC, BB 16, f. 49r. (18 May, 1578).

59

AMC, BB 1, f. 60v. (5 October, 1538 ordinance by the echevins); AMC, HH 2 f. 24 (1566 ordinance by the vicomte of Caen who collected the hanse from new masters), on the hanse see Henri Prentout, "Statuts et ordonnances des apothicaires de Caen", Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques, (1907), p. 385, n. 1; AMC, HH 2 (scattered parlement orders).

60

Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, p. 323.

61

AMC, HH 2, f. 28r. (1575?). For other examples of this type of conflict see: T. Raulin, "Deux droits domaniaux octroyés aux lepreux de Beaulieu pres Caen. . .", BSAN, 17 (1893-95), 95 (groups of dyers); AMC, HH 12 #4 (drapiers vs. foulons).

62

AMC, BB 29 & 30, passim (1593-95); Gallier, "La boucherie caennaise," p. 258.

63

ADC C 6842 (1466 reaffirmation of the city charter). This document includes restrictions which limited the activities of foreign merchants in Caen.

64

In a provocative article Michel de Bouärd discusses the link between pious confraternity and guild in medieval Caen and also notes, "l'histoire des métiers de Caen reste à faire." Michel de Bouärd, "De la confrérie pieuse au métier organisé, la fraternité des Fèvres de Caen (fin XIIe siècle)", Annales - N, (1957), p. 168, 165-

77 passim. Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 86-88, 97-104 suggests how guild development progressed up to the early fifteenth century.

Caen guilds correspond closely to Coornaert's description: "Il n'est pas possible, aussi bien pour le Moyen Age que pour les siècles suivants, de décider par une règle générale si la forme religieuse des corporations a précédé leur forme laïque ou inversement; mais presque toujours, sinon toujours, l'une et l'autre se sont associées très tôt quand elles n'étaient pas confondues dès l'origine." Coornaert, Les corporations en France, pp. 222-27.

65 Bouard, "La fraternité des Fèvres de Caen," pp. 168-71.

66 ADC, 6E 118 #3 (1712 Statutes). This pattern is in line with Coornaert's observation that, "The autonomy of organized crafts is another illusion some guild historians have suffered from: there was no guild without agreement and authorization of the public powers. The executives of the guilds held their authority from them, and the public powers also sanctioned statutes elaborated by the guilds." Coornaert, "French Guilds", pp. 124-25.

67 AMC, HH 2, ff. 45-56 (1547 Statutes); full text also in Prentout, "Statuts des apothicaires", pp. 383-92.

68 Gallier, "La boucherie de Caen", pp. 51-53; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 99.

69 Coornaert, Les corporations en France, p. 224.

70 Bire, "Etude historique de la Foire de Guibray," pp. 310-24, passim. The most recent work on the fair at Guibray is a paper presented by Jean-Marie Vallez at the 3e Congrès des Sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Normandie (Valogne, 2-6 October, 1974): "Les loges de la Foire de Guibray aux XVIe et XVIIIe siècles." The communications at the Congrès will be published. For a 1561 appreciation of this fair see BSHPF, 28 (1879), 456. A reformed pastor writing to Calvin described it as ". . . non pareille, je ne dis pas seulement de le Normandie mais de toute la France."

71 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 66 (quoting the letters patent establishing the fair).

72 Henri Prentout, "Louis XI et les Foires de Caen." Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques, (1911), pp. 75-92; Mollat, Commerce maritime normand, pp. 96-108, 183, 331-33.

de Bourgueville, Recherches at Antiquitez de Caen, II, 72-73; Statuts et ordonnances - 1598, pp. 13-14; René-Norbert Sauvage, "Le cri de la Foire du Pre à Caen," BSAN, 12 (1913-18), 351-54.

⁷⁴Prentout, "Les Foires de Caen," p. 89; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 104-08.

75

Prentout, "Les Foires de Caen," pp. 83-87.

76

Ibid., pp. 90-91.

77

Raulin, "La Foire de St. Siméon et St. Jude," pp. 200-05.

C H A P T E R I I I
THE CHURCH AND THE UNIVERSITY: THE RELIGIOUS AND
INTELLECTUAL MILIEUX

A. The Roman Catholic Church

Caen's spire-studded silhouette against the surrounding plain had long caused the city to be called the "ville aux églises".¹ However, this phrase reflected the presence of many church buildings rather than an overwhelming ecclesiastical establishment. Just as Caen's freedom from direct supervision by a local parlement was a significant factor in determining the relatively independent nature of her municipal government, so the location of the episcopal see twenty-three kilometers away in Bayeux was important in the evolution of the city's secular/religious equilibrium. For while Caen's two royal abbeys exercised a quasi-episcopal role, their intervention in city affairs never approached the level of involvement of bishop and chapter in Bayeux.²

The bishopric of Bayeux was not only the oldest of the seven Norman sees but also one of the richest in all of France.³ The bishop's revenues were based on fiefs in many parts of the diocese. Yet, it appears that although there was a sumptuous palace (O) on the rue Neuve, Ile St. Jean, the prelate never had extensive holdings within the limits of Caen.⁴ In fact, Caen's own parishes and monasteries were more

important landholders within the city limits than the bishop. Furthermore, in the sixteenth century neither the official nor any other episcopal representative played a major role in the internal affairs of Caen.⁵

There was a collegiate church in Caen which fell under episcopal authority. Established in 1219 by a returning crusader, St. Sépulchre (R) had a dean and a varying number of canons who shared ten prebends. Located in the Bourg l'abbesse, this church enjoyed considerable prestige because of its collegiate status and distinguished deans. The annual procession of the Holy Sacrament supported by its confraternity gave it further prestige as did the piece of the true cross which was exhibited annually in the Palm Sunday procession.⁶ Nevertheless, because of its location outside the city walls, St. Sépulchre was disrupted and suffered destruction during the periods of war in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which affected the Caen area.

The bishop did not supervise the majority of Caen's parishes, although he did control appointments to the important churches of St. Pierre, St. Jean and Nôtre-Dame de Froiderue.⁷ The cathedral chapter was patron of St. Sauveur.⁸ A low level of ecclesiastical discipline in spiritual matters is reflected in the affairs of those few churches where the episcopal authorities were responsible. In 1505 the vicar general of the diocese, Léon Conseil, demanded that the number of untutored and untensured young boys destined for the priesthood be reduced at the church of St. Pierre because they disrupted the holy

offices. Similar incidents were common under the regime of the non-resident bishops and curés throughout the sixteenth century.⁹

Of Caen's twelve parishes four were attached to the bishop or chapter, four fell under the patronage of the abbess of the Abbey of La Trinité: St. Etienne le Vieux, St. Gilles, St. Martin and St. Georges du Château, and three were under the abbot of the Abbey of St. Etienne: St. Nicolas, St. Ouen and St. Michel de Vaucelles. The order of Knights Templar was originally patron of St. Julien, but with the order's suppression in 1312 that church came under the patronage of the Order of Malta, the Commander of Voismer and Bretteville-le-Rabet.¹⁰ Thus, essentially Caen's parish churches were more closely tied to the monastic orders and their fortunes than to the episcopal structures. This relationship is vividly reflected in the case of the parish of St. Nicholas, which fell within the Bourg l'abbé. The abbot, prior and monks of the Abbaye aux Hommes traditionally had the right to say mass in St. Nicolas, especially in high feast days. The office of cure was actually held by the monks of the abbey. The vicar carried out necessary day to day functions, but he and the chaplains of St. Nicolas objected to infringement by the monks of St. Etienne on their rights to celebrate lucrative masses. Thus in 1531 there was a legal battle between the priests of the church and the abbey. While the exact outcome is unknown, the incident clearly illustrates the role of the royal abbey in the affairs of Caen's secular parish structure.¹¹

The central parishes of St. Pierre and St. Jean were the biggest and wealthiest; the parishoners of St. Pierre alone made up a quarter

of the city's total population. The other parishes within the city walls were geographically smaller but probably more densely populated. In contrast, the population of the outer suburban parishes was more scattered and less wealthy.¹² The importance of the parishes as the local units of both religious and secular identification within the city becomes apparent in the notary and civil estate records of the sixteenth century. Parish and quartier or suburb were considered roughly synonymous and were regularly noted in these records next to the name of each individual or family.¹³ Thus, an individual was identified with his parish not only through his associations but also quasi-legally.

In each parish church a full retinue of priests fulfilled the spiritual needs of the quartier's present and past residents. Day-to-day administration of the sacraments was the responsibility of the curé. The long-standing practice of turning these duties over to a vicar while the curé enjoyed the revenues of the parish as a profitable benefice meant that many parishioners rarely saw their curé. The nonresidence of curés was the rule rather than the exception in Norman parishes by the early fifteenth century.¹⁴ Reviewing the lists of curés available for Caen's parishes in the sixteenth century it becomes apparent that these benefices were held by many professors and rectors of the university, representing all four faculties.¹⁵ Thus, the wealth of the city's parishes, particularly the larger ones, was a significant factor in the financial support of university personnel. These cleric-intellectuals continued the pattern of parish

neglect established earlier, delegating the bulk of their responsibilities to their vicars.

The vicars bid for appointment to their positions as spiritual administrators. Traditionally, these clerics were meant to be native to the parishes where they served, but a 1534 conflict between the parishioners and the nonresident curé of St. Michel de Vaucelles indicates that neither curé nor vicars were natives.¹⁶ In the well-endowed parish of St. Pierre between 1438 and 1562, the average length of a vicar's term was five years, reflecting the fact that the curé was much more interested in the best bid for the post than in finding and keeping the most adept shepherd for his flock.¹⁷ Furthermore, the vicar often viewed his position as merely a steppingstone to better benefices and might hope that his tenure as farmer of the curé's revenues would eventually lead him to the position of curé himself.¹⁸

The ecclesiastical ranks were swelled in most parishes by clerics who were responsible for the souls of the dead rather than the living. There could be as many as twelve chaplains (obitiers) as well as a large number of non-beneficed priests (expectants or prêtres habitués), waiting for positions.¹⁹ These parish chaplains formed a community apart, regulated by statutes granted by the church's patron in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Often they controlled considerable wealth.²⁰ Despite the large number of priests attached to each parish, ministry to the parishioners was neglected in favor of the more lucrative task of saying memorial services for the dead

and administering the temporal property of the chaplains.²¹

In addition to the ecclesiastical community, in each parish a group of three laymen, the treasurers, administered the lands and rentes which had been given to the parish. They were usually drawn from the elite of the parish, and the position often became hereditary in a family.²² One of the treasurers' responsibilities was the administration of burial plots within the church and its cemetery. During the late Middle Ages most parish cemeteries had slowly enlarged as more plots were needed. Yet, particularly in the crowded central parishes, there was a limit to how much space could be so used. A proposal to establish a city cemetery in 1500 to ease this situation was not acted upon.²³ In the sixteenth century the defection by a large proportion of the city's population from the Roman Catholic fold temporarily lessened the problem of overcrowding and led to the establishment of the city's first interparish cemetery.²⁴

The community of parishioners, as a body, was occasionally called upon to consider issues concerning the construction of the church, the administration of finances or parish responsibilities to the city. Called by the vicar just after the main Sunday service, these meetings were dominated by the parish notables, who were invariably chosen as the parish representatives to city assemblies.²⁵

Aside from the regular reception of the sacraments, the most important link between the individual layman and the church came through the confraternité or confrérie de charité to which he might belong.²⁶ For the sixteenth century there is no hard data reflecting

what percentage of the population was constituted by Advent and Lent Christians. A discussion of these religious brotherhoods, however, does shed some light on the nature of lay Catholicism before the Reformation.

As mentioned earlier, the mutual associations attached to all the parishes and to many religious orders had in some cases evolved into economic organizations, uniting the craftsmen of a trade in the regulation of their occupation as well as the veneration of their patron saint.²⁷ As de Bourgueville noted, however, there were also brotherhoods for purely charitable and devotional purposes:

Pour maintenir tous ces lieux de dévotion et le service divin qui si administre noz predecesseurs y ont aumosne de grands biens, et érigé en chacune Eglise des confraternitez que l'on appelle Charitez, qui consistent à un personnage Ecclesiastique, un Echevin, et douze personnes qui s'appellent frères, et font par chaque Dimanche du mois faire un service solonnel, et subviennent a leurs frères en toutes leurs necessitez aux despens de telles charitez, et dire une chose remarquable c'est que s'exposans en danger en temps pestilent ils sont preservez a l'ayde de Dieu de ceste contagion, dont ils n'ont crainte de s'exposer, et outre ces charitez sont aussi fondées des confraries pour les mestiers et artisans ou par chaque Dimenche se dit une messe ou assistent les frères à l'une des Eglises ou ils sont fondées.²⁸

Some of these brotherhoods were probably founded in the eleventh century when most of the city's parishes were established. The clergy was anxious to bring the quasi-independent lay groups which sprang up in each parish directly into the sphere of the parish church. Altars dedicated to a particular saint were established, the clergy

also joined, and the brotherhoods became important contributors to the embellishment of the church.²⁹ Detailed information about the nature of these associations and their charitable and mutual aid functions dates only from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the promulgation of statutes and the union of several confraternities into one suggests that popular fervor may have begun to wane. To assure the maintenance of tradition and establish a structure for the collection of dues for the fulfillment of mutual responsibilities, practices of many confraternities were put into writing for the first time.³⁰

The personnel of the brotherhoods included an échevin, a prévost and sous-prévost, a clerk, in charge of administration, and a dozen frères servants, who accompanied the priests officiating at funeral services for the confrères. These officials tended to be drawn from the upper strata of society, but the general membership represented a wide social spectrum of the lay and clerical populations.³¹ Membership in each confraternity was based on a particular quartier, although a significant number of Caennais were members of brotherhoods outside their own neighborhoods and many well have joined more than one.³² Members payed a fixed sum per year or a larger sum upon entering which established life membership. Further detailed information on membership patterns is frustratingly elusive because of the absence of full membership lists even when officials names were noted in the matrologe.

The underlying purpose of all these associations was devotional: prayer and actions de grace. A series of masses throughout the year

and a sermon and special observances on the saint's day were the basic devotional benefits obtained by all members.³³ In addition to these general practices, which were really collective obits, the confraternities' activities touched on two other areas: mutual aid to members in times of sickness, hardship and death and charity to needy non-members.³⁴ Thus they provided a limited and primitive form of insurance for each confrère as well as an organized outlet for his own pious benevolence.

The initial impulse for these associations was the desire to be assured a proper burial attended by one's confrères.³⁵ This process included spreading the news of the death via the confraternity bell and providing for the burial service. Not only were the outward ceremonies of burial guaranteed, but also the intercession by the collectivity of confrères meant that the soul of the deceased would be more securely guided toward final rest. Special clauses provided for the Christian burial of members who were under sentence of excommunication at the time of death.

The role of these associations in providing a form of insurance is reflected in provisions to aid a member struck down by leprosy or undertaking a pilgrimage. There was often a fund to aid poverty-stricken or ill members if they were of sound body and financially stable when they entered the confraternity.³⁶ Visits by confrères and prayers and services for the sick carried assistance beyond pecuniary aid. Other aspects of the mutual aid function included financial help in case of fire or at the time of a daughter's marriage.

Account books of the confraternities reveal that by far the most significant annual expenditures were for burial services.³⁷ Nonetheless, the clauses relating to other hazards encountered in life reflect additional concerns of a later medieval Caennais. This broader role is indicated by the statutes which made the brotherhood mediator in cases of minor disputes between members.

A final function of the confraternities was to provide aid to nonmembers struck down by epidemics or poverty. In time of plague or other contagion the confrères would transport the bodies of the stricken to the place of burial.³⁸ At the time of a confrère's burial, bread was distributed to the poor. The brotherhood thus served as the collective vehicle to satisfy the individual's duty to give alms. In summary, the confraternities were intended to help the member pass more easily through both life and death. The consciousness of these needs was not unique to the urban context, since confraternities were also present in rural parishes. The character and goals of these associations share much with such modern American brotherhoods as the Lions, the Elks, the Knights of Columbus and the Masons. They all represent the collective desire of people to fulfill their need for social security by organizing publicly.

There is evidence of as many as twenty confraternities active in sixteenth-century Caen.³⁹ Many of them had received confirmation and statutes in the fifteenth century. The vitality of these organizations is suggested by the membership lists recorded in the matrologes of those of St. Nicolas and N^otre-Dame du Carme (the Carmelite

monastery). In 1487 exceptionally complete lists indicate that the Charité de St. Nicolas had 718 members drawn from most of the city's parishes and surroundings. The largest single group was from the parish of St. Nicolas (244), but 78 members were parishioners of St. Pierre.⁴⁰ Between 1488 and 1492, 369 additional participants were recorded. Prior to and after these years the only names provided were those of the small group of life members and officials.⁴¹ The overall impression given by this example is one of exceptional vitality in the late fifteenth century, perhaps the result of recovery from the Hundred Years War period. This activity leveled off considerably by the mid-sixteenth century.⁴² The Charité de la Très Ste. Trinité, seated in the Carmelite monastery, had 869 members in 1449. They were drawn from many of the parishes as well as the rural areas surrounding Caen. Unfortunately the matrologe is not available in the archives I have consulted, and the details of membership were not discussed by de Beaurepaire.⁴³

The precise role of the confraternity changed in the early modern period with the disappearance of leprosy and the modifications in assistance wrought by the Protestant and Catholic Reformations and the expansion of secular authority. As fraternal organizations concerned with the burial of their members and the expression of collective piety, however, they persisted well into the modern period.

The Augustinian, Benedictine, Carmelite, Dominican and Franciscan orders were all represented in sixteenth-century Caen. The most wealthy and powerful of these institutions were undoubtedly the

two royal Benedictine abbeys of St. Etienne and La Trinité, established in the eleventh century by the Conqueror and his wife Mathilda. While spared the overbearing presence of a bishop, some Caennais were nonetheless familiar with the heavy hand of the church as both landlord and administrator of civil justice because of the powers exercised by these abbeys over the Bourg l'abbé, Bourg l'abbesse and their other holdings in the Caen area.⁴⁴

The Abbaye aux Dames, as La Trinité was often called, was the only convent for women in Caen at the close of the Middle Ages.⁴⁵ A Béguinage had existed in the parish of St. Sauveur (51) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but by 1356 its buildings had been taken over by the Canons of Ste. Croix. The Béguines were moved to quarters near the chateau and, while Huet wrote that they were still present there in 1706, in 1356 there was only one Béguine, and de Bourgueville does not even mention them in his discussion of the city's religious establishment.⁴⁶ This meant that within the city there was no institution for lower or middle class women who wished to live the religious life.

The Abbaye aux Dames was one of the most exclusive convents in all of France. The list of its abbesses in the sixteenth century registers some of the most notable families of the land: Isabeau de Bourbon (1505-31); Catherine d'Albret et de Navarre (1531-32), aunt of Jeanne d'Albret; Marguerite le Valois (1532-33), of the local d'Escoville family; Louise de Mailly (1533-54), sister of Madeleine de Mailly; Anne de Montmorency (1554 or 1562-88) and Madeleine de

Montmorency (1588-98), daughters of Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France; and Laurence de Budot (1598-1648), sister of Antoine de Budot, Admiral-general of France.⁴⁷

The aristocratic nuns of La Trinité were little interested in the rigors of the cloistered life. In 1515 Isabeau de Bourdon instituted a reform of the abbey which was strongly opposed by the nuns. Claiming that the Benedictine rule which they had promised to observe did not include the life of withdrawal envisaged by their abbess, a number of nuns appealed to the Pope for the right to move to other less rigorous convents. Their appeal was granted, and a group of them left.⁴⁸

The size of the convent in the sixteenth century is difficult to estimate with any precision. It had certainly fallen from the thirteenth-century level of 65-80 nuns.⁴⁹ Considering the defection of several nuns in 1515 and de Bourgueville's comment that in the 1550's sixteen nuns left the convent, it seems safe to say that there were no more than twenty or thirty nuns left, if that, by 1560.⁵⁰

This general picture of decline and decadence, despite attempts at reform, is confirmed by the evidence available for the Abbey of St. Etienne, also known as the Abbaye aux Hommes. This abbey shared the wealth and prestige of its sister institution, beginning with the appointment of Lanfranc as its first abbot in 1066. The tomb of William the Conqueror in its sanctuary added to its luster. The position of abbot of St. Etienne was an important rung on the ladder of rich benefices available to the nobility of sixteenth-century

Europe. A constant turnover of the abbots indicates that the position was often used for its prestige to move to more lucrative and powerful levels.

By the late fifteenth century the abbots were rarely in residence. Charles de Martigny (1485-1506) and his nephew, Pierre, (1506-31) were royal appointees who, while good administrators, spent most of their time away from Caen serving as ambassadors for the king.⁵¹ Opposition by the monks to royal appointment of the abbot in 1485 had failed, and under the regime of the Concordat of 1516 the pattern of absentee prelates chosen by the king continued. François de Tournon, cardinal, archbishop of Bourges and abbot of St. Germain des Près, was abbot of St. Etienne for two years (1531-33). During that period he took two-thirds of the gross revenues of the abbey for his own use.⁵² He was succeeded by Hippolyte de Medici (1533-35) and Alessandro Farnese (1535-77), grandson of Pope Paul III. Farnese's long term as abbot spanned the difficult years of the Reformation. Appointed at age fourteen, Farnese, who was also archbishop of Tours and Avignon as well as paper legate, spent virtually no time at Caen. Administration of the abbey was controlled by another Italian, Bartolomeo de Nazy.⁵³ During the period of decline suffered by the abbey after the Protestant iconoclasm of 1562-63, the abbots Georges Pericard (1579-82) and Charles d'O (1582-1620) continued the long established pattern of absenteeism and neglect of spiritual matters.⁵⁴

Under the regime of commendation secular concerns usually came the purvue of the abbot's procureur, and supervision of spiritual

matters fell to the prior, but not until the early seventeenth century was this latter official strong enough to turn the tide of decline which had started in the fifteenth century. While spiritual and direct temporal leadership may have been lacking, the secular control of the abbey over its bourg continued, despite assaults from the city, until the onset of the Religious Wars.⁵⁵

We know a good deal about the monks of St. Etienne thanks to the memoirs of the seventeenth-century reforming prior Jean de Baillehache. His list of the monks who suffered from the perils of the Caen plague in 1547 confirms their overall aristocratic status. Of the twenty-seven monks named nine died at this time, while fourteen fled either to the Priory of St. Blaise de Torteval or to stay with their families. Only four remained at St. Etienne.⁵⁶ Of the eighteen monks who survived the plague, several would later defect to Protestantism. Despite destruction of the abbatial buildings by iconoclasts, thirty-one novices were received into the monastery in the late sixteenth century.⁵⁷

Both the Abbaye aux Dames and the Abbaye aux Hommes followed the Benedictine rule, with its stress on obedience, piety and poverty. By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the rule at Caen had greatly declined in spiritual vigor. The cultivation of humility, piety and charity had long taken second place to the temporal and administrative concerns of the community.⁵⁸

A mid-sixteenth-century memoir on the instruction of a St. Etienne novice reflects the primacy of secular matters in monastic

life. Written in the same period as Loyola's Spiritual Exercises (1548), these instructions have an entirely different tone from that expressed in the Jesuit meditations. The description of gifts due to the other monks and the proper habit for the novice played a much more central part in his instruction than the rejection of worldly passions and the transformation of his life-style. During his first days at the monastery, the novice attended several masses at which he was introduced to the abbot or prior and the monks. His mentor, one of the monks, then guided him through the process of acquiring his wardrobe, belt, sword and money pouch. The document consists primarily of a listing of the gifts of wine and food which the novice was to provide to all the personnel of the abbey at various points during his year-long noviciate. It concludes with a detailed description of the manner in which the novice's profession should take place, one again stressing formalistic details rather than the spiritual significance of the event. Its final pages constitute a list of the clothes needed by the newly professed monk: a suit of underclothing, a length of good black cloth to be used in making a fur-lined cloak, a black hat, boots, shoes and black socks. In the entire memoir there is not one reference to meditation, prayers or instruction of the novice.⁵⁹ Even the devout reforming prior of the early seventeenth century Dom Jean de Baillehache took time to note the quality of the banquets given by new monks at the time of their solemn professions.⁶⁰

The two royal abbeys had great landholdings both in Caen and its surroundings and throughout Normandy and England.⁶¹ In addition

to the financial and legal advantages concomitant with these holdings the abbeys exercised spiritual jurisdiction over many parishes and benefices and presided over an annual synod of those holding positions within their purvue. Thus, in many ways the Abbeys of St. Etienne and La Trinité filled the place held by the bishop in episcopal cities.⁶²

Information about the rest of the city's monasteries is much less plentiful.⁶³ Both the Dominicans and the Carmelites had their origins in the thirteenth century and were located in spacious quarters in the residential parish of St. Jean (M & N). They had sizable holdings in Caen and its surroundings and appear to have suffered many of the same spiritual frailties as the royal abbeys. The Dominicans were traditionally the inquisitors of the faith in Caen. Though their record in this capacity is quite moderate, in 1538-39 they were involved in accusations of heresy brought against members of the university community.⁶⁴

The fifteenth-century record of Carmelite building projects and a membership of thirty-two, all of whom joined the Confrérie de la Ste. Trinité. . . , attests to the strong leadership of the prior Jean Soreth, general of the order 1451-71.⁶⁵ Recognized as a college of the university, the Carmelite order carried on a vital preaching tradition; along with the Dominicans and Franciscans they often supplied preachers for Advent and Lenten services in Caen.⁶⁶ Men like Marc du Four, doctor of Theology and a Carmelite at Caen, added to the vitality of the Caen intellectual community in the early sixteenth century.⁶⁷

The two other Caen monasteries were located in the bustling parish of St. Sauveur. They also have their roots in the thirteenth

century and suffered considerable losses during the difficult years of the sixteenth century. The Franciscans (H) were situated near the northern gate leading to St. Julien in close proximity to the university. Their convent housed the largest assembly hall in Caen, and, consequently, after the university's foundation in the fifteenth century it was used for general academic assemblies and chapel as well as for municipal assemblies. In the sixteenth century this meant that the Franciscans were exposed, not without friction, to the humanist and early Reformation ideas of many members of the university community.⁶⁸ The General Chapter of the Franciscans of France was held in Caen in 1556, attracting over 600 notables of the order. De Bourgueville and de Cahaignes both comment on the illustrious assemblage at which were discussed "les questions les plus abstraites et les plus ardues touchant les choses divines."⁶⁹

The Augustinian canons of Ste. Croix occupied the Bégaine convent on the Franche-Rue. In the mid-fifteenth century these Augustinians or Croisiers reached their maximum size with eighteen members, and in the latter part of the century they came to have connections with the university.⁷⁰ After the Hundred Years War the priory gained considerable prestige and wealth. By the mid-sixteenth century the membership was down to about ten brothers and, as was the case for all Caen's monasteries, the late sixteenth century was a time of trial and decline for the canons of Ste. Croix.⁷¹

In addition to the Croisiers, another group of Augustinians administered the Hôtel-Dieu, comprising the religious personnel of

that institution. Though this had originally included a prior, five canons and ten sisters who cared for the sick, in 1540 only ten men were mentioned (prior and canons) in the inquiry into the state of Caen's hospitals drawn up for the Grands Jours de Bayeux.⁷²

In the area falling under Caen's influence there were many monastic establishments whose membership and wealth played a part in the activities of the city. They will be referred to below when relevant. One abbey located outside the city limits but within the banlieue of Caen deserves particular notice at this point. The Premonstratensian Abbey of Ardenne in the village of St. Germain la Blanche-Herbe was the sponsor of Caen's first guild.⁷³ During both the Hundred Years War and the Religious Wars of the sixteenth century the canons sought refuge within the city walls at several points. These periods of retreat and ties with the university reflect the close relationship between the abbey and the city.

As mentioned earlier, the ecclesiastical community had numerous links with the newly founded university - financial, academic and physical. It is therefore appropriate that we now turn our attention to the educational order and intellectual community of Caen.

B. The University of Caen and the Intellectual Milieu

In the early sixteenth century Caen was one of the thirteen university cities of France and a provincial center of the French Renaissance. The years of the English conquest in the fifteenth century had been difficult ones, an unlikely environment for the birth of an intellectual center. Letters patent of Henry VI in 1423 stated that Caen had fallen into "grande povrete et ruines".⁷⁴ Nonetheless, eight years later John, duke of Bedford and governor of the newly-taken province of Normandy, chose that same city as the seat of a new university. The potential of the Lower Norman capital, despite its immediate state of disarray, was praised in the letters of foundation:

. . . ceste ville estant ydoine, seure, paysible, ornée de Monastères, collèges, Religieuses et amples maisons, bien peuplée, obéissante et dévote, située près de la mer en pays fertile, abondante en bleds, chairs, poissons et vivres autant qu'autre ville qui se puisse trouver.⁷⁵

As the mention of collèges, probably really pédagogies, suggests, Caen had been a seat of learning prior to the fifteenth century. When Lanfranc became abbot of St. Etienne in 1066 he had transferred his school from Bec to Caen. The monastic school flourished under Lanfranc's immediate successors, attracting secular as well as religious students. It has even been argued that it had an important influence on the development of Oxford in the twelfth century. Despite its early stature, the school at St. Etienne was soon overshadowed by the rising universities of Paris, Orléans and Angers, to mention only those north

of the Loire.⁷⁶ As a regional center and sometime seat of the exchequer, Caen did continue to attract students who would gather around individual masters to study civil and canon law and theology. In addition, there were schools in the other convents and abbeys; the Abbaye aux Dames with its cultivated abbesses was a literary center during the high Middle Ages.⁷⁷

Considering this educational tradition the choice of Caen as the site of the new university is not entirely surprising, but one may still wonder why Rouen, the rising star of Normandy, was passed by. Two factors probably contributed to the selection of Caen over Rouen: the hostility of the Rouen cathedral chapter and that city's greater vulnerability to attack by the French. Though Caen was in ruins from the seige of 1417, the conquerors planned to make it their capital and hoped that the university would foster Norman loyalty. Furthermore, the occupied territory lacked an institution which taught civil law. Thus, in 1432 the faculties of civil and canon law were the first to be established in Caen. Later, in 1437-38 faculties of arts, theology and medicine were added to give the university a fully-rounded curriculum.⁷⁸

Caen's university was typical of the schools established in the fifteenth century. It contrasted with those founded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in that it was controlled less by students and the faculty of arts and more by the professors and advanced faculties. Furthermore, it was both less international and less ecclesiastically-oriented in its student body.⁷⁹ Until the late

sixteenth century Caen drew students primarily from Normandy and Maine, though some came from other neighboring provinces and England. As fervent a Caennais as de Bourgueville migrated to Angers and Poitiers for part of his studies. In general, however, Caen came to fill the local needs of this part of northern France.⁸⁰ While its faculties of civil and canon law, in no way competed with Paris, which did not even officially teach civil law, the older university nonetheless opposed the new school from 1432 to 1439. Only support within Normandy assured the University of Caen's existence through funds voted by the Estates of Normandy in 1436 and 1439.⁸¹

After the reconquest the French kings confirmed the university's existence and maintained its privileges. In contrast to Bordeaux, where the university of English origin never prospered, the institution established by the conquerors at Caen had taken firm root by the turn of the century.⁸² Conditions at the University of Caen were not particularly bad in 1521 when the Parlement of Rouen stepped in to make reforms. Despite low enrollments in some of the upper faculties (for example, medicine had only eight students in 1507), there were 273 students enrolled in all the faculties in 1500.⁸³ Furthermore, de Bourgueville's picture of the thriving university during this period as well as the scholarly productivity of many Caen professors gives an overall impression of vitality. The most probable reason that the attention of the parlement was drawn to the university was complaints by the city about abuses of privilege by the school and student unruliness.⁸⁴

The parlementaires who were sent to Caen found grounds for some reforms in the superior faculties. They were understaffed and classes had not been meeting regularly. The majority of the student enrollment was in the arts faculty. It was ruled that the law faculty should have seven active professors offering classes as prescribed by the university statutes. The faculty of medicine was also ordered to increase its staff. In all four advanced faculties the length of time required before a degree could be obtained was clarified. In order to satisfy the Caennais many banquets, fetes and dances which had become customary were proscribed.⁸⁵

These reforms had a positive effect -- in 1524 the enrollment was up to 333. Medicine suffered a setback in the 1530's, for in 1535 and 1536 there were no medical students, but from 1540 to 1560 it revived.⁸⁶ Both the reforms of 1521 and François I's confirmation of university privileges during his visit to Caen in 1532 added to the atmosphere of vitality in which the Lower Norman Renaissance flourished during the first half of the sixteenth century.⁸⁷

As they had become more firmly established, the university faculties had acquired their first building on the rue des Cordeliers, the Grandes Ecoles (T), a gift from Marie de Cleves in 1477. This building, in ruins at the time, was refurbished in the early sixteenth century and would be one of the early sites of Protestant services.⁸⁸ Through the seventeenth century the five faculties shared this building in somewhat crowded conditions. Since the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries both contained large meeting halls, they were used for

university archives and major assemblies. The university quarter of the city extended into the parishes of St. Sauveur, St. Etienne le Vieux and N^otre-Dame de Froiderue where most of the students lived. Within this northwest corner of the city the normal town/gown conflicts over student rowdiness and privileged status and exploitive landlord practices were common. These problems spilled over into other sections of the city where the various colleges of the university were located, but Caen never experienced the major battles between bourgeois and students known by cities like Paris and Orléans.⁸⁹

In addition to the university itself, de Bourgueville tells us, the Franciscan, Dominican, Croisier and Carmelite houses all provided some collegial services, and there were a number of houses supported by the bishops and abbots of Normandy to which clerics were sent to attend university classes.⁹⁰ De Bourgueville himself received schooling at the age of eleven or twelve from a Maître Etienne Fernagu in the quartier St. Etienne. Many young boys were trained for the collèges in this type of informal educational situation. In 1518 a school was established with a bequest from one sieur Girard Ballard in the cemetery of the church of St. Gilles. Its purpose was to educate twenty-four "enfants pauvres." Little else is known of this institution, but it seems to have functioned until closed in 1631.⁹¹

In the quartier St. Jean there were three colleges active during de Bourgueville's school days: the Collèges du Cloutier, Avoyne and de la Couronne. Another, the Collège de l'Oraille, located near the church of St. Pierre had ceased to function by 1522. The foundation statutes of Cloutier give us idea of what these marginal colleges

were like. Rogier le Cloutier, seigneur of St. Germain le Vasson and Mesnil d'Argences, established the college in 1452, providing a house and grounds on the Ile St. Jean (59) and several rentes to support a principal and two scholars enrolled in one of the five faculties. The principal was responsible for the general supervision of these students as well as the management of college finances and the regular provision for masses in memory of the founder. The terms of the statutes reveal that a close link was to be maintained between the college and the founder's family, with them always receiving first consideration for scholarships. If the legacy ceased to cover both academic and anniversary service purposes the latter were to be provided for first. Clearly, Cloutier was not an institution of major significance. In fact, through the eighteenth century its library developed more importantly than the college itself.⁹²

The more important collèges were those located in the university quarter, and it was in the curriculum of these institutions that the influence of the Renaissance in Caen was first clearly apparent. The Collège des Arts, located in a building purchased by the faculty of arts in 1460, formed the nucleus of beginning studies.⁹³ The Collèges du Bois, Bouet and de Mont were also dominated by the arts. The Collège du Bois was the first mentioned in the university registers, in 1441. In 1493 it became a collège fondé supporting six scholars thanks to a bequest by the bishop of Beauvais, Pierre Cauchon, and the work of Jean de Gouvis, archdeacon of the bishop of Bayeaux.⁹⁴ The Collège Bouet started as a pedagogy in the fifteenth century. In 1545 it merged

with the Collège de Bois.⁹⁵ The Collège du Mont developed in a house purchased by the abbot of Mont St. Michel to lodge monks studying at the university. By 1494, while remaining a pedagogy, it had established a formal relationship with the university.⁹⁶

As at other medieval universities an Aristotelian curriculum dominated, beginning with the teaching of grammar through Latin translations of his writings and progressing through his texts on logic, natural and moral philosophy, mathematics, geometry, music and ethics. Commentaries by Buridan, Petrus Hispanus, Albertus Magnus and Aquinas aided the student in his travels through the Aristotelian maze.⁹⁷

These obligatory studies were enriched with extra courses for more advanced students offered during afternoons and holidays. At these sessions the treasures of antiquity which were being rediscovered by the Italian and Northern humanists were revealed and discussed. We know that in 1491 tragedies of Seneca were being read in Caen.⁹⁸ By 1517-19, when de Bourgueville was a student at the College du Bois, this college was truly a foyer of Renaissance study. Though Caen could boast public lectures in Greek by Jean Goubey, there was not yet a trilingual curriculum such as existed at Louvain in 1517. Goubey was joined by Pierre de Prez, an admirer of Lefèvre d'Étaples and rector of the university in 1521, who was both a humanist and theologian of note.⁹⁹

When the Collège de Bois declined briefly during the 1530's the Collège Bouet took up the new curriculum, offering classes in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. Thus, simultaneous with François I's establishment of the lecteurs royaux in 1530, the Louvain--inspired trilingual curriculum

was being taught at Caen. In the 1540's these two colleges were united by Michel Noel, principal of the College Bouet and an educator of notable stature. Prentout compares him to the Sturms of Strasbourg and Mathurin Cordier, Calvin's mentor and colleague.¹⁰⁰

Both the Collège des Arts and the Collège du Mont took their places as foyers of the new learning as well, with local humanists such as Jean Villain, Pierre Auvray, Castellain Le Cordier and Gilles de Housteville (1515- post 1584), the future Protestant pasteur, presenting lecturers. By 1532 classical studies were firmly established in the university. Classes and examinations in these areas were formalized during the rectorship of Jean de Drosay (14?-c.1550), author of a quadrilingual grammar published in 1543.¹⁰¹

While this ferment was taking hold in the arts, the four superior faculties were also beginning to feel the effects of the revolution in scholarship which had reached France in the early sixteenth century. The basic curricula were still traditional. In the faculty of canon and civil law the most important texts were Gratian's Décretum and the code of Justinian. In medicine Aristotle held the central position joined by Hippocrates, Galen and the Arabic author Johannides. In the faculty of theology Scripture and Lombard's Sentences formed the core of study.¹⁰² Yet thanks to the organization of studies which required all students to pass through the arts faculty before moving on to advanced degrees, the influence of the new learning disseminated in the collèges was contagious.

In the law faculty Jean de Drosay pioneered in the teaching of Norman customary law. Having found that his students were inattentive to lectures on the traditional Roman texts, he began to draw examples from everyday Norman legal practice. His classes grew in size, and in 1545 he published the Juris universi Justinianeus methodus in which he described his teaching methods. Another humanist and law professor, TanneGuy Sorin (1522-1570?), concerned himself with the accommodation of Norman law to the discipline of the Roman tradition. His connection with the university extended from the 1530's, when he taught at the Collège Bouet, through the latter part of the century, when he had joined the Protestant camp.¹⁰³

During the early sixteenth century the faculty of medicine instituted annual herb gathering expeditions for both student apothecaries and surgeons. In 1541, a botanical dictionary with names in Latin and French was published by Jean Brohon (15?-1575), a student and later rector of the university, who was learned in Latin, Greek and Hebrew.¹⁰⁴ Thus, while there is no evidence of innovation in the study of the human body, there was an active interest in the observation of plants in their natural state.

At the same time the faculty of theology was beginning to feel some of the influence of the new scholarship. In 1532 when François I visited Caen, the distinguished preacher and theologian Guillaume Le Rat (14?-1550) preached a sermon for the king which greatly pleased him, no doubt because Le Rat was party to the same moderate Christian humanism which was attractive at this point to the king and his sister

Marguerite of Navarre.¹⁰⁵ While enjoying the status of canon of the cathedral of Rouen, Le Rat expressed concern over his fellow canons' neglect of their duties. Preaching in the cathedral in February 1544 he demanded, "Et ou sont les chefs du chapitre? Ils ne sont pas ycy." At another time he declared, "qu'il s'emerveilloit d'aucuns qui se mesloient de exposer la sainte Escripiture qui n'estoient que asnes et se cognoissoient mieux a un prorata."¹⁰⁶

Other members of the faculty of theology shared Le Rat's orientation. Among them were Nicolle Le Porcher, Jean Roger de Cornières, Jean Bridel and Gilles Bigot. The latter was at the center of the Caen circle of humanists in the 1540's and 1550's. The protégé of the humanist-historian bishop of Avranches, Rogert Geneau (Cenalis), Bigot was educated in the faculty of theology in which he later held a seat.¹⁰⁷ He was the author of innumerable epigrams and introductory letters to works published by colleagues who returned the favor to him.¹⁰⁸ When the Franciscan general chapter was held in Caen in 1556 Bigot's eloquence drew praise from many.¹⁰⁹ This same eloquence, when later tainted with heresy, was the brunt of an attack by the Sorbonne. In 1558 the bishop of Bayeux submitted thirty propositions advanced by Bigot to the Paris theologians for judgement. They were condemned. Nevertheless, in that same year he was elected for his fourth term as rector of the university.¹¹⁰ Without a doubt the seeds of the intellectual renewal fostered by luminaries like Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples had taken root in Caen. Here, as elsewhere, the fruits of that implantation would be more disruptive than either man expected or wished.

Within the confines of the university faculties we have noted many manifestations of the intellectual currents generally called Christian or northern humanism. One of the more hotly contested questions in the study of the French Renaissance and Reformation has been the relative importance of external and indigenous forces in the development of the two movements.¹¹¹ In the case of the Caen Renaissance each played a role. Both Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples enjoyed followings and had works published by the Caen printers during the first half of the sixteenth century.¹¹² Furthermore, it is possible to single out both local Normans and Italians who played significant roles in fostering the new currents of thought.

The Fabrisian banner was perhaps earliest carried by Guillaume de la Mare (1451-1525), a native of Cotentin who settled in Caen in 1503. He had spent part of his career as secretary to Robert Briçonnet, archbishop of Reims and chancellor of France; Guillaume Briçonnet, cardinal of St. Málo and father of the reforming bishop of Meaux; and Guy de Rochefort, chancellor of France, whom he accompanied to Italy during the first French expedition. In 1506 he was chosen rector of the University of Caen.¹¹³

While in Caen de la Mare published a number of works which revealed a definite humanist inclination. In 1513 his attack on pride, luxury and avarice, Tripertitus in Chimaeram conflictus, was published in Paris. With words which invite comparison with Erasmus he wrote:

I would say nothing about the depravity of
priests, though it is evident, if it were

not so public and did not indicate a total lack of any sense of decency. . . Will I keep silent and hold my tongue concerning the avarice of bishops and prelates? Forgetful of their destiny, of the life after death, they exercise the most odious control over the clergy, scorning the name of pastor, inflated and proud of their own importance. ¹¹⁴

In the introductory epistle to another 1513 work, Les Sylvies, de la Mare praised Lefèvre and expressed appreciation of the latter's endeavors to make the works of antiquity more readily available. He lauded Lefevre's recently published proto-Protestant commentary on the Pauline epistles and his Psalterium Quincuplum. ¹¹⁵

De la Mare was not the only Caen intellectual who appreciated Lefèvre's work, for in 1515 a Caen edition of the Psalterium Quincuplum was published by Michel Angier. In addition to its original dedication by Lefèvre to Guillaume Briçonnet, it included introductory addresses by Pierre des Prez, Caen humanist and theologian. Des Prez was an avid admirer of the Fabrisian return to the Hebrew and Greek sources to recapture the original sense of scripture. ¹¹⁶ There were many in the Caen community who shared the view of des Prez and de la Mare. One other who deserves note is David Jores, whose reforming temperament and love for the new learning is reflected in his introduction to the Caen edition of Erasmus' Adages (c. 1528):

What Christian would not respect, love and venerate those who have rejected the garments of crime and make shine in their souls a new splendor truer than that which they have rejected? ¹¹⁷

Not satisfied with the progress of his Caen colleagues in turning out the barbarity of the old learning, Jores urged them to follow the

example set by Martin van Dorp of the Collège du Lys at Louvain where the Aulularia of Plautus had already been produced.¹¹⁸

Another indication of the vitality of the Renaissance in Caen was the establishment in 1527 of a puy de Palinod, a literary society granting poetry prizes.¹¹⁹ Modeled on the contests at Rouen, Evreux, and Dieppe, the Caen Palinod was held in honor of the Feast of the Conception of the Holy Virgin. In the 1530's and 1540's the competition prospered, providing a forum for the presentation of Greek, Latin and French verse--ballads, chants royaux and rondeaux. Little is known of the quality of the poetry encouraged by the Palinod in these early years for, though records exist indicating that the winning entries were published, the earliest extant volume dates from 1666.¹²⁰

By 1550 the contests had been abandoned for lack of funds. However, in 1558 they were reestablished by Etienne du Val, sieur de Mondrainville.¹²¹ In the latter part of the century prizes were won by local notables such as Jacques de Cahaignes (1548-1617) and Jean Rouxel (1530-86) as well as men of national reputation like Jean Bertaut (1552-1611) and François de Malherbe (1552-1628).¹²² The Palinod provides evidence of a revived interest in the perfection of the poetic art and, by the end of the sixteenth century, of the remarkable literary talent which was nurtured at Caen.

In addition to the intellectual ferment present among members of the university community there were other signs of the Renaissance in Caen. From the beginning of the century an italo-antique influence

was evident in the processions of triumphal entry which passed into the city. Many notables of church and government in Lower Normandy had spent time in Italy during the French campaigns and returned with memories of processions which would later influence those planned in Caen.¹²³ In particular, the preparations for the entry of Francois I in 1532 drew heavily on the example of Louis XII's entries into Genoa and Venice and reflected the influence of the university humanist community.¹²⁴

Thanks to de Bourgueville and other eyewitnesses we have records which recreate the atmosphere of pomp and ceremony of these events. Other more lasting monuments to the vitality of the Caen Renaissance have also come down to us. In the work of the master masons of the city the richness of the architectural and decorative renewal of the years between the War of the Public Weal (1465) and the beginning of the Religious Wars (1562) becomes apparent. Religious and civil building prospered as economic recovery made possible the facelifting the proud Caennais had hoped for during the dark years of English occupation.¹²⁵

In particular, the members of one family of masons, the Le Prestres, left their marks on the city. Blaise Le Prestre and his sons Abel and Richard were responsible for work done on the churches of St. Etienne le Vieux, St. Gilles and St. Jean. While another mason, Hector Sohier, was the planner behind the flamboyant Renaissance apse of St. Pierre, the Le Prestres clearly pioneered in the striking civil building

accomplished during the first half of the sixteenth century. In the sumptuous hotels built by the families of Escoville, du Val de Mondrainville, Nollent and Cahaignes, the Le Prestres and their atelier combined sure technique and Renaissance-inspired artistry to create monuments worthy of Caen's sense of civic pride.¹²⁶ The stone medallions on the rue de Géole and the hôtel de Nollent show the influence of Petrarch's Trionfi.¹²⁷

Following the prosperous years of the first half of the century the Le Prestres, as all artists and builders, fell on harder times during the Religious Wars.¹²⁸ The work in which they were involved was more often reconstruction and repair than creation. Yet, despite the damage suffered during the wars of that and later centuries, the stately dignity of their work has prevailed in numerous monuments in Caen and her surroundings, bearing silent witness to the creative vitality of the Renaissance in Lower Normandy.

Thus far our attention has been drawn primarily to signs of the Renaissance in the university and the city of Caen itself. A further indication of the influence of Christian humanism in Lower Normandy appeared in the activities of the bishop of Bayeux from 1516 to 1531, Lodovico Canossa. Canossa shared many of the interests of the university's humanists and was in some ways an exception to the rule of neglectful, absentee bishops of this period. Although he only resided in Bayeux from 1517 to 1518 and 1528 to 1530, he proved to be a reformer. His responsibilities as papal nuncio and royal ambassador--and perhaps also his Italian birth--means that Canossa was never the force that

Briconnet was in his diocese at Meaux.¹²⁹ The statutes for the reform of the diocese of Bayeux which were the work of his 1518 Synod do reflect a strong desire to elevate the spiritual level of the flock under his authority, however. They called for the regular and clear reading of the Oraison dominicale and the Nicean and Apostle's creeds during services, undoubtedly in the vernacular, "in order that the ignorant, rude and childish would be able to learn and remember and openly at least not blush to believe." Article Nineteen goes on to justify this practice on the grounds that:

From the decrees of our Holy Fathers it is made clear that we are not able to please God without faith. And. . . it has come to our ears that very many in our diocese of Bayeux are not imbued with Catholic faith. . .¹³⁰

Thus, the clergy were instructed to acquire several manuals to aid them in preparation for services, among them the Speculum curatorum of a Rouen canon and the Instructio seu alphabetum sacerdotum, both published in 1523.¹³¹ These moderate attempts at reform did not strike at many of the flagrant abuses which would later fire the Protestant movement in Lower Normandy. Nonetheless, they do reveal that here, as elsewhere, the Catholic church was guilty of doing too little too late, rather than doing nothing at all.¹³²

Lodovico Canossa betrayed his Italian birth in his humanist inclinations. He gathered a number of noted French humanists in Bayeux when he resided there; among them were Germain de Brie, (c.1488-1539), Gilbert de Charpaignes and Jacques Toussain. The latter would later be the first Greek professor at the Collège de France. In 1516 Canossa

went so far as to write Erasmus, whom he had met in England in 1514, inviting him to come to Bayeux and enjoy the bishop's patronage. The perennial seeker of patrons was at that point very much involved in the publication of his Greek New Testament, the winning of important papal dispensations and had recently been appointed a councilor to the future Charles V. Erasmus declined Canossa's offer to exchange the dampness of the Low Countries for that of Lower Normandy.¹³³

In 1531 Canossa resigned as bishop of Bayeux and returned to Italy where he soon died. His successors did little to pursue his modest attempts at reform, nor did they exhibit active interest in the new currents of thought which he had fostered.¹³⁴

The presence of a printing establishment at Caen from the early sixteenth century on has already been mentioned. While the city housed the first Norman press in 1480, as in other affairs, its printing activity was soon outstripped by Rouen.¹³⁵ A number of the factors which were frequently instrumental in attracting printers to a locality, suggested by Febvre and Martin, were present in Caen: university and legal communities and ecclesiastical demand.¹³⁶ The first book published in the city, Horatii Epistolae (1480), was aimed at the university population.¹³⁷ The failure of its printers to continue their activity is a sign that that clientele was either unreceptive or incapable, because of its shallow foundations in 1480, to support a press.

From 1488 to 1508 all books published at Caen were actually printed at Rouen or Paris. They overwhelmingly indicate that the

TABLE 2: Books printed or published in Caen (1480-1550).
 This table is based on the bibliography of 406 books drawn up by Léopold Delisle, Catalogue des livres imprimés ou publiés à Caen avant le milieu du XVIIe siècle, BSAN, 23 and 24 (Caen, 1903-04), entire volumes, (reprint - Amsterdam, 1969). It includes both books actually printed in Caen and books published by Caen libraires but printed elsewhere.

		DATE				Total	% Total
		1480-1508	1509-25	1526-50	?		
LATIN	Science	2	6	5	1	14	3%
	Law - civil	4	14	8	2	28	7
	Law - canon	1	9	1	0	11	3
	School texts	7	23	4	0	34	8
	Greek & Latin classics	7	21	4	1	33	8
	Humanist works	2	20	6	3	31	8
	Dictionaries & vocabularies	2	4	3	1	10	2
	Bibles & commentaries	2	4	2	0	8	2
	Philosophy	1	9	0	1	11	3
	Doctrine	2	18	0	1	21	5
	Church music	3	1	3	1	8	2
	Missals & breviaries	12	6	10	12	40	10
	Curates' manuals	9	53	10	7	79	19
	Latin (popular tone)	2	7	2	0	11	3
Roman Catholic-miscellaneous	0	1	0	0	1	-	
FRENCH	Roman Catholic-lay literature	12	7	3	5	27	7
	History & biography	1	14	2	0	17	4
	Popular literature	0	17	1	0	18	5
	School texts - adults	0	1	3	0	4	1
	TOTAL	69	235	67	35	406	-
% Total		17%	58%	16%	9%	-	100%

ecclesiastical community provided the strongest attraction for printing to Caen. Of the 68 books sold in Caen during this period which Delisle lists in his bibliography, 31 were aimed at the ecclesiastical market.¹³⁸ Bayeux was without a press until the seventeenth century.¹³⁹ Thus, as we have seen in the case of Lodovico Canossa, the needs of the bishopric of Bayeux were often fulfilled by Caen's printers. This pattern continued through the first half of the sixteenth century, the only period for which we have full information on Caen printing. At least 179 of the 406 books printed or sold in Caen from 1480 to 1550 (44%) were aimed at the ecclesiastical audience. This specifically Catholic literature included works by the church fathers and the standard works of Aristotelian philosophy, doctrinal treatises and volumes of sermons. By far the largest group was devotionals and manuals for clergy and laity. In addition 8 Bibles or portions of scripture and commentaries appeared.¹⁴⁰ The literature aimed at the clergy, roughly one-third of the total Caen production, far outweighed that published for the lay audience, though we do find 27 works in French for the laity, such as the popular Bible en français, ou des simples gens (pre-1518).¹⁴¹

As has already been indicated, the university community did create some demand. During the first 70 years of printing in Caen 34 works appeared which may be considered school texts and another 33 were the Greek and Latin classics such as Aesop, Boethius, Cato, Horace, Ovid, Terence and Virgil. Further there were 31 volumes produced which were of distinctly humanist inspiration, including Erasmus' Adages¹⁴², works by Lefèvre d'Étaples¹⁴³ and volumes by such

Italian humanists as Fausto Andrelini, Baptista Mantuanus and Marsilio Ficino.¹⁴⁴ Despite the existence of the medical faculty, Caen's production in the realm of science was meager (14) and dominated by popular treatises. The other major category of books printed in Caen prior to 1550 was aimed at the legal community, seated in the university laws faculty and the bailliage courts. Thirty-nine treatises on civil and canon law were printed.¹⁴⁵ The remainder of the volumes which appeared were of a popular nature (39). They included lives of saints, vernacular histories of the Middle Ages, medieval tales and popular verse.

In conclusion, once again Caen seems to have been typical of the second level of provincial centers.¹⁴⁶ Far behind Paris and Lyons, the giants of sixteenth-century French printing, and overshadowed by Rouen within Normandy, nonetheless, the Lower Norman capital contributed significantly to the Roman Catholic ecclesiastical production which has been noted by many scholars of the first half-century of printing.¹⁴⁷ While providing for the needs of the bishopric of Bayeux in this way, Caen printers also supplied the university population with both the traditional volumes of medieval study and some works representing the new learning. These latter works have often been stressed by students of printing as they searched for signs of the Renaissance at Caen. On the other hand, it is important to note that it was the Roman Catholic hierarchy which took by far the greatest advantage of the printed word.

Since there is no work such as Delisle's for the latter half of the sixteenth century, it is impossible to measure statistically

the impact of the Reformation on the output of the printing industry at Caen. Indications of how printers and booksellers responded to the Reform will be discussed in later chapters.

One basic conclusion can be drawn from the study of early sixteenth-century printing in Caen. While new subjects did occupy part of the printers' attention, it was overwhelmingly the traditional custodian of the written word--the Roman Catholic church--which kept the printers occupied. The Caen evidence suggests that the change wrought by printing must be linked very closely to the independent development of new ideas. Only when the printed word was used to further a cause which had revolutionary implications did it become a tool for change. This occurred in the early sixteenth century in Germany and Switzerland but was largely absent in France prior to 1555.

The preceding three chapters have sketched a portrait of Caen which would be valid up through the mid-sixteenth century. A city of secondary importance among the urban centers of France on the eve of the Reformation and Religious Wars, Caen presents an interesting and manageable setting within which to explore the impact of these shattering developments. If my treatment of the institutions and urban experience of Caen in the late Middle Ages and early sixteenth century seems unduly lengthy, I would note that to a large degree it was these local characteristics which, when challenged by religious crisis and royal policy, were crucial in determining the outcome of the turmoil which affected life in each part of France differently

during the second half of the sixteenth century.

Caen's experience is therefore not necessarily representative of that of a large number of other cities or areas. The particularities of her development and institutions--relative independence of episcopal and parlement intervention, a balanced but somewhat unspectacular economy and a thriving university and intellectual community, to mention but a few--gave form and direction to the forces which worked on the city from 1555 to 1600. A clear understanding of these factors is essential to the analysis of Caen's later development, particularly in the context of radical change.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER III

¹The phrase "ville aux églises" was used by sailors in the Middle Ages when referring to Caen. Trébutien, Caen, son histoire, p. 79. The actual size of this clerical population in the mid-sixteenth century is extremely elusive. An approximate figure on the eve of the Reformation is 203 to 235. See Appendix 8: Clerical population of Caen, late 15th and early 16th centuries. This is comparable to Rouen's c. 900 clerics since Caen was 1/3 to 1/4 the size of the Upper Norman capital. It is a much smaller clerical population than in such Mediterranean cities as Madrid and Bologna. Philip Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion: Popular Disorder, Public Order and the Confessional Struggle" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1975), p. 12.

²Célestin Hippeau, L'Abbaye de St-Etienne de Caen (1066-1790) (Caen, 1955), p. 443; Olwen Hufton, Bayeux in the late eighteenth century, a social study (Oxford, 1967), pp. 20-40. On the bishopric and city of Bayeux see Michel Béziers, Mémoires pour servir à l'état historique et géographique du Diocèse de Bayeux ed. G. LeHardy (3 vols., Rouen and Paris, 1894-96), in PSHN, vol. 28; Mohamed El Kordi, Bayeux aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris and The Hague, 1970) and Laffetay, Diocèse de Bayeux, I, xi-lxxxxvii.

³Paul Ourliac, "The Concordat of 1492: An Essay on the Relations between Louis XI and Sixtus IV," in The Recovery of France in the Fifteenth Century, ed. P.S. Lewis (New York, 1971), p. 124. Bayeux was among the top fifteen benefices in France in 1471 with revenues estimated at 4,000 florins.

⁴de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 32; Hufton, Bayeux in the 18th century, pp. 20-21; Legras, Bourgage de Caen, pp. 54-55.

⁵In the absence of sixteenth-century records for the Officialité de Caen (ADC, G 110), this judgment is based upon the fact that, though sometimes present at municipal assemblies, the official of the bishop at Caen never emerged as an influential figure in city affairs during the tumultuous sixteenth century (AMC, BB 1-34, 1535-1600). Furthermore, Huard, in his excellent study of the parish of St. Pierre, writes that he found only one case of intervention by the

bishop's archdeacon in the affairs of St. Pierre, that being in 1618-25. The only authorized episcopal visitor to St. Pierre was the bishop himself or his vicar, and this right was seldom exercised. Thus, in this church, one of the four parishes which fell under the bishop's personal jurisdiction, episcopal intervention does not seem to have been of major importance. How much more this would have been true in the eight parishes not under the bishop's patronage! Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, p. 68.

6

Recueil de pièces relatives à l'église collégiale du St-Sépulcre à Caen, XI^e à XVIII^e siècles, (BMC, MS In-f. 128), f. 2r.; Laffetay, Diocèse de Bayeux, I, 55; Pépin, St. Gilles, pp. 77-108; Trebutien, Caen, son histoire, p. 151.

7

Béziers, Diocèse de Bayeux, II, 3.

8

Ibid., III, 215.

9

Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, p. 74. Huard's study is a model parish monograph providing a detailed discussion of all aspects of parish organization and activity. On the low level of ecclesiastical discipline see also Frédéric Pluquet, Anecdotes ecclésiastiques du diocèse de Bayeux tirées des registres de l'officialité et d'autres documents authentiques (Caen, 1831), pp. 5-9. On attempts at reform by Bishop Lodovico Canossa (1516-31) see below pp. 119-21.

10

Pépin, St. Julien, pp. 10-11.

11

de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 334-35; Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, pp. 172-74. Similar conflicts occurred in the parish of St. Jean between the parish church and the Carmelites and the canons of the Hôtel-Dieu. In fact, in 1594 a Carmelite monk was curé of St. Jean. Coqueret, St. Jean, pp. 17-18, 22.

12

See Table 1: The Population of Caen in 1491 and 1699; AMC, BB 3, ff. 112-14 (16 September 1563 Levy on 98 Caennais); BMC, MS In-f. 132, ff. 128-58 (1568 Levy on 1499 Caennais); Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, pp. 10-11.

13

There were instances in which the parish unit was not identical with a so-called quartier. For example, sections of the parish of St. Pierre located on the Ile St. Jean were sometimes considered to be in the quartier of St. Jean. Charles-Edmund Lart, ed., The Registers of the Protestant Church at Caen (Normandy), 1560-72

(Vannes, 1907), p. 265. However, unless a geographic division such as the Ile St. Jean was more striking, the parish unit did provide the sixteenth-century Caennais with a definite physical identification label within the city.

¹⁴ Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, pp. 69-71; Georges Huard, "La non-résidence des curés de la paroisse St-Pierre de Caen aux XVe et XVIe siècles," Revue historique de droit français et étranger, 45 (1921), 672.

¹⁵ See Appendix 9: Curés of Caen parishes, 16th century. The university archives confirm the link between university and parish personnel, revealing that a number of rectors were obitiers of Caen parishes; see ADC, D 90, ff. 95, 115, 123. See also Henri Prentout, L'Université de Caen: Son passé - son présent, ed. A. Bigot (Caen, 1932), pp. 69, 73-76; Henri Prentout, "La faculté de médecine de l'Université de Caen au XVIe siècle, 1506-1618," BSAN, 26 (1908), 305; Donald R. Kelley, François Hotman: A Revolutionary's Ordeal (Princeton, 1973), p. 53.

¹⁶ ADC, G 922 (8 December 1534).

¹⁷ Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, p. 71; Huard, "La non-résidence des curés," p. 672.

¹⁸ Pépin, St. Julien, p. 59.

¹⁹ See Appendix 8: Clerical population of Caen, late 15th and early 16th centuries. There were twelve obitiers and as many as thirty-five expectants at St. Pierre. The next in line for a benefice was called the dauphin. In smaller parishes there were only one or two obitiers. Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, pp. 74-75; Coqueret, St. Jean, pp. 27-28.

²⁰ Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, p. 73.

²¹ In 1535 the parlement ruled that the curé of St. Etienne le Vieux did not owe the chaplains and treasurers the banquets and white gloves which they had been claiming. This incident illustrates the largely material questions which dominated the concern of the ecclesiastical community. ADC, G 891 (2 July 1535).

²² Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, pp. 93-94.

23 See chapter One, notes 52 and 53.

24 On Protestant cemeteries see chapter Eight, pp. 437-38.

25 Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, p. 100; AMC, BB 29 ff. 22v. & 129r. (10 March & 28 September 1593 assemblies with parish representatives).

26 The terms confraternité confrérie de charité and simply charité are used interchangeably in the Caen ecclesiastical documents.

27 See chapter Two, pp. 70-71.

28 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 39-40. The most recent discussion of the Norman religious brotherhoods is Michel Bée, "Les confréries de charité: Mutuelles funéraires et confréries de bienfaisance," Cahier Léopold Delisle, 21 (1972), 5-22. On these brotherhoods in the French context see Coornaert, Les corporations en France, pp. 222-27; Natalie Zemon Davis, "Some tasks and themes in the study of popular religion," in The Pursuit of Holiness in late Medieval and Renaissance Religion, ed. C. Trinkaus and H. A. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), pp. 316-18.

For Caen there is an eighteenth-century compilation of fifteen sets of fifteenth and sixteenth-century statutes; ADC, G 1023 (1743). This collection has been discussed in E. de Robillard de Beaurepaire, "Le matrologe de la charité de la Très-Ste. Trinité," BSAN, 13 (1883-85), 313-24. There are copies of statutes and records of the confraternities scattered in ADC, G. One confraternity has been studied in some depth, concentrating on its secular wealth: Nicole LeRoy, "La confrérie de charité de St-Michel de Vaucelles, à Caen (XVe-XVIIIe siècles)" (Mémoire de la Faculté des Lettres de Caen - Diplôme d'Etudes supérieures d'Histoire, 1956); see Annales - N (1956), p. 321. See Appendix 10: The Caen Confraternities.

29 Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, p. 171.

30 Confréries - statutes (ADC, G 1023), ff. i-iiii (unnumbered Introduction); ADC, G 1006 (1564 confirmation of the confrérie of Ste. Cécile in St. Pierre by the bishop of Bayeux); ADC, G 1020 (1607 confrérie of St. Sauveur by the pope); de Beaurepaire, "Charité de la Très-Ste. Trinité," pp. 297-99.

31 de Beaurepaire, "Charité de la Très-Ste. Trinité," p. 325.

- ³² Ibid., pp. 292-93, 324-26; ADC, G 967 (Matrologe de la Charité de St. Nicolas).
- ³³ de Beaurepaire, "Charité de la Très-Ste. Trinité," pp. 306-08.
- ³⁴ Bée, "Confréries de charité," pp. 9-19.
- ³⁵ de Beaurepaire, "Charité de la Très-Ste. Trinité," p. 311.
- ³⁶ ADC, G 943, f. 96v. (Charité de St. Michel de Vaucelles - gift to a poor member); Bée, "Confréries de charité," pp. 12-14.
- ³⁷ Bée, "Confréries de charité," p. 14.
- ³⁸ ADC, G 943, f. 96v. (1584 plague).
- ³⁹ See Appendix 10: The Caen Confraternities.
- ⁴⁰ ADC, G 967, ff. 8-19r. (Matrologe de la Charité de St. Nicolas).
- ⁴¹ Ibid., ff. 5-6, 19v.-52r.
- ⁴² After 1492 there are no general membership lists extant. Comparing the lists of new life members for the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, ranging from 2 to 19 per year, and for the period from 1540 to 1590, during which there were never more than 2 per year and often none, I have concluded that the mid-sixteenth century saw a decline in overall membership from fifteenth-century levels. See ADC, G 967, ff. 5r.-69v. (Matrologe de la Charité de St. Nicolas).
- ⁴³ de Beaurepaire, "Charité de la Très-Ste. Trinité," pp. 292-93, 324-26. The Matrologe was privately owned when he used it and was not purchased by the ADC, AMC or BMC when it was later sold. Its location is now unknown.
- ⁴⁴ On the Abbey of St. Etienne the basic work is Hippeau, St.-Etienne de Caen and the inventory to the abbey's archives: René-

Norbert Sauvage, Le fonds de l'abbaye de St-Etienne de Caen aux Archives du Calvados (Caen, 1911). The archives of the abbey in the ADC are Série H 1817-3998.

There is no inventory to the 35 feet of archives for the Abbaye aux Dames (ADC, H). With the foundation provided by Hippeau's study and Sauvage's inventory it has been possible to look at the Abbaye aux Hommes in some detail. It was not within the scope of this study to undertake the extensive research which could yield important results in both of these archival collections, but they certainly deserve more attention.

45

Natalie Zemon Davis, "City Women and Religious Change," in Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Stanford, Cal., 1975), pp. 75-76; 293, n. 27. The paucity of religious houses for women was not unique to Caen, rather it was typical of France.

46

Huet, La ville de Caen, p. 244; de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 194-96; Albert Durand, Les Croisières en Normandie - Le Prieurie Ste-Croix de Caen (Diest, 1967), pp. 20-21.

47

La Bataille-Auvray, Précis historique sur les abbeses de Caen (BMC, MS In-f. 61), ff. 35-42. On the Protestant connections in the families of several of these women see Nancy L. Roelker, "The Appeal of Calvinism to French Noblewomen in the Sixteenth Century," Journal of Interdisciplinary History, II (1972), 414-18. It is interesting to note that just prior to his formal conversion to Protestantism and arrival in Geneva (1548), Theodore Beza was called upon by Louise de Mailly, Madame de Caen, to write a funerary elegy on the death of Louise de Montmorency, mother of Admiral Coligny, 12 June 1547; BSHPPF, 26 (1877), 460.

48

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 103-04; de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 20-21; Laffetay, Diocèse de Bayeux, I, 200-220. In his study of the reforming bishop of Bayeux Lodovico Canossa, Pierre Bourdon published a very interesting letter from Canossa to Marguerite de Navarre. It is dated 1 June 1526 and refers to the desire of Isabeau de Bourdon, abbess of La Trinité, that the nuns who left the abbey in 1515 be instated in other convents. Evidently they had taken the occasion of the conflict to leave the religious life entirely, not merely La Trinité; Pierre Bourdon, "Nouvelle recherches sur Lodovico Canossa, évêque de Bayeux (1516-31)," Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques, (1911), p. 298. On the reform attempts of this period see Augustin Renaudet, "Paris from 1494 to 1517 - Church and University; Religious Reforms; Culture and the Humanists Critiques," in French Humanism, 1470-1600, ed. Werner L. Gundersheimer (New York, 1970), pp. 67-80.

⁴⁹de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 36 (from the procès-verbaux of the archbishop of Rouen, 1250, 1256, 1266).

⁵⁰de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 162-63.

⁵¹Ch.-Ant. Blanchard, Abbrégé chronologique de l'histoire de l'abbaye de St-Etienne de Caen, . . . (BMC, MS In-f. 102, 1764), pp. 77-78; Hippeau, St. -Etienne de Caen, pp. 165-70.

⁵²Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, pp. 171-72.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 175-77.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 196-214.

⁵⁵Ibid., pp. 167-68, 172.

⁵⁶Jean de Baillehache, Mémoires historiques sur l'abbaye de St-Etienne de Caen (BMC, MS In-f. 62, 17th c.), ff. 94-101.

⁵⁷de Baillehache, L'abbaye de St-Etienne (BMC, MS In-f. 62), ff. 102-117r. The response of the abbey and the other Caen orders to the religious unrest and warfare of the late sixteenth century will be discussed in chapters Six and Seven.

⁵⁸Prior to the introduction of the reforms of the Congregation of St-Maur in the seventeenth century the royal abbeys of Caen were plagued by the general internal decadence of the Benedictine order in much of France. The atmosphere in the abbeys was characterized by ignorance of the rule, the habit and the saying of services as well as by an intellectual vacuum. Abbé G.-A. Simon, "La Réforme de St-Maur en Normandie," Normannia, 2 (1929), 287-97.

⁵⁹This memoir is undated, but its inclusion in the mid and late sixteenth-century register of the clerk of the abbey would indicate that it is a product of that period. ADC, H 2090, ff. 51-54r. ("Mémoire sur la manière dont on doit instruire un novice l'année de sa probation." in Registre des comptes du sousprieur, 1542-1605); Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, pp. 439-42 (text).

60 de Baillehache, L'abbaye de St-Etienne (BMC, MS In-f. 62), f. 112v.

61 Hippeau lists the temporal holdings of the abbey of St. Etienne, moving from the vicomté of Caen to the rest of Normandy and England. Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, pp. 465-527. Any attempt to summarize these holdings in a statistical manner is frustrated by the diversity of measurements. However, the length of the list alone indicates the strength of the abbey's presence in the Caen area (the vicomté of Caen is three-quarters of Hippeau's list). The study of the archives of the abbey of La Trinité would yield another lengthy list of abbatial holdings in the area.

In 1471 the abbey of St. Etienne was among the thirty or so monasteries of the realm with revenues of 1,000 florins or more. However, with 1,000 florins of revenues the Caen abbey was at the bottom of this list, headed by Cluny (9,000 fl.), St-Germain-des-Près and Fécamp (8,000 fl.). The revenues of La Trinité were much more modest. Ourliac, "Concordat of 1492," pp. 125-26.

62 Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, p. 443.

63 The archives of the Dominican, Franciscan and Carmelite orders in Caen are all unclassified. ADC, Série H. Upon checking all the cartons and folders in this collection, I found that the destruction wrought by the Reformation and later by the Revolution was particularly extensive in these areas. The Croisier archives were incorporated into those of the University of Caen in the eighteenth century when the priory was dissolved and all its holdings were given to the university. ADC, D 582-644. The Croisier canons are the only minor Caen order to which any detailed study has been devoted, albeit panegyric. Durand, Prieurie Ste-Croix.

64 de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 274-77; Henri Prentout, "La Réforme en Normandie et les débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen," Revue historique, 114 (1913), 301-303; C. Oursel, "Notes pour servir à l'histoire de la réforme en Normandie au temps de François Ie, principalement dans le diocèse de Rouen," MAC, (1912), pp. 182; 183, n. 3.

65 de Beaurepaire, "Charité de la Très-Ste. Trinité," p. 325; Lucien Musset, "L'église et le couvent des Carmes de Caen et l'inscription obituaire de Jean d'Estouteville," BSAN, 51 (1948-51), 188.

⁶⁶AMC, BB 1, ff. 14v. 62, 94 (1536, 1539 and 1541); AMC, BB 25, f. 4 (1586); Musset, "Les Carmes de Caen," p. 188.

⁶⁷de le Rue, Essais historiques, I, 273. Du Four wrote: Rationale divinatorum officiorum. Durandi Mimatensis episcopi, antea in mille locis depravatum, nuncque depuratum et tersum solertia et diligentia Macri de Furno. Caen: Laurent Hostinque, 1518, In-4.

⁶⁸Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen," pp. 300, n. 4, 301-02; Henri Prentout, "L'Université de Caen et les registres des pasteurs (1560-68)," BSHPF, 54 (1905), 420; Nathaneal Weiss, "Note sommaire sur les débuts de la Réforme en Normandie, (1523-47)," in Congrès du Millenaire de la Normandie (911-1911) - Compte rendu des Travaux, (2 vols., Rouen, 1912), I, 204-09.

⁶⁹de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 241-42; de Cahaigues, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, p. 78.

⁷⁰ADC, D 582; Durand, Prieurie Ste-Croix, p. 7.

⁷¹Durand, Prieurie Ste-Croix, map facing p. 32, pp. 44-68.

⁷²ADC, Hsupp, liasse 62: 1 (1540 Arrêt des Grands Jours de Bayeux). See chapter One on assistance, pp. 33-38.

⁷³See chapter Two, p. 71.

⁷⁴Quoted in Prentout, L'Université de Caen, p. 31. Henri Prentout's work on the University of Caen is by far the strongest area of scholarship treating sixteenth-century Caen. I will draw upon his material often in the following section and in later chapters. In many cases the reader should consult the articles and books cited in my notes for further detailed information on individuals active in the university during the first half of the century. This is particularly true in the case of the development of the Renaissance in Caen. On the university and the Norman Renaissance see also: Arthur A. Tilley, The Dawn of the French Renaissance (Cambridge, 1918), pp. 306-08; Arthur A. Tilley, "The University of Caen and the Renaissance," in Studies in the French Renaissance (New York, 1968, orig. 1922), pp. 1-11; Emile G. Léonard, Histoire de la Normandie (Paris, 1944), pp. 87-88; Bouârd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 373-75.

75 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 217.

76 Raymonde Foreville, "L'école de Caen au XI^e siècle et les origines normandes de l'Université d'Oxford," in Etudes médiévales offertes à M. le doyen Augustin Fliche (Montpellier, 1952), pp. 81-100; Abbé Gervais de la Rue, Anecdotes caenoises (BMC, MS In-4. 219), f. 4; de la Rue, Essais historique, II, 69, 73; Bouârd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 183-84.

77 de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 128; Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 27-31.

78 Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 27-29; Bouârd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 229-31.

79 Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 20, 37.

80 Robert Triger, "Les étudiants manceaux à l'Université de Caen (1440-1567)," Revue historique et archéologique du Maine, 9 (1881), 329-65; Henri Prentout, "La vie de l'étudiant à Caen au XVI^e siècle," MAC, (1905), Partie Littéraire - p. 53; de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 232.

81 Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 32-33.

82 Henri Prentout, "Le Duc de Berry, Louis XI et l'Université de Caen en 1467," Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques, (1910), pp. 275-85; Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 52-61; Tilley, Dawn of the French Renaissance, p. 310.

83 Prentout, L'Université de Caen, p. 67.

84 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 226-29; Henri Prentout, "Une réforme parlementaire à l'Université de Caen, 1521", BSAN, 21 (1900-01), 241-44. The publications of Caen professors will be discussed further later in this chapter.

85 Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 69-73, 81-82; Prentout, "Faculté de médecine," pp. 300-03.

86 Prentout, L'Université de Caen, p. 73; Prentout, "Faculté de médecine," pp. 304-07.

- 87
Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 73-76; Prentout, "Faculté de médecine," p. 305. The king's visit had been the occasion for the granting to the university of the right to fill all vacant benefices in the dioceses of Normandy during six months of every year. The implications of this practice, the confirmation of earlier custom, are discussed earlier in this chapter; see above n. 15.
- 88
Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 40-66 (Dec. 1563-May 1564).
- 89
Prentout, "La vie de l'étudiant à Caen," pp. 3-9, 51-54.
- 90
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 220-27; Frédéric Vaultier, Histoire de la ville de Caen depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours. . . (Caen, 1843), pp. 161-62; Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 44-45.
- 91
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 226; Pépin, St. Gilles, p. 36.
- 92
ADC, D 505 (3 June 1452); Prentout, "La vie de l'étudiant à Caen," p. 8.
- 93
de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 217-18; Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 62-63, 76. The College des Arts building was embellished during the sixteenth century with a facade on which the seven liberal arts were depicted.
- 94
de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 203-07. Cauchon will be remembered as a major actor in the drama surrounding the execution of Joan of Arc.
- 95
Ibid., I, 198.
- 96
Georges Lesage, A Travers le Passé du Calvados: Glanes - Traditions - Souvenirs (5 vols., Paris and Caen, 1927-41), I, 24; de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 236-38.
- 97
Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 38-41; Prentout, "La vie de l'étudiant à Caen," pp. 12-16.

- 98 Prentout, "La vie de l'étudiant à Caen," pp. 15-16.
- 99 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 227; Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 76-77; Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen," pp. 293-99.
- 100 Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 77-78; Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen," pp. 299-300.
- 101 Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 78-79; Joannes Drosaeus, Grammaticae quadrilinguis partitiones in gratiam puerorum (Paris, 1543).
- 102 Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 41-42; Prentout, "La vie de l'étudiant à Caen," pp. 12-16.
- 103 Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 79-81; Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," p. 428; Noémi Noire Oursel, Nouvelle biographie normande (2 vols. and supplement, Paris, 1886 and 1888), I, 283.
- 104 Jean Brohon, De stirpibus, vel plantis (Caen: Michel Angier, 1541) (Delisle, Livres à Caen, I, #81); Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 81-82. Brohon later wrote: Description d'une merveilleuse et prodigieuse comète (Paris, 1568, In-8.) and Almanach ou Journal astrologique (Rouen, 1571); Oursel, Nouvelle biographie normande, I, 139.
- 105 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 118; Prentout, L'Université de Caen, pp. 75-76. Le Rat wrote the introduction to a new edition of Lanfrancus contra Bellangarium (Caen, 1540) (Delisle, Livres à Caen, I, #233bis).
- 106 Charles de Beaurepaire, Recherches sur l'instruction publique dans le diocèse de Rouen avant 1789 (3 vols., Evreux, 1892), I, 132-33.
- 107 de Cahaignes, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 76-78.
- 108 Jean Brohon's botanical dictionary was dedicated to Bigot. Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 424-25.
- 109 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 242.

110 Bigot had been rector in 1546-47, 1551 and 1555-56. Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 424-25. See chapter Four, p. 149.

111 Henry Hornik, "Three Interpretations of the French Renaissance," in French Humanism, 1470-1600, ed. W. L. Gundersheimer (New York, 1970), pp. 19-47; Lucien Febvre, "The origins of the French Reformation: a badly-put question?" in A New Kind of History and other essays from the writings of Lucien Febvre, ed. P. Burke (New York, 1973), pp. 44-107, originally appeared as "Une question malposée: Les origines de la Réforme française et le problème général des causes de la Réforme," Revue historique, 161 (1929), 1-73.

112 Delisle, Livres à Caen, I, #s 160, 161, 236, 236bis and 336.

113 Ch. Fierville, "Etude sur la vie et les oeuvres de Guillaume de la Mare," MAC (1892), pp. 142-242; Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen," p. 291; Tilley, Dawn of the French Renaissance, pp. 307-08.

114 Probra sacerdotum quamvis manifesta silerem
Ni tam publicitus facerent, nulloque pudore.

. . .
Siccine pontificum praelatorumque dolendam
Mutus avaritiam lingua reticente silebo?
Quando suae immemores sortis, vitaeque futurae
In clero imperium, pastoris nomine spreto,
Dunter exercent, tumida gravitate feroces.

Quoted in Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen," p. 291, nn. 2 and 3. It may have been published in Caen in 1510. Tilley, Dawn of the French Renaissance, p. 308, n. 1.

115 Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen," pp. 292-93. On this judgement of Lefèvre's commentary see Renaudet, "Paris from 1494 to 1517," pp. 83-84.

116 Hinc Stapulensis adest vigilans industria Fabri
Efficiens verbis lucida cuncta suis.
Propria perquirens divini sensa prophete,
Sacrae velut vates verba secundus ait.
Graeca sub hebreo libans primordia fonte,
Tersa locis reparat plurima menda suis.

Quoted in Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen," p. 293, n. 3. See also Delisle, Livres à Caen, II, 23.

117

. . . Quis christianismi ferme explosi vindices,
qui, exuta antiqui criminis pelle, novum quemdam
nitorem animis illinunt verius quam admovent,
non colit, amat veneratur?

Quoted in Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen."
p. 297, n. 1 (Delisle, Livres à Caen, II, 56).

118

Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen,"
pp. 296-98. In light of the evidence, Jores may have been a bit harsh
when in 1530 he complained that "while good literature flourishes in
Britain and Germany, with us a Latin scholar is far to seek"; quoted
in Delisle, Livres à Caen, II, 52. See also Tilley, Dawn of the
French Renaissance, p. 308.

119

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II,
234-37; Tilley, "University of Caen and the Renaissance," p. 11;
Eugene de Beaurepaire, Les puys de Palinods de Rouen et de Caen (Caen,
1907), pp. 259-71; Bouârd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 373-74.

120

Delisle, Livres à Caen, I, #s 319, 320, II, p. 99; de
Beaurepaire, Les puys de Palinods, p. 271.

121

Gustave Dupont, "Etienne du Val, sieur du Moust, de
Mondrainville et de Fonteney (le Pesnel) d'après le manuscrit 113,
In-f. de la Bibliothèque publique de Caen," BSAN, 15 (1888-89),
529-62.

122

On de Cahaigues and Rouxel see: de Cahaigues, Eloges des
citoyens de Caen, pp. 1-33 (intro. by A. de Blangy); Gustave Panel,
La vie et les oeuvres de Jacques de Cahaigues, professeur du Roi en
médecine à l'Université de Caen, 1548-1618 (Sotteville-lès-Rouen,
1902); Jacques de Cahaigues, Le Tombeau de Jean Rouxel suivi de son
oraison funèbre, ed. and intro. R.-N. Sauvage (Rouen, 1931); Léopold
Duhamel, Un essai sur la vie et les oeuvres de Jean Rouxel, poète et
jurisconsult caennais au XVIe siècle (Caen, 1862).

123

M. Schneider, "Le 'Triomphe' dans la première Renaissance
à Caen," in Congrès du Millénaire de la Normandie (911-1911), Compte
rendu des Travaux (2 vols., Rouen, 1912), II, 355-56.

124

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II,
105-06; Schneider, "Le 'Triomphe' à Caen," II, 356-60.

- 125¹²⁵Prentout, "Les maîtres-maçons à Caen," pp. 699-700; J.-J. Gloton, "Orientation de l'architecture civile à Caen au temps de la Renaissance," Annales - N, 7 (1957), 35-52. In his popular appreciation of Norman architecture Edouard Herriot justly refers to Caen as "a Renaissance museum" (Amid the Forests of Normandy (Boston, 1926, orig. in French 1925), p. 107. Despite the destruction wrought by the invasion in 1944, the city still has much to offer in this respect.
- 126¹²⁶Prentout, "Les maîtres-maçons de Caen," pp. 701-24.
- 127¹²⁷Schneider, "Le 'Triomphe' à Caen," II, 360; Trébutien, Caen, son histoire, pp. 225-29.
- 128¹²⁸Prentout, "Les maîtres-maçons de Caen," pp. 702-08. The Le Prestre family was part of the Protestant community in the 1560's. They will be discussed further in that regard in chapter Four.
- 129¹²⁹Bourdon, "Lodovico Canossa," p. 295.
- 130¹³⁰. . . ut sic ignari, rudes et imbecilles addiscere et retinere valeant et explicite saltem credere non erubescant.
-
- Ex decretis Sanctorum patrum nostrorum manifestatur quod placere Deo sine fide non possumus. Et quia ad nostras devenit aures, quamplurimos nostrae Bajocensis diocesis parum in fide catholica imbutos esse. . .
- Quoted in Bourdon, "Lodovico Canossa," p. 296.
- 131¹³¹Bourdon, "Lodovico Canossa," p. 297; Delisle, Livres à Caen, I, #s 181, 182, 224, 225. See above note 48.
- 132¹³²J.-A. Galland comments on this point with particular reference in his Essai sur l'histoire du Protestantisme à Caen et en Basse-Normandie de l'Edit de Nantes à la Révolution, 1598-1791 (Paris, 1898), pp. XVIII-XIX.
- 133¹³³Bourdon, "Lodovico Canossa," pp. 274-279; Béziers, Diocèse de Bayeux, I, 77-78 (text of letter). On this period in Erasmus' life see Johan Huizinga, Erasmus and the Age of the Reformation (New York, 1957, orig. in Dutch 1924), pp. 86-96.

- 134 Augustin, cardinal de Trivulce (bishop 1531-48) and Charles d'Humières (bishop 1548-71) exercised their control over the diocese of Bayeux entirely by proxy. Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, p. 362; Béziers, Diocèse de Bayeux, I, 76-92; Chanoine G. Bonnenfant, Les séminaires normands du XVIe au XVIIIe siècles (Paris and Caen, 1915), pp. 19-20, 406.
- 135 Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, p. 252; Prentout, L'Université de Caen, p. 64; Delisle, Livres à Caen, II, XI-II. Compare the lists of sixteenth-century printers for Caen and Rouen in Georges Lepreux, Gallia Typographica ou Répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines de l'imprimerie jusque'à la Révolution (Paris, 1912), III, pt. 1, 29-33, 424-25; see also, pp. 418-19. Lepreux lists 19 printing houses for Caen against 150 for Rouen (1480-1600).
- 136 Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, L'apparition du livre (2nd ed., Paris, 1971), pp. 247-58.
- 137 Delisle, Livres à Caen, I, #222.
- 138 Ibid., II, 117-23; see Table 2: Books printed or published in Caen, 1480-1550. On this phenomenon see Febvre and Martin, L'apparition de livre, pp. 253-54.
- 139 Lepreux, Gallia Typographica, III, pt. 1, 422-23.
- 140 This analysis is based upon a survey of Delisle's bibliography by subject matter classification. It is inspired by the pioneering work in this area by Miriam Usher Chrisman, Books, Printers and the Reading Public, 1480-1600 (in progress). See Table 2.
I intend to develop this analysis of the Caen printing industry at a later date, to cover the second half of the sixteenth century.
- 141 Delisle, Livres à Caen, I, #49 bis.
- 142 Ibid., I, #s, 160, 161.
- 143 Ibid., I, #s 236, 236bis.
- 144 Ibid., I, #s 21, 39, 41bis, 42, 43, 44, 45, 180.

145 Within law the break-down was: Civil law - 27, Canon law - 7, Royal letters and edicts - 3.

146 Febvre, "Origins of the French Reformation," pp. 63-65.

147 Febvre and Martin, L'apparition du livre, p. 271.

PART II

THE FLOWERING OF PROTESTANTISM, 1558-68

In 1558, three years after the establishment of the Reformed church in Paris, a congregation was formed in Caen. It was not the first in Lower Normandy, the St. Lô and Bayeux congregations having been organized by 1557. Nonetheless, it was to become the major center of the Lower Norman Reform. This development naturally leads one to seek explanations. What made Calvinism appealing to the Caennais? Why did it flourish despite royal opposition? To what extent was the early success of the Reform a function of spiritual fervor, and how much responsibility may be attributed to economic factors, the vagaries of war and political developments? The answers to such questions are by no means easily arrived at.

Two important elements in the development of Protestantism have already been touched upon. The course of the Reform in Caen depended to some degree upon the fact that the Roman Catholic church had increasingly lost its ability to command respect while, at the same time, a more and more independent cast of mind characterized the literate elite. In other words, a gradual change in mental set allowed individuals to respond to a specific instance of abuse in a more radical way. Chapters Four, Five and Six will describe the events and changes which took place between 1558 and 1568 so that we may more adequately understand the character of this movement we call the Reformation and its impact on the city of Caen.¹

In his classic article, "Une question malposée: Les origines de la Réforme française et le problème général des causes de la Réforme", Lucien Febvre discussed the many factors involved in the beginnings of the French Reformation.² He warned against overemphasizing the role of abuses, which had been habitual in the Western church and insisted upon a revolution in religious sentiment as the heart of the sixteenth-century revolt against the traditional church. His interpretation certainly has bearing on the Lower Norman situation.³ While the practice of commendation, which had been confirmed by the 1516 Concordat, assured the triumph of secular over spiritual concerns in the administration of the church⁴, the ignorance of the clergy and the abuse of ecclesiastical wealth had troubled critics long before the fifteenth century.⁵ A constant cycle of falling-away and movement for reform characterized the medieval church as surely as it had the Israelites in the period of the Judges. What made the sixteenth-century reform movement truly revolutionary in impact was the combination of an awareness of abuses with political and social circumstances permitting that consciousness to flower into the widespread rejection of established spiritual authority. In this process, as Febvre has noted, the emergence of a new independence of mind was a crucial factor.⁶

FOOTNOTES - PART II

¹Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 361-65; Léonard, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 88-91. Both Léonard and the collaborators, led by Pierre Chaunu, in chapters Nine to Twelve of the recent Histoire de la Normandie guide the reader through the beginnings of the Reform in Normandy with a mixture of nods to abuses, Renaissance vitality and so-called Norman character. On the state of the church and humanism see chapter Three of Bonnenfant, Les séminaires normandes, pp. 10-14, 19-23 and Simon, "Réforme de St-Maur", 2 (1929), 252-73, 284-97. For a concise summary statement on the Church and dissent in the period prior to the establishment of Reformed congregations in France see Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, pp. 79-89.

²Febvre, "Origins of the French Reformation", pp. 54-68.

³Ibid., pp. 55, 59.

⁴Simon, "Réforme de St-Maur", 2 (1929), 254-73.

⁵Pluquet, Anecdotes ecclésiastiques, pp. 1-5. Pluquet, a 19th century anticlerical writer, began his chronicle of anecdotes with a 1332 condemnation by the bishop's representative of a Bayeux vicar for his carnal abuse of a young girl of 16 who came to him for confession.

⁶Febvre, "Origins of the French Reformation", pp. 65-66, 88. For a discussion of the variety of factors underlying the beginnings of the Reformation see among others A. G. Dickens, The German Nation and Martin Luther (New York, 1974), pp. 1-20 (chapter I: Nationalism and Anticlericalism: Prophecy and Piety) and Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion," pp. 64-70.

C H A P T E R I V

THE COMING AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORM, 1530-68

A. The Pre-Reformation, 1530-58

With the multi-faceted character of the Reform in mind let us look at some of the manifestations of unrest in Caen prior to the establishment of a Reformed congregation.¹ Unorthodox development took many forms, and, in the context of ambivalent royal policy, the foundation for a strong Protestant movement was laid. Only thirteen years after he began his open conflict with the papacy Luther received a letter from Bucer in which the Strasbourg reformer described Normandy as being so much influenced by the fervor of evangelical teaching as to be called a little Germany.² By 1546 Caen was cited in a commentary by the Venetian ambassador, Marino Calalli, as a center of Protestantism:

Les Luthériens sont tellement étendus partout qu'ils occupent des villes entières où le rite protestant n'est pas avoué publiquement, mais tacitement consenti. Cela se voit à Caen, à La Rochelle, à Poitiers et dans plusieurs villes de la Provence.³

Specific indications of these developments come primarily from accusations and condemnations of heretics. Since conflicts between bishop and inquisitor and between parlement and king, as well as vacillating royal policy, meant that heresy was unevenly prosecuted, this evidence is quite fragmentary. Nevertheless, it does indicate that support for heretical ideas was both widespread and active in Caen and the surrounding region.

The presence in the early sixteenth century of a cricle of Christian humanists inspired by Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Etaples at the University of Caen has already been demonstrated.⁴ As both Erasmus and Lefèvre soon discovered, the line between spiritual revitalization through the return to Biblical texts and heresy was clouded once the news of Luther's break with Rome began to spread. Thus, in 1531 the University of Caen was accused by Nicolas Roussin, a Franciscan prior, of being infested with heresy.⁵ The conflict growing out of this accusation in no way clarified the extent to which the university was at this point truly tainted by heresy. As early as 1521 Lutheran tenets of doctrine had been posted publicly at the university.⁶ The 1531 incident shows that the men in the university whose orthodoxy was questionable were influential enough to diffuse the impact of Roussin's attack and bring him into disrepute. The conflict also foreshadowed the important part the university would later come to play in the development of the Reform at Caen.

In 1538-39 the university once again became the focus of controversy. This time accusations of heresy were brought against the university community by the Dominicans of Caen.⁷ The university rector, Guillaume de Guette, responded by calling an assembly of the faculty, but none of those present were able to explain the Dominican accusations. The procès-verbaux of these deliberations indicate that many members of the university community wanted to drop the issue, probably out of fear that an inquest would reveal improprieties committed by some of those in their midst. Nonetheless, the university procureur syndic

pressed the case, and in August 1540 the Sorbonne unanimously condemned a series of theological propositions presented to them for judgment by the lieutenant general of the bailli and the local inquisitor, who claimed they had been voiced by members of the university community.

The seven propositions listed in the record of condemnation reveal that the evangelical message was definitely being spread among the intellectuals of Caen. The importance of scriptural authority and of the individual's personal relationship with God were stressed. Transubstantiation was explicitly denied. The sacraments of the eucharist and of baptism were referred to as signs of the believer's union with Jesus Christ, a position which the Sorbonne condemned as haeretica, impia et blasphemia.⁸ In fact the Paris faculty found many of the Caen propositions to be Lutheran in tone, and if not all heretical they were at best confusing and dangerous.⁹

The orthodoxy of the university had definitely been questioned. The popular response was reflected in 1544 when a farce was performed in the streets of Caen in which heresy was depicted as the mother of both the city and the university, bringing citizens up to disrespect God and His Church. Elie du Mont, a teacher at the Collège du Mont, one of the colleges of the university, admitted authorship of the play and claimed that the dean of the faculty of theology had been his collaborator.¹⁰ While their motives are not clear from the documents, the incident revealed that the university was indeed suspected of heresy. Furthermore, it provided evidence of the conflicts between jealous local authorities and the defenders of orthodoxy, in this case

the university officials and the vicar of the bishop, which created a space in which heterodox opinions could spread. Concrete indication that they did spread is provided by a report that a riot by students of some of the colleges in February 1554 led to the destruction of windows at the Franciscan convent.¹¹

Based on the Christian humanism of luminaries like Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples, the enlightened position of many of the members of the Caen university community prepared them well for a transition of allegiance from the Roman Catholic church to the newly-established Calvinist church in 1558.¹² An excellent example is Gilles Bigot, humanist and member of the Caen faculty of theology. Bigot, a central figure in the Caen circle of humanists, had a list of thirty propositions gleaned from his sermons condemned by the Sorbonne in 1558.¹³ He preached all of the major tenets of the Protestant faith: justification by faith alone, the primacy of scriptural authority, the priesthood of all believers and the fallibility of priests, as well as a clearly sacramentarian interpretation of the eucharist. He attacked both papal supremacy over the universal church and the authority of the priest to absolve the believer of his sins.¹⁴ It is therefore, not at all surprising that Bigot's name appears in the Caen Protestant baptismal records twice--in 1564 and 1566--when his children were brought to be baptised.¹⁵ In his latter years Bigot left Caen and served as pastor to Henri-Robert de la Marck, the Protestant duke of Bouillon, prince of Sedan and governor of Normandy.¹⁶

The university community was not alone in being touched by these developments, and Bigot's sermons were by no means a voice crying in the wilderness. Both clergy and laity expressed their discontent with the Roman church during the period prior to 1558 via defections and iconoclasm. As elsewhere, the Roman Catholic clergy were in the vanguard of apostasy.¹⁷ As early as 1534 the Dominican, Jacques de la Croix, a native of Caen, was burned on the Place Maubert in Paris.¹⁸ At some time in the 1540's, although it is impossible to fix the exact date, sixteen nuns left the prestigious Abbey of La Trinité! Four went to Geneva, and the rest returned to their families.¹⁹

The 1540's also saw the first incidents of iconoclasm in Caen, a sign that there were militant heretics in the city and region.²⁰ In October 1542 an arrêt by the parlement mentioned that an image of St. Sébastien on the portal of the Jacobin convent had been broken and called for the apprehension and punishment of those guilty of the act.²¹ The substance of the arrêt concerned the reform of the Jacobins which had been ordered earlier. Several Jacobins were suspected of subversive activity, and the prior was directed to be:

. . . plus soigneux et dilligent pour l'advenir de faire le devoir de sa charge en façon que pour sa negligence. . . . (?) scandalles, et de faire vivre les religieux dudit couvent en tout observance de regularité sur peine de s'en prendre à luy des faultes, malversations, et scandalles. . .²²

De Bourgueville reported that in 1544 two more disturbing events took place.

Au mois de Novembre ensuyvant, aucuns de messieurs les conseillers de la Court, assavoir le sieur

l'Alemand, & Morelon Procureur general, furent deputez pour venir en ceste ville, informer d'un chat qu'on disoit (par imposture) avoir esté pendu en une Croix à Argenten: mais il n'en peut rien estre verifié.

Pour le temps un image de Saint Jaques, fait d'Albastre, qui estoit²³ au portail des Jacobins fut abbatu de nuict: . . .

With regard to the events at the Jacobin convent there is further evidence in a December 1545 arrêt where the incident emerges as considerably more serious than the simple breaking of an image of St. Jacques in the night.²⁴ Three persons, Pierre Ovardel, Jehan de Bourgueville and Magdalene Cayer, had been arrested in relation to:

. . . certain tumulte et scandale faict en ladite ville de Caen les lundy et mardy de pasques mil cinq cens quarante troys [old style] aux prédications faictes au couvent des Jacobins en ladite ville par frère Jehan Gatturis, religieux dudit couvent, et mesmes sur aucuns personnages qui avoient livres en français reprouvés, desquelz ils faisoient lectures secrètes par conventions en leurs maisons privées et tenoient propoz indiscretz téméraires et contre la religion chrestienne en portant et favorisant aucunes mauvaises et hérétiques propositions dictes et présentées par aucun religieux malsentant de la foy catholique contre l'honneur de Dieu et les constitutions de sainte église;. . .²⁵

Charles de Bourgueville, then lieutenant particular of the bailli, and two parlement counsellors brought the case against these three. Pierre Ovardel, whose name appears in the Caen Protestant baptismal registers of the 1560's and who may well be one of the echevins chosen in 1564²⁶, and Jean de Bourgueville were condemned to imprisonment until they paid fines to the king and to the Jacobins and the poor of Caen. Magdalene was imprisoned, her case to be considered at a later date. This incident provides clear evidence that by the mid-1540's Caen

Protestants were organized in underground worship circles and risked prosecution to act against the Roman Catholic church on the principles of their faith.

In January 1549 "aucuns malsentans de la foy. . . avoient abbatu et fait cheoir par terre en lad. esglise de Saint Nicolas plusieurs ymages."²⁷ N. Weiss suggests that these actions may have been in response to the execution in the Caen market place in Spring 1548 of the Franciscan Jean du Rozel. The parlement sentence indicates that there had been a more lenient judgment passed by the Caen authorities in fall of 1547, revealing the conflict between local jurisdiction, in this case less harsh, and royal policy, as executed by the parlement.²⁸ During this same period it became clear that within the Rouen Parlement itself there was a division over the action to be taken against heretics. As early as 1541 nine parlementaires had been suspended because of heretical sympathies, including one Jacques Mesnage, sieur de Cagny, from an area near Caen.²⁹

As we have just seen, the Rouen Parlement attempted to contain the spread of heresy during the period prior to 1558 with only limited agreement or success. A recent detailed study of the attitude of the parlement toward heresy in general suggests that the sovereign court in Rouen had a "rather calm, even Erasmian, attitude toward crimes against God and the church."³⁰ In fact a sixteenth-century proverb referred to the ". . . rigueur de Toulouse, l'humanité de Bordeaux, la justice de Paris et la miséricorde de Rouen. . ." with regard to heresy.³¹

The moderate stance of the parlement, combined with Caen's distance from Rouen, assured that the sovereign court was not a very effective guardian of orthodoxy in the Lower Norman capital. In Caen itself conflicts between the university officials, the prosecuting authorities of the bishop of Bayeux, the inquisitor of the faith and the local representatives of the king created a confusion which made it possible for heretical teachings and practices to spread quite easily. In 1539-40 the official of the bishop of Bayeux, Jean de Quièvremont, and the inquisitor, Thomas Laurentin, clashed over the prosecution of heresy within the diocese. Laurentin demanded lawyers and notaries, paid for by the bishop, to aid him in proceeding against heretics and Quièvremont did nothing but delay.³² This type of situation was by no means unique to Lower Normandy.³³ In fact, similar conflicts had been crucial during the early years of Luther's confrontation with the papacy.

When François I dismissed the Parlement of Rouen in September 1540, his primary intention was to limit the court's power to issue remonstrances and withhold the registration of royal edicts. Yet, in appointing commissioners to hold the Grands Jours (assizes) at Bayeux, the effect was also to introduce the royal arm of authority more directly into the unruly Lower Norman scene.³⁴ The delegation of authority to the parlement included the power to judge civil and criminal cases, "exterminer ceste maheureuse secte luthériane" and undertake a reform of the monasteries and hospitals of the area.³⁵ The state of affairs had become truly scandalous. At the Dominican convent in Caen:

. . . aucuns des religieux commectoient tant de folyes, associant avec eulx ruffiens et gens meschantz, que toute la ville en estoient scandalizée; et les bons religieux, qui ne vouloient adherer à leur mauvaistié, estoient, pour cela, fort maltraictez, et exposez à mourir de famyne.³⁶

The impact of the Grands Jours on this situation was minimal.³⁷ The parlement representatives complained of local bailliage officials who were "constituez en negligence extremes." Caen was singled out as being particularly tainted, and two counsellors were sent to the city to rid it of heresy since local authorities continued to be so remiss.³⁸ Nevertheless, the effectiveness of these actions was nullified when the judges returned to Rouen for Christmas, and in January 1541 the parlement was reestablished.³⁹ Once again in 1542 the Grands Jours were called "parceque, à Caen, y avoit plusieurs entachez d'hérésie."⁴⁰ They were never held, but parlement counsellor Le Georgelier du Bois and avocat général Pericard went to Caen and found the city and surroundings filled with heretics.⁴¹

Laymen and clergy continued to be drawn away from the Catholic fold during the 1550's despite the increasingly repressive policies of Henri II. Itinerant preachers and books smuggled from the Protestant areas which by now flanked much of France contributed to these developments. The message was disseminated despite inexorable punishment. On 19 August 1546 a printer from Caen, Michel Vincent, called "le grand Michel", was burned on the Place Naubert in Paris because he had "dogmatisé".⁴² In 1554 Denis le Vayr, a priest turned bookseller and colporteur from a village just west of Caen, Fonteney-le-Pesnel, was

condemned to burn in front of the Cathedral of Rouen. Le Vayr had spent time in Geneva after leaving the priesthood. He served as a pastor and bookseller on the Channel Islands until Mary Tudor reinstated Catholicism there. Fleeing to his home area of Normandy, le Vayr was apprehended with a cartload of heretical books. Upon being tortured he testified that he was not alone because "tous Chrestiens amateurs du saint Evangile estoient de son parti, dont estoit la plus saine partie du royaume de France, et mesme de leur Parlement."⁴³

In 1554 when le Vayr made this affirmation, it was no exaggeration. The steady increase in support for heterodox opinions over several decades had created an environment propitious to the establishment of Reformed congregations. Even the staunch Roman Catholic de Bourgueville admitted that heavy taxes and despair over abuses drew many of his fellow citizens to the Calvinist camp.⁴⁴ After 1555 the church of conventicles became a church of organized congregations all over France. The Histoire ecclésiastique reports that by the end of Henri II's reign there were reformed congregations throughout Normandy. Shortly after the establishment of a church at Caen in 1558, Calvin and the Company of Pastors sent the congregation a Genevan-trained minister.⁴⁵ Clearly the Reform had taken hold in the Lower Norman capital. The course of the new church's development during its first decade of existence remains to be seen.

B. The Establishment of the Reformed Church, 1558-68

In 1558 Charles de Bourgueville described the foundation of the Caen Reformed church with a strong aversion to what he saw happening.

Les troubles furent grands pour la Religion en ce Royaume, en l'an mil cinq cents cinquante huict, par ce que celle qu'on appelle pretendue reformee permet que l'on vive en un trop grande liberté, & que toutes choses nouvelles plaisent. . . aucuns Predicans sortis de Geneve, se saisissoyent des Temples, et Eglises. Et entre-autres Predicans y prescherent un appellé la Barre, un autre nommé Cousin, Flammand de nation, & Depuis maistre Vincent Le Bas, & un nommé Pierre Pinchon, deux regents de ceste ville.⁴⁶

Detailed information about the church is very limited until 1560 when the baptismal and marriage register of one of the ministers, Vincent Le Bas, begins to chronicle the regular activities of the congregation.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, it is clear from de Bourgueville that within two years of its formal establishment the church was flourishing, with three or four regular ministers presiding over services within the city limits.

The evidence of the baptismal and marriage registers, which will be discussed in detail in chapter Five, indicates that by 1562 there were at least 5,300 Reformed Caennais, one-quarter to one-third of the city's population. In 1564 there were probably about 12,000 persons, or at least one-half of the city, attending Reformed services in Caen. This level of participation in the new church continued through 1568, when for a number of reasons, both local and national, the tide began to turn against the Calvinist movement.⁴⁸

These early Réformés were not all law-abiding citizens, for there is evidence that the iconoclasm of the 1540's and 1550's continued.

In June 1560 the official of the bishop of Bayeux decried the fact that,

Les malfaiteurs ennemis du repos et tranquillité public, la nuict ensuyvante du jour de la feste de Pentecouste nouvellement passe [2 & 3 June], ont rompu, cassé, et brisé les images et croix estant aux portes des eglises de cestedite ville de Caen.⁴⁹

A year later in July 1561 the official published another monitory letter condemning those who had been responsible for the destruction of images and looting in numerous churches in the villages around Caen.⁵⁰

The Rouen Parlement had attempted to contain these developments by sending counselors to Lower Normandy. A letter written by the parlement representatives on 26 February 1560 reveals that the Caennais were less than hospitable to their intrusions. Armed men tried to break into their rooms and attacked their servants. Furthermore, pamphlets "contenant leur foi et créance contre le St. Sacrement de l'autel et puissance du pape et des prêtres" were distributed in the streets below.⁵¹ In the context of vacillating royal policy and the liberal edicts of 1560 and 1562, the Protestant church at Caen prospered.⁵² De Bourgueville claimed that the provision for royal officials to attend Protestant services to keep order, which was part of the Edict of January 1562, served as a justification for many of these officers to openly support the Reformed ministers and their congregations. It may even have led to the eventual conversion of some who had at first remained Roman Catholic. In any case, the 1562 stipulation that services be held outside of the city was completely ignored.⁵³

In light of the numerical strength of the Reformed group it is not at all surprising that Caen experienced considerable unrest during the First Religious War, 1562-63. Whether or not the Genevan-trained pastor Jean Cousin encouraged the Protestant iconoclasts by exhorting that "on a trop souffert de ceste idolatrie, et que tout sera abbatu comme à Rouen", the Reformed Caennais responded to the news of the massacre at Vassy with a campaign of image-breaking, looting and destruction in all the churches and monasteries of Caen and the surrounding region on 8 and 9 May.⁵⁴

Strongly anti-Guise sentiments, fostered by the Vassy massacre, were disseminated in Caen soon after the 1 March event. A pamphlet entitled "Destruction du saccagement, exercé cruellement par le Duc de Guise et sa cohorte, en la ville de Vassy, le premier jour de Mars 1561 (o.s.)" appeared from the presses of a Caen printer later in 1562. While the accuracy of its details is somewhat questionable, its ability to stir up hatred for the perpetrators of such a heinous act is without a doubt.⁵⁵

Following the destruction wrought on the 8th and 9th of May 1562 the Roman Catholic mass ceased to be celebrated in the city until June 1563.⁵⁶ In a letter dated 1 June 1562 the papal legate Cardinal Prosper de Ste. Croix wrote to Cardinal Borromée of Protestant control of Caen alongside that of Rouen, Le Havre and La Rochelle.⁵⁷ In later years the Rouen Parlement recorded that during this period at Caen "il n'y avoit eu homme qui n'eust quelques foys assisté aux presches."⁵⁸

As the First Religious War escalated Caen was drawn into the conflict. In April 1562 the Calvinist military leadership had expressed particular interest in the strategy to be followed in Normandy, specifically regarding Caen. All important strongholds in Normandy were to be gained by the Calvinists, Catholics were to be disarmed and relics which could be liquidated to provide support for the Calvinist cause were to be seized from the churches of Normandy. In particular Caen was to be brought under Protestant control.⁵⁹

Attacks upon the Caen chateau by Protestant forces in spring and summer 1562 failed to bring this stronghold into their hands; although the later attempt had the indirect effect of leading to the destruction of the Collegiate church of St. Sépulcre because its tower threatened the chateau.⁶⁰ The demolition of St. Sépulcre was ordered by the governor of Normandy, Henri-Robert de la Marck, duke of Bouillon and prince of Sedan. This event, as well as earlier actions on his part, confirms his Protestant sympathies. In 1561 Bouillon's order to the baillis and officers of Normandy that they assure that both Roman Catholics and Protestants refrain from "s'offenser ny injurier l'un l'autre, ny aller aux eglises ou assemblées les uns des autres, sur peine de la morte" indicated that he was willing to permit both churches to function openly. A number of the baillis complained to the parlement that this was in conflict with the edict of July 1561 which forbade public worship by Protestants. The parlement responded that it seemed that Bouillon would quietly tolerate what was really proscribed, and they could do little to stop him.⁶¹

After the iconoclasm of May 1562 Bouillon arrived at Caen from Protestant-controlled Rouen and sought to bring the situation under control. While in Caen he collected the relics and ornaments of the city's churches and supervised their melting down to pay his troops. While this action has been pointed out as proof of his own heretical inclinations, it was in fact common practice by commanders of unpaid troops. In this case it was only carried out after permission had been requested from Catherine de Medici.⁶² Bouillon left the chateau under the control of primarily Protestant troops, but it was still held in the name of the anti-Protestant royalist faction. A conspiracy was formed in August 1562 to turn it over to the Protestant commanders Montgomery, Colombières, Pierrepont and Jecoville. The attempt failed, and upon his return to Caen later that month Bouillon ordered the demolition of St. Sepulcre.⁶³ Bouillon was one of those figures during the Religious wars who vexed both radical Protestants and Roman Catholics. A moderate Protestant, he would accept Reformed refugees on his lands in the Sedan but was a *politique* at heart.

While the fall of Rouen in October 1562 led to the reinstatement of Roman Catholic services in that city, Caen Protestants continued to enjoy considerable freedom and security during this period. Nevertheless, the Caennais feared that they would soon also be besieged. Thus, in January 1563 the city authorities met at the hôtel de ville and delegated Jean Fernagu, procureur syndic and a Protestant, to go to court and testify to the King, Queen mother and duke of Bouillon that Caen was loyal to the crown. The continuing strength of the Protestants

becomes clear in reading the memoir addressed to Fernagu to guide his mission. While he was instructed to report that the Réformés were worshipping in private and that no one was prevented from attending Roman Catholic services, all evidence indicates that, on the contrary, the Reformed community was holding public services in the city, and attendance at Roman Catholic services was hazardous.⁶⁴

After the losses suffered at Dreux in December 1562, Coligny again moved into Normandy. One of his goals was to take the chateau at Caen, and this time the citadel fell to the Protestants. The city's inhabitants were reported to favor the Admiral in a letter from the Marshal de Brissac to his brother Monsieur de Gonnor, minister of finance, "Les ennemis sont entrés à Caen par la Faveur des habitans qui de nuit ont rompu les portes de la ville."⁶⁵ An excerpt from a chronicle by a canon of St. Sépulcre indicates that Caen continued to be the center of unrest and violence until 26 May 1563.⁶⁶

On 2 March the chateau fell to the Protestant army of Coligny. The next day Theodore Beza, who was travelling with the Admiral, baptized the children of several Caen Réformés. De Bourgueville recorded that Beza also preached that day, exhorting the congregation that the key to war was its financing.⁶⁷ His sermon was closely followed by a levy of 10,000 écus on the inhabitants of Caen which, according to de Bourgueville, was unevenly imposed by the Protestants in control of the city, falling especially hard on the Roman Catholic Caennais.⁶⁸

The liberal Edict of Amboise issued on 19 March 1563 met a lukewarm reception in the Rouen Parlement but was enthusiastically welcomed in Caen where its restrictions on the number of places of Protestant worship within the city were totally ignored.⁶⁹ It was formally published in Caen on 12 April 1563 after a delay of some days during which time several companies of troops left the city. De Bourgueville's accusations that the pro-Protestant faction held up its publication in order to allow the Calvinists to vent their anger over the limitations of the edict in the destruction of the Franciscan and Carmelite convents reflect his strongly anti-Protestant bias rather than factual evidence.⁷⁰ He implied that the edict restricted all worship within the city when it actually allowed services to continue. Further, he placed responsibility for the decision to delay publication on the shoulders of local unnamed Protestants. On the contrary, the deliberations of the meeting on 10 April indicate that it was the emissary from Catherine, Gilbert Frilet de la Curée, seigneur de la Roche Turpin, who suggested that the edict be published a day later after the troops left the city "pour éviter les pilleries".⁷¹

The Calvinists of Caen were emboldened by the Edict of Amboise. In a meeting at the city hall on 8 April 1563, the city notables, who would have known of the edict's provisions already, pledged their allegiance to the King and Queen mother and praised God who "par sa bonté et grace. . .a pleu delivrer son peuple des miserés et

calamitez esuelles Il aeste enveloppe Jusque a ce Jour par Languer
des guerres cyvilles. . ."72 They went on to request the appointment
of an

homme pour Commander en ladite ville et
Bailliage. Lequel soit vivant en la
Crainte de dieu Et de la Relligion
Reformee Parceque la Noblesse et le
peuple habitantz audite bailliage Et en
toute la Basse Normandye est uny et
accorde en l'observance de ladicte
Relligion Reformee.⁷³

The unanimity referred to in this document did not really include all
of the bailliage; de Bourgueville was by no means alone in his Roman
Catholic orthodoxy. Nevertheless, the Réformés definitely enjoyed
significant strength, particularly among the notables of Caen.⁷⁴

In May 1563 a meeting of the Synod of Normandy was held at Caen, and,
according to the governor of Normandy, Marshal de Brissac, "aulcuns
des ministres ont presché que, si les Anglois venoient en Normandie,
ce seroit très mal faict d'aller contre eux et de les empescher."⁷⁵

The situation in Caen continued to be volatile despite the
official end of the First Religious War. The lieutenant-governor
of the chateau, appointed in April, Monsieur de Batresse, was a wise
choice because he showed good will toward the city and got along well
with the municipal officials. The echevins expressed their appreciation
for his appointment to Catherine de Medici in a letter dated 3 May
1563.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, Batresse was soon needed by Damville (Henri
de Montmorency) in Languedoc and was replaced in June of the same
year by one Captain Laguo. The echevins made several vain appeals

that Batresse, who was "un gentilhomme tant sage et accort", remain in command at Caen.⁷⁷ Though Laguo was praised in letters to city officials from Damville, future events would prove that their fears of a change and their confidence in Batresse were well-founded.⁷⁸ Laguo's hand was much heavier on the city, which had already suffered much because of garrisons of troops. Soon after he took command he went so far as to disarm the populace, strengthen the chateau and take over the hôtel de ville to quarter a garrison of troops--all of which alienated the Caennais considerably.⁷⁹

The summer of 1563 in Caen was less than tranquil. On 20 June an assembly was held at the chateau presided over by Monsieur de Batresse, soon to be replaced. The reason for the assemblage was the arrival of a representative from the Constable Montmorency, one Monsieur de Hérrouville, who brought a letter from the Constable describing the King and Queen mother's displeasure at non-observance of the Edict of Amboise in Caen. It was decided that a larger meeting including all the city and royal officials as well as representatives of the "manants et habitants" should be called for 4 July to draft a response to the Constable.⁸⁰ At the end of this gathering one Sieur Antoine Le Mercier, lawyer, presented his complaint already cited that "allant à la messe avec sa famille, quelques personnes, qu'il pourra nommer, l'ont menacé de lui couper la gorge."⁸¹ Where he was going to mass is problematic for at this point Roman Catholic services in Caen were still disrupted. Nevertheless, his report does give us a good idea of the tense state of Roman Catholic/

Protestant relations in the city.

The assembly held on 4 July 1563 drew up a response to Montmorency in which he was assured that Roman Catholic services were being held in some of the churches of the city. In the draft of the letter the conflict present within the city becomes apparent. The original version reported what has probably the actual situation:

. . . que depuis votre lettre escripte le service s'est commencé à dire et célébrer selon la forme de l'Eglise romaine en aucune des eglises de ceste ville. . .⁸²

In the final version it was decided that the exact time of resumption of services should be left vague, and the reference to his letter was deleted. The list of those attending this meeting reflects even further the importance of the Réformés in Caen at this point. Along with the municipal and royal officials, notables and "manants et habitants", the "ministres surveillantz et anciens de ladite ville de la Religion qui s'exercise en ceste ville" were specifically designated to attend.⁸³ Conflict within the meeting coincided with a riot near the church of St. Pierre, in which the hostilities of Roman Catholic and Protestant Caennais turned into street violence.⁸⁴ Reports which filtered out of the city of volatile conditions in contravention of the Edict of Amboise explain why Monsieur de Batresse's intervention at court on the part of the républicque of Caen was so important and elicited such hearty thanks by the city fathers.⁸⁵

In August the situation seems to have calmed down or at least, with the coming visit of the King and Queen mother (24-26 August),

hostilities were pushed below the surface.⁸⁶ At a 14 August meeting attended by the city notables and two commissioners from the King on the Edict of Amboise, Jacques Viole and Jehan de la Quesle, counsellors in the Paris Parlement, the Protestant lieutenant general of the bailli, Olivier de Brunville, proclaimed the loyalty of the Caen populace. He claimed that there was total liberty for both Roman Catholics and Protestants to worship. Further, he said, there was no trouble or rioting in the city.⁸⁷

The municipal documents do not indicate that de Brunville was glossing over any major incidents of unrest. Nevertheless, it is likely that the reconciliation of factions which he described took place only gradually during the four years prior to the beginning of the Second Religious War. The period from 1562 to 1563 had been the high point of Protestant influence.⁸⁸ After the summer of 1563 the Protestants gradually lost the dominant position which they had enjoyed for the year during which they controlled worship in the city. They were still strong enough to assure their right to worship within the city limits, but they were no longer in a position to make Caen a Protestant city by militant action. In May 1564 the Caen Réformés withdrew from one of the three places which they had been using for services, the Grandes Ecoles.⁸⁹ The Edict of Roussillon, issued in August 1564, continued the pattern already begun of increasing limitations on Protestant freedoms by banning the meeting of synods.⁹⁰

From 1564 to fall 1567 an uneasy peace reigned, and in Caen the Reformed congregation existed side by side with the Roman Catholic population. The baptismal and marriage registers of the Protestants indicate that the Réformés continued to comprise from one-third to one-half of the city's population through 1568.⁹¹ During these years Charles IX and Catherine de Medici travelled throughout the realm, seeking to calm unrest and strengthen the young king's authority by appearing before as many of his subjects as possible.⁹² In the meantime Chancellor Michel de l'Hôpital attempted to institute badly-needed administrative reforms, his efforts culminating in the general Edict of Moulins issued in 1566. Unfortunately, his grand design of administrative and bureaucratic reform was left largely unimplemented. Furthermore, his opposition to the increasing infringements on Protestant civil liberties failed to have a major impact on royal policy. By 1567 Catherine's maneuvering had largely ceased, and her allegiance was firmly attached to the Roman Catholic camp.⁹³

Spanish attempts to quell the revolt taking place in the Netherlands in autumn 1567 and the so-called Conspiracy of Meaux by Huguenot leaders sparked the resumption of hostilities in France. In Caen fears of violence led to the meeting of an extraordinary assembly on 3 October 1567.⁹⁴ This gathering, attended by royal and municipal officials, Roman Catholic priests, the three Protestant pastors and a large number of citizens, drafted guidelines for the best ways to keep the peace. All inhabitants of Caen of whatever

religion were exhorted to live in peace and patience with another. The carrying of any arms was strictly outlawed and inkeepers were instructed to report the presence of strangers. Furthermore,

. . . les docteurs, prêtres, curés et ministres seront tenus, dans leurs sermons et prêches, de recommander le concorde, ils sont mis sous la sauve-garde du roi, et nul, sous peine de la vie, ne doit les troubler dans l'exercice de leur religion;. . .⁹⁵

These measures and the relative good will which now existed between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Caen assured that the city would not suffer unrest during the short Second Religious War.

The fragile Peace of Longjumeau, issued on 23 March 1568, was published in Caen on 5 April.⁹⁶ While the terms of this peace were the same as those of the liberal Edict of Amboise, the treaty was quickly abrogated. In September 1568 royal treachery started the Third Religious War, and the Edicts of 25 September and St. Maur ended all toleration of Protestants, banished Reformed pastors and excluded Calvinists from the universities and public offices. Even before these edicts the Réformés of Caen had suffered a major setback with the death of their champion Olivier de Brunville on 28 August 1568. His successor as lieutenant general of the bailli was the man who had been the outspoken Roman Catholic notable throughout the 1560's, Charles de Bourgueville, sieur de Bras. Two of the three candidates for the post, chosen by the city notables, were prominent Protestants, but it was the third whom the King chose.⁹⁷ While several incidents relating to the city's defenses in June and September 1568 reflected the continued influence of the Protestant

population,⁹⁸ the loss of their most powerful spokesman and the dismissal of Michel de l'Hôpital from among the royal counsellors marked a turning point for the fortunes of the Protestants of Caen. After the Edict of 25 September the Protestant registers of baptism and marriage were closed. For the first time since 1558 services were discontinued.

The evidence shows that Protestantism came to be widely accepted in the capital of Lower Normandy during the decade of the 1560's. The final section of this study (chapters Seven and Eight) will deal with the period from 1568 until 1598 during which the Reformed movement suffered serious setbacks only to regain strength and open recognition with the accession of Henri IV to the throne and the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes. Before turning to that period, however, we will look more closely in the next two chapters at what the early success of the Reformed movement as an organized church meant both for the large number of Caennais who flocked to hear the sermons of the Calvinist pastors and for the city itself and its institutions.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER IV

¹ A full study of the Pre-reform in Lower Normandy was not within the scope of this work. David J. Nicholls is completing a dissertation on the origins of Protestantism in Normandy (University of Birmingham, England - R. J. Knecht), drawing extensively on the archives of the Parlement of Rouen. He has graciously shared with me some of his discoveries which relate to the Caen area, as well as some of his general conclusions. An article summarizing his main conclusions will appear in History in 1978. The other important secondary sources on the Pre-reform in Lower Normandy include: Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen; Floquet, Parlement de Normandie; Galland, L'histoire du Protestantisme en Basse-Normandie; Oursel, "La réforme en Normandie"; Weiss, "Les débuts de la Réforme en Normandie". Nicholls' work in this area is particularly welcome because of the unreliability of Floquet; see Weiss, "Les débuts de la Réforme en Normandie", p. 208, n. 2 and E. Le Parquier, "Les Sources de l'histoire du Parlement de Normandie de Floquet de 1560-62", BSHPPF, 69 (1920), 209-26; 70 (1921), 26-40. De Bourgueville's chronicle comments on the early sixteenth-century development of heretical ideas (II, 77-206, passim). On the general context of the Pre-reform in France see among others Emile G. Léonard, Le protestant français (Paris, 1953), pp. 27-29, 42-46; Augustin Renaudet, Pré-réforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie: 1494-1517 (2nd ed., Paris, 1953); Samuel Mours, Le protestantisme en France au seizième siècle (Paris, 1953), pp. 29-100.

² N. Weiss, "Etienne Le Court, curé de Condé-sure-Sarthe, brûlé à Rouen le 11 décembre 1533", BSHPPF, 36 (1887), 305 from A.-L. Herminjard, ed., Correspondence des Reformateurs dans les pays de langue française (Geneva, 1868), II, 271 (Bucer to Luther, 25 August 1530). Latin text: "In quadam Normandia Normandiae regione adeo multi jam Evangelium profitentur, ut hostes coeperint eam vocare parvam Alemaniam. . .".

³ Oursel, "La réforme en Normandie," pp. 219-20 from M.-N. Tommaseo, ed., Rérelations des Ambassadeurs vénitiens sur les affaires de France au XVIIe siècle (Paris, 1838), I, 263. In this context the term Lutheran was used as a synonym for heresy in general; see Nancy L. Roelker, The French Huguenots: An Embattled Minority (St. Louis, Mo., 1977), p. 3.

⁴See chapter Three, pp. 105-26.

⁵Weiss, "Les débuts de la Réforme en Normandie", pp. 205-06; ADC, C 66, ff. 165-66. This Caen "affaire des placards" has been greatly misunderstood; see Carel, Histoire de Caen - I, p. 226; Henri Prentout, Renovatio ac Reformatio in Universitate Cadomensi per XVI saeculum (Caen, 1901), p. 105; Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs", p. 418, n. 3; Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen", p. 301, n. 1. Weiss has placed it in its proper context.

⁶Abbé Jean Canu, "Les Guerres de religion et le protestantisme dans la Manche", Revue du département de la Manche, 14 (1972), fasc. 55, 232, n. 22 from Philippe Manneville, "Caractères du Protestantisme en Normandie", Société havraise d'études diverses (1969), p. 35.

⁷Ourself, "La réforme en Normandie", p. 186; Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen", pp. 301-02.

⁸Charles du Plessis d'Argentré, ed., Collectio Judicorum de novis erroribus qui ab initio duodecimi seculi post Incarnationem Verbi, usque ad annum 1713 in Ecclesia proscripti sunt et notati (Paris, 1724), II, pt. 1, 130-31.

Propositio

Tu es marri et triste de tes pechez, et fais satisfaction. Tu n'y fais rien, mais Dieu fait tout, comme il est dit en l'Evangile: Mulier cum parit, tristitiam habet. . .

.....

Propositio

Voyez un Prince infidele qui oyt la prédication de l'Evangile; il reçoit en lui l'Esprit de Dieu. Il est fait enfant de Dieu. Et toi aussi, quand tu es en peché mortel, en oyant la parole de Dieu.

.....

Propositio

Le Sacrement de l'Autel n'est qu'un signe, non plus que le Sacrement de Baptême.

.....

Propositio

Tout ainsi que le Sacrement de l'Autel est un vrai signe, et le témoignage de la paix et union des Chrétiens avec Jesus-Christ, et de la charité

les uns avec les autres, aussi le Sacrement de Baptême est un vrai signe de témoignage de la mortification de notre corps, et de la vivification de notre esprit, parfoÿ que nous avons à J.C. d'une union; à la mienne volonté que nous n'ayons pas receu, ni n'ayons seulement ce signe, mais avec ce la signification et la verité contenue et cachée sous ce signe.

.....

See also Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen", p. 302.

⁹Argentré, Collectio Judicorum de Novis erroribus, II, pt. 1, 130-31.

¹⁰ADC, D 90, f. 155; Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen", pp. 303-04.

¹¹ADC, D 90, ff. 205-09; Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen", p. 304, n. 2.

¹²Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen", pp. 304-05. See chapter Six on the impact of the Reform on the university.

¹³Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs", pp. 424-25. See chapter Three, p. 114.

¹⁴Argentré, Collectio Judicorum de Novis erroribus, II, pt. 1, 188-90.

¹⁵Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 81, 212 (August 1564 & February 1566).

¹⁶Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs", pp. 424-25. He did not reconvert as A. de Blangy, translator and editor of de Cahaigues' Eloges des citoyens de Caen, implies (p. 78, n. 2). On Bouillon see n. 61.

¹⁷Léonard, Le protestant français, p. 45; Mours, Le protestantisme en France au 16e siècle, pp. 93-95; Lucien Romier, "Les protestants français à la veille des guerres civiles", Revue historique, 124 (1917), 42-51; N. Weiss, La Chambre ardente (Paris, 1889), p. XXI; Prentout

"Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen", pp. 288-89.

18, "Pierre Caroli, Clément Marot, Mathurin Cordier et Quarante-six autres, ajournés par les gens du roi commes suspects d'hérésie, 1534 (1535 n.s.)", BSHPP, 10 (1861), 35, n. 1; (from the BN, MS Fonds St. Germain française, no. 1556, f. 60bis).

19 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 162-163; de Bourgueville gives no date for their departure and mentioned it along with developments in the late 1550's, but he did say that they left at the same time that Beza was marrying and going to Geneva (1544 & 1548). This reference argues for a departure by the Caen nuns in the 1540's.

20 On religious violence and iconoclasm see Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence", Past & Present, 59 (1973), 51-91 (also published in Davis, Society and Culture in Early Modern France, pp. 152-87); J. Estebe and N.Z. Davis, "Debate - The Rites of Violence", Past & Present, 67 (1975), 127-35. The mid-19th century Caen historian Abbé Gervais de la Rue was inclined to explain iconoclasm on purely material grounds--Protestants pillaged during the Religious Wars in order to support the conflict. de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, II, 377. Incidents prior to 1562 and the beginning of the wars undermine his position. More recent discussions of the phenomenon of religious violence by Davis, Estebe and others underline the complexity of the factors at work in these popular outbursts.

21 Archives départementales, Seine-Maritime, Série B, Fonds du Parlement (unclassified), Arrêt: 6 October 1542. I wish to thank David Nicholls for sharing the text of this arrêt with me.

22 Ibid.

23 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 137.

24 Archives départementales, Seine-Maritime, Série B, Fonds du Parlement (unclassified), Arrêt: 17 December 1545. Again, I thank David Nicholls for this arrêt.

25 Ibid.

26 Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 105, 132, 148, 172 (1564 & 1565); see Appendix 14: Caen Echevins (1555-69).

- 27
AMC, CC 349 f. 64 (Comptes du receveur de la ville pour le produit des octrois, 1549). See also R.-N. Sauvage, "Un monitoire contre les briseurs d'images à Caen dans la nuit du 3 juin 1560", Baiocana, 4 (1913), 281; Armand Benet, "La Réforme à Caen en 1549", BSHPF, 45 (1896), 520; Weiss, "Les débuts de la Réforme en Normandie", pp. 207-09.
- 28
Weiss, "Les débuts de la Réforme en Normandie", pp. 207-09.
- 29
Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 63-64. Mesnage was later reinstated and became a maître des requêtes and ambassador to Switzerland.
- 30
Jonathan Stewart Dewald, "The Magistrates of the Parlement of Rouen, 1499-1610" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1974), p. 282. In his study of the parlementaires of Rouen, 1499-1610, Dewald devotes an entire chapter to a comparative analysis of their attitudes toward various crimes (chapter Six: "The Magistrates and Crime: An Approach to Collective Values", pp. 258-303). He finds that "the parlementaires were in fact lukewarm in their defense of religious orthodoxy, and religion was much less an area of concern to them than the family and the community" (p. 286). Heresy was treated harshly only when it openly threatened the social order. On the attitudes of the Rouen Parlement see also Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 15-39, 66-74, 88-110, 238, 270-75; Oursel, "La réforme en Normandie", pp. 183-85; Weiss, "Les débuts de la Réforme en Normandie", p. 208 & Mours, Le protestantisme en France au 16e siècle, p. 64. During the 1550's a number of parlementaires became Protestant and lost their seats until the 1570 Edict of Pacification (Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 270-75).
- 31
Quoted in Dewald, "The Magistrates of the Parlement of Rouen," p. 285 from Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 244 (Bonaventure des Periers, Contes nouvelles et joyeux devis de Bonaventure des Periers (s.l., 1711), II, 118).
- 32
Oursel, "La réforme en Normandie", pp. 182-83; Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 240-43.
- 33
Mours, Le protestantisme en France au 16e siècle, p. 64.
- 34
Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 15-18, 29-31. Floquet describes a situation in which civil inrest in Lower Normandy was widespread. Part of the problem was that the bailli of Caen, Jacques d'Auberville, was involved with the unruly nobility. In the 1560's

d'Auberville's widow was active in the Caen Reformed Church. Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 254.

35

Quoted in Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 236 from Registres secrètes des Grands Jours de Bayeux (Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen, MS Y137). See also Maurice Wilkinson, "Processes of Heresy in France in the 16th century", Huguenot Society Proceedings, 11 (1915-17), 51.

36

Quoted in Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 37-38, 228-29 from Registres secrètes des Grands Jours de Bayeux, 3 November 1540.

37

ADC, H (unclassified-Hôpitaux) no. 301 (Arrêt des Grands Jours de Bayeux) & Rsupp., liasse 62, sec. 1. On 1540 reforms of hospitals see chapter One, pp. 34-37.

38

Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 8; Oursel, "La réforme en Normandie", pp. 184-85; Wilkinson, "Heresy in France in the 16th century", p. 51.

39

Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 15-18, 39-42; Wilkinson, "Heresy in France in the 16th century", p. 51.

40

Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 41-42.

41

Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 9.

42

Weiss, La Chambre ardente, p. XXXVII.

43

Jean Crespin, Histoire des Martyrs persecutez et mis à mort pour la verité de l'Evangile depuis le temps des apostres iusques à present (1619), ed. Daniel Benoit (3 vols., Toulouse, 1885-89), II, 88-90. Le Vayr is the only Lower Norman martyr included in Crespin's history who definitely came from the Caen area. One Alexander Canus, executed in Paris in 1534, was from Evreux according to Crespin, though others say Rouen, Caen and Paris (I, 285, n. 1). In 1557-58 at least three other Normans from the area between Caen and Rouen were martyred in Paris: Nicolas Le Cene and his brother Philippe of St. Pierre-sur-Dives (II, 478-79, 568-70) and Geoffroy Guerin of Pont Audemer (II, 590-604).

44

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 162, 168.

Le commun peuple fut assez facilement seduit. Joint que les imposts & subsides estoyent si excessifs qu'en plusieurs villages l'on ne faisoit plus aucunes assietes des Tailles: mesmes les Decimes estoyent si hauts que les Curez, & Vicaires se redoyent fugitifs, pour crainte d'estre emprisonnez, & ne se disoit plus le service divin en grand nombre de paroisses prochaines de ceste ville de Caen: comme aux villages de Plumetot, Periers, Sequeville, Putot. Item Solliers, & autres plusieurs.

.....

. . . grand peuple par tout ce Royaume, les uns allechez par la trop grande liberte que preschoient les Ministres, les autres par ce qu'ils n'esperoyent plus de reformation aux abus des Ecclesiastiques: ils furent assez facilement induits a delaisser les ceremonies de l'Eglise Catholique, . . .

Lucien Romier, Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis: la France à la veille des guerres de religion (2 vols., 2nd ed., Paris, 1925), II, 69-70 presents other evidence of the heavy financial burdens carried by the Lower Normans.

45

J. W. Baum, E. Cunitz & R. Reuss, eds. Histoire ecclésiastique des églises réformées au royaume de France. . . (3 vols., Paris, 1883-89), I, 220 (1580 pagination); Robert M. Kingdon, Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France (1555-63) (Geneva, 1956), p. 145.

46

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 162. De Bourgueville's strongly anti-Calvinist sentiments were clearly revealed in his comments about the Genevan reformers.

Calvin, lequel fut receu à Geneve l'an 1539 pour Ministre, auquel a succédé Theodore de Beze, l'erreur desquels est plus detestable et a apporté plus de dommage que toutes les autres, par ce qu'ils sont sacramentaires, ce que n'ont esté les Lutheriens lesquels on confuté leur doctrine, et voila comme tels protestans s'accordent. (II, 88.)

See Appendix 11: Caen Pastors, 1558-1610.

47

See Appendix 12: The Baptismal and Marriage Registers of the Caen Reformed Church, 1560-1612. Chapter Five will provide a full discussion of the Caen church and the Protestant population from 1558 to 1568. My purpose here is to sketch the developments from 1558 to 1568 as a background for the next two chapters.

48

See chapter Five, pp. 185-210 & Figure 1, Map 4, Table 3 and Appendices 12 and 13 for details on the Protestant population.

49

Sauvage, "Monitoire contre les briseurs d'images", pp. 283-84. This monitory letter was published in Caen on 9 June 1560 (ADC, 1B 2, ff. 21, 22, 24; Attestations by royal sergeants).

50

ADC, F 1178; published in Sauvage, St-Martin de Troarn, pp. 444-45.

51

Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 283-85. Floquet's treatment of this incident contains some errors which have been corrected by Le Parquier, "Les Sources de l'histoire du Parlement de Normandie", 69 (1920), 213. The text of one of the placards attacking the counsellors Le Georgelier and Damours is given by N. Weiss, "A Caen en 1560", BSHPF, 70 (1921), 135-36.

52

Edict of Amboise (March 1560); Edict of January (January 1562) (published in Caen on 22 January 1562, ADC, 1B 2, ff. 198-201).

53

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 168; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 30-33; Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 309, 374. Floquet reports that the same thing happened in Rouen.

54

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 170-81. See chapter Six, pp. 272-85, for a full discussion of the impact of these developments on the Roman Catholic church.

55

Destruction du saccagement exercée cruellement par le duc de Guise et sa cohorte en la ville de Vassy le 1er jour de mars 1561 (v.s.) [1562], Caen, MDLXII in M. L. Cimber, F. Danjou et al, ed., Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France depuis Louis XI jusqu'à Louis XVIII ou Collection de pièces rares et intéressantes. . . series, 1, IV (Paris, 1835), 103-10, esp. 107-09.

56 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 170.

Depuis telles journées s'ensuyvit la cessation du service divin, & toutes l'observance Ecclesiastique & ancienne en ceste ville de Caen, & es environs, & lors commencerent les Ministres occuper, & faire leurs Presches aux Temples & Eglises de leur autorité privee.

AMC, BB 3, ff. 7, & 22 (14 June and 4 July 1563 exchange of letters between Anne de Montmorency and the Caen Corps de ville in which the cessation and resumption of Roman Catholic services is mentioned.)

57 Jean Aymon, Tous les Synodes nationaux des Eglises Réformées de France auxquels on a joint des Mandemens Roiaux et plusieurs Lettres Politiques. . . (2 vols., The Hague, 1710), I, part A, 171.

Les Huguenots sont maintenant en Possession dans cet Etat des villes d'Orleans, de Tours, de Blois, et de tout le País qui est aux Environs de la Normandie, s'étant aussi rendus Maitres de Rohan, de Cham [Caen], du Havre de Grace, et de La Rochelle, qui sont des Ports de Mer, dont ils tiennent toutes le Dependances.

58 Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 309 (from Registres secrètes, Parlement de Rouen, 25 February 1573).

- 59 Abbé Gervais de la Rue, Cartulaire de Caen (BMC, MS In-4. 218), ff. 219-20 (28 April 1562 Request by Coligny from BN, MSS Fontanieu, vol. 300 and MSS de Balure, n. 9037/6, f. 6). See also de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, II, 376-77.

Il est bon de garder aux portes de la ville de Caen et y commencer des le samedi par ce que les habitans ont entendu quil doit y avoir une assemblée de l'arriéban, et ils ne scavent si a cette occasion quelques ennemis du Roy ne voudront pas entrer et s'emparer de la ville. Il faut elire un homme qui ait le commendement sur les bourgeois et qui ira de porte en porte avec douze hallebardiers et arquebutiers, en leur faisant entendre que c'est pour n'être pas surpris.

60 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 169-70, 179-80.

⁶¹Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 261-67 (quote p. 363), 385-86, 394-98; Pierre Congar, Jean LeCaillon & Jacques Rousseau, Sedan et le pays sedanais (Paris, 1969), pp. 173-74, 181. See also for similar later orders by Bouillon: ADC, 1B2, ff. 235, 237, 241-42 (30 April, 20 May & 19 June 1562).

⁶²Hector de La Ferrière-Percy, ed., La Normandie à l'étranger; Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de Normandie tirés des archives étrangères: XVIe et XVIIe siècles (Paris, 1873), pp. 5-7; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 44-45; de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 177-79.

⁶³de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 35, 179-80; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 44-45. According to de Bourgueville Bouillon left the chateau under one captain Gemmes and a large garrison of primarily Protestant troops. Before he had left Bouillon welcomed several Protestant pastors to the chateau. Nonetheless, the Calvinist leaders did not wish to leave this important stronghold under royal control, Protestant or not. A memoir sent by Jacques de Matignon, lieutenant general of Lower Normandy, to the king in September 1562 makes it clear that Caen was a hotbed of rebellion and sedition at this time. (Cimber & Danjou, Archives curieuses, series 1, V (1835), 58. This is further confirmed by evidence relating to the Treaty of Hampton Court of 20 September 1562, which indicates that those in control of Caen were willing to throw themselves under the protection of Elizabeth in order to assure freedom to worship as Réformés. La Ferrière-Percy, La Normandie à l'étranger, pp. 43-44.

⁶⁴AMC, BB 2, ff. 38r.-39r. (22 January 1563 Instructions from the Corps de ville to Fernagu); de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 168; ADC, D 64 (Matrologe de l'Université de Caen), f. 398v. (Request by the University rector that the Protestants vacate the Grandes Ecoles, 1564); AMC, BB 2, f. 20r. (20 June 1563 complaint by a Roman Catholic lawyer that his life was threatened when he attempted to go to mass).

⁶⁵de la Rue, Cartulaire de Caen, f. 232r. (19 February 1563 letter from BN, MSS Fontanieu, vol. 305). Charles de Cossé, count of Brissac was governor of Normandy at this time, Bouillon having been temporarily removed. Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, p. 40; AMC, BB 4, ff. 78-79 (May & June 1564 - Bouillon's reinstatement). At the same time Catherine wrote to Monsieur de Gonnor regarding the fall of the Caen chateau, "Je suis bien marrie de set que Quans [Caen] et prins, et aurmis cela nos afayres ysi alet asés byen, . . ." Hector de La Ferrière-Percy, ed., Lettres de Catherine de Médicis (10 vols., Paris, 1880), I, 523. The fall of Caen led to victories for the

Protestants in the rest of Normandy; shortly Bayeux, Honfleur, St. Lô, Avranches and Vire were in their hands. La Ferrière-Percy, Normandie à l'étranger, p. 104.

66
de la Rue, Cartulaire de Caen (BMC, MS In-4. 318), f. 232r.

67
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 184-85; Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 21 (2 March 1563). On Beza's role as a fund raiser for the army see Théodore de Bèze, Correspondence, ed. by H. & F. Aubert, H. Meylan & A. Dufour (7 vols., Geneva, 1965), IV, 8. For accounts of the fall of Caen see Baum, Cunitz & Reuss, Histoire ecclesiastique, II, 258-61 (1580 pagination) and Crespín, Histoire des Martyrs, III, 326.

68
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 185; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 58-49. Beaujour wisely councils that de Bourgueville's testimony on this matter should be taken with caution because his hostility to the Protestant cause is without question. See below p.162 on a case of de Bourgueville's false testimony with regard to the Edict of Amboise.

69
Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 40-66. Services continued at three locations within the city (Grandes Ecoles, Grain Hall and in a storehouse in the quartier St. Jean) rather than being limited to one or two locations as specified by the king.

70
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 185-86.

71
AMC, BB 2, f. 54 (10 April 1563 deliberations); Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 65-70; Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, pp. 147-48. Beaujour discusses de Bourgueville's inaccuracy but incorrectly dates the decision to delay publication as the 8th rather than the 10th. Gilbert Frilet de la Curée, seigneur de la Roche Turpin, a Protestant, was lieutenant general of Vendomois and a fonfidant of Coligny, Condé and Catherine (Vanel, Une grande ville, I, 32, n. 1).

72
AMC, BB 2, f. 56r. (8 April 1563).

73
AMC, BB 2, f. 56v.; Catherine responded by appointing Louis de Nuhezés, seigneur de Batresse as lieutenant governor of the chateau.

⁷⁴ See chapter Five, pp.189-93 on areas of Protestant strength within the city.

⁷⁵ La Ferrière-Percy, Normandie à l'étranger, p. 151 (27 May 1563 letter from de Brissac to Catherine).

⁷⁶ AMC, BB 2, f. 65 (22 April 1563 announcement of appointment); AMC, BB 2, f. 100 (3 May 1563 letter from the Caen echevins to Catherine); Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, pp. 46-50. Damville was governor of the chateau.

⁷⁷ AMC, BB 2, f. 100 (3 May 1563); AMC, BB 2, f. 113 (9 June 1563); AMC, BB 2, ff. 125-26 (10 June 1563 appeals).

⁷⁸ AMC, BB 2, f. 140 (20 June 1563); AMC, BB 3 ff. 4-5 (2 June & 7 June 1563): Damville's recommendation and Lagou's appointment. Batresse continued to work on the city's behalf; AMB, BB 3, ff. 26-27 (27 July 1563 exchange of letters between Batresse and the echevins). Raymond de Lagou, sieur de Lagou, was lieutenant governor of the chateau from 1563 to c. 1580. Victor Hunger, ed., Quelques actes normandes des XIV, XV et XVIe siècles (3 vols., Paris, 1909-11), III, 69, n.3.

⁷⁹ Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 71-72. On the ongoing enmity between the city and Lagou see AMC, BB 12, f. 84r. (28, 29, & 30 March 1575 deliberations regarding Lagou's demands and threats to the echevins); AMC, BB 26, f. 14 (2 March 1588 harangue by de Bourgueville against incursions on city lands by Lagou); chapter Seven, n. 94.

⁸⁰ AMC, BB 3, f. 22 (14 June 1563 the Constable's letter); AMC, BB 3, f. 19v. (20 June 1563 meeting).

⁸¹ AMC, BB 3, f. 20r. (20 June 1563 meeting). Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 82; he incorrectly dates this event as taking place 8 March 1564. See above n. 64.

⁸² AMC, BB 3, f. 7 (4 July 1563 letter to the Constable); emphasis mine.

⁸³ AMC, BB 3, f. 6 (3 July 1563 summons for the meeting issued by d'Auberville, bailli, and de Bourgueville, one of his lieutenants).

84

AMC, BB 3, f. 9v.-10v. (4 July 1563 report on the meeting and events by de Bourgueville). The implications of these events will be discussed further in chapter Six, pp.268-69.

85

AMC, BB 3, f. 26 (17 July 1563 letter from Batresse to Caen); Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, pp. 56-57.

86

AMC, BB 3, ff. 88-96 (24-26 August 1563 royal visit); de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 187-91. Michel de l'Hôpital accompanied Charles and Catherine to Caen. He is reported by de Cahaigues to have been entertained by the Protestant lieutenant general of the bailli Olivier de Brunville (de Cahaigues, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, eloge no. 12, pp. 85-86).

87

AMC, BB 3, f. 55v. (14 August 1563).

88

The impact of this period of Protestant strength on the city will be discussed further in chapter Six.

89

Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 66; the last reference to services at the Grandes Ecoles was 10 May 1564.

90

Robert M. Kingdon, Geneva and the Consolidation of the French Protestant Movement (1564-72). A Contribution to the History of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism and Calvinist Resistance Theory (Geneva, 1967), p. 160; Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, p. 155 & n. 15; Articles, respondus par le Roy en son conseil privé, sur la requeste presentée par plusieurs habitans de la ville de Bourdeaux. . . (Paris, 1565) in Cimber & Danjou, Archives curieuses, series I, VI (1835), 269-78. The request from Bordeaux illustrates the problems of the Réformés during this period.

91

See chapter Five and Figure 1, Map 4 and Table 3 on the Protestant population.

92

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 191; Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, pp. 149-51.

93

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 192; Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, pp. 151-62, 172.

94 AMC, BB 8, ff. 1-19 (3 October 1567 assembly); Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, pp. 86-87 (wrongly dated 3 November 1567); Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 86-87.

95 AMC, BB 8, ff. 4-5 (3 October 1567 minutes).

96 AMC, BB 8, ff. 28r., 37-50 (5 April 1568 publication of the Edict of Longjumeau).

97 AMC, BB 8, f. 74v. (28 & 30 August 1568). The other nominees were Tanneguy Sorin and François Richard, sieur de Hérouville, both prominent Protestants.

98 AMC, BB 8, f. 58 (7 June 1568 request that the garrison be removed, to be signed by all notables without distinction as to religion); AMC, BB 8, f. 84 r. (12 September 1568 remonstrances by Roman Catholics and Protestants of Caen regarding the guard of the city walls).

C H A P T E R V

"L'EGLISE REFORMEE DE CESTE VILLE DE CAEN"

A. The Reformed Community, 1560-68

During the 1560's a movement whose goal was the revitalization of man's relationship with God took hold of the popular spirit in France. Prior to 1555 this movement existed only underground; later, during the Religious Wars, particularly after 1568, disillusionment and persecution sapped its reservoir of creative energy. Popular enthusiasm was gradually replaced by political organization, as had occurred earlier in the century in Germany. In the brief interval between 1555 and 1568, the Reformation in France reached its zenith as a social movement.

As we have already seen this movement found strong support in the city of Caen. In fact, during the early years of the Reform the Protestants in that city were clearly in a position of strength. In this chapter we will examine closely the large population which was attracted to the new church and look at just how the Reformed Church of Caen was organized. Wherever possible the Protestant community will be compared and contrasted with the population of the city as a whole, both in its social and economic character.

It may be argued that one decade of strength is so short a period as to be virtually meaningless when compared to the 400 years of difficult times and minority status which followed. Yet, the impact

of that decade was great. The wounds of the Religious Wars healed only slowly and the strong communities of Protestants, become minorities, long exerted a disproportionate influence on the French nation. This was particularly true in Caen where the seeds sown by the decade of the sixties were firmly rooted, and the importance of the Protestant community continued well into the seventeenth century.¹

The key to our knowledge about the Caen Protestant community is the unusually complete series of baptismal and marriage registers discovered in 1859 in a grenier near Dieppe. Beginning with a register for 1561-63 kept by one of the city's three pastors, the registers continue through the century with gaps only during the periods of fiercest persecution in 1568-70, 1572-77 and 1585-89. A careful reading and analysis of these records provides a wealth of detailed information about the Protestant population and its religious life. This source is all the more important because of the absence of any records of consistory meetings.²

The following discussion is based on a computerized analysis of the registers from 1561 to 1568. Rather than merely counting the baptisms to establish yearly fluctuations in the Protestant population, I turned to the computer as a means of identifying the 9,500 individuals, fathers, mothers, godparents and children, mentioned in these records. My aim was to reconstruct the Protestant community. The baptism and marriage records of the Caen community constitute a large sample of the total Protestant population. Since adults of marrying and child-bearing age and godparents presumably drawn from all age levels are

included, these records bring us as close to reconstituting the Protestant population of a sixteenth-century French city as is normally possible given the scarcity of actual membership lists.

What, then, do these records tell us about the Caen Protestants? First of all, they show the overall fluctuations in the Protestant population during the 1560's. The earliest register kept by pastor Vincent Le Bas from 1561 to 1563 indicates that the Protestant community almost doubled in each of these three years. If, as is likely, the two other pastors during this period, Jean Cousin and Pierre Pinson, were keeping separate records which have since been lost, the Protestant population grew from at least 2,100 in 1561 to 5,300 in 1562 to 8,250.³ In 1564, 375 baptisms were recorded by the church's three regular ministers. The next year saw the level reach its highest point, 497. Using the standard multiplier of 25, which assumes 40 baptisms per 1,000 population, this suggests a population of over 12,000 or at least one-half of the city, if not three-quarters.

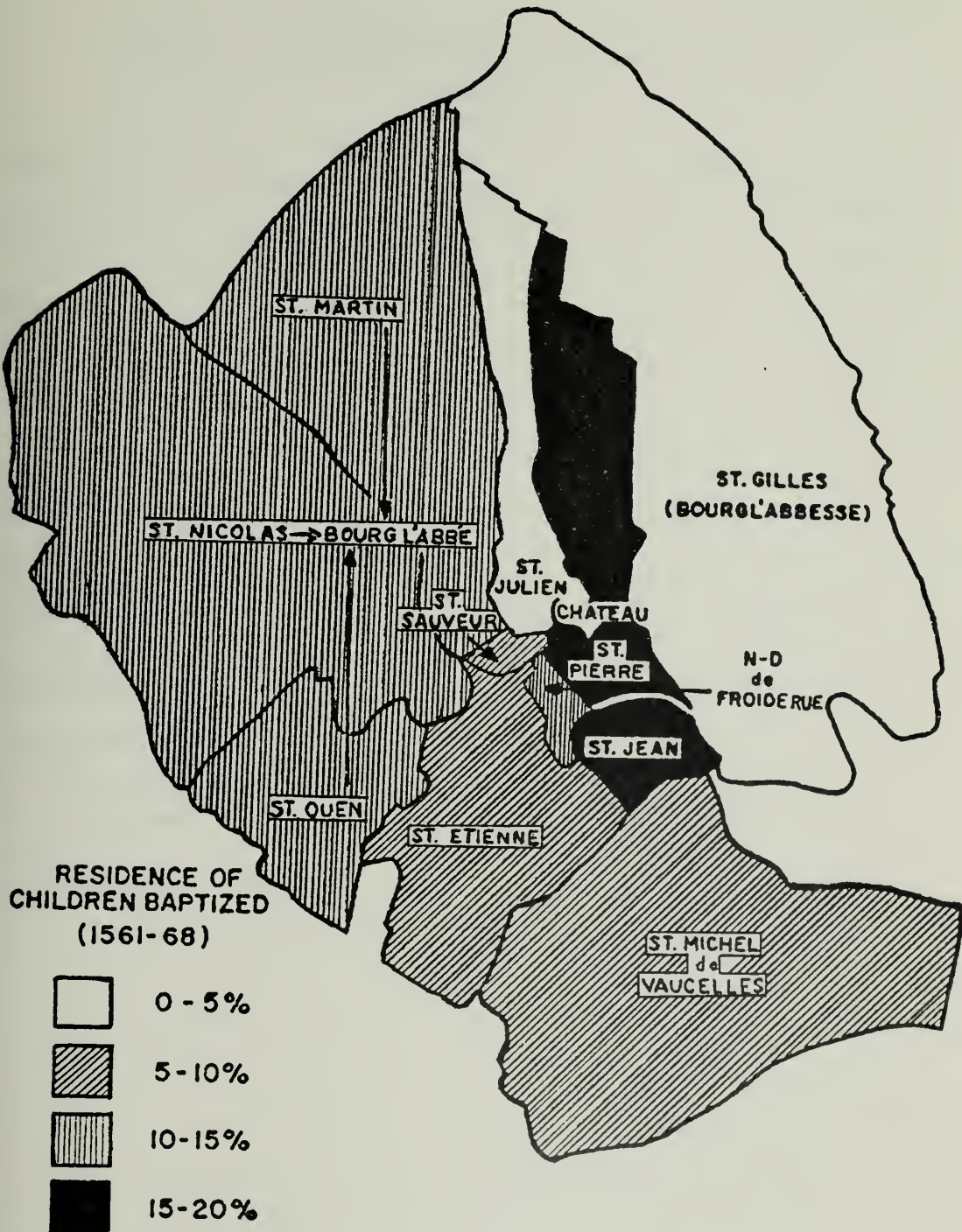
Clearly, the promising political situation in the early 1560's had fostered a dramatic growth in the Reformed ranks at Caen. With the death of Henri II and François II and Catherine de Medici's ensuing maneuvering between the Roman Catholic and Protestant factions at court, it appeared that Protestantism in France had a reasonable chance of success as a mass movement. The vitality stemming from rapid growth added to the phenomenon of Protestant strength at Caen in these early years. During this period the baptismal records of La Rochelle, a city of a size comparable to Caen, indicate Protestant strength of

the same magnitude. While Rouen records reveal an impressive 662 baptisms or roughly 16,550 Protestants, this constituted only about 25 percent of the city's population.⁴ Through 1568 Protestant baptisms in Caen remained above 350 per year. Thus, if Protestants were not actually a majority in the city, they certainly achieved numerical parity in their first decade as an organized church.

By looking more closely at the information provided in the baptismal and marriage registers of the 1560's it is possible to learn much more about these Caen Protestants. Almost all the participants in a baptism or marriage--mother, father, godparents, spouses--consistently recorded their parish of residence, thus revealing the areas of Protestant strength within the city. From this information it is also possible to identify individuals mentioned in tax lists, in the deliberations of the echevins and in other records as Protestants.

The first point, which is obvious when one looks at the distribution of Protestants in the city, is that they were well represented in the densely populated central parishes--67 percent of the parents who brought their children to be baptised during the 1560's came from St. Pierre, St. Jean, N-D de Froiderue, St. Sauveur and St. Etienne.⁵ This concentration did not vary noticeably from 1561 to 1568, and a figure of 70 percent for godparents further supports this pattern. It indicates that the Protestants enjoyed a balanced representation in the wealthiest and most important part of Caen which housed 69 percent of the population in 1491 and 60 percent in 1695.

Map 4: The Distribution of Protestants in Caen during the 1560's.



Map based on Jean-Claude Perrot, *Genèse d'une ville moderne: Caen au XVIIIe siècle* (The Hague and Paris, 1975), p. 43.

Table 3: The Distribution of Protestants in Caen during the 1560's.

1561-68

PARISH	Children baptized		Husband and Wives	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per Cent
St. Pierre	469	20.4%	76	16.8%
St. Jean	465	20.2	90	19.8
N-D de Froiderue	271	11.8	39	8.6
Bourg l'abbé -St. Martin -St. Nicolas -St. Ouen	266	11.6	46	10.1
St. Sauveur	193	8.4	41	9.0
St. Michel de Vaucelles	154	6.7	17	3.7
St. Etienne	142	6.2	22	4.9
Bourg l'abbesse -St. Gilles	100	4.4	12	2.7
St. Julien	57	2.5	13	2.9
Caen (unspecified)	3	.1	2	.4
Within 10 kilometers of Caen	133	5.8	45	9.9
More than 10 kilo- meters from Caen	43	1.9	51	11.2
Missing (%s adjusted)	109	--	24	--
TOTAL	2405	100.0	478	100.0

In 1491 about 32 percent of the city's population lived in its largest parish, St. Pierre. This parish was the administrative and business center of the city. In the 1560's 20 percent of the city's Protestants lived within its limits. Two of the other central parishes, St. Sauveur and N-D de Froiderue, housed 8 and 11 percent of the Protestants respectively. These figures are equal to or greater than the proportion these parishes represented in the total population of the city in 1491 and 1695.

Another 20 percent of the Protestants lived in the nearby residential quarter of St. Jean. The importance of this quarter among the Protestant Caennais is considerably greater than its overall relative size in both 1491 and 1695--when it housed only about 12 percent of the city. The importance of St. Jean is even more striking in the marriage records between 1561 and 1568. A larger percentage of both husbands and wives came from St. Jean than from St. Pierre, while the figures for the other parishes confirm baptism levels. This concentration suggests that the appeal of the Reform was particularly strong among the wealthy noble and bourgeois families whose residences lined the rue St. Jean.

In contrast, the percentage of Protestants in the mixed industrial and agricultural parishes of St. Etienne and the suburbs of the Bourg l'abbé and Bourg l'abbesse is noticeably lower than these parishes' percentage of the total population in 1491 and 1695, suggesting that in the gardens and fields circling the city the Reform fell upon less fertile ground than in the administrative, commercial

and industrial areas in the heart of the city. Though the wealthy landholding Abbeys of St. Etienne and La Trinité were the direct focus of iconoclasm in 1562 and 1563, their quarters of the city do not appear to have contributed exceptionally large numbers to the Protestant camp. The individual rioters who destroyed the archives and buildings of these and other Caen churches left few traces, but the testimony of several witnesses and participants suggests that the crowd was numerous, drawn from a variety of social classes and from different parts of the city.⁶

The only suburban parishes which showed Protestant strength comparable to their total populations in 1491 were St. Michel de Vaucelles and St. Julien. Yet, both of these quarters grew strikingly during the sixteenth century so it is impossible to know whether these Protestant figures actually represented a sizable Reformed presence during the 1560's, or reflected the general growth of these areas.

The Caen church also attracted some members from outside the city limits. From 1560 to 1568 a yearly average of 8 percent of the children baptized came from outside the city's 11 parishes, but three-quarters of these were still from within 10 kilometers of Caen.⁷ Among the couples whose bans were announced at the Caen church from 1566 through 1568, 39 to 49 percent included one spouse who came from outside the city and was marrying a Caennais. In some of these exogamous marriages the non-Caen spouse was mentioned as currently dwelling in the city though formerly of another area, but in many the evidence shows that the Caen church was serving as a Reformed center

for Protestants lacking a church at home.⁸ Clearly, the new Reformed community of Caen cut across geographic lines, bringing together men and women who might otherwise not have met and married.

In his study of Rouen in the late sixteenth century Benedict observes a similar trend in the Protestant marriage records. In contrast with rates of exogamous marriage among Rouen's Roman Catholics of 1 to 22 percent, his sample of Protestants reveals at least one-third to one-half of the marriages including one spouse from outside of Rouen. He concludes that this characteristic was the result of the Huguenots' forced mobility.⁹ A further confirmation of the contrast between the exogamous situation in the Protestant community and the higher level of endogamy to be found in the traditional Roman Catholic setting may be noted by comparing the Caen figures on origins of spouses with those obtained by Gautier and Henry in their study of the Norman parish of Crulai in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The overall percentage of exogamous marriages performed in Crulai during the century from 1690 to 1789 was 20 percent, never rising above 23.6 percent in any decade, in contrast to the 34.5 percent which exogamy represented in the Caen Protestant marriage records from 1561 to 1568.¹⁰ Whereas Crulai and Caen were quite different in character, the former being a relatively small town and the latter a regional capital, nonetheless the contrast seems significant. Not until the 1760's did exogamous marriages in Caen as a whole approach the 34.5 percent of the Protestant community in the 1560's.¹¹ When one adds to these sixteenth-century Protestant figures, the fact that there were also

many marriages performed by the Caen pastors for spouses both of whom came from elsewhere (13 percent), the overall picture of the Protestant community can definitely be termed mobile and the impact of the Caen Reformed church more than local.

The economic status of some of the Caen Protestants can be traced through a 1563 tax which levied a payment of 20 écus on a group of 98 wealthy Caennais.¹² The parish of St. Pierre alone accounted for 50 percent of those taxed, reflecting the standing and wealth of many inhabitants of this section of the city. Of the group from St. Pierre exactly one-half were Protestants, indicating that these latter enjoyed a balanced representation in this important parish, certainly among its wealthier inhabitants. Of the 10 percent taxed in St. Jean, 72 percent were Protestants. Clearly, there was a sizable group of wealthy Réformés in the parish of St. Jean who would have proudly attended services when Theodore Beza mounted the pulpit of their parish church for a brief time in March of 1563.¹³ If we assume that the Protestants were about 50 percent of the population in 1563, their contribution to this levy in the rest of the city parishes confirms the pattern I have outlined--balanced strength in the heart of the city, with particular density in St. Jean and a slightly less than proportional presence in several of the suburban parishes.

Another fiscal record, this time a royal loan levied in 1568 on "aucunes de noz subjectz. . . qui se trouvent les plus aysez et avoir plus de moyen de nous aydez et secouoir", gives us an even more detailed picture of the distribution of wealth in the city as a whole

and the place of the Protestants in that picture.¹⁴ Fifteen hundred and three individual persons or households were subjected to the levy. The majority of those taxed were listed as individuals, with only 80 entries referring to a joint levy, usually on several members of the same family. This record from the very end of the period of Protestant strength provides us with economic indicators for between 7 and 12 percent of the Caen population (based on a population of 12,000-20,000). This sample represents the recognizable economic elite of the city. The study of its characteristics gives insight into wealth in Caen as a whole and specifically in the Protestant community.

The overall breakdown by residence of the group subjected to the levy, irrespective of confessional allegiance, provides few surprises.¹⁵ The wealthy residential parish of St. Jean housed a slightly higher proportion of the total number taxed than the population figures of 1491 and 1695 would lead one to expect.¹⁶ The same was true to some extent of St. Sauveur, St. Nicolas and St. Julien. Thus, it seems safe to say that these parishes housed a larger number of well-to-do persons than their size would normally predict. In the case of St. Julien this is somewhat surprising but is partially explained by the fact that 40 percent of those taxed in St. Julien paid the minimum levies of .25-.60 livres. Thus, St. Julien by no means projects the image of great wealth of a parish such as St. Pierre or N-D de Froiderue.¹⁷ As we shall see later, the wealthiest inhabitants of St. Julien were Protestant. While a great number of parishes, notably St. Pierre, N-D de Froiderue, St. Etienne, St. Nicholas and St. Ouen,

TABLE 4: The 1568 Levy on the wealthy of Caen.

A. Breakdown by parishes

<u>PARISH</u>	<u>Percent of all those taxed</u>	<u>Percent of all Protestants taxed</u>
St. Pierre	26.5	28.5
St. Jean	15.2	17.1
N-D de Froiderue	9.4	13.9
Bourg l'abbé	18.2	11.6
-St. Martin	6.2	4.2
-St. Nicolas	9.7	6.9
-St. Ouan	2.3	.5
St. Sauveur	8.2	10.3
St. Michel de Vaucelles	5.9	6.1
St. Etienne	8.1	7.3
Bourg l'abbeeee		
-St. Gilles	4.3	1.5
St. Julien	4.0	2.9
Parish unknown	.2	.7
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

B. Parish analysis: Mean tax and percentage of Protestants.

<u>PARISH</u>	<u>Whole</u>	<u>Mean tax paid (livres)</u>		<u>% Protestant in parish total</u>
		<u>Protestants</u>	<u>Non-Protestants</u>	
St. Pierre	9.0 l.	12.3 l.	6.6 l.	39.8%
St. Jean	7.5 l.	8.8 l.	6.5 l.	41.9%
N-D de Froiderue	7.6 l.	6.2 l.	6.6 l. (9.4 l. with outlier-175.75 l.)	55.0%
Bourg l'abbé				
-St. Martin	6.5 l.	9.4 l.	5.4 l.	25.5%
-St. Nicolas	5.6 l.	5.2 l.	5.8 l.	26.8%
-St. Ouan	3.7 l.	5.6 l.	3.6 l.	3.3%
St. Sauveur	9.3 l.	10.3 l.	5.5 l. (8.5 l. with outlier-200 l.)	46.9%
St. Michel de Vaucelles	3.5 l.	3.1 l.	2.6 l. (3.9 l. with outlier-70 l.)	37.7%
St. Etienne	3.0 l.	10.2 l.	7.7 l.	33.6%
Bourg l'abbeeee				
-St. Gilles	3.2 l. (5.7 l. with outlier-165 l.)	5.8 l.	2.7 l. (5.7 l. with outlier-165 l.)	13.3%
St. Julien	3.8 l.	8.7 l.	1.8 l.	27.0%
Entire City	7.4 l.	9.1 l.	6.3 l.	37.1%

C. Tax Level Analysis.

<u>TAX</u>	<u>Whole</u>	<u>Percent</u>	
		<u>Protestants</u>	<u>Non-Protestants</u>
0*	5.3	0.3	3.2
0 to 1 <u>livre</u>	21.3	15.9	24.6
1 to 2.5 <u>livres</u>	32.3	31.1	33.0
2.5 to 5 <u>livres</u>	13.3	15.1	12.3
5 to 10 <u>livres</u>	10.7	14.5	8.5
10 to 20 <u>livres</u>	9.2	11.1	8.1
20 to 30 <u>livres</u>	3.2	5.1	3.0
30 to 50 <u>livres</u>	2.5	3.8	1.6
50 to 100 <u>livres</u>	1.7	2.6	1.2
100 to 200 <u>livres</u>	0.4	0.3	0.5
100 <u>livres</u> up	0.1	0.2	---
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0

*These are named persons who paid jointly with another family member.

were represented on the levy at levels which suggest a balanced number of well-to-do within their limits, several others were clearly under-represented. The suburban parishes of St. Gilles and St. Michel de Vaucelles housed significantly smaller proportions of the wealthy of Caen than their population figures in 1491 and 1695 would warrant. Mean levy rates of 3.5 livres for St. Michael and 3.2 livres for St. Gilles, the lowest of all the parishes, bear out this fact.

The 1568 levy also enables us to pinpoint those parishes in which wealthy Protestants predominated in the overall Protestant population of the parish. In three parishes, St. Pierre, N-D de Froiderue and St. Sauveur, wealthy Protestants were a particularly important part of the Reformed population. The most striking case was St. Pierre which housed 28.5 percent of all the Protestants subjected to the levy but only 19.9 percent of the Protestant families who baptized children in 1568.¹⁸ Clearly, wealthier citizens contributed disproportionately to Protestant strength in St. Pierre. The case of N-D de Froiderue is also striking for this parish housed 13.9 percent of the wealthy Protestants who paid the 1568 levy but only 8.8 percent of the Protestant children baptized in 1568. Furthermore, N-D de Froiderue provided but 9.4 percent of those taxed, confirming that wealthy Protestants indeed represented a major segment of the parish's well-to-do population. This impression is further corroborated by the fact that over half of those taxed in N-D de Froiderue were Protestant, the highest proportion for any Caen parish and well above the 37.1 percent average for the tax as a whole. St. Sauveur also showed a somewhat larger wealthy Protestant population than might have been expected.

The figures for the rest of Caen's parishes reflect mixed levels of wealth among the Protestants living within their limits.¹⁹ The exception is St. Gilles which made up only 1.5 percent of the Protestants taxed in contrast to housing 5.2 percent of the Protestant families who baptized children in 1568. In St. Gilles those who were drawn to the Reformed church were much less likely to be among the elite of the city than in N-D de Froiderue, St. Pierre, St. Jean or St. Sauveur.

An examination of the amounts actually paid by the entire group subjected to the levy, both Protestants and non-Protestants, reveals further information about the location of these groups within the city.²⁰ While the amounts paid ranged from .25 livres to 300 livres for the entire population of 1503 individuals taxed, the mean amount paid was 7.6 livres.²¹ That a disproportionately large number of the wealthier members of the group were Protestants is suggested by their mean tax of 9.1 livres (9.6 livres when an outlier of 300 livres is included). In contrast, the average tax paid by non-Protestants was only 6.3 livres. The 557 Protestants taxed, 37.1 percent of the total 1503, is commensurate with a Protestant population of one-third to one-half of the city's total, but this levy indicates that the Protestants were wealthier than the non-Protestants. An analysis based on tax levels further confirms this finding, for 25 percent of the non-Protestants paid the lowest level of tax, .25-1.0 livres, compared to only 16 percent of the Protestants. As the amount levied rose, the percentage of Protestants increased and that of non-

Protestants decreased. In the upper tax bracket of 20 to 100 livres, paid by only 7.8 percent of the total, the percentage of Protestants was double that of non-Protestants. Interestingly, .5 percent of the Protestants and .5 percent of the non-Protestants paid the highest levies of from 100 to 300 livres. All of this evidence suggests that while the Réformés of Caen were not over-represented in the group of 1503 individuals subjected to the levy, they were exceptionally well represented among the wealthiest of those taxed.

Using the mean levy paid by the entire group, 7.6 livres, as a norm, it is possible to identify the wealthiest parishes of the city. Both the wealthiest Protestants and the wealthiest non-Protestants were to be found in St. Sauveur and St. Etienne. In addition, wealthy Protestants predominated in St. Pierre. In fact in St. Pierre and St. Jean there were actually more Protestants than non-Protestants among those who paid the highest levies.²² The suburbs of St. Martin and St. Julien also housed significant numbers of particularly wealthy Réformés. In contrast to these parishes with pockets of Reformed wealth, the non-Protestants dominated among the ranks of the richest inhabitants of N-D de Froiderue.

In conclusion, this single record of the geographical distribution of Caen's wealthiest citizens confirms that the city's most affluent inhabitants dwelt in the central royal bourg. The richest families of both the Protestant and Roman Catholic communities lived within this area. The Caen Protestants did not represent an overwhelmingly large percentage of the total population subjected to the levy. Yet,

Table 5: Occupational breakdown of the Protestant community.

This table has been compiled from the information supplied in the baptismal registers of the Caen Protestant church from 1561 to 1568. Occupational and official identifications from other sources, which I discuss in the text, are not included in this sample. This list indicated the wide range of occupations practiced by Protestant Caennais.

<u>OCCUPATION or POSITION</u>	<u>Number</u>
Nobleman or Ecuyer	106
Royal Official -including 33 more with City Official titles of nobility	{ 53 9
Lawyer	36
Doctor	7
Surgeon	2
Apothecary	3
Regent or Principal of the University	6
Pasteur	8
Merchant (unspecified)	4
Cloth merchant	2
Haberdasher	4
Draper	6
Maker of socks	4
Maker of purses	1
Maker of hats	2
Seamstress	3
Dyer	4
Butcher	11
Baker	2
Candle maker	1
Miller -	2
Flour sifter	1
Mason	13
Carrier of stone	3
Charpenter	1
Goldsmith	2
Clockmaker	1
Tinsmith	2
Locksmith	2
Gilder of swords	1
Coiner ? (<u>monnyer</u>)	1
Blacksmith	2
Saddler	2
Shoemaker	4
Bookseller	3
Domestic servant	6
Musician	1
Painter	1
TOTAL	322

for several reasons they would have been a striking group in some of the city's parishes. In N-D de Froiderue, St. Sauveur, St. Jean and St. Pierre they constituted from 40 to 50 percent of the total taxed, certainly a visible wealthy population. In St. Julien, St. Pierre and St. Martin they paid a significantly higher mean tax than the rest of those taxed.

Having described the geographical distribution and economic position of the Caen Protestants we can now look at the group in terms of occupation and social status. The data in this case are more fragmentary since occupations were indicated only occasionally in the registers of the Protestant church. A group of 154 separate individuals listed occupations in the baptismal registers. In addition to this number, 106 noted that they were nobles or écuyers, and another 62 individuals included an official title related to either the royal or municipal hierarchies of administration and justice.²³ Insofar as the entire Reformed community at this point would have numbered from 2,000 to 4,000 heads of households, this group of 322 is a sample of about 10 percent of those for whom occupational information might be sought.²⁴ Its major bias, a tendency to over-represent those in more prestigious occupations, is revealed in the total number of notables in the group. Out of 322, 201 or two-thirds were robe or sword nobility, bourgeois officeholders or members of the legal profession. In light of this bias I have not attempted to interpret the numbers in various occupational groups as representative percentages of the entire Protestant population. While the importance of the nobility,

officers and lawyers has been affirmed by many scholars of this period of French Protestantism, nonetheless it is unlikely that fully two-thirds of the total number of Caen Protestants were drawn from these ranks.²⁵

Indeed, the variety of other occupations randomly mentioned in the registers, combined with the evidence of parish distribution indicate that virtually no realm of the city's existence was immune to the spread of Protestantism. All of the city's major production industries were represented: textiles, leather, metals, building, printing and the food and drink trades. Looking at these groups more closely brings some of the distinctive features of Caen Protestantism into sharper perspective. Of the seventeen members of the food and drink trades, eleven were butchers. The butchers were one of the most important and independent guilds in Caen, owing to the strong link between the city's economic activity and the agricultural region of which she was the capital.²⁶ Our eleven Protestant butchers are striking, since studies of Rouen, Tournai, the Comtat Venaissin region and Languedoc have revealed meager representation of the food and drink trades among the Protestant communities there.²⁷

As in so many early modern cities, Caen's largest single industry was textile production and related processing. Thus it is not surprising that the sample includes drapers, dyers and makers of socks, hats and purses. It is surprising that there are no tanners in the group, as tanning and leather processing employed large numbers of Caennais. Yet, the relative under-representation of Protestantism in

the important tanning parishes of St. Etienne and the Bourg l'abbé corroborates this lack of representation.²⁸

The Renaissance builders in the LePrestre family of masons were not the only members of this important Caen trade to be drawn to the Reform.²⁹ Thirteen masons and three lowly carriers of stone identified themselves as Protestants. In the metal trades the diversity of the appeal of Protestantism is well indicated by the presence of a full range of artisans from illiterate blacksmiths to proud and wealthy goldsmiths.³⁰

The members of the printing industry, known for their independence and literacy, have received much attention with reference to the spread of Protestantism.³¹ There is no question that many of the printers and booksellers of Caen were attracted to the Reform. While only one printer identified himself as such in the registers, the existence of relatively complete information on those involved in the industry during the 1560's allows us to establish that of eight printers active in these years, six were definitely Protestant. No full list of Caen booksellers exists, but at least five Protestant libraires collaborated with the city's Reformed printers during these years.³² The production of the Roman Catholic printing firm of Robert and Bénédict Macé was certainly greatly outnumbered during the 1560's by an outpouring of Protestant publications which included Calvin's Institutes, the New Testament in French, the Psalms of Marot and Beza and even a work by Bullinger.³³

Protestants were also well represented in the service-related occupations. The one occupation in this group for which we lack substantial additional information is business. Only six merchants are identified in the registers. From other sources we know that two of the city's most important merchant families were attracted to the Reform during its early years. Etienne du Val, sieur de Mondrainville, probably Caen's wealthiest merchant, was sent as a delegate to Paris on the part of the Caen Protestants in 1562.³⁴ The merchant Guillaume Rouxel and his lawyer-poet brother Jean were both leading members of the Caen Reformed church.³⁵ These examples certainly indicate that the Reform could attract prominent merchants as well as artisans and small businessmen.³⁶

The role of the University of Caen as a center of humanism and evangelical fervor during the pre-Reform has already been dealt with at length.³⁷ Although they had in general remained moderate up to 1560, many professors and rectors of the university embraced the Reform during the 1560's.³⁸ In 1563-64 these Reformed academics became involved in a scheme to establish an academy at Caen to train pastors on the model of Geneva.³⁹ Two of the first Caen pastors, Vincent Le Bas and Pierre Pinson, were regents of the university, and Pinson had served as rector in 1554.⁴⁰

A survey of the university faculties represented in the Protestant ranks reveals that all were affected by the Reform. In the faculty of theology we have already noted the defection of Gilles Bigot to the Protestant fold.⁴¹ Among the doctors of the faculty of

medicine there were six deans and rectors who were Protestants. In fact, of a total of twenty doctors known to have been practicing in Caen during the 1560's, at least ten appear in the registers of the Reformed church. They are joined by a number of surgeons and apothecaries as well. Thus, the medical profession was at least as Protestant as the total population, and certainly its impact in disseminating the Word would have been out of proportion to its size.⁴²

The faculty of arts contributed yet more strength to the Protestant community. This helps to explain the relatively large percentage of Protestants in the university-dominated quarter of St. Sauveur. Certainly the takeover of the main building of the arts faculty, the Grandes Ecoles, by the Reformed church in 1563 and 1564 attests to their influence among its personnel.⁴³ The Protestant baptismal registers bear witness to the fact that from 1564 to 1568 no less than six of the principals and regents of the colleges of the faculty of arts were active Réformés.⁴⁴ Several other teachers in the arts faculty were prominent within the Reformed community as well. Gilles de Housteville, regent of the Collège du Mont from 1537 to 1557, became one of the pastors of the Caen church in the 1570's, after having served in the villages of Ranville and Verrières earlier.⁴⁵ In 1561 he was dean of the arts faculty and later was harshly criticized by de Bourgueville in the text of the 1564 Inquiry into the state of the university.⁴⁶ Jean Rouxel, a humanist who collaborated with Sebastian Castellio (1515-63) on a translation of the Sybilles, was yet another member of the faculty of arts whose Reformed sympathies are without a doubt.⁴⁷

While not a regular professor, Robert Constantin, a medical student at Caen and hellenist, presented commentaries on the Pauline epistles from the Greek at the faculty of arts. The reaction of the faculty of theology was immediate condemnation. Furthermore, Constantin was censured by the strongly Protestant faculty of medicine for his pretensions to teach before he had received his degree. He appears to have left Caen soon after these controversies arose in 1564.⁴⁸

The appeal of the Reform is again impressive among the lawyers. Not only were two prominent members of the law faculty drawn to the Protestant camp, but also the legal profession as a whole was greatly affected.⁴⁹ Among those who indicated their profession in the baptismal registers, 36 were avocats. Reconstructing the ranks of the legal profession during the 1560's reveals as many as 78 lawyers, at least 40 of them were Protestant.⁵⁰ Once again the appeal of the Reform to the literate and wealthier part of the population is confirmed. The notaries were a similar case, with 5 out of 11 or 12 practicing in this period showing up in the Protestant registers.⁵¹

Thus far the evidence discussed indicates that every level of Caen's society was influenced by the Reform. In several occupations, notably medicine and law, Protestant strength was at least proportional to their overall percentage in the city population. In the university and the printing community Protestants formed an overwhelming majority. Finally, within the hierarchy of royal and municipal offices, the Reform recruited a large and powerful group.

From the governor of the province, Henri-Robert de la Marck, duke of Bouillon and prince of Sedan, to the clerks of both the bailli and vicomte of Caen, these officials were drawn to the Reform.⁵² In fact, the registers of the Protestant church virtually provide a survey of royal officialdom in Caen: members of the bailli's family, his lieutenants in several capacities, the vicomte and his lieutenant, the controller general of finances, two élus, the king's avocat and procureur and numerous receivers of royal taxes, to mention but a few. The most striking example of the extent to which Protestants held the reigns of power is the presidial court. At the time of its foundation in 1552, the Caen presidial included ten counsellors. Four of that original group were Protestant in the 1560's. Of the eleven men who became counsellors during the 1560's, nine appear in the Protestant registers. This body included most of the men who wielded substantial power in the city. Clearly the Protestant population could feel sure that its interests were strongly represented.⁵³

While the city had lost much of its independence of royal authority and the royal bailli or his lieutenant general served as mayor, the echevins were still chosen by an urban general assembly every three years. This group of six, along with the lieutenant general of the bailli, Olivier de Brunville, and the clerk and procureur syndic, all Protestants, comprised the day-to-day ruling body of the city.⁵⁴ When we examine the list of echevins from 1555 through 1569 it is evident that the entire group was dominated by Protestants. Every three years at least three echevins were Protestants.⁵⁵

In July 1564 a royal edict sought to place the choice of the echevins under greater royal control. At least four of those elected in February had been Protestant. Yet, when additional candidates were chosen in August in response to the royal order that a list of twelve be presented to the king for his choice of six, the new men were all Protestant. The final group, which the king chose and who held office until 1567, included once again at least four Protestants.⁵⁶

Since the Caen office holding elite was clearly drawn to the Reform in large numbers and played an important role in maintaining the Réformés in a position of strength in Caen during the 1560's, the question of what attracted them to Protestantism naturally arises. As in all cases of research into motivation in the past, there is no simple answer. Certainly, the higher level of education and the exposure of the officier class to new ideas both in the university context and among peers provides a partial explanation. Furthermore, it has been long suggested that the lower office holders were more likely to be drawn to heresy than parlementaires because they had less to lose.⁵⁷ In her detailed study, "Calvinism and the Political Elite of Sixteenth-century Nimes," Ann Guggenheim has explored many possible areas of correlation between social identity and attraction to Protestantism among the elite of Nimes. She concludes that no one variable had particular bearing on an individual's conversion, but several factors could be shown to relate. First, the nature of the university attended did have an impact; those who went to schools with Protestant leanings were more likely to become

Calvinist. Second, tenure in office and professional mobility played a role in the decision to join the Reformed camp. Those who had recently entered the elite and who might have hoped that religious change would lead to social and political change were inclined to become Protestant. Finally, legal status, specifically whether or not one was noble, seems to have been a significant factor. In Nimes, among the members of the elite it was the nobility, both sword and robe, which was overwhelmingly drawn to the Reform.⁵⁸

A detailed study of the men who made up the Caen elite, such as Guggenheim carried out for Nimes, was beyond the scope of this work. The factors which she isolated may well have bearing on the Caen situation. The most important point, however, is that there was no one variable.⁵⁹ For both the members of the elite and of the masses in Caen, conversion to the Reformed faith was the result of a multitude of variables coming to bear on each individual differently. Without ignoring the force of personal motivation it must be recognized that the sixteenth-century Caennais was able to make that personal decision more easily because Caen was a city unburdened by a bishop or parlement. Spiritual, intellectual, economic and political factors all contributed to the success of the Reform in this city during the 1560's.⁶⁰ The impact of that success will be discussed in the next chapter, but first we should look more closely at the organization and activities of the Reformed church which was enjoying its moment of strength at that time.

B. The Reformed Church, Organization and Functions

The congregation of the Protestant church of Caen in the 1560's was made up of the diverse community just described. The church itself was organized on the Reformed model of the Calvinist church in Geneva. Unfortunately the absence of consistory records for the Caen church makes it impossible to know many of the details of intra-church relations and administration. Nonetheless, it is possible to reconstruct a rather vivid picture of some aspects of Reformed church life in Caen via the registers of baptisms and marriages, correspondence with Geneva and the testimony of de Bourgueville.

Underground origins and intermittent growth left their permanent mark on the "Eglise Réformée de ceste ville de Caen."⁶¹ Throughout the decade of its greatest strength, the church was merely a varying number of pastors who preached at a number of different locations and a corps of elders and deacons drawn from the various sections of the city. There was never a fixed location which the congregation could consider home. Rather, the foundation of the church of Caen was its congregation and the consistory. This situation might well have soon changed and one or more new church buildings been created had the Protestants retained the strength they enjoyed from 1562 to 1568 and had political circumstances been different. As it was the Caen church did not acquire a temple of its own until the time of the Edict of Nantes.⁶²

From de Bourgueville we learn that in 1558 Caen had at least four pastors who preached at various locations in the Caen area. In

some cases the seizure of existing church buildings was made easy by the fact that the Roman Catholic clergy had abandoned their posts.⁶³ Yet, through the first register of baptisms and marriages began in November 1560, a report to Calvin by a minister sent from Geneva to serve in Lower Normandy indicates that in August 1561 services were still being held primarily in private homes. This was in contrast to the public assemblies then taking place in Dieppe, Rouen and St. Lô.⁶⁴ Perhaps this explains why the baptisms and marriages of Spring 1561 were only haphazardly recorded. In contrast, after the September meeting of the Colloquoy of Poissy we learn from de Bourgueville that the three regular ministers in Caen, Pinson, Le Bas and Cousin, had begun to hold services in three public locations within the city: the Grandes Ecoles (T), the Tripot or grain hall (92) and a storehouse on the rue Guillebert in the parish of St. Jean.⁶⁵ The existence of three meeting places, spread throughout the Royal bourg, certainly confirms that the Réformés were already a sizable body. Their influence was strong enough in the university, the merchant community which supervised the main grain hall and among the wealthy citizenry of St. Jean to permit arrangements for these meetings to be made. There is no reason to believe that services were taking place in these locations by means of brute force. They were also being held in the suburb of Vaucelles in a field which became known as the "Pré de l'Évangile".⁶⁶

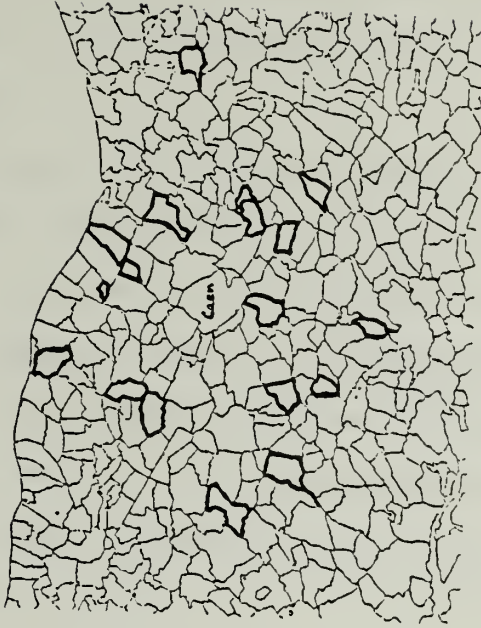
The evidence of the baptism and marriage registers indicates that regular services were held in the three central-city locations through the spring of 1564. In addition, it seems very likely that

Map 5: Locations of Protestant services during the 1560's.

A. The Reformed Church of Caen.



B. Reformed congregations in the area surrounding Caen.



□ = Villages in which services were held or which had a Protestant pastor.

+ = Grandes Ecoles
 ⊕ = Tripot or Halle à bled
 ⊞ = St. Jean warehouse (rue Guillebert)
 On map see Map 2.

Map based on P. Gouhier, A. & J.-M. Vallez, Atlas historique de Normandie, II: Institutions, Économie, comportements (Caen, 1972); 1 cm. = 5 km.

during the period when Roman Catholic services were suspended, May 1562 to June 1563, there were Protestant services in many of the city's parish churches, such as on the occasion in March 1563 when Beza preached in St. Jean.⁶⁷

The restrictions of the 1563 Peace of Amboise regarding places of worship were ignored for a full year. Only in May 1564, after renewed complaints by the rector of the university that the Réformés still controlled the Salle des arts in the Grandes Ecoles, did Reformed occupation of this location cease.⁶⁸ The grain hall and the storehouse in the parish of St. Jean continued to be the main sites of services through the era of relative toleration in Caen ending with the Edict of St. Maur in September 1568.⁶⁹

In addition to the Reformed services held in Caen itself, there is evidence from the registers that congregations served by Reformed pastors existed in as many as eighteen locations in the area up to twenty-five kilometers from Caen. Within a circle ten kilometers from Caen eight sites can be fixed with certainty: Allemagne, Baron, Colleville, Manneville, Mesnil Fremantel, Periers-en-Bessin, Ranville, Secqueville-en-Bessin. De Bourgueville tells us that at Plumetot and Soliers the Roman Catholic churches were left vacant and occupied by Protestants.⁷⁰ Within the ring ten to twenty-five kilometers from Caen there were services at Avenay, Boulon, Chicheboville, Courseulles, LeFresne Camilly, Noyers, Tilly-sur-Seulles (d'Orceau), to which list de Bourgueville adds Putot.⁷¹ This tally of twenty-one locations (eighteen plus at least three in Caen) within an area about thirty

kilometers square attests to the strong development of the Reform on the plain of Caen.

We have already seen that eight percent of those baptizing their children in Caen came from outside the city.⁷² A quarter of these could probably be considered regular members of the Caen congregation from the villages of her banlieue. Yet, the list of all the children baptized also indicates that many other villages in the environs of Caen, which did not themselves have a pastor, had some Reformed families.⁷³ They came into the city to be married and to baptize their children, underlining the importance of the urban congregation in the establishment and spread of the Reform.

As soon as the keeping of registers became regular, especially after 1563 when we have records from all the city's pastors, it becomes possible to reconstruct the ecclesiastical life of the congregation. The central activity of the church was the preaching of the word. In carrying out this responsibility the Caen church followed the Genevan example, established in the 1541 Ecclesiastical Discipline, of a full schedule of services throughout the week.⁷⁴ On Sundays there were as many as three services, beginning with one at 5A.M. The most common practice was for there to be a morning and an afternoon or evening service at one or more locations in the city. The pastors rotated their duties and their places of preaching regularly. The frequency of baptisms and marriages, usually coupled with a prêche, indicates that there were also many mid-week services. There was no fixed schedule, services taking place on five to six days of the week.

Baptisms and marriages were numerous enough within a population of 10-12,000 so that the records of their celebration keep us in touch with the Caen Protestants at least three or four times per week during the peak years from 1564 to 1568. Again in line with the Genevan example, the sacrament of baptism was always accompanied by a sermon. The Caen church also followed the Reformed practice of designating godparents in the baptismal ceremony. It is interesting to note that Jean Cousin later became involved in a controversy within the Dutch Reformed congregation of London over the inclusion of godparents. Cousin supported the practice, noting that except in the Netherlands it was the general rule in Calvinist churches.⁷⁵

Both marriages and the announcements of bans preceded or followed the regular service and were not to take place on occasions when the sacrament of communion was celebrated.⁷⁶ As was the case in many other sixteenth-century Protestant communities, the weight attached to the actual marriage celebration as opposed to the announcements of intention was in a state of flux in the Caen church.⁷⁷ The date of marriage was noted next to the third ban, when it was indicated at all. In fact the emphasis seems to have been on the betrothal procedure rather than the final ceremony, for during the 1560's we never learn the identity of witnesses at a final ceremony. The importance of the bans was underlined particularly where announcements of betrothal were made in several parishes, in and outside of Caen, because the spouses came from different locales.⁷⁸ Protestants continued to enter into marriage contracts before secular tabellions

in much the manner they would have prior to the Reformation save for the note that the service was to be according to "l'ordonnance de Dieu en l'église réformée".⁷⁹

Having looked at the physical locations of worship in the Caen area and the treatment of the sacraments, we may next ask what was the content of Reformed worship in this city. It is possible to imagine the large congregations gathered in the Grandes Ecoles or one of the other halls used for services, raising their voices in song with the words of Marot or Beza after which Pastor Le Bas, Pinson, Cousin or Silvestre or one of the visiting ministers would bring them a message from the Word of God. Three psalters and one book of cantiques spirituel were produced by the Protestant presses at Caen from 1562-1569 so we can be sure that the preaching of the word was supported with the singing of psalms and hymns which had become the badge of the Réformés throughout France.⁸⁰

While the sermons of notable pastors such as Calvin, Beza and Viret have come down to us, we lack detailed information about exactly what was said from the pulpits in Caen.⁸¹ It seems safe to assume that during the 1560's it did not break with orthodox Calvinism in any major respect, for none of the Caen pastors were drawn into the doctrinal controversies of that period.⁸² The only record of sermon topics which has survived is the report to Calvin by Jacques Goddard of what he preached at the Guibray Fair near Falaise in August, 1561. As he was at that time serving the Caen church, these subjects give an idea of the messages which may have been heard in

that city as well. Taking I Corinthians 3:10-13 as a text he first spoke of the foundation of all faith in Jesus Christ, stressing that Reformed doctrine was grounded in scripture and the prophets. In his next sermon Goddard continued with the same text, discussing the way in which sound doctrine assures and does not confuse men. He concluded the series of messages speaking on the numerous conflicts of true and false prophets from the Old Testament to Jesus Christ and the Pharisees. On another occasion Goddard preached on the sensitive subject of the sacraments, at which point a riot broke out.⁸³ With this in mind Goddard preached a later sermon using Colossians 2:6 as text and called upon his congregation to follow Jesus Christ in their everyday lives: instruct their families, reform their lives, read the scriptures and pray.⁸⁴ While these sermons were directed at an audience drawn to a fair, they would have been typical of many of the messages spread during the early years of the Reform, and they touch upon subjects which were central to the Reformed message as a whole: the importance of faith in Jesus Christ, the authority of doctrine, the nature of the sacraments and the way to lead the Christian life.

One point of possible conflict within the church also came out in Goddard's letter to Calvin. That is the question of the use of violence by the Réformés. Goddard made it clear that he was trying to avoid unrest at all costs.⁸⁵ In contrast, another Caen pastor during the same period, Jean Cousin, was known for his impulsiveness and was accused of actually inciting the Caennais to riot in 1562 as well as taking part in the plot to take the chateau.⁸⁶ This conflict

was certainly not uncommon, the use of violence having been openly condemned by the Genevan leadership at the same time that they were involved in political plots like the Conspiracy of Amboise and involving confrontation and force. What Beza or Conde feared was not violence but mass rioting by popular elements.⁸⁷

It is difficult to describe the administrative life of the Caen church because of the absence of consistory records. Yet, if one turns to the baptismal and marriage registers, it is possible to reconstruct the lay membership of the consistory of Caen. Twenty-nine elders and twenty deacons, representing all of the city's parishes, have left their mark in the registers. They were designated as elder or deacon of a given parish so it appears that the Réformés continued to use the existing city divisions. While one of the elders was referred to as a surveillant, this term was not frequently used. The number of elders for a given parish at any one time is not clear, but it may have varied based on the size of the population for which these officials were responsible. The two largest parishes each had at least five elders whose terms might have overlapped, compared to one to three for the rest of the parishes. The responsibilities of these lay representatives probably followed the lines of the 1559 Confession of Faith and Ecclesiastical Discipline, itself modelled on the Genevan example.⁸⁸ Thus, it is not surprising that there would need to be more elders in a larger parish in order to watch over the religious and moral behavior of its Protestant inhabitants. It is also possible that there was a fixed number of elders as was the case for deacons, but an individual continued to be called an ancien beyond his term

of service just as the concept of a greater consistory exists in Reformed churches today. The baptismal register for 1564 informs us that there were a total of ten deacons for the city.⁸⁹ Perhaps one of the parishes of the Bourg l'abbé did not have its own deacon, or two parishes with small Protestant populations were grouped together.⁹⁰

Earlier we saw that the Protestants of Caen who paid the 1568 levy contributed, on the average, a higher sum than the rest of the population.⁹¹ It is possible to compare the elders and deacons both to the overall city population and to the Protestant community as a whole by looking at the amount of tax they paid in 1568. Interestingly, in contrast to Ann Guggenheim's findings for Nimes, the Caen elders were clearly more wealthy than their brethren on the consistory, paying an average of 16.6 livres compared to 9.2 livres for the deacons and 7.0 livres for the city's pastors.⁹² Where Guggenheim found the Nimes deacons to be the more prestigious members of the consistory, likely to be lawyers and belong to the elite, in Caen it was the body of elders which was drawn from the legal profession. Furthermore, twenty-three of the twenty-nine elders (79%) were referred to as bourgeois, honnête homme or noble homme compared to only twelve of the twenty deacons (60%).⁹³

Comparing the figures on the 1568 levy for the Reformed elders and deacons with those for the city as a whole it becomes clear that the church notables were drawn from the wealthier segment of the city's population. Thirty-eight of the forty-eight Caen elders and deacons were among the elite upon whom the tax was levied. The average tax

paid by the elders was 9.2 livres higher than the city-wide average, and that paid by the deacons was 1.8 livres more than the general average. In comparison with the rest of the Protestants, the wealth and status of the consistory members is clear, with the elders paying 5.4 livres more than the Protestant average of 9.1 livres. It appears that many of the wealthy Caennais picked up the same leadership roles in the new Protestant church which they might have held in the Roman Catholic parish as treasurers. While neither at the very top nor very bottom of the 7 to 12 percent elite who paid the 1568 levy, most of the consistory members were nonetheless distinguished from the majority of Caennais merely by their presence on the levy roll.⁹⁴

We know more about the wealth of members of the consistory than we do of their daily and weekly activities as church officials. The complaints lodged by the university rector against the occupation at the Grandes Ecoles by the Réformés in 1564 indicates that they were using the Salle des arts for meetings as well as services.⁹⁵ Perhaps this was where the consistory met until 1564 to deliberate over problems of discipline, finance, personnel and mission. At other times they may have gathered at the homes of the ministers and lay members of the body throughout the city or in the storehouses where they also held services.

Many of the problems faced by this consistory were the same as those confronted in other French churches. Lacking the official backing of the civil authorities they were faced with the need to finance their existence, regulate the lives of parishioners, provide

for the needy, educate the faithful and serve as a center of evangelical outreach to the area surrounding the city.⁹⁶

In the realm of discipline the baptismal and marriage registers record illegitimacies and mixed marriages which called for special attention.⁹⁷ On the 30th of May 1568 one Lubin Collet, city sergeant, brought his child to be baptized but was only accepted after confessing his error in having been married by a Roman Catholic priest.⁹⁸ On numerous instances godfathers were reminded that they should take communion.⁹⁹ The ministers of the Caen church were by no means lacking in personal problems calling for disciplinary action. At the August 1563 National Synod at Lyons, one of the Caen pastors was censured for having coerced a young woman into making a promise of marriage which she later regretted. He was called upon to remember, "sa vocation, . . . sa vie, & particulièrement des moiens qu'il a emploies pour obtenir cette promesse pretendue, & d'en prendre connoissance pour le suspendre, ou deposer, s'il est expedient & necessaire."¹⁰⁰

There is no indication of how the Caen ministers were paid. At least two of them, Vincent Le Bas and Antoine Le Chevalier were landowners and possibly minor rentiers.¹⁰¹ Both Le Bas and Pierre Pinson had held posts at the university prior to 1558, and perhaps they continued to draw the tithe from benefices they had been granted at that time.¹⁰² These two pastors paid 5 livres each in the 1568 levy, placing them below the average amount paid by both elders and deacons and the city-wide average of 7.4 livres. Antoine Le Chevalier paid the slightly higher amount of 10 livres.¹⁰³

In the realm of poor relief the Caen Protestants did not establish any institutions in the 1560's to care specifically for the Reformed poor. The nature of poor relief up to 1560 was discussed earlier; city-wide developments during the period from 1560 to 1568 will be described in chapter Six.¹⁰⁴ It is very possible that, with the corps de ville largely in Protestant hands during much of this period, there was no need seen to institute a specific program for the Protestant community. Rather, the 4 November 1563 meeting of the echevins, royal officials and notables at the time of an outbreak of the plague was probably typical of the actions taken during this period of Protestant strength. The assemblage ordered:

que aux presches et sermons publiques
le peuple sera admoneste et exhorte
de prier dieu quil veuille retirer
son Ire et de subvenir aux pauvres
malladez de leurs biens et aulmosnez.¹⁰⁵

The responsibilities of the Reformed church extended into one other important area -- education. This meant education of the congregation through regular services and catechism and the training of new pastors through formal study of the scriptures and doctrine. As it related to the university, this topic will be discussed in detail in chapter Six, but it should be noted at this point that the authorities of the Caen church took their duty very seriously. There is evidence that they saw themselves as the leading church in Lower Normandy with a mission to train pastors for service in the whole of Northern France.

In 1561 the Genevan missionary Jacques Goodard used Caen as

the base for a mission to the surrounding area.¹⁰⁶ In that same year correspondence between the church at Geneva, the baron of La Ferté Fresnel and Jean Cousin reveals that the Caen church was called upon regularly during this period to supply pastors for smaller churches in Normandy. In fact, the Caen pastors seem to have spent a good deal of time outside the city on missionary endeavors.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps as a result of pressure from needy churches such as that at La Ferté Fresnel, Caen occasionally sent out locally trained preachers who were less than fully prepared to serve. For in August 1563 at the National Synod in Lyons the Caen church was censured for sending out ill-prepared divinity students to preach. The major complaint was that they were beginners who sometimes revealed improper moral standards, but in addition it was felt that they had sometimes been sent to places which really could not support a minister.¹⁰⁸

The need for a training center for pastors in the northern part of France was keenly felt during these early years of vigorous growth. In 1563 and 1564 the Caen consistory initiated correspondence with Geneva to elicit support for the establishment of such a seminary at Caen.¹⁰⁹ The project ultimately failed, but it again reveals the vitality and sense of mission of the Caen church during this period of strength.

Caen not only sent out pastors but also received a large number of visitors from throughout northern France. The most notable guest pastor in the pulpits of Caen was Theodore Beza, who accompanied Coligny on the latter's winter and spring 1563 campaigns in Normandy.¹¹⁰

Ministers from Laval, Alençon, the Cotentin, Le Havre, Lisieux, Brittany, the Loire valley and Paris appeared in Caen during the 1560's. Some of them were temporary refugees from persecution in their home areas.¹¹¹ Others were probably passing through on the way to a colloque or synod.¹¹² Their presence in Caen confirms other evidence that the city was an acknowledged center of the Norman Reformation.

Thus far our attention has been focused on the nature of the community which made up the new Reformed church -- the size and character of the group and the organization of the new church which was established. In the next chapter we will turn to the broader effects of the success of the Calvinist movement in Caen on the city and its institutions. Though the Reformed community enjoyed real strength and major influence only during the decade of the sixties, the long range impact of confessional diversity and the wars which grew out of the national struggle related to religious change give this formative period particular importance both in the history of Caen and in the history of France as a whole.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER V

1

On the Protestant community in Caen in the seventeenth century see Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen and Galland, L'histoire du Protestantisme en Basse-Normandie. The Intendent Foucault testified to the importance of the Réformés in his 1698 "Mémoire sur la généralité de Caen": "Ce commerce. . . a considérablement diminué depuis l'année 1685 que la plus grande partie des marchands ou négocians, qui étoient religionnaires, ont passé dans les pays étrangers en sorte que ceux qui restent ne sont pas en pouvoir de le rétablir." (quoted in Caen et Calvados, p. 443.)

2

See Appendix 12: The Baptismal and Marriage Registers of the Caen Reformed Church (1560-1614). There is no evidence to indicate whether the Caen church kept registers of the meetings of its consistory which have since been lost or whether such records were in fact not kept at this time. Sixteenth-century records such as those of the Nimes church are extremely rare. Michel Richard, La vie quotidienne des protestants sous l'Ancien Régime (Paris, 1966), p. 22. The Norman provincial synod records are in the Bibliotheek der Gemeente Rotterdam - Bibliothèque de l'Eglise Remonstrante, MS 404. I only learned of their location after my return from Europe. I hope to consult them at a later date. The national synod records published in Aymon, Les Synodes nationaux des Eglises Réformées yield some limited information on Caen affairs.

3

These are conservative estimates. See Figure 1: Caen Protestant Baptisms, 1561-1606.

4

Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion", p. 397. Benedict, "Catholics and Huguenots," p. 225. The numerical strength of the French Protestants in the 1560's can be estimated for a number of cities:

- Amiens - 13% of the total population of c. 28,000 (David Rosenberg, unpublished)
- La Rochelle - 50% of the total population of c. 25,000 (Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion", p. 397 and Chandler and Fox, Urban Growth, p. 113.)
- Montpellier - 78% of the total population of 10-12,000 (Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion," p. 398 and Chandler and Fox, Urban Growth, p. 116.)

-Nimes - a majority of the total population of 8-10,000 (Ann Guggenheim "Calvinism and the Political Elite of Sixteenth-century Nimes" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1968), p. 212.)

⁵ Evidence to support my geographical analysis of the Protestant community will be found in Tables 1 and 3, Map 4, Figure 1 and Appendix 13.

⁶ In response to an inquiry into the 1562 destruction of the Abbaye de St-Etienne, François Malherbe, Protestant and city notable testified:

. . . qu'il ne pourroit particulièrement nommer ceux de lad. troupe, et qu'en icelle il y avoit gentz de toutes quallitez, mesmes des prestres et femmes, . . .

Charles de Beaurepaire, "Information au sujet de la destruction du chartrier de l'abbaye de St-Etienne de Caen, en 1563," MSHN, series 4 (1898), p. 296.

While the abbeys had direct administrative and judicial authority over the suburbs (Bourg l'abbe and Bourg l'abbesse), it seems likely that those who burned and looted them were drawn from the rest of the city and the villages around Caen as well. The vast holdings of the abbeys throughout the Caen area certainly would have created motives for many to destroy their archives.

⁷ See below pp. 211-15 & 223-25 for further discussion of the church's relationship to the area surrounding the city and its role as a center for outreach during this period of growth.

⁸ Only after 1566 were marriages recorded with any regularity.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Both from Caen</u>	<u>One from outside</u>	<u>Both from outside</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Parish unknown</u>
1566	17 (51.5%)	13 (39.4%)	3 (9.1%)	33	0
1567	31 (41.3%)	37 (49.3%)	7 (9.4%)	75	2
1568 (9 months)	22 (39.3%)	22 (39.3%)	12 (21.4%)	56	3

In this discussion the terms exogamous and endogamous will be used with reference to the city as a whole not individual parishes.

⁹ Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion," pp. 169-70. Benedict's sample is quite small--only 24 marriages from the sixteenth century and a sample from the seventeenth century. My data does, however, bear out his basic conclusion. The Caen figures do not on the other hand substantiate his suggestion that the rate of exogamy was likely to be less in regions where Protestants formed a majority of the population, such as in Caen (p. 170, n. 8).

¹⁰ Etienne Gautier and Louis Henry, La population de Crulai, paroisse normande, Etude historique (Paris, 1958), p. 80. Unfortunately, the absence of Roman Catholic marriage registers for Caen until 1737, as a result of World War II destruction, makes direct comparisons of the Caen populations impossible.

¹¹ Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, p. 162. Perrot's figures indicate a steady increase in the number of foreign spouses during the eighteenth century (from a mere 14 percent in the 1740's).

The figures for sixteenth-century Nantes provide a striking contrast to those for eighteenth-century Caen and suggest that the high percentage of non-Caen spouses in the Protestant community of Caen was not necessarily unique. In Nantes the evidence for two Roman Catholic parishes reveals that 40% of the acts of marriage involved one non-Nantes spouse. It is impossible to pursue the comparison, but the Nantes figures confirm the attraction of the urban center for immigrants. The Nantes parishes in question were in the harbor section of the city. Alain Croix, Nantes et le pays nantais au XVIe siècle: Etude démographique (Paris, 1794), pp. 184-90.

¹² AMC, BB 3 ff. 112-14 (16 September 1563, Forced loan of 20 écus).

Parish	Total who paid	Protestants	% Protestants
St. Pierre	49	25	51
St. Jean	11	8	72.7
N-D de Froiderue	6	3	50
St. Etienne	5	1	20
St. Sauveur	8	4	50
St. Michel de Vaucelles	2	0	0
Bourg l'abbé	12	4	33.3
-St. Martin			
-St. Nicolas			
-St. Ouen			
Bourg l'abbesse	5	2	40
-St. Gilles			
TOTAL	98	47	47.9

Note: The suburb of St. Julien does not figure in this levy.

¹³Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 21 (2 March 1563).

¹⁴BMC, In-f. 132, Recueil sur l'histoire de Caen, ff. 128-51r. The arrêt ordering the levy, dated 27 August 1568, gives no details on the criteria used to draw up the list of those to be taxed. We must assume that it represents, as the arret says, those most comfortable financially. The loan was to have been repaid to the Caennais later in the year, but there is no evidence that it was. The data obtained from this record were fed into the computer. Next, using the Sort/Merge package, an alphabetical list of those subject to the loan was drawn up and the Protestants identified by using the lists obtained from the baptism and marriage registers. A positive identification as Protestant was allowed if and only if the names were identical and the parish of residence of an individual on both lists was the same. Further information about status and occupation permitted even more definite identification in some cases. Protestant identity was added to each machine-readable data record. Finally, the data were analyzed with the aid of SPSS. All figures cited in the following discussion are based on that analysis. All levy amounts have been cited in decimalized livres.

¹⁵See Table 4: The 1568 Levy. (Parts A,B,C) For comparison with the city's total population distribution see: Table 1: The Population of Caen in 1491 and 1695. Table 3: The Distribution of Protestants in Caen during the 1560's, and Map 4.

¹⁶Interestingly, while de Bourgueville paints a picture of St. Jean as the wealthy residential center of Caen in the early sixteenth century, in the 1568 levy St. Jean appears not to have been the dwelling place of Caen's wealthiest citizens. The mean tax paid in St. Jean was 7.5 livres, close to the 7.4 livres mean for the whole city, and well below the highs of 9.3, 9.0 and 8.6 livres for St. Sauveur, St. Pierre and St. Etienne respectively.

¹⁷See chapter One pp.10-11 on St. Julien as a poor parish. This image seems to be supported by the fact that St. Julien does not even figure in the 1563 forced loan of 20 écus discussed above (see above p. 195). In St. Pierre only 15% paid .60 livres or lower, in N-D de Froiderue only 14%, in St. Sauveur only 8% and in St. Etienne only 12%.

¹⁸19.9% is the St. Pierre figure for 1568 alone.

19

This conclusion is based on the fact that the percentage of those Protestants subjected to the levy in these parishes, that is to say the Protestant elite, was very similar to the percentage of Protestants overall who were baptized in these parishes during the 1560's.

20

Non-Protestants were of course Roman Catholics. Some Protestants could have been missed because they did not marry or baptize children during the 1560's, however, the pattern which emerges from the comparison of Protestant and non-Protestant data is consistent enough to lead one to believe that it is reliable.

21

Only one individual paid 300 livres, which amount may be considered an outlier in the otherwise steady progression from .25 to 200 livres. Without this individual taxed at 300 livres the city mean was 7.4 livres. In this discussion mean figures will normally be given without outliers. The mean figure and amount of the outliers will be indicated in parentheses.

22

Looking at those who paid from 20 to 100 livres in these two parishes we find that Protestants outnumbered non-Protestants in St. Pierre 30 to 17 and in St. Jean 10 to 7. This fact is particularly significant since non-Protestants outnumbered Protestants in St. Pierre 253 to 167 and in St. Jean 140 to 101.

23

See Table 5: Occupational Breakdown of the Protestant Community.

24

This estimate of the number of Protestant households is based on a total Protestant population of 10,000 to 12,000 persons and households of 3 to 5 persons. Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 52-53; Perrot, Caen au XVII^e siècle, pp. 143-44.

25

Romier, "Les protestants français à la veille des guerres civiles," pp. 254-75; Léonard, Le protestant français, pp. 47-49. Two more recent studies provide a further perspective on these Caen figures: Le Roy Ladurie, Les Paysans de Languedoc, I, 341-43, 348-49, II, 777 and Raymond Mentzer, "Heresy Suspects in Languedoc prior to 1560: Observations on their Social and Occupational Status," Bibl. Hum. & Ren. 39 (1977), 561-68. Mentzer's article compares documentation from the courts of Languedoc before 1560 with that analyzed by Le Roy Ladurie and by Robert Mandrou in his article entitled, "Les Français hors de France aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles," Annales - ESC, 14 (1959), 665. The judicial data used by Mentzer

reflects a bias toward the liberal professions only slightly less striking than the Caen over-representation of noblemen and members of the liberal professions. The Caen figures, based on Protestant records not judicial proceedings, suggest that the explanation for both Mentzer's and my evidence is the showing of customary respect accorded prominent position within society. Thus, the utmost caution should be exercised when analyzing the distribution of social and occupational status of Protestants, particularly when a tendency to the over-representation of the more prestigious members of society is noted.

²⁶Gallier, "La boucherie caennaise," *passim*; Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 119-38.

²⁷Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion, pp. 107-08; Marc Venard, "Les protestants du Comtat Venaissin au temps des premières guerres de religion." in Actes du Colloque l'Amiral de Coligny et son temps (Paris, 24-28 octobre 1972) (Paris, 1974), p. 294; Gerard Moreau, "La corrélation entre le milieu social et professionnel et le choix de religion à Tournai," Sources de l'histoire religieuse de la Belgique - Moyen Age et Temps moderne, Actes du Colloque de Bruxelles (30 novembre - 3 décembre 1967 - IIe section) (Louvain, 1968), p. 299. See also Mentzer, "Heresy Suspects in Languedoc," p. 565 for figures on the food and drink trades. The limited representation of these trades among Protestants in the south of France is once again in striking contrast to Caen's relatively large number of Protestant butchers.

28

See Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 110-50, on the Caen economy in the 14th and 15th centuries. There exists no adequate discussion of the Caen economy in the 16th century.

Mentzer, "Heresy Suspects in Languedoc," pp. 564-66, 568 provides a useful comparison of the data available on artisan Protestantism in the south of France. As in Caen, textile workers were a large element in the Protestant artisanal population, probably because they were a major part of the general population. Other important industries represented in Caen and the Midi include metal workers and construction workers. Whereas leather workers were most important in the Languedoc, Cevennes and Montpellier data which Mentzer summarizes, we see that they were but meagerly represented in the Caen Protestant registers. Mentzer also addresses the general problem of under-representation of artisans in his judicial sources, a bias evident in the Caen data we well.

The 1568 Levy suggests that in St. Etienne the Protestant community includes more wealthy individuals than the general Protestant population would lead one to expect. These Réformés were probably not drawn from the ranks of the tanners.

29

Prentout, "Maîtres-maçons à Caen," pp. 699-724; de Beaurepaire, "La destruction du chartrier de l'abbaye de St-Etienne," p. 296.

30

Pierre Le Moigne, a Protestant goldsmith, was one of the 7 to 12 percent elite subjected to the 1568 Levy. While he only paid 1.65 livres, his presence on the levy roll definitely sets him apart from the city's blacksmiths. There is evidence from a legal settlement later in the century that most of the blacksmiths were illiterate. AMC, HH 18 (1), 20 June 1596, Agreement between the blacksmiths and city officials of Caen on taxes due from the community of blacksmiths. The problem was that most of the blacksmiths were illiterate and, therefore, wanted to pay a fixed sum annually rather than have to keep records of transactions and pay on the basis of work actually done.

31

Natalie Zemon Davis, "Protestantism and the Printing Workers of Lyons: A study in the problem of religion and social class during the Reformation," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1959), pp. 419-65; N. Z. Davis, "Strikes and Salvation at Lyons," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, 56 (1965), 48-64; Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, "Some Conjectures about the Impact of Printing on Western Society and Thought: A Preliminary Report," Journal of Modern History, 40 (1968), 31-34; Miriam Usher Chrisman, Books, Printers and the Reading Public in Strasbourg, 1480-1590 (in progress).

32

See Appendix 16: The Printers of Caen, 1550-1600. On the printing industry in Caen see Delisle, Livres à Caen, both volumes; Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 440-43; Lepreux, Gallia Typographica, III, part I, 418-506, passim; Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen," pp. 294-95; Jean Muller, Dictionnaire abrégé des Imprimeurs/Editeurs français du XVIe siècle (Baden-Baden, 1970), pp. 10-11. The five Protestant libraire were Jacques LeFebvre, Nicolas LeFebvre, Michel Toulorge, Etienne Martin and Etienne Desloges (Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 189, 333, 178; Martin and Desloges sold Protestant books or collaborated with a Protestant printer.)

33

See Appendix 17: Working Bibliography of the Output of the Protestant Printers of Caen, 1550-1600.

In de Beaurepaire, "La destruction du chartrier de l'abbaye de St-Etienne," p. 293 Bénédic Macé is recorded as saying that at the time of the destruction of St. Etienne (1562) ". . . il estoit lors a Paris, et s'estoit lors absenté pour craincte qu'il avoyt de sa personne, à raison qu'il estoit de la religion catholique. . .".

34

Dupont, "Etienne du Val," pp. 529-62, passim; Gabriel Vanel, ed., "Le manuscrit d'Etienne du Val de Mondrainville, magistrat et armateur caennais (1535-78)," MAC, (1907), Documents - pp. 12-17. Vanel claims that du Val was sent to Paris in 1562 by the Caen Protestants to obtain for them freedom to worship according to conscience, provided their ministers would leave the city. Earlier, in 1555, du Val had been accused and tried for high treason. Vanel connects this incident to du Val's heretical stance. In the 1568 Levy du Val paid 175.25 livres, one of the highest single amounts levied.

35

J. Travers, ed., Oeuvres diverses en prose et en vers de Jean Vauquelin, sieur de la Fresnaye (Caen, 1872), pp. 245-67; R.-N. Sauvage, ed., Le Tombeau de Jean Rouxel suivi de son oraison funèbre (orig. ed. by J. de Cahaigues) (Rouen, 1931), pp. x-xv.

36

Romier, "Les protestants français à la veille des guerres civiles," pp. 275-77; Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, p. 132. Caen evidence is too fragmentary to evaluate Romier's view that the rich merchant tended to avoid the Reform while the less wealthy tradesman was attracted to the Protestant fold. In a more recent study J.H.M. Salmon writes, "It is also probable that the proportion of the merchant class that accepted Calvinism was higher than that of any other social group save the rural noblesse." Certainly the biographical evidence on du Val and the Rouxels does lead one to conclude that these wealthy Protestant merchants were inclined to be politiques in the long run.

37

See chapter Four, pp. 147-51.

38

Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 420-22.

39

Henri Prentout, "Genève et Caen, 1563-64: De Bèze, Antoine Le Chevalier et l'Université de Caen," Revue de la Renaissance, 4 (1903), 229-43; BSHPF, 18 (1869), 27-33. The impact of this plan will be discussed in chapter Six.

40

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 162; Eugène Chatel, "Liste des recteurs de l'Université de Caen," BSHPF, 11 (1881-82), 45.

41

See chapter Four, p. 151.

⁴²Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 428-33; Pierre Carel, Les Médecins et les Chirurgiens de Caen avant la Révolution (Caen, 1888), pp. 6-17; Charles Fayel-Deslongrais, Appendice à la notice de P. Carel sur les médecins et chirurgiens de Caen avant la Révolution (Caen, 1888), pp. 10-25.

⁴³de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 168; Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 443-40; ADC, D 64 (Matrologe de l'Université de Caen), f. 398v., 1564 Request by the university rector that the Protestants vacate the Grandes Ecoles.

⁴⁴Philippe Durant, regent - Collège des Arts; Nicolas Levallois, regent - Collège du Bois; Nicolas Mehuest, regent - Collège Cloutier; Guillaume Cornée, regent - college unspecified; Michel de Launay, principal - Collège des Arts; Geoffroy Le Laboureur, principal - Collège du Bois; Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 74, 155, 188, 203, 315, 328, 388 (1564-68). See also Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 433-36.

⁴⁵Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 436-40.

⁴⁶de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 248. This and other developments in the university will be discussed further in chapter Six.

⁴⁷Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 437-38; Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 27, 65, 298, 349, 384.

⁴⁸de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 245, 251; Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 439-440. Constantin was a member of the Caen church consistory and signed the October 1564 letters requesting Antoine Le Chevallier from Geneva; Prentout, "Genève et Caen, 1563-64," pp. 29, 33.

⁴⁹Claude du Buisson and Tanneguy Sorin; Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 8, 106, 255, 358, 254, 282, 326, 328. See also Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 426-28.

50

A list of 78 lawyers has been compiled from Pierre Carel, Etude historique sur le barreau de Caen (Caen, 1889), pp. 85-112; the Protestant registers and the Deliberations of the Corps de Ville (AMC, BB 2-8, 1562-68).

51

Carel, Etude sur Caen, pp. 323-24; BMC, MS In-8. 94, ff. 20-28, List of 16th-century notaries compiled by Abbé de la Rue; ADC, 7E 130, Caen Tabellionage Register - 1560.

52

Congar, LeCaillon & Rousseau, Sedan, pp. 173-74; Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 361-67, 385-86, 394-98; AMC, BB 2 & 3, Deliberations of the Corps de ville - 1562-63 provide ample evidence that de la Marck was actually in Caen during this period of unrest. In 1564 the Caen consistory attested to his Protestantism in their letter to the Genevan Company of Pastors, requesting the services of Antoine Le Chevalier, pastor and hebraist, ". . . le bon voulloir de zele du seigneur duc de Bouillon, gouverneur de Normandie, ne pourra pas servir sinon qu'il ayt gens suffisans et d'autorité pour avancer les choses;" (Prentout, "Genève et Caen, 1563-64," p. 31.).

53

See Appendix 14: Caen Echevins (1555-69) and the Magistrates of the Caen Presidial Court (1552-70). See also Carel, "Les magistrats du Bailliage," pp. 583-639. For a discussion of the similar situation in Nimes see Guggenheim, "Calvinism and the Political Elite of Nimes," chapters Six and Ten, passim and Ann Guggenheim, "The Calvinist Notables of Nimes during the Era of the Religious Wars," Sixteenth Century Journal, 3 (April 1972), pp. 80-96. The influence of Protestants on the governance of Caen will be discussed in chapter Six.

Mentzer, "Heresy Suspects in Languedoc," pp. 565-67 comments on the representation of the liberal professions (law, education, government, medicine and the book trade) among the Protestants of Languedoc. Men involved in the legal and educational professions were prominent in both Caen and Languedoc. Yet, it is striking that Protestant government officials represented by far the largest element in the liberal professions recorded in the Caen registers (1560-68), in contrast to their comparatively minor place in the judicial records of pre-1560 Languedoc. The nature of the sources and difference in dates partially explains the contrast, but the difference is major enough to underline the importance of the strength of Caen Protestantism in the ranks of officialdom for the success of the Reform in Lower Normandy.

54

Olivier de Brunville was certainly an asset to the Protestant cause in Caen with his influence as lieutenant general of the bailli and, on the testimony of his contemporary Jacques de Cahaigues, his friendship with Michel de l'Hôpital (de Cahaigues, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 85-86.).

See Appendix 15. For a detailed treatment of one of the Protestant families represented on the Echevinage see Etienne de la Bigne, "La famille de la Bigne, à Caen au XVI^e siècle," BSAN, 57 (1963-64), 285-315.

56

AMC, BB 4 ff. 1-13, 14-15 February 1564; ff. 88-100, 16 July and 26 August 1564; BB 5, ff. 11-12, 6 October 1564 (Royal choice). Out of 34 nominated for the six extra positions by the general assembly of 101 notables, 16 were Protestant (AMC, BB 4, f. 100).

57

Romier, "Les protestants français à la veille des guerres civiles," p. 266; Léonard, Le protestant français, pp. 42-46; Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, pp. 134-35.

A detailed study of the members of the Caen elite is beyond the scope of this work, though it would be a fertile area for research in the future. Studies such as Guggenheim, "Calvinism and the Political Elite of Nimes" and Sterling a Lamet, "Men in Government: The Patriciate of Leiden, 1550-1600" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 1978) delve into the attitudes and motives of the sixteenth-century urban elite with regard to religious change in enough depth to illuminate the question somewhat, while on the other hand making it clear that a full understanding of why these men did or did not become Protestant may indeed be impossible to reach.

58

Guggenheim, "Calvinism and the Political Elite of Nimes," pp. 224-33.

59

Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion," pp. 121-25. In his study of Rouen, Benedict also comments on the impossibility of pinning down any one motive. In addition he stresses the importance of "social space" in the spread of Protestantism. As I have noted earlier, such space was created at Caen by the national political situation as well as the city's freedom from conservative bodies such as a parlement and an episcopal administrative hierarchy.

60

Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, p. 132.

61

This phrase was used throughout the 16th century to describe the Reformed Church of Caen.

62

This city-wide organization was similar to the situation in Geneva and later in many Dutch cities which adopted the Reform. A group of pastors served the urban population as a whole rather than there being any one pastor to one church with its own consistory.

This pattern fit a developing situation well as it allowed flexibility during a period of formation. Later, the mature churches took on the form of one temple with one consistory served by a pastor or pastors. John T. McNeill, The History and Character of Calvinism (New York, 1954), p. 246.

63

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 162. See chapter Four, n. 44. His explanation for these abandonments was the weight of the décimes on the curés and vicars who feared imprisonment for failure to pay. He cited the following villages around Caen as having lost their clergy in the late 1550's: Plumetot, Periers, Secqueville, Putot and Soliers.

64

"Une Mission à la Foire de Guibray - lettre d'un ministre normand à Calvin (août 1561)", BSHPE, 28 (1879), 464. This is a letter from pastor Goddard to Calvin (also published in Jean Calvin, Opera quae supersunt omnia, ed. by W. Baum, E. Cunitz & E. Reuss, 18 (Brunswick, 1863-1900), col. 662-70, No. 3504). Goddard wrote to Calvin in June as well telling of other activities in Lower Normandy (Calvin, Opera, 18, col. 521-23, no. 3422).

65

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 168. See Map 5: Locations of Protestant services in Caen and the surrounding area during the 1560's.

66

Laffetay, Diocèse de Bayeux, I, 55.

67

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 184-85. See chapter Four, pp. 212-14. The registers indicate only irregularly where the services of baptism and marriage were taking place. Nonetheless, they provide enough information to give us an idea of the period when a given location ceased to be used.

68

ADC, D 64 (Matrologe de l'Université de Caen), ff. 398-307, Request by the university rector, Henri Moisy, and order by Charles IX that the Grandes Ecoles be vacated by the Protestants (8 May 1564). The last service recorded in the Grandes Ecoles took place on 10 May 1564 (Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 66-67). On the occupation of the Grandes Ecoles by the Protestants see Prentout, "Genève et Caen, 1563-64," pp. 234-35.

69

Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 138. The Grain Hall was designated as "lieu donné par le Roi pour faire les prêches de la Religion Réformée", 23 April 1565. Both the Grain Hall and the storehouse in the parish of St. Jean were noted as "lieux baillez

par messieurs les Commissaires du Roy notre Sire" on the title page of the marriage register for 1566-68 (ADC, C 1573).

70 See Map 5. See also Samuel Mours, Les Eglises Réformées en France (Paris, 1958), pp. 64, 108.

71 These lists of locations are based upon the places mentioned in the registers whose pastors visited Caen, de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 162 and ADC, 7E 260, f. 46.

72 See above p. 193-94.

73 The following villages within a ring 10 kilometers from Caen but not on the list of those having their own services did produce Protestant children for baptism in the 1560's: Banneville-la-Campagne, Bourguebus, Bras, Cagny, Cambes, Carpiquet, Colombelles, Demonville, Etaveaux, Eterville, Feuguerolles-sur-Orne, Fontaine-Etoupefour, Fontenay-le-Marmion, Grentheville, Herouvillette, Ifs, Maltot, Mondeville, Mouen, Norrey, St-André de Fontenay, Touffreville, Verson, Vieux.

74 Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, ed. and trans., The Register of the Company of Pastors of Geneva in the Time of Calvin (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1966), p. 40.

75 W.J.C. Moens, ed., The Registers of the French Church of Threadneedle Street, London (4 vols. Lymington, 1896), I, xxviii.

76 Hughes, Register of the Company of Pastors, pp. 44-45.
Pierre Bels, Le Mariage des Protestants français jusqu'en 1685 - fondements doctrinaux et pratique juridique (Paris, 1968), pp. 181-84; ADC, C 1574, ff. 33v. & 36v.

77 Bels, Mariage des Protestants français, pp. 111-15.

78 Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 531 (3 Jan. 1563); ADC, C 1573, f. 19v. (9 February 1567).

79 ADC, F 6514 (Legs Louis Collet) - Examples of Protestant marriage contracts drawn from: ADC, 7E 260, f. 153r. (12 June 1566) and 8E 4149, f. 161r. (14-12 February 1567).

80

See Appendix 17. See also Henri-Léonard Bordier, ed., Le chansonnier huguenot du XVIIe siècle (2 vols., Paris, 1870). This collection of songs used by 16th-century French Protestants shows the range of themes and messages to be found in these psalms and hymns: Old Testament psalms, the badge of the Réformés; statements of the tenets of the faith; inspirational songs to support the persecuted and embattled; venomous anti-Roman Catholic statements and commemorations of the lives of martyrs.

The poet Clément Marot may have had his family roots in the Caen area, "Notes sur les poètes Jean et Clément Marot, le père et le fils," BSHPF, 4 (1955), 249-57; A Galland, "A Caen et dans le Bocage Normand - Le Refuge et l'état-civil. Les Marot de Caen et de Mathieu," BSHPF, 81 (1932), 365-85.

81

Miriam Usher Chrisman has found in her study of printing in 16th-century Strasbourg that sermons played a minor part in the output of Protestant printers. In fact, except for funeral sermons there was no large move to publish sermons; probably because they were considered the "personal communication between the preacher and his congregation". Chrisman, Books in Strasbourg, chapter Five.

82

The only indication of involvement by Caen pastors in controversy was in 1566 when we learn that an unidentifiable Caen minister acted as a messenger from Nicolas des Gallars to Beza, bringing the latter excerpts from letters by the recently condemned Jean Morely, proponent of congregational views on church order. The Caen pastor was serving the orthodox camp but was undoubtedly aware of the substance of the controversy. Beze, Correspondance, VII, 242-43, no. 504; Kingdon, Geneva and the French Protestant Movement, p. 73.

83, "Une Mission à la Foire de Guibray," p. 459.

84

Ibid., p. 462.

85

Ibid., pp. 458-60.

86

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 170, 179. De Bourgueville's biased testimony must be taken with care, but Cousin's reputation as quick-tempered followed him to his London pastorate. It is possible that Cousin left Caen after having been censured by Reformed leaders for inflaming the populace. In his will Cousin specifically spoke out against "the disordered power of the multitude", possibly the reflections of a dying man on his own less

temperate younger days. M.J.O. Kennedy, "Jean Cousin, minister of Threadneedle Street (c.1562-74) and his Congregation," Huguenot Society Proceedings, 22, no. 4 (1974), 331-32, 339, 343.

87

Norman provincial synod records give further evidence of such conflicts. Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion," pp. 66-68. See also Bèze, Correspondance, IV, 91, no. 252; 132, no. 264; 275-92, appendix IX and Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, pp. 124-25, 169.

88

M. Reulos, "L'organisation des Eglises réformées françaises et le Synode de 1559," BSHPF, 105 (1959), 9-24.

89

Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 83 (29 Aug. 1564).

90

Unfortunately the Protestant registers rarely differentiated among the three parishes of the Bourg l'abbé so that the 1568 levy is our only indication of Protestant strength in the individual parishes of this large quarter.

91

See above pp. 195-202.

92

See Appendix 15: The amounts levied on the pastors are as follows: Pierre Pinson, 5.5 livres; Antoine Le Chevalier, 10 livres; Vincent Le Bas, 5.5 livres.

93

Guggenheim, "Calvinism and the Political Elite of Nimes," pp. 272-74.

94

See Table 4 and Appendix 15.

95

ADC, D 64 (Matrologe de l'Université de Caen), ff. 398-407 (May 1564).

96

See Guggenheim, "Calvinism and the Political Elite of Nimes," pp. 275-96 for a useful discussion of the Nimes consistory's activities based on an unusual series of consistory minutes.

- 97
 Illegitimacies: Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 106 (26 December 1564), p. 310 (10 May 1567), p. 353 (2 December 1567), p. 357 (14 December 1567). Mixed marriages: Prentout, "Maîtres-maçons à Caen," p. 702, n. 2 and ADC, C 1572 ff. 33v., 88, 140, 185v.
- 98
 Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 394.
- 99
Ibid., pp. 405, 408, 409.
- 100
 Aymon, Les Synodes nationaux des Eglises Réformées, I B, 43, article XXXIV.
- 101
 Le Bas held the title sieur du Val. On Le Chevalier's personal finances see Hughes, Register of the Company of Pastors, pp. 365-66 (7 July 1564).
- 102
 See above chapter Three p.89-90. On the use of the tithe by Protestants see Guggenheim, "Calvinism and the Political Elite of Nimes," pp. 282-86.
- 103
 See above n. 92.
- 104
 See chapter One pp. 33-38 and chapter Six, p. 270-71.
- 105
 AMC, BB 2, f. 149v. (4 Nov. 1563). The use of the terms presche and sermons publiques here rather than messe is notable.
- 106
 Calvin, Opera, 18, col. 522, no. 3422 (20 June 1561); "Une Mission à la Foire de Guibray," pp. 455-64.
- 107
 N. Weiss and H. Aubert, eds., "L'organisation des églises réformées de France et la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Geneve, 1561," BSHPF, 46 (1897), 461-64 (28 and 29 Oct. 1561 - correspondence with Geneva regarding a church at La Ferté-Fresnel, southeast of Caen). Cousin spent at least six weeks there in 1561 and requested two pastors for this strong congregation.
- 108
 Aymon, Les Synodes nationaux des Eglises Réformées, I B, 42, article XXXIII.

109

See chapter Six pp. 287-89. Prentout, "Genève et Caen, 1563-54". On similar plans to establish a training center for pastors at Nimes see Guggenheim, "Calvinism and the Political Elite of Nimes", pp. 292-96.

110

See chapter Four, pp. 161-63.

111

Charles Bost, "L'église de Cherbourg - notes complémentaire," BSHPP, 81 (1932), 320-31.

112

For example those from Lisieux and Le Havre who were in Caen for the synod meeting in May 1563. La Ferrière-Percy, Normandie à l'étranger, p. 151, 27 May 1563 letter from de Brissac to Catherine.

CHAPTER VI

THE IMPACT OF THE REFORMATION ON THE CITY

In 1588 Charles de Bourgueville described the inhabitants of Caen as having been always:

. . . forts civils, de bon jugement, bien advisez, fort propres en leurs habits, communiquants et frequentans souvent ensemble à boire et manger, les aucuns vivans honorablement de leurs biens et revenus les autres de leurs estats et offices, trafiques et marchandises, et quant aux artisans ils sont un bon nombre de tous mestiers aussi parfaits et ingenieux en leurs arts qu'il y en ait en autre ville en ce Royaume. . .¹

He continued by noting with regret that this harmonious and prosperous situation had been shattered by the changes in religion and the civil wars which had struck the city since the 1560's. There is no reason to doubt de Bourgueville's basic claim, for the disruptive impact of the Reformation and civil wars has been repeatedly substantiated.² Nonetheless, the strongly Roman Catholic bias which caused him to blame the difficulties of the people on the sin of having forsaken the traditional church calls for a more dispassionate exploration of developments during this period.³

In this chapter we will attempt to reconstruct what happened to Caen and her people during the 1560's. While the nature of a study such as this necessarily emphasizes change, many features of

life undoubtedly continued as before despite religious revolt and civil unrest. Children were born, gardens were tended, looms were operated and taxes were paid. Yet, even some of these basic activities reflected the impact of change. The children of some Caennais were now baptized by married Reformed pastors, rather than celibate priests; gardens and looms were neglected when fighting drew close to the city and tax burdens were even heavier than in the past because of the ever increasing needs of the troubled monarchy and the impact of inflation on the individual's supply of cash. Although some of the early converts to Protestantism would eventually return to the Roman fold, the initial impact of their falling away on the populace which remained true to Rome was certainly profound. Traditional ceremonies and festivals were ignored for the first time in memory and, worst of all, hallowed sanctuaries were defiled.⁴

Yet another aspect of the altered situation was the intrusive presence of garrisons of troops in the city. Not since the Hundred Years War had the Caennais experienced such a military presence. Fighting and unrest in the countryside led to periodic food shortages which were particularly notable in 1563 when hoarding became a problem.⁵ By 1566 the price of wheat had more than doubled from that of 1564, never again to return to pre-1564 levels.⁶ Periodic sharp rises in prices were a common phenomenon in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, but the inflation and continuing unrest of the late sixteenth century meant that the average Caennais saw the value of his resources and labor steadily slipping away with little hope of relief.⁷

Both the individual and the city government were challenged by new problems. During the first decade of organized Protestantism in Caen the economy, social institutions, church structure and the intellectual community were all affected. In some cases the source of the problem or alteration in conditions was the new Protestant community and in others it was the civil unrest which gripped Lower Normandy from time to time. In both cases the result was much more clear to the contemporary than the actual cause. For example, Protestant apostacy was blamed by Roman Catholics for the fact that, "les saisons ne font plus leurs effects accoustumez," when actually the causes of their difficulties were meteorological and military.⁸

A. Economy, Taxation and Defense

In exploring the impact of the Reformation and the conflicts which accompanied it we will first look at the city as a whole from the point of view of the economy, taxation and defense. Then, the city government will be examined, since its membership and policies were affected by the unrest of this period. Finally, we will consider two specific institutions, the Roman Catholic church and the university, in order to see how they were influenced by the changes taking place as a result of open religious schism and civil violence.

It is impossible to draw conclusions regarding the long-range economic development of Caen based upon one decade. Nevertheless, something can be learned about the short-term fluctuations and

difficulties faced by the city during a period of change.⁹ Throughout the ancien régime price instability was common; fluctuations were brought on by the slightest accident of nature or human relations.¹⁰ Thus, it is not surprising that the price of wheat in Caen rose dramatically after 1564. Shortly after the first outbreak of iconoclasm and violence in the spring of 1562 the duke of Bouillon ordered that barley and oats be sold only in the Grain Hall at fixed prices.¹¹ Not even a year later the bailli of Caen ordered that, in light of complaints that grain was being hoarded, it was henceforth forbidden for a Caennais to have more wheat on hand than was currently needed by his immediate household.¹² Sales of wheat were strictly limited to the Grain Hall during appointed hours. In that same year Caen received a shipment of rye from Antwerp, and from 1563 to 1565 there were more Caen merchants trafficking in the Flemish commercial center than during any other period in the sixteenth century.¹³

While the fixing of bread prices was by no means unusual, an ordinance promulgated by the lieutenant general of the bailli of Caen in the 1560's clearly underlines that fact that the price of wheat was rising to previously unheard of levels. There was a need to make stricter provisions for the punishment of those bakers who tried to circumvent established weights for loaves of a certain price.¹⁴ There are no grounds to link these rising prices and grain shortages directly to the Reformation and civil wars, for similar problems were afflicting many areas of northern Europe during this period. Nonetheless, the crisis over basic foodstuffs would have

contributed to a general feeling that all was not well in the city.

The normal activities of merchants and artisans in Caen were disrupted by violence in and around the city.¹⁵ During the period of turmoil in 1562 and 1563 when Roman Catholic services were not being held and the city finally fell to Coligny, market days and commercial transactions were undoubtedly often suspended. When the churches were violated and documents destroyed, the guild statutes stored in confraternity chapels were not spared. Thus, the independent and prestigious guild of butchers found itself in need of new letters patent to support its claim to control the meat stalls and combat attempts by royal agents to infringe upon this right.¹⁶ Both local unrest and uncertainties as to travel conditions contributed to the abnormal conditions, bringing back memories of Caen's travails during the Hundred Years War.¹⁷

During the Second Religious War commerce by land and sea was again disrupted so that in September 1568 one of the collectors of excises in Caen begged that the portion which he owed the city be lowered. He based his request on the fact that:

. . .le commerce et trafique de Marchandise na sceu avoir lieu par eau ny par terre a locasion desd. troubles et que les portes et quaislz de lad. ville sur la Ryviere dont procedent de marchandises subjectz a lad. ferme ont este boches et miraez. Mesmes les basteauz passagers sur lad. Ryviere ostenz et enfondrez.¹⁸

The need for work on the Orne as well as armed conflict in Lower Normandy during the preceding year had made it impossible for him to collect the amount for which he had contracted. The inadequacies of the Orne were longstanding. In June 1564 and November 1565 there

had been discussions by the city council of the need to make the river more navigable, but lack of funds had stalled the project.¹⁹ Thus, the uncertainties of the war years contributed to a contraction of Caen commerce both directly by making the countryside unsafe and indirectly by increasing the city's inability to make needed improvements on her port.

Without a doubt Caen's citizens and government felt the impact of the wars even when there were no theaters of conflict in Lower Normandy. Extra levies by the king drained both the individual's pocketbook and the city coffers.²⁰ The impact of the expenses of the Wars of Religion on the precarious finances of the crown was certainly disastrous. In the end it led to the development of the notorious "General Farms" whose abuses would haunt both kings and populace throughout the ancien régime.²¹ Yet, an equally great disaster was gripping the cities and villages whose inhabitants were burdened with an ever increasing number of forced loans.

Each time the city of Caen was called upon to provide the king with funds, the levy ultimately had to affect the man in the street. Sometimes it was only the more wealthy who were called upon, as in the 1568 levy analyzed in chapter Five for which over 11,000 livres were raised from 1503 persons.²² In other cases the demands filtered down to the whole population of the city through additional excises levied on goods to raise the funds demanded.²³ The city magistrates found themselves constrained to make endless requests to the king either that the city's obligations be lessened or that they be granted the right to draw up a levy on the citizens or continue

to collect excises which would otherwise have ended.²⁴ Longstanding cases regarding tax evasion were pursued with increased vigor as the need for funds became greater. In 1565 the city finally won confirmation of the right to collect a tax from shoemakers at the rate of four deniers per livre of merchandise sold. The case had been pending since 1558. The shoemakers objected that this was double taxation as an excise was already paid on the unworked leather, but the parlement supported the city's claim. The result would of course be higher prices for shoes for the consumer.²⁵

Regardless of whether it was royal or Protestant forces who had the upper hand in Caen, the citizens found themselves faced with demands for financial support for troops and supplies. From the fall of 1562 to June 1563 the Caennais fought to no avail against a 3,000 livres royal levy.²⁶ In January 1563 Catherine de Medici reported to Monsieur de Gonnor, minister of finance, that she had received 3,000 livres from Caen to pay troops in Picardy and Champagne.²⁷ Only three months later, after the city had fallen to Coligny, the Protestant commanders levied a 10,000 écus (roughly 25,000 livres) contribution on the Caennais. De Bourgueville reported that he was asked to pay 200 écus, as well as to lodge some soldiers. He implied that the Roman Catholics in general were more heavily taxed than the Protestants.²⁸

In August 1563, at the same time that the city was having to finance the royal visit (24 to 26 August)²⁹, Caen was asked to supply one-half of a 30,000 livres levy on the four cities of the bailliage. It was hoped that payment would lead to withdrawal of the garrisons

in the city, but the burden was still more than the city could bear, and a temporary fiscal crisis ensued.³⁰ As a stop-gap measure until Caen's appeals had been answered, the count of Brissac ordered that ninety-eight of the city's wealthy citizens pay 20 écus each to cover the immediate support of three companies of troops in the city.³¹ Thus, Caen faced the prospect of being plundered by unpaid soldiers or experiencing rioting by citizens who could no longer pay the sums being demanded by the king and his military commanders, as well as their Protestant counterparts.³²

The impact of civil conflicts was felt not only through greater tax burdens but also in the insecurity of everyday life and the growing emphasis upon provisions to assure domestic tranquility. Even before the outbreak of violence, royal orders called for the registration of strangers in town and the institution of a close guard of the city in April 1560. This may have been because Caen was early a refuge for Protestants from other parts of Lower Normandy, and there was fear that these newcomers would stir up trouble.³³ Again in September 1562 concern was expressed over the presence of strangers, and a visitation was ordered to draw up a list of the city's residents indicating the arms in their possession. The names of the strangers present in each parish were also to be noted.³⁴

Similar measures continued to be taken whenever hostilities threatened the peace. In February 1563 the wife of the innkeeper of "La Tête Noire" in the parish of St. Pierre was accused of failing to report the presence of a number of strangers in the inn. The order

that hotel, tavern and innkeepers report all strangers staying on their premises was repeated in April of the same year.³⁵ When warfare broke out in the fall of 1567 strict controls were again placed on the comings and goings of all non-Caennais in the city.³⁶

Control of strangers was but one of the many measures taken to combat the climate of unrest and insecurity which reigned in the 1560's. Special meetings were called to work out a strategy to maintain the peace.³⁷ Clearly, a repetition of the violence of May 1562 was to be avoided at all costs. On 21 May 1562 the Governor of the province, the duke of Bouillon, reported to Catherine de Medici that he had ordered night and day watch in the city to assure public tranquility.³⁸ The city fathers swore their allegiance to the crown again and again, attempting to prove that they were in control.³⁹ Yet, in the end that which they feared could not be avoided--the city was overrun by royal garrisons. Caen was deemed unable to keep public order and defend herself without royal intervention.

Even before the religious change of the late sixteenth century the city fortifications had absorbed much of the echevins attention. As a coastal city Caen had to be prepared for both land and sea assaults, and her location on the open plain provided little in the way of natural defense.⁴⁰ De Bourgueville tells us that throughout the first part of the century the urban militia was equal to the city's defense needs. After 1562, however,

le Roy a député aucuns Capitaines et soldats pour conserver la ville et Chasteau: lesquels en ont entrepris le gouvernement durant lesdites guerres, mais estantes finies par les Edicts de pacifications, sa Majesté a reduit le tout comme il estoit du precedent.⁴¹

The evidence indicates that in the above comment de Bourgueville was a bit quick to sing the praises of the king's speedy withdrawal of the additional royal troops. In fact, their presence plagued the city through the century. The burden of the troops was onerous for a number of reasons. Most obvious was the added possibility of internal violence with several hundred extra armed men roaming the streets. On the occasion of rioting on 4 July 1563 soldiers were blamed for the disturbance.⁴² Deliberations of the echevins in November 1563 indicate that there had been other clashes between the troops and citizens of Caen. The city fathers chastized both the soldiers and the Caennais and called for the movement of the troops out of those homes where they had been billeted for the past two months.⁴³

The billeting of soldiers from the chateau garrison was burdensome both because it was an intrusion upon private households and because wood, candles and other provisions were used by the men.⁴⁴ In April 1563 two companies amounting to 550 men arrived in Caen, and since the chateau could accomodate only part of the force 200 were housed with the populace.⁴⁵ Time and again the echevins requested that these burdens be lightened. When their demands were ignored they attempted to shift the billeting from time to time so that the same households were not always imposed upon.⁴⁶

The echevins found the presence of the garrisons particularly vexing because, under the orders of the count of Brissac and captain Laguo, the hôtel de ville was occupied by some of the troops. The city hall's location on the bridge of St. Pierre in the heart of the

city made it a natural choice for an auxiliary military headquarters. Nonetheless, the corps de ville was understandably put out. In September 1563 they complained that the move was a terrible imposition because a new location for meetings must be sought. The moving of furniture and papers would be difficult, particularly since the titles to some of the former were not clear, being claimed by the echevins, the abbey of St. Etienne and the treasurers of the church of St. Pierre.⁴⁷ Initially a building in the university quarter was suggested, but finally the corps de ville relocated in the building where the greffier resided.⁴⁸ To add injury to insult the echevins learned later that the soldiers stationed in the city hall had been quite destructive during the past year.⁴⁹ Moreover, this affront to civic pride was but the beginning. The echevins would not permanently return to the bridge of St. Pierre until the end of the century, and by then the inadequacies of the existing building would necessitate its replacement.⁵⁰

Caen was subjected to military occupation during the 1560's largely because of her strategic importance vis à vis the Channel. The large Protestant community within her walls made the city a weak link in the royal defenses. While the presence of the garrison was certainly resented by the populace of Caen, it was deemed necessary because the city was central to the defense of the realm against English attack.⁵¹ This situation was complicated during the First Religious War by the initial weakness of the royal position in Normandy and the fact that many Caennais, as well as a large part of

the Lower Norman nobility, joined the Reformed camp which openly favored the English.⁵² The ease with which Coligny took Caen in March 1563 confirmed the need for a stronger royal presence in the area. In May 1563 the count of Brissac wrote warning Catherine that the city was likely to welcome the English. Earlier in the same month the governor of the chateau, captain Batresse, had ordered that the city walls be guarded more diligently.⁵³

The end of the First War of Religion in March 1563 by no means signalled the end of Caen's problems with respect to defense and finance. The breach in the city wall made during Coligny's assault had yet to be repaired in 1566.⁵⁴ In October 1566 a general assembly decided to send a representative to the king requesting exemption from the *taille* for ten years and the right to raise a levy of 11,000 livres to cover city debts. Clearly, the individual citizen would have continued to suffer, particularly if the latter request was granted.⁵⁵ By spring 1567 it was apparent that Caen was still paying the *taille* and the city's financial crisis was deepening.⁵⁶ The problem was that the funds collected from excises to pay the *taille* had already been spent, so the citizens of the city were threatened with having to pay the *taille* personally. Appeals continued through the spring with the Abbess of La Trinité writing her father, the Constable Montmorency, to request that the prestige of the city not be diminished by its inhabitants having to pay the personal *taille*.⁵⁷ Finally, on 30 June 1567 Caen received confirmation of her right to pay the *taille* through excises. The amount levied was 100 livres

more than had been hoped, but at least temporarily the city's privileges seemed secure.⁵⁸

Throughout the Second and Third Religious Wars crises such as those just described continued to plague Caen. The presence of garrisons and the need to provide their food and arms taxed those of both confessions.⁵⁹ The documents reveal little or no conflict between Protestant and Roman Catholic factions over city defense at this time. Yet, one incident does suggest that the two confessions may have spoken separately on some issues, while jointly opposing the impositions of levies and garrisoning of troops. Roman Catholic and Protestant representatives each presented petitions at a meeting before captain Laguo concerning the guard of the city. Although their views did not conflict, they spoke as separate corps.⁶⁰

As we have just seen, the years of war had a significant impact both on the security of the city and on the individual's pocketbook, which meant that the city government had to face many new challenges. In light of the importance of the Protestant element among the city notables, the ways in which the corps de ville was affected by and responded to the decades' crises is of particular interest.

B. Municipal Government

The forced migration of the corps de ville after 1563 has already been mentioned. While it was certainly an inconvenience, leading to the disruption of both established procedure and city records, it was a relatively minor problem when compared to the broader usurpation of rights by royal authority which faced the city government during the 1560's.⁶¹ As royal troops took over their meeting place, the echevins also found their traditional right to be elected by the city notables threatened.⁶² In 1564 the royal edict of Cremieux attempted to weaken the independence of echevins in cities with an episcopal seat, a parlement or a presidial by requiring the nomination of a double slate of candidates for the office, from which the king would choose the requisite number of officials.⁶³

Earlier precedent for this usurpation existed in Caen with the appointment by the duke of Bouillon in September 1562 of six conseillers ordonnateurs to assist the echevins because of the unrest in the city.⁶⁴ While there was probably a real need for more men in positions of authority during the period of crisis from 1562 to 1563, the new appointees made certain that a normal election was held at the appointed time on Ash Wednesday 1564 when the turmoil had died down.⁶⁵ In fact, no lasting change was brought about by this interlude of a twelve-man body of echevins.

Similarly, although the Edict of Cremieux went into effect in 1564 in Caen, by Ash Wednesday 1567 the city's control over echevinal elections had been reestablished. Any hope the crown may have entertained of lessening the Protestant grip on the city government

was foiled by the nomination of six Protestants to form the extra group from which the king chose the six new echevins in October. An analysis of the voting roll makes clear the importance of the Protestants. Of thirty-four candidates exactly one-half were Protestant. Furthermore, out of 694 votes cast (118 persons each voting for six), 564 (81%) were for Protestant candidates. The two Roman Catholics from the original 1564 group, Jacques Le Massecrier and Pasquier Le Charpentier, were among those chosen, but the king was forced to pick the other four from among ten Protestants.⁶⁶ Thus, Caen itself forestalled the edict's anti-Protestant intent even before it was softened from above.⁶⁷

In other areas, such as control of the city's patrimonial lands, the tense environment of the 1560's created a threat to traditional local prerogatives. Charles de Bourgueville decried the fact that the city had lost control of the walls and buildings adjacent to them when captain Laguo began to command the chateau. This not only was an affront to civic pride, but also meant a loss of revenues gained from these buildings. It was not until the 1580's that, largely due to de Bourgueville's efforts, the city was able to regain its patrimonial lands.⁶⁸

The large number of Réformés in the hierarchy of royal and municipal offices has already been alluded to.⁶⁹ Without a doubt this strength was crucial to the success of Protestantism as a movement in Caen during the 1560's. Furthermore, the undermining of Protestant influence in officialdom after 1568, prior to the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre, signalled the beginning of the

end of the Protestant movement as a dominant force in the city.

Given this importance, exactly what functions did the Protestants control and what did this mean? Their importance in the royal judicial framework of presidial and bailliage courts has already been mentioned. The counsellors and a number of officials with more specialized duties constituted the core of this judicial body. Of the latter group during the 1560's, the lieutenant general of the bailli for civil affairs, Olivier de Brunville; the lieutenant general of the bailli for criminal affairs, Jerome le Picard; two of the royal attorneys (avocats du roi), Jacques de Cordouen, sieur de Gressain and Pierre du Hamel, and the royal prosecutor (procureur du roi), Pierre de Verigny, sieur des Londes, were Protestant. The lieutenant for civil and criminal affairs and two avocats du roi were probably Roman Catholic. These men along with the court's counsellors, who by 1568 were overwhelmingly Protestant, executed all royal edicts, passed judgments on individual cases and made up the core of those city notables consulted on all major municipal decisions.⁷⁰

Just as the response of the Rouen Parlement affected the fate of that city's Reformed community negatively, so Caen's quasi-Protestant court, particularly the influential lieutenant general for civil affairs, who acted for the bailli as mayor, was instrumental in creating an environment in which Protestant Caennais could enjoy freedom to live and worship.⁷¹ When de Brunville was replaced by the Roman Catholic de Bourgueville in August 1568, despite the nomination of two other candidates who were Protestant, the stage was set for a challenge to Reformed influence in government.⁷² The harsh edict of

September 1568 banned all Protestants from major offices. Its impact will be discussed in chapter Eight, but it should be noted here that it was the first strongly anti-Protestant measure to be implemented in Caen. No doubt, de Bourgueville's own sympathies played a part in this development.⁷³

During the 1560's the Protestant presence was also felt in the royal fiscal hierarchy. The controleur général des finances and trésorier général, at least three élus and numerous receivers of royal taxes were members of the Reformed church. A number of attorneys and prosecutors involved in fiscal affairs were also Protestant.⁷⁴ While the functions of these men did not usually involve them in confessional matters, their prestige and influence as notables in the city was significant.

The high incidence of Protestantism among the city's echevins was certainly not without significance during the unrest of the 1560's. Furthermore, the influential posts of city attorney (procureur syndic) and city secretary (greffier) were held throughout this period by Jean Fernagu and René LeNicollas respectively, both active Réformés. When a permanent city solicitor was appointed in 1567, the man chosen was the Protestant Guillaume Labbé.⁷⁵ Fernagu was a major figure in city affairs, extending the influence of his position so that he was involved in almost all municipal decisions of importance.⁷⁶

A survey of those present at a number of meetings called to deliberate on city affairs indicates that the saturation of the public sector with Réformés was not limited to those actually holding offices. The body of notables, from which those called to consult

with the corps de ville were regularly chosen, was also strongly drawn to Protestantism. At a general assembly on 4 November 1563 regarding public order and the plague, seven of the fifteen individuals who consulted with the members of the echevinage and representatives of the presidial can be identified as Reformed.⁷⁷ The election assembly held in February 1564 which chose four Protestant echevins was itself sixty-one percent Reformed (49 out of 80 voters).⁷⁸ In 1565 when Charles de Bourgueville called a meeting to discuss problems which had arisen over the representative of the vicomté of Caen to the Estates of Normandy, the group of forty-one notables summoned was seventy-three percent Protestant. Only part of this number actually attended the meeting, but out of the thirty-three who did, sixty-six percent were Reformed.⁷⁹ Finally, among the nine men consulted by the echevins on urgent city problems and public order in June 1568, seven were of the Reformed faith. Not surprisingly they decided that their appeal to the king regarding the city's financial hardships should be signed by the notables of each city quarter without distinction as to religion.⁸⁰

What did all this Protestant presence amount to? On the one hand the Roman Catholic and Protestant officials continued to function together without conflict in carrying out the city's day-to-day business, and there is no evidence to indicate that the Protestant officials tried to change the city's institutions in any radical way. Yet, on the other hand, the preponderance of Réformés in positions of influence did mean that royal edicts were interpreted as

broadly as possible to permit freedom of conscience. Furthermore, the Reformed community of Caen always received a "good press" in reports to the crown.

Many recent studies have pointed out that during the turbulent period of the Reformation those in positions of authority, particularly in the cities, were more concerned with the problem of maintaining order than strongly encouraging a specific confessional line.⁸¹ The case of Caen further confirms this point. In general, the maintenance of order was uppermost in the minds of the Caen echevins and royal officials, Protestant or Roman Catholic. Thus, throughout this period the Roman Catholic de Bourgueville worked hand in hand with Protestant officials for the common good of the city. An example of this is the request by two Protestant and one Roman Catholic echevins that de Bourgueville, then a lieutenant of the bailli, validate their decisions until the next election (in two months) because three of their fellow echevins (two Protestant and one Roman Catholic) had died, and four votes were needed for a quorum in all decisions. This is clear evidence that the Protestants were not trying to control the city council, for they might have asked the Protestant de Brunville, lieutenant general of the bailli, instead.⁸² Relations between Roman Catholic and Protestant office holders was good enough only four years after the rioting of 1562 for these echevins to ignore confessional allegiance in choosing a temporary member of their body.

A large amount of time was spent dealing with the financial crises and problems with royal troops described above, and in these situations the magistracy was united in opposition to royal exploita-

tion. Routine matters relating to public works continued to concern them, such as urban renewal, street cleaning and provisions for public latrines.⁸³ The appointment of minor city officials, though somewhat perfunctory because the positions were becoming hereditary, consumed a good deal of their time.⁸⁴ Furthermore, the old conflicts with Rouen over city privileges continued despite, or perhaps even more because of, the disruptions of the wars.⁸⁵ While the city was plagued by fiscal crises, individual Caennais were involved in the old controversies over whether they could be forced to contribute to the *taille* in parishes where they held lands outside the city. Innumerable deliberations and a major mission by Jean Fernagu to Paris indicate that the city government was frequently drawn into the conflicts and expended much time and energy defending the privileges of worthy bourgeois.⁸⁶ All of these routine activities testify to the smooth functioning of government during a time of unrest when the members of the magistracy were drawn from both Roman Catholic and Protestant ranks.

Although all was not tranquil, the conflicts which arose among members of the ruling elite did not necessarily follow confessional lines. One example is the 1565 controversy over the choice of a representative to the provincial estates. During the sixteenth century, Normandy was both a pays d'élection and a pays d'état. The apparatus of taxation by élections was established early in the sixteenth century, but the estates continued to play a part in the division of the tax burden, acting as a vehicle for requests for lower taxes.⁸⁷ Thus, in November 1565 when a meeting of the Estates

of Normandy was called, the election of the representative from the vicomté of Caen was considered an occasion of great consequence. In hopes that the city's tax burden might be lessened the representative to the estates was to describe the:

. . . extremesme povvrete en laquelle le peuple de lad. viconté auroit este miserablement reduict pour iniure du temps calamité des guerres passez charté et sterilité des vyvres fouille et oppression de gens de guerre. . .88

The election held on 5 November gave rise to intense controversy because the representatives of the Caen echevins and citizenry, led by Protestant procureur syndic Jean Fernagu, opposed the choice of one Jehan Le Guerrier from Loucelles as the representative of the Third Estate of the vicomté. In both the minutes of an assembly on 7 November and in Fernagu's report to the royal commissioners, Bouillon and Guillaume de Novince, sieur d'Aubigny, trésorier général, the crux of the conflict becomes clear. Le Guerrier had been pushed into position by Olivier de Brunville, lieutenant general of the bailli, in an election which had excluded proper representatives of the city of Caen. The assembly voted in the presidial hall (X) rather than the hôtel de ville, and those attending, according to Fernagu, were ". . .ung ramas de peuple sans discretion. . ." more than a legitimate assembly. The Protestant de Brunville supported a non-Caen faction and recognized the votes of representatives from villages while ignoring those of a number of Caen notables, possibly Fernagu himself, who had tried to stop the proceedings.⁸⁹

The interesting point to note in this affair is that Roman Catholic or Protestant allegiance seems to have played no part in the

matter. De Brunville, Fernagu and the two royal commissioners were all Protestant. Le Guerrier's religious preference was never mentioned, and the real issue was whether the city of Caen could be excluded from the selection of the representative of the vicomté to the estates.⁹⁰ There seems to have been fear that the plight of the urban populace would not be forcefully presented by Le Guerrier. The outcome of the incident was a 28 November decision by the duke of Bouillon and Guillaume de Novince that the traditional election procedures, which had been ignored by de Brunville, should henceforth be followed, and the votes of royal officials should not be counted. Thus, the Caen faction had triumphed over the lieutenant general of the bailli and his supporters.⁹¹ Prominent Protestants had figured on both of the opposing sides, with the central issue being municipal autonomy versus royal influence. The very strength of the Protestant civic leaders in Caen meant that they continued to be divided on some issues, feeling no hesitancy to ally with their Roman Catholic rivals on questions of public order and local prerogative.

Despite the evidence which shows Protestants and Roman Catholics working in concert, there are also many indications that the strength of the Protestant elite was used to the advantage of their religious persuasion whenever necessary. In other words the predominance of Protestants in positions of strength contributed positively to the maintenance of the large Reformed community. Religious and civil liberties were guaranteed regardless of the particular royal edict in force at any given time. It was the

combination of sheer numbers and strength in positions of local influence which assured Caen's Protestants relative freedom from harassment through the period of the first two Religious Wars.

The pro-Protestant actions taken by the Caen elite were of several types, ranging from the cover-up of infractions of royal edicts by Caen Réformés, to the promotion of measures which actively sought to improve the status of the large non-Roman Catholic community in the city. In general, the goal was toleration of heterodoxy. Studying one of the few registers containing local reactions to official royal proclamations, it becomes evident that during the early 1560's the bailliage and presidial officials accepted and published almost all royal edicts without delay.⁹² During this period royal policy varied from condemnation of the Réformés after the Amboise conspiracy to toleration of Protestantism in the 1562 Edict of January.⁹³ Once toleration was established by the latter edict, however, the Caen officials were unwilling to publish a later order, dated 18 July 1562, which forbade all gatherings, preaching and administration of sacraments which did not conform to orthodox practice.

This unique case of controversy over and actual opposition to a royal edict discussing religious matters occurred on 25 July 1562 when the bailli, Charles d'Auberville, presided over a meeting at which the 18 July order was discussed. The Caen officials were most willing to restrict the carrying of arms in order to preserve civil peace, but they opposed the articles pertaining to restriction of the practice of the Reformed religion. Their opposition was based on the fact that these articles ran contrary to the Edict of January and might lead to

further unrest.⁹⁴ It should be remembered that this meeting in July followed closely the violence of the previous spring, during which some Protestants had vented their anger over the massacre at Vassy in a campaign of destruction.⁹⁵ Clearly, the bailliage officials did not want to risk further unrest. Furthermore, the wording of the minutes indicates that they believed the new orders were unjust. The minutes were signed by ten of those attending, at least five of whom were Protestant.⁹⁶ Letters were sent to the king explaining the meeting and the reason for delaying publication. They received a response from the king dated 4 August 1562 which ordered them to accept it fully without delay, and on 17 August the 18 July edict was finally made public.⁹⁷ The Caen Réformés did not react violently as had been feared, but they continued to worship openly in the city. This incident reflects vividly both the breadth of Protestant strength at this juncture and their particular concentration of influence among the ranks of the city's governing elite.

The desire on the part of the magistracy for peaceful toleration of both religious groups carried through the 1560's. In October 1567 when hostilities had again broken out the assembly called to deliberate on methods of keeping the peace carefully concluded that civil and religious liberty was to be assured for all citizens, Roman Catholic and Protestant. The three Reformed pastors were named as attendants, along with the Abbot of Ardennes, the Dean of St. Sépulcre, who was also the bishop's official representative, the vicar general of St. Etienne and the prior of the Hôtel-Dieu. In the articles drawn up by the assembly, priests and pastors were equally exhorted to

counsel tolerance in their sermons.⁹⁸ The following month the delegates of the bailliage of Caen to the provincial estates disputed an article in the cahier to be presented to the king. The article called for an end to toleration of Protestants in public offices and the cessation of Protestant services in Normandy. It was opposed only by the bailliages of Caen, Alençon and Carentan.⁹⁹ The tide was turning against Protestantism in Normandy, but the Caennais held onto hopes for toleration longer than most.

In addition to attempts to delay the implementation of potentially disruptive anti-Protestant measures, the Caen officials covered up, and if de Bourgueville is to be believed condoned, unrest caused by Protestants. De Bourgueville reported that in May 1562:

Les meschans qui commirent tels & si enormes actes, par l'autorité des Ministres. . . les Diacres, Surveillans, & principaux de leur Religion, furent si temeraires de venir en la Chambre du Conseil en armes, tant de harquebuzes, hallebardes, que espees, demander a la Iustice le salaire de leurs peines d'avoir fait tels saccagemens & ruines, qui leur fut accordé par l'un des Iuges qui estoit de leur Religion. . . l'y estois present, mais sans pouvoir ni autorité, & mes remonstrances furent fort mal suyvies, & moy en tres grand danger.¹⁰⁰

There is no evidence concerning this supposed payment to the iconoclasts, but there certainly were several who could have been the Protestant magistrate to whom de Bourgueville referred. Four of the echevins and at least five or six bailliage and presidial counsellors were Protestants.

Whether or not the city officials openly condoned the 1562 iconoclasm, they certainly went to great lengths in the following year

to assure that all irregularities occurring in Caen were glossed over as much as possible. In January 1563 the procureur syndic, Jean Fernagu, was sent to court "pour justifier les habitants de Caen aupres de leur Majestés des Calomnies dont on a voulu les charger."¹⁰¹ Fernagu was instructed to pledge that all was calm in Caen, no illegal public preaching was taking place and no one was prevented from attending mass. In fact there is ample evidence that the situation was far from being as tranquil as Fernagu reported. Just two months later, when Coligny entered the city, he was welcomed openly by a strong Protestant party.¹⁰²

Later the same year, Caen's failure to respond to the terms of the Edict of Amboise by reestablishing Roman Catholic services and restoring property to Roman Catholic authorities was the subject of a letter from the Constable Montmorency. As we have already noted, the city and royal officials covered up the exact length of the delay in conforming to the edict in their 4 July letter to the Constable. On 20 June when they first discussed Montmorency's letter and at the 4 July meeting which drafted the response, the magistrates were confronted with the fact that Caen was by no means without violence and conflict.¹⁰³ In the procès verbal of another 4 July gathering during which riots broke out near St. Pierre, the strongly Protestant corps de ville recorded that ". . . il n'en fut impute aucune chose à ceux de la religion réformée, lesquels il etait notoire être pour lors aux prêches,". It was the procureur syndic, Fernagu, among others, who insisted that the city officials inquire into the matter further, claiming that soldiers had provoked the confrontation.¹⁰⁴ Yet, the

timing of the riot so soon after the reestablishment of Roman Catholic services and its location outside the church of St. Pierre while vespers were being celebrated strongly suggests that Réformés were protesting the return of papal rites to the city.

There is evidence that the overwhelming Protestant domination of the bailliage and presidial courts frustrated royal attempts to pursue individuals responsible for the devastation of Roman Catholic properties. A series of inquests and accusations brought against Caennais who had been involved in the violence of 1562 and 1563 continued into the 1570's, but little came of them.¹⁰⁵ All in all the influence of Caen Protestants in high places provided protection for individuals who were condemned and punished in other cities.

In several instances the prominence and influence of Protestants meant that they captured crucial positions as spokesmen for the city. The case of Fernagu as procureur syndic, particularly when he was sent to court in January 1563, has already been noted.¹⁰⁶ At the time of the royal visit to Caen in August 1563 the first counsellor of the presidial, Tanneguy Sorin, presented the ceremonial oration before the royal party including Montmorency. Sorin was one of the leading members of the Protestant community as well as a doctor on the faculty of law. In both of these cases the Protestants of Caen could be sure that their law-abiding character and the need for toleration would be represented to the fullest.¹⁰⁷

An even more striking indication of the influence of the notable Protestants was the request presented to the king in April 1563 that he appoint a Reformed governor of the chateau because most of Lower

Normandy was Protestant and such an appointment would assure the observance of royal edicts. This request was met with the appointment of Batresse, who may well have been a Réformé, though that can not definitely be proved. His tenure was marked by good relations with the Caen corps de ville but was unfortunately short-lived. Captain Lago, who replaced Batresse in June, soon alienated many groups within the city.¹⁰⁸ Although it did not have the desired effect for any length of time, the city's April 1563 request clearly shows just how influential the Protestants were among the governing elite.

Finally, there were several instances when the presence of a strong Protestant leadership in the corps de ville of Caen caused measures to be passed which reflected a Reformed attitude toward public policy. Since the city never totally embraced the Reform, major institutional changes did not take place. Yet, in several cases during the 1560's a definitely Reformed flavor can be noted in the actions of the magistrates.¹⁰⁹ In 1563 when there was an outbreak of pestilence in Caen, the city council responded by ordering that three silver chalices and a silver cross which had been removed from the Hôtel-Dieu by one of the officials of that institution, Jean Maxienne, a Protestant, should be weighed and sold. The revenues thus gained should be ". . . employez et convertyz en bons usages au profit des pauvres de lad. maison ou autrement comme il sera trouve raison pour la necessite du temps."¹¹⁰ Maxienne was not the only Protestant who served as an official of the Hôtel-Dieu. Of the nine administrators chosen during the 1560's to oversee the Hôtel-Dieu seven were definitely Protestant.¹¹¹ The attitude reflected in this incident clearly gives

evidence of Protestant disdain for sumptuous Roman Catholic religious objects, particularly when the poor and sick needed help.

No major change in the care of the poor in Caen took place during the 1560's, but this outbreak of the plague in 1563 provided even further evidence that Protestant magistrates were formulating policy which did not totally conform to traditional practice. At an 8 April meeting the Protestant presidial counsellor François Malherbe, sieur d'Igny, proposed that the establishment of a bureau des pauvres be considered and that "les ministres sont exhortes advertir la peuple den faire tel debvoir quil appartient."¹¹² At this point Roman Catholic services had been suspended so his call upon the pastors is not surprising. Later in the year, at an assembly held on 4 November to outline more adequate steps to stem the spread of the plague, one of the articles drawn up called for the exhortation of the people to pray and give alms at all preachings and at public sermons.¹¹³ This reference focuses on Reformed gatherings rather than the traditional Roman Catholic mass and again reveals the strength of the Protestant population even after the reestablishment of Roman Catholic services.¹¹⁴

One final example of possible Reformed influence on policy made by the Caen magistrates was the banning of the playing of tennis in the city. On 11 August 1565 the city council declared:

Combien il arrive de damage et Inconvenient a la République de lad. ville à cause du Jeu de Pâume lequel etait trop exercé sur les grandes écoles de droit à raison de quoy s'ensuivaient plusieurs blasphèmes et débauchements de beaucoup de jeunes hommes, artisans de cette ville, et conséquemment des jeunes enfants et écoliers hantant tant les lectures publiques desdites ecoles que celles des collèges et régents

ordinaries de l'Université, dont procèdent une liberté pernicieuse. et de mauvais exemples à toute la république. 115

Tanneguy Sorin was called upon to assure that such raucous behavior cease and that stones be placed in the area used as a tennis court. The significance of this ruling from the point of view of Protestant influence should not be overemphasized for it could be seen simply as a reflection of the general concern on the part of sixteenth century councils for order. Yet, the tone of the decree and the choice of Sorin to execute it suggest a possible Reformed impetus behind it.

The impact of the Reform and Religious Wars on the city of Caen as a whole and on the municipal government has been amply demonstrated. Yet, perhaps the areas most strikingly affected by the changes which took place during this decade were the institutions of the traditional church and the university.

C. The Roman Catholic Church

The impact of the development of Protestantism and the civil unrest of the 1560's on the Roman Catholic church in Caen was both physical and psychological. The destruction of sacred images and cartularies and the disruption of Roman Catholic services were visible evidence of the changes taking place, while desertion of parishes and monasteries by the clergy reflected the decline in morale within the traditional church. Caen was not an area which had developed a strong medieval tradition of heresy such as that of the Albigensians. Thus, the impact of a highly successful movement adopting a clearly heretical position on theology and the church order may be expected to have had

a profound influence on the masses who remained Roman Catholic. In addition, the wholesale abandonment of traditional festivals by one-half of the population affected those for whom questions of doctrine and church authority were of little importance. Representative of the devout Roman Catholic community, de Bourgueville wrote that the Réformés were "vrais Athéistes, puis qu'ils ne craignent Dieu."¹¹⁶ Their acts of violence and their Calvinist doctrines would, he believed, ultimately cause them to be harshly judged by God.¹¹⁷

In the spring of 1562 the resentment building in the Protestant community over the weakening of the liberal Edict of January and increasing persecution broke forth in a campaign of iconoclastic activity which coincided with the beginning of the First Religious War.¹¹⁸ A number of other factors supported the turn to violence as well. The Calvinist belief that the splendor and wealth of the Roman Catholic church was an impediment to the worship of the God of scripture and a widespread dissatisfaction on the part of those subject to the economic overlordship of the Roman church were strong motives for the destruction of church property.¹¹⁹ Outrage over the immediate prospect of persecution, such as had taken place recently at Vassy, fueled these religious and economic discontents. Soon these motives would be joined by the political rivalries which fed on a weak monarchy and a divided society. At the focus of the conflict was the Roman Catholic church. As the institution which represented traditional aspects of the religious, economic and political life of France, it now became the target of attacks from all quarters.

The immediate impact of the establishment of the Reform and the unrest of the early civil wars on the Roman Catholic church in Caen was devastating. These years of growth for the Reform saw the traditional church stripped of most of the signs of her ancient wealth. The physical assault on the church had begun long before the Réformés were organized as a congregation¹²⁰, but it was only in May 1562 that serious long-term damage was done. De Bourgueville summarized the results of the major outburst of iconoclasm in Caen:

. . . le Vendredi la nuict, & le Samedy ensuyvant tout le jour, huict & neuviemes, iours de May, mil cinq cents soixante & deux, tous les Temples, Eglises & Monasteres de ceste ville furent pillez & saccagez, Vitres & Orgues brisees, les Images massacrez, & tous les ornements des Eglises qui y furent trouvez pillez, les Chaires, Coffres, Livres, & tout ce qui estoit combustible fut consumé par feu, & fut fait de si grands dommages, sans aucun profit, qu'on en estimoit la perte à plus de cent mil escus. Voila de piteux actes, & bien peu reformez.¹²¹

De Bourgueville's description was echoed in the records of virtually every religious institution in the city and its surroundings. The matrologe of the Charité de St. Nicolas recorded that:

En l'an mil cinq cent soixante et deux, le xx^e juor de may, . . . les hérétiques calvinistes vulguerement appelez huguenots, ravagèrent, bruslerent, demolirent plusieurs temples emeschent le divin service. . . Exerceans en iceulx temples leur religion calviniste qu'ilz nommoient Religion reformee.¹²²

On 5 May 1563 the Carmelites requested a redress of grievances because they had been forced to flee their convent by the furor of the Protestants. Their goods and property had been usurped by the Réformés.¹²³ The Abbey of Ardennes in the parish of St. Germain la Blanche Herbe, on

Caen's western edge, was visited in the same year to determine the extent of the damage there.¹²⁴ Further away, but still involving Caen Réformés, the Abbey of St. Martin de Troarn was assaulted on 14 or 15 May 1562 by a band of forty or fifty men, calling itself the "Eglise de Caen". They proceeded to break all the images and stained glass of the abbey and burn books, papers and furniture.¹²⁵

The immediate blame for the violence of 8 and 9 May has traditionally been placed on the shoulders of two Caennais, recently returned from witnessing the sacking of Rouen's churches. These men were said to have incited the rioters. The Protestant pastor Jean Cousin, supported by several municipal officials, was also held responsible for the rioting by de Bourgueville who claimed that Cousin "se met à faire des Prières en ladite Chambre du Conseil, dit qu'on a trop souffert de ceste idolatrie, et que tout sera abbatu comme à Rouen."¹²⁶ In fact, the little information we have about the make-up of the violent crowds indicates that they were an extremely diverse lot. Among those plundering the Abbey of St. Martin de Troarn there were young men, butchers, soldiers, petty nobles and vassals of the abbey who joined along the way.¹²⁷ Unfortunately, but understandably considering the continued importance of the Protestant population in Caen, the witnesses at a 1578 parlement inquest into the sacking of the Abbey of St. Etienne were reticent to name those involved. At best we learn that there were fifty to sixty armed persons, including women, priests and artisans.¹²⁸ From this information we can conclude that the alienated rootless poor by no means largely constituted the crowds. They included members of the nobility, merchants, artisans.

women and adolescents. Lawyers and notaries may also have figured in their ranks, though the Caen witnesses did not clearly identify them.¹²⁹

Despite the fact that many notable Caennais were drawn to Protestantism, there is some evidence that those who were members of the magistracy actively sought to pacify the crowds involved in incidents such as those of 8 and 9 May. For example, the actions of François Malherbe, presidial counsellor, at the time of the sacking of the Abbeys of St. Etienne and St. Martin de Troarn, were aimed at restraining those bent on wanton destruction.¹³⁰ Later when Coligny's troops were in Caen, René LeNicollas, city secretary and lawyer, tried to hold back those stripping the Abbey of St. Etienne of its remaining goods.¹³¹ In contrast, the nobility of the surrounding countryside seems in many cases to have led and encouraged the rioters, both within and outside of the city.¹³²

Just as the identity of the rioters reflects diversity, so the specific motives behind the attacks on the churches varied. We have already noted the significance of Protestant convictions concerning Roman Catholic veneration of images. Certainly, the widespread destruction of images and stained glass attests to the Réformés desire to purify the city's houses of worship in order to rededicate them to the Gospel.¹³³ The violent murder of priests and mutilation of their bodies by Protestants confirms this wish to rid the area of the impurity of the Roman Catholic clergy.¹³⁴ Furthermore, the holiness of the burial grounds of both the lowly and the powerful was flouted. J. H. M. Salmon has suggested that the plundering of the tombs of the high and mighty reflects a "defiance of constituted

authority." This is an interesting theory, though it seems just as likely that the sumptuous tombs of William the Conqueror and queen Mathilda would have been resented as signs of the excessive ostentation of the Roman Catholic church.¹³⁵

The attempt to separate religious and economic motivation in the case of the rioting which took place in Caen during the 1560's runs into problems for similar reasons. While it may be possible to say that the pulling down of wood and stone statues and breaking of stained glass windows reflected Protestant hatred of Roman Catholic image-worship, it is less clearly so when the object violated was a sumptuous gold reliquary inlaid with precious stones. Where does one draw the line between iconoclasm and pillaging motivated by hatred of the economically oppressive Roman Catholic church? This issue is slightly clearer when the object of violence was the archives of religious establishments, for in such cases the motive was to destroy the legal records supporting the church's claims on individuals.¹³⁶

Given this complexity it seems to me that a multifaceted approach to the overall question of motive is most appropriate. In the case of sixteenth-century Caen, economic grievances often added further fuel to spontaneous violence which was probably originally inspired by spiritual motives. The individual rioter would have destroyed a statue or chalice, removed a tableau, attacked a priest, or burned books and charters, out of a mixture of hatred for the church as defiler of the pure Gospel and as detested landlord. Excellent examples of such a combination of factors are the plundering of the Abbeys of St. Etienne and St. Martin de Troarn. In both cases the zeal of religious icono-

clasts mixed with that of irate tenants. The so-called "Eglise de Caen" marching on St. Martin in May 1562 was joined by a good number of the abbey's vassals. The Protestant Malherbe tried to stop the plunderers from burning the abbey charters, saying that it sufficed to break down the idols, but his efforts were in vain. Clearly, some of those present felt that the issue was as much the oppression of the rents due to the abbey as its idolatry.¹³⁷ Earlier the same week at St. Etienne some of the rioters had been heard crying "Quictes à quictes et papiers neufz" while they burned the abbey's charters and leases.¹³⁸

What led the rioters to feel that they were justified in their actions? The presence in the crowds of members of the lower nobility and even some city notables, whatever their role, lent legitimacy to the riots. Even a relative peacemaker like Malherbe was willing to condone some religiously motivated plundering, and, with the large number of Protestants in the city's official ranks, we can be sure that he was not alone. Furthermore, while Calvin certainly decried the masses taking the law into their own hands, his theory of justifiable resistance to authority by the princes of the blood suggested that some opposition to existing authority might be condoned. Finally, pastors like Cousin may well have added fuel to popular unrest and lent support to violence by their words and actions.¹³⁹

Actions by figures in high positions of authority also justified the spontaneous activities of the rioters. Regardless of the threat which the Church of St. Sépulcre may have posed to the chateau's security, the wholesale demolition of this edifice by the duke of Bouillon in August 1562 could only have seemed to some Protestants to

be God's judgment on a temple of idolatry. It had earlier been ravaged by Protestant crowds and after destruction its stones were used to repair the chateau walls.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, the events surrounding the fall of Caen to Coligny's troops would certainly have led many Réformés to feel that their own destructive actions were supported from above. We learn from one of the witnesses at the 1578 inquest into St. Etienne's destruction:

. . .que au mois de febvrier ensuivant [1563], que l'armée conduite par le feu admiral de France arriva en la dicte ville de Caen, ung aultre sac ou ravagement fut fait en ladicte abbaie, tellement que toulte l'eglise ou temple du dict lieu fut dégasté ou ruyné comme l'on voyt à présent, mesmes les maisons, si que auchune d'icelles ne fut laissée habitable ny couverte, reservé la maison abbatielle, de laquelle encores portion de la couverture et tous les plombz et goutières furent desrobés, pillés et ravagés, et ne demeura aucun meuble en lad. abbaie qui ne fust pillé et ravagé; et portion des lettres qui avoient esté préservés du deu et ravagement premier furent aussy ravagées et pillées et trouvées ès cachetes où elles avoient esté mises. . . .¹⁴¹

The stripping of the Roman Catholic churches was authorized by Coligny himself in an order dated 17 March 1563 because "les biens appartenantz aux charges et dignitez de l'église romaine" had been found deserted and, furthermore, these goods and lands "seroyent trop mieux despensez pour le service de Sa Majesté que l'entretienement de personnes inutilles qui en ont par cy devant mal usé." Thus, Jean de Veignolles was delegated to seize and liquidate all goods and land belonging to church institutions in Caen and surroundings.¹⁴² The order was zealously carried out by, among others, one of the Protestant echevins, Michel de la Bigne, sieur de Londel, who was involved in the

sale of the lead roofing from the Abbey of St. Etienne in Antwerp.¹⁴³

The forced alienation of church property was by no means an expedient inspired solely by Coligny's anti-Roman Catholic sentiments. From 1563 until 1587 the crown authorized sale of such lands, often with the support of the pope, for the defense of the realm against foreign invasions by Protestant subversives. It was not only in Protestant England that a policy of seizure of church property for the good of the crown was practiced.¹⁴⁴ The records of the parish church of St. Pierre and the Abbeys of St. Etienne de Fontennay, St. Martin de Troarn and St. Etienne in Caen all testify to losses suffered as they were systematically plundered by those authorized to sell their lands.¹⁴⁵ In the case of St. Etienne in Caen the result was the destruction of what little remained of the abbey's buildings and the sale of many pieces of land to both Roman Catholics and Protestants, among them Charles de Bourgueville, Guillaume de Novince, trésorier general and Michel Surirey, vicomte of St. Silvin.¹⁴⁶ Thus, the fury of popular rioting which peaked in 1562 was followed by an equally devastating period of quasi-official liquidation of church properties.

The overall effect of these developments was to throw the Roman Catholic church order into disarray for years.¹⁴⁷ A decline of morals went hand in hand with material losses. Less tangible than plundering, yet equally destructive to the church as an institution, were the impact of the cessation of services from May 1562 through June 1563, the loss of one-half to one-third of the population to Protestantism and the flight or defection of a large number of the clergy.¹⁴⁸ Roman Catholics feared for their lives during the peak of the violence when

in the past they had always felt secure. The fires which burned in the city's churches and abbeys certainly must have caused many Roman Catholics to feel that they had been forsaken by God.¹⁴⁹

What did these psychological wounds mean in concrete terms? First, many of the abuses that had fired the growth of Protestantism continued and in some cases worsened. It was highly improbable that the 3 September 1562 order from Charles IX to the Bishop of Bayeux that he reside in diocese and command:

. . . tous les curez et ceulx qui ont chargé
d'âmes de votredit diocese ayent à se trouver
et resider aussi en leursdits benefices. . .
de sorte que la parolle de Dieu y soit
purement et sincerement declairée au peuple. . .¹⁵⁰

could ever be enforced in Caen. At that time Roman Catholic services were not even being held within the city.

A number of nuns had left the Abbey of La Trinité for Geneva in the 1540's, and the defection of Roman Catholic clergy to Protestantism certainly continued in the 1560's. We know that two monks from St. Etienne, Claude Ramulf and Richard de Malherbe, became Réformés.¹⁵¹ Especially following the unrest of 1562 and 1563, the abbeys of Caen and its surroundings were deserted, and there was little to attract the former inhabitants to return.¹⁵² An inquiry into the state of the Abbey of Aunay in March 1563 found that there were no monks in residence. The abbot had been absent for ten years.¹⁵³

Even after some of the monks of the Abbey of St. Etienne had returned in 1566, the devastation of the physical environment and the decline of monastic morals meant that vigorous reform and rebuilding

would be necessary. In October 1566 the most important tasks were enumerated in a report prepared by an ecclesiastical commission established to study conditions at St. Etienne. The commissioners reported that:

. . .durant les troubles, les religieux d'icelle abbaye avoient prins telle licence et liberté que, encorres de présent, ils se trouvent en toutes sortes desréglés, tant en leurs habis, manière de vivre, que autrement, ayant mis en arrière toute discipline régulière et les meurs et conditions requises audit estat monastique;¹⁵⁴

There followed a listing of over twenty recommendations for reform, including such basic considerations as the reestablishment of the mass, the acquisition of books and ornaments to permit normal devotional activities and study and a return to the rule of St. Benedict, the wearing of the proper habit and the training of novices. Finally, the monks were chastised because:

. . .plusieurs d'entre'eulx estoient grandement en mespris et scandale, pour eulx estre par cy devant moings que deument contenus, porté habits dissoluts, hanté et fréquenté en lieux profanes et deshonestes, selon qu'il estoit porté par plusieurs procès à nous communiqués par le dict lieutenant cryminel en ce baillage, et austres faits de autre part;¹⁵⁵

Five monks had been convicted of criminal offenses and were ordered confined in the ecclesiastical prison. It would be well into the seventeenth century before the abbey founded by William the Conqueror again began to present the image of wealth and prestige which it had enjoyed prior to 1562.

The impact of the establishment of a strong Protestant community in Caen and the development of the civil wars up to 1568 on the Roman Catholic church was, in general, harsh. Physical devastations, loss

of prestige and decline in morale all contributed to this, despite the fact that the period of actual Protestant supremacy was relatively short. In chapter Eight the late sixteenth-century response of the church to continued warfare and the legacy of the destruction wrought in the 1560's will be discussed. Now, we should briefly look at some of the indicators of continued Catholic vitality prior to 1568 and the beginnings of revival.

As was the case in so many countries, the fate of the Reform in any given part of France was by no means clearly related to the strength of the Réformés in that locale. Had majority will prevailed Caen and Lower Normandy as a whole might very conceivably have become and remained Protestant. On the other hand, even in areas of Protestant Germany, Holland and England, a large part of the populace, sometimes a majority, would have preferred to remain Roman Catholic. Likewise in Caen, with its strong Reformed community, the population continued to be one-half to two-thirds Catholic through the 1560's. Thus, it would be unwise to overemphasize the disruption of Roman Catholic activities.

In his description of the ceremonies at the time of the king and queen mother's entry into the city in 1563, de Bourgueville makes clear that the Catholic clergy were represented in the processions such as they had been when François I came to Caen in 1532.¹⁵⁶ Despite the fourteen-month hiatus in Roman Catholic services and the destruction of many of the church archives, there were signs that soon after 1563 the parish churches and some of the other religious establishments once again began to function somewhat normally. Even during 1562 and

1563 the accounts of the chaplains of St. Pierre reflect a surplus of over 116 livres. There were comments on special expenses during the troubles and numerous uncollected rents, but this evidently did not immediately cripple the treasury.¹⁵⁷ In May 1563 the right of the Abbey of La Trinité to hold a week-long fair over the feast of the Trinity was affirmed by the bailli.¹⁵⁸ Notes in the matrologe of the Charité of St. Nicolas indicate that normal activities were resumed in 1563.¹⁵⁹ Shortly after 1563 one of the offices of the Abbey of St. Etienne was filled and a lease was drawn up for a piece of land held by the treasury of the church of St. Etienne-le-vieux.¹⁶⁰

Henri Prentout has suggested that the confréries and charités were the strongholds of Roman Catholic vitality, providing the springboard for a late sixteenth-century revival.¹⁶¹ It is extremely difficult to find firm evidence corroborating this theory. Yet, we do find that in the midst of the period of greatest Protestant strength, numerically and among the powerful, an entirely new confraternity was established in the church of St. Pierre, the Confrérie of Ste. Cecile. The confrérie's membership was intended to be entirely clerical, drawing upon the clergy of Caen and her surroundings. The statutes reveal no militantly anti-Protestant motives, but the foundation itself was evidence of ecclesiastical vigor in the midst of a period of low morale and large-scale clerical defection.¹⁶²

It might be expected that the problems of the 1560's would lead to a decline in, if not a disappearance of, new obits in Roman Catholic churches. To some extent, based on far from complete

evidence, this was true. Records of foundations for the churches of St. Nicholas and St. Michel de Vaucelles indicate that there was a definite decline in the establishment of obits after 1560.¹⁶³ Soon after 1563 the campaign to reestablish existing titles was begun. Registers were drawn up based on charters saved from destruction and court cases were instituted to restore church lands.¹⁶⁴ Some of these activities were impeded by Protestant strength in the courts, but the general process of Roman Catholic revival had certainly begun by 1568.¹⁶⁵

D. The University and the Printing Community

The establishment of the Reformed church of Caen in 1559 and the unrest of the following years had a significant impact upon the life of the city as a whole, as well as its government, economy and Roman Catholic institutions. Two other important areas of city activity, the university and the printing industry, also experienced significant changes during this decade.

There is no need to discuss the development of the university during this period in great detail as the work of Henri Prentout presents an in-depth study of the university in the second half of the sixteenth century.¹⁶⁶ Yet, some mention of the university's evolution is necessary because it provided one of the most striking examples of the influence exercised by the strong Protestant community in Caen during the period from 1558 to 1568. Just as the Roman Catholic church experienced the physical and psychological impact of changes affecting the city after 1558-60, so the university was influenced both in its

day-to-day existence and in its curriculum and morale.

With the establishment of the Reformed church in Caen, many of the members of the university community, whose pre-reform humanist inclinations were noted in chapter Three, revealed that their fervor for a new approach to learning led them well beyond Erasmian toleration into the realm of heresy. We have already seen that some of the personnel of each faculty were drawn to the Reform. In fact, the main classroom of the faculty of arts, the Grandes Ecoles, was occupied by the Protestants for a considerable time.¹⁶⁷ The cautious stance taken by the Protestants among the university faculty and officials through the 1550's was replaced after 1560 by widespread acceptance of the Reform.¹⁶⁸ De Bourgueville described the conditions following the Edict of January:

. . . suivant ceste permission, qui fut concedee aux Iuges & officiers, d'assister aux presches des Ministres. Aucuns desdits Iuges & supposts de l'Université, qui desia couvertelement adheroient à ceste doctrine, s'acheminèrent, mais au lieu de suivre la cause de ceste permission, par l'Edit de Ianvier, ils se tournerent du tout de ceste Religion pretendue, dont ils declarerent manifestement, iusques a l'Edit de Pacification suivant, ce qui causa une grande confusion en cette Université.¹⁶⁹

As de Bourgueville indicated, the resulting situation was one of confusion and disruption of normal practices.¹⁷⁰ Yet, at no time did the university suffer physical devastation such as that sustained by the Roman Catholic church. The relatively recently founded university was instead subjected to the strongest attempt at protestantization experienced by any of the Caen institutions.

Henri Prentout has convincingly reconstructed the efforts of Protestant leaders in Caen, inspired and supported by Theodore Beza, to transform the University of Caen into a Calvinist intellectual center capable of training Reformed pastors.¹⁷¹ This plan was most likely conceived by Beza himself while in Caen with Coligny's troops in spring 1563. In light of the strength of Protestantism in Normandy at this time and the ideal facilities provided by Caen's already highly Protestant university community, it is not at all surprising to read the requests submitted by the duke of Bouillon, Olivier de Brunville and the Caen consistory to the Genevan Company of Pastors in September and October 1564.¹⁷² All asked that Antoine Le Chevalier, noted hebraist at the Academy of Geneva, be sent to Caen to teach and preach. In the letter of 15 October 1564 from the Caen consistory it is clear that their design was the establishment of a seminary to train Reformed ministers, drawing on Brittany, Maine, Normandy and England for students.

Considérans combien le Basse-Normandie est esloignée de Genève, pour envoyer là estudier ceux qui se dedient au ministère: attendu mesme la froidure et peu de zelle qui se trouve aux Eglizes de les entretenir, et sur tout la povreté du pays en beaucoup de lieux, où les ministres sont les plus necessaires. Et est ceste université le seul lieu où il se peult dresser escholle pour les retirer, . . . car vous cognoissez l'estat de Paris.

De ce que nous demandons M. LeChevalier, ce n'est en aultre esgard sinon que nous pensons bien qu'il prendra plutost la charge que ung aultre, cognoissant la nécessité;. . .173

Antoine Le Chevalier was their choice because he knew Normandy, his hometown being Vire, and he would be able to serve Caen both as minister and professor of Hebrew.

It is clear that the Caen church saw itself as a leader of the Protestant movement in all of northern France. Le Chevalier's presence at the university would fill out the personnel needed for a Protestant academy in northern France. Already present in Caen were the Greek scholar Robert Constantin and three humanist professors in the Arts faculty, Godefroy LeLaboureur, Nicolas LeValois and Gilles de Housteville, as well as Jean Rouxel, a noted local latinist. All were active Protestants, so only a hebraist/theologian was lacking to enable Caen to offer training for the ministry on the model of the Genevan academy. Le Chevalier would cover these missing fields.¹⁷⁴ The vitality of their plans attests not only to the importance of the Caen church in the region but also to the optimism of the Réformés in the mid-1560's. At this point it still seemed possible that their strength both in numbers and influence would at least assure toleration.

Antoine, also known as Raoul, Le Chevalier finally came to Caen in 1566 after several delays. The Caennais wrote again in February 1565, but Calvin's death the preceding year made it even less likely that Geneva could spare the hebraist/theologian at that time. In fact, Le Chevalier's salary was increased by the Genevan Company of Pastors in the spring of 1565 in order to keep him from leaving. Only in September 1566 was he replaced by Corneille Bertram (Camille Bertrand) from Poitou and released to go to Caen.¹⁷⁵

While in Caen from 1566 to 1568 Le Chevalier served as pastor of the city's congregation and became a good friend of Jean Rouxel.¹⁷⁶ Whether he ever taught Hebrew or theology is unknown. Before he

arrived an inquiry into the state of the university had already taken place in November 1564, in which the heretical inclinations of the faculties and curriculum were condemned.¹⁷⁷ Therefore, while many Protestants continued to be active in the collèges and faculties of the university until their removal by the Edict of 25 September 1568, the project to create a Protestant academy in Caen ultimately floundered.¹⁷⁸ Prentout argues that Roman Catholic opposition, probably led by de Bourgueville, was strong enough to prevent the actual implementation of Beza's plan.¹⁷⁹ More than likely the teaching of Greek, Hebrew, the arts and theology from a decidedly Protestant perspective continued in private settings, such as the school run by Jean Rouxel.

This Protestant project confirms the strength and influence of the Réformés in Caen's intellectual circles. They attempted to disrupt the traditional order, but the university as an institution had suffered as much from the civil wars and an outbreak of the plague in 1563-64 as from confessional change or conflict.¹⁸⁰ Civil unrest and pestilence made travel dangerous, greatly decreasing the number of students who would come to Caen from a distance. Nonetheless, some may also have been turned away by the heretical reputation which Caen had undoubtedly acquired.

All of these problems had led to a decline in the university's prestige so that soon after the dangers of the plague of 1563-64 had receded, projects for reform were undertaken. The Protestant plan has already been described. A Roman Catholic solution, calling for a revitalization of the university along more orthodox lines, was

conceived at the same time. As the participation of the Protestant Louis Turgot on the inquest of November 1564 indicates, there was never an absolute split along confessional lines with regard to university policies. The existence of conflicting goals with respect to the reform of the university never led to violence, but, in the end, the Protestant plan failed.

A series of complaints about the Protestant occupation of the Grandes Ecoles culminated in an assembly at the hôtel de ville in April 1564. Speaking for the citizens of many city parishes, a university graduate and Caen bourgeois, Jean de Boyslambert, complained that not only were the Grandes Ecoles being used by the Réformés for services, but also the quality of teaching at the university had declined. French was being used rather than Latin and Greek. The Protestants were forced to cease holding services at the Grandes Ecoles in May.¹⁸¹ A substantive reform of the university was only undertaken much later, but this meeting and the inquest of the following November indicate that there was articulate opposition to Protestant control of the city's seat of learning.¹⁸²

It is unlikely that the October 1564 letters to Geneva requesting Le Chevalier were followed within a month by a study of the state of the university totally by coincidence. The pressing need to restore a more normal situation certainly motivated Charles de Bourgueville and his Protestant colleague Louis Turgot to undertake a review of the university. They were supported by the Roman Catholic faculty of theology and the citizens who had complained in April.

The report issued after the 16 November inquest and an 18 November meeting of university personnel reveals that there had been some decline in overall enrollment, most strikingly in the non-Arts faculties, and an overwhelming domination of teaching by Protestants.¹⁸³ Philippe Mustel and Henri Moisy of the faculty of theology vigorously attacked the neglect of orthodox teaching and the mass, the employment of married former priests as regents of several collèges, and the terrible example set by the rector of the university, Nicolas LeValois, in not taking his oath of office. Specifically, it was rumored that ". . . au lieu de bonnes lettres et doctrines qu'on lisoit anciennement aux Collèges, qu'on lisoit le Cathechisme de Calvin et autres livres scandaleux. . ."184

What effect did the inquest have? The findings of de Bourgueville and Turgot, the procès verbal of the 18 November meeting and the university statutes were to be submitted to the presidial for consideration of the proper course of action to be taken. In light of the strength of the Protestants in the presidial court, it is not surprising that no radical measures were undertaken. In all likelihood action by the presidial was limited to the exhortation by the avocat du roi made on 18 November that the members of the university community ". . . vivre en patience, sans scandalle ny tumulte, tant pour le fait de la Religion, qu'autrement selon et suivant les Edits statuts et ordonnances du Roy."¹⁸⁵ In March 1565 the municipal authorities were called upon to pay a university professor because there were so few students that he would not otherwise receive a

salary.¹⁸⁶ Later that same year, on 25 November, an assembly was held to deliberate concerning the need to ". . . restablir luniversite dud. Caen, diminuer pour l'injure du Temps." The outcome of this meeting is unknown, but it certainly indicates that the University of Caen was, by the common consent of both Protestants and Roman Catholics, in need of revitalization after a period of religious and civil disturbance and pestilence.¹⁸⁷

Another area of Caen's intellectual life was also touched upon in the November 1564 inquest--the activities of the printing and bookselling community.

. . .les Imprimeurs & Libraires de cette ville, impriment & mettent en verité plusieurs livres suspects & scandaleux & ausquels n'est escrits le nom, ou de l'auther, ou de l'imprimeur,. . .¹⁸⁸

All but two of the eight printing firms in Caen active during the 1560's were Protestant.¹⁸⁹ During this decade the remaining six produced an impressive body of distinctly Protestant literature including Calvin's Institutes, the New Testament in French, several Psalters, Bullinger's Decades in French and the 1563 Huguenot denial of responsibility for the assassination of Francois de Guise.¹⁹⁰

Clearly royal ordinances such as those published in June 1560 and February 1562 calling for the burning of all heretical books and outlawing their sale had little impact in Caen.¹⁹¹

Just as the strength of Protestants within the university supported and probably contributed to the development of the Reform in Caen, so this important Protestant printing community added to the

growth of the new church by providing the books needed for the proper study and praise of God. It is possible to speak both of the influence of the Protestant printing establishment on the spread of Protestantism and of the impact of the Reform on the printing community.

Printing in Caen thrived during the years of Reformed strength. Whereas there were on the average four to five printing houses active in Caen during the last half of the sixteenth century, from 1558 to 1570 there were at least eight presses in the city.¹⁹² Considering the difficulties which the university was experiencing during these years, it seems likely that the presence in Caen of the leading Reformed church in Lower Normandy was at least partially responsible for the impressive size of the city's printing establishment.

In summary, the Roman Catholic church and the University of Caen experienced profound changes during the 1560's. The city's economy, its government and the day-to-day life of its inhabitants were also disrupted by the introduction of organized Calvinism and the outbreak of violence. While the challenge to traditional religious authority in France was ultimately short-lived, this was not apparent to the Roman Catholic clergy and laity who during this decade saw their spiritual and material world crumbling around them. Thus, the fact that Protestants in Caen were in a very real position of strength during these years was to have more long-range implications than might at first have been expected. In the final section of this study the development of Protestantism and the evolution of the city in the period after 1568 will be described. The experience of the 1560's

might have led to vigorous reprisals by the Roman Catholic community. Yet instead, the particular character of Caen's institutions and the experience of forced toleration of religious diversity--because of the level of Protestant strength-- created a situation in which Roman Catholics and Protestants were able to work in concert through the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, following the relatively short period of actual conflict in the early 1560's.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VI

¹ de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 26-27.

² Several recent studies which reflect this are Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion"; Benedict, "Catholics and Huguenots": Salmon, France in the sixteenth century.

³ de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 83-85.

⁴ Ibid., II, 26-27, 45. On the reaction of Roman Catholics to Protestant actions see Davis, "Rites of Violence".

⁵ AMC, BB 3, ff. 66-67 (15 April 1563 - Order by the bailli forbidding hoarding). This is confirmed by Coornaert, Les Français et le commerce à Anvers, I, 228-29 (Caen merchants trying to buy grain at Antwerp).

⁶ de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, I, 171-72. De la Rue gives his prices per boisseau in terms of the livre tournois of 1818 with no reference to the original values.

1564 - 5-6 sols

1566 - 14 sols

Never again below 11 sols in the sixteenth century. For an appreciation of de la Rue's series see Jouanne, "L'histoire des prix".

⁷ The causes for the price rise were complex, involving all of Europe. What I wish to emphasize here is the fact that this phenomenon would have been viewed by the individual Caennais as yet another sign that the world was profoundly upset. The long-standing problem of coin debasement (billonage) along with the gradual effects of the influx of New World precious metals exacerbated the volatile price situation. In 1566 an office was established in Caen by royal order to weigh gold and silver coins in order to check their value. This move was but one symptom of a widespread insecurity over the value of money. AMC, BB 5, f. 168 (31 August 1566) & BB 7, f. 140 (20 October 1567). For a contemporary comment on this situation see de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 82-85. See also Martin

Wolfe, The Fiscal System of Renaissance France (New Haven, Ct., 1972), pp. 293-95.

⁸ de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 83-85.

⁹ On short term development versus long term trends see Hauser, L'histoire des prix, pp. 63-72.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 72; de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 158, 240 (Poor harvests and hard times in the Caen region, 1546 and 1556).

¹¹ ADC, 1B 2 (Enregistrement des édits, declarations, arrêts, 1559-62), f. 239r. (20 June 1562); de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, I, 171-72.

¹² AMC, BB 2, ff. 66-67 (15 April 1563).

¹³ Coornaert, Les Français et le commerce à Anvers, II, 228-29. Coornaert refers to the rye shipment and the 1563-65 Caen merchant activity as though they were unusual. He does not indicate that the six Caen merchants were trading particularly in foodstuffs but does leave that impression.

¹⁴ The ordonnance is printed and dated 156_ with the exact year to be filled in. It was probably pre-1568 since it was found bound in the 1568 Register of Rapports, Dictums et Arrêts du Présidial, ADC 1B 49.

¹⁵ The great period of civil building which had started in the 1460's ended with the outbreak of violence in 1562. Prentout notes that the 1560's were difficult years for the city's masons. Prentout, "Maîtres-maçons à Caen," pp. 700, 704; see also Romier, Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis, II, 80. Clearly much work had been prepared for them by the destruction of Caen's churches, but it was not until the reign of Henri IV that it could be undertaken.

¹⁶ Musset, "Grande boucherie de Caen," pp. 422-23 (12 August 1573 - Letters patent). In 1566 there was an attempt on the part of the echevins to organize the guild records. All gardes/jurés were asked to bring copies of their statutes to the city hall to be registered. AMC, BB 5, f. 135r. (1566). There is no sign that this

succeeded. Not until 1569 was a Register of Guild Statutes begun, and then it was only kept up haphazardly (AMC, HH2, 1569-94).

¹⁷ Bouârd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 288, 296.

¹⁸ AMC, BB 8, f. 86r. (late September 1568). No decision by the echevins is extant.

¹⁹ AMC, BB4, f. 82 (29 June 1564). The trésorier général, Novince, introduced a competent engineer to the echevins, but they rejected the project because of ". . . le peu de moyen et Impossibilite qui est à la ville de faire aucuns fraiz ny subvenir à telle despence." AMC, BB 5, f. 103 (25 November 1565).

²⁰ In May 1563, for example, the city was asked to contribute 3,000 livres in addition to supporting two companies of troops when there was only 25 livres in the treasury, AMC, BB 2, ff. 102-05, (6-8 May 1563).

²¹ Wolfe, Fiscal System of Renaissance France, pp. 114-18.

²² 1568 Levy (BMC, MS In-f. 132). This is the only roll of such a levy which I have encountered in the Caen archival collections. See chapter Five, pp. 195-202.

²³ The impact of royal borrowing on Lyons had followed this same pattern even earlier. Wolfe, Fiscal System of Renaissance France, pp. 107-09. Caen had contributed to royal levies earlier in the century but never at the levels of the period following 1560. AMC, BB .1, ff. 55-56, August 1538: 3,600 livres; de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, II, 365, 1542; 5,000 livres.

²⁴ AMC, BB 2, f. 12 (Fall 1562) & ff. 41-42 (January 1563); AMC, BB 6, ff. 41-48 (Fall 1566).

²⁵ AMC, AA1, ff. 217-18; AMC, HH 11 (7 September 1565).

²⁶ AMC, BB 2, f. 12 (Fall 1562), ff. 41-42 (9 January 1563), ff. 102-05 (6-8 May 1563) & ff. 129 (12 June 1563 - 3,000 livres levy to be collected). In 1561 a request presented to the provincial estates that the tax burden of the generality of Caen be reduced was granted, "vu l'extrême pourvreté et indigence en quoy sont reduictz

nos sujetz de lad. généralité de Caen, . . . tant par les dangiers de peste, famine universelle cy devant advenuz que par les exactions sur eulx faites par aulcuns noz officiers qui en sont en prevention." Quoted in Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, p. 271.

²⁷La Ferrière-Percy, Catherine de Médicis, I, 474-74 (13. January 1563). This contribution may have been levied on the entire bailliage, but Caen would have paid a large share.

²⁸de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 185.

²⁹AMC, BB 3, ff. 33-88 passim (August 1563 deliberations regarding the royal visit). The cleaning of the city, ceremonial preparations and the purchase of gifts in honor of the royal party strained Caen's already overextended finances to the breaking point.

³⁰de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 189; AMC, BB 3, ff. 97-98 (31 August 1563), f. 115 ([16 September] 1563), ff. 114v.-123 (23 September 1563), f. 124 (30 September 1563); Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," p. 18. The larger bailliage of Rouen was only asked to contribute 20,000 livres to the same levy. E. Canivet, "Caen à l'époque des guerres de religion," La Quinzaine - revue normande, n. 2 (15 July 1863), pp. 24-25.

³¹AMC, BB 2, ff. 105-114 (16 September 1563).

³²An example of the burden on the individual may be seen in the complaint lodged by two tavern keepers in February 1564 that the soldiers of the garrison had run up bills of over 500 livres. They demanded that a tax be levied to reimburse them. The echevins attempted to have the amount raised from the élection not the city alone "vu la pauvreté des habitants de la ville et des pertes qu'ils ont supportées." In March a general assembly was called because the matter was still unsolved, and we never do learn how or whether these tavern keepers were paid. AMC, BB 4, f. 15 (22 February 1564) and f. 44r. (24 March 1564).

³³ADC, 1B 2, f. 14 (21 April 1560); Carel, Histoire de Caen - II, pp. 88-89.

³⁴AMC, BB 2, ff. 1-10 (5 September 1562). The only list extant is that for the parish of St. Sauveur in which "les habitants ont déclaré qu'il ny avait aucun étranger dans leur quartier. . ." (f.10).

35
AMC, BB 2, f. 52 (12 February 1563) and ff. 61, 71r. (17 & 29 April 1563).

36
AMC, BB 8, ff. 1-5 (3 October 1567).

37
AMC, BB 2, ff. 52v.-56 (12 February 1563); AMC, BB 8, ff. 1-5 (3 October 1567).

38
La Ferrière-Percy, Catherine de Médicis, I, 312, n. 1.

39
Examples of swearing allegiance to the crown: AMC, BB 2, f. 27 (1563, no date), ff. 38-39 (Instructions to Fernagu on his January 1563 mission to Catherine), ff. 55-56 (8 April 1563), f. 101 (3 May 1563) and f. 137 (19 July 1563); AMC, BB 8, ff. 58-59 (28 May 7 June 1568).

40
The first register of city council deliberations contains many examples of their preoccupation with defense during the 1520's and 1530's: AMC, BB 1, ff. 1-3 (1523), f. 12 (1535), ff. 14, 16-19, 22 (1536), f. 40 (1537).

41
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 55-56. See chapter One pp. 38-40.

42
AMC, BB 3, ff. 9v.-10v. (4 July 1563). The blame may actually have lain elsewhere, but the deliberations show that the soldiers were justifiably feared. See chapter Four pp. 165-67.

43
AMC, BB 3, ff. 132-40 (4 November 1563).

44
AMC, BB 4, f. 113 (22 September 1564) and AMC, BB 5, ff. 1-5 (1564 collection of wood and candles).

45
AMC, BB 2, ff. 71, 73-74 (29 April 1563), ff. 75v.-76 (7 May 1563), f. 77 (8 May 1563), f. 81 (24 April 1563), f. 83 (27 April 1563).

46
AMC, BB 5, ff. 6-10 (14 October 1564), ff. 26v. & 43r. (9 December 1564 & 24 March 1565 individual requests for exemption from billeting after one and one-half years), AMC, BB 5, f. 14 (28 October 1564), f. 32v. (3 February 1565) & f. 33 (6 February 1565)-- all indicate that there was no relief.

47

AMC, BB 3, ff. 95-96 (8 September 1563) & ff. 99-104 (11 September 1563).

48

AMC, BB 3, f. 124v. (30 September 1563); AMC, BB 4, f. 18 (4 March 1564). The city sought exemption from the *taille* for several years because of additional expenses incurred by the move. Their requests were fruitless.

49

AMC, BB 4, f. 115 (30 September 1564).

50

Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," p. 5, n. 3. The corps de ville returned to the hôtel de ville on the bridge in May 1571 on the order of Montgomery. In 1574 Matignon established a new corps de garde there, but the *echevins* were not forced to leave. In 1589 the governor of the chateau, la Vérune, once again occupied the hôtel de ville with troops. In 1613 the question of a new hôtel de ville began to be considered. Caen, in contrast to Rouen, had not built a Renaissance style hôtel de ville in the sixteenth century.

51

AMC, BB 2, f. 85 (24 April 1563 letter from the Prince de Condé saying that Caen was central to the defense of Normandy).

52

La Ferrière-Percy, La Normandie à l'étranger, pp. 2-7, 43-44, 91. See chapter Four pp. 161-63.

53

AMC, BB 2, f. 91 (12 May 1563); La Ferrière-Percy, La Normandie à l'étranger, p. 151 (27 May 1563).

54

AMC, BB 5, f. 39 (25 May 1566 order to fix the breach). Supposedly Catherine de Medici visited the hole on the occasion of her August 1563 entry into Caen with the king. She commented that it was not terribly big, implying that had the will been there the citizens could have easily defended the city. de la Rue, Nouveaux Essais historiques, II, 387.

55

AMC, BB 6, ff. 1-28 (26 October 1566 general assembly), f. 30 (5 November 1566 procureur syndic sent), ff. 41-44 (12 & 24 December 1566 reports by the procureur syndic). Fernagu was hopeful that requests would be granted. On the collection of the *taille* from excises in Caen see chapter One p. 5. In this case the citizen would have continued to pay the taxes on goods plus being subjected to the new levy, though city finances would have improved.

56 AMC, BB 7, f. 17 (1 March 1567 meeting revealing that Fernagu's appeals had failed), f. 74r. (31 May 1567 summary of the city finances for 1567 shows a deficit of 2,093 livres, 2 sols, 2 deniers).

57 AMC, BB 7, f. 60 (24 March 1567 letter from Madame de Caen). She had also written on the city's behalf in December 1566 (AMC, BB 6, f. 46). Appeals by the city were made through May: AMC, BB 7, ff. 17, 21, 27-29, 32 r., 42-48, 61-75. The final reference is to a summary of the city's burdens.

58 AMC, BB 7, f. 105 (30 June 1567).

59 AMC, BB 8, f. 29 (5 April 1568 request that the garrison be removed) & ff. 58-59 (28 May & 7 June 1568 requests for relief by both Protestant and Roman Catholic notables).

60 AMC, BB 8, f. 84r. (7 June 1568).

61 See above pp.252-53. AMC.BB 4 (1564) contains innumerable examples of occasions when a meeting place was being sought and lost papers looked for. In 1568 the greffier, René Le Nicollas decried the fact that the matrologe was terribly out of date. He claimed that it had not been adequately updated since the reign of François I. AMC, BB 8, f. 90 (15 September 1568). Clearly poor public record keeping had been a problem before the 1560's. Yet, there is no doubt that iconoclasm and the removal of the corps de ville from the city hall added to this situation.

62 While the city's independence had long been limited by the important influence of the royal bailli, who served as the mayor, and the fact that other royal officials played a central role in the city's governance, there had never been successful inroads made into local election procedures.

63 Isambert, Jourdon & Decrusy, Anciennes Lois françaises, XIV, 172 (14 July 1564); AMC, BB 4, ff. 88-89 (16 July 1564); Romier, Le Royaume de Catherine de Médicis, II, 85-86; Salmon, France in the sixteenth century. Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 78 incorrectly dated this as 1563. Though not the episcopal seat, Caen's status as a presidial city brought her under the edict. Furthermore from 1563-80, Caen was a double presidial seat as the presidial of St. Lô was transferred to Caen at the time of the royal visit in August 1563 "pour agrandir et decorer ladite ville [Caen]".

In 1580 the Cotentin presidial was returned to the bailliage seat at Coutances. (de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, I, 59 & II, 189.)

⁶⁴ BN, Fonds français no. 14561 (Jean Beaulart, Généologie de la Famille Beaulart), f. 64v.; Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," p. 6.

⁶⁵ AMC, BB 4, ff. 1-13. See Appendix 14. The identity of the extra conseillers is not certain, and therefore their religious affiliation cannot be checked. A 1563 document lists the following as echevins: Jean du Moullin, [Jean] Denis, _____ Raoul, _____ Lucas, _____ Dutertres. AMC, BB 2, f. 143 (4 July 1563). Since they are not among the echevins chosen in 1561, perhaps they are the conseillers. There are Protestants named Jean du Moullin, Jean Denys, Pierre Dutartres and Martin Raoul. There are innumerable Lucas. Without further information, such as parish of residence, however, it is risky to identify the so-called echevins of 1563 as the Protestants of the same name.

⁶⁶ See chapter Five p. 209; and Appendix 14. See also Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," pp. 6-7; AMC, BB 4, ff. 91-100 (26 August 1564 choice of the extra six men); AMC, BB 5, ff. 11-12 (6 October 1564 royal choice); AMC, BB 7, ff. 1-6 (12 February 1567 normal election). Canivet, "Caen à l'époque des guerres de religion," p. 11 makes the point that the choice of Leporcher and Ovardel confirms the king's anti-Protestant intent because these men were less qualified than other candidates but were non-Protestants. The fact is that both Leporcher and Ovardel were Protestant. Thus, while the edict's goal was certainly to introduce more royal control of municipal officials, any directly anti-Protestant intent was thwarted by the proposal of an entirely Protestant slate of alternates by the city.

⁶⁷ Isambert, Jourdon & Decrusy, Anciennes Lois françaises, XIV, 175.

⁶⁸ de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 22; Canivet, "Caen à l'époque des guerres de religion," pp. 123-24; Yver, "Administration municipale à Caen," p. 16; AMC, BB 26, ff. 14-15 (2 March 1588 harangue by de Bourgueville against the usurpation of the patrimonial lands and promise by la Vérune to return control to the city).

⁶⁹ See chapter Five pp. 207-08 and Appendix 14.

⁷⁰ Carel, "Les magistrats du Bailliage," pp. 586, 620-30; ADC, 1B 3, f. 173 (7 October 1572 removal of Protestant counsellors from the presidial). Since identification is based primarily on the baptismal and marriage registers, it is always possible that an individual was Protestant but did not figure in any of these acts between 1560 and 1568.

⁷¹ In August 1563 when Charles IX visited Rouen Michel de l'Hôpital took the opportunity to criticize the parlement's over-zealous anti-Protestantism saying, "Le roy faict une ordonnance: vous l'interpretez, vous le corrompez, vous allez au contraire: ce n'est pas à vous." Quoted in Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 573. On the response of the Rouen Parlement to the Edict of Amboise see Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, II, 524-30. L'Hôpital certainly must have been more pleased when he visited Caen late in August and stayed with Olivier de Brunville. de Cahaignes, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 85-89, eloge 12.

⁷² AMC, BB 8, f. 74v. (28 & 30 August 1568).

⁷³ ADC, 1B 3 (Enregistrement des édits, déclarations, arrêts, 1572-73); ADC, 1B 13 (Reception, information de vie et moeurs, 1566-72). Both of these registers are filled with cases in which officials were examined for orthodoxy and removed if Protestant.

⁷⁴ Jean de la Rocque, controleur général des finances; Guillaume Novince, sieur d'Aubigny, trésorier général; Robert Roger, élu; Robert Aubert, élu; Jean Marguerye, sieur de Sorteval, élu; Jacques de Caumont, procureur aux élus; Jean Basire, procureur aux élus; Cathelin LeSage, avocat aux élus; Jacques Le Fournier, baron de Tournebu, receveur des tailles; Robert de la Beullière, receveur du domaine du roi; Pierre Desobeaux, receveur de l'imposition & domaine foraine.

⁷⁵ AMC, BB 7, f. 133r. (13 September 1567).

⁷⁶ AMC, BB 114 (1567-12 conflict between the echevins and procureur syndic over the latter's role in city affairs). The controversies involved in this action reveal that confessional sympathies by no means washed away traditional rivalries. For another example see below pp. 263-64.

⁷⁷ AMC, BB 3, f. 140r. (4 November 1563 assembly concerning public order and the plague).

⁷⁸AMC, BB 4, ff. 1-13 (15 February 1564).

⁷⁹AMC, BB 5, ff. 85-92 (7 November 1565).

⁸⁰AMC, BB 8, f. 58 (7 June 1568).

⁸¹Dewald, "The Magistrates of the Parlement of Rouen", pp. 258-303; Chrisman, Strasbourg and the Reform; Lamet, "Men in Government."

⁸²AMC, BB 6, f. 45 (7 December 1566). Reading the deliberations of the corps de ville during this period, one gets the definitive impression that de Bourgueville was well respected by his Protestant colleagues and that he in turn usually held them in esteem despite his anti-Protestant tirades in the Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen.

⁸³AMC, BB 5, ff. 160v.-151v. (24 August 1566 urban renewal in the area between N-D de Froiderue and the chateau). On later discussions of public works and sanitation see AMC, BB 15, ff. 72r. & 83; AMC, BB 20, 87r.; AMC, BB 23, f. 88r.; AMC, BB 31, f. 289.

⁸⁴AMC, BB 4, passim (1564).

⁸⁵AMC, BB 5, ff. 57v., 60 (14 & 28 July 1565).

⁸⁶Examples of individual cases: AMC, BB 2, f. 45 (22 January 1563); AMC, BB 5, ff. 23v.-24r. (2 December 1564), ff. 179-80 (19 October 1566); AMC, BB 7, f. 107 (12 July 1567); AMC, BB 8, ff. 97, 105 (20 November & 4 December 1568).

Crises and missions by Fernagu on the basic rights of the Caen bourgeois with respect to the taille: AMC, BB6, ff. 49 & 57 (6 & 13 January 1567); AMC, BB 7, ff. 26-30 (16 March 1567), ff. 108-12 (16, 19 & 26 July 1567), ff. 120-23 (9 August 1567). Among the thirty individuals who formally complained on 19 July 1567 about being put to the taille in villages thirteen (43%) were Protestants. Once again this level of Protestantism corresponds to the one-third to one-half of the total population which was Reformed.

Controversy over the status of Couvrechef and La Folie with respect to the payment of the taille: AMC, BB 6, f. 34 (7 December 1566); AMC, BB 7, ff. 35-36, 41 (3 & 5 April 1567). These two areas on the fringe of the city were eventually granted the privilege of paying the taille indirectly via excises.

See Fontaine, "Conflits - taille."

87 Bouärd, Histoire de la Normandie, pp. 269-71.

88 AMC, AA 39 (12 November 1565 report by Fernagu to the commissaires du roi on the election). See de Beaurepaire, Cahiers des Etats - Charles IX, pp. 115-18 for sections of this report taken from the copy in the municipal archives of Rouen.

89 AMC, BB 5, ff. 86-92; AMC, AA 39 (2); see above p. 260. Among those improprieties committed by de Brunville were: holding the election in the presidial on a market day, improper notification of the Caennais by city sergeants and validation of the election by his own rather than the city greffier as was traditional.

90 The summary of Fernagu's report on the archival folder in which the parchment is kept mistakenly cites the incident as an example of "l'influence à cette époque, du parti protestant à la tête duquel était le lieutenant général, Olivier de Brunville, qui avait enlevé cette élection." Carel, Etude sur Caen, p. 26, n. 1 repeats this incorrect analysis, evidently not realizing that Protestants were prominent on both sides of the controversy.

The 7 November assembly authorized Fernagu and the echevin Pierre Ovardel, sieur de Mesnil, both Réformés, to attend the estates and speak in opposition to Le Guerrier. Ovardel may well have been the same individual who was involved in a riot at the Jacobin convent in 1545. See chapter Four p. 152.

91 AMC, AA 1, f. 216 (28 November 1565) (text in Carel, Etude sur Caen, p. 184 & Méritte-Longchamp, Mélanges historiques, I, 184-86).

92 ADC, 1B 2 (Enregistrement des édits, déclarations, arrêts, 1559-62). This is one of the two extant registers of registration of edicts by the Caen presidial for the sixteenth century. The other covers 1572 to 1573.

93 ADC, 1B 2, f. 3r. (25 February & 4 March 1560) & ff. 198-201 (17 January 1562).

94 ADC, 1B 2, ff. 245-46 (18 July & 25 July 1562). D'Auberville's mother (or stepmother), Marguerite de Rouville was an active Réformée, serving as a godmother in a Protestant baptism in June 1565. Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 254.

95

See below pp.272-85 on the impact of Protestant strength on the Roman Catholic church.

96

ADC, 1B 2, f. 246v. (25 July 1562).
 Charles d'Auberville, bailli-Protestant?
 Olivier de Brunville, lieutenant général du bailli-Protestant
 Charles de Bourgueville, lieutenant particulier du bailli
 Jean de Cauvigny, sieur de Maupas-Protestant
de Villy
 Jean Beullart, sieur de Lesbizé-Protestant
 Regnaut Cacheret,
 François Malherbe, sieur d'Igny-Protestant
 Jean Le Picard
 Pierre Richard, sieur de Bombanville-Protestant

97

ADC, 1B 2, ff. 245v., 247, 248, 253r. (25 July, 4 August & 17 August 1562).

98

AMC, BB 8, ff. 1-5 (3 October 1567).

99

de Beaurepaire, Cahiers des Etats - Charles IX, pp. 6-7.
 The bailliages of Rouen, Gisors, Caux and Cotentin endorsed the article.

100

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 170.

101

AMC, BB 2, f. 35r. (6 January 1563).

102

See chapter Four p.160-61.

103

See chapter Four pp. 164-66.

104

AMC, BB 3, ff. 9v.-10 (4 July 1563).

105

Sauvage, St-Martin de Troarn, pp. 56-57, n. 1.

107

On another occasion we learn that Fernagu was in Paris in April 1561 and had reported to the queen mother concerning "la tranquillité et paix de notre ville, dont elle fut fort contenté." It is very likely that Fernagu was speaking the truth on this occasion. For despite image breaking in June 1560 and July 1561 the city was

not wracked by major unrest until the spring of 1562. The tranquility of Caen was particularly notable when compared to the unrest Fernagu was witnessing in Paris at the time of the above trip. ADC, 1B 2, ff. 102-03 (28 April 1561 letter from Fernagu to the echevins and Charles de Bourgueville); published in BSHPF, 60 (1911), 509-12.

107 AMC, BB 3, f. 88v. (24 August 1563); de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 187-89 does not mention Sorin's oration but does note that the official of the bishop spoke before the king. In fact, his account totally ignores the signs of Protestant influence which are apparent in the deliberations of this period.

108 AMC, BB 2, f. 56v. (8 April 1563); see chapter Four, pp. 162-63.

109 Radical changes in the administration of poor relief, sumptuary legislation and educational reform have often been cited as typical signs of the impact of the Reformation. Recent work has pointed out that in many cases such change antedated the Reformation itself. William Monter, Calvin's Geneva (New York, 1967); Natalie Z. Davis, "Poor Relief, Humanism and Heresy: The Case of Lyons," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, 5 (1968), 216-275. Thus, while the establishment of Protestantism certainly did cause public policy to be modified, the actual measures instituted by city governments were rarely radical departures from tradition. Caen was no exception. Reformed influence on government policy was notable but by no means revolutionary.

110 AMC, BB 2, f. 87 (24 April 1563).

111 ADC, Hsupp, Reg. 98, 99 & 21, f. 6r. (1561, 1564 & 1567).

Guillaume de Bourgueville, sieur d'Esquay- <u>Protestant</u>	}	1561
Marin La Longny, sieur de Bougy- <u>Protestant</u>		
Jean Vaultier, dit la Porte- <u>Protestant</u>		
André Dalechamps, sieur de Beneauville- <u>Protestant</u>	}	1564
Jean de Flavigny, sieur de Loucelles- <u>Protestant</u>		
Pierre de Marne		
Eustache (Gustave) Guillet- <u>Protestant</u>	}	1567
Pierre Beullart- <u>Protestant</u>		
Jacques le Massecrier		

- 112
AMC, BB 2, ff. 57-58 (8 April 1563). Malherbe was the father of the poet.
- 113
AMC, BB 3, ff. 147v.-150r. (4 November 1563). The meeting was presided over by Tanneguy Sorin, François Richard and Pierre Patrixe, all Protestant counsellors on the presidial plus the predominantly Protestant echevins, procureur syndic and greffier. The fifteen notables called upon to attend included seven Protestants (see above p.260). Furthermore, both doctors delegated by the assembly to treat the sick were Reformed: Marin du Vicquet and Beroald Marège.
- 114
During the rest of the century when the parish priests were called upon to make announcements, reference was made to the "grande messe de dimanche" as the time for such public exhortations.
- 115
AMC, BB 5, f. 71v. (11 August 1565).
- 116
de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 169. Earlier in his book de Bourgueville decried the falling away of many Caennais:
J'ay veu devant la mutation de religion que la devotion des habitans estoit si grande et fervante que lanuit d'entre le Jeudy et Vendredy saint, ils alloient la nuit pres que tous par les Temples adorer nostre Seigneur sous l'espece de son Sacrement, et faisoient leurs aumosnes à une multitude de pauvres estans aux portes des Esglises, . . . Depuis ladite mutation de Religion de l'an 1562 la devotion du peuple a este si remise et contemnee que l'on n'apperçoit plus que bien peu de ceste antienne pieté, voire et aucuns se truslent et mocquent de telles et si honorables processions et ceremonies: . . . (p. 45)
- 117
De Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 169, 181.
- 118
Ibid., II, 170, 181.
- 119
For a general treatment of the phenomenon of religious violence see Davis, "Rites of Violence." Davis' discussion offers provocative suggestions concerning the nature, justification and motives of religious violence in sixteenth-century France. Many of her points shed light on the Caen situation.

120

See chapter Four.

121

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 170. Another account of the destruction was found in the records of the collegiate church of St. Sépulcre by de la Rue:

A die luae 4a maii 1562 usque ad diem mercurii decimam junii sequentem nullum fuit celebratum capitulum propter demolitionem et destructionem annium ecclesiarum hujus oppidi Cadomi factam die sabbati nona ejusdem mensis maii.
BMC, MS In-8. 93, f. 80.

122

ADC, G 967, f. 58v. (Matrologe of the Charité de St. Nicolas); see also de Beaurepaire, "Charité de la Très-Ste Trinité," p. 328.

123

ADC, H^I (unclassified section), Carmes de Caen, carton 2, liasse 1 (5 May 1563). In September 1565 the Carmelites' situation had evidently not improved greatly because the city consented to pay three years of arrears owed by the order to the Hôtel-Dieu, AMC, BB 5, f. 79r. (30 September 1565). Four of the six echevins who authorized this payment were Réformés.

In 1564 the city had shown leniency to the Jacobins with respect to an obligation to provide the city with wood because of the damage the order had sustained during the troubles. Again the Protestant magistrates were surprisingly non-partisan in their action. AMC, BB 4, f. 77v. (27 June 1564).

124

ADC, H 97 (1563 visitation of the Abbey of Ardennes to observe devastation). The liasse now contains only a record of the 1572 visitation. Armand Benet, Inventaire sommaire de la Série H - Archives départementales du Calvados (Caen, 1905), p. 65 indicates that there should be a record of the 1563 visitation.

125

Sauvage, St-Martin de Troarn, pp. 49-50.

126

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 170. The Protestant ministers had been called to the chambre de conseil to hear exhortations regarding the need for peace.

127

Sauvage, St-Martin de Troarn, p. 50.

128

de Beaurepaire, "La destruction du chartrier de l'abbaye de St. Etienne," pp. 290. 296. Those testifying claim over and over

again to have known no one in the crowd, or they name only deceased persons.

129

Davis, "Rites of Violence," pp. 182-85 discusses the make-up of crowds.

130

de Beaurepaire, "La destruction du chartrier de l'abbaye de St-Etienne," pp. 280-81, 294-96; Sauvage, St-Martin de Troarn, pp. 47-52; N. Weiss, "La religion du poète Malherbe," BSHPF, 40 (1891), 387-89. Sauvage persuasively refutes accusations levelled by de Beaurepaire against Malherbe as a ringleader of the iconoclasts.

131

de Beaurepaire, "La destruction du chartrier de l'abbaye de St-Etienne," pp. 293-94.

132

ADC, G 50, ff. 1-3 (Report on the destruction at the cathedral of Bayeux). The crowd was led by François de Briqueville, sieur de Colombières and Jean Jacques de Ste-Marie, sieur d'Aigneaux & de Cauchy. They were also involved in the destruction at Caen several days before. See also Madame Hubert, "Colombières - son château, ses seigneurs, son histoire," Annuaire des cinq départements de la Normandie, 1973, pp. 96-97. For another example of leadership of rioters by the nobility see G. LeHardy, Etude sur la Baronnie et l'Abbaye d'Aunay-sur-Odon, BSAN, 19 (1897 - entire volume), 113-19.

133

The Protestants worshipped in some of the Roman Catholic churches of the city from May 1562 through June 1563. It was rumored that they planned to turn the Abbey of St. Etienne into a Protestant temple but were prevented from doing so by the terms of the Edict of Amboise. Blanchard, L'abbaye de St-Etienne (BMC, MS In-f. 61), p. 83.

134

On motives in general see Davis, "Rites of Violence," pp. 156-64. See also de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 180-81; LeHardy, Baronnie d'Aunay, pp. 115-16; Hubert, "Colombières," p. 97.

135

ADC, G 50, f. 6 (Report on the destruction at the cathedral of Bayeux); Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, p. 137.

136

The same question arises with the destructive violence of the French Revolution. The sumptuous objects plundered from the churches and chateaux were seen as symbolic of the economic oppression exercised by the First and Second Estates as much as the charters and terriers which were burned.

On the economic motives of the rioters see Davis, "Rites of Violence," p. 155; Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen," p. 288; Sauvage, St-Etienne de Caen, pp. iv-v; Simon, "Réforme de St-Maur," 2 (1929), 280-83.

137

Sauvage, St-Martin de Troarn, pp. 50-54.

138

de Beaurepaire, "La destruction du chartrier de l'abbaye de St-Etienne," p. 288, 302.

139

Davis, "Rites of Violence," pp. 164-67.

140

See chapter Four, p. 160, n. 61, Pépin, St. Gilles, p. 93; de la Rue, Cartulaire de Caen, (BMC, MS In-4. 218), f. 233r. (October and November 1563 use of the stones from St. Sépulcre to repair the chateau); ADC G 825: 82 (piece 1) (30 June 1563 order that the Canons of St. Sépulcre be given the Chapel of Ste. Anne and St. Eloy for use as a place of worship). The Canons were only granted a new place of worship in 1563 after Protestant control of the city was weakened by implementation of the Edict of Amboise.

141

de Beaurepaire, "La destruction du chartrier de l'abbaye de St-Etienne," p. 288 (testimony by Jehan Laurens, seneschal of the abbey). Laurens was later accused of taking part in the ravaging of the abbey by another monk of St. Etienne, Abraham de Semalle. (de Baillehache, L'abbaye de St-Etienne (BMC, MS In-f. 62), f. 107r.). See also the testimony of de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 185-86.

142

Sauvage, St-Martin de Troarn, pp. 446-48.

143

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 186; R.-N. Sauvage, ed., "St-Etienne de Caen en 1563," Baïocana, 2 (1910), 17.

144

Pierre Carel, "Notice sur les alienations de biens ecclésiastiques pendant les Guerres de Religion," BSAN, 28 (1906-12), 327-29; Henri Furgeot, "L'Alienation des Biens du Clergé sous Charles IX," Revue des Questions historiques, 29 (April 1881), 428-90; Simon, "Réforme de St-Maur," 2 (1929), 284-87; Wolfe, Fiscal System of Renaissance France, pp. 126-28, 173.

145

Pierre Carel, Etude sur l'ancienne abbaye de Fontenay près de Caen (Caen, 1884), pp. 53-60; Sauvage, St-Martin de Troarn, pp. 54-58; Carel, "Aliénations de biens ecclésiastiques," pp. 327-29; Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, pp. 207-08; Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, pp. 184-87.

146

de la Rue, Nouveaux Essais historiques, II, 384; Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, pp. 185-87. De Bourgueville was of course Roman Catholic and the other two were prominent Protestants.

147

For example, it was sixty-three years before services were held in the Abbey of St. Etienne again. Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, p. 184.

148

Bonnenfant, Les séminaires normandes, pp. 15-16, 23 (a very pro-Roman Catholic treatment); Simon, "Réforme de St-Maur," 2 (1929), pp. 287-97.

149

de Beaurepaire, "La destruction du chartrier de l'abbaye de St-Etienne," pp. 293, 298-99.

150

Huard, La paroisse de St-Pierre, pp. xlix-1. In 1560 there had been issued a similar ordonnance that bishops reside in their dioceses, but the Bishop of Bayeux had been exempted because he was "journallement occupé auprès de notre personne en lestat de notre grant aulmosnier." ADC, 1B 2, f. 52r. (17 September 1560).

151

See chapter Four p. 151, n. 19. Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, p. 193.

152

de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 272; Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, p. 187; Sauvage, St-Martin de Troarn, p. 50; de Baillehache, L'abbaye de St-Etienne (BMC, MS In-f. 62), ff. 101r. and 110v.-111r.

153

Abbé G. de la Rue Documents sur le protestantisme, principalement à Caen et en Normandie, (CM, MS 72), f. 3; Le Hardy, Baronnie d'Aunay, p. 117 (20 March 1563).

154

Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, pp. 187-93 (6 October 1566 report by Philippe de Nocey, archdeacon of Lisieux; Mathurin de Harville, abbot of St. Martin de Troarn, and Etienne Heuste, abbot

of N-D d'Evron, delegated by Farnese, abbot of St. Etienne de Caen). The problems of St. Etienne and the other abbeys in the Caen area were by no means isolated. In 1565 a Rouen Parlement arrêt was issued to all the presidial courts of Normandy ordering that they inquire into all vacant or usurped abbeys, priories and benefices. (de Beaurepaire, Cahiers des Etats - Charles IX, p. 318). See also ADC, G 50, f. 7 (19 August 1563 report on destruction at Bayeux).

155

Hippeau, St.-Etienne de Caen, p. 193.

156

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 105-21 (1532), 187-91 (1563).

157

ADC, G 992, ff. 2r.-3r. (1562-63 accounts of the chaplains of St. Pierre).

158

Pépin, St. Gilles, p. 35.

159

ADC, G 967, f. 58 (1562 & 1563). The Charité de St. Sauveur also showed vitality. In 1566 a chronicle was begun for the first time. (ADC, G 1009-Register II, ff. 2r.-3r.).

160

ADC, H 1896 (7 December 1563 allocation the office of courtillier); ADC, G 892 (23 April 1564 lease for land near the prairie). See also ADC, D 599 (1581 settlement of a dispute begun in 1562 over the lease to a house owned by the canons of Ste. Croix); ADC, D 603 (1575 settlement of a dispute begun in 1563 over another Croisier house) and ADC, D 612, 613, 616, 617 (similar references to transactions in the 1560's).

161

Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen," p. 288, n. 1.

162

ADC, G 1006 (25 October 1564 Statutes of the Confrérie de Ste. Cécile).

163

ADC, G 933 (Registre des antiens Obits et Fondations en l'église St. Michel de Vaucelle, late 17th c.); ADC, G 961 (Obits & Fondations de St. Nicolas, folder of originals and an 18th c. register). These records are so fragmentary that I have hesitated to draw firm conclusions from them. Yet, there does seem to have been

a perceptible decline in foundations in the fifty years after 1560, as compared to the five decades prior to 1560.

St. Nicolas

1511-60: 16

1561-1610: 10

St. Michel de Vaucelles

1511-60: 33

1561-1601: 5

It may be assumed that records post-1570 would have had a greater chance of survival than those pre-1560 because of the pillaging of 1562-63. Therefore, these figures are certainly indicative of a low level of giving to the church in the form of foundations during these later years.

164

ADC, G 933 (1566 Inventory of titles, St. Michel de Vaucelles); ADC, 1B 3444 (Sentences regarding the benefices of the Abbey of St. Etienne, 1558-1640) - example: 20 February 1567 ruling allowing St. Etienne to repurchase land sold by order of the king in 1563 .

165

ADC, H 1924 (Documents relating to the reestablishment of the titles of St. Etienne) - examples: 4 August 1563 & 24 March 1566, royal letters patent reestablishing Roman Catholic titles; 18 June 1566, the above confirmed by de Brunville. N.B. three year delay. See also Sauvage, St-Etienne de Caen, p. iv, n. 5.

166

Prentout, Renovatio ac Reformatio in Universitate Cadomensis; Prentout, L'Université de Caen; Prentout, "Genève et Caen, 1563-64"; Prentout, "Débuts de la Réforme à l'Université de Caen".

167

See chapter Five p. 214.

168

Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 419-22.

169

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 242.

170

Prentout, "Genève et Caen, 1563-64," pp. 233, 241. Disruption of normal activities was evident in the cessation of university records and the fact that the rector Rodolphe Herault was continued in office from March 1562 to October 1563 rather than being replaced in October 1562. Chatel, "Recteurs de l'Université de Caen," p. 97. Just as the Roman Catholic church did, the university rallied at the time of the royal visit in August 1563, taking part in the processions and providing a speaker. De Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 187-88.

171 Prentout, "Genève et Caen, 1563-64," passim.

172 Bèze, Correspondance, V, 142 (Letter from Robert de la Marck, duc de Bouillon, to Beza); BSHPPF, 18 (1869), 27-33. The Caennais had been requesting Le Chevalier since at least July 1564 (Robert M. Kingdon & J.-F. Bergier, Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève au temps de Calvin (4 vols., Geneva, 1962-74), II, 104.

173 BSHPPF, 18 (1869), 30 (15 October 1564). On Le Chevalier see Appendix 11: Caen Pasteurs, 1558-1610.

174 Prentout, "Genève et Caen, 1563-64," pp. 230-32, 237-39.

175 Ibid., p. 239 on conflict between Le Chevalier and Calvin. Calvin, Opera, 20, col. 250-52 (2 February 1565 new style - misdated in Calvin, Opera - letter from the Caen consistory to the Genevan church); Kingdon, Registres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève, III, 1 (16 March 1565 deliberations on Le Chevalier's desire to go to Caen); Bèze, Correspondance, VI, 61 (4 April 1565 letter from Beza to Jean Mercier, professor of Hebrew at the Collège de France asking that he help Caen find someone like Le Chevalier to fulfill their needs, since the latter was at present going to remain in Geneva).

176 Prentout, "Genève et Caen, 1563-64," pp. 240-41. His signature appears often in the baptismal and marriage registers during these years, and on 3 October 1567 he attended the town assembly which discussed measures to keep the peace. Pastors Le Bas and Pinson and Roman Catholic representatives also attended (AMC, BB 8, ff. 1-5).

177 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 243-56 (16 November 1564 inquiry into the state of the university by de Bourgueville and Turgot and 18 November 1564 meeting of university personnel before de Bourgueville and the magistrates of the presidial court). This detailed report is the most important source of information about the university's actual condition during the 1560's.

178 Isambert, Jourdon & Decrusy, Anciennes Lois françaises, XIV, 228 (25 September 1568).

179 Prentout, "Genève et Caen, 1563-64," pp. 241-42.

180 Prentout, "Faculté de médecine," pp. 15-16; Vanel, "Le manuscrit d'Etienne du Val". There is no evidence that the rioting of 1562 directly imperiled university buildings and records, but in 1563, during the city's occupation by the army of Coligny, the faculty of medicine lost its ceremonial mace. Other faculties may have suffered similar losses.

181 AMC, BB 4, ff. 37-42 (22 April 1564); Prentout, "Genève et Caen, 1563-64," pp. 234-35; Prentout, L'Université de Caen, p. 98.

182 Henri Prentout, "L'Université de Caen à la fin du XVII^e siècle, la contre-réforme catholique et les réformes parlementaires," MAC, (1907), pp. 7-16. See chapter Seven, pp. 342-45.

183 University of Caen enrollment
 c. 1500 - 279 Prentout, L'Université de Caen, p. 67.
 1524 - 333 Prentout, L'Université de Caen, p. 73.
 1532 - 5-600) de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez
 1564 - c.200) de Caen, II, 106, 243-49.

The unsettled tenor of the times may have led to the establishment of more independent schools (pédagogies). There were complaints that the students in these schools should attend the collèges fondées of the university (de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 253).

On Protestants in the colleges and faculties see chapter Five pp. 205-07. At least seven of the fifteen representatives of the university at the 18 November 1564 meeting were Protestant (see n. 177).

184 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 255.

185 Ibid.

186

AMC, BB 5, ff. 43v.-44r. (24 March 1565); f. 62 (14 July 1565 - the echevins denied authorizing the payment).

187

AMC, BB 5, f. 103 (25 November 1565). This same assembly considered the need to improve Caen's port facilities. It was attended by about 12 notables (of whom at least 9 were Protestant) and an unidentified body of Caen bourgeois.

188

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 248.

189

See Appendix 16: The Printers of Caen, 1550-1600, and chapter Five, p. 204.

190

See Appendix 17: Working Bibliography of the Output of the Protestant Printers of Caen, 1550-1600.

191

ADC, 1B 2, ff. 26 (12 June 1560); ff. 204-05 (12 February 1562).

192

Lepreux, Gallia Typographica, tome III, pt. 1, 419-20.

Part III

THE DECLINE OF PROTESTANTISM AND THE RELIGIOUS WARS: 1568-1600

While the final three decades of the sixteenth century witnessed numerous victories for the Protestant party, a study of the fate of Protestantism as a popular movement in Caen leads one to conclude that even before the St. Bartholomew massacres in 1572 the position of the Reformed community as an "embattled minority" was firmly established. Specifically, the developments of 1568, described in chapter Four, signalled a turning point for the Reformation in Caen.¹ Hindsight allows us to see that, despite periodic improvements in conditions for the Protestants of Caen, particularly after 1590, the years from 1568 to 1600 were characterized by the reconciliation of the Reformes to second-class status. After the success of the 1560's, they would never again enjoy the elation of being part of a movement on the rise.

By way of introduction to the period from 1568 to 1600 we will look at the evolution of the Caen Protestant community in these years. The Edict of September 1568 forbade all non-Roman Catholic worship and banished all Reformed ministers. The changing atmosphere in Caen, with de Bourgueville in the position of lieutenant general of the bailli, meant that for the first time since 1560 Protestant services ceased entirely. Not until the favorable Edict of St. German-en-Laye did the baptism and marriage records resume in September 1570.² In 1571, for which there are twelve months of records, there were 256

baptisms, reflecting a Protestant population of about 6,400. Until September 1572 the monthly totals were higher than the preceding year.³ This suggests that while Reformed strength was weakened between 1568 and 1570, the ranks of the Protestant group may have been growing on the eve of the St. Bartholomew massacres. There is no evidence that Caen experienced violence in the months following the Paris massacre. Yet, when the registers resumed in 1576 the levels of baptisms indicate that the Caen Protestants had been shattered.⁴ During the 1580's the average of baptisms dropped to 167 per year, reflecting a Protestant population in the neighborhood of 4,000. Even assuming some decline in the population of the city as a whole, the Protestants had lost their original position of strength. The total population of the city probably suffered a 5 to 15 percent decline--from 15-20,000 in 1560 to 13-18,000 in the 1590's--because of outbreaks of the plague and the hardships of the war years.⁵ Thus, the average of 216 Reformed baptisms per year after 1590 indicates that Caen was still from one-quarter to one-third Protestant. In contrast to Rouen, where only about 7 percent of the population was Protestant after 1600, the Reformed community in Caen comprised at least 25 percent of the city's population during the first decade of the seventeenth century.⁶ Although reduced in size, the strength of the 1560's had created a meaningful legacy.

During the decade from 1558 to 1568 Protestant strength and, to a lesser extent, the first two Wars of Religion, had led to a disruption of life in Caen. Both institutions and individuals were

affected by the presence of a vital Reformed congregation within the city. The armed conflict which broke out on a national level, only ostensibly for religious reasons, added to the tumultuous character of that decade. The disruptions caused by civil war would not completely disappear until the end of the century, but, as we have just seen, the strength and influence of the Réformés began to lessen significantly after 1568. In the chapter which follows the major factors involved in this change will be discussed as will the impact of developments on the city, its population and institutions. Chapter Eight will present a picture of the Caen Protestant community, once again drawing on the registers of baptisms and marriages. The nature of the Réformés' response to adversity will be described. The study will then conclude with an afterword on the period following the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598 through the assassination of Henri IV. The focus of this brief discussion will be the manner in which the city came to terms with religious diversity during the first decade of the regime of the edict.

FOOTNOTES - PART III

¹Roelker, The French Huguenots, pp. 4-5. The turning point in Caen followed that which Roelker has noted on the national level by six years, but in the end the Protestants in this bastion of the Reform saw their position of strength undermined as it had been elsewhere, Janine Estebe, Tocsin pour un massacre: la saison des St-Barthélemy (Paris, 1968), pp. 207-08. The Caen experience confirms Estebe's conclusion that: "En réalité, malgré son extraordinaire résistance militaire et son recrutement d'élite, le protestantisme a perdu la partie avant la St-Barthélemy, avant 1570." The reason for this failure was that the religious movement could not remain divorced from political issues and conflicts.

²See Figure 1: Caen Protestant Baptisms, 1561-1606.

³Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 422-528.
 1571 - monthly average = 21 baptisms / total = 256 baptisms
 1572 - monthly average = 26 baptisms / total = 205 baptisms (8 months)

⁴On the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre see below chapter Seven, p. 324-30.

⁵Outbreaks of the plague in both 1563 and 1584 had taken their toll, as had the course of the Religious Wars in Lower Normandy. In a 1584 letter from the echevins to the governor of Normandy we read that the plague has spread and that most bourgeois have fled to their lands outside the city. AMC, BB 23, f. 58 (1 June 1584). Benedict, "Catholics and Huguenots," p. 232 has observed at least a 5 to 15 percent decline during this period in Rouen.

⁶AMC, BB 38, f. 71v. (4 November 1608). At a general assembly called to discuss the introduction of the Jesuit order into Caen, one of the objections raised was the fact that one-third of the city was Protestant. Since this one-third would not be willing to contribute to the costs occasioned by the coming of the Jesuits, the burden on the Catholics would be inordinately heavy. This figure, though assuredly a rough estimate, corresponds with a total population of c. 15,000. See Benedict, "Catholics and Huguenots," pp. 223-26 on the evolution of the Rouen Protestant community.

C H A P T E R V I I

THE WARS OF RELIGION AND THE CITY OF CAEN

The civil conflict in France from 1562 to 1598 is traditionally called the Wars of Religion. The long period of warfare in question was in fact a series of conflicts, of both national and international scope, which grew out of ongoing tensions and which were punctuated by periods of relative peace. Use of a different term, such as the Thirty-six Years War, would have the virtue of removing the misleading emphasis upon religious factors in the wars of late sixteenth-century France. The legacy of earlier Franco-Spanish rivalry in the context of the Dutch Revolt, coupled with the instability of leadership under Catherine de Medici and the last three Valois kings provided ample occasion for civil and international war regardless of religious issues. In addition, internal economic and social tensions fueled discontent and added to the armed conflicts already taking place. The role of religious issues in this context was often one of catalyst rather than prime cause.

With this in mind, the complexity of the period from 1568 to 1598 is certainly understandable. Following the edicts of fall 1568 the course of developments in Caen becomes more difficult to follow for several years because of de Bourgueville's silence and a lacuna of

two years in the records of the corps de ville. When the deliberations recommenced in December 1570, the Third War had come to an end.¹ The absence of Protestant registers from 1568 to 1570 is a sign that services had been suspended, for the other terms of the Edicts of September 1568 calling for removal of Protestants from offices and the university were carefully carried out.² A single extant register of "Réception, information de vie et moeurs" for the Caen presidial, covering the years 1562 to 1572, reflects vividly the change in atmosphere during these years. Prior to September 1568 new candidates for office were examined on "vie et moeurs" alone, while after this, the first instance being the 18 November 1568 reception of the Roman Catholic Robert Verin, they were examined on "vie, moeurs et religion". This register indicates that a more legalistic emphasis upon religious position continued even after the tolerant Edict of St. Germain-en-Laye of August 1570.³

Although the major activity of the Third Religious War, 1568 to 1570, was in the south and west of France, citizens of Caen were affected by the atmosphere of unrest because of the efforts of Jacques II de Matignon, governor of Lower Normandy, to fortify the city. As in the 1560's, the war affected the Caennais both directly and indirectly. In 1571 several inhabitants, whose gardens and walls had been destroyed to make the city more secure during the troubles of 1569, complained that they had not yet received the indemnities promised them.⁴ The strategic importance of Caen in any conflict which would take place in Normandy was clear to Matignon, and the events of the

wars of the 1570's, 1580's and 1590's would prove his judgment to have been sound.

In August 1570 Protestants again gained the right to worship, though in Caen services were not to be held in the city itself but only on the lands of noblemen in the surroundings.⁵ The Réformés continued to be excluded from teaching, printing and bookselling and were subjected to special taxes.⁶ Thus, while the Caen Protestants appeared to be regaining some strength in 1571 and 1572, the relatively short peaceful interim did not provide sufficient time to prepare them to face the difficulties which struck after August 1572.

With the diffusion of news of the massacres which took place in Paris following the assassination of Admiral Coligny on 23 August 1572, two years of tolerance came to an end.⁷ The period from 1570 to 1572 had been punctuated by signs on the national level that international tensions and religious conflict would not long allow the state of peace to continue. The crown could not indefinitely avoid making a commitment to one of the parties in the Dutch-Spanish conflict. As Coligny's influence over Charles IX in favor of the Netherlands became clear to Catherine de Medici, the immediate justification for the Admiral's assassination was born. Popular anti-Protestant feeling then sufficed to turn his murder into the occasion for the notorious massacre of Protestants both in Paris and the provinces from August to October 1572.

The developments in Caen following the events of 23 to 28 August remain subject to some degree of conjecture, but there is every

indication that there was not a blood bath in the Lower Norman capital. The deliberations of the hôtel de ville make no mention of any particular unrest in the month of September when Rouen Protestants were massacred. In fact, there is no reference in the municipal records to any royal edicts until 25 November 1572 when a meeting was held to comply with the royal order of 3 November that a special force be organized to assure the keeping of the peace.⁸

While Reformed services ceased after 31 August, there is no sign from the registers of baptisms and marriages of any threat or violence against the Caen Protestant community up to that point.⁹ Furthermore, though de Bourgueville was willing to sanction the massacre, he declared that he would leave the description of the events at Paris to others, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, and said nothing about events in Caen in 1572.¹⁰ In light of his frequent condemnation of the Reformed movement, it is highly unlikely that he would have neglected to mention an outbreak of violence at Caen, had one occurred.¹¹

Secondary sources which discuss the aftermath of the Paris massacre have concurred in the judgement that, except for Rouen, Normandy was spared bloodshed.¹² Since these works appeared in the nineteenth century, there has been no further investigation into the events in Caen. One neglected document, a register of the presidial court spanning the time from March 1572 to December 1573, does shed some light on that period. This register, plus the discovery of many of the papers of Jacques II de Matignon, governor of Lower Normandy,

in the archives of Monaco enables us to trace developments in Caen much more accurately.¹³

Whereas municipal documents provide very little indication of the publication of royal proclamations and edicts concerning St. Bartholomew's Day, the presidial register and documents from archives in Paris, London and Monaco reveal that in fact the citizens of Caen were quite well informed of the events which had taken place in Paris. During late August Matignon was in the Caen area. The king's brother, the future Henri III, wrote Matignon on 24 August calling upon him to assure that "chacun vive doucement et en bonne discipline sous l'observation de l'edit de pactification."¹⁴ On that same day the king also wrote requesting Matignon to "publier et entendre par tous les lieux de votre charge, que chacun ait, tant ès villes que aux champs, à demeurer en repos et seureté en sa maison, ne prendre les armes et s'offenser l'un l'aultre sous peine de la vye."¹⁵ In yet another letter dated the 24th Charles instructed Matignon to pursue the Protestant leader Montgomery, who had escaped the Paris massacre. At this point the king was blaming Coligny's assassination on Guise-Montmorency rivalry.¹⁶

During the weeks which followed the massacre numerous other letters passed between the Lower Norman governor and the royal family. On 27 August Matignon wrote from Falaise to the Caen officials prohibiting the bearing of arms and calling on all persons to "vivre amiablements les ungs avec les aultres, suivant le dernier edict de pacification." The Caen presidial had this order printed and

distributed throughout the bailliage. Matignon, who was on the road pursuing Montgomery, probably did not receive the king's harsher and more suspicious letters until the end of August.¹⁷ On 5 September the presidial received and publicized a copy of a royal letter to Matignon, countersigned by the governor and dated 28 August, in which Matignon's protection of the Protestants was assured, but services were suspended.¹⁸

The acceptance of responsibility for the Admiral's death by the king was made public in a pamphlet printed in Paris on 28 August. This "Déclaration au vray. . .", sent to Caen by the king on 3 September, revealed the hardening of the royal attitude toward the Réformés. Though their safety was still guaranteed, it called for an end to Protestant services, which Charles feared would inflame the Roman Catholic population and provide opportunities for Protestant plots to be formed.¹⁹ The appearance of this pamphlet and the royal letter of 28 August coincided with the end of Reformed services in Caen after 31 August.

Matignon's main preoccupation during the period directly following the massacre was the pursuit of Montgomery, but at the same time, he was the king's direct representative in Lower Normandy and was expected to uphold royal policy. Most of the royal letters sent to him support the view that Catherine and Charles' main concern after the Paris massacre was to prevent a resumption of war. This they hoped to do by assuring Protestants of their safety, while forbidding them to hold services and warning that harsh penalties would be meted

out to all who disrupted the peace or conspired against the crown. There has been a tendency to play down the existence of secret royal orders for provincial massacres. As a result the crucial role of Matignon in saving Alençon and Caen from massacres, and the supposedly heroic activities of Bishop Le Hennuyer in Lisieux and Governor de Sigognes in Dieppe, have been deemphasized.²⁰ Although it is probably true that any secret royal orders which may have been issued were aimed at the capture of conspirators rather than the institution of further massacres, there certainly were orders which the king considered confidential.²¹ Late in September Charles complained to Matignon that he had gone too far in publicizing the royal correspondence. Unfortunately, there is no record of the contents of the specific ordinance which the latter had printed and circulated. The incident does, however, inform us that the will of the king and the judgment of his governor clashed, most likely when Matignon's strongly politique inclinations and protective attitude toward the Protestants ruled his actions.²²

Matignon's moderation and tolerance toward the Réformés within Lower Normandy deserves note particularly in contrast to the strongly anti-Protestant stance of the governor of the chateau, captain Laguo. A 1579 Protestant polemic, published at Reims, entitled Tocsin contre les massacreurs stated:

Le capitaine Laguo, gouverneur du chateau de Caen voulait aussi commence une massacre général, mais il est empesché par le sieur de Matignon, gouverneur du pays.²³

This claim is supported in a letter to Matignon dated 25 August from Laguo, who was in Paris during the massacre. Laguo's animosity toward the Réformés was clearly evident.²⁴ Having returned to Caen by 1 September he again wrote Matignon. The tone of the second letter indicates that he was less than pleased that Matignon had not yet ordered an end to Protestant services in Caen. He reported to the governor of Lower Normandy that one of the largest Reformed services in the past three years had just been held, undoubtedly that of 31 August.²⁵ This comment lends support to the explanation of tranquility in Caen which stresses the deterrent effect of Caen's large Protestant population.²⁶ On the eve of the massacre the Caen Protestants had been gaining strength. With a strong foundation of mutual cooperation between Roman Catholics and Protestants in the 1560's and a politique governor such as Matignon in control, the city was spared a blood bath.²⁷ The crisis of later summer and fall 1572 had a profound effect upon Caen's Protestants, but there was no immediate outbreak of violence.

Throughout September further orders were published in Caen calling for peace between Protestants and Roman Catholics and assuring Protestants of their safety provided they were law-abiding.²⁸ While the situation appears to have been relatively tranquil, a letter dated 18 September from Matignon to the bailli and presidial officials of Caen indicates that there were some incidents of pillaging and robbery of the goods belonging to Protestants of the vicomté who had left their homes.²⁹ This letter and other documents confirm that the

fear of reprisals and outlawing of Reformed services had led some Protestants in the Caen area to flee despite Matignon's assurances of protection. A letter from Montgomery to the governor of Guernesey, where he had fled on his way to England, refers to

ung ministre d'après de Caen qui a rapporté
que la Reyne de France est accouchée d'ung
filz et qu'elle, pour recognoissance du bien
que Dieu luy a faict, sollicite le Roy de
faire pardon à tous ceulx de la religion,
fors qu'aux ministres,. . .³⁰

The suffering of the Caen Protestants seems to have been in the realm of civil abuse rather than harm to their persons.³¹ Many pastors fled, and a number of prominent bailliage officials lost their offices or abjured. At least three printers were condemned for selling heretical literature; their goods were confiscated and they were imprisoned because of their potential disruptive influence.³² Yet, these were rather mild developments when compared to the bloody events in Rouen and elsewhere.

From 1572 through 1576 a succession of conflicts known as the Fourth and Fifth Religious Wars disrupted the countryside and made the question of defense a major concern in Caen. In November 1572 a special body of keepers of the peace was selected whose task was to "assister aux Juges et officiers pour aprehenders les malfaicteurs, empescher toutes emotions et seditions popullaires, faire obeir La Justice. . ." ³³ Hard times and intensive military activity plagued Normandy during these years, and in Spring 1574 open conflict resumed after the brief respite of the Edict of Boulogne (July 1573).³⁴

Examples of the resultant difficulties abound. In one instance a tax farmer was given the right to purchase a city office to compensate for his losses "a loccasion des troubles et guerres civiles". The repeated discusson by the echevins of the large numbers of poor, sick and young in the Hôtel-Dieu is another indication of the hardships during this period.³⁵

Lower Normandy was the setting for Matignon's final pursuit of Montgomery. The registers of the corps de ville of Caen mirror the resulting unrest in numerous marginal notes: "En ce moi [March 1574] grandes emotions de guerre et troubles en ceste basse Normandy"; "Continuation de troubles et Guerres [April 1574]".³⁶ Matignon received word of the fall of St. Lô to Montgomery while at Caen in March. Caen took on the character of an armed camp as the former collected forces and even after he left. Refugees filled the streets from the disrupted countryside, and projects were undertaken to strengthen the walls and the chateau.³⁷ Montgomery was finally captured in May and brought to Caen on 7 June en route to execution in Paris on 26 June.³⁸

Charles IX did not live to see the execution of his father's accidental assassin, but memorial services were only held in Caen in September 1574 when Henri III finally returned to France.³⁹ The change of monarchs did nothing to end the war. Rather, intermittent conflict continued until May 1576 when the Huguenot party and the politique faction, now led by the king's brother Alençon, obtained the tolerant Edict of Beaulieu (Peace of Monsieur). Through these years Caen

suffered tremendous financial burdens and periodic unrest because of garrisons and constant demands for support from the king.⁴⁰ The nature of the city's difficulties was eloquently described in spring 1574 when the echevins requested that the royal levy of 8,000 livres be lowered.

D'autant que la continuation et augmentation de la guerre augmente aussi la pauvreté des habitants de la ville de Caen, ils vous supplient afin qu'ils aient moyen de respirer de les décharger de la totale somme. . . Car ils vous font aparoir que leurs faubourgs, qui forment la moitié de la ville, sont ruinés et abandonnés comme sont par semblable toutes les paroisses de leur vicomé, desquelles ils ont accoustume tiré tout leur vie et nourriture et au lieu d'en être secourus, ils voient presque tous les pauvres rustiques mendiant dans la ville et plusieurs mourant de faim à leurs portes, par fautes de les pouvoir secourir, de sorte qu'il se trouve par le bureau des pauvres plus de 20,000 necessiteux . . . Toutes les compagnies tant de chevel que de pied ont séjourné et passé par ladite ville et vicomé sans rien payer dont les villages sont abandonnés et les labours demeurés à faire. . . Pour dire en somme, les pauvres habitants ne peuvent prévoir sur eux qu'une ruine totale, si d'eux vois n'avez pitié.⁴¹

In 1576 the Caennais once again pled with Matignon that they be relieved in order that they might "plus facilement vacquer au faict de leurs trafficques et mestiers."⁴² Clearly the city's economy was suffering.

The burden and perils of having a large body of soldiers within the city was vividly revealed in March and April 1576. On 26 March Matignon ordered that provisions be given by the city to the soldiers stationed there. The city secretary, Le Nicollas, was to draw up the

necessary papers, but the next day, after Le Nicollas and his son had spent much of the night writing out the vouchers, they were attacked by a troop of soldiers who claimed Matignon's order was being ignored. Several city officials finally convinced them that in fact their needs were going to be met. Later, on 8 April Matignon informed the city that they must accept the billeting of more soldiers. Realizing the volatile nature of the situation he went on to order that

Il est aussy deffendu sur payne de la vye
ausdits habitans et soldatz de ne se querel-
ler ny metre la main aux armes en aucune
sorte et maniere que se soyt.⁴³

Shortly thereafter hostilities came to an end temporarily, but military burdens such as these were little affected.

The peace which was achieved with the Treaty of Beaulieu was one of the most tolerant yet enjoyed by the Protestants. They were granted freedom of worship, admission to offices and places of surety.⁴⁴ While the immediate effect was thus extremely favorable to the Caen Protestants, who resumed services in the city on 27 May 1576, it was very short-lived.⁴⁵ Alarmed by the tolerant terms of the Edict of Beaulieu and alienated by Henri III's tendency to compromise with the increasingly well-organized Protestant party, Henry de Guise reacted by organizing a movement to defend Roman Catholicism and destroy heresy. The Catholic League succeeded in forcing Henri III to revoke the Edict of Beaulieu at the Estates of Blois in February 1577. In Caen Protestant services ended, not to resume until the following October under the regime of the less liberal Edict of Poitiers.⁴⁶

In the years following 1576 the League's influence and organization would vary greatly. As a popular movement it took hold in many of the leading cities of Normandy, but, despite the attraction of radical theories stressing urban independence and the activities of League sympathizers among both the laity and the clergy, Caen remained staunchly royalist throughout the century. Not until the peak of League influence in the 1590's was Caen significantly affected by the radical Roman Catholic movement. The politique spirit behind the city's response to radical Reformed activity after 1564 also characterized her reaction to the League.

The Edict of Poitiers and the tolerant Peace of Fleix (1580), ending the short Seventh Religious War, maintained the Caen Réformés in a position of limited freedom. Having lost their right to worship within the city after January 1577, the congregation continued to be itinerant until services were again completely suppressed in 1585. From 1576 to 1585 Caen was a city besieged by many difficulties. The burden of housing and supporting troops was made more onerous by the accompanying heavy taxation, food shortages and outbreaks of disease, generally referred to as the plague (peste).⁴⁷ The state of intermittent war since 1562 was behind all of these problems, and by the 1570's and 1580's a temporary truce or the absence of actual conflict for a short while in the Caen area did little to alleviate the situation.

The gravity of the plight of the Lower Norman populace was brought home to the court in 1579 when a revolt broke out in the

village of Martragny, just fifteen kilometers from Caen. It foreshadowed the peasant uprisings of 1589 to 1595, notably the Gautier revolt east of Lisieux. While the rebellion against the royal tax collector at Martragny was a rural uprising, the conditions it reflected were shared by the city dwellers of Caen. The king's representative, Antoine Segulier, counsellor at the Parlement of Paris, found that the reason for the revolt was "la pauvreté, l'impuissance d'une bonne partie des contribuables en la généralité de Caen."⁴⁸ His report was echoed in the Fourteen Articles addressed by the royal and municipal officials of Caen in 1580 to François de Roucherolles, seigneur d'O, the new governor of Lower Normandy. They complained that the generality of Caen was greatly overburdened in the division of the taille and called for the Estates of Normandy to be held in Caen alternately with Rouen so that Rouen would no longer dominate the apportionment of the taille.⁴⁹ Thus, while the rural population felt it was unjust that Caen paid only 500 écus of the taille and small parishes paid more, the Caennais held that the generality as a whole was unfairly taxed.⁵⁰ Furthermore, the direct burdens of garrisons in the city certainly compensated for a lower assessment for the taille in the city.

Even earlier than the Martragny incident there had been signs of open hostility between Caennais and soldiers and those collecting provisions for royal representatives in the city. In October 1577 one of the royal sergeants complained that he could no longer fulfill his duties because he had been set upon while collecting linens for the

use of Matignon, then in Caen.⁵¹ In January 1578 lieutenant governor of the chateau Laguo required the Caennais to supply him with linens, much to the anger of many citizens.⁵² These minor cases of discontent were overshadowed in August 1578 by the murder of the standard-bearer of captain Chennevières, a local troop commander, by one M. Latiuture of Caen who, rather than being arrested by the city's inhabitants, was aided in escaping. The echevins claimed that all had been done to pursue the murderer but without success.⁵³

In contrast with the volatile relations which existed between civilians and the military in Caen, those between Roman Catholics and Protestants appear to have been quite good. In 1579 when M. d'O succeeded Matignon as governor of Lower Normandy he accompanied Antoine Seguiet to the troubled region near Caen. Seguiet reported to the conseil du roi that d'O "a pourveu a l'execution de l'edict de paix [1577 Edict of Bergerac] au contentement de ceulx de l'une et l'autre religion."⁵⁴ The Fourteen Articles presented to d'O by the Caen magistracy echoed the peaceful conditions, indicating that the edict was well observed. The only problem was that some Protestants failed to observe traditional feast days, thereby alienating the Catholics. D'O ordered that all Caennais close their shops and cease working on Roman Catholic feast days "sans preiudice a la Liberte de Conscience accordee par l'Edict." He also confirmed the right of the Protestants to use the Hôtel-Dieu cemetery despite complaints by Hôtel-Dieu officials and the bishop's representative in Caen.⁵⁵ M. d'O was attentive to the danger that peace might easily be disturbed and

accordingly established a body of four juges de la police, at least two of whom had been Protestant in the 1560's.⁵⁶ He wrote the echevins and royal officials in April 1580 urging them to be vigilant lest trouble making Protestants disturb the peace.⁵⁷

The answers to an inquiry carried out in October and November 1582 by three royal commissioners indicate that at this time the Roman Catholic clergy were in no way prevented from holding services and enjoying their revenues.⁵⁸ On 7 April 1583 a representative of Caen in Paris wrote the echevins that the Reformed community could be assured of the king's protection for the next five years.⁵⁹ These assurances proved premature, but until the revocation of the tolerant edict of 1577 in 1585 there is no evidence of confessional conflict in Caen.

The most vivid indication of continuing goodwill between Roman Catholics and Protestants is found in a 1584 letter to the duke of Joyeuse, who had just replaced M. d'O as governor of the province.⁶⁰ The echevins began by reporting that since the duke's visit to Caen (7 April 1583) the pestilence had become worse, and many bourgeois had fled to the countryside. Thus, it was impossible for the city to pay the most recent sums requested by his majesty. They continued:

Monsieur le lieutenant general ayant dict a
votre lieutenant en ce siege que [vous] ne
vouliez plus de son service nous faict tres-
humblement vous suplier de mettre en sa
place Pierre Beaulart sieur de Maizet lung de
noz confreres au gouvernement de ceste ville
estant soubz votre bon plaisir encor quil fasse
profession de la religion pretendue reformee
homme fort propre pour lad. charge Et qui sen
acquitera dignement. . .⁶¹

Clearly the city fathers had no hesitation about the appointment of one of the leading Protestant citizens to an important position of authority. Earlier they had named him city secretary upon the resignation of his Protestant colleague René Le Nicollas in 1582.⁶² There is no evidence to indicate whether Beaulart received the appointment, but most likely he did not or there would have been mention of it in the deliberations. In any case the tone of this letter attests to the goodwill existing between the two confessions in Caen during the year preceding the resumption of hostilities.

We have seen that from 1577 through July 1585 the Reformed church of Caen enjoyed a free exercise of services, albeit not within the city limits, and there was little evidence of conflict between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The death of the king's brother and heir, Anjou, in June 1584 and the resulting revival of the Catholic League in opposition to Henri of Navarre's claim to the throne brought about a rapid change in conditions. Even before civil war resumed, Henri III was alert to the renewed possibility of unrest throughout the realm.⁶³ In March 1585 Caen received a royal form letter, accompanied by a letter from the lieutenant general of Normandy, M. de Carrouge, warning city officials to watch for subversives within and without. The echevins responded by holding a meeting on 19 March at which it was decided that the city gates should be locked from 8 P.M. to 5 A.M., that the dixainiers should carefully patrol their neighborhoods and that hotel keepers should report the names of all lodgers. Furthermore, citizens were to be rearmed for the first time since

captain Laguo had removed their arms in the 1560's.⁶⁴

In April 1585 Henri III ordered the transfer of the office of recettes générales from Caen to Granville in Cotentin for unspecified reasons.⁶⁵ Despite Caen's loyalty to the crown, her sizable Protestant population and the recent presence of the League general Elbeuf in the city all gave the king cause for concern.⁶⁶ The transfer of the recettes générales would have been a grave assault on the city's prestige, but circumstances prevented it from taking place. On 22 May 1585 the king wrote the city and royal officials that since he had heard of a robbery close to Caen, the royal treasury should not be moved. He made the echevins responsible for its safety. In response, a meeting was held on 27 May at which articles were drafted to be presented to the king by one of the echevins, the Protestant, Jacques de Cauvigny, sieur de Bernières. The city fathers called upon the king to recognize their loyalty. They assured him that, because of the strength of the royal garrison, he had no reason for concern over the safety of the recettes générales. Furthermore, the visit by Elbeuf had been opposed by them, but M. d'O had said he could not prevent it. In any case, there had been no incident.⁶⁷ In June the echevins received assurance from Cauvigny that the king held the city in high esteem.⁶⁸

The incident concerning the recettes générales confirms the royalist position of the city at this point, despite growing League strength throughout the realm. It also underlines the continued goodwill between Roman Catholics and Protestants, such that a Réformé,

Cauvigny, was entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out a sensitive mission to the court. During the summer of 1585 the king yielded to League pressure and overturned the terms of the tolerant Edict of Poitiers. While this news was well received in Rouen, one can imagine that the more than 4,000 Protestants of the Caen region found it vexing. In fact, in fall 1585 "plusieurs de ce pays mesmes de ceste ville. . . avoient prins les armes et sestoient alles se joindre aux troupes de Monsieur le prince de Condé."⁶⁹

The echevins had been warned to secure the city at the beginning of November.⁷⁰ On 4 November 1585 a meeting was held to discuss what should be done with the Protestants who had joined Condé but were now returning to the city, claiming that they would become Roman Catholics and live peacefully. It was decided that they should be questioned and their arms seized. They were to be allowed to live in Caen if

Lung de leurs amis catholiques. . .
 respondront qu'ils ne feront aucune
 mauvaise entreprinse contre le service
 du Roy et seureté de lad. ville.⁷¹

Otherwise they were to live outside the city walls. While reflecting concern for the security of the city, these measures taken toward open and avowed rebels were mild indeed.

From 1578 to 1585 Normandy had been spared the ravages of active campaigning. We have seen, however, that tax burdens and the now permanent presence of royal garrisons in Caen, as well as the disruption of commerce and outbreaks of the plague, all contributed to hard times for the city.⁷² While the Abbey of St. Martin de Troarn was rebuilt and in good order when visited by episcopal authorities in

1581, the religious establishments of Caen itself were still in a state of disarray at this time.⁷³

In the realm of the city's commercial activity this period witnessed grave difficulties. The farmer of the tax on one category of cloth, serges et lingettes, wrote the echevins in 1584 concerning the poor trade records for that year:

il ne vient plus de laines de deshors. . .
[et] ny oze aller aulcune personne en
guerir et achapter au village marchez ny
aux aultres lieux comme lon avoit accoustume.⁷⁴

The reason for the decline, he said, was the plague. His complaint was but one indication of the disruption which the city suffered even in a time of relative peace.

Furthermore, the long-term economic needs of the city suffered. The inadequacies of the city's port could not be attended to because of the pressure of defense expenses. When governor d'O sent an engineer to Caen to consult with the echevins on what needed to be done to improve the Orne the echevins' response was that "les habitants se sentait trop faibles pour satisfaire à une aussi grande entreprise."⁷⁵ Their rejection of the project angered d'O but is certainly not surprising in light of the financial problems the city was confronting. Yet, their reticence to undertake a project of such major proportions was typical.⁷⁶ Later in the 1590's the question again arose of improvements to the port. The cost of canalization of the Orne was estimated at 20,000 écus so, despite the urgent need to replace the silted river with a more navigable waterway, the project again foundered. Thus, the very real disruption of the civil wars

which made money scarce and the natural conservatism of the magistracy meant that Caen's commercial development was gravely retarded.⁷⁷ In 1591 the echevins wrote Henri IV that Caen was not a seafaring, shipping center and therefore should not be called upon to provide him with ships. If they were forced to levy an excise on merchandise entering and leaving the city to pay for such ships, it would take fifteen to twenty years to cover the cost because there was so little commerce. In fact, there was not one Caennais who was a seafarer or owner and outfitter of ships.⁷⁸ This eloquent disclaimer of commercial activity was probably an exaggeration aimed at avoiding further impositions on the city. Nonetheless, in their overstatement the magistrates revealed some truth--the Caen echevins did not value the port, and trade by sea was of minor importance to her citizens. Rouen and Dieppe could never have made such a claim.

In the midst of the disruptions of city life described thus far one striking movement for revitalization had begun. The University of Caen had suffered considerable decline during the 1560's and 1570's. While the Reformation never led to open hostility between Protestants and Roman Catholics in the university, the civil wars and the plague certainly disrupted its normal functioning. The need for reform was pointed out in the 1564 Inquest, but it was not until 1576 that effective action was taken. The absence of regular records and evidence of only twenty students in the early 1570's attest to the urgency of the situation.⁷⁹

When reform was begun it was distinctly Roman Catholic in

nature. While some Protestants, such as the two regents Geoffroy LeLaboureur and Nicholas LeVallois had continued to be active in the university whenever it was legal, the Protestant influence had diminished greatly from 1563-64 when it had been possible to project a Reformed seminary.⁸⁰ The late sixteenth-century reform of the university would definitely be a counter-reformation endeavor, supported, in the Caen tradition of tolerance and co-existence, by both Roman Catholics and Protestants.

The initial phase of reform under the rectorates of Jacques de Cahaignes and Tanneguy de Buisson sought to bring the university back to orthodoxy, revitalize the collèges and recruit students.⁸¹ At the same time the again defunct Palinod was revived.⁸² In 1579 the Estates of Blois addressed the question of returning the universities of the realm to their former brilliance. The Ordinances of Blois authorized the parlements to assume more initiative in university affairs, reflecting the increased intervention by royal officials in affairs which had formerly been the prerogative of the municipality. Caen's desire to remain in control of the university and resist royal and ecclesiastical control is clear in the deliberations of a meeting held on 30 October 1580. Parish representatives were appointed to discuss suggestions for reform. Meetings of these representatives were held in the city churches, evidence of their revival and the influence of the Roman Catholic order on this reform. While it was agreed that money was needed to support the university, there was a general fear of increased taxes.⁸³ In October 1580 when the royal

commissioners came to the city they found the university in as bad a state as in 1564. Yet, reform and revitalization was to come slowly. Opposition by Rouen to a new tax on salt for the support of the university added to delays.⁸⁴ In 1583 de Bourgueville pled for a real effort to reform the underlying causes of weakness which stemmed from the lack of support by abbeys for university collèges and the failure of fathers to adequately support their sons' educations.⁸⁵ Finally in 1585, the needed salt tax was authorized, the financial problem was alleviated and more substantive educational problems could be addressed.

Part of the university's weakness came from a lack of good professors, a problem attacked in 1582 with the appointment of the Caen poet, Jean Rouxel, a humanist and a Protestant, as royal professor of philosophy and poetry. An attempt was made to attract Cujas, the founder of the French school of law at Bourges, to improve the faculty of law.⁸⁶ In 1583, this having failed, one of the royal commissioners suggested Daniel Hotman. The city called him, and in November 1583 this younger son of the famous Protestant legist, François Hotman, discussed the position with the echevins and gave several sample lectures.⁸⁷ The magistrates were singularly unimpressed with Hotman, finding him young and inexperienced. Furthermore, he read all his lectures.⁸⁸ Nonetheless, under pressure from the commissioner, Pierre Le Jumel de Lisoires, they hired him. Hotman stayed in Caen but a year.⁸⁹ Attempts to attract more notable law professors met with little more success in 1584 but do attest to

consistent efforts to improve the faculty.⁹⁰

Finally in 1586 when a plan for full reform of the university was drawn up, the spirit, choice of personnel and curriculum reflected the counter-reformation. Despite the presence of Jean Rouxel and fleetingly the young son of Hotman, the future belonged to Roman Catholic orthodoxy. The first article symbolized this Roman Catholic triumph in specifying that in each college

il sera choisi. . . un lieu propre pour servir de chapelle, ou la messe et service divin sera célébré tous les jours, . . . où assisteront de bonne heure les principaulx, régents, escolliers, et domestiques du collège; et prendront gardes desdits principaulx que iceux escoliers soyent attentifs, et apportent leurs heures audit service divin.⁹¹

Strict censorship of the books to be read was imposed, all teachers and students were to be celibate and observers were to assure that no French was spoken. While a somewhat anti-humanist and clearly anti-Protestant tone can be perceived, the overall thrust of the document was enlightened and aimed at a real improvement in teaching.

The application of the reform ordinance was delayed by the new period of war which had just begun. The financial problems which were to have been solved by the salt tax lingered on, exacerbated by the absence of students and the university's inability to obtain adequate professors.⁹² Only with the end of hostilities in the 1590's were notable professors such as Dominique Badius of Leiden and William Bruce from Scotland attracted to Caen.⁹³ Thus, while the reform of the university was begun in the mid-1580's, the outbreak of the wars

of the League and Henri IV's battle for the throne impeded its full implementation.

Soon after hostilities resumed in 1585 the plain of Caen was visited by Condé and his Protestant forces. From this time until 1596 Lower Normandy would be a major theater in the conflict among Protestant, League and royalist forces. Nonetheless, for several years conditions in Caen itself remained quite stable. On 7 February 1588 the echevin Nicholas Le Pelletier, sieur de la Fosse, on a mission for the city at court wrote, "Le monde est bien brouille Je voudrais estre a Caen. . ." ⁹⁴ At this point Henri de Guise and the Sixteen were consolidating their control of Paris. In May the Caennais received word of the king's flight from the capital to Chartres. At the same time there was concern in the city that the new governor of Normandy, Jean-Louis Nogaret de la Valette, duke of Epernon, would bring his troops into the city. He did enter Caen with a small force in mid-May but without incident. Soon thereafter Epernon was replaced, and in September the city was visited by the new governor, François de Bourbon, sieur de Montpensier. ⁹⁵

While conditions were much more stable than in Paris, Caen officials were anxious over these changes of personnel as well as the growing conflict between opposing factions. In early February 1589 alarm was increasing among the Protestant Caennais who had heard that "on vouloit attenter à leurs vies. . ." They responded by arming themselves and a conflict between them and the troops of captain de la Fosse, municipal militia leader and echevin, was only narrowly

avoided. The source of the unrest was a rumor started by an outside agitator from Anger, who had ". . . use de quelquez menaces contre lesd. de la Relligion." He was imprisoned, and an assembly held on 6 February established measures to prevent further problems in the city. A larger body of Caen notables attended, representing both confessions, and swore to go to all lengths to assure the safety of citizens and maintain the city's loyalty to the king. During the meeting a large number of Caennais had gathered outside the presidial hall. They were told of the deliberations and swore to maintain the city in peace.⁹⁶

In the fall of 1588 representatives of Caen had attended the League-dominated Estates General at Blois. They reported ominously that "il y a force mechantz qui en empeschent la teneur tant quilz peuvent. . ."⁹⁷ One of the major issues for the Caennais at the Estates was an assault on the city's prestige by representatives from Rouen. A Rouen deputy, M. Hanivel, declared at one of the meetings ". . . que nostre ville [Caen] qui estoit une petite ville taillable ne devoit pas se mettre au rang des bonnes villes."⁹⁸ The two deputies from Caen restrained themselves, and one was actually elected president of the Norman delegation. Yet, the Rouennais' comments reveal once again the deep-seated enmity between the two leading cities of Normandy.

With the royal assassination of Henri de Guise in December 1588 the national conflict deepened. Rouen went over to the League in early February, as did most of the other cities of Normandy. Caen

alone remained royalist. In a letter dated 15 February 1589 M. d'O wrote the Caen magistracy:

La follye qu'ont faict ceulz de Rouen sera
cause qu'au present Jour Vous aurez le
Parlement. La chambre des comptes et
aultre Corps de Justices. . . Qui nest pas
la seul bien que vous de bien verra
prometre de la bonté du Roy. . .⁹⁹

Despite the long-standing conflicts between the two cities and the fact that a sizable proportion of the Caen population remained Protestant,¹⁰⁰ the municipal government of Rouen endeavored to draw Caen into the League camp in a letter of 17 February.

Messieurs puis que nos avons receu de dieu
les biens et la vie Cest bien raison que
nous les emploions pour son nom. . . Cest
ce que nous a faict unir et lyer ensemble
avec les autres ville de la France pour la
conservation de son eglise A quoy la charité
chretienne et lamour de la patrie nous faict
desirer vous voir conjointz. . . En quoy
faisant nous exposerons nos vies et biens avec
les votres pour une si sainte guerre dont
et vous et nous ne pouvons esperer qu'une
victoire honorable marchans soubz les enseignes
de dieu qui seul en est le chef,. . .¹⁰¹

The response of the Caen magistracy to this call to rebellion against the crown was to send a copy of it to the king, not even honoring the letter with a reply. Above all they decided that the populace was not to be informed of the Rouen letter.¹⁰² A public assembly at which only the letters from the king and M. d'O exhorting Caen to remain loyal were made public was called for 22 February.¹⁰³ The city government was staunchly against involvement with the League but feared the popular reaction.

With the transfer of the parlement . and the other sovereign courts to Caen, the city entered a new phase of development and involvement in the national conflict. As seat of the royalist courts Caen gained prestige which its citizens hoped to retain even after a royal victory over Ligueur Rouen.¹⁰⁴ Yet, the presence of these august bodies also opened the city to new infringements on municipal independence and established conflicts of interest which would lead to numerous internal controversies during the courts' five-year séjour in Caen.

One of the immediate results of the parlement's transfer was to assure that Caen would remain loyal to the Valois-Bourbon line. For while the politique stance of the city government did not always agree with the royalism of the parlement and the bailli and governor of the chateau, la Verune, all three found the Holy Union of the League to be abhorrent.¹⁰⁵ This strong opposition to the League found further support among the Protestants of the Caen region.

From March through the fall of 1589 France passed from the turmoil of opposition to a weak king to that of revolt by many against succession to the throne by a Protestant. On 31 March 1589 the echevins wrote Henri III requesting that royal forces be raised to oppose rebellions in Lower Normandy.¹⁰⁶ At this point there occurred a peasant uprising known as the Gautiers revolt in the area around Lisieux. The uprising was anti-fiscal in impulse while also being motivated by anti-military and anti-Protestant sentiment. Closer to Caen, the 1579 revolt against royal tax collectors in Martragny had

foreshadowed the Gautiers revolt, but the 1589 situation was exacerbated by the issue of a Protestant heir to the throne. Leaders of the League used the rural uprising for their own purposes, deserting the peasants when royalist forces decimated their number in late spring 1589.¹⁰⁷ The direction provided by a Caennais, Jean de Perrières, sieur de Touchet, for one group of armed peasants in the region near Falaise shows that Caen did produce some active Leagueurs. Perrières' strategy was to block the entry of Montpensier and the royalist forces into Caen, the only stronghold which remained faithful to Henri III at this time, thereby turning the entire province over to the League. He was instead defeated by Montpensier and imprisoned at Caen. De Cahaigues claims that the incident led to a strengthening of Caen's royalist stance and the institution of new measures to improve the city's defenses.¹⁰⁸

By June 1589 the Rouen Parlement had begun to settle in Caen, meeting in the Franciscan monastery. The other sovereign courts were scattered through the city.¹⁰⁹ It had taken over three months for a small remnant of parlementaires to gather in the Lower Norman capital because of the difficulties of leaving League-controlled Rouen and the hazards of the road. The danger of the situation throughout the province is well reflected in the harrowing experience of two Caen representatives sent to Paris in late June. Louis Vastel, sieur d'Aulnay, echevin and Guillaume Bauches, sieur de Colombelles, procureur syndic, were stopped by Montpensier en route and sent back to Caen with the royal letters patent transferring the parlement to

Caen. In the town of Beaumont-le-Roger, which only three days before had been in royalist hands, they were preyed upon by Ligueurs who stole the royal letters plus their arms and valuables. Upon return to Caen they appealed to the parlement and city officials that they be remunerated for their losses and the thieves be prosecuted.¹¹⁰

Thus far conditions within the city had remained quite safe. News of Henri III's death on 1 August 1589 was greeted with renewed concern on the part of the parlement and echevins that violence might break out. Therefore, on 5 August city patrols were increased and on 6 August two assemblies were held to establish a city council made up of representatives from the various corps of the city, including the parlement, the cour des aides and the chambre des comptes. The council was to meet daily, at whatever hour necessary, acting in concert with the parlement and the governor of the chateau, M. la Vêrune, to prevent disturbances of the peace.¹¹¹ Six days later on 12 August a meeting of the echevins was held to draw up a response to Henri IV's letter of 2 August. The new king pledged to:

. . . donner tout le meilleure ordre, que faire se pourra, avec le bon conseil et avis des princes et autres principaux seigneurs à ce qui sera du bien et conservation de l'Etat, sans rien innover au fait de la religion catholique apostolique et romaine, mais la conserver de notre pouvoir,. . .¹¹²

The original plan to call a general assembly to reply to the letter was abandoned for unspecified reasons.¹¹³ This decision has led to speculation by Lair that the echevins feared the contents of their letter would inflame the potentially strong League party in Caen. On

the other hand, Beaujour sees it as a sign of the strength of the Protestants, who would certainly have been displeased with the following passage in the letter which was sent.

Nous vous remercions tres-humblement de ce qu'il vous a pleu nous déclarer votre bonne et sainte intention au bien et conservation de cest Etat, sans voulloir rien innover au fait de nostre Religion catholique apostolique et romaine, Laquelle vous promettez conserver de tout votre pouvoir, De quoy nous vous supplions très-humblement et al vouloir embresser avec vos sujets.¹¹⁴

The dispatch of the letter was delayed until 19 August because of the hesitancy of the parlement, which only received assurances of continued support for the Roman Catholic church on 18 August. Whether Protestant or League strength had led the city magistrates to cancel plans for a general assembly, it is clear that conditions in Caen called for a strong hand in order to maintain the peace.

The potentially volatile situation came to a head when the governor of the chateau, la Verune, proposed to take over the hôtel de ville for security purposes in October 1589. Located on the bridge connecting the two halves of the walled city, this strategic building held symbolic importance for the Caennais, who vigorously opposed its control by la Verune's troops. Despite efforts to the contrary, the echevins were forced to vacate their meeting hall from late October 1589 to mid-January 1590.¹¹⁵ Yet, beforehand, on the 13th of October, an incident occurred which revealed the vehemence of city opposition. A certain sieur de la Mothe-Corbinière set out with a force from the chateau to occupy the hôtel de ville. Upon hearing of this move a

group of bourgeois rushed to take control of the gate between the upper and lower city on the bridge of St. Pierre. Leading them was the Protestant apothecary and former echevin Jean Brisse, whose bravery, along with that of his son, prevented the soldiers from entering the hôtel de ville and led to la Mothe-Corbinière's death.¹¹⁶

DeCahaignes' account speaks of the soldiers as one of two parties in conflict in the city, but the exact make-up of the parties is not clear. Lair and others hold that the soldiers and their leader, la Mothe-Corbinière, as well as la Verune, were Ligueurs; their enemies being politiques and Protestants. Yet, it is just as likely that, to a proud Caennais like de Cahaignes, the conflicting parties were the royal forces intruding on local independence and the defenders of local autonomy.

Throughout the five year period when the parlement was in Caen, the magistrates felt their control of the city threatened. This was not entirely new. Royal incursions into the urban domain are a dominant theme in sixteenth-century French history.¹¹⁷ Yet, as recently as 1587 the city had shown that it could reject the man supported by the royal bailli in the election of the new procureur syndic.¹¹⁸ With the parlement's presence in the city, some of this highly valued independence was threatened. The members of the sovereign court viewed Caen as unworthy of their presence and in need of reform in many areas. After the conseil de ville had been established to include representatives of the courts in city governance, the parlement demanded that a body of juges de la police

be elected to work with them on supervision of the city.¹¹⁹

Later in 1590 the parlement sought to institutionalize the care of the poor in Caen with the establishment of a bureau des pauvres. In the past there had been no central agency to administer assistance in the city. Emergency matters, such as an outbreak of the plague or a sudden influx of poor refugees, were dealt with on an ad hoc basis. The parlementaires wanted to institute a body similar to that in Rouen, but the Caen response was a vehement no. The city fathers felt it was inadvisable to set up another bureaucratic institution in these difficult times, and nothing ever came of the project.¹²⁰ The problem of assistance came up again in 1593 when an outbreak of the plague raised the question of where the sick should be housed. As in 1590 the city carefully guarded its jurisdiction over assistance from incursions by the parlement.¹²¹

In many other instances the parlement became involved in affairs which had formerly been routinely dealt with by the city and local royal officials. Street cleaning had long been neglected so the parlement proposed the establishment of a public works force to undertake the project on a regular basis. As might be expected, opposition was raised by the echevins, and it does not appear that such a force became permanent.¹²²

In an even more sensitive area, the university, the parlement sided with the university rector against the echevins in a battle over the appointment of professors to the recently revitalized Collège du Mont. In 1591 the city decided to purchase the defunct Collège du

Mont with some of the revenues from the new salt tax. A faculty was chosen and a principal, Claude Collin, appointed by the echevins. The rector of the university, however, refused to receive Collin. The city magistrates said his refusal was based on the fact that he was principal of the Collège du Bois, the only other active school of the Faculty of Arts, and he feared competition. The rector and parlement held that the right to appoint personnel belonged to the king because the collège had been purchased with royal revenues. In the end the city lost its right to appoint, and the school became the Collège royal de Mont.¹²³ This incident was but one of many in which the prerogatives of the Caen magistracy were contested by royal authorities. In this case, as would ultimately be so in many other areas of local control, the king and parlement won.¹²⁴

From 1589 through much of the 1590's Henri IV was involved in the difficult task of consolidating his control over the realm. This process may be broken into two phases: the reconquest of regions of France prior to Henri's conversion to Roman Catholicism in July 1593, and the confirmation of his royal authority throughout the land after he was accepted as king by Paris. During the first stage Henri gradually extended his basis of royalist support. In Lower Normandy this was largely achieved by 1591 with the aid of English troops. Caen was central to the king's campaigns because initially it was his only center of urban support.¹²⁵

The Lower Norman capital was called upon time and again to supply the king and his commanders with funds and provisions for their

troops.¹²⁶ To these burdens were added those brought by the refugees who flocked to Caen from areas under League control, notably Rouen, which did not fall to Henri IV until 1594. One Caennais, Leonard Le Provost, was driven to request the use of part of one of the city towers for himself and his five children because

Il ne peult subvenir pour leur nourriture et
entretien à cause de la grande cherté des
vivres et mesmes subvenir au louage des
maisons qui se baillent à prix execif a
cause du grant nombre de peuple refugié en
ceste ville. . .¹²⁷

This type of request had been received in the 1570's and 1580's but never stressing the refugee presence. The echevins decided that Le Provost did deserve the use of the tower.

The problem of inflation was a major issue during these years as the price of housing and food was driven out of the reach of many Caennais.¹²⁸ In July 1589 two of the farmers of the revenues of the Abbey of St. Etienne complained that they could not make their payments because of the "malaise du temps" and the fact that "l'argent ne tient a Rien."¹²⁹ Though complaints such as this of inability to meet obligations were quite commonplace, in this case they were justified. The problem became worse as the influx of parlementaires and refugees pushed up rents and food became scarce. In deliberations on 15 January 1590 the parlement decried the fact that

les habitants de ceste ville de Caen, par
une extreme avarice, baillent les maisons
et chambres à ung prix extraordinaire et
excessif auz personnes qui sont venues se
refugier en ceste ville à raison des troubles
causés par la Ligue et faulse Union, s'estant

eslevée en sedition contre l'obéissance au Roi, voire au quadruple plus que lesdits habitans ne louoient auparavant le translation de la Court en icelle ville de Caen, . . .130

Complaints continued through the year, making clear that some Caennais were profiting from the city's refugee and foreign soldier populations. In light of this profiteering it is not surprising that the parlementaires had little desire to remain in a city ill-prepared to cope with their number and ready to take every advantage of their presence.¹³¹

While Henri IV fought to establish control of the kingdom which was rightfully his, his Protestant coreligionists were fighting to regain freedom to exercise their religion. As much as the Roman Catholics feared this Protestant king, the Réformés were afraid that Roman Catholicism might appeal to Henri as a solution to opposition to his succession by League Roman Catholics. Their anxiety naturally increased when he converted to Roman Catholicism in July 1593. In fact in June of that year, when rumors of a royal conversion were rife, du Plessis Mornay wrote the Caen pastor Gilles Gautier, sieur de la Benserie, that there was need to strengthen "la condition de ses [Henri IV's] serviteurs de la religion, qui a tousjours flotté depuis son avenement à la couronne." He spoke of the danger that the king would convert and called on Gautier to choose suitable representatives to send to the assembly of Réformés which the king promised to call in July.¹³²

The Caen Protestants had resumed holding services in January 1590 on the strength of the fact that they now had a Protestant king,

but it was not until September 1591 that the parlement yielded to Henri's revocation of the intolerant edicts of 1585 and 1588.¹³³ Though their numbers were swelled by refugee Protestants from Rouen and other League controlled cities, the Caen Réformés were still vulnerable to persecution.¹³⁴ The most notable incidents reflecting their weakness occurred in 1591 and 1592. The religious of St. Etienne sought to prevent them from holding services in the village of Allemagne near Caen.¹³⁵ The parlement rejected the request of the Abbey made in May 1591, and in January 1592 Protestants were still worshipping there when a troop of Ligueurs attacked them. A number of the Protestants were killed and others, including Pierre Beaulart, sieur de Maizet and city secretary, were captured and taken to Honfleur where they were imprisoned.¹³⁶ On 2 February 1592 the Réformés of Caen moved their services to a location closer to the city in the Bourg l'abbé, ironically right behind the abbey which had requested that their meetings in Allemagne be prohibited.¹³⁷ Despite opposition such as this and the vacillation of Henri's policies toward them, the Protestants were able to meet regularly throughout the 1590's. Thus, they had grounds to claim the right to worship in the Bourg l'abbé under the provisions of the Edict of Nantes.¹³⁸

The presence of the royalist parlement and the strength of the Protestant community certainly enhanced the probability that Caen would not be attracted to the League. As we have seen, the city fathers had rejected Rouen's invitation to join them in rebellion against the king.¹³⁹ Yet, it would be unwise to overemphasize the

city's loyalty to the crown. After Henri III's assassination local curés and outside agitators fed on the discontents of many Caennais over the hardships of civil war and the prospect of a Protestant king. Throughout the early 1570's the pulpits of the city were platforms for inflammatory anti-royalist sermons. Though the parlement sought to silence such sedition it was met by responses such as that of the curé of St. Jean who in 1590 said that he could never preach in support of a king whom he did not consider to be legitimate. He was joined by the curé of St. Pierre and a Franciscan named Blouyn in "excitant le Peuple à se mouvoir et prendre le glayve pour repandre le sang, meurdrir et tuer tous les bons fideles serviteurs."¹⁴⁰ Henri IV's victory at Ivry in March 1590 had been celebrated in Caen with bonfires and the burning of the League in effigy as the following jingle was sung: "Violà, violà la puante Ligue qui brule!"¹⁴¹ Yet, unending requests for funds and supplies by the king fueled discontent and gained supporters for the League even in this staunchly royalist center.

In 1591 a prominent Caennais, sieur Lemaitre, dit Camilly, spoke out against the parlement's opposition to the League. La Véruene's moderate reaction to his comments reveals that the governor of the chateau had to tread carefully lest he awaken an even stronger League reaction.¹⁴² During the same period a League plot to take over the city was narrowly averted through the loyalty of one Jean Hierosme de Caserte who refused to cooperate with the rebels in taking the city gate.¹⁴³

The 1591 election of city officials also reveals the extent to which Caen was infected by League elements. During the assembly called to choose the new echevins, the city's procureur syndic, Guillaume Bauches, was unseated because

le peuple commençoit a murmurer et a vouloir
 entrer en esmotion populaire de ce que on
 navoit nomme ny propose personne a la charge
 de procureur scindic en lieu dud. bauches
 suspect de la ligue et fausse union.¹⁴⁴

Bauches' self defense was to no avail, and until 1594 he was replaced by Lubin Lesage.¹⁴⁵

All these incidents reflect the uneasy situation in Caen during the years prior to Henri IV's conversion. The impact of these years on the city's economy was mixed. Inflation increased with the influx of refugees, and food scarcity was endemic. Yet, Caen's strategic importance also led to a stimulation of commerce. As the only royalist city of importance in Normandy, Caen benefited from increased trade and the influx of new types of goods. Particularly after 1590 these advantages were recognized by the echevins, who exhorted the tax farmers to deal with the foreign merchants with care lest they alienate them.¹⁴⁶ There were tensions because, while the city coffers might sometimes be enriched by the taxes and general commerce might improve, individual Caennais did not always benefit. In fact, royal policy favoring foreign merchants, particularly Henri IV's English allies, led to significant discontent in Caen.¹⁴⁷ Hard times also led to conflict between Caen merchants and those from the surrounding countryside. In 1592 the Caennais feared that local meat would be sold to

League cities and cause a shortage in Caen. In 1595 they wished to prevent competition from village merchants.¹⁴⁸ Overall, the 1590's were not as difficult economically as the preceding war years. Despite the frustrations and controversy brought by the sovereign courts, their presence had also created some prosperity. Furthermore, the decade was crowned with the long hoped for establishment of a fair in Caen in 1594.¹⁴⁹

Caen had gained prestige as a key royalist center while Rouen was suffering greatly through Henri IV's lengthy siege.¹⁵⁰ Yet, even in royalist Caen the rigors of war took their toll on the populace, so that there was great rejoicing when the king decided to abjure for the sake of the crown in July 1593.¹⁵¹ Not the least of those overjoyed by the king's conversion and the capitulation of Rouen in April 1594 were the parlementaires, who had little desire to remain in the Lower Norman capital.¹⁵² On the 18th of April the sovereign courts left for Rouen, and by mid-summer the Caen municipal government had returned to functioning as in the period before the parlement's arrival.¹⁵³

With Rouen's fall to Henri IV Normandy was almost entirely under Bourbon control. Pockets of resistance remained in Honfleur and the Cotentin, but by 1596 the province was tranquil. Now that the war had been won, it remained for peace to be truly secured. For Normandy and France as a whole this process continued through Henri's reign, as the war torn society regained some degree of social, economic and political stability under the wise policies of the king and his

ministers.¹⁵⁴ For the Protestants of Caen the burning issue remained that which had pushed the Réformés to arms in the 1560's--securing freedom to worship according to conscience. Protestant strength was sufficient in Caen to assure that, even though the Edict of Nantes was not promulgated until 1598 and finally accepted by the Roman Catholic parlement in Rouen until 1609, services were uninterrupted after 1590. They were thus sure to enjoy freedom of worship under the terms of the Edict.¹⁵⁵

Throughout this survey of the period from 1568 to 1598 we have had many occasions to note that Caen and her citizens suffered from the rigors of war. Yet, she was free from the bloody violence and dramatic conflict experienced in major centers such as Rouen and Paris. The final chapter of this study will explore in more detail the response of the Protestant community of Caen to the adversity of these years. The reaction of the city's Reformed population to thirty years of periodic war and oppression and the foundation of tolerance established in the 1560's, to a large extent, explain the unanimity of spirit in evidence during the first decades of the seventeenth century. This atmosphere of concord was such that the following comment by Jean de Segrais, seventeenth-century Caennais and man of letters, should not be considered merely exaggerated praise by a proud citizen.

Il y avoit long-tems avant la revocation de l'Edit de Nantes, que les Catholiques et les Huguenots vivoient ici [Caen] dans une si grande intelligence, qu'ils mangeoient, buvoient, jouoient, se divertissoient ensemble, et se quittoient librement, les uns pour aller à la Messe, et les autres pour aller au Prêche, sans aucun scandale ni d'une part ni de l'autre.¹⁵⁶

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER VII

- ¹ de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 194-98 (covers 1568-84), AMC, BB 8 (3 October 1567 - 4 December 1568); AMC, BB 9 (23 December 1570 - 11 November 1572). The standard surveys of sixteenth-century Caen and the Wars of Religion in Lower Normandy skip over the period 1568-72 with virtually no comment because of these lacunae and the fact that Normandy was not a major theater in the 1568-70 conflict. Carel, Histoire de Caen-II; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 89-91, 107; Galland, L'histoire du Protestantisme en Basse-Normandie, pp. xxvii-xxviii; Canu, "Le protestantisme dans la Manche," 14, fasc. 55 (1972), 270-71.
- ² Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 444-45; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 87-90. Individual examples of loss of public office during this period will be discussed below, see chapter Eight, pp. 396-97 and 414-18.
- ³ ADC, 1B 13, (1566-72, non-foliated).
- ⁴ AMC, BB 9, ff. 40-44 (27 January 1571 echevin meeting at which Matignon and the bailli, d'Auberville, were presented). It is clear that Matignon had ordered work to further fortify the chateau.
- ⁵ Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 422-528, 541-675. The edict allowed services in several cities per province plus all those localities where services had still been openly taking place in August 1570. Henry M. Baird, History of the Rise of the Huguenots (2 vols., New York, 1880), II, 364. In Caen services had ended in October 1568.
- ⁶ Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 107; Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, III, 74-77, 87-88, 114; ADC, 1B 3, ff. 38-39 (8 March 1572 royal letter regarding the "levés des deniers par nous ordonnez estre levez sur ceulx de la Religion prétendue Réformée aux fins du payement de leurs debtes").
- ⁷ The bibliography of the St. Bartholomew massacres is immense and fraught with much conflict and controversy. Several recent studies seek to place the events in their political, social and religious

context. Estebe, Tocsin pour un massacre; "La St-Barthélemy dans la littérature française," Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France, 73 (September-October 1973), entire issue; Actes du colloque L'amiral de Coligny et son temps (Paris, 24-28 octobre 1972) (Paris 1974); Alfred Soman, ed., The Massacre of St. Bartholomew - Reappraisals and Documents (The Hague, 1974).

8

AMC, BB 11, ff. 10v.-15r. (3 November and 25 November 1572); Henri Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy à Alençon, à Caen et dans la Basse-Normandie," Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique de l'Orne (1905 - also published under the same title in Paris, 1906), p. 56. On Rouen see Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion," pp. 149-56, 179-81; Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, III, 122-31; Mémoires de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX, tome I in Cimber & Danjou, Archives curieuses, series 1, 7, 369-79.

9

Lart, Registers of Protestant at Caen, pp. 527-28. In contrast in January 1592 when the congregation was attacked by Ligueurs while meeting in the village of Allemagne, the incident was noted in the registers, see below p. 358.

10

de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 194. ". . . i'en laisse le iugement a Dieu seulement. . . l'execution est aucunefois necessaire. . ." His condemnation of Protestants on theological grounds is even more clear in his treatise on religion. Charles de Bourgueville, sieur de Bras, Les Discours de l'Eglise, Religion et de la Justice (Paris, 1579).

11

It is of course possible that as a city leader de Bourgueville deemphasized anything which might cause tension and, therefore, might have glossed over Roman Catholic violence. Yet, other evidence, which will be discussed below, supports the interpretation that there was no massacre in Caen. Estebe, Tocsin pour un massacre, p. 144 suggests that "les St-Barthélemy provinciales sont limitées à des villes précises [of which Caen was not one] et n'ont jamais dépassé ce cadre urbain."

12

Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 110-12; Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, p. 97; Galland, L'histoire du Protestantisme en Basse-Normandie, p. xxviii; de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, II, 389; Baird, Rise of the Huguenots, II, 526. Crespín, Histoire des Martyrs does not mention Caen at all in relation to the massacres.

- 13
ADC, 1B 3, (1572-73 Enregistrement des édits, déclarations, arrêts). This register is invaluable in unravelling developments during the fall of 1572 in Caen. Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," passim. Matignon's papers were in Monaco because a descendent of Jacques II married a princess of Monaco. All other Matignon papers were lost in World War II in the burning of St. Lô.
- 14
Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," p. 38. La Ferrière-Percy, La Normandie à l'étranger, pp. 205-06.
- 15
Isambert, Jourdon & Decrusy, Anciennes Lois françaises, 14, 256.
- 16
Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," pp. 38-39. Anjou also wrote Matignon on the 24th of August.
- 17
ADC, 1B 3, ff. 132-33 & Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, pp. 101-102. The order was printed by Etienne Thomas of Caen on 27 August. Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," pp. 39-41, 48-49. For example, a letter from the king to Matignon, dated 26 August, in which Charles warns the Lower Norman governor of Protestant plots and orders him to punish all possible conspirators probably did not reach him before his moderate order of 27 August was sent to Caen. Nonetheless, in many other cases communications between the king and his commanders travelled amazingly quickly during this period.
- 18
ADC, 1B 3, f. 135r. (copy of the royal letter dated 28 August sent by Matignon to Caen); Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 527-58.
- 19
ADC, 1B 3, ff. 143-46 ("Declaration au vray concernant les événements de la St-Barthélemy (24 août 1572)", Paris: Jean Dallier, 1572). A copy was sent to the bailli of Caen by Charles on 3 September (ADC, 1B 3, f. 142r.). See also Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," pp. 39-43; Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, pp. 98-104; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 112; de la Rue, Cartulaire de Caen (BMC, MS In-4. 218), ff. 241-46.
- 20
Estebe, Tocsin pour un massacre, pp. 143-45; Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," pp. 9-11; C. Osmont de Courtisigny, "Jean Le Hennuyer et les Huguenots de Lisieux en 1572," BSHPF, 26 (1877), 145-58; L.-D. Paumier, "La St-Barthelemy en Normandie," BSHPF, 6 (1857), 465-79; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 109-10.

21

There is evidence that Charles had sent Matignon secret verbal orders. A letter dated 28 August from the king to Matignon referred to such orders and said that they should henceforth be ignored. ". . . au surplus, quelque commandement verbal que j'aye pu faire à ceux que j'ai envoyés tant devers vous que vers autres. . . j'ai revoqué et revoque tout cela voulant que par vous ne autres ensoit aucune chose executée." Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," pp. 42-43 (from BN, MSS de Fontanieu, vol. 324).

22

Je trouve merveilleusement étrange que vous permettiez que les lettres et dépêches que je vous ai faites depuis la mort de l'amiral, au lieu qu'elles doivent être toutes secrètes et nonpubliées sinon ce qui est requis pour mon service, elles soient imprimées et divulguées partout comme vous verrez par une impression que je vous envoie, et qui a esté faite à Caen; . . .

Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," pp. 43-44 (from BN, MSS de Fontanieu, vol. 325).

23

Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," p. 47; Cimber & Danjour, Archives curieuses, series 1, 7, 75.

24

Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," pp. 47-48. Chardon goes a bit too far in saying that this letter is "une invite implicite à imiter les tueries de la St-Barthélemy."

25

Ibid., p. 50. Matignon's delay in ordering an end to Protestant services may well have been because he had not received the king's post-24 August orders to do so, but it certainly might also have been a direct avoidance of the harsher royal policy.

26

de le Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, II, 389. This same line of argument is taken by Estebe, Tocsin pour un massacre, p. 204 in discussing Montpellier. "Une étrange solidarité a regné entre les deux communautés qui se pretent mutuellement un serment de sureté réciproque." This description fits the situation in Caen from 1564 on. It is in striking contrast with conditions at Rouen. See Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion," pp. 36-64; Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," pp. 57-58.

27

Chardon has suggested, and I believe the evidence supports his conclusion, that Matignon did not actively protect the Protestants of Caen. Rather, he was able to manage a delicate situation with skill, thus avoiding conflict. His politique policy is confirmed in a letter of 2 November from Walsingham, Elizabeth's minister, to Matignon in which the latter's kindness to a number of English merchants during the troubles was praised. Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," pp. 57-58, 60-61.

Caen's appreciation of Matignon's tolerance and wise management of affairs during the preceding year was expressed with the gift in 1573 of a set of sterling silver cutlery valued at 800-1000 écus. AMC, BB 10, ff. 48-51, 59; AMC, AA 1, f. 219 (September 1573). A century later the Caen Protestant community still remembered the wise policies and actions of Matignon with appreciation as the Caen pastor Pierre du Bosc complimented the grandson of the Lower Norman governor on his grandfather's actions. Galland, L'histoire du Protestantisme en Basse-Normandie, p. xxviii, n. 7. (7 February 1675).

28

ADC, 1B 3, ff. 139, 148 (9 & 10 September 1572); f. 160 (14 September 1572); f. 166r. (18 September 1572); f. 170r. (30 September 1572).

29

ADC, 1B 3, f. 166r. (18 September 1572). On 14 September the orderly confiscation by royal officials of the goods belonging to Protestants who had fled their homes was ordered. Clearly what was not desirable was plundering which could lead to popular unrest. (ADC, 1B 3, f. 159r.).

30

La Ferrière-Percy, La Normandie à l'étranger, pp. 204-05 (29 September 1572).

31

The reaction of Caen Réformés to the massacre, both in abjuration and in refuge, and the impact of the massacre on the Protestant officiers will be discussed further in chapter Eight.

32

On pastors who fled see La Ferrière-Percy, La Normandie à l'étranger, pp. 204-05; ADC, 1B 3, ff. 294-96, 302r. (22 December 1572, 4 & 8 January 1573); BSHPF, 65 (1916), 59-60; Jules Bonnet, ed., "Ministres réfugiés à Londres après la St-Barthélemy," BSHPF, 2 (1853), 25-27; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 112-13.

On Protestants who lost their offices see ADC, 1B 3, ff. 173-74 (7 October 1572); f. 189 (12 October 1572); f. 201 (27 October 1572).

On the printers see ADC, 1B 3, ff. 150-53 (12 September 1572).

33
AMC, BB 11, ff. 10-15 (3 & 25 November 1572).

34
AMC, BB 10, f. 13 (no date - 1573 request for control of grain exports because of poor harvest). This request was met with a prohibition of all grain sales abroad. AMC, BB 11, f. 9v. (27 March 1573); ADC, 1B 3, ff. 597-98, 609r. & 754-56 (20 & 28 May and 12 October 1573).

The Edict of Boulogne was published in Caen by Bénédict Macé on 31 August. Lair, Parlement à Caen, p. 13, n. 2; ADC, A 36 (Edict of Boulogne, 1573).

35
AMC, BB 12, ff. 111-12 (3 October 1573 Henry Lescuyer, fermier des aides du Sildre et de la Boullengerye, granted the right to purchase the second office available).
AMC, BB 10, f. 33 (27 September 1573 report on the large number of poor, sick and children in the Hôtel-Dieu, 120 or more, more than in any previous year); AMC, BB 11, f. 33 (21 November 1573 echevin meeting on the problem of the poor); AMC, BB 12, f. 31v. (15 June 1574 request by the Hôtel-Dieu to be allowed to sell a house in order to have liquid assets to provide for all the poor).

36
AMC, BB 11, f. 41v. (March 1574); f. 45v. (April 1574).

37
AMC, BB 11, ff. 41v.-48 (1-26 March 1574).

38
AMC, BB 11, ff. 48 & 49 (26 May & 7 June 1574).

39
AMC, BB 11, ff. 48v. & 55-56 (30 May 1574; 15 & 21 September 1574).

40
. . . Toutefois depuis six ou sept ans en ca elle [Caen] a este delessee des plus Riches et opullens habitans quy y fussent pour les grandes et excessives charges que lad. ville porte ordinairement de sorte que antien que on la veue florissante et bien peuplee elle sen va champestre voire deserte et habandonne. . .
La plus part du pauvre popullace a este contrainct de vendre tout ce qui luy restoit pour avoir des armes.

AMC, BB 13, ff. 68-69 (no date - 1576). This was part of a request that a 10,000 livres levy be lowered. It was decreased to 7,000 livres.
AMC, BB 14, ff. 26-27 (no date).

41

AMC, BB 12, f. 85 (no date - c.7 May 1574). While 20,000 poor is probably an exaggeration, a vivid indication of the real hardships being experienced was the inability of the lieutenant particular of the bailli, Guérin Villy, to find the grain requisitioned by Matignon in 1574. Of 20,000 boisseaux of wheat and 5,000 boisseaux of oats demanded, he could only find 4,500 boisseaux of wheat and 1,000 boisseaux of oats. AMC, BB 12, ff. 87-88 (8-9 April 1574).

42

AMC, BB 14, f. 91 (no date - Spring 1576).

43

AMC, BB 14, f. 25 (26 & 27 March 1576); f. 34 (7 April 1576); f. 18 (8 April 1576 quote). See also AMC, BB 13, f. 14r. (23 July 1575).

44

Lair, Parlement à Caen, p. 13, n. 2. It was published in Caen on 23 May 1576 by the printer Bénédict Macé.

45

ADC, C 1570, ff. 1v. & 2r. (January & February 1576 and 27 May 1576). The 1576 register begins with six baptisms which had been administered in January and February within the city by pastor Jean Azire.

46

AMC, BB 15, f. 75r. & 84 v. (2 October 1577 Edict of Poitiers received in Caen). This edict ended the short Sixth Religious War.

47

On the plague see AMC, BB 18, f. 94r. (31 July 1579); AMC, BB 20, f. 29v. (4 March 1581); AMC, BB 21, ff. 118-25, 210-213 (September 1582 and January 1583); AMC, BB 22, f. 43v. (April 1583); AMC, BB 23, f. 183v. (27 January 1585); AMC, GG 476 #4 p. 31 (1599 reference to the 1562 & 1584 plague). On the plague in 1584-85 see de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 199. According to de Bourgueville some 10,000 persons perished, based on his knowledge of the parish records. He blamed the tragedy on the anger of God against his people who had been attracted to the Reform. His figure is certainly high, but there is no doubt that the 1584-85 plague did gravely affect the city. The sickness actually gripped the city from 1581 to 1585, occupying much of the echevins' attention during that time. In January 1585 the magistrates wrote the duke of Joyeuse reporting that since September 1584 10,000 persons had died in Caen alone. AMC, BB 23, f. 183v. (27 January 1585). For this period there is extant a register of more than 500 folios entitled the Police de la Peste for the worst years, 1584-85, chronicling the efforts of the city fathers to control the plague (ADC, 1B 1970). Again in 1588 Caen suffered an outbreak of the plague which resulted in the revival of the

1584 ordinances on the plague. AMC, BB 26, f. 129r. (5 November 1588).

48

Madeline Foisil, "Harangue et Rapport d'Antoine Segulier, Commissaire pour le roi en Basse-Normandie (1579-80), Annales - N, 26 (1976), 29.

49

AMC, BB 19, ff. 31v.-32v. (9 February 1580). D'O was also governor of the chateau of Caen after 1579. His lieutenants in that capacity were Jacques d'Ococh, seigneur d'Isancourt (1579-85) and Raoul de Belleval, seigneur de Courcelle (1586). Isancourt replaced the much hated Laguo. Carel, Histoire de Caen-I, pp. 288-89.

50

Foisil, "Rapport d'Antoine Segulier," p. 30.

51

AMC, BB 15, f. 84r. (26 October 1577). This was the culmination of much discontent over the supplying of linen over the years.

52

AMC, BB 16, f. 3 (11 January 1578).

53

AMC, BB 16 ff. 73-76 (14 & 16 August 1578). Captain Chennevières was stationed at Caen and reported the incident to Matignon who wrote to the city in anger on 14 August. The echevins replied on 16 August that the city was unable to provide any more loans to support the soldiers, as Matignon requested, but they would try to assure that no further mistreatment of the troops occurred.

54

Foisil, "Rapport d'Antoine Segulier," pp. 25-26, 31, 38; AMC, BB 19, f. 14 (13 January 1580).

55

AMC, BB 19, ff. 28-32 (no date - Fourteen Articles); ff. 26-27 (9 February 1580 M. d'O's response); f. 21 (9 February 1580 meeting with d'O).

56

AMC, BB 19, f. 27r. (9 February 1580). The four juges de la police were Nicolas Le Pelletier (echevin), Jean Fermelhuys, Jean Flavigny (controleur) and Jacques Pigaches. The last two were Protestant in the 1560's.

57

AMC, BB 19, f. 74r. (26 April 1580).

58

AMC, BB 21, ff. 142, 145 (22 October & 4 November 1582).

59

AMC, BB 22, f. 19 (7 April 1583).

60

The governorship had been split into Lower and Upper Normandy under Matignon and d'O (pre-1572-1583) but was reunited in the hands of the king's favorite Anne, duke of Joyeuse, until the latter's death in 1587.

61

AMC, BB 22, f. 25 (5-7 April 1583); AMC, BB 23, f. 58r. (1 June 1584); de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 198. Beulart was to fill the position vacated by Hervé de Lougaunay, seigneur de Fresnes and de Damigny, lieutenant general for the government of Lower Normandy. (Foisil, "Rapport d'Antoine Segquier," p. 28, n. 9). Beulart had been one of the city nominees, not chosen by the king, for the royally-selected echevinage in 1564. See chapter Six p. 257.

62

Beulart was the city secretary from 1582 until his death in 1612. AMC, BB 21, ff. 64, 67-81 (20, 21 & 23 June 1582). Interestingly Le Nicollas indicated a preference for André Marc, greffier of the bailliage, as his successor. Marc was not a known Protestant.

63

This eighth and final War of Religion would last until Henri IV consolidated his control of the country and ended the war with Spain in 1598.

64

AMC, BB 24, f. 34 (12 March 1585 royal form letter); f. 35 (17 March 1585 letter from Carrouge); f. 36 (19 March 1585 meeting). Carrouge (Tanneguy le Veneur, comte de Tillières) may have received the appointment the city had requested for Beulart.

65

AMC, BB, 24, f. 86r. (27 April 1585).

66

AMC, BB 24, f. 44-45 (3 & 6 April 1585). Elbeuf's presence alarmed the echevins who asked d'O's advise, but Elbeuf did visit Caen on 6 April, claiming to be loyal to Henri III. There is no record of incident.

67

AMC, BB 24, f. 87r. (22 May 1585); ff. 88-92 (27 May 1585 meeting and instructions). Caucigny was a Protestant.

68

AMC, BB 24, f. 98r. (1 June 1585).

69

AMC, BB 24, f. 132v. (4 November 1585). On the parlement's reaction see Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, III, 230 and Lair, Parlement à Caen, p. 24.

70

AMC, BB 24, f. 131 (1 November 1585).

71

AMC, BB 24, ff. 132v., 134r. (4 November 1585).

72

Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 24-30. The death of many from the plague meant that tax burdens on those remaining were even worse. In 1583 a tax collector complained that he could not supply the city with the required sum because of the deaths of many on his list. AMC, BB 22, ff. 185 & 239 (10 December 1583 and 11 February 1584). To the plague and taxation was added the constant danger of poor harvests and food shortage. AMC, BB 20, f. 26r (4 March 1581); AMC, BB 24, f. 115r. (26 August 1585).

73

R.-N. Sauvage, ed., "Une visite épiscopale à l'abbaye de Troarn en 1581," Baiocana, 4 (1912), 189-93; Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, p. 184. In 1577 and 1578 the question of repairs needed on the Franciscan convent and the organ of St. Pierre came before the echevins. AMC, BB 15, f. 65v. (10 August 1577 request by the Franciscans for aid); AMC, BB 16, ff. 57-58 (7 & 14 June 1578 discussion of the parts of the St. Pierre organ in city custody).

74

AMC, BB 23, f. 127 (September 1584 letter from Lescuyer to the echevins).

75

AMC, BB 19, f. 88 (10 May 1580). See AMC, BB 19, ff. 58-88 (26 March to 10 May 1580 d'O's plan to improve the Caen port and its rejection by the echevins). See also Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, pp. 139-43 and Perrot, Caen au XVIIIe siècle, p. 36.

76

Earlier, in 1577, one captain Foulon had offered to do work on the Orne to make it navigable but was turned down because of lack of funds. Pépin, St. Gilles, p. 113. On later discussion of the Orne project see AMC, EE 32, f. 179r. (23 January 1593 discussion of the need for work on the Orne); AMC, BB 31, f. 5r. (4 March 1595 20,000 écus estimate for work on the Orne); AMC, BB 31, ff. 12-13, 43r., 45r. 62, 75, 132r., 149r. (March 1595 to February 1596 attempts to raise money and final abandonment of the project). A Fleming experienced in such work was to have overseen the project.

77

G. Fagniez, L'économie sociale de la France sous Henri IV (1589-1610) (Paris, 1897), p. 191; Pépin, St. Gilles, pp. 113-14; Tourmente, Le port de Caen, p. 13. Tourmente holds that the wars were only a short crisis which had very little long-range impact on Caen's commerce. Yet, the silting of the Orne, like the silting of the Scheldt at Antwerp, was to be the death blow to Caen as a commercial center. It was not until the era of Colbert and Vauban that the problem of the waterway to the sea was addressed.

78

AMC, BB 28, ff. 116, 128-29 (25 April & 23 May 1591 letter requesting that Caen not be called upon to supply warships). The Caennais did recognize the disadvantage of having impediments to unloading on the rue des Quais, for in 1580 they requested the permission of M. d'O to remove walls and earthworks put up there by captain Laguo during the troubles. Their request was granted. AMC, BB 18, ff. 28-88 passim (27 June 1579); AMC, BB 19, ff. 17-18 (7 February 1580).

79

See chapter Six pp. 285-93. Prentout, "L'Université de Caen à la fin du XVII^e siècle," pp. 9-16. I would question Prentout's comment that "les guerres civiles. . . ne troublaient point la ville elle-même." (p. 13) His emphasis on the university caused him to overlook the problems suffered by the city as a whole. This article is a major study of the university after 1576. Drawn from Prentout's work for his Latin thesis, Renovatio ac Reformatio in Universitate Cadomensi, it exhibits the same careful scholarship as his articles on other aspects of the university in the sixteenth century. I will only summarize the developments which he treats in depth.

80

See chapter Five n. 44; Prentout, "L'Université de Caen à la fin du XVII^e siècle," pp. 15-17; Chatel, "Recteurs de l'Université de Caen," p. 100. Le Vallois was rector for the third time in 1576.

81

Prentout, "L'Université de Caen à la fin du XVII^e siècle," pp. 16-17, 23-24. Though de Cahaignes was probably at one time a Protestant, he and his Reformed colleague Jean Rouxel strongly supported what would be an essentially Roman Catholic reform. See chapter Eight, n. 109.

82

See chapter Three pp. 117-18.

83

Prentout, "L'Université de Caen à la fin du XVII^e siècle," pp. 16-36; AMC, GG 440, ff. 1-10 (30 October 1580); AMC, BB 19, f. 14 (5 November 1580). Deliberations by the echevins in 1585 clearly

reflect their fear of outside influence in university matters. At a meeting in February 1585 they drew up articles to present to the parlement which specified municipal control over the new university revenues, as well as the appointment of professors each September. AMC, BB 23, f. 191r. (February 1585). On the 1580 inquiry and further university affairs see AMC, GG 440 passim (Register of University business, 1580-1637) - formerly AMC, BB 50.

84

Prentout, "L'Université de Caen à la fin du XVI^e siècle," pp. 37-51. Charles de Beaurepaire, ed., Cahiers des Etats de Normandie sous le règne de Henri III (2 vols., Rouen, 1887-88), I, 104-06 & II, 20, 28, 61, 121, 259-61; Prentout, Renovatio ac Reformatio in Universitate Cadomensi, pp. 108-09. Further delays were caused by the attack mounted by the University of Paris on all provincial universities prone to heresy.

85

ADC, D 48 (24 October 1583 de Bourgueville's essay on the state of the university).

86

Prentout, "L'Université de Caen à la fin du XVI^e siècle," p. 40; Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, p. 144; AMC, BB 21, ff. 113-114 (23 & 26 August 1582 letters concerning the call of Cujas to Caen).

87

AMC, BB 22, f. 143 (27 September 1583 letter from M. Lisores to the echevins regarding Hotman); f. 167 (November 1583 Hotman's visit to Caen).

88

AMC, BB 22, ff. 184-85 (7 December 1583 letter from the echevins to Lisores on Hotman). Perhaps they expected the brilliance of his father.

89

AMC, BB 22, f. 207 (30 December 1583 Lisores' response to the echevins); AMC, GG 440, ff. 21, 24, 33 (January, June & September 1584).

90

AMC, BB 23, ff. 69, 84 (19 June and 21 July 1584).

91

ADC, D 51 (10 October Arrêt et reglement de la Cour de Parlement sur les disciplines libérales de l'Université de Caen).

92

Prentout, "L'Université de Caen à la fin du XVI^e siècle," pp. 60-67.

93 Ibid., pp. 67-74; AMC, BB 25, f. 64r. (11 January 1587 letter from the echevins on Bruce's arrival).

94 AMC, BB 25, f. 192r. (7 February 1588). He continued: "Le Premier homme que Je Racontrey estant arrivey en ceste ville [Paris] fut Le Cappne Laguo. Nous avons este prestez de nous battre toutesfoys Monsr de Renty et Monsr de Ste Coulombes nous ont accordes." The enmity felt by the Caennais for Laguo did not dissipate quickly.

Le Pelletier had been in Rouen and Paris as representative of the city on numerous occasions. In the fall of 1587 he warned them of the need to guard the city well and informed them of the death of the duke of Joyeuse. He feared the changes which might take place under a new governor, who was less favorable to the city. AMC, BB 25, ff. 146-47, 150 (31 October, 2 & 13 November 1587).

95 AMC, BB 26, ff. 53r, 55 (10 & 13 May 1588 letters from Henri III); ff. 44r., 51-52, 62r., 63r., 92 (April, May & September 1588).

96 AMC, BB 26, ff. 169-70 (6 February 1589 assembly on public order). The peacekeeping measures established were the constitution of a regular municipal guard and prohibition of all carrying of arms, walking at night without a candle and wearing of masks (despite the coming carnival season).

The royalism of Caen was already unique at this point. In early summer 1588 Henri III sent the historian de Thou to Normandy to survey the tenor of public opinion. He reported that Caen alone among the province's major cities proclaimed staunch loyalty to the crown. (Jacques Auguste de Thou, Histoire universelle (The Hague, 1740), livre 91). On royalism in Caen see Robert-Charles-René-Hippolyte Langlois, comte d'Estaintot, La Ligue en Normandie, 1588-94 avec de nombreux documents inédits (Paris, 1862), pp. 5, 18-19.

97 AMC, BB 26, f. 117r. (11 October 1588).

98 AMC, BB 26, f. 116r. (11 October 1588).

99 AMC, BB 26, f. 176 (15 February 1589). This letter foreshadowed the official transfer of the royal courts by Henri III on 10 March 1589 (AMC, BB 27, f. 2), confirmed by Henri IV in October 1589 (AMC, FF 1). On the growth of League strength at this time see Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, pp. 247-55.

100 In the years 1576 to 1585 Caen had an annual average of 152 Protestant baptisms as compared to the Rouen annual average of 84 Protestant baptisms for the same period. Thus, in Caen, one-third to

one-quarter the size of Rouen, there were probably at least twice as many Réformés on the eve of the Eighth Religious War. Benedict, "Catholics and Huguenots," p. 226.

101 AMC, BB 26, f. 178r. (17 February 1589). Historic, secular rivalry was reason enough for Caen to reject Rouen's overture.

102 AMC, BB 26, f. 174r. (21 February 1589). Their hesitancy is all the more understandable because just the previous March there had been dangerous disturbances and threats of rioting because of a royal order to raise the price of salt. AMC, BB 26, ff. 29-30 (28 March 1588 letter to the trésoriers généraux asking that the price not be raised).

103 AMC, BB 27, f. 179r. (22 February 1589 meeting); ff. 176-77 (letters from d'O and Henri III). Caen's loyalty in the face of Rouen's rebellion was acknowledged in another letter from Henri III dated 27 February 1589. AMC, BB 27, f. 4.

104 See n. 152.

105 Gaspard Pellet, sieur de la Vérune, bailli of Caen and governor of the chateau, 1587-98. AMC, BB 25, f. 174v.-76 (19 December 1587). See de Cahaigues, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 294-300, eloge no. 76. La Vérune has been described by Lair as a closet Leagueur, and Beaujour repeats some of his views. In contrast Carel sees La Vérune as a complete moderate, a model politique. Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 48, 67-68, 70-71, 94, 121-22, 150; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 149-51; Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, pp. 229-36. I am inclined to agree with Carel. La Vérune was a faithful Roman Catholic who felt the League was wrong in promoting instability by leading rebellion against the royal line of Henri III and Henri IV. As director of a considerable military force in Caen he could have turned the city over to League forces, but instead he sought to pursue the more difficult path of supporting Henri IV while not sharing his Protestantism, the typical position of a politique.

106 AMC, BB 27, f. 7r. (31 March 1589). They also pled that "vos subjetz caennais estantz ruines Il ne pourroient faire aulcun secours. . ." In June of that year Claude Le Roux sieur de Bourgtheroulde et d'Infreville, conseiller du roi et maître ordinaire en sa chambre des comptes à Paris, was forced to flee his chateau to the east of Caen because of League pillaging. He took refuge in Caen. Albert Marc-Petit, "Ravages commis par les Ligueurs au Bourgtheroulde," BSAN, 2 (1875-80), 236-41.

107

On peasant revolts during this period see Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, pp. 277-91. On the Gautiers revolt see Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 52-53; d'Estaintot, La Ligue en Normandie, pp. 22-23; Foisil, "Rapport d'Antoine Seguier," p. 29, n. 14.

108

de Cahaigues, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 229-36, eloge no. 59. After the payment of a ransom Perrières was freed, but he returned to subversive activities and was killed in 1590. Upon his death his goods and lands were given by Henri IV to a royalist supporter, Pierre d'Harcourt, baron de Beuvron.

109

The parlementaires contributed to the Franciscan's revival, paying them $266 \frac{2}{3}$ écus rent per year. d'Estaintot, La Ligue en Normandie, p. 29, n. 1.

110

AMC, BB 27, ff. 22v.-24v. (1 July 1589); Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 51-52. Bauches was later accused of having Leagueur sympathies and removed from office, only to be reinstated in 1594. See mn. 144 & 145.

Caen city officials frequently found their lives threatened when on missions away from the city during these years. In both 1592 and 1593 the procureur syndic, Lubin Le Sage, was attacked and taken prisoner by soldiers while on city business. In one instance he had to pay a sizable ransom and in the other his official papers were taken. His assailants were Spaniards in 1592 and Frenchmen in 1593. AMC, EE 32, ff. 23r. & 42r. (10 & 30 July 1592); AMC, BB 29, f. 82r. (13 May 1593).

111

AMC, BB 27, f. 32r. (1 August 1589 letter from Henri III telling of the assassination attempt with a postscript announcing his death); ff. 35, 46 (6 August 1589 meetings and lists of those in attendance). The two representatives of the city chosen by the bourgeois general assembly were both prominent Protestants: Jean de Marguerie, sieur de Sorteival and Pierre Le Marchant, sieur de Rosel, as were at least two of the other thirteen members. For a list of those chosen see Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 144-45.

112

MC, BB 27, f. 46r. (2 August 1589 letter from Henri IV).

113

AMC, BB 27, f. 47r. (12 August 1589 meeting).

114

AMC, BB, 27, f. 48r. (19 August 1589 letter to Henri IV from the echevins approved by la Vérune): Lair, Parlement à Caen, p. 60; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 145. Both hypotheses hold

weight, and it may simply have been that the echevins drafting the letter in classic politique terms (pro-royalist and moderately pro-Roman Catholic) realized there would be opposition by more radical members of both confessions.

115

See chapter Six p.253 on the 1560's occupation of the hôtel de ville. AMC, BB 27, f. 60r. (12 October 1589 order by la Vêrune); f. 63 (18 & 21 October 1589 opposition by echevins); f. 82r. (11 January 1590 return of the echevins to the hôtel de ville); Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 66-69.

116

de Cahaigues, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 314-17, eloge no. 81; Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 69-71; d'Estaintot, La Ligue en Normandie, pp. 66-68. See also with caution de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, II, 397-98; Lesage, A Travers le Passé du Calvados, III, 11-12. The latter two accounts rely heavily on a questionable version of the incident presented by Louis de Masseville, Histoire sommaire de Normandie (6 vols., Rouen, 1698-1704) V, 340, rather than de Cahaigues' eyewitness account.

117

See chapter One p. 38. AMC, BB 19, ff. 49-57 (26 March 1580 opposition to a new officer: Visiteur general, mesureur du pastel); Gosselin, "La vouède de Caen," p. 230; AMC, BB 22, ff. 104, 115-17, 120-23, 149, 157 (30 July, 8 August 1583, 31 December 1581, 6 & 26 October 1583 opposition to a new officer: Superintendant des deniers commun des villes de la généralité de Caen); Fagniez, L'économie sociale de la France, pp. 86-87 (1598 riot over a new royal official in Caen).

118

AMC, BB 25, ff. 92, 105-15 (28 May & 4 July 1587).

119

See above p. 351. AMC, BB 27, ff. 108-10 (4 & 5 April 1590 appointment of four bourgeois to aid the parlement in keeping order). Juges politiques had existed from time to time to police the city, but they had not become well established. AMC, BB 10, f. 32 (1573 or 1574); AMC, BB 21, f. 198r. (20 January 1583); AMC, BB 24, ff. 5, 21 (6 March 1585).

120

AMC, BB 27, ff. 147-48 (30 November 1590 assembly on the bureau des pauvres); AMC, BB 28, ff. 55-69 (3 & 25 April 1591 meetings on care for the poor); Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 128-29. On the bureau des pauvres of Rouen see Panel, Les pauvres de Rouen.

There had been attempts to establish a bureau des pauvres in 1583, but it did not remain in operation after a fitful beginning during the 1582-85 plague. AMC, BB 22, ff. 31, 34, 44-45, 85-86, 96-97, 127, 132 (April - September 1583).

121

ADC, Hsupp, liasse 62 #2 (18 & 28 September & 17 November 1593, 27 November, 18 December 1598, 16 February 1599, 6 May 1606 documents on the need for a more adequate place to house plague victims). This evidence reveals that no solution was found during the parlement séjour in Caen.

122

Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 123-25. Lair calls the echevins narrow-minded. It may be that they were reacting out of a general fear of parlement intrusions.

123

AMC, BB 28, ff. 147, 159, 214, 290 (19 June, 31 August 1591 & 17 April 1592 deliberations on the purchase of the Collège du Mont and related controversies); Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 166-69.

124

Later in 1594 the integrity of the echevinage was threatened by royal letters patent authorizing that officiers du roi be allowed to serve as echevins. The city reacted vigorously against this intrusion, but the result of their protest is unknown. AMC, BB 29, ff. 193-226 (12-15 February 1594).

125

AMC, BB 27, f. 80r. (29 December 1589, see quote in Introduction n. 19). See also Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 80-85, 144-45; La Ferrière-Percy, La Normandie à l'étranger, pp. 259-60; Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, pp. 239-47; Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, pp. 247-55.

126

Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 78-79; Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, pp. 267-73. Examples of aid given by Caen to Henri: AMC, BB 27, ff. 56-57 (27 & 30 September 1589); ff. 72-75 (12 & 15 December 1589); f. 126 (late October 1590); AMC, BB 28, f. 42 (9 March 1591); ff. 202, 206-07, 214, 230, 244, 288, 291, 306 (1591 & 1592).

127

AMC, BB 27, f. 89r. (24 January 1590).

128

Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 76-77; P. Le Verdier, "Crise des loyers et vie chère à Caen, 1590," BSAN, 13 (1919-24), 204-08.

129

BMC, MS In-f. 141 (Recueil de pieces sur l'histoire du diocèse de Bayeux), f. 7 (16 July 1589).

130

Le Verdier, "Crise des loyers à Caen," p. 205.

- 131 Ibid., pp. 205-08. In September 1590 the parlement asked for royal intervention because of "l'extrême excez des louages des maisons en ceste ville, ainsi excessivement augmentés par l'avarice des bourgeois d'icelles. . . ." The results of this request are not known, but as late as 1595 the conseil du roi was ordering the diminution of rents in Caen.
- 132 Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, Mémoires et correspondance. . . depuis 1571 jusqu'en 1623 (12 vols., Paris, 1824-25), V, 457-58 (14 June 1593).
- 133 Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 156-59.
- 134 On refugees in Caen see chapter Eight pp. 384-85 and 390-91.
- 135 CM, MS 72 (de le Rue, Documents sur le protestantisme), ff. 26v.-27r. (24 May 1591). Lair and Beaujour claim that the St. Etienne request was granted, but the copy in the Collection Mancel notes on the back that it was denied. Lair, Parlement à Caen, p. 156; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 173.
- 136 La Ferrière-Percy, La Normandie à l'étranger, p. 322 (25 October 1592 letter from Jean de Lafin, sieur de Beauvoir, French ambassador in London to Burghley); AMC, BB 28, f. 245v. (26 January 1592 note by Beaulart on his capture, written after his return in June 1592); ADC, C 1571B, f. 16v. (26 January 1592 note in the Protestant baptismal registers on the attack).
- 137 ADC, C 1571B, f. 17 (2 February 1592); La Ferrière-Percy, La Normandie à l'étranger, p. 323 (25 October 1592 letter from Beauvoir to Burghley).
- 138 CM, MS 72 (de la Rue, Documents sur le protestantisme), ff. 19-29 passim.
- 139 See above p. 348.
- 140 Quoted in d'Estaintot, La Ligue en Normandie, p. 85. See also on examples of League presence in Caen: Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 63-64, 66-67, 90, 95-101; Carel, Histoire de Caen-II, pp. 258-60; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 153-54; d'Estaintot, La Ligue en Normandie, pp. 85-92.

141 Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 91-92, 120.

142 Ibid., pp. 149-50.

143 de Cahaignes, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 346-49, eloge no. 90. There were other incidents in this period such as a riot in May 1591 during which a Ligueur carrying a large cross called the populace to violence with the following words: "Vive l'Union! Courage catholiques! Armez-vous contre un roi huguenot!" Lair, Parlement à Caen, p. 149.

144 AMC, BB, 28, f. 26r. (27 February 1591). The election assembly is ff. 25-28. Earlier in 1588 Bauches came into conflict with Pierre Beulart on a question of precedence at public ceremonies. It is interesting to speculate on whether their radically different stances on religion may have lent fire to this conflict, particularly since the previous greffier and procureur syndic, both Protestants, functioned in harmony. AMC, BB 26, f. 93r. (6 September 1588).

145 AMC, BB 30, ff. 16-18 (25 February 1594).

146 AMC, BB 27, ff. 91v., 96v., (3 & 17 March 1590 minutes of the echevins meeting).

147 AMC, BB 27, ff. 119-120r. (6 October 1590 complaints concerning favors to foreign merchants); AMC, CC 213 & BB 29-31 passim (1593-96 documents on the conflict over English merchants in Caen): La Ferrière-Percy, La Normandie à l'étranger, pp. 261-62 (16 June 1590); Fagniez, L'économie sociale de la France, pp. 269-71. Part of the problem was that the city could not always get the outsiders to pay taxes. This issue had arisen in 1578 as well. AMC, CC 212 (9 June 1578 bailliage sentence versus a merchant of vouède).

148 AMC, EE 32, ff. 66-67 (5 September 1592); AMC, BB 31, ff. 8, 89-93 (28 February, 11 July & 21 July 1595 documents concerning the butchers' controversy). This cycle of complaints may reflect the common agricultural problem of shortage which leads to increased production which leads to a flooded market.

149 See Epilogue, n. 1.

150

On the siege of Rouen see Howell A. Lloyd, The Rouen Campaign, 1590-92 - Politics, Warfare and the Early-Modern State (Oxford, 1973).

151

AMC, BB 30, ff. 46-47 (22 & 27 March 1594 letters on Henri IV's conversion).

152

The machinations of the Caen municipal government to retain the sovereign courts fill the registers of this period. AMC, BB 30, ff. 51-52, 56-57 (April 1594 final requests that the courts remain); Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 146-47, 151, 193, 210-12. Despite the increased threat of royal intervention in city affairs when the parlement was in town, the economic benefits and added prestige the sovereign courts brought made the Caennais regret their departure AMC, BB 30, ff. 117-118 (June 1594 commentary on the loss to the city because of the departure of the sovereign).

153

Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 217-18; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 161-62; Floquet; Parlement de Normandie, IV, 1; AMC, BB 30, f. 133r. (2 July 1594).

154

Salmon, France in the sixteenth century, pp. 309-26.

155

Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 173-76; CM, MS 72 (de la Rue, Documents sur le protestantisme), ff. 19-29 passim.

156

Jean Regnault de Segrais, Oeuvres diverses (2 vols., Amsterdam, 1723), I, 197. Quoted by Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 208.

C H A P T E R V I I I

THE PROTESTANT COMMUNITY FACES ADVERSITY

Despite years of persecution and war the Réformés of Caen emerged a vigorous element in the city's population during the 1590's. We have already briefly summarized the evolution of their numbers from 1570 through 1600, but now we should look more closely at the evidence provided by the baptismal and marriage registers and other sources in order to see exactly how this community responded to adversity.¹

While the persecutions of the early 1560's served only to strengthen the Réformés, after 1568 and especially after 1572 royal edicts against the new religion and the fears built up by the St. Bartholomew massacres began to take their toll. Protestants represented one-half or more of Caen's population in the sixties, by the 1590's the proportion had dropped to roughly one-quarter. The peak of 12,000 Protestants reached in 1565 was never again approached. Although baptismal figures for January to August 1572 indicate a gradual growth in the size of the Reformed ranks, the community had been dealt a severe blow by the outlawing of services in 1568.² This could have been repaired by a period of general peace and toleration. Instead, the already weakened Protestant community suffered the

psychological blow of the St. Bartholomew massacres.³

When services resumed in 1576 there were only 115 baptisms in nine months (equivalent to 153 per year). There was some increase during the late 1570's and early 1580's; the period 1580-85 averaged 167 baptisms annually. Following the period from 1585 to 1590 when services were not held, the Caen church gradually regained numbers. By 1592 the baptismal registers indicate that there were roughly 5,000 persons in the Protestant community. The average of 216 baptisms per year for the decade of the nineties suggests a Protestant population of this magnitude until the end of the century. Thus, although the Réformés clearly lost ground during the years of civil war and repression, they remained a major force in the population of Caen and her surroundings.

One of the major changes which took place after 1572 was the growth in importance of a new element in the Protestant community of Caen. No longer is it possible to think of the church as made up only of Caennais. In contrast with the 7.7 percent non-Caennais in the baptism registers from 1561 to 1568, parents from outside the city made up 23.2 percent of those who brought children to be baptized between 1576 and 1585. The migrating nature of the church certainly contributed to this trend. Yet, the pattern continued in the 1590's, when the church was reestablished again in Caen itself. From 1590 to 1600 the non-Caennais baptizing their children accounted for 23.3 percent of the register entries. A sizable group of these people (4.7 percent) were called refugees.⁴

After 1572 the Caen church became a broader community than it had been in the 1560's. Initially, the expansion was in the region near Caen, with 18.6 percent coming from within ten kilometers of the city. Later in the early 1590's the Caen Protestant community included men and women from as far afield as England, Flanders, Sedan and Paris. Persons from Rouen, Le Havre, Honfleur and Quillebeuf in Upper Normandy were frequently found in the registers of this period.⁵ From 1591 to 1595 non-Caennais from within ten kilometers of Caen were only 10.2 percent of the group, with 11.5 percent of those baptizing children in Caen now coming from more than 10 kilometers beyond the city. This increase in Réformés from areas quite distant from Caen included the large refugee population, now well above the average of 4.2 percent which they represented in the early 1580's. After the parlement returned to Rouen the refugee element disappeared almost entirely, but a large number of non-Caennais continued to be active in the city congregation. From 1596 to 1600 23.1 percent of those baptizing children were from outside Caen, 20 percent from within ten kilometers of the city.

The distribution of Protestants within Caen during these years underwent changes as a result of such a striking increase in outsiders. Caen parishes lost some of their Protestant population as the effects of the edicts and the wars were felt. The most significant loss was suffered by the Protestant community residing in the affluent parish of St. Jean. St. Jean's share of the Protestant population dropped from 20.2 percent in the 1560's to 18.3 percent in 1571; 13.6 percent

Table 6: The Distribution of Protestants in the Parishes of Caen, 1561-1600.

PARISH	Percent of total Protestant population			
	<u>1561-58</u>	<u>1571</u>	<u>1576-85</u>	<u>1590-1900</u>
St. Pierre	20.4%	21.5%	21.5%	18.9%
St. Jean	20.2	18.3	13.6	11.4
N-D de Froiderue	11.8	11.9	9.7	11.2
Bourg l'abbé	11.6	12.3	9.1	9.2
-St. Martin				
-St. Nicolas				
-St. Ouen				
St. Sauveur	8.4	6.0	6.0	6.9
St. Michel de Vaucelles	6.7	9.2	7.2	5.1
St. Etienne	6.2	7.2	4.7	4.9
Bourg l'abbesse	4.4	2.4	1.9	4.2
-St. Gilles				
St. Julien	2.5	4.0	3.1	5.2
Caen (unspecified)	.1	---	---	.1
Outside Caen	7.7	7.2	23.2	23.3
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

from 1576 to 1585; and finally to 11.4 percent in the 1590's.⁶ This parish housed 15 percent of the elite taxed in 1568 and, together with St. Pierre, accounted for half of these individuals who indicated that they held a position in government in the baptismal registers of 1561-68.⁷ It is impossible to follow individuals through these years by means of the baptismal registers, but the upper-class nature of the population of St. Jean suggests that this level of the Protestant ranks was shattered by the reverses suffered after 1568.⁸ The 1568 edict was particularly hard on the group of Protestants holding public office, who were markedly concentrated in St. Jean. The shock of the 1572 massacres and repressive edicts in the 1580's further weakened the appeal of Protestantism to the inhabitants of St. Jean.

The net loss of the Protestant population of St. Jean from the 1560's to the 1590's was 8.8 percent. No other parish approached this level of decline. St. Pierre suffered a net loss of only about 2 percent in the same period. We know that the Protestants of St. Pierre included a significant number of members of the city's elite, both in wealth and in office. Yet, St. Pierre's losses may have been lower because it was a more heterogeneous parish than St. Jean, also housing a considerable population of tradesmen, artisans and laborers. Perhaps these Réformés of lower social and economic level did not abjure as readily as their more affluent neighbors. Certainly, they could not flee as easily. St. Pierre did not begin to lose Protestants until the late 1580's, when a 2.0 percent drop offset the small 1.1 percent gain made from 1568 to 1571 and 1576 to 1585.

The only loss larger than 2 percent, other than St. Jean, was suffered by the Bourg l'abbé (-2.4 percent). In this case the explanation may be that as the Abbaye aux Hommes began to regain strength after the reverses of the 1560's, it exerted more influence on its quarter. The drop in the Bourg l'abbé took place after the St. Bartholomew massacres.⁹ In contrast, the quarter of the Abbey of La Trinité lost its largest group of Protestants after 1568 and regained Réformés in the 1590's.

The only parish to experience a rise in its share of the city's Protestant population from 1568 to the nineties was St. Julien, which moved gradually from 2.5 percent of the Protestants in the sixties to 5.2 percent in the 1590's. We can only speculate as to the reason for this change. St. Julien was not a wealthy parish, but from the 1568 tax levy we know that it housed a significant number of wealthy Protestants. Furthermore, the city population figures for 1491 and 1695 show that St. Julien expanded more than any other parish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Perhaps some of this growth started in the late sixteenth century and is reflected in the Reformed population.

The rest of the city's parishes, both central and suburban declined in their share of the Protestant population from the sixties to the nineties. In both N-D de Froiderue and St. Gilles early losses were offset by striking recovery in the 1590's, almost to the levels of 1561-68. In St. Sauveur, St. Etienne and St. Michel de Vaucelles, however, the setbacks experienced after 1568 and 1572 were never overcome.

Analysis of these changes reveals no pattern related to central or suburban character. Furthermore, populations of the various parishes reacted to adversity at different times, some beginning to show losses in 1571, others only after 1572 or 1585. The general development of the city population may well have accounted for some of the changes. While St. Julien was expanding in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, St. Etienne's population was shrinking, a trend borne out by the Protestant figures from 1561 to 1600. Yet, in the cases of St. Sauveur and St. Michel, the general trend of upward movement from 1491 to 1695 was in no way reflected in their Protestant populations of the late sixteenth century. Over interpretation of this data is hazardous because factors such as episodes of plague and violence from the civil wars certainly had an impact on both Roman Catholic and Protestant communities.¹⁰ Yet, the striking decline of St. Jean's part of the Reformed community of Caen and the corresponding increase in non-Caen members certainly reflect an important shift from the period of the early Reform. Whereas the participation of the wealthy and powerful within the city had been a key characteristic of the church during the 1560's, the years of persecution and the civil wars saw a growth in the number of outsiders active in the church in proportion to the urban population.

The change began in the 1570's and 1580's with the addition of many Réformés from the area immediately around the city. During the period when the parlement was in Caen and Henri IV was fighting to win the throne, the number of persons from a distance increased.

The move by Rouen's sovereign courts to Caen caused an influx of more than just the parlementaires. Court personnel, their households and servants were accompanied by other royalists, some of whom were Protestant.¹¹ Thus, the large number of refugees from the Rouen areas between 1591 and 1595 is not at all surprising. From six refugees in the 1591 baptism register this group increased to number twenty-seven in 1594. Using the standard multiplier of twenty-five this suggests at least 675 Protestant refugees from the area around Rouen alone.¹² This sizable refugee element was drawn to Caen because of its royalism, which assured them of greater safety than in those many cities which the League had come to control.

After 1595 when the refugee element disappeared and the church was settled in the city suburbs, there continued to be many from outside the city limits who baptized their children in Caen. Thus, the "Eglise de Ceste Ville de Caen" continued to serve as a church for the greater Caen area after the period of migration which had led to the real growth of this new element in the community. This may have been because the civil wars and repression, particularly after 1585, had destroyed many of the small churches in the city's environs. This conclusion is borne out by evidence in the registers on pastors from such churches. From eighteen locations in the 1560's and nineteen from 1576 to 1585, there is a drop to four to six places where we know that there was a church with a pastor within twenty-five kilometers of Caen between 1590 and 1614. The wars of the League during the early nineties and the provisions of the Edict of Nantes led to a

decline in the number of village congregations while the Caen church regained its strength.¹³

An analysis of a sample of the marriages from the period 1576 to 1600 indicates that the basic pattern of endogamous/exogamous marriages continued. Caen Protestants still tended to marry non-Caennais to a much greater degree than their Roman Catholic neighbors.¹⁴ The changes which took place in the Reformed congregation affected marriage practices to some extent. The decline in endogamous marriage which began in 1567-68 is also notable in 1578 and 1584 when the church was not meeting in the city itself. As soon as the congregation returned to the Caen suburbs in the 1590's, endogamy returned to and surpassed the 1560's high of 51.5 percent. Interestingly, strictly exogamous marriages declined in the period 1576 to 1600, as the number of marriages performed in the Caen church for spouses who were both from outside Caen increased. A large refugee population naturally meant that more couples temporarily residing in Caen would marry than in the 1560's. These marriages involving two foreigners confirm the impression that outsiders were an important and highly visible element in the migrating church. While Caennais might now marry persons from Flanders (Tournai, Middelburg), Maine, Rouen and Le Havre, there was no increase in the number of exogamous marriages.¹⁵ Rather, the number of such unions declined while there was an increase in marriages between two non-Caennais. The fact that the later baptismal and marriage registers have not been computerized means that conclusions concerning social, occupational

and professional status must be tentative.¹⁶ Looking at the period 1576 to 1580 in depth, the occupational variety of the 1560's can be seen to have continued. There were Protestant tailors, shoemakers, cloth merchants, doctors and lawyers. Lawyers still predominated, probably for the same reasons as earlier.¹⁷

It has already been noted that 1568 was a turning point because prohibitions against Protestant office holding were for the first time enforced. The significance of this development was that from 1568 on Protestant control of positions of authority was only intermittent. Caen Réformés by no means disappeared from the ranks of officialdom, but they were removed from their offices or forced to abjure during periods of intolerance. The extent to which they followed one or the other option will be discussed below.¹⁸ At this point it is useful to indicate the range of officials who, when legally able, remained Protestant. Again looking at the 1576-80 register of baptisms, we find the controleur général des finances, three avocats and two procureurs au siège présidial, an échevin, a greffier and a secrétaire du roy.¹⁹ Looking at the triennial lists of echevins from 1570 to 1585 there was at least one Protestant echevin each term and on two occasions, 1576 and 1585, two Protestant echevins.²⁰ There may well have been many more local officials who can not be identified with certainty at this point. This evidence, though fragmentary, certainly indicates that the Réformés retained a place in the hierarchy of power even after the national struggle had begun to turn against them.

A careful study of the baptismal records provides valuable in-

formation concerning another aspect of the Caen Réformés' response to the civil wars and edicts after 1568. One key to their reaction is their choice of names for the children brought to be baptized. The use of Old Testament names, which had generally fallen out of popularity through the Middle Ages, had early become a hallmark of the Réformés. This return to the patriarchs, prophets and judges corresponded with Calvin's own emphasis upon the God of the Old Testament and the roots of the evangelical message in the history of Israel. Thus, the Protestant community in Caen early had a large number of Abrahams, Judiths, Isaacs, Saras, and Solomons.²¹ In fact, the very first baptism of which we have a record was of Isaïe Fabulet on 27 December 1560.²²

Even more than the singing of psalms and disregard for traditional feast days, being named for an Old Testament figure set apart the Réformé who would be known as Benjamin or Esther for the rest of his or her life. The strikingly distinctive character of these choices for their children is underlined when the Caen Reformed practices are compared to those of the French in Canada in the seventeenth century.²³ The University of Montreal Department of Demography project on the early Canadian population has compiled a list of all names used in the demographic sources for this group. In only 2.2 percent of the cases were distinctively Old Testament names chosen. This contrasts with a range of 18 to 38 percent among the Caen Réformés. Further, a comparison of the list of Old Testament names used in Caen in the 1560's and the Quebec list shows that two-

thirds of the Caen names were never used by the Quebec group. The colony in Quebec was populated largely by men and women from Normandy and Brittany, and Protestants were rigidly excluded by Richelieu who feared confessional unrest. Thus, this group represents a staunchly Roman Catholic sample from the same general language region as Caen. The evidence highlights the fact that the Réformés consciously set themselves apart within the community.

It might be expected that as the century wore on and the fate of the Protestants became less bright the use of Old Testament names by the Réformés of Caen would decline. After all, no matter how zealous their Calvinism, parents would realize that in times of persecution those bearing distinctively Protestant names would be more likely to suffer. Yet, a study of the naming practices of the Caen Protestant community reveals that there was virtually no decline in the use of these Old Testament names after 1568.

Looking to the 1560's as the period of greatest freedom and strength, the popularity of names such as Zacharie, Rachel, Samuel and Isaac is clear. In the years from 1561 to 1564, when optimism regarding the success of the Reform was highest, 29.6 percent of the children baptized were given Old Testament names, with a high of 38.1 percent in 1561.²⁴ This practice dropped to 21.4 percent from 1565 to 1568, but in 1571, as the Protestants were growing in numbers again, the incidence of Old Testament names used increased to 24.2 percent. The shock of the St. Bartholomew massacres did not deter those Caennais who remained Reformed from giving their children

distinctive names, for in 1578 and 1584 22.8 and 21.7 percent of those baptized were named for Old Testament figures. Again, after the hiatus in services from 1585 to 1590 the use of these names continued at a high level. In 1591 there was a drop to 18 percent, but the practice was resumed to include one-quarter of the baptisms celebrated in 1591. With 24.9 percent of the children baptized in 1598 given Old Testament names (close to the 1561 to 1568 average of 25.5 percent), it is clear that a large number of the Caen Réformés did not believe it was necessary to protect their children from discrimination by avoiding typically Protestant names, even after the threat of persecution had become clear in the 1570's and 1580's. Essentially no change in the naming practices of the Protestants took place after 1565.²⁵ While the Réformés of Caen were forced to cease worshipping in the city and even end services altogether at various times from 1568 to 1590, they never became convinced that a low profile was mandatory. This fact attests to the strength of their community.

To emphasize the relative strength of the Caen Réformés is not to ignore that they were subjected to the terms of repressive edicts after 1568. In comparison to the hardships suffered by their coreligionists in Rouen and elsewhere, their situation may have been more tolerable, but, nonetheless, conditions were far less favorable than in the early sixties. Even before the edicts of the fall of 1568 ruled that Protestants should not hold public office, an arrêt by the parlement of Rouen in January 1567 ordered that Protestant echevins be replaced. Though the arrêt never took effect, it foreshadowed the

fate of Reformed officeholders in 1568.²⁶

There is little evidence regarding actual physical abuse of the Réformés in Caen, but it is manifestly clear that after 1568 their civil rights were infringed upon in many ways.²⁷ They were forced out of offices, subjected to extraordinary taxation and lost pensions. All of these hardships remind one of the experience of the French Protestants later in the seventeenth century when the terms of the Edict of Nantes were being subtly revoked by the policies of Richelieu and Louis XIV.

The first references to revocations of offices appear between October 1568 and September 1570 when Protestant services were outlawed. An arrêt[^] by the parlement dated 26 November 1569 granted the Caen merchant Etienne du Val, sieur de Mondrainville, two months to receive the accounts for the receipt of the taille in the election of Caen from his Protestant aides, Pierre Daubonne, Mathieu Falaise and Guillaume Denys. After this time his aides were to be dismissed, "estans de la Nouvelle opinion." The arrêt[^] makes no mention of du Val being a Protestant though evidence indicates that he had connections with the Reformed church in the 1560's and served as a godfather in 1573. Perhaps he had abjured soon after the September edicts in order to save his public position.²⁸ In the fall of 1572 a parlement arrêt[^] ordered the dismissal of ten counsellors of the presidial court, as well as two avocats du roi and the procureur du roi because they were of "la nouvelle oppinion." These officials had not been deterred by the period of intolerance from 1568 to 1570. In the wake of the St.

Bartholomew massacres they were removed from their positions for fear of Roman Catholic reaction against Protestants in positions of power. As we shall see below, some abjured in order to retain their positions.²⁹

As well as losing offices the Protestant Caennais found themselves denied the right to hold lucrative leases and pensions. In March 1570 the lease held by Louis de Baillehache on the mills of the Hôtel-Dieu situated in one of the city towers was revoked for the sole reason that he was Protestant.³⁰ In February of the same year Charles de Bourgueville ruled that Perrin Pierres be given the office of mesureur de bled on the condition that he pay certain pensions which were the responsibility of the office. One of these pensions was for the sum of ten livres, six livres of which had formerly been paid to Raullin Busnel dit Brignon. Pierres was to pay this six livres to Chrestople de Boyslambert rather than Busnel because the latter was a Protestant. De Bourgueville labored the point that, in contrast to Busnel, de Boyslambert was a good Roman Catholic.³¹

Royal ordinances ordering Protestant office holders to be replaced by Roman Catholics or conversely allowing the Réformés to resume office were followed to the letter. In a request submitted to the echevins in 1584 Guillaume Chanterel complained of the losses he had suffered when, having replaced a Protestant in 1568 or 1572 as courtier de la poissonerie, the Réformé was reestablished in his office by a later edict (1570 or 1576-77). Chanterel requested that in return for what he had paid for the office he be given the next available municipal

position.³² This case shows that, in Caen, Protestants regained their positions when it became legal. A November 1568 document reveals that in some cases the Réformé removed from office was able to name his successor. Given that confessional differences split some families and did not seem to routinely sour friendships or professional ties, this right to choose a successor could certainly work to the individual Réformé's advantage by allowing him to transfer his office to a friend or relative, continuing to receive some of its benefits.³³

Even when the exercise of their religion was not proscribed, the Réformés were subjected to increasing restrictions and burdensome taxes. In March 1572 the Protestants of the realm were subjected to a special tax to defray royal expenses incurred on their behalf.³⁴ Later in 1582 a levy of 55 écus 44 sols was placed upon the Caen church by Henri III as a condition to their right to hold services in the Caen area under the terms of the Edict of September 1577.³⁵

Yet another way that the Protestants suffered during the years after 1568 was through being deprived of or restricted in their occupations. Lawyers and those holding public office were not alone in losing their positions. Though a confirmation of Roman Catholicism was not usually required of those applying to the bailliage for acceptance into a métier, D. Beaucyler had to prove that he was a practicing Catholic in order to enter the profession of surgeon in May 1570. This may have been because of the surgeons' close connection to the faculty of medicine, for after the fall of 1568 the university had been purged of all Protestants.³⁶

Protestant printers and booksellers were particularly vulnerable since their merchandise could be used to condemn them. Even when the exercise of Protestantism was permitted in November 1570, the Parlement of Rouen ordered that all booksellers and merchants be visited in order to assure that they were not selling prohibited books.³⁷ Later during the period of intolerance following the St. Bartholomew massacres the Caen printers Etienne Thomas and Pierre Le Chandelier were ordered arrested after their shops had been searched and all suspect books confiscated. When Le Chandelier was sought out it was discovered that he was not in Caen. His shop did stock a wide range of Protestant books, including numerous commentaries by Calvin, his Institutes and many other unnamed Reformed works. Le Chandelier's fate at this time is unknown, but both he and Etienne Thomas were active after 1576 so we may assume that their detention was only temporary.³⁸

From 1568 to 1600 the degree of repression experienced by the Protestants varied greatly depending upon the edict in effect. Prior to the intolerant edict of July 1585 Protestant grocers, druggists and apothecaries were not compelled to take part in the Pentecost procession to the Hôtel-Dieu to pay the guild's deniers à dieu. Yet, May 1586 guild documents explicitly state that the Roman Catholic religion was the only one practiced in Caen and that all guild members would come to the Hôtel-Dieu personally.³⁹

In an environment such as this a Protestant might at worst fear for his or her life and at best find him or herself forced to go through the motions of orthodoxy in order to retain employment, office

or a pension. The options available to the Caen Réformé faced by such a situation ranged from taking refuge in Geneva, England or the Channel Islands to abjuration of Protestantism and reentry into the Roman Catholic fold. Between these two extremes lay the course probably followed by the majority of the Caen Réformés--temporary conversion to Roman Catholicism during periods of intolerance, return to active involvement in the Reformed church when services resumed in 1570, 1577 and 1590. There is no way to prove this conclusion from the existing evidence. Nonetheless, a study of flight as a possible response to adversity indicates that relatively few Caennais fled to known refugee centers, in contrast to the Protestants of other northern French cities such as Rouen, Amiens and Dieppe.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the fact that Protestants still comprised one-quarter to one-third of the city population after 1590 confirms a considerable holdover through periods of intolerance. Any general conclusions must remain speculative, but it is possible to support this general premise with examples of individual responses to persecution and intolerance.

One response to edicts proscribing Protestantism was to take refuge in areas where the Reformation was accepted. Since the 1530's and 1540's Frenchmen with evangelical inclinations had fled their homes to neighboring lands which tolerated Protestantism.⁴¹ One of these early refugees was of course John Calvin, who spent time in Strasbourg and eventually settled in Geneva. Particularly after 1550, the Swiss city became a major center of refuge for Frenchmen persecuted for their faith.⁴² The publication of the Livre de Habitants

of Geneva for the periods 1549-60, 1572-74 and 1585-87 permits us to determine how important this option was for the Caennais. While the entries do not cover all the fleeing Réformés who entered Geneva, they do provide a good indication of the spread of their places of origin. Normandy was certainly not very close to Geneva, but the strength of the early Reform in the province was mirrored in the large size of the Norman refugee population in Geneva during the 1550's. Rouen alone sent more refugees than Paris and than Orléans, Nimes and Montauban combined. We find thirteen Caennais in Geneva, arriving in 1554, 1556, 1557, 1558 and 1559. Thus, just as the Caen church was being established a number of the city's Réformés made their way to security abroad. This band, small compared to the more than 100 Rouennais, included a tanner and a glazier.⁴³ At least three of them returned to Caen in the 1560's, confirming the fact that for some of the Genevan habitants their refuge was only temporary.⁴⁴ There were also eleven refugees in Geneva during the 1550's from the area around Caen, including four from such nearby villages as Brecy and Allemagne.⁴⁵

With such a beginning in the 1550's one might expect to find at least a few Caennais among the refugees who fled to Geneva during later periods of persecutuion. In fact in 1565 and 1566, when the Protestants were worshipping openly in Caen, two natives of the Lower Norman capital purchased bourgeois status in Geneva.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, later when the Livre des Habitants picked up again in 1572-74 and 1585-87, no Caennais appear in the registers. Both of these volumes

are dominated by refugees from the areas nearer Geneva, Burgundy, Dauphine and Lyonnais. Geisendorf believes that the absence of Normans was a result of the decline in Norman Protestantism in the late 1560's.⁴⁷ Yet, we have seen that the Reform was vital and alive in Caen on the eve of the St. Bartholomew massacres. Thus, it seems more likely that the Caen Réformés were merely using another approach to the problem of persecution. In 1584 several Caennais enrolled in the University of Geneva, but no Caen refugees appear in either of the later registers of habitants in the Swiss city.⁴⁸

It is not surprising that during a period of particularly hazardous travel, Geneva was not a major outlet for persecuted Caennais. Other established refugee centers such as the Palatinate, the Rhineland and Franconia were also distant from Normandy. The areas to be traversed would have been especially dangerous during the periods of active civil war when the Protestants would have been most likely to flee. After the revolt of the northern Netherlands from Spain the cities of Holland served as refuge for many Réformés from Picardy and Upper Normandy, but in at least one case, Leiden, there were no Caennais among the refugees.⁴⁹

We know that some Caennais left the city, but evidence is limited regarding their destinations. Twenty-one of those Caennais included in the 1568 Levy on wealthy citizens were absent from their homes for reasons of religion when the roll was drawn up.⁵⁰ Where they had fled is not known except in the cases of the three Caen pastors, Le Bas, Pinson and Le Chevalier, who made their ways to the

Channel Islands and England.⁵¹ This list certainly indicates that at least some of the city's wealthier citizens took refuge during times of persecution.

Some Protestants left their homes temporarily and joined the forces of Condé and other Protestant leaders.⁵² One hundred and fifty-five men from the baillaige of Bayeux who had "porté les armes . . . contre le majesté du roy" were condemned to be hung in effigy and their goods confiscated in 1570. The list relates to the vicomté of Bayeux and includes some of the rural nobility who had been involved in 1562-63 iconoclasm, as well as renegade priests.⁵³ Though not particularly revealing about the Réformés of Caen, it does indicate that Lower Norman Protestants were drawn away from their homes directly into the civil wars.⁵⁴ Several of those on the list had either themselves or a member of their families fled to the Channel Islands in 1568.⁵⁵

De Cahaignes gives us another example in his eloge for Jacques Thesart, sieur de Lasson. Thesart was very active in the civil conflict, fighting with Condé during the early wars. Thus, at the time of the St. Bartholomew massacres he was sought but escaped to England. With Matignon's permission he later returned to his lands, promising to abandon all warfare. Yet, when war broke out again in 1585, he was forced to flee to the Channel Islands, only returning at the end of the conflict to die on his lands in 1595.⁵⁶ This case of flight and return was probably quite typical of the course of action taken by the mobile wealthy sector of the population. In September 1572

Matignon wrote the royal officials of Caen requesting a list of all who had fled. Unfortunately, no evidence remains of the action taken on this request. In his letter Matignon promised to provide letters assuring their safety to any Réformés who remained at home and obeyed the royal edicts. Despite these promises, some Protestant Caennais made their way to England and the Channel Islands at each outbreak of intolerance.⁵⁷

That Caen Protestants did not flee in large numbers to distant refugee centers is not very surprising. Yet, it is surprising that in the two other major areas of refuge, the Channel Islands and England, there is relatively little sign of Caen Réformés even during the periods of greatest persecution. The refugee centers of Jersey and Guernsey found themselves in an ambivalent position with the beginning of the Reformation in England. Since they fell under the political jurisdiction of the English crown but were part of the Bishopric of Coutances, Henry VIII's break with Rome led to confusion. Gradually Protestantism spread throughout the islands in the 1530's and 1540's.⁵⁸ During the reign of Edward VI, Normans made their way to both Jersey and Guernsey where they could hear the pure word of God. In fact, the earliest pastor of the Reformed faith in Guernsey was Denis Le Vayr from Fonteney-le-Pesnel, a village to the west of Caen. Later, in the 1550's when Mary's return to Roman Catholicism occasioned persecution of Jersey and Guernsey Protestants of both Anglican and Reformed persuasions, some fled to France where Protestantism was just beginning to emerge as an organized movement.

Guillaume Carteret, one of the island's leading families, fled during this period, first to Chartres and then to Caen, "la ville déjà très protestant."⁵⁹

The proximity of the islands to Cotentin would certainly suggest them as an ideal refuge for Lower Norman Protestants. Yet, Jersey and Guernsey authorities feared a large influx of refugees. Thus, the islands were used more as a way-station for refugees enroute to England or waiting for a safe time to return home to France.⁶⁰ In 1591 a letter to English authorities reflects the fear of refugees, which probably explains why this extremely convenient location had not served as a major center for fleeing Réformés. The governor, Sir Thomas Leighton, was addressed by a group of Guernsiais who believed that the number of French refugees was "so great that their continuance and abode there would by all likelihood breed great dearth and scarcity of victuals there."⁶¹

Despite these obstacles, during the years of persecution after 1568 and 1572, some Caen Réformés did flee to the islands. Those whose traces have come down to us were primarily pastors. It may be that they were the major group who used this refuge or, possibly, we know of them because to contemporaries their presence was more notable than that of fleeing dyers or printers.⁶² In 1568 a list was drawn up by the governor of Jersey and sent to Cecil with the names of those refugees currently on the island. This enumeration included numerous prominent Lower Norman noblemen such as François de Briqueville, baron of Colombières, and Jacques de Ste. Marie, seigneur des Agneaux.

It also listed five pastors from the Caen area.⁶³ Another list of 1568 refugees in Jersey includes even more local pastors such as Vincent Le Bas, sieur du Val, Pierre Pinson and Pierre Le Roy, dit du Bouillon, all of Caen; Claude Parent of Bayeux and Gilles de Housteville (?) of Ranville, both later pastors at Caen, and one des Moulins of Camilly near Caen.⁶⁴ In addition, the register of baptisms, marriages and burials of Guernseynames one Arnault Cordier, minister of Noyers near Caen, as having died there in 1568.⁶⁵

While I found no evidence concerning the presence of Caen Reformed laymen in the Channel Islands, the involvement of the Caen clergy became quite important during the 1570's, 1580's and 1590's. The pastors who fled from Normandy in 1568 by and large returned to their churches after 1570, but with the dangers of the St. Bartholomew massacres many again fled after 1572 and 1585. In 1577 Claude Parent of Bayeux was in Jersey where he held a post at Grouville and sat on the Colloque. He returned to Normandy following the tolerant treaty of Fleix in 1580.⁶⁶ Parent would be pastor at Caen after 1600. Pierre Le Roy, dit du Bouillon, who had served in Caen in 1570-71, was on the Islands in 1584, having gone there after a stay in England following the St. Bartholomew massacres. He was minister at St. Pierre du Bois and Torteval on Guernsey from 1585 to 1593 when he was deposed by the Guernsey Colloque for bad conduct. Later in 1596, he was also censured by the National Synod at Saumur.⁶⁷ The Edict of Nemours in 1585, banning all Reformed pastors, sent Caen pastors Gaultier, de Housteville and Baudart to Jersey. The pastor of a

church in Angerville, to the east of Caen, Cosme Brevin, had been among those who fled Normandy in 1568 and again in 1585.⁶⁸

Clearly, there was a surplus of Reformed clergy on the Islands, particularly after 1585. The Actes des Etats de l'Ile de Jersey for 1585 include an ordinance on the inflation of prices resulting from the influx of refugees.⁶⁹ Even more indicative of the presence of many pastors was the problem which developed in 1585-87 over where these men could preach. The Caen pastor, Jean Baudart, made an appeal to governor Leighton that more of them be given permission to preach. Many were never allowed to do so, but we do find Baudart serving in Jersey in 1587 and de Housteville declining to serve in Guernsey in 1587 because of his advanced years. With such a large group of pastors to choose from, de Housteville must have had a particularly good reputation to have received an invitation despite his age.⁷⁰

Although some of the Norman pastors returned from the Islands to their home churches when persecutuion ended, others went on to join the growing refugee colonies in England, returning to Normandy much later or not at all. The flight to England had begun in 1550 with the establishment of the refugee church on Threadneedle Street in London. Later French churches were also started in Glastonbury (1550-55), Winchelsea (1560-89), Canterbury (1561-), Rye (1562-), Sandwich (1564-70), Norwich (1564-1829) and Southampton (1567-).⁷¹ All the extant registers of these churches have been published by the London Huguenot Society, as well as several sixteenth-century lists of aliens. A thorough check of these sources has once again yielded

little sign of Caen refugees. In fact, in contrast to the Protestants of Picardy and Upper Normandy, who were well-represented in Canterbury, Southampton, London and Rye, the latter of which was virtually an annex of Rouen and Dieppe, Protestant Caennais were almost totally absent from these registers.⁷²

Only very infrequently does one find a Caen Reformed layman mentioned in all the pages of published records. In November 1564 Lezym Lambert, a libraire from Anger, presented himself to the French church in London, requesting membership. Recognized membership in the refugee church was much sought after because it provided some degree of protection from harassment over alien status. Lambert claimed to have a wife in Caen and presented a letter from the Caen church to support his Reformed status. His request was challenged by two other refugees, and inquiries were made with another libraire, one Jehan of Caen. The result of the complaint was that Lambert's request for membership was turned down, and he was denounced for having two wives and stealing from fellow booksellers. This lone reference to Caen in the published consistory records of the Threadneedle Street church tells us that at least one Caen bookseller had fled to London, perhaps at the time of the First Religious War.⁷³

In 1568 Robert Quesne, "de normandie pres Caen," passed through Southampton on Easter Sunday.⁷⁴ In 1585 a marriage took place in Southampton between Rachel Chaumont, a native of Caen, and Godefroy Cuuelier from Artois.⁷⁵ Finally, it has traditionally been believed that one Philippe Noued of Caen came to Canterbury in the late six-

teenth century as a refugee. His descendents included a James Denew, one of the directors of the Bank of England in the twentieth century.⁷⁶

We are left, as in the case of the Channel Islands, with the impression that Caen Reformed laymen never fled to England during the Wars of Religion in anywhere near the numbers of their Upper Norman and Picard coreligionists. This is true despite the fact that many pastors from Caen and the surrounding region found refuge across the Channel and became leaders of the French community in several English refugee centers. In 1563 Jean Cousin, the inflammatory Caen preacher whom de Bourgueville blamed for encouraging the 1562 violence, arrived in London and became pastor of the Threadneedle Street Church. No baptism or marriage registers exist for the sixteenth century, but consistory records indicate that Rouen was much better represented in the London refugee community than Caen despite the presence of this former Caen pastor.⁷⁷

Cousin was not alone in his flight to England from Caen, although he was the first. In 1568 a list was drawn up on nineteen French ministers in refuge in London. Six were from the Caen area, among them Vincent Le Bas and Antoine Le Chevalier of Caen; Jean Baudart of Secqueville and Ursin Bayeux of Colomby-sur-Thaon, both later pastors at Caen. Bayeux and the pastor from Courseulles, Pierre Beuce, were auxiliaries to the Threadneedle Street Church.⁷⁸ Le Chevalier quickly became involved in the controversy over a Spanish minister, Antonio de Corro, dit de Bellerire, who was eventually banned from preaching in England.⁷⁹

After 1572 England was flooded with refugees. Again the evidence is limited to the pastors who fled. In December 1572 three ministers from the Caen area, Jean Vaultier, a Caennais who was pastor of Secqueville, Germain Philipppes of Cully and Pierre de Cahaignes of Caen, were arrested while trying to flee to England. They were imprisoned in Le Havre, but letters between Matignon and the lieutenant general of the bailli at Caen indicate that they were not charged with subversive activity, so they may have soon been released.⁸⁰ Other pastors for the Caen area succeeded in fleeing to England after the massacre. Pierre Pinson is mentioned in the Canterbury and Southampton registers after 1572.⁸¹ A list kept by the Flemish church of London in 1572 recorded that Cousin was still serving there and had been joined by Vincent Le Bas, Gilles Gautier and Pierre Le Roy, dit du Bouillon, all of Caen. In addition, Pierre Beuce, pastor of the church at Courseulles, Jean Marie of the Lion church, Jean Baudart of Secqueville and Ursin Bayeux of Colombière all appeared on the list. Baudart began to serve the church at Caen upon return to Lower Normandy in 1576.⁸² Antoine Le Chevalier intended to return to England in 1572 when his life was menaced by the St. Bartholomew massacre but died en route in Guernsey.⁸³

A number of the Norman pastors had connections with Oxford and Cambridge during their stays in England. In 1568 Antoine Le Chevalier fled Caen and renewed ties with Cambridge where he had taught in the 1550's. He became professor of Hebrew and prebendary of Canterbury

until March 1572 when he obtained a two-year leave of absence to return to Caen. Both Pierre Le Roy and Gilles Gautier were attached to Oxford for a period of time after 1572. Le Roy eventually settled in Guernsey and was deposed in the 1590's.⁸⁴ Gilles Gautier had become one of the key pastors of the Caen church after his ordination in April 1571. Thus, when he tarried in his return to Caen in 1576, the church wrote Oxford:

Nous avons écrit à notre ministre, M. de la Benserie, lui demandant de venir en tout hâte reprendre sa charge. Nous vous remercions de la bonté que vous avez eue de le recevoir, de l'aider d'argent, de lui donner place parmi vos professeurs de theologie. Maintenant nous vous demandons de le renvoyer, car vous possédez beaucoup d'hommes de valeur, nous pas.⁸⁵

Though I have found no lists of those who took refuge in England after 1585, we may expect that once again some Lower Norman ministers made their ways to the English centers. The experience of all these pastors testifies to the strength of the Channel link, both to the small islands off the coast of Cotentin and to England itself. The extent to which these refuges were used by laymen remains difficult to establish. Certainly, flight and return were options open only to the more wealthy Réformés. The other important response to adversity, abjuration, which was much more possible for a wider spectrum of Protestants, also permitted them to return to the Reform whenever conditions improved. Evidence from St. Lô indicates that after the 1585 intolerant edict was promulgated, Protestants there were given two choices by authorities: refuge with a passport from

the king's lieutenant in Lower Normandy or abjuration after swearing loyalty to the church and the king. Many more followed the second course, often swearing falsely in hopes of a speedy return to tolerance.⁸⁶

Evidence of abjuration and return to Roman Catholicism is found in both ecclesiastical and judicial records. Most commonly Protestants presented themselves to local Roman Catholic parish authorities. In Caen the chief parish of St. Pierre was probably the most important center for these attestations of reconversion. Unfortunately, the destruction of all Roman Catholic parish registers during World War II prevents us from learning the extent to which the Caen Réformés abjured in this manner.⁸⁷

An ecclesiastical record of major importance has survived from Bayeux, the Registre des Abjurations protestants (March 1570-August 1573). This register of 160 folios lists the names of all those who came before Anthoine Gayant, grand archdeacon of Bayeux and official of the bishop, during the crucial period directly following the St. Bartholomew massacres.⁸⁸ The first 36 pages of the register are missing, so it is possible that some Protestants abjured earlier, in the period right after 1568. Yet, clearly the fears engendered by the massacres in Paris and then Rouen led to large-scale defections from the Protestant camp, probably for the first time. From 36 abjurations in 1570, most of them before the tolerant edict was promulgated in August, the number drops to 7 in 1571 and 2 in 1572, up to 1 September. After the news of the Paris massacre reached

Lower Normandy, Réformés streamed before the bishop's official to pledge their return to Roman Catholicism. In September alone 801 Réformés from Bayeux and the surrounding area abjured, among them 2 Caennais.⁸⁹ The number gradually increased in the course of the month until the final week and a half when 774 persons abjured in 9 days. From October to December 1572 another 821 Protestants returned to the Roman Catholic church. In 1573 the panic in evidence earlier tapered off. Only 180 persons came before Gayant from January to August 1573, most of these in the first three months of the year. Evidently by this time the Réformés had found a solution to the problem of illegal status by either abjuring or fleeing.

The Protestants in this register are overwhelmingly from Bayeux and the area close to it. Three hundred and ninety-three persons were from Bayeux itself and only six came from Caen. Most were from rural parishes such as Creully, Courseulles, Noyers, Bernières-sur-mer and Coulombières, many of which contributed to the Caen congregation during periods of toleration.⁹⁰ For these rural Protestants it was as convenient to abjure before the official at Bayeux as in Caen. Yet, clearly for the Caennais, Bayeux was not a major center for abjuration even though it was the episcopal seat.

Lacking ecclesiastical evidence from Caen itself, we must turn to the secular records. These sources provide a strong indication that abjuration was an option chosen by a good number of Caen Protestants. Since the registers of the presidial court record abjurations by persons who hoped to retain public office by forsaking the

Reform, the evidence is skewed to the upper strata of Protestant society. Nonetheless, I believe it is safe to assume that, in light of the dearth of refugee evidence, the Protestants of Caen from all levels of society most often followed the course of abjuration and subsequent return to Protestantism during periods of toleration. Evidence of the reconversion of royal officials appears in the secular records, but in most cases the actual abjuration was made before parish priests, the official of the Abbaye aux Hommes or the bishop's representative in Caen. The 557 wealthy Réformés who were taxed in the 1568 Levy indicate that many of the upper level Protestants remained in the city after Protestant services had been outlawed. They had probably abjured, though many would doubtless return to the Reformed church in 1570.⁹¹

We know that the 1568 edict ordering the resignation of judicial and financial offices and university positions by Protestants was executed in the Caen area.⁹² Ample documentation of the Réformés' response to the intolerant edicts following the St. Bartholomew massacres suggests that some probably abjured in 1568 as well. For the crucial period following the massacre we are fortunate to have the presidial register of Enregistrement des édits, déclarations, arrêts.⁹³ This 843 folio document not only includes royal edicts but also reactions to them.

The response of the presidial officials whose offices were revoked on 7 October 1572 becomes clear in documents from January,

March and May 1573.⁹⁴ On 17 January 1573 Ursin Potier and François Richard were once again received as counsellors of the Caen presidial because they had abjured on 15 and 22 October 1572 respectively. Richard abjured before the bishop's official in Caen.⁹⁵ In March 1573 Pierre de Verigny, procureur at the presidial and one of those named in the October revocation, presented a request to the Rouen Parlement that he be continued in office because he never was a Protestant. After considering a detailed dossier on de Verigny's confessional activity since the 1560's, the parlement ruled that he was indeed a Roman Catholic in good standing and should be allowed to remain in office.⁹⁶ In May 1573 yet another of the judicial officials whose office was revoked in October 1572 was reinstated. Tanneguy Sorin, doctor of laws at the university and first counsellor of the presidial, was reaccepted in office at the time of the assizes of Spring 1573. Attestations were received concerning his standing from the rector of the university, the echevins and greffier of the city, representatives of the king in Caen and the official of the bishop. The latter attestation indicates that Sorin had abjured. His reinstatement was contingent on his remaining faithful to "la religion catholique apostolique et Romaine."⁹⁷

Other officials followed the same course as these though no formal acts revoking their offices exist. In October 1572 Guillaume Novince, sieur d'Aubigny abjured before the bishop's representative in Caen in order to retain his position as contrôleur général des

finances.⁹⁸ Later in March 1573 two of the royal sergeants of the city presented letters from the conseil privé attesting to their abjurations before the official of the Abbaye aux Hommes in October.⁹⁹ The greffier of the grenier à sel, Pierre Fernagu, who had joined the forces of Condé in 1568, much to the despair of his devoutly RomanCatholic mother and sister, decided to abjure in April 1573. His reconversion was accepted, and he was replaced in his office. Even an avowed conspirator's pledge to return to Roman Catholicism was believed.¹⁰⁰

In a number of cases persons newly-appointed to the office of procureur postulant in the royal courts in 1573 received their appointments "nonobstant quil ait este cy devant de la Religion et nouvelle oppinion."¹⁰¹ When Nicollas Le Valloys resigned as procureur postulant in favor of Guillaume Denys in May 1573, an inquest was ordered into Denys' religious status. On 3 July testimony was taken from acquaintances of Denys and his parish priest. The picture which emerges is interesting because on one hand Denys was said to have been a good Roman Catholic for the past ten years, while on the other hand he was reported to have lived as a devout Catholic "Specialement depuys le mois de Septembre dernier." There seems to be some room for question of Denys' long-term orthodoxy, but both his priest and another witness attested to his Roman Catholic standing since August.¹⁰²

This type of inquest was not uncommon, often involving detailed inquiry into the religious practices of the individual in question.

One such dossier on three former Protestants, Thomas Biot, Eustache Carrel and Regnauld Geuvret, includes attestations to their abjurations and attendance at mass and confession by all their parish priests. In addition, testimony by a charité official records that as well as coming to services regularly, Carrel "a faict Rebatize batizer par led. curé de St. Jullien quatre enfans quil avoyt fait batize en lad. opinion nouvelle. . ."103 The vigor with which inquiries such as this one were carried out attests to the strength of orthodox Roman Catholicism among some of the presidial officials. Yet, the secretary's error in at first writing down Rebatize indicates that Protestants had long been accepted as legitimate by some in the official hierarchy.

Officeholders were not alone in bringing evidence of their adjurations before the presidial. On 8 January 1573 twenty-five Protestant lawyers presented a request to be reaccepted to practice in the Caen courts because, recognizing

leur peche et offense se soient tous depuis le vingt quatre daoust dernier Retournes a nostre sainte foy et Relligion catholique apostolique et Romaine et ayent totalement abjure et deteste ladite nouvelle opinion devant leur evesque ou son vicaire comme perverse et erronee. . ."104

Their request was granted on 3 February 1573.¹⁰⁵ In this group of twenty-five there were at least fourteen who were among the more than forty lawyers identified as Protestants in the 1560's. Thus, at least one-third of the Reformed lawyers of Caen abjured on one occasion because of the threat of losing their license to practice.¹⁰⁶

Others may have done so at a different time.

That the Reformation had made inroads among the personnel of the traditional church is vividly indicated in a conflict which arose in 1573 when some former obitiers abjured Protestantism and attempted to reclaim their ecclesiastical benefits. Those who had remained Roman Catholic and taken over their posts complained that it was unjust for reconverted heretics to displace those who had remained true to the faith. The outcome of the dispute is unknown, but it does reveal that when difficulties arose, some Caen Protestants decided to return to their positions in minor church orders.¹⁰⁷

Unfortunately, the detailed evidence for the period after the St. Bartholomew massacres ends in 1573, and nothing similar exists for the period following the intolerant edict of July 1585. One incident in 1572 suggests that some of the Protestants who abjured in 1568 had remained Roman Catholic through the period of tolerance from 1570 to 1572. In Fall 1572 Michel Repichon, receiver of royal revenues in Caen, complained that he should not be deprived of his office because he was a practicing Roman Catholic. He presented attestations to his attendance at mass dating as far back as 1567, from the curé and one of the obitiers of St. Pierre and captain Lago. He accused the lieutenant general of the bailli of having a particular hatred of him which had led to false accusations that Repichon was a Protestant. He was thus faced with being unjustly deprived of his office. The king recognized Repichon's complaint and reinstated him as receiver. The attestations he presented suggest that he had re-

converted in 1567 or 1568 and thereafter remained Catholic. He was open to attack because he had definitely been a Réformé in 1565 and 1566 when he served as a godfather at two baptisms.¹⁰⁸ Cases like his were probably not uncommon. Undoubtedly some of those who abjured in 1568, 1572, 1585 and in between remained Roman Catholic after that point. It is impossible to be certain of the course of the religious careers of more than a handful of individuals at this point because of the absence of membership lists for the Reformed church.¹⁰⁹

In contrast with Repichon there were many officials who reconverted after having earlier abjured. Checking the 1576-80 register of baptisms, we find that at least six of the lawyers who abjured with the group of twenty-five and requested reacceptance to practice on 8 January 1573 were again active in the Reformed church after 1576.¹¹⁰ Guillaume Denys, the procureur postulant whose abjuration was accepted after an inquest in May 1573 appears in the baptismal register in 1578.¹¹¹

Reconversion after abjuration was not limited to one instance. The career of the city secretary, Pierre Beulart, sieur de Maizet, indicates that he moved from Protestant to Roman Catholic several times in the 1560's and 1570's.¹¹² Beulart baptized six children from 1567 to 1579. His first son, Jean, born on 18 December 1567 was presented for baptism on 21 December in the Reformed church.¹¹³ The second son, Etienne, was born in April 1573 during the period of intolerance after the St. Bartholomew massacres. He was baptized in the Beulart parish church of St. Sauveur, named by Etienne du Val,

sieur de Mondrainville, another former Protestant.¹¹⁴ In July 1576 a daughter, Anne, was baptized at Reformed services in the garden of the controlleur Gosselin in Caen, but when she died in October 1578 she was buried in the family chapel at St. Sauveur.¹¹⁵ The next daughter, Marie, born in July 1577 was probably baptized at the Roman Catholic church in the parish of St. Sauveur as was the third daughter, Marguerite, who was born on 5 September 1578.¹¹⁶ Pierre Beaulart's last child, Gilles, born on 16 November 1579 was baptized thirteen days later at Reformed services.¹¹⁷

From the family genealogy compiled by his son, it is clear that Pierre Beaulart abjured at least twice. He may well have returned to the Roman church a third time in 1585, though we know that he was active in the Reformed church in January 1592 when he was captured by Ligueurs and taken to Honfleur. His abjuration after 1572 is not surprising, but the period July 1577 to October 1578 when we know that he was attending Roman Catholic services is a bit surprising because Protestantism was outlawed only from February to September 1577 during the short Sixth Religious War.¹¹⁸ Beaulart was an echevin from 1576 to 1585. Perhaps this public position delayed his return to the Reformed church until 1578.

The example of Pierre Beaulart vividly reflects the vacillation of a very strong Protestant Caennais during periods of alternating tolerance and persecution.¹¹⁹ In most cases it is impossible to pinpoint this alternation between confessions. Thus, while Prentout praised two university regents for remaining steadfast because their

names appear in the Protestant register in 1568 and 1572, and they were still active at the university in 1580, the example of Beaulart shows how they, too, might have renounced Protestantism when things became difficult.¹²⁰ On the other hand, the case of Jacques Cuvret, who gave up his office in 1568, indicates that some Réformés remained true to their convictions regardless of the losses suffered.¹²¹

That the fate of the Caen Réformés of the 1560's defies generalization is vividly revealed in the example of Jean de Baillehache, prior of the Abbey of St. Etienne, 1604-44, and leader in the abbey's early seventeenth century revival. De Baillehache was baptized in the Protestant church on 20 March 1564. Yet, twelve years later, on 30 November 1576 he was received as a novice into the still heavily damaged Abbaye aux Hommes. We do not know whether his father and mother remained Roman Catholic through the rest of the century, but the entry of their son into Roman Catholic orders at this time suggests that they had left the Reformed church after the St. Bartholomew massacres if not earlier. It is certainly ironic that the rebuilder of St. Etienne was originally baptized Protestant.¹²²

Thus far we have been concerned with the impact of intolerance on the Reformed community of Caen. The Caen Protestants responded to adversity in a variety of ways, including remaining steadfast, fleeing and abjuring. Yet, regardless of which of these options they followed when Protestantism was outlawed, many returned to the Reform whenever legally possible, worshipping either in Caen or on

the lands of Protestant noblemen. As for the 1560's, it is possible to reconstruct a picture of the church as it functioned from 1570 to 1572, 1576 to 1585 and after 1589, based on the registers of baptisms and marriages as well as other sources.

From 1568 to 1608 the Caen church was forced to migrate, meeting in at least fourteen different locations during the forty-year period.¹²³ Following the Third Religious War, in August 1570, the Réformés again were granted the right to hold services, but since they had ceased doing so in Caen in 1568, they could not resume within the city itself.¹²⁴ Instead, the church became itinerant, relying on the clause which permitted meetings on the lands of Protestant nobles. The first services were held on 10 September 1570 in Chicheboville, to the southeast of Caen, and Avenay to the southwest.¹²⁵ The pattern of more than one service on a given date had begun in the 1560's and continued through the 1580's, though at times the church seems to have been limited to one site. From September 1570 to February 1571 services were held in Avenay on the lands of Francoyse Labbe, widow of Jean Regnauld, sieur Davene. Only on 15 October 1570 did a marriage take place in Secqueville en Bessin, northwest of Caen.¹²⁶ We do not know whether the services here and on other noble lands were outdoors or in large halls or barns. Certainly, the more than ten kilometer trip from Caen was a considerable undertaking each week for the many Caennais who attended the prêche.

In February 1571 the congregation began to meet in the village of

Venoix, on the outskirts of Caen, by permission of Montmorency and the commissioners of the 1570 edict.¹²⁷ They remained there until Sunday, 31 August 1572, when services in the morning and afternoons marked the end of their public meetings until the beginning of 1576.¹²⁸

Throughout this period the church was served by three or four ministers as it had been in the 1560's. With as many as 6,500 parishioners they were undoubtedly kept busy administering baptisms, announcing bans, performing marriages and preaching to the large congregations which gathered several times a week and often twice a day.¹²⁹ Vincent Le Bas and Pierre Pinson returned to Caen from exile in England and the Channel Islands and served until September 1572.¹³⁰ They were joined by Pierre Le Roy, dit du Bouillon, until May 1571. Le Roy left Caen in 1571 and never figured among the Reformed ministers there again. He did reemerge in the Channel Islands in 1585 where he served until deposed by the Colloque of Guernsey in 1593. He was later censured by the National Synod at Saumur in 1596. Whether his departure from Caen was related to the later problems which led to his deposition is unknown.

On 1 March 1571 Gilles Gautier, sieur de la Benserie, was ordained in the Caen church. He began to serve immediately, continuing until 1607 except during periods when services were suspended.¹³¹ Gautier, Le Bas and Pinson were joined after March 1572 by Antoine Le Chevalier, who returned from refuge in England.¹³² His help was badly needed because Pinson was away from Caen in March, and Le Bas was absent from April through June 1572. Though there is no

mention of where they went, it is very likely that they were helping some other church which lacked a minister.

After the cessation of services in September 1572, many pastors fled Lower Normandy, fearing for their lives. Among them was young Pierre de Cahaignes who was stopped and imprisoned in Le Havre. A native of Caen, de Cahaignes appears in the Caen registers only once on 5 November 1570. He probably then served in one of the churches of the surrounding area until his flight in December 1572.

Though the edict of July 1573 returned some of the Réformés' liberties, the Caen church did not resume services until after the Fifth Religious War. Regular services began in May 1576, but several baptisms had been performed in January and February.¹³³ The tolerant Peace of Monsieur allowed the Caennais to return to worshipping within the city. They began at the home of the elder Jean Regnaud, sieur Davene, in the parish of N-D de Froiderue. Soon they moved to the parish of St. Jean where they met in a garden belonging to the controlleur Guillaume Gosselin from June to October 1576.¹³⁴ Despite the beginning of the Roman Catholic reform of the university during this period, the Réformés had enough influence among university officials to gain access to the Maison du Collège in the parish of St. Pierre to hold services from October 1576 until they were cut off by the revocation of the Peace of Monsieur in February 1577.¹³⁵

The hiatus from February to October 1577 actually had a dramatic impact on the Reformed church. Though it was brief, important members were lost, as the case of Pierre Beulart indicates.¹³⁶ Furthermore, the baptismal registers indicate that the annual rate of

153 baptisms in 1576 was not again reached until 1580, when it was finally surpassed with 184 baptisms. Finally, the right to worship within the city was lost, and services on the lands of Protestant noblemen began once again.¹³⁷

Following the short 1577 war came the longest period of tolerance and freedom to hold services since 1568. Until July 1585 the Caen Réformés were free to worship in the city's environs. Initially, they returned to the lands of Jeanne de Bordeaux, widow of Pierre Guillebert, sieur de Secqueville, to the northwest of Caen.¹³⁸ They met there until May 1579 when services moved to the lands of Louis Le Valois, seigneur de Fontaines-Estoupefour, to the southwest of the city.¹³⁹ In 1578 a request had been submitted to the king that a temple be built in Caen. The Caen Réformés found migration both inconvenient and demeaning, and they wanted to have the promised bailliage worship center in their city. The king refused.¹⁴⁰

From 1579 on the quality of record keeping deteriorated, particularly the marriage registers. The itinerant character of the church was taking its toll. In July 1579 services moved again, this time to the east to the lands of Antoine Fortin at Verrières, now St. Martin de Fontenay. The Réformés continued to meet there until April 1581.¹⁴¹ The exact reason for these moves was never indicated in the registers, but it would hardly be surprising if a nobleman did not wish to host large gatherings of people several times a week for more than two years. Surprisingly perhaps, the registers record that Louis Le Valois, seigneur de Fontaines, called the church to come

back to his lands.¹⁴² In April 1581 the Caen church returned to meeting at Fontaines where they remained until services were outlawed in July 1585. Occasionally some of the congregation also gathered to the north of Caen at Biéville or at Secqueville and Verrières.¹⁴³


The trials of the period following the St. Bartholomew massacres took their toll on the ranks of the Caen pastors.¹⁴⁴ Several of their number had fled, some of whom did not reappear in Caen in 1576. Pierre Pinson returned from England but only served briefly in 1576. The fate of his colleague Vincent Le Bas after his period of refuge in England is unknown. Gilles Gautier, who had been ordained in April 1571, became one of the main pastors of the itinerant congregation. He was aided by the older minister Gilles de Housteville, who had formerly served at Ranville and Verrières but now took up residence in N-D de Froiderue. Another local pastor, Jean Baudart, previously in charge of the congregation at Secqueville, began to appear in the Caen registers in 1576. He and Gautier would carry on into the 1590's despite periods of refuge in the Channel Islands after 1585. Two pastors of other churches who began to occasionally preach at Caen during this period, Claude Parent of Bayeux and Jean de la Rue, would be major figures in the Caen church of the 1590's.¹⁴⁵ In contrast, pastor Jean Azire, sieur du Rocher, who performed several baptisms in early 1576 before the church began to meet regularly, disappeared from view by 1582. He may have become the regular pastor at Secqueville. There again seem to have normally been three or four pastors who shared responsibility for preaching, baptisms, marriages and catechism.

There were many other ministers from surrounding villages who occasionally appeared in the registers. Most likely the Caen pastors traded pulpits or helped in locations lacking a minister from time to time. There is evidence of separate congregations in nineteen locations in the area up to twenty-five kilometers from Caen. Within a circle ten kilometers from Caen seven sites can be fixed with certainty: Beuville, Biéville, Cresserons, Manneville, Periers, Secqueville en Bessin and Verrières (St. Martin de Fontenay). Within the ring ten to twenty-five kilometers from Caen there were services at Angerville, Avenay, Bernières-sur-mer, Chicheboville, Coulombs, Coursuelles, Lion-sur-mer, Mezières, St. Sylvain, St. Vaast, Ste. Honorine du Fay and Vimont.¹⁴⁶ While some of these villages, such as Verrières and Secqueville, hosted the Caen congregation during part of the period between 1576 and 1585, preaching continued and a local pastor, consistory and congregation were in evidence either before or after the city congregation met there. Clearly, the entire plain of Caen was still strongly influenced by the Reformation.

The Edict of July 1585, representing Henri III's submission to League pressures, outlawed all practice of Protestantism in France. The Caen registers for this period end with services on 4 August 1585. They were not resumed until Henri IV became king. When baptisms and marriages began to be recorded in 1590 the location of services was left very vague, probably because the Rouen Parlement delayed in revoking the intolerant edicts of 1585 and 1588 until 1591 and did not formally recognize a state of tolerance until 1597. Despite the

Map 7: Reformed congregations in the area surrounding Caen, 1576-85.



 = Villages in which services were held or which had a Protestant pastor.

On map see Map 5 (B).

fact that numerous parlementaires attended the Caen church between 1590 and 1594, the parlement as a whole remained quite anti-Protestant.¹⁴⁷

The Caen Réformés resumed holding services on 28 January 1590 but the register does not indicate where. Their caution was justified because opposition was soon mounted by the religious of St. Etienne, perhaps led by de Baillehache, who would become grand vicaire of the abbaye in 1596. In the May 1591 request by St. Etienne that the parlement "empescher lesd. RPR de faire leur Exercise public en la Paroisse nommé Allemagne, où ils s'assembloient près de la ville...", we learn that the Réformés had been meeting in the village of Allemagne on the south edge of the city.¹⁴⁸ The request was denied, and less than a year later on 26 January 1592 the Caen congregation was attacked while worshipping in Allemagne.¹⁴⁹ Services were not interrupted, for on 2 February they met in the Bourg l'abbé in a location called Le Carrel on the present rue du Carel.¹⁵⁰

Prior to 1592 services of the Reformed church of Caen continued to take place occasionally at Fontaines where the congregation had met in the 1580's. Even as late as 1599 four baptisms were performed at Fontaines.¹⁵¹ Yet, after 1592 the church was also able to meet within the city suburbs. The use of Le Carrel ceased by the end of 1592 when they moved close to the city walls to a garden called La Carrière. They remained in this location just outside the gate going to Bayeux (4 on the de Bourgueville map, Map 1), until the temple was built in 1611.¹⁵² In February 1596 when the owners of the garden

sought to end the Réformés' use of their land without success, the court of the vicomté referred the case to the bailliage court and stated that:

l'Exercice de ladite Religion s'estoit fait dans cette Place ou Jardin depuis l'an 1592, sans tumulte, trouble ny sedition, les Catholiques, et ceux de lad. Religion vivans paisiblement les uns avec les autres.¹⁵³

The bailli la Verune also maintained their right to worship there.

In December 1596 the Caen church requested the reestablishment of services within the city itself, but Henri IV responded that they were to continue to meet in the suburbs.¹⁵⁴

The frustration of the Réformés of Lower Normandy prior to the Edict of Nantes becomes clear in two requests addressed to Henri IV in 1595 and 1597. In the 1595 remonstrances they sought the reestablishment of services at Bayeux as well as recognition of the right of Protestants to hold offices and government support for Protestant churches and colleges.¹⁵⁵ In the 1597 Plaintes des Eglises the Réformés again called for better treatment, decrying the fact that:

A Caen, Alençon, Dieppe, Sancerre, bienque le plus grand nombre des habitans soit de la Religion, si n'oseroit-on prêcher que hors les murailles. Voiez à quoi il nous faut assujétir, si nous ne voulons vivre du tout sans Religion, à la façon des bêtes. . .¹⁵⁶

After the Edict of Nantes was promulgated in 1598 the commissioners of the edict confirmed the use of this location by the Protestants of Caen, but not until 1611 did they succeed in obtaining

land on which they were able to build a permanent church building in the Bourg l'abbé.¹⁵⁷ Though the migration of the Caen church ceased in 1592-93, almost twenty years would elapse before the congregation truly had a home.

In 1590 the church was served once again by three pastors: Gilles Gautier, sieur de la Benserie, and Jean Baudart, both returned from refuge in the Channel Islands, and Jean de la Rue.¹⁵⁸ Gautier was the senior pastor, having been attached to the Caen congregation since 1571 and continuing to serve until 1607. His death in March 1611 is recorded in the only register of burials for the Caen church, covering the period from 1607 to 1614.¹⁵⁹ Baudart only remained in Caen briefly, moving on to be pastor at Lasson in 1591, and de la Rue continued until 1599. Gilles de Housteville, who served Caen from 1576 to 1585, died before services resumed in 1590, though his widow returned to Caen from refuge in the Channel Islands.¹⁶⁰

Baudart does not seem to have been replaced. Beaujour refers to a M. Drouet who served from 1591 to 1594, but he is identified in the registers as the pastor of Mesnil. Perhaps he is the Noël Drouet referred to by Schickler as pastor of Buisson-en-Auge, and he served as a visiting pastor at Caen in the 1590's.¹⁶¹ Through the 1590's many visitors filled the Caen pulpit. While some of them came from the surrounding local area, others represented the refugee influx noted above. In 1593 and 1594 M. du Mesnilles of Rouen and Abdias Denys, a Rouen pastor now at Quillebeuf, officiated at baptisms and marriages in Caen.¹⁶²

With the departure of Jean de la Rue in June 1599, Gilles Gautier was left to serve a congregation of over 4,000 persons alone. He was assisted by Samuel Bayeux, pastor of the joint church of Lasson, Bernières and Manneville in 1600 until Claude Parent, formerly of Bayeux, came to serve the Caen church in September 1600.¹⁶³ Finally in 1602 a third pastor was added, Jean Le Bouvier, sieur de La Fresnaye, who would continue until 1627. Gautier was replaced in 1609 by Pierre de Licques who continued until 1616.

From this and earlier surveys of the Caen pastorate it is clear that normally three ministers were needed to serve the congregation of 3,000 to 6,000 Caen Réformés during the 1570's, 1580's and 1590's. Little is known of the men who guided the Caen church during these difficult years. The distances they travelled to hold services during the period of migration and their willingness to return from the safety of refuge to the potential hardships of a Lower Norman pastorate attest to their stamina and dedication.

Aside from Antoine Le Chevalier, only Gilles Gautier has left any theological writings. In the 1590's Gautier became involved in a polemical battle with one M. Caumont, who used the pseudonym George L'apostre. Caumont authored an anti-Protestant treatise entitled Traité du Huguenot. In 1596 Gautier published a response to the Traité entitled Response au Rescrit de Georges l'Apostre, in which he refuted Caumont's "Arguments si foibles, si mal empendantez,..."¹⁶⁴ Though Gautier felt that Caumont's work was hardly worth recognizing, the slanderous attacks levied against his person threatened his

ministry. He eschewed controversy, calling on Roman Catholics and Protestants to "rechercher tous moyens de vivre en bonne union et concorde attendant en patience que Dieu par son Esprit leur donne ouverture de l'unité de la foy." (Gautier, non-paginated Introduction).

Gautier began by explaining that he was tricked into a disputation with this fiery-tempered Roman Catholic polemicist, himself having no wish for such verbal confrontations. When they met Caumont would hardly let him speak and revealed a total ignorance that the Reformed church had long existed in Caen (Gautier, pp. 1-4). Gautier went on to condemn the inaccuracy and venom of Caumont's attack and his unwillingness to recognize the primacy of scripture (Gautier, pp. 8-14 and 162). The substance of this 170-page treatise is a discussion of the nature of priesthood, the sacraments, the issue of transubstantiation in particular, the translation of scripture into French and the universality of the Roman church (Gautier, pp. 17-162). Gautier concluded by counselling Caumont to read the Bible, scrutinizing the tenets of his Roman faith in order to discover whether they were truly well-founded (Gautier, pp. 168-69). Gautier apologized for any rudeness of speech in his treatise, saying that he felt it necessary to reply to Caumont fully and in kind. Finally he prayed God:

au milieu de ces confusions de toucher le
 coeur des hommes, pour penser plus près a
 leur salut et a leur devoir. Il y en a
 qui sont acharnez contre nous plus que par
 cy-devant. Qu'il luy plaise leur faire
 miseracorde, et faire cognoistre la
 justice de nostre cause. (Gautier, p. 170).

From this work we learn that Gautier was a gifted polemicist with a sure ability to reply to the attacks levied against him and a sound knowledge of scripture. He had been banished from his father's home when he joined the Reform (Gautier, p. 9). Called upon by Caumont to abjure his faith he replied,

I'ay trop. . . souffert pour tourner le dos
à l'Evangile. . . Si le profit m'avoit com-
mandé ie n'aurois pas suiuy ceste profession.
I'ay eu de meilleurs moyens de profiter selon
le monde. Mais peutestre m'a-il [Caumont]
voulu mesurer a son pied. Je croy que Messieurs
les Docteurs luy procureront quelque bonne
Prieuré pour la rescompense de son liure:
autrement ils seront ingrats. (Gautier, p. 166).

This was not Gautier's first experience with public confessional controversy for he alluded to a debate held before M. d'O with a Franciscan monk named Michel, possibly in 1580 when d'O was in Caen (Gautier, p. 8).¹⁶⁵ Though the Caen Réformés were not able to meet within the city at this time, their minister was invited to debate theology somewhere within its walls.

Caumont replied to Gautier in 1597 with a lengthy treatise, Le Tombeau des Hérétiques. Dedicated to the cathedral chapter of Bayeux, approved by the bailli la Véru^éne and the faculty of theology of the University of Caen and carrying the Privilège du Roy, the five hundred pages of this treatise certainly support Gautier's claim that Roman Catholic polemic received better support than the Protestant side (Gautier, non-paginated Introduction). Gautier's Response, by contrast, had to be published without indication of author or place.

Le Tombeau des Hérétiques contains three books, each refuting fifty of Gautier's heretical premises. Caumont's attack was based on traditional tenets:

Le Prestre doit garder le Celibat. . .
 Le Pape est chef de l'Eglise
 Le Pape est le Iuge des heresies
 La Bible n'est le Iuge des heresies
 La Bible est tres difficile
 Un chacune ne doit lire la Bible
 L'Eglise Romaine ne peut faillir. . .
 Il faut avoir des images en l'Eglise. . .
 Il ne faut dire la Messe en Francois pour
 13. raisons. (George l'Apostre, non-
 paginated table of contents for Book One).

He continued in Books Two and Three supporting the mass and transubstantiation (George l'Apostre, pp. 211-12) and concluding with a violent indictment of Huguenots as the antichrist, worse than the devil himself (George l'Apostre, pp. 373-74 and 530).

This exchange raises the question of what role the printing community of Caen played in the period after 1568. We know that in the late 1560's they provided the Protestant Caennais with the essential Reformed literature and scripture in French. Little evidence exists from the 1570's and 1580's, though we know that in 1572 printers Thomas and Le Chandelier were selling Reformed literature in the city. During the period of the Wars of the League, the city saw a notable outpouring of pamphlets, touching on both the political conflict and religious questions.

Pierre Le Chandelier and Jacques Le Bas, son-in-law of Etienne Thomas, threw themselves into the anti-League battle with vigor. In 1589 Le Bas' press produced a 47-page pamphlet entitled

Remonstrances sur l'arret de Paris du ler mars 1589 par lesquelles se verifie tant par les ecritures saintes, les saints docteurs anciens et modernes, que par les exemples et autorités prises des historiens et juriconsultes, qu'il n'est licite au sujet de s'armer contre son Roy pour quelque cause ou pretexte que ce soit. Later in 1591 Le Chandelier produced Stances d'avertissement aux françois du danger ou ils sont de perdre leur liberté et de tomber en domination estrangere, s'ils ne se revnissent ensemble par une bonne paix.¹⁶⁶

In general the material which has come to light called for politique solutions to the national conflict, supporting the legitimacy of Henri IV and the need for him to maintain Roman Catholicism. Thus, the former printers of Calvin's works and scripture in French had become supporters of a middle of the road solution to the wars, eschewing League fanaticism and accepting the necessity for Henri IV to maintain the Roman Catholic church.¹⁶⁷

During the long and unsettled period from 1568 to 1598 the Caen Réformés held services to hear the preaching of the word whenever possible. The registers attest to their activities--marrying, baptizing and catechizing their children and burying their dead. Burials were not recorded until 1607, but the many discussions of their cemetery indicate that, while the Réformés were often unable to meet in the city itself, they did bury their dead in Caen.

According to the Edict of Poitiers of September 1577 they had a right to a cemetery. The city officials granted them the use of the Hôtel-Dieu cemetery (17 on de Bourgueville's map, Map 1),

but Roman Catholics protested, particularly since Protestants had recently been seen working on holy days. The conflict which arose was settled by M. d'O, governor of Lower Normandy, who ruled that the Réformés continue to use the Hôtel-Dieu cemetery and called on them to observe Roman Catholic holy days.¹⁶⁸ The latter problem came up again in 1591 when Jean Beaulart, counsellor at the presidial and brother of the greffier Pierre Beaulart, led a Protestant boycott of the observance of the Feast of the Holy Sacrament by refusing to drape his house for the passage of the procession. The parlement reacted immediately and fined Beaulart twenty écus, but the Roman Catholic clergy wanted a harsher punishment for Beaulart and the other offenders. The parlement held to its somewhat lenient verdict, treading carefully the line between Protestant and Catholic reaction.¹⁶⁹

The issue of a Protestant cemetery arose again in 1592 when the Réformés requested a new location because their present cemetery "est remply de corps mortz. . . a Cause de la frequente malladie qui est de present. . ." Evidently they had been forced to abandon the Hôtel-Dieu location because the echevins refer to their former use of it and authorize them to return.¹⁷⁰ Some Protestants or former Protestants chose to be buried in Roman Catholic cemeteries, much to the horror of Catholic officials. In one case the body of the seigneur of St. Vaast was exhumed and the parish curé placed under interdict for having buried him.¹⁷¹

As the Caennais regained their place in the city, Caen was chosen quite often as the location for meetings of the provincial

synod. In 1591, 1593, 1594, 1595, 1596, 1600, 1603, 1605 and 1611 the Synod of Normandy met in Caen. Clearly in the early 1590's Caen was the major Norman center for Protestants. Gradually, Rouen, St. Pierre-sur-Dives, Pont Audemer, Alençon and St. Lô resumed importance, but until 1610 Caen was chosen more often than any other city as the location for this important meeting of the Reformed churches of Normandy.¹⁷²

The promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598 provided the Réformés of Caen with assurance that they would be allowed to meet openly in the city suburbs and that their individual civil liberties would be protected by the crown. While the difficulties of the thirty years since 1568 had at times suppressed their worship and had forced some to flee or abjure the faith, the continued vigor of Protestantism in the 1590's attests to the strength of its foundation. Having weathered the hardships of years of persecution and migration, the Caen congregation settled into a position of prominence among the Reformed churches of northern France in the early part of the seventeenth century. During the first decade of the new century the building of a temple for the Réformés and the establishment of a Jesuit college challenged the good climate of relations between the Roman Catholics and Protestants of Caen. Yet, their tradition of collaboration continued to allow men and women of both confessions to live side by side in concord.

The unique policy of toleration, in an era of intolerance, advocated by the Edict of Nantes provided the official approval needed

for the large Reformed community of Caen to thrive. While reduced to a minority where they may have formerly been a majority, on the eve of the seventeenth century the Caen Réformés provide vivid proof of the vitality of the Reformation in France. Without the governmental support enjoyed by the Protestants of England, The Netherlands and some areas of Germany, the French Protestants of the Lower Norman capital emerged from thirty years of persecution and warfare a strong and active element in the life of the city. Unvanquished by the trials of the sixteenth century, the legacy of the 1560's in Caen would be destroyed only by the restrictive legislation and coercion of the seventeenth century, climaxing in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

FOOTNOTES--CHAPTER VIII

1

See Appendix 13: Protestant Baptisms in Caen, 1560-1607, and Introduction to Part III. Appendix 13 should be referred to throughout this section.

The analysis of the Protestant baptism registers by means of the computer was limited to the period from 1560 to 1568. The discussion in this chapter is based upon hand counts of the data for the years 1570-72, 1576-85 and 1590-1600. All the baptisms and marriages are recorded on 4x6 cards. It is hoped that in the future the full baptismal data set for Caen, 1560-1607, will be available in machine-readable form. Clearly, there are numerous areas of further research possible with such material, including analysis of notary records with a full alphabetical list of Caen Protestants in hand. Such work would greatly expand the conclusions possible regarding the Reformed community in this city.

2

See chapter Four, p. 169, and chapter Seven, pp. 322-30.

3

Had the 1572 growth continued through December at the same rate there might have been 300 baptisms that year, still far below the 375-497 levels of 1564-68.

A problem in evaluating the figures for 1570-72 is posed by the possibility that during these years some of the baptisms may not represent recent births. In other words, the levels may be inflated by children who were baptized at a later age because services had not been available from 1568 to 1570. An example of this occurred shortly after services resumed on 10 September 1570 when the son of one of the ministers, Vincent Le Bas, was baptized at one and one-half years of age. Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 423-24 (17 September 1570). The high levels of baptisms in 1576 and 1577 (adjusted for 12 months) of 153 and 180, not reached again until 1580 and 1582, may be explained by this phenomenon. On the other hand, the example of Pierre Beaulart (see below pp.419-20 indicates that some Réformés did not hesitate to baptize their children in the Roman Catholic churches during periods of intolerance.

4

The term refugee was first used in the registers in September 1591 (ADC, C 1571B, f. 12v.), but even before this there had been references to persons from Rouen, Le Havre, Quillebeuf and elsewhere "living at present in Caen". Galland, L'histoire du Protestantisme en Basse-Normandie, p. xxi commented on this refugee presence, but Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen ignored it entirely.

⁵The origin of refugees baptizing children in Caen, 1591-85.

Place	Number				
	1591	1592	1593	1594	1595
Rouen	3	9	19	20	8
Quillebeuf	2	3	3	2	
Le Havre	1	3	1	4	
Honfleur		1		1	
Falaise		1			
Paris		1	4	1	
Flanders		1			
-Anvers	1				
-Tournai			1		
Sedan					1
Unspecified	2	3	1		
Total	9	22	29	28	9

These figures are based on the persons who were identified as réfugié(e). Others were also undoubtedly refugees, but it was not noted. They came from places like Dieppe, Pont l'évêque, Granville and Vitry.

⁶See Table 6: The Distribution of Protestants in the parishes of Caen, 1561-1600 for the rest of this discussion.

⁷See Table 1: The Population of Caen in 1491 and 1695 and Table 4: The 1568 Levy on the Wealth of Caen. Sixty-two separate individuals indicated position in government in the 1561 to 1568 registers. Seventeen were from St. Jean (27.4%) and fifteen were from St. Pierre (24.2%). In light of the fact that St. Jean was one-half to one-third the size of St. Pierre this concentration of Protestant officeholders is striking.

⁸It may be possible at a later date to follow families through the marriage and baptismal registers by means of the computer, though the gaps 1568-70, 1572-76 and 1585-90 and the absence of death registers until 1607 and Roman Catholic registers entirely will mean that conclusions from such work will always be tentative.

⁹That this quarter suffered losses is ironic, for it would become the location of the Protestant temple in the early seventeenth century.

10 Benedict, "Catholics and Huguenots," passim.

11 ADC, C 1571B (1590-96). The following officials of the sovereign courts appeared in the Caen baptism registers, 1590 to 1594: Robert Le Metaier (1592; f. 17), Isaac Abraham, avocat en la cour des aides (1592, 1593; ff. 19 & 41v.), Pierre Hapede, procureur en la cour du parlement (1593; f. 42), Tifagne Briere, wife of Mathurin Regnouf, huissier en la cour du parlement (1593; f. 40v.), Pierre Benard, procureur en parlement (1593, 1594; ff. 36, 53), Pierre Foubert, procureur en parlement (1593; f. 36), Pierre Hardey, procureur en parlement (1593; f. 34), Isaac Richer, procureur en parlement (1594; f. 53).

12 See n. 5.

13 There is evidence of services in the following locations within twenty-five kilometers of Caen between 1590 and 1600: St. Sylvain, Bernières/Manneville, Lasson (sometimes combining with Bernières/Manneville), St. Vaast, Buisson and Collombelles?.

Many of the smaller churches were not affected until the final period of war after 1585. See below p. 428, and Map 7: Reformed congregations in the area surrounding Caen, 1576-85. Galland L'histoire du Protestantisme en Basse-Normandie, p. 5 notes that only two area churches, Lasson and Bernières, were permitted to hold services under the provisions of the Edict of Nantes.

14 See chapter Five, pp. 193-95. A sample of marriages from the period following 1568 were studied. They were chosen every six to seven years, taking only years for which a full 12 months of records exist.

Year	Both from Caen		One from outside		Both from outside		Total	Parish Unknown
1578	11	(39.3%)	8	(28.6%)	9	(32.1%)	28	1
1584	18	(46.1%)	12	(30.8%)	9	(23.1%)	39	3
1591	21	(58.3%)	9	(25.0%)	6	(16.7%)	36	4
1598	23	(51.1%)	13	(28.9%)	9	(20.0%)	45	4

15 ADC, C 1574A, f. 74, ADC, C 1574B, ff. 3-6 & 20.

16 It is hoped that later research will elucidate these questions more by permitting the information provided by the Protestant registers to be linked to the notarial records of the Caen area.

17

ADC, C 1570, ff. 32v. (tailor), 15r. (shoemaker), 52r. (draper), 15v., 20v. (medical doctors), 4v., 13v., 14r., 33r. (lawyers). This register was chosen because it falls after the St. Barholomew massacres and before the revival of the 1590's. See chapter Five, pp. 201-08 for comparative materials.

18

See chapter Seven, pp. 322-23.

19

ADC, C 1570, ff. 4v., 21r., 29r., 31r., 44r., 45., 53r., 60v.

20

Protestant echevins, 1570-85: 1570 - Thomas LeBrethon, sieur de Contrières; 1573 - Jean Rouxel, sieur de Bretteville; 1576 - Jean Rouxel, sieur de Bretteville, Pierre Beulart, sieur de Maizet; 1579- Pierre Beulart, sieur de Maizet; 1582 - Pierre Beulart, sieur de Maizet; 1585 - Jacques de Cauvigny, sieur de Bernières, Olivier le Reverend, sieur de Bougy. This indication of continued Protestant presence in the official ranks of the city is based upon a comparison of echevin lists and Beaujour's list of Protestant noblemen, 1570-85. Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 141.

21

The contrast between the names of parents and children in the registers is striking. In the 1560's only 1.5% of the fathers had Old Testament names compared to 25.5% of their children who were given such distinctive names. During the 1560's the five favorite names for boys and girls were (total number in parentheses):

<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>
Jean (316)	Marie (429)
Pierre (175)	Anne (230)
Jacques (174)	Judith (80)
Daniel (81)	Jeanne (75)
Abraham (59)	Elisabeth (67)

Clearly, Jean and Marie still retained their traditional popularity, but the use of Daniel, Abraham and Judith was significant and distinctive.

22

Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 1.

23

I wish to express my debt to Pierre Beauchamp and his colleagues of the Department of Demography of the University of Montreal for sharing their list of names used by the French in Canada in the 17th century with me.

24

The Incidence of Old Testament names in the baptismal registers of the Caen Protestants: 1561-98.

<u>Years</u>	Percent of the total	
	<u>Old Testament</u>	<u>Traditional</u>
1561-64	29.6%	70.4%
1565-68	21.4	78.6
1571	24.2	75.8
1578	22.8	77.2
1584	22.1	77.9
1591	18.0	82.0
1598	24.9	75.1

The period 1561-68 was analyzed in full by means of the computer. A sample study of later years was made by hand, using the first full year after each cessation of services (1571, 1578 & 1581) and three other full years which make the series fall at six to seven year intervals. It should be noted that the greatest use of Old Testament names occurred in the years of greatest strength, 1561-64. The enthusiasm of these earliest years of organized Protestantism in Caen may well explain these high levels.

25

The use of Old Testament names never reached the level of 50% as it did in Rouen in 1565. Benedict feels this high percentage, compared to the 30% in Geneva, was the natural result of a Protestant community freely-joined as opposed to the Genevan state church. Yet, Caen was similar to Rouen in this respect but never exceeded 30%. A comparison of the five favorite names of Réformés in the two cities in the 1560's confirms this contrast. In the Caen list the Old Testament names were less prominent than in the Rouen list.

RouenBoys

Jean
Abraham
Isaac
Pierre
Daniel

Girls

Marie
Judith
Sara
Susanne
Anne

Caen

See above n. 21.

Benedict observed a decline to 36% in 1576-85 and 38.5% in 1595-1602 and interpreted this as a sign of the desire by Protestants in difficult times to be less visible. While the Protestant

Caennais evidently never used Old Testament names as much as the Rouen Protestants, they continued at a consistent 25-29% level throughout most of the century. I have interpreted this relatively even level as a sign that the Caennais did not feel they had to forsake their use of distinctive names. Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion," pp. 207-08.

26 de la Rue, Nouveaux essais historiques, I, 106 (16 January 1567).

27 This is not to ignore incidents such as the attack on the Caen congregation in 1591 (see chapter Seven, p. 358). In fact, we know that the bishop's prison held Protestants captive during this period Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 89-90 citing an example of a laborer from St. Jean des Essartiers, some distance away from Caen to the southwest of Bayeux. The absence of records from the episcopal courts makes it impossible to judge how widespread this type of persecution was.

28 de Beaurepaire, Cahiers des Etats - Charles IX, pp. 331-32. This document refers to the resignation of du Val's aides not himself as de Beaurepaire implies. On du Val see chapter Five, p. 205, and below p. 419. Perhaps the aide Denys was Guillaume Denys, the Protestant elder who abjured in 1573 in order to become a procureur postulant.

29 ADC, 1B 3 f. 173 (7 October 1572). Those dismissed were:

Tanneguy Sorin	}	<u>conseillers au siège présidial</u>
Pierre Richart		
François Richard		
François Malherbe		
Jehan Beaulard		
Louis Turgot		
Jehan du Prey		
Thomas Le Conte		
Robert Morin		
Ursin Le Potier	_____	
Pierre du Hamel	}	<u>avocats du roi</u>
Jacques Quesnel		
Pierre de Verigny -		<u>procureur au siège présidial</u>

30

Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 90.

31

AMC, BB 18, f. 38r. (25 February 1570). This incident reflects the difference in attitude which de Bourgueville brought to the office of lieutenant general of the bailli in contrast to the Protestant Olivier de Brunville.

32

AMC, BB 23, f. 144r. (20 October 1584). The date of his instatement and removal from office were not indicated.

33

ADC, 1B 13 non-foliated (8 November 1568). For an example of a family split by religious differences see ADC, 1B 49 (28 October 1568). The widow of Pierre Fernagu and her daughter remained Roman Catholic while her son joined Condé and the Protestant camp.

34

ADC, 1B 3, ff. 38-39 (8 March 1572). This document is the sole reference to the tax. Its exact purpose remains unclear.

35

de la Rue, Documents sur le protestantisme (CM, MS 72), f. 19r. (1582 - Levée des Deniers).

36

ADC, 1B 13 (1566-72, non-foliated). The 9 May 1570 presentation of D. Beaucyger to become a surgeon indicates that the candidate had to be a Roman Catholic in good standing. In contrast, other presentations for acceptance into a métier during the same period of intolerance required no attestation to orthodoxy.

37

de Beaurepaire, Cahiers des Etats - Charles IX, pp. 33-334.

38

ADC, 1B 3, ff. 150-51 (12 September 1572). There is no evidence as to their fate. On the later activity of Le Chandelier and the firm of Etienne Thomas under his son-in-law Jacques Le Bas see below pp. 436-37.

39

ADC, Hsupp, liasse 23:1 (21 June 1585 & 21 May 1586).

40

Examples of the contrast between Caen and these other cities are found in the following sources: Robert Hovenden, ed., Registers of the Walloon or Strangers Church in Canterbury (2 vols., Lymington, 1891 & 1898), II, 874-86; Elsie Johnston & Anne M. Oakley, ed., Actes du Consistoire de l'église française de Threadneedle Street, Londres

(2 vols., Frome, 1937 & 1969), II, 209, 224; Moens, Registers of the French Church of Threadneedle Street, I, v; Baron Fernand de Schickler, Les églises de langue française en Angleterre avant la révocation de l'Edit de Nantes et les églises réformées des Iles de la Manche (3 vols., Paris, 1892), III, 50-62; Gemaente archief van Leiden, Archives de l'église Wallonne de Leyde: no. 40 - Premier Livre du Consistoire de l'église Wallonne de Leyde, 1584-1611, pp. 1-177 and Le Catalogue des membres de l'église premier, 1584-1600, pp. 178ff.

41

The standard works on the French refuge are: Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre and Baron Fernand de Schickler, Les Eglises du Refuge (Paris, 1882). For a survey of the major places of refuge see Schickler, Les Eglises du Refuge, pp. 5-14.

42

Monter, Calvin's Geneva, pp. 165-90; Robert Mandrou, "Les Français hors de France au XVII^e Siècle," Annales: ESC, 14 (1959), 662-66.

43

Paul-F. Geisendorf, ed., Livre des Habitants de Geneve (2 vols., Geneva, 1957 & 1963), I, xv-xviii, 247-49. On Caen see pp. 39, 66, 95, 98, 111, 140, 151, 159, 164, 206, 216.

44

Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 5, 121 (René Massiene), 218 (Philippe Ruel), 316 (Jehan Rosty).

45

Geisendorf, Livre des Habitants de Geneve, I, 66, 110, 173 (Brecy); 220 (Allemagne).

46

Alfred Covelle, ed., Le Livre des bourgeois de l'ancienne République de Genève (Geneva, 1897), pp. 279 (Massé de Valois, fils de Léonard), 281 (Guillaume Julian). They were not among the 1550's habitants and, since their occupations are not given, no reason for their presence in Geneva is known. During the 1560's there were also several Normans from the diocese of Bayeux who enrolled in the University of Geneva: 1560 - Simon Harson and 1563 - Jean Eudes (Bayeux), ADC, F 6512 (Papers of B. Repingon).

47

Geisendorf, Livre des Habitants de Geneve, I, xii-xix. Geisendorf believes that the three volumes of Livres des Habitants extant were the only ones kept, corresponding to the periods of greatest refugee influx. (II, xii-xiii).

48

ADC, F 6512 (1584 - Jacques Le Noble and Jean Phallet).

49

See above n. 40. Whether Sedan attracted Caen refugees because of the duke of Bouillon's frequent presence in the Lower Norman city has not been determined. Sedan did serve as a major refugee center, particularly after 1572. Schickler, Les Eglises du Refuge, p. 9.

50

1568 Levy (BMC, MS In-f. 132). ff. 153v. - 154v. See chapter Five, pp. 195-200 and Table 4: The 1568 Levy on the Wealthy of Caen.

51

See Appendix 11: Caen Pasteurs, 1558-1610.

52

ADC, 1B 49, ff. 464, 467-68 (28 October and 7 December 1568) & ADC, 1B3, ff. 603, 605 (10 April 1573). Pierre Fernagu, greffier of the salt warehouse, joined Condé in 1568 but later in April 1573 abjured his Protestantism.

53

ADC, Nouvelles Acquisitions 171 (12 May 1570 list of those condemned for treason).

54

ADC, 1B 3, ff. 190, 287-90 (8 October & 7 December 1572). After the St. Bartholomew massacres, in October and December 1572 two royal edicts were published in Caen regarding exiles and the confiscation of their goods. Since they were general ordonnances it is impossible to know how great the incidence of exile was in Caen, but we may expect their terms applied to some Caennais.

55

See chapter Six p. 276, n. 132 ADC, Nouvelles Acquisitions 171: #83 - François de Bricqueville, sieur de Coullombières; #24 Nicolas de Ste-Marie, sieur d'Aigneaux (relative of Jean-Jacques). Abraham Mourant, ed., Chroniques de Jersey, dont l'auteur est inconnu. . . suivies d'un abrégé historique des îles de Jersey, Guernesey, Auregny et Serk par Georges Syvret (Jersey, 1858), p. 127.

56

de Cahaignes, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 270-73, eloge no. 70. Thésart's abjuration before Matignon is recorded in the presidial records on 26 November 1572, so his exile in England was brief. Upon conversion to Roman Catholicism he reclaimed his confiscated lands ADC, 1B 3, ff. 251-52 (26 November 1572). His later actions reveal that this was certainly a less than sincere abjuration. In 1594 Thésart made a bequest to the Caen Reformed church to establish a rente for the support of a pastor at Lasson. Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 307-09.

57

ADC, 1B 3, f. 159r. (14 September 1572 letter from Matignon to the royal officials at Caen).

58

J. W. de Grave, "Notes on the Register of the Walloon Church of Southampton and on the Churches of the Channel Islands," Huguenot Society Proceedings, 5 (1894-96), 141-44, 158. In 1568 the Islands were formally transferred from the Bishopric of Coutances to that of Winchester, now of course Anglican. In 1576 a discipline was drawn up for the Island churches, recognizing their Reformed rather than Anglican orientation. Presbyterian church government ended in Jersey in 1620 and Guernsey in 1662.

59

Mourant, Chroniques de Jersey, p. 92. On Le Vayr see chapter Four pp.155-6. Quote cited in Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre, II, 367, n. 3 from a report by Sir A. Pawlet (State papers, Addenda, Elizabeth, IX, 25).

60

Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre, II, 385-86. Schickler holds that only after 1572 was there a colony of refugees, and these were mostly prominent nobles, following Montgomery. Correspondance with Ms. Joan Stevens of the Société Jersiaise confirms that most of those Norman Protestants who came to Jersey after 1572 returned when it was safe to do so. See also Spencer Carey Curtis, "Thirtieth Annual Report of the Antiquarian Section", Société Guernesias, Guernsey, Transactions, 13, pt. 5 (1941), 344.

61

Ferdinand Brock Tupper, The history of Guernsey and its bailiwick, with occasional notices of Jersey (Guernsey, 1954), p. 524. This complaint was lodged during the period of Henri IV's alliance with Elizabeth and the war to win the throne. There was a definite feeling at this time that those fleeing should instead be aiding Henri. Yet, it also reflects the understandable fears of island inhabitants whose resources were always limited.

62

An anonymous chronicler writes:

. . . plusieurs gens de bien et notables personnages se transportèrent es-dites Iles pour y entendre la sainte parole de Dieu purement et librement prêchée, et aussi pour éviter le grand danger des troubles et persecutions qui se faisaient en France, lesquels y furent amiablement et humainement reçus, et sont et ont toujours été de temps en temps bien entretenus et protégés. . . (Mourant, Chroniques de Jersey, p. 126.)

Further research into the Refuge in the Channel Islands would be worthwhile. W. E. de Faye, "Huguenots in the Channel Islands," Huguenot Society Proceedings, 19 (1952-58), 28-40 and de Grave, "Notes on. . . the Churches of the Channel Islands" are the only general treatments of this subject. De Grave alludes to church registers which he says could be published, as well as acts of the colloques which would undoubtedly yield valuable information (pp. 139, 147, 159). On the other hand Ms. Joan Stevens of the Société Jersiaise wrote of a dearth of sixteenth-century material on Huguenots. A letter of inquiry to the main library of Guernsey yielded no reply, and Curtis' article listing refugees does not indicate much sixteenth-century data for the island (Curtis, "Thirtieth Annual Report - Société Guernesiaise"). Yet, overall there does seem to be a need to look into the area further. I hope to do so at a later date.

63 Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre, II, 384-85 (from state Papers, Elizabeth, XIV, 24). On de Bricqueville and Ste-Marie see chapter Six p. 276, n.132 The five pastors were Etienne Lair (Colleville), Pierre Loyselleur (Bayeux), Pierre Beuce (Courselles), Germain Philippe (Secqueville) and Ursin Bayeux (Colomby-sur-Thaon, late of Caen).

64 Mourant, Chroniques de Jersey, pp. 126-28.

65 Curtis, "Thirtieth Annual Report - Société Guernesiaise," p. 330.

66 Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre, II, 423.

67 Ibid., II, 424, n. 1; Curtis, "Thirtieth Annual Report - Société Guernesiaise," p. 333; Aymon, Les Synodes nationaux des Eglises Reformees, IB, 211; On this period in England see nn. 82 & 83.

68 A visiting pastor at Caen in the 1570's, Robert Le Cesne from Véés (?), also found his way to Jersey in 1585 and became a pastor in Guernsey in the late 1580's. Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre, II, 426-27, 433-34; Mourant, Chroniques de Jersey, p. 126. Gautier must have fled first to Coutances where he remained for awhile and then left for the Islands, for he appeared on the "Roolle de ceulx de la Viconté de Coustances qui sont réputéz estre aux Isles, par les attestations qu'ilz ont envoyé." N. Weiss, ed., "Etat nominatif des Protestants de la Viconté de Coutances en 1588," BSHPF, 36 (1887),

256. Brevin was pastor on the island of Serk, 1589-1613. Curtis, "Thirtieth Annual Report - Société Guernesiaise," p. 332.

69

J. A. Messervey, ed., Actes des Etats de l'Ile de Jersey (2 vols., Jersey, 1897 & 1898, Publications de la Société Jersiaise - nos. 12 & 13), I, no. 12, 52 (13 November 1585).

70

Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre, II, 427, 433-34.

71

Schickler, Les Eglises du Refuge, pp. 8-14.

72

Adrian Charles Chamier, ed., Les Actes des Colloques des Eglises françaises et de Synodes des Eglises étrangers réfugiées en Angleterre, 1518 - 1654 (Lyminster, 1890); Francis W. Cross, History of the Walloon and Huguenot Church at Canterbury (Canterbury, 1898); Cunningham, Alien Immigrants; Humphrey Marett Godfray, ed., Le Registre de l'église Wallonne de Southampton (Lyminster, 1890); Hoven-den, Registers of the Walloon Church in Canterbury, I & II; Johnston & Oakley, Actes du Consistoire - église de Threadneedle Street, I & II; Kirk & Kirk, Returns of Aliens; Moens, Registers of the French Church of Threadneedle Street, I-IV; W. J. C. Moens, The Walloons and their church at Norwich: their history and registers, 1565-1832 (1 vol. 2 parts, Lyminster, 1887 & 1888); Page, Aliens in England, 1509-1603; Shaw, Aliens in England, 1603-1700; Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre, III, 50-62 (lists for 1564 & 1571).

73

Johnston & Oakley, Actes du Consistoire - église de Threadneedle Street, I, xiv, 90, 98, 100-101, 114-15, 118.

74

Godfray, L'église Wallonne de Southampton, p. 4.

75

Ibid., p. 90.

76

W. Marston Acres, "Huguenot Directors of the Bank of England," Huguenot Society Proceedings, 15 (1933-37), 241.

77

On Cousin see chapter Four p. 159 and chapter Five pp. 212-18 passim; Kennedy, "Jean Cousin," and Johnston & Oakley, Actes du Consistoire - église de Threadneedle Street, I & II. Conditions in Caen after 1562 were favorable to the Réformés, and there was no general flight. Cousin's inflammatory personality may account for his departure to England at this time.

⁷⁸The sixth was Robert Philippe, minister at Tilly. Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre, I, 148-50.

⁷⁹Ibid., I, 173, 175. Le Chevalier's prestige as a scholar undoubtedly drew him into the controversy.

⁸⁰ADC, 1B, 3, ff. 294r., 295r., 296r., 302r. (8 January 1573, 22 December 1572 & 4 January 1573 correspondance between Matignon and the lieutenant general of the bailli of Caen concerning the ministers). Some of the documents relating to this incident were published in R-N. Sauvage, ed., "Testament de Jean Vaultier, ministre de Secqueville-en-Bessin (Calvados)," BSHPF, 65 (1916), 59-60.

⁸¹de Grave, "Notes on. . . the Churches of the Channel Islands," p. 165, n. 2. He had returned from the Channel Islands and served in Caen in 1571.

⁸²Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre, I, 198-200, 320, n. 1. This is a more complete version of the list sent to Beza in Geneva, published earlier by Bonnet, "Ministres réfugiés à Londres," pp. 25-27 and used by Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 112-13. Jean Marie remained in England as had Cousin, becoming the third pastor of the Norwich church in the 1580's.

⁸³Dictionary of National Biography, IV, 214-15.

⁸⁴Ibid.; Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre, I, 220. One Hector Viel of Caen was admitted to Oxford in 1574. On Le Roy see above p. 406.

⁸⁵Ibid., I, 220 (18 July 1576 quoted from William Williams, Oxonia depicta).

⁸⁶Lair, Parlement à Caen, p. 24, n. 4 (from Toustain de Billy, Mémoires sur le Cotentin, BMC, In-4. 179). See above p. 403 on Thésart who tried both options.

⁸⁷Coqueret, St. Jean, p. 20. Coqueret made a passing comment on how few abjurations he found in the registers of St. Jean, having glanced through them. He stated that most abjurations would have taken place at the church of St. Pierre.

88 Archives municipales de Bayeux, II, évêché-officialité. Published by Eugène Anquetil, ed., Abjurations de Protestants faites à Bayeux, 1570-73, (Bayeux, [1907]). This material was analyzed earlier by G. du Bosq de Beaumont, Souvenirs Normands (Paris, 1903), pp. 171-82. There were a total of 1847 abjurations. The lay and clerical oaths are given by Anquetil, Abjurations de Protestants, pp. 6-7. For the text of the official royal abjuration oath see Cimber & Danjou, Archives curieuses, series 1, VII, 300-94.

89 Anquetil, Abjurations de Protestants, pp. 10-25. Jehanne, wife of Jehan Harel, Vaucelles, 26 September 1572 (p. 22) and M. Jean Philippes, lawyer, St. Pierre, 26 September 1572 (p. 23).

90 Ibid., Richard _____, Vaucelles, 26 September 1572 (p. 22), Dam. Jenne de Lestage, widow of Guillaume de Bourgueville, sieur d'Escay, St. Pierre, 6 October 1572 (p. 28), Guillaume Cocquerel, St. Michel de Vaucelles, 23 October 1572 (p. 33), Pierre Patrice, sieur de Sully, presidial counsellor, 12 March 1573 (p. 44).

91 1568 Levy (BMC, MS In-f. 132); see chapter Five, pp. 195-200. We are forced to speculate about the majority of Caen Réformés, but I feel that many of lower social station would have followed the example of the Protestant officials and the wealthy elite. Clearly, some in less obvious positions might have been able to avoid actual abjuration, merely moving from attendance at sermons to attendance at mass, as the edicts dictated. Even the 1802 who abjured in Bayeux after the St. Bartholomew massacres comprise a relatively small number compared to the many Protestants within the bishopric. Thus, the question arises of the extent to which Roman Catholics, both clergy and laity, accepted their heretical neighbors back into the traditional church even without abjuration. In an area of moderate reaction and good Roman Catholic/Protestant relations, like Caen, it would seem quite likely that this did occur, saving the Réformés from swearing to an oath which they would ignore as soon as possible.

92 See chapter Seven pp. 322-23 and above pp 397-98 ADC, 1B 13 (1566-72 register of Réception, information de vie et moeurs); ADC, 1B, f. 376v. (9 March 1573 references to 1568 documents concerning Verigny's Roman Catholicism). See below n. 96.

93 ADC, 1B 3 (1572-73).

94 See above n. 29 and Appendix 14. The 7 October ban was followed on 27 October by an order to all avocats and procureurs of the presidial of Caen forbidding Protestants from holding their

offices. ADC, 1B 3, f. 201 (27 October 1572). Later on 12 November 1572 Matignon relayed the royal order that all Protestant noblemen and representatives of the bourgeois of various cities come together before him in Caen to hear the king's wishes for peace. They did gather in late November, but unfortunately we have no record of what transpired. ADC, 1B 3, ff. 221-42 (12 November 1572) and Chardon, "Le role de Matignon à la St-Barthélemy," pp. 61-62.

⁹⁵ ADC, 1B 3, ff. 308-10 (17 January 1573 acceptance of Ursin Potier and François Richart back into the presidial).

⁹⁶ ADC, 1B 3, ff. 376-77 (9 March 1573 decision on the claim presented by Verigny to the Rouen Parlement that he was never a Protestant). He does not appear in the baptism and marriage records of the Protestant church in the 1560's.

⁹⁷ On Sorin see chapter Three p. 113 and chapter Six p. 269, ADC, 1B, 3, ff. 594-95 (18 May 1573 decision to reinstate Sorin). Sorin's prestige in Caen was indicated in 1566 when the echevins decided that:

M. Tanneguy Sorin, vu ses longs et honorables services, au grand profit et utilité de la ville, université et tout le pays, sera maintenu et entretenu à toujours en la jouissance des privileges de l'Université et que le roi sera supplié d'user envers lui de sa liberalité. (AMC, BB, 5, ff. 171-72 (no date 1566)). Whether this was related to his being a Protestant cannot be determined. Sorin had been on the faculty of law for over twenty-five years.

⁹⁸ ADC, 1B 3, f. 189 (12 October 1572 royal recognition of Novince's abjuration).

⁹⁹ ADC, 1B 3, ff. 388-89 (17 March 1573 acceptance of Loys Busnel and Henry Lescuyer as sergents royaulx). No records of the officialité from the sixteenth century have survived.

¹⁰⁰ See above. nn. 33 & 52. ADC, 1B 3, ff. 603-05 (10 April & 1 June 1573).

¹⁰¹ ADC, 1B 3, f. 506 (July 1572 royal edict creating offices of procureur postulant), ff. 601-02 (10 May 1573 acceptance of Jehan de St. Jehan, former Protestant, into office). ADC, 1B 3, f. 539 (22 April 1573 acceptance of Loys Poullain, recently abjured

Protestant); see below n. 104. Poullain was one of the 25 lawyers who abjured and requested permission to practice again in January 1573.

¹⁰²ADC, 1B 3, ff. 667-69 & 674-79 (22 May, 3 June, 3 July & 4 July 1573 appointment of and inquest into the "vie et moeurs" of Guillaume Denys). The religion of Le Valloys is never mentioned. We may assume that he was Roman Catholic because he was holding office in spring 1573. Denys' Roman Catholicism was particularly likely to be suspect because he had been an elder of the Reformed church in 1567 and an active Réformé at least since 1563. See Appendix 15 and Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 43, 147, 221, 273, 340 & 361 (1563-67). For another possible mention of Denys see above p. 396.

¹⁰³ADC, 1B 3, ff. 378-87 (13 March 1573 inquest into the sincerity of the conversions of Thomas Biot, Eustache Carrel and Regnauld Geuvret). The secretary recording the charité official's testimony initially wrote Rebatize but crossed it out, recognizing that the Protestant baptism had never been a valid sacrament. See Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 2, 28, 289, 357 for the baptisms of Carrel's four children.

¹⁰⁴ADC, 1B 3, f. 303r. (8 January 1573 request for reacceptance by twenty-five lawyers).

¹⁰⁵ADC, 1B 3, f. 304v. (3 February 1573 reinstatement of twenty-five lawyers).

¹⁰⁶See chapter Five pp. 207. Some of the lawyers not found in the 1560's may have joined the profession after 1568.

¹⁰⁷ADC, 1B 3, f. 292 (January 1573 conflict between Roman Catholics and former Protestants over ecclesiastical benefits). The now abjured Protestants reclaimed their posts, saying that those holding them were not natives of the various parishes involved, and thus they had less claim to the positions. Evidently Protestant defections had been numerous enough to necessitate recruitment outside the normal parish limits for these posts during the 1560's.

¹⁰⁸ADC, 1B 3, ff. 282-83 (12 December 1572 royal recognition of Repichon's Roman Catholicism). The attestation that he attended mass before, during and after the troubles overlooks the period from 1565-66 when it is certain that he was a Protestant. Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 171, 253 (9 September 1565 & 18 September 1566). Repichon was one of the two presidents of the Bureau des Finances at Caen. The other was Novince. Romier, Bureau des Finances, p. xxv.

109 The hazards involved in identifying abjured Protestants are increased by the fact that in his Eloges des citoyens de Caen de Cahaignes probably sometimes concealed an individual's Reformed past in order to place him in a better light. De Cahaignes himself may have flirted with Protestantism. Certainly, the humanist Jean Rouxel whom de Cahaignes reported died a Roman Catholic, had been an active Réformé at least in the 1560's. Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 381 (22 March 1568 Jacques de Cahaignes, godfather). de Cahaignes, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 192-97, eloge no. 47 - Jean Rouxel.

Yet another difficulty presents itself with the case of Nicolas Baril, organist and a Protestant in 1570 when his illegitimate son was baptized. In 1578 he was involved in repairing the organ of St. Pierre. Does this mean that he had abjured or did Protestant artisans feel free to work on the rebuilding the Roman Catholic churches of the city? The same problem arises in the cases of Simon Le Pelletier, painter, and Robert Regnyer, locksmith. Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, pp. 205-06; Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 430 (1 November 1570 baptism of Baril's child) and AMC, BB 16, ff. 57-58 (c. 7 June 1578 request by Baril that the city return organ parts seized during the "troubles").

110 ADC, C, 1570, ff. 4, 13, 29 & 45 (baptisms, 1576-80). See above p. 417.

111 ADC, C 1570 (baptism, 1578). See above p. 416.

112 Carel, Histoire de Caen - II, pp. 226-27. On Beulart see chapter Seven pp. 337 & 338. On his brother Jean, also a prominent Caennais, see de Cahaignes, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, pp. 274-76, eloge no. 71.

113 BN, Beulart, Généologie de la Famille Beullart, ff. 48-52 and Jules Cauvet, "Un chroniqueur Caennais au commencement du XVIIe siècle: Jean Beullart, sieur de Maizet, 1565-1640," BSAN, 7 (1874-75), 409-38. Jean remained a strong Protestant throughout his life. His journal provides a Beulart genealogy in which the cycle of abjuration and reconversion is clear. Jean Beulart's strong Protestant sentiment is revealed in several poems recorded in his journal. One is a satire on a monk who drowned (f. 69r.), another is a condemnation of Henri IV for having abjured (f. 70). The latter subject is ironic in light of his father's checkered career. Jean Beulart himself continued to appoint the Roman Catholic curé on his lands at Maizet even though he was a Protestant (f. 70r). Only in 1666 did the Parlement of Rouen rule that a Roman Catholic relative of the holder of a fief must carry out this function (Cauvet, p. 12).

114 BN, Beaulart, Généologie de la Famille Beullart, f. 50. Etienne died in 1593 fighting for Henri IV against the League. On du Val see above n. 28. Both Pierre and Jean Beaulart continued to have ties with the city's parish churches throughout the sixteenth century. From 1568 through 1601 the two brothers continued to pay a rent due to the Charité of St. Michel de Vaucelles, established in 1542, but they were often several years in arrears. ADC, G 943 (Registre des Comptes de la Charité). In the 1580's Jean Beaulart was involved in the Confrérie de St. Yves, a brotherhood for lawyers of which de Bourgueville was also a member. This was despite the fact that Jean led a boycott of the Feast of the Holy Sacrament in 1591 (see below p. 438). ADC, G 1006 (confrérie records). In 1603 Pierre obtained a copy of a contract between his father and the treasurer of St. Sauveur detailing that Beaulart and his descendants are to be allowed free burial in the church in return for the gift of three stained glass windows in 1534. Perhaps Pierre was anticipating his own death in 1612 (aged 73), though he was buried in the Protestant cemetery at the Hôtel-Dieu. BMC, MS In-f. 129 (Recueil de pièces relatives à l'ancienne église de St. Sauveur, 2 vols.), I, f. 82 (1603 copy of the 1534 contract); BN, Beaulart, Généologie de la Famille Beullart, f. 49.

115 BN, Beaulart, Généologie de la Famille Beullart, f. 50v.; ADC, C 1570, f. 3v. (1 July 1576).

116 BN, Beaulart, Généologie de la Famille Beullart, ff. 50v., 51r. Neither are in the Protestant baptism register. Marie's Roman Catholic baptism had little impact on her later life, for in 1593 she served as a Reformed godmother in the baptism of Jean Jouin. ADC, C 1571, f. 38v.

117 BN, Beaulart, Généologie de la Famille Beullart, f. 51r.; ADC, C 1570, f. 45r. (29 November 1579).

118 ADC, C 1574A, f. 19 (20 October 1577 Protestant services resume).

119 Beaulart had been an elder in 1571. Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 435. On a parlementaire who abjured and reconverted several times, Jacques Moynet, sieur de Taucourt, see Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, IV, 100-05.

120 Prentout, "L'Université de Caen à la fin du XVIIe siècle," p. 15 (Geoffroy Le Laboureur and Nicollas Le Vallois).

121 See above n. 33.

122 de Baillehache, L'abbaye de St-Etienne, ff. 108-10 (he was the author of this history of the abbey); Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, p. 59 (20 March 1563); Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, pp. 206-12; Sauvage, St-Etienne de Caen, p. v, n. 2.

123 See Map 6: Migration of the Caen church, 1570-1611. This map should be referred to throughout the following discussion.

124 By the terms of the Edict of St. German-en-Laye services had to have been held on the 1st of August 1570 in order for them to take place in the city.

125 Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 423 & 541.

126 Ibid., p. 547.

127 Ibid., pp. 442, 576.

128 Ibid., pp. 527, 675 (misprinted 1 August by Lart). 6,500 is based on 256 baptisms in 1571 times 25.

129 The presence of large numbers of people at services is often mentioned in the registers. Ibid., pp. 542-48. The final service on 31 August 1572 was reported to have been one of the largest recently held. See chapter Seven p. 329.

130 See Appendix 11: Caen Pasteurs, 1558-1610, and above pp. 400-12 on the refuge throughout the following discussion. Sources for information about the Caen pastors are indicated in the notes to the appendix.

131 See below pp. 433-36 on Gautier as a polemicist.

132 ADC, C 1570, f. 14.

133 The Edict of July 1573 was published in Caen in August. ADC, 1B3, ff. 722-26 (July 1573 & 28 & 31 August 1573); ADC, C 1570, f. 2r. (27-29 May 1572).

134 ADC, C 1570, ff. 2v.-8r. (baptisms, 3 June - 27 October 1576); ADC, C 1574A, ff. 2-11r. (marriages, June - October 1576). BN, Beulart, Généologie de la Famille Beulart, f. 50v. This location was also called the Jardin de l'Echiquier.

- 135 See above p. 420. ADC, C 1570, ff. 8r-13v. (baptisms, 29 October 1576-27 January 1577); ADC, C 1574A, ff. 11v-18 (marriages, 28 October 1576- 3 February 1577).
- 136 See above pp. 419-20.
- 137 A rate of 153 for 1576 is based on 115 baptisms in nine months. On the terms of the edict see ADC, C 1570 f. 14r.
- 138 ADC, C 1570, ff. 14r-36v. (baptisms, 27 October 1577-7 May 1579); ADC, C 1574A, ff. 19-46 (marriages, 20 October 1577 - 1 March 1579).
- 139 ADC, C 1570, ff. 36r.-39v., 69r.-113v. (baptisms, 10 May 1577-5 July 1579 & 23 April 1581- 30 March 1584); ADC, C 1571A, ff. 2-17v. (baptisms, 3 March 1584-July 1585); ADC, C 1574A, passim.
- 140 Laffetay, Diocèse de Bayeux, I, 56-57.
- 141 ADC, C 1570, ff. 4r-68v. (baptisms, 12 July 1579-61 April 1581).
- 142 ADC, C 1574A, f. 60v. (23 April 1581).
- 143 ADC, C 1570, ff. 6v., 8 & 16 (baptisms, September & October 1584 & May 1585 at Biéville); ADC, C 1574A, ff. 62, 72 & 74v. (marriages, October 1583 at Secqueville and Verrieres).
- 144 See Appendix 11 and above pp. 400-12 on the refuge throughout the following discussion.
- 145 Another, Ursin Bayeux, would occasionally serve at Caen during the 1590's, though he was pastor at Beuville and Bernières-sur-mer. ADC, C 1574B.
- 146 Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 422-528 & 541-675, passim; ADC, C 1570, C 1571A & C 1574A, passim; Curtis, "Thirtieth Annual Report - Société Guernesiaise," p. 332; de la Rue, Documents sur le protestantisme (CM, MS 72), f. 23r. See Map 7; Reformed congregations in the area surrounding Caen, 1576-85. In addition to those mentioned in the registers within 25 kilometers of Caen, three more distant villages with Reformed churches had a close relationship with the Caen church: Bricqueville and Colombières to the west and Ussy to the south.

147 Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, IV, 80-88, 94-96; Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 157-59. See above p.389.

148 de la Rue, Documents sur le protestantisme (CM, MS 72), ff. 26v. - 27 (24 May 1591 request by St. Etienne and denial); Sauvage, St. Etienne de Caen, p. v. n. 2.

149 See chapter Seven p. 358 on the attack on Allemagne.

150 ADC, C 1571B, f. 17 (baptisms, 2 February 1592); Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 174.

151 ADC, C 1571B, ff. 6, 12v., 13 (baptisms, 10 February 1591, 15-22 September 1591 & 6 October 1591); ADC, C 1572, f. 56v. (baptism, 20 June 1599).

152 de la Rue, Documents sur le protestantisme (CM, MS 72), ff. 19, 23v. (receipts for rent on La Carrière, 1593-98); Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 175. The extent to which the 4,000 or more Protestants had been accepted by city officials is reflected in the fact that the Reformed ministers were called upon to make a public announcement of the opening of bidding on the construction of new fortifications in October 1592. Perhaps the ranks of the Protestants were known to include important masons who would have been particularly concerned with this announcement. AMC, EE 32 f. 109v. (4 October 1592 attestation by Gautier of his announcement at services at Le Carrel). On Protestants in the building trades see chapter Five p. 204.

153 de la Rue, Documents sur le protestantisme (CM, MS 72), f. 23v. (9 February 1596 sentence of the vicomte); Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 175.

154 de la Rue, Documents sur le protestantisme (CM, MS 72), f. 27v.

155 Remonstrances des églises réformées, au roy: Et à nos-Seigneurs de son Conseil: Sur les moyens de pourvoir à leurs iustes plaintes, afin de nourrir paix et concorde entre tous les bons Francois et fideles serviteurs de sa Majeste (no place, 1595), pp. 56, 70-71.

156 N. Weiss, ed., "Autour de l'Edit de Nantes - l'état des Protestants et de leurs églises à la veille de l'édit d'après un mémoire inédit, de ceux d'Orléans," BSHPF, 47 (1898), 138. The

Plaintes. . . states that in March 1596 the house in which services had been held in Caen was burned by Roman Catholics. Presumably this was a house on the location called La Carrière. Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 166; Floquet, Parlement de Normandie, IV, 65.

157 de la Rue, Documents sur le protestantisme (CM, MS 72) f. 19v. On the acquisition of a permanent temple see the Epilogue.

158 See Appendix 11 and above pp. 400-12 on the refuge throughout the following discussion.

159 ADC, C 1576, f. 29 (16 March 1611).

160 ADC, C 1572, f. 19v. (May 1597 reference to his widow). Though his name is listed on the flyleaf of the 1590-97 Marriage register in a nineteenth-century hand, he does not appear in the register, nor does Pierre Pinson who is also listed. ADC, C 1574B.

161 ADC, C 1575 f. 9v; Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre, I, 199. Buisson-en-Auge was probably le Buisson, to the northeast of Caen on the coast.

162 ADC, C 1574B, ff. 13v. & 26v. (marriages, January 1593 & May 1594); ADC, C 1571B, ff. 31v., 56, 61v., 76v. (baptisms, 1593-94).

163 ADC, C 1575, ff. 3-33 passim (marriages, 1598-1600). The Lasson, Bernières, Manneville church was a surprising combination. While Lasson and Bernières were quite close together in the northwest of Caen, Manneville, to the east of Caen, was at least 45 kms. from coastal Bernières. Yet, the three congregations were spoken of as united on several occasions. ADC, B 1575, ff. 45v., 58v. (marriages, 1603 & 1604).

Parent had remained on the Channel Islands after 1585 and was only allowed to return to Normandy by the Jersey Colloque with great regret. Schickler, Eglises de langue française en Angleterre, II, 430, 437, 444, 448, 451, 453-54. Because the Caen registers for the period after 1609 were destroyed during World War II, we do not know how long he remained in Caen. His son, Jean, was pastor at Vitrey in Brittany. ADC, C 1572, f. 103.

164 [Gilles Gautier], Response au Rescrit de Georges 1'Apostre ([Caen], 1596), p. 2; George 1'Apostre [M. de Caumont], Le Tombeau des Hérétiques ou le Faux Masque des Huguenots est descouvert et les 150 Hérésies du Ministre la Bansserie sont réfutées par le texte de la Bible, des Conciles et des Pères (Caen, 1597 & 1599). No copy of the

Traité du Huguenot has been located. On these works see de la Rue, Cartulaire de Caen (BMC, MS In-4. 218), f. 275r.; Abbé J-André Guiot, Le Moreri des Normands (3 vols., BMC, MS In-f. 57), I, f. 182v. According to de la Rue, Caumont published a work entitled La Devise de Henri IV ou il est comparé à César et les guerres de la ligue rapportées avec les guerres d'entre César et pompée (Utrecht, 1598), as well as 1598 (Caen) and 1614 (Rouen) editions of the Tombeau. . . All pages in parentheses refer to the treatises of Gautier (1596 ed.) or George l'Apotre (1599 ed.).

165 See chapter Seven pp.343-44 . This was not the last time Gautier would be involved in a confessional debate. In 1606 he and Le Bouvier met the Jesuit Gontier in debate. Once again the Protestants were misrepresented in the published proceedings which later appeared. Galland, L'Histoire du protestantisme en Basse-Normandie, pp. 16-17.

166 See above p. 399. de la Rue, Cartulaire de Caen (BMC, MS In-4 218), ff. 270-73; See Appendix 17: Working bibliography of the output of Protestant printers in Caen, 1550-1500 on these and other books published by Caen's Protestant printers. Lair, Parlement à Caen, pp. 173-79. Lair promised a bibliography of all the pamphlets he encountered in his research, but it was never included in his book.

167 Le Bas became the official printer for Caen, the other major printing firm, Macé, having joined the League. Lart, Parlement à Caen, p. 141. Le Bas printed the parlement arrêt of 1589 calling on Henri IV to support the Roman Catholic Church. Later in 1590 and 1593 Le Bas published a call for support of Henri IV and a violent attack on the Jesuits. In 1589 a new printer, Jacques Brenouzet, published a pamphlet decrying the conspiracies against Henri III and his assassination. Lepreux, Gallia Typographica, tome III, pt. 1, 431.

168 AMC, BB 19, ff. 20 & 26 (9 February decision by M. d'O); Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 119-20. In 1570 the parlement ruled that the Réformés be granted a place to bury their dead and be constrained to have funeral processions of no more than ten persons. de Beaurepaire, Cahiers de Etats - Charles IX, p. 333 (8 November 1570). In the villages around Caen the Protestant dead were sometimes buried on lands granted to them by Reformed noblemen. ADC, I 8 (29 December 1581 grant of land for Protestant dead to be buried near the Roman Catholic cemetery).

169 de Cahaigues, Eloges des citoyens de Caen, p. 274, n. 1; Lair, Parlement à Caen, p. 157; Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 155-56.

170 AMC, EE 32, f. 81r. (26 September 1592 request for a new Protestant cemetery). The hostility of the prior of the Hôtel-Dieu is apparent in this affair.

171 Arcisse de Caumont, Statistique Monumentale du Calvados (5 vols. Caen, 1850-98), I, 290-91. Perhaps this was a case of deathbed abjuration.

172 Bibliothèque de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français, MS 53 (Collection Auzière), ff. 32-33; ADC 1Mi 245 (Archives nationales TT³ 237: 2^e pièce, no. 15, pp. 105-07); de la Rue, Documents sur le protestantisme (CM, MS 72), f. 26r.

EPILOGUE: RELIGIOUS EQUILIBRIUM

It has been the goal of this study to describe and analyze the developments surrounding the establishment and growth of the Reformed church of Caen, the progress of the Religious Wars as they impinged upon life in the city and the response of citizens and institutions to both the Reformation and civil wars. We have seen that after a period of impressive strength in the 1560's, the Reformed community underwent considerable hardship, emerging in the 1590's a smaller but, nonetheless, still a significant element in the population of the Lower Norman capital. The difficulties of years of war, fiscal problems and economic contraction took a toll on Caen, but the limitations of her economy were related more to long-range factors apparent in 1550 than to developments of the last half of the century.¹

Religious change and civil unrest had a more notable impact on some of the institutions of the city than on others. The university experienced direct control by the Réformés for a time, before falling into difficulty during the 1570's and 1580's, only to begin revival at the end of the century under the impetus of a Counter-Reformation model of reform. The Roman Catholic church was harshly tested during the years of Protestant strength, and the rebuilding and revitalization process was delayed by the course of the wars from 1562 to 1598. Protestant strength among the municipal and royal officials of the

city contributed significantly to the success of the Reform in the sixties. Although lessened by the imposition of edicts outlawing the Reformation, this influence of Réformés in high places persisted through the century. This fact promoted the development of good relations between the two confessions as neither had the upper hand entirely.

Staunchly moderate in an era of extreme opinions, Caen was supported in its politique inclinations by the visit of the royalist Rouen Parlement for a brief period in the early 1590's. Otherwise, Caen's freedom from sovereign courts and bishop within the city walls was an important factor in the persistence of amicable relations between the Roman Catholic and Protestant communities. While the parlement had numerous Reformed members, its overall attitude toward Protestantism was reflected in the unwillingness to register the Edict of Nantes until 1609.² Free of such a potentially restrictive force, the Reformed community in Caen was able to come to terms with the weakened Roman Catholic church in the period after 1562-63.

The Roman Catholic community, swelled to a majority once more in the seventies, eighties and nineties, nonetheless lacked the leadership which an episcopal seat might have contributed. The Abbey of St. Etienne lay in rubble until 1610.³ The Dominicans and Franciscans complained in 1594-96 that the wars had delayed rebuilding after the destruction of the 1560's. In 1596 the Franciscan church had been rebuilt but still lacked windows.⁴ The Dominicans had suffered losses as a result of fortifications added during the wars

and requested aid from the city as indemnity for this and because of their extreme poverty.⁵ This and other evidence indicates that the Roman Catholic order was only slowly reviving in the aftermath of a long period of difficulty. The Roman Catholics of Caen did not respond vigorously to radicalism. In fact, agitation by radical League curés had only a minimal impact in the early 1590's.

In general, the moderate position of the echevins and royal officials fostered conciliation of the two confessional groups rather than conflict. One minor incident reflects this policy. In 1597 the chaplain of the leprosarium at Beaulieu, Gilles Chaales, complained that his custos, Jean Le Roux, was a Protestant. For the past four years Le Roux had refused to aid in the celebration of the mass because of his "profession publique de la religion pretendue réformée." The echevins decided that in the future the function of custos should be carried out by a Roman Catholic but that Le Roux should continue to fulfill the other half of his responsibilities to Beaulieu, serving the lepers and collecting the rents due to the leprosarium. Thus, the solution hurt neither the Protestant Le Roux, who did not lose his job, nor the chaplain, who was authorized to find a Roman Catholic custos.⁶

The avoidance of confessional conflict, which this incident reflects, was even more strikingly revealed in the city's response to the plan to introduce the Jesuit order into Caen, 1604 to 1608. The coming of the Jesuits to Caen has long been a subject of controversy. The early eighteenth-century historian of Caen, Daniel Huet,

presented a narrative of their establishment in which they appeared to have been well received by the Caennais.⁷ His account is probably based on the 1699 Histoire de la fondation du Collège de Caen, by the Jesuit, Jean-Baptiste de la Duquerie.⁸ In contrast to the Jesuit claim that Caen wished the order to establish a school, documents in the deliberations indicate that there was strong opposition to their acquisition of the Collège royal du Mont as early as 1604.⁹

The details of the controversy provide insight into the workings of the city government, attitudes toward Henri IV and royal authority and the relationship between Roman Catholics and Protestants at this time. The latter concerns us here. From the first hint in 1604 that Henri IV was considering sending the Jesuits to Caen, the echevins voiced their opposition.¹⁰ The affair lay dormant until December 1607 when Henri wrote to inform the Caennais that he was establishing the Jesuit order in Caen.¹¹ In February 1608 a small assembly met to discuss the issue. Considerable opposition was voiced by representatives of the university, the city government and the bourgeois. One bourgeois, Gilles Quesnot, suggested that since Falaise really wanted the Jesuits why not let them go there. Yet, the king's letter demanded agreement not discussion, so the city responded that if the question of financing the Jesuits could be solved they would be accepted.¹²

The lack of enthusiasm was already apparent, but a general assembly of over 4,000 citizens on 4 November 1608 made the city's opposition even more clear.¹³ Both Roman Catholics and Protestants

spoke out against the Jesuits and repudiated the meeting in February which had agreed, albeit reluctantly, to their establishment in Caen. Objections were raised based on the fact that Caen already had enough educational institutions and there was no need for more preachers and confessors. Furthermore, the expense to the city would be considerable, especially since the Protestants, comprising a third of the city's population, would not contribute to such costs. The Protestants confirmed their opposition in a separate letter. Finally, the reputation of the Jesuits for creating conflict was well known, and the Caennais stated that:

lesd. habitans sestans representé la Paix
la grande amitié et concorde Estant entre
lesd. Catholiques et ceux de lad. Religion
Aians tousiours vescu ensemble en si unie
tranquillité En l'observance des commande-
mentz de sa Maiesté qu'en lad. ville n'a
esté jusques a present repandu une seule
quitte de Sang par sedition civile Et
craignans que ce nouveaux Establissement
ne changeast les vollontez en quelques
uns. . .¹⁴

They begged his majesty not to send the Jesuits to their city. This huge assembly agreed to send representatives to the king with their objections, but it was to no avail. In December new letters patent arrived which ordered the Caennais to prepare for the arrival of the Jesuits.¹⁵

The furor created by the question of the Jesuits coming to Caen was so great that in February 1609 the municipal elections were cancelled for fear of civil unrest, and those echevins elected in 1606 were continued in office.¹⁶ The significance of this entire incident

is that it shows clearly the unity of the Roman Catholics and Protestants in opposing the potentially divisive presence of the Jesuit order. While the claim that no blood had been shed in Caen was certainly an exaggeration, the agreement among all Caennais, Roman Catholic and Protestant, that assurance of peace was a priority was entirely consistent with the tradition of cooperation which had developed over the years.

Conflict did follow closely upon the arrival of the Jesuits. In 1608 the Réformés succeeded in purchasing La Carrière, the garden near the city gate where they had been worshipping out-of-doors since 1596 when the building they had been using for services was burned.¹⁷ Yet, when they sought to begin building a temple in 1609, opposition was raised because La Carrière was quite close to the city walls and, therefore, might invite occupation by an attacking enemy. The opposition was led by one of the few supporters of the Jesuits, Gigault de Bellefonds, governor of the chateau since 1603. Whether the newly-arrived Jesuits had anything to do with this opposition cannot be determined. Their establishment certainly must have been vexing to the Protestants, who ten years after the Edict of Nantes lacked even a building in which to hold services. Reformed efforts to retain La Carrière were in vain, and in 1611 they were forced to accept a site in the Bourg l'abbé much further from the city center, turning La Carrière over to the echevins. Finally in July 1612 the temple was completed on this location, and the "Eglise Réformée de Ceste ville de Caen" had its first permanent home.¹⁸

The congregation which would gather in this new building was considerably smaller and more subdued than the enthusiastic crowds which thronged to the Grandes Ecoles and the Grain Hall in the 1560's. Yet, the Réformés of Caen had more than survived the thirty years of war and migration. Having built a strong foundation of cooperation with their Roman Catholic neighbors in their early years of growth, the Réformés emerged in the seventeenth century a respected, articulate and influential element in the urban population of Caen.

FOOTNOTES--EPILOGUE

1

One of the long-standing deficiencies of Caen as a commercial center was the lack of an annual fair. Efforts to keep the fairs established by Louis XI in the late fifteenth century had failed. (see chapter Two, pp. 14-15). Thus, when Henri IV's dependence upon Caen for support after 1589 became apparent, the city resumed its efforts to gain a fair. From 1589 couriers solicited this and other favors of Henri. Attempts to have the fair held at Guibray, near Falaise, permanently transferred failed; however, in May 1594 Caen received royal letters patent establishing a two-week royal fair in the city. Only in 1599 were the details of time and location settled. This development would have a major impact on the city in the early seventeenth century. AMC, BB 27, ff. 17-18, 119-20 (17 June 1589 & 6 October 1590 requests for a fair); de la Rue, Cartulaire de Caen (BMC, MS In-4. 218), f. 91r. (May 1594 letters patent establishing a fair); AMC, HH 48 (1599-1600 documents on the foire franche).

2

Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 169-70. It was registered provisionally in September 1599, after the Paris Parlement had done so in February 1599. Final acceptance only came on 5 August 1609. Dewald has shown that the Parlement of Normandy did not take a hard line against heresy. Yet, as royalists, influenced by the Counter-Reformation, whose primary concern was the maintenance of order, the parlementaires saw Henri IV's tolerant edict as an invitation to further conflict. Dewald, "The Magistrates of the Parlement of Rouen," pp. 282-86, 301-03. See chapter Four, n. 30.

3

BN, Beaulart, Généologie de la Famille Beaulart, fol. 65v.

4

AMC, BB 31, ff. 61r., 152 r. (13 May 1595 & 3 February 1596). The Franciscan church was rebuilt thanks to gifts from the members of the sovereign courts who were in the city between 1589 and 1594. A gift for a window was solicited from the Caen city government. Whether they responded is not known, but Henri IV, the Cardinal de Bourbon and the duc de Montpensier did give windows. Pépin, St. Julien, p. 74.

5

AMC, BB 30, ff. 177-79, 231v. (August 1594 & 7 January 1595). The city had taken over the area belonging to the Dominicans called La Cercle (60 on de Bourgueville's map, see Map 1) in order to improve

the fortifications in that area. The religieux described their extreme poverty and inability to improve their buildings which were still in ruins, requesting a 200 écus per year grant from the city. The echevins responded by authorizing that 50 écus per year be paid to the Dominicans as indemnity for La Cercle.

⁶ AMC, BB 32, ff. 15v., 26 (15 March & 8 March 1597). The minutes of the echevins' decision on 15 March are in the hand of Pierre Beaulart, the Protestant city secretary.

⁷ Huet, La ville de Caen, pp. 231ff. Huet was trained by Jesuits.

⁸ Alfred Hamy, Les Jesuites à Caen (Paris, 1899). This is la Duquerie's manuscript history with introductory notes.

⁹ AMC, BB 36, ff. 121, 124-25 (30 March & 3-4 April 1604); AMC, BB 37, ff. 227-313 passim (November 1607-February 1608); AMC, BB 38, passim (March 1608-1610), especially ff. 48-65 (Opposition à l'establissement des Révérends pères Jésuites en la ville de Caen avec les lettres patentes à eux expediés à ce sujet, 1607-08 collection of documents in a later hand). For discussions of this affair see Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 187-210; Galland, L'histoire du Protestantisme en Basse-Normandie, pp. 10-15 and Leon Puiseux, Les Jesuites à Caen (Caen, 1846).

¹⁰ AMC, BB 36, ff. 121, 124-25 (30 March 1604).

¹¹ AMC, BB 37, ff. 282-83 (23 December 1607 royal letters).

¹² AMC, BB 37, ff. 271-72, 280-81 (lists of those called to attend the 9 February 1608 meeting); ff. 276-79 (8 February 1608 meeting to respond to Henri IV's letter). The meeting was held early, on the same day the attendants were notified, in order to avoid public outcry.

¹³ AMC, BB 38, ff. 71-73 (4 November 1608 minutes of the meeting and remonstrances presented by the Protestants).

¹⁴ AMC, BB 38, ff. 71v.-72r. (4 November 1608).

15

Galland, L'histoire du Protestantisme en Basse-Normandie, p. 14. One of the representatives sent was the leading Réformé Michel Le Reverend, sieur de Bougy, who had presented the Protestant petition. The Jesuits came to Caen in 1609 and occupied the Collège royal du Mont.

16

AMC, BB 38, ff. 164, 180 (20 February & 2 March 1609). The cause of the continuance was not specified, but the fervor of the November meeting suggests that Henri's December order might well have caused division in the city, though not necessarily along confessional lines.

17

See chapter Eight, n. 156.

18

de la Rue, Documents sur le protestantisme (CM, MS 72), ff. 19v.-21.r. (1599-1611 documents concerning the acquisition of land for a temple); ADC, C 1518 (1064-1695 documents relating to the Reformed temple); AMC, BB 38, f. 275r. (no date - owners of land in the Bourg l'abbé are ordered to sell to the Protestants); AMC, BB 39, ff. 112r., 145r. (4 December 1610 & 21 May 1611 echevins deliberate on the question of the Protestant temple). See also Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. 176-84 and Galland, L'histoire du Protestantisme en Basse-Normandie, pp. 17-19. On the Jesuits as a catalyst to conflict see Beaujour, pp. 209-12.

SOURCES CONSULTED

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(For abbreviations see pp.
xviii-xix)

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LB 13: Réception, information de vie et moeurs, 1566-72.
LB 49: Rapports, Dictums, Arrêts, 1568.
LB 1970: Police de la Peste, 1584-85.

Série C

- C 1518: Prêche de la ville de Caen, 1064-1695.
C 1565-1576: Protestants. Etat civil. Caen. 1560-1614. See
Appendix 12.

Série D

- D 48: Remonstrances de de Bourgueville concernant l'état et les
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Série E

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Série F

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 G 885-890: Nôtre-Dame de Froiderue.
 G 891-903: St. Etienne-le-vieux.
 G 904-908: St. Gilles.
 G 909: St. Georges du Chateau.
 G 910-917: St. Jean.
 G 918: St. Julien.
 G 919-921: St. Martin.
 G 922-947: St. Michel de Vaucelles.
 G 948-967: St. Nicolas.
 G 968-971: St. Ouen.
 G 973-1006: St. Pierre.
 G 1007-1022: St. Sauveur.
- G 1023: De l'origine et institution des confréries de charité.
 Recueil manuscrit de copies de statuts de douze charités de
 Caen, 1734.

Série H (classified H 1-9008; remainder unclassified)

- H 1-659: Abbaye d'Ardennes.
 H 1817-3998: Abbaye de St. Etienne de Caen.
 H unclassified: Carmes de Caen (7 cartons).
 H unclassified: Capucins de Caen (1 carton).
 H unclassified: Jacobins de Caen (5 cartons/liasses; registres).
 H unclassified: Cordeliers de Caen (1 liasse).

Série H. supplémentaire

- Registre 1: Inventaire du Chartrier des hospices de Caen, 1858.
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Série I

- I 1: Protestants. Edits, déclarations, arrêts et documents, 1598 -
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 I 3: Eglises de Basse-Normandie.
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Série 5PL

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BB 1-38: Brouillons et transcriptions de procès-verbaux des délibérations du Corps de Ville et pièces annexes, 1535-1610.
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Série EE

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The Oath of the Caen echevins

Vous jurés à Dieu votre [Père] créateur duquel vous voyés ici la remembrance, par la foy qu'avés [que vous avez] recue en baptême et par la part que vous attend'és avoir en paradis, qui bien justement et loyaument, vous et chacun de vous exercer l'office et charge de Jurés, Gouverneurs et Conseillers de laditte ville, de laquelle vous avés été élu de part de la communauté en ensuivant le privilège d'icelle. Et premièrement vous serés bons, vrays et loyaux au Roy, à lui obeissant et à ses officiers, ses droits a votre possibilité Lui garderés. Les privileges, droits, franchises et libertes de ladite ville vous aurés en cure, pourchasserés et deffendrés contre toutes personnes; Les Sécrets et délibérations de ladite ville, vous tiendres scellés sans les révéler, Les deniers et revenus d'icelles vous pourchasserés et exposerés justement et Loyaument aux réparations et choses nécessaires de ladite ville ainsi que besoin et métier sera, au profit d'utilité d'icelle et non ailleurs, Les Tours, Murailles et artillerie vous visiterés et ferés la cherche des sujets au guet, pour le Tout être mis a ordre et police, aux officiers de laditte ville Vous pourvoirés et baillerés a personnes capables de l'Essence et ainsi qu'il est contenu en chartrier de ladite ville outre plus que a nulle des fermes vous n'aurés droit ou participation aucune en quelque Manière et d'abondant vous ferés rendre les Comptes au receveur de laditte ville, au Prieur de l'hôtel Dieu et aux Gardes des malades selon l'entente desdites Privilèges et en toutes autres choses . concernant et regardant votre dit office et charge, Vous Gouvernerés justement et Loyaument comme il appartient, et ainsi vous le jurés et prometés.

Source: Archives municipales de Caen, AA 1, f. 35 (14th century) and BB 110 (17th-century copy).

Appendix 2: The Welfare foundations of Medieval Caen.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Year founded (by whom)</u> <u>-administered by</u>	<u>Major Function</u>	<u>Functioning in</u> <u>16th century ?</u>
Hôpital de Guillaume le Conquérant	1054-55 (William the Conqueror)	-care of 30 poor Caennais	-no, suppressed c. 1160 & revenues turned over to Beaulieu
Hôpital de St. Gilles	1070 -the Abbey of La Trinite	-care of the poor of the Bourg l'abbesse	- ?, chapel became the parish church of St. Gilles
Hôpital de la Ste. Trinité or du Nombril-dieu, la Petite Maladrerie	1070 (Lanfranc) -the Abbey of St. Etienne	-care of the lepers of the Bourg l'abbé	- ?, as leprosy disappeared revenues were absorbed by the Abbey
Hôpital de Nôtre-Dame de Beaulieu, la Grande Maladrerie	1160 (duke Henri II) -eventually the bourgeois of Caen (13th century)	-care of the lepers of the ducal/royal bourg	-yes, as leprosy disappeared in the 16th & 17th centuries revenues were absorbed by other foundations (1696 - Hôtel-Dieu)
Hôpital de St. Thomas, dit l'Abbatu	late 12th century (Abbey of La Trinité) -Abbey of La Trinité -named for Thomas à Becket	-care of the lepers of the Bourg l'abbesse	-no, as leprosy disappeared it became a simple benefice of the Abbey -damaged in 1562 by Protestants
Hôtel-Dieu or Hôpital de St. Thomas et de St. Antoine	12th century (duke Henri II?) -Abbeys of St. Etienne & La Trinité -eventually the bourgeois of Caen (13th century)	-care of the poor and sick of Caen	-yes
Hôpital de St. Gratien et St. Philippe, Hôpital des Aveugles	1324 (Michel Louvet & others by royal letters patent) -Paris Hôpital des Quinze-vingts	-care of the poor, blind of Caen	-yes, marginal & ceased to function in the early 17th century
Hôpital de Roger Lair, dit des Etables	1453 (Roger Lair)	-care of 50 poor	-no, never seems to have been viable

Major source: de la Rue, Essais historiques, II, 169-237.

Appendix 3: Economic activity in Caen - narratives.

A: Twelfth century, Raoul Tortaire, monk of St. Benoit de Fleury.

J'y [Caen] ai vu arriver, disait-il, en toute hâte et de tous pays des troupes de marchands apportant [sic] des objets de commerce innombrables. J'y ai vu diverses espèces de parfums, des légumes. . . , des étoffes de laine de toutes couleurs, de nombreux tissus de lin d'une rare finesse, des soies moelleuses à trame serrée, de la cannelle, de l'encens, du poivre, du cumin, des porcs soyeux, des moutons à longue laine, des dépouilles et des peaux de nombreux troupeaux. . . Et à la vue de tant de richesses, je me sens tout agité et suis horriblement vexé de n'avoir pas le sou.

Quoted by D. Tourmente, Le port de Caen; étude économique avec une introduction historique (Caen, 1914), p. 6.

B: Thirteenth century, Guillaume le Breton, chronicler of Philip Augustus.

Villa potens, Caen, opulenta, situ spaciosa, decora
Fluminibus, pratis et agrorum fertilitate,
Merciferasque rates portu capiente marino,
Seque tot ecclesiis, dominibus et civibus ornans,
Ut se Parisio vix annuat esse minorem.

Quoted from Philippide, livre VIII by Guillaume-Stanislas Trébutien, Caen, son histoire, ses monuments, son commerce et ses environs (Caen, 1877), p. 4.

C: Sixteenth century, Charles de Bourgueville, sieur de Bras, Les Recherches et Antiquitez de la Province de Neustrie, à Present duché de Normandie comme des villes remarquables d'icelle: Mais plus spécialement de la ville de Caen (2 books separately paginated in 1 vol., Caen, 1588).

. . . l'on void au droit de la riviere vers l'Orient arriver les navires venans de la mer chargez de precieuses et rares marchandises que l'on descend a l'endroit de dix gr[n]ds quais du quartier de l'Isle, et quatre du quartier de la grande ville, aux greniers, celliers, et magazins de la longue et tortue rue des quaiz, aux uns les vins par les francs brenants, aux autres le sel par les francs porteurs, les especeries, saumons, morues, et poissons sallez, bresil, les pommes, meulles, cuirs, bois, et autres sortes de marchandises par un grand nombre de porteurs ou crocheteurs, selon

les temps et negotiations qui se font par les marchants forains et estrangers, comme aussi les marchants de la ville y font charger des bleds, beurres, laines, pastel qu'on appelle voides, pruneaux, toilles, chanures, cordages, que autres plusieurs derrees, selon qu'ils en font trafic et commerce les forains et eux. II, p. 7.

Le dy qu'en cestedite ville il se fait un grand trafic et commerce de bleds, estante situee entre le Bessin et la Campagne qui sont pays de blarie, de sel pour la fourniture de neuf greniers, assavoir Caen, Fallaise, Argenten, Sees, Alençon, Diesmes, Bellesme, Nogen le Rotrou et la chambre de Bayeux.

Il s'y fait aussi grand commerce de bestaux, beurres, suifs, laines, pastel que l'on appelle voides, toilles, cordages, draps, serges, lingettes, cuirs, chapeaux, et autres darrees dont les habitans font distribution aux marchands de Paris, Rouen, Orleans, Anvers, Londres, et autres villes, qui les fournissent d'autres marchandises selon les commoditez des pays, et speciallement des plus excellens vins qu'on puisse boire.

Et encores qu'il en croisse peu au pays les habitans ont ceste commodite des vins d'Argences qui croissent à viron trois lieues de la ville, que si les vins en estoyent aussi bons que les raisins en sont doux et delicats, il ne s'en trouveroit de meilleurs pour vins blancs, mais on ne leur donne assez de temps pour meurir, et les pluyes d'Octobre les suffoquent aucunes fois. Mais il croist au pays si grande abondance de pommes que l'on en fait d'excell[n]s cidres et a suffisance pour achapter et se fournir des meilleurs vins, et encores demeurer fournis de cidres fort singuliers, et de sorte que les Seigneurs gens de Iustice, de Finances, Co[m]missaires, et autres qui n'ont accoustume d'en boire qui font seiour en la ville, quitent le vin pour boire de ce cidre.

Le diré aussi avecques assurance qu'il croist aux beaux et spacieux iardins de ceste ville et fauxbourgs des plus excellens et delicats fruits de toutes sortes que en autre ville de France, et de toutes fleurs odoriferants en de belles et plaisaintes trailles, galleries, pallisades, et parterres.

Le ne doy mettre en oubli une chose fort remarquable du trafic qui se fait de ce pastel que l'on appelle voides, qu'on y distribue parce qu'il ne s'en fait hors l'Albigeois et le Languedoc en pays de France que au terroir de la ville et Viconté dudit Caen, donc il s'en tire si bonne quantité que l'on en fait d'aussi singulieres taintures que du mesme pastel d'Albi.

Et si ne me puis taire qu'il n'y a ville en l'Europe ou il se face de plus beau et singulier linge de table que l'on appelle haute lice, sur lequel les artisans telliers representent toutes sortes de fleurs, bestes, oyseaux, arbres, medalles, et armoiries de Rois, Princes, et Seigneurs, voire aussi naivement et proprement que le plus estimé peintre pourroit rapporter avecques son pinceau, ausquels artisans telliers il seroit aussi aise de tistre la tapisserie comme ils font et representent les pourtraits sur le linge, qui est un advertissement que i'en faits si aucuns Seigneurs ou marchands le vouloyent faire entreprendre.

Et quand aux bourses de Caen, il ne s'en faict en autres villes des plus mignardes, propres, et richement estofees de velours de toutes couleurs de fil d'oret d'argent pour Seigneurs et gens de Iustice, dames, et damoiselles, dont il se dit en proverbe commun par excellence bourses de Caen.

II, pp. 25-26.

D: Sixteenth century, Jacques de Cahaignes, Eloges des citoyens de la ville de Caen, première centurie, trans. Augustin de Blangy (Caen, 1880, originally published in Latin in 1609).

Outre les toiles de tout genre, et principalement celles qui sont damassées, et pour me servir d'une expression de Plaute, que nous pouvons appeler belluées, parce qu'elles représentent des animaux de tout genre; outre les fins tissus de laine qui servent à confectionner nos vêtements et dont la facon exige le concours journalier de plus de 4,000 individus; enfin, outre ces belles carrières inépuisables dont on tire des pierres de taille que l'on transporte par mer pour construire les murs et les tours des édifices, en France, en Angleterre et chez les autres nations étrangères, Caen est renommé pour ses bourses tissées de fil de soie, d'argent et d'or.

Eloge 29 - Jacques le Bouteiller,
boursier, pp. 140-41.

Appendix 4: Officiers de la ville de Caen, late sixteenth century

Officiers du poids du Roi (4) - Officer of Royal weights and measures
 Mesureurs de verdages (4) - Measurers* of apples and apple products
 Mesureurs du tripot et halle à ble (4) - Measurers of grain
 Pucheurs et amineurs de sel (4) - Measurers of salt
 Mesureur de charbon et chaux (1) - Measurer of charcoal and lime
 Mesureurs de voesde (2) - Measurers of pastel
 Mesureur de than (1) - Measurer of tanner's bark
 Auneurs de toiles (4) - Measurers of linen
 Auneurs de draps (3) - Measurers of cloth
 Courtier de la poissonerie (1) - Fish broker
 Cureur de la poissonerie (1) - Inspector and cleaner of the fish market
 Courtiers de vin (2) - Wine broker
 Garde de scel des lingettes (1) - Guard of the cloth seal
 Espéreur de la rivière d'Orne (1) - Supervisor of the cleaning of the
 Orne
 Mesureur de pierre et carrel (1) - Measurer of stone
 Trompette de la ville (1) - Town trumpeter
 Gouverneur de l'horloge (1) - Master of the city clock
 Maître charpentier (1) - Master carpenter
 Maître maçon (1) - Master mason
 Courtier des bêtes cavelines (1) - Horse broker?
 Crieur pour les boires et autres affaires publiques (1) - Town crier
 Cureur des murailles (1) - Inspector and cleaner of the walls

*Mesureur seems to convey the sense of measurer and inspector of goods.

Sources: AMC, BB 11, ff. 35v.-39 (1574) and AMC, BB 17, ff. 15-17 (1579).

Appendix 5: Trades and merchandise for which there were sworn inspectors, Caen (1574-80).

Ainiers (aisniers, hayniers) - Plank makers?
 Aneletz et crochet - Rings and hooks
 Armeuriers - Gunsmiths
 Bastiers, colliers, chevaux et fourreaux - Packsaddles and collars
 Beurrez venduz en détail - Retail butter
 Beurrez et gresses potz et cignotz - Butter, lard etc.
 Bieres - Beer
 Bois de vifve plante - Green wood
 Bonneterie et chapeliers - Knitted goods and hosiery
 Boucherie - Butchers
 Boullangerie - Bakers
 Boursiers et gantiers - Purse and glove makers
 Brodeurs - Embroiderers
 Cardeurs et peigneurs - Carders and brushes
 Carreleurs et savetiers - Repairers of shoes
 Carriers de pierre - Quarriers
 Cercles, goutiers, latte, pallet, bois dolley - Speciality woodworking?
 Chamires (chauvres) - Thatchers
 Chandelle - Candles
 Chapeaux - Hats
 Charbon de boys et terre - Charcoal
 Charrons (cairons) et royers - Cart and wheelwrights
 Chartes et botteaux de foin - Hay (transport of?)
 Chausseterie - Sock and knit industry
 Chaux - Lime
 Cidre (sildre) - Cider
 Cordonnerie - Shoemakers
 Courayeurs - ?
 Cuir pelu et non thenney - Skins - hairy and non-tanned
 Cuisinerie, roticerie et paticerie - Prepared foods (delicatessen & pastry)
 Draperie - Drapery, cloth merchants
 Dinanderie - Coppersmiths
 Epicerie et cire - Spices and wax
 Fagotz et buche - Firewood
 Farines - Flour or meal
 Figues, oranges, citrons et raisins - Imported fresh and dried fruit
 Fil à touret et cordage - Rope and string
 Fil destaing et mollet - Tin wire?
 Foullons - Fullers
 Gattes trencheurs et esceull de bois, sceilles, boesseaux, sabotz de bois et varettez - Wood cutters and workers (wooden shoes)
 Harenc et poisson sec - Haring and dried fish
 Huistres et moules et aultres poissons en estalle - Shell fish
 Imprimeurs et libraires - Printers and booksellers

5: continued

Laine - Wool
 Leveton - ?
 Marechaux - Blacksmiths
 Menuiserie - Carpenters
 Mesquisserie, cuiram et parcheminerie - Tawers of skin (parchment)
 Meulles et oillatz - Millstones and other stone wheels
 Orfebvres - Goldsmiths
 Parchemin et papier - Parchment and paper
 Pelletier - Furriery
 Peuferie - Second-hand clothes
 Plomb et estaing - Lead and tin
 Poissonerie - Fish merchants
 Pots de terre - Earthenward
 Poullaillerie - Poultrymen
 Presseurs - Pressers (apples?)
 Quinquailleurs pour mors de bride et estrieux - Ironware for bridles
 and stirrup
 Sarges et lingettes - Serge and linen cloth
 Scelliers et esperoniers - Saddle and spur makers
 Serreurerie - Locksmiths
 Suif cuit et puant - Tallow
 Thennerie (tannerie) - Tanners of skins
 Taillanderye et cousturier - Tailors (male and female)
 Taincturiers - Dyers
 Taverniers - Tavern keepers
 Than (thaon) - Tanning compound
 Thuille et ardoise - Slate and roofing tile
 Tisserantz de draps - Weavers
 Couetellerie et toillerye - Cloth, linen
 Tripot et halle à bled - Grainery
 Vins - Wine
 Voesda - Pastel

Source: AMC, HH 2, ff. 57-94 (1574-80 lists of gardes/jurés)

note: The trades listed below took part in the Pentecost procession to the Hôtel-Dieu but did not have sworn inspectors.

Couratiers de cidere et fermiers - Farmers and makers of cider?
 Franc porteurs de sel - Dockers of salt (a privileged group)
 Franc brements - Dockers of wine and other goods (a privileged group)
 Massons, charpentiers et couvreurs - Masons, carpenters and roofers
 Merciers - Haberdashers

5: continued

510

Peintres - Painters
Petterons - ?
Verriers - Glassmakers

Sources: AMC, BB1, f. 38 (1537) and AMC, BB 16, f. 49 (1578).

Appendix 6: Inventory of Caen guilds (thirty-one trades).

	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Date of evidence</u>	<u>Sponsor</u>	<u>Confraternity</u>
Food & drink trades	Butchers ¹	1462 & 1586 statutes	N-D de Froiderue -also received bailliage approval (1586)	Confrérie de la Ste. Trinité des Bouchers
	Bakers ²	1469 statutes	St. Jean, chapel of St. Honoré	Confrérie de St. Honore
	Cooks & Pastry-cooks ³	1602	Jacobin convent	?
Textiles & Clothing	Carders & Combers of Wool ⁴	1591 statutes (1st)	King	None; they were to contribute to the poor
	Retail drapers & sock makers ⁵	1367 royal confirma- tion & 1501 statutes	Carmelite convent	Confrérie de St. Roch, St. Pair & St. Basile
	Tailors & Seam- stresses ⁶	1575 statutes (replacement)	Canons of Ste. Croix	Confrérie de Ste. Croix.
	Fullers ⁷	1492 act (existed earlier)	St. Etienne le vieux	Confrérie St. Louis des foulons et tanneurs
	Dyers ⁸	1502 statutes (1595)	St. Etienne le vieux	Confrérie St. Maurice des teinturiers
	Linen cloth- makers ⁹ (toiliers)	1548 matrologe	Carmelite convent	?
Leather & skins	Shoemakers ¹⁰	1565 arrêt	Jacobin convent (?)	?
	Tawers of skin & parchment- makers ¹¹	1496, 1514 & 1573 statutes	St. Julien	Confrérie de N-D en septembre
	Tanners ¹²	1423 establishment	St. Ouen	Confrérie de N-D des avants (la conception de la Ste. Vièrge)
Building & Wood	Chest & trunk- makers ¹³	1590 statutes	St. Etienne le vieux -also received bailliage approval	Confrérie de St. Jean
	Carpenters ¹⁴	[1500], 1532 statutes	King Carmelite convent (?)	Confrérie Ste. Anne

	<u>Trade</u>	<u>Date of Evidence</u>	<u>Sponsor</u>	<u>Confraternity</u>
Metal	Cart & wheelwrights ¹⁵	1587 statutes		Confrérie Ste. Anne
	Cutlers & locksmiths ¹⁶ (fèvres)	1206 statutes	Abbey of Ardennes	Confrérie de N-D de Mars
	Blacksmiths ¹⁷	1310 establishment & 1596 agreement	Chapel of Ste. Anne (near St. Sépulchre)	Confrérie St. Eloy des Marechaux
	Goldsmiths ¹⁸	1596 statutes (replacement)	King	Confrérie de St. Eloy
Paper	Printers ¹⁹	pre-1612		
	Papermakers ²⁰	1590 regulations for inspection	King	
Business Finance	Moneychangers ²¹	1338 establishment	St. Pierre	Confrérie N-D des Changeurs
Health	Apothecaries ²²	1547 original statutes	King	None; controlled by the Faculty of Medicine
	Surgeons & Barbers ²³	1601 agreement reflects prior existence	Jacobin convent	?
Law	Lawyers ²⁴	1524 establishment(?) & 1585, 1588	St. Pierre	Confrérie Monseigneur St. Yves

Footnotes

- ¹Gallier, "La boucherie caennaise," passim; Lucien Musset, "Lettres patentes de Charles IX pour la grande boucherie de Caen (12 août 1573)," *BSAN*, 51 (1948-51), 422-25; *ADC*, G 887.
- ²Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 97-98; *ADC*, 6E 52.
- ³H-Jacobins, Liasse 18.
- ⁴AMC, HH 2, ff. 37-40.
- ⁵Georges Lesage, A Travers le Passé du Calvados (5 vols., Paris & Caen, 1927-41), I, 199-200; *ADC*, C 2855; AMC, HH 2, ff. 30-36; AMC, HH 12; *ADC*, 6E 93, 94, 95, 97; J.M.C. Leber, Collection des meilleurs dissertations, notices et traités particuliers relatifs à l'histoire de France (20 vols., Paris, 1938), XIX, 412-15).
- ⁶AMC, HH 2, ff. 23-29.
- ⁷Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 98, 101-02; *ADC*, G 903.
- ⁸Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 24, 98; Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, p. 104; *ADC*, G 903; Raulin, "Lepreux de Beaulieu," pp. 93-95.
- ⁹*ADC*, 6E 208 & 212.
- ¹⁰AMC, HH 11; *ADC*, H-Jacobins, Liasse 18.
- ¹¹Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 98, n. 42; *ADC*, 6E 155.
- ¹²Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, pp. 107-08, 241; Hipeau, St-Etienne de Caen, pp. 449-50; *ADC*, 6E 195; *ADC*, G 970.
- ¹³AMC, HH 2, ff. 10-17.

- ¹⁴ ADC, 6E 118 (3); AMC, HH 19 (1) & (2).
- ¹⁵ ADC, 6E 67.
- ¹⁶ Michel de Bouard, "De la confrérie pieuse au métier organisé, la fraternité des Fèvres de Caen (fin XIIIe siècle)," Annales-N, 7 (1957), 165-77.
- ¹⁷ Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 87; AMC, HH 18 (1).
- ¹⁸ AMC, HH 2, ff. 96-108.
- ¹⁹ Georges Lepreux, Gallia Typographica ou Répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la Révolution (Paris, 1912), III, pt. 1, 420-21.
- ²⁰ AMC, HH 2, ff. 41-44.
- ²¹ Simon, La vie économique et sociale à Caen, p. 87; Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, p. 104.
- ²² Prentout, "Statuts des apothicaires," pp. 383-92; AMC, HH 2, ff. 45-56; AMC, BB 36, ff. 240-55.
- ²³ ADC, H-Jacobins, Liasse 18.
- ²⁴ Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, p. 104; ADC, G 1006.

Appendix 7: Occupations practiced in sixteenth-century Caen.
 -composite list of those known to have been supervised
 or organized in some way (90).

PRODUCTION

Agriculture

*Fermier
 Foin

Food and drink trades

Beurrier	Graissier
#*Boucher	Fruitier
#*Boulangier (farines)	#*Pâtissier
*Cidre	*Poissonier (huitres, harenc etc.)
*Chandelier (suif cuit et puant)	Poulailler
#*Cuisinier	Pressoirier?
*Epicier	*Rotisseur
*Grainetier	Tavernier
	Vins

Textiles and clothing

*Bonnetier	*Lingetier
*Boursier	*Mercier
Brodeur	#*Peigneur
#*Cardeur	Peuferier
*Chapeliers	*Sergier
#*Chaussetier	#*Tailleur
#*Couturière	#*Teinturier (voède)
#*Drapier	*Tisserand
*Fil	#*Toilier
#*Foulon	
*Laine	

Leather and skins

Batier	#*Megissiers
*Carreleur de chaussures	#*Parcheminier
#*Cordonnier	*Pelletier
Cuir pelu et non tanne	*Savetier
Fourreur	*Sellier
*Gantier	#*Tanneur (thaon)

Building and wood

#*Bahutier	#*Coffretier
Bois vivant	*Couvreur
Carrier de pierre	Fagots et buches
Charbon de bois et terre	*Maçon
*Charpentier	#*Menuisier
Chauvres	Sabots
Chaux	Trancheurs de bois etc.
Cercles, goutiers, latte, pallet, bois dolley	Tuiles et ardoise

Metal

Anelets et crochets	Fil d'étain
Armurier	#*Marechal
#*Charron	#*Orfevre
#*Coutelier	*Plombier
Dinandier	Quincaillier
*Etaimeur	#*Serrurier
*Eperonnier	

Paper

#*Imprimeur, libraire
#*Papetier

Miscellaneous

Pots de terre
*Peintre
*Verrier
Meulles et oillats

SERVICE

Business/finance

#*Changeur

Health

#*Apothicaire
#*Chirurgien, barbier

Law

#*Avocat

#There is evidence of guild organization (31).

*There is evidence of collective action on the part of the group (60).

note: This list is based upon Appendices 4, 5 and 6. It includes all those occupations which can be said to have had a formal recognition of some sort in sixteenth-century Caen. Original terminology and English are given in Appendices 5 and 6. The topical organization and French terms used in this list conform to those used by Jean-Claude Perrot, Genèse d'une ville moderne: Caen au XVIIIe siècle (The Hague and Paris, 1975), pp. 975-78.

Appendix 8: Clerical population of Caen, late 15th and early 16th centuries.

-These figures are estimates based on available evidence. Sources are given where they are not discussed in chapter Two.

Secular clergy

- St. Jean: 1 curé, 1-2 vicars, 5-6 obitiers, 2 prêtres custos = 9-12. Béziers, Diocèse de Bayeux, III, 207; Coqueret, St. Jean, 26-31.
- St. Pierre: 1 curé, 1-2 vicars, 12 obitiers, 35 expectants = 50. Béziers, Diocèse de Bayeux, III, 213; Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, pp. 73-76.
- N-D de Froiderue: 1 curé, 1 vicar, 3-11 obitiers = 5-13. de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 163.
- St. Etienne: 1 curé, 1 vicar, 8-13 obitiers = 10-15. de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 228.
- St. Sauveur: 1 curé, 1 vicar, 7+ obitiers = 9+. de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 188.
- *St. Martin: 1 curé, 1 vicar ?obitiers = 2-5.
- St. Nicolas: 1 curé, 1 vicar, ?obitiers = 2-5. Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, pp. 173-74.
- St. Ouen: 1 curé, 1 vicar, 2 obitiers = 4. Pépin, St. Ouen, p. 17.
- St. Gilles: 1 curé, 1 vicar, 6 obitiers = 8. Pépin, St. Gilles, p. 42.
- St. Michel de Vaucelles: 1 curé, 1-2 vicars = 2-3. ADC, G 922 (1534).
- *St. Julien: 1 curé = 1.
- Collegial de St. Sépulcre: 10 canons, 1 dean = 11. Béziers, Diocèse de Bayeux, III, 195. BMC, Recueil de pièces relatives à l'église collégiale du St-Sépulcre à Caen, XIVe-XVIIIe siècles (In-f.128).

TOTAL: 113-125

*There are no figures available and the estimate is based on similar foundations or churches.

Regular clergy**

- Abbaye de St. Etienne (Abbaye aux Hommes): 20-30
 -Benedictines
- Abbaye de N-D de la Ste. Trinite (Abbaye aux Dames): 20-30
 -Benedictines
- Carmelites (Carmes): 10
 1449: 32, de Beaurepaire, "Charité de la Très-Ste.
 Trinité," p. 325.
 1599: 5, ADC, H-Carmes, liasse 8.
- Augustinian Canons of Ste Croix (Croisiers): 10
 1449: 18 + prior
- *Dominicans (Jacobins): 10
- *Franciscans (Cordeliers): 10
- Augustinians - Hôtel-Dieu: 10
- TOTAL: 90-100

Total (Secular and Religious): 203-235

**In 1575 the Spiritual Franciscan order was established in Caen with 6 monks. Otherwise this list comprises the extent of the regular clergy in Caen through the sixteenth century.

Appendix 9: Curés of the Caen parishes, 16th century.

St. Jean - Coqueret, St. Jean, pp. 21-22; de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 260-61.

- 1504- : Pierre de Barroles
- *1531 : Guillaume le Rat, doctor of theology, canon of the Cathedral of Rouen rector of the University of Caen (1529), preached at Court (Easter 1531), preached before François I (Caen, 1532), deputy of the clergy to the Estates of Normandy (1543).
- 1549 : Jacques Yvelin
- 1556 : Guillaume le Rat, relative of Guillaume le Rat (1531).
- 1561 : Henri Moisy, doctor and dean of theology, curé of N-D de Froiderue (1546), rector of the University of Caen (1564).
- 1571 : Robert Toustain, protonotaire apostolique.
- 1594 : Antoine Jollain, Carmelite monk.
- 1605 : Guillaume le Guay

St. Pierre - Huard, La paroisse St-Pierre, pp. 161-63; de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 106-07; AMC, BB 30, f. 250v. (12 February 1595).

- 1495- : Jean Courtois, doctor of laws, sub-cantor and canon of the Cathedral of Bayeux, vicar-general of the bishopric of Bayeux.
- 1515 : Nicolas du Puy, licensed in canon law, canon of Sens, humanist, author.
- (1508?)
- 1536 : Jean Vymont, priest, resigned St. Pierre to become curé of St. Nom-la-Bretèche (Paris).
- 1536-47 : Thomas Cornet, priest.
- 1565-73 : Guillaume de la Fontaine, doctor of theology.
- 1595 : Le Guet ?
- (1582)-c1619 : Germain Jacques, doctor and dean of theology (Caen), vicar-general of the cardinal de Bourbon, archbishop of Rouen.

N-D de Froiderue - de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 164.

- 1510-37 : Romain Leonard, doctor of medecine, canon of St. Sépulcre (Caen) curé of Curcy and of St. Germain d'Esquetot, rector of the University of Caen (?1515).
- 1546 : Henri Moisy, doctor and dean of theology, see St. Jean (1561).
- 1560 : Vincent Regnault
- 1571 : Jean le Pautonnier
- 1576 : Jean Grippon, dean of the Chretiente de Caen.
- 1591 : Jacques le Vardois

St. Etienne - M. G. Mancel, "Essai sur l'Eglise St-Etienne-le-Vieux," MSAN, 14 (1844), 310-11; de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 229; ADC, 1B3, ff. 378-79 (13 March 1573).

- 1495 : Pierre Vaultier, rector of the University of Caen (1496).
- 1520 : Julien Morisse, rector of the University of Caen (1528).
- 1538 : Richard Blondel
- 1560 : Pasquier le Hot, licensed in law, promoteur of the officialité of Caen, rector of the University of Caen (1545 & 1568).
- 1573 : Guillaume Malherbe, principal of the Collège du Mont.
- 1577 : Richard Aubert
- 1590 : Michel Brière
- 1607 : Guillaume Guilbert, rector of the University of Caen (1601 & 1625).

St. Sauveur - de la Rue Essais historiques, I, 192; AMC, BB 33 f. 31r. (11 Oct. 1598)

- 1517 : Nicole Byron
- 1531 : Roger Buron

9: continued

St. Sauveur (continued)

- 1562 : Gervais le Chevalier, rector of the University of Caen (1585).
- 1592 : Pierre Jouan, doctor of laws, rector of the University of Caen (1598).
- 1598, 1612 : Jean Raoulin, curé of St. Gilles (pre-1612).

St. Martin - Pépin, St. Martin, pp. 12, 36.

- 1503 : Pierre Saffray
- 1532 : Jean des Brières
- 1537 : Simon des Brières
- 1580 : François Magdeleine
- 1587 : Philippe Olivier, licensed in law, secretary of the University of Caen.

St. Nicolas - no list available

St. Ouen - Pépin, St. Ouen, pp. 18, 57; AMC, BB 30, f. 249r. (12 Feb. 1595); AMC, BB 33, f. 38r. (11 October 1598).

- 1563 : Michel Bonnet
- 1581-1595 : Guillaume Gallot
- 1597 : Denis Lugain, doctor of theology of the faculty of Paris, theologian and official of the bishopric of Avranches.
- 1598 : Le Bruel?
- 1614 : Jacques Truffault

St. Gilles - Pépin, St. Gilles, pp. 42-43; Huet, La ville de Caen, p. 340.

- 1536 : Jean de Thieville
- 1560-68 †? : Philippe Mustel, doctor and dean of theology, rector of the University of Caen (1546 & 1549), teacher at the Collège du Bois (1546), deputy of the clergy to the Estates-General (1560, Meaux), Hebrew scholar & gifted preacher.

St. Gilles

- 1581 : Pierre du Buisson, licensed in law.
 1589 : Anne du Buisson, doctor of laws.
 1597-1610† : Julien du Boulley
 -1612 : Jean Raoulin

St. Michel de Vaucelles - de la Rue, Essais historiques, I, 296.

- 1493 : Jacques de Bailleul, professor of arts.
 1524-54†? : Pierre l'Alogny, professor of law, rector of the University of Caen (1521), vice-guardian of apostolic privileges, poet.
 1554 : Gilles l'Alogny, professor of law, vice-guardian of apostolic privileges.
 1591 : Etienne Jumel
 -1603 : Jean le Paon, professor of law, rector of the University of Caen (1565 & 1590).
 1603- : Jean de Gueron, professor of law, rector of the University of Caen (6 times).

St. Julien - Pépin, St. Julien, p. 59.

- 1569 : Robert Langlois, former vicar of St. Julien.
 1594 : Pierre Desrue, professor of law, curé of St. Michel de Vaucelles (1612).

*A single date (without a hyphen) is the only date known for the curé and does not indicate the beginning or end of his term.

Appendix 10: The Caen confraternities.

<u>Location</u>	<u>Year of statutes or other evidence</u>
<u>St. Jean</u>	
St. Jean Baptiste et St. Jean Evangéliste ¹	1449(1505), reorganized 1522, active 1581
Tiers Ordre de St. François ²	no date
St. Sacrement ²	no dates
<u>St. Pierre</u>	
Ste. Cécile ³	established 1564
St. Sébastien ⁴	1600 (confirmed by Papal Bull)
<u>N-D de Froiderue</u>	
Nôtre-Dame ⁵	1446(1393), active 1550 ff.
St. Eustache ⁶	1443, active 1610
St. Sébastien ⁷	1535, active through 16th cent.
<u>St. Etienne</u>	
Nôtre-Dame de la mi-août ⁸	1424, active 1605?
St. Etienne-le-vieuil ⁹	1449, active 1550 & 1588
<u>St. Sauveur</u>	
La transfiguration de notre Sauveur et de St. Sébastien ¹⁰	1480, 1607 (Papal indulgence)
<u>St. Martin</u>	
St. Martin ¹¹	1486

St. Nicolas

St. Nicolas¹² 1452, active through 16th cent.

St. Ouen

St. Ouen¹³ 1493

St. Gilles

N-D d'août¹⁴ 1398, active 16th cent.?

St. Gilles¹⁵ 1488

St. Michel de Vaucelles

St. Michel archange de Vaucelles 1446, active 1568-1605,
(union of 13 charités, chapel of 1625 (statutes reedited)
St. Raphaël in St. Michel de
Vaucelles)¹⁶

St. Julien

St. Julien¹⁷ 1617, 16th cent.?

Ste. Cécile (musical)¹⁸ no date

La nativité de N-D¹⁸ no date

Collegial de St. Sépulcre

St. Sacrement de St. Sépulcre¹⁹ 1495, Counter-Reformation
revival

Carmelites (Carmes)

La Très Ste. Trinité, mort et 1449, active 1599 & 1604
passion de nostre Seigneur
Jesus Christ, St. Sébastien
of St. Roch²⁰

Bonhommes de la Passion ou de 1452
St. Claude (united with Mt.
Carmel of St. Jean - est.
1412)²¹

Dominicans (Jacobins)

Frères de la Charité de St. Jacques et de St. Christophle²² established 1554,
hard times 1602

Unknown

St. Sébastien, St. Cosme et St. Damien²³ 1486, 1546

Notes

¹ Confréries - statutes (ADC, G 1023); ADC, G 910.

² Coqueret, St. Jean, p. 34.

³ ADC, G 1006; Lesage, A Travers le Passé du Calvados, III, 132; M. Raulin, "La confrérie de Ste-Cécile à St-Pierre de Caen (de 1564 à 1792) d'après les archives paroissiales et départementales," Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques, (1897), pp. 148-49.

⁴ Confréries - statutes (ADC, G 1023).

⁵ Ibid., Abbé André Adam, L'église et la paroisse St-Sauveur, anciennement N-D de Froiderue (Caen, 1919), pp. 26-27; ADC, G 887.

⁶ Confréries - statutes (ADC, G 1023); Eugène de Beaurepaire, Journal des choses memorables arrivées à Caen publié d'après des notes manuscrites du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècles (Caen, 1890), p. 15; ADC, G 887.

⁷ ADC, G 887.

⁸ ADC, G 903.

⁹ Confréries- statutes (ADC, G 1023); ADC, G 903.

¹⁰ Confréries - statutes (ADC, G 1023); ADC, G 1020.

¹¹ Confréries - statutes (ADC, G 1023).

- ¹² Ibid., ADC, G 967 (Matrologe de la Charité de St. Nicolas); de Beaurepaire Choses mémorables arrivées à Caen, p. 15; Hippeau, St-Etienne de Caen, p. 450.
- ¹³ Confréries - statutes (ADC, G 1023); de Beaurepaire, Choses mémorables arrivées à Caen, p. 16.
- ¹⁴ Pépin, St. Gilles, pp. 29-30.
- ¹⁵ Confréries - statutes (ADC, G 1023); ADC, G 904; de Beaurepaire, Choses mémorables arrivées à Caen, p. 16.
- ¹⁶ Confréries - statutes (ADC, G 1023); ADC, G 943; Eugène de Beaurepaire, "Les fresques de St-Michel de Vaucelles," BSAN, 12 (1884), 657 (1584 - members carried the bodies of those who died from the plague to burial place).
- ¹⁷ Confréries - statutes (ADC, G 1023).
- ¹⁸ Pépin, St. Julien, pp. 56-57.
- ¹⁹ Confréries - statutes (ADC, G 1023); ADC, G 824: 55 (Matrologe de la Charité du St. Sacrement de St. Sépulcre: 1495-1552 & 1632 ff.); de Beaurepaire, Choses mémorables arrivées à Caen, p. 16; Laffetay, Diocèse de Bayeux, I, 55, (Procession of the Holy Sacrament under the auspices of this confraternity).
- ²⁰ Confréries - statutes (ADC, G 1023); de Beaurepaire, "Charité de la Très-Ste. Trinité"; ADC, H-Carmes, carton 7, liasse 4 and carton 7, loose.
- ²¹ Coqueret, St. Jean, p. 34.
- ²² ADC, H-Jacobins, unnumbered liasse.
- ²³ de Beaurepaire, Choses mémorables arrivées à Caen, p. 16; de Beaurepaire, "Charité de la Très-Ste. Trinité," p. 297, n. 1 (united with St. Martin, 1486?).

Appendix 11: Caen pasteurs, 1558-1610.

<u>Years in Caen</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Place of origin</u>	<u>Miscellaneous</u>
- 5/1560	Paumier ¹	Geneva (Bearn)	-never mentioned in Caen sources
1560-61 (?)	La Barre ²		
1559-63	Jean Cousin ³	Geneva (Flanders, Lille)	-previously pastor near Lausanne -later led the Huguenot congregation of London (1563-74)
1558(60)-72#	Vincent Le Bas, ⁴ sieur duVal		-regent of the University of Caen -fled to the Channel Islands & England 1568 -fled to England, 1572
1558(60)-76	Pierre Pinson ⁵		-regent of the University of Caen -fled to the Channel Islands, 1568, 1572 and England, 1572
5/1563-11/1563	Monsieur d'Aubigny ⁶	Le Havre	
10/1563-8/1564 & 1/1565- 10/1565	Sylvestre ⁷		
11/1566-1572 gap 1568-4/1572 active 4/8/1572	Antoine (Raoul) LeChevalier ⁸	Geneva (Vivre)	-Hebrew scholar- Geneva Academy & University of Caen -later served on the Channel Isles and at Canterbury -died in Guernsey, 10/1572
9/1570-5/1571	Pierre LeRoy, dit du Bouillon ⁹		-pastor at Baron (near Caen), 1565-66 -fled to England, 1572 -fled to Channel Islands (pastor of St. Pierre du Bois & Torteval, Guernsey), 1585-93 -deposed by Guernsey Colloque, 1593, and by National Synod at Saumur, 1596
(1564 & 1570) 1576-85	Gilles de Housteville ¹⁰	Manche	-previously pastor at Ranville & Verrières (near Caen) -regent of the University of Caen (Faculty of Arts) -fled to Channel Islands, 1568, 1572 & 1585 (chosen to preach in Guernsey but refused because of age, 1587)

¹When years span a period of intolerance it is understood that the individual may not have remained in Caen but did continue once tolerance was reestablished.

<u>Years in Caen</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Place of Origin</u>	<u>Miscellaneous</u>
11/1570	Pierre de Cahaignes ¹¹	Caen	-fled after St. Bartholomew massacres and imprisoned in Le Havre
4/1571-1607	Gilles Gautier, sieur de la Benserrie ¹²		-ordained in Caen, 1 April 1571 -Professor of theology at Oxford, 1572-76 -fled to Channel Islands (pastor at St. Sauveur, Jersey), 1585 -died 16 March 1611 in Caen
1 & 2/1576	Jean Azire ¹³		-pastor at Secqueville -intermittent at Caen
1576-91	Jean Baudart, ecuyer ¹⁴		-previously pastor at Secqueville -fled to England, 1568 & 1572 -fled to Channel Islands in 1585 & served in Guernsey in 1587; involved in efforts by Norman pastors to get pulpits -pastor at Lasson after 1591
1590-99	Jean de la Rue ¹⁵		
1600-	Claude Parent ¹⁶		-previously at Bayeux -fled to Channel Islands, 1572; sat on Colloque de Jersey, 1577, & served at Grouville; returned to France in 1580 -fled to Channel Islands, 1585; remained until pressure from Caen forced his return to Normandy in 1600; important figure in Jersey church affairs
1602-27	Jean Le Bouvier ¹⁷		
1609-16	Pierre de Licques ¹⁸		

Footnotes

- 1 Kingdon, Geneva and the Wars of Religion, pp. 57 & 145.
- 2 de Bourgueville, Recherches et Antiquitez de Caen, II, 162; "Une Mission à la Foire de Guibray", BSHPF, 28 (1879), 463.
- 3 R. M. Kingdon & J.-F. Bergier et al, ed., Régistres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs de Genève au temps de Calvin (4 vols., Geneva, 1962-74), II, 87; Kennedy, "Jean Cousin," *passim*; Elsie Johnston & Anne Oakley, ed., Actes du Consistoire de l'église française de Threadneedle Street, Londres (2 vols., Frome, 1936 & 1969), *passim*.
- 4 Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 33-528; Fernand de Schickler, Les églises de langue française (3 vols., Paris 1892), I, 200 & II, 390; Abraham Mourant, ed., Chroniques de Jersey, (Jersey, 1858), p. 127.
- 5 Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 33-358; Schickler, Les églises de langue française, II, 390; Mourant, Chroniques de Jersey, p. 127; J. W. Graves, "Notes on the Register of the Walloon Church of Southampton and on the Churches of the Channel Islands," Huguenot Society Proceedings, 5 (1894-96), 165, n. 2.
- 6 Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 29-37.
- 7 Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 33-79 & 110-77.
- 8 Kingdon, Geneva and the French Protestant Movement, pp. 202-07; Henri Prentout, "Genève et Caen (1563-64)", Revue de la Renaissance, 4 (1903), 229-43; E. & E. Haag, eds., La France Protestante (2nd ed., 6 vols., Paris, 1877-88), V, cols. 1152-53; Dictionary of National Biography, vol. iv, 214-15.
- 9 Kingdon & Bergier, Régistres de la Compagnie des Pasteurs, III, 210, n. 2; Aymon, Les Synodes nationaux des Eglises Réformées, I, part B, 211; Schickler, Les églises de langue française, I, 220 & II, 424, n. 1, 446; Spencer C. Curtis, "Thirtieth Annual Report of the Antiquarian Section," Société Guernesiaise, Transactions, 13, part 5 (1941), 333.

- 10
Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 52-107, 431-35, 551; Prentout, "L'Université et les registres des pasteurs," pp. 436-37; Schickler, Les églises de langue française, II, 390, 426 & 434; Mourant, Chroniques de Jersey, p. 127; ADC, C 1570, 1571A and 1574A.
- 11
Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 431, 552; ADC, 1B3, f. 296r. (December 1572).
- 12
Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, pp. 446-528, 583; ADC, C 1570, 1571A, 1571B, 1572, 1574A, 1574B, 1575; ADC, C 1576, f. 29; Schickler, Les églises de langue française, I, 200, 220 and II, 426, n. 1; N. Weiss, "Etat nominatif des Protestants de la Vicomté de Coutances en 1588," BSHPF, 36 (1887), 256; [Gilles Gautier], Response au Rescrit de Georges l'Apostre ([Caen], 1596).
- 13
ADC, C 1570, ff. 1, 23v., 83v.
- 14
ADC, C 1570, 1571A, 1571B, 1574A and 1574B; Schickler, Les églises de langue française, I, 149 & 200, II, 426-27, 433-34.
- 15
ADC, C 1571B, 1572, 1574B, 1575.
- 16
ADC, C 1572, 1575; Schickler, Les églises de langue française II, 390, 423-24, 430-54 passim; de Grave, "Notes. . . on the Churches of the Channel Islands," p. 165, n. 1.
- 17
ADC, C 1572, 1575.
- 18
Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, p. 185.

Appendix 12: The Baptismal and marriage registers of the Caen Reformed Church, 1560-1614.

A. The Registers.

The registers of baptisms and marriages of the Caen Reformed Church represent one of the earliest and most complete series of such documents in existence.¹ They have survived the four centuries since the sixteenth century because they were only found in the late nineteenth century and at that time were placed in the Archives départementales du Calvados, Série C (Intendance de Caen). The registers for the period after 1607 (baptisms) and 1614 (marriages and deaths) had been in the Archives municipales de Caen, Série GG 414-423, but were destroyed along with the Roman Catholic parish records during the Battle of Caen in World War II.²

The baptism and marriage registers for the 1560's were published by Charles-Edmund Lart in 1907. He envisioned a project which would have published the entire series but never got beyond the first volume.³ Lart's editorial skill was great, and his work is a model of exactitude. Since these published registers for the first decade of Caen Protestantism are available in the United States and form the major focus for the detailed analysis of Section Two of this study, I have referred to Lart in my notes.

- ADC, C 1565 (1560-63, baptisms and marriages) - Lart, pp. 1-31 & 529-40.
- C 1566 (1563-67, baptisms) - Lart, pp. 32-296.
- C 1567 (1567-68, baptisms) - Lart, pp. 297-421.
- C 1568 (1570-71, baptisms and marriages) - Lart, pp. 421-51 & 541-95.
- C 1569 (1571-72, baptisms and marriages) - Lart, pp. 451-528 & 596-675.
- C 1570 (1576-84, baptisms)
- C 1571A (1584-85, baptisms) same register starting at opposite
- C 1571B (1590-96, baptisms) ends.
- C 1572 (1596-1607, baptisms)
- C 1573 (1566-68, marriages)
- C 1574A (1576-85, marriages) same register starting at opposite
- C 1574B (1590-97, marriages) ends.
- C 1575 (1597-1614, marriages)
- C 1576 (1607-14, burials)

These registers are also on microfilm in the Archives départementales du Calvados, Série 5 Mi 1R 51, bobiness 14.146 and 14.147.

B. The Methodology.

The period from 1560 to 1568 was chosen for the analytical computer study of the registers. An IBM card was prepared for each of the 10,029 individuals mentioned in the 2402 baptisms and 239 marriages registered from 1560 to 1568. Each card contains the individual's

name, identifying information about the act (source, date and nature of act) and any detailed information provided on the individual (role in act, parish, official position, social status). The material was then analyzed in two ways:

- 1) Using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (N.H. Nie et al, SPSS (2nd ed., New York, 1975)) the frequency of certain characteristics (parish, occupation, official position, social status) was determined for the various groups in the sample: children, parents, godparents, spouses.
- 2) Using Sort/Merge (Sort/Merge Versions 4 and 1 Reference Manual (University of Massachusetts Computing Center, AM 14, CDC 60343900)) and a program written by the University of Montreal Department of Demography to create a code developed by Louis Henry standardizing early modern French surnames, I created lists of the persons mentioned in the registers sorted in various ways. These have been used to verify the Protestant identity of various groups listed in other records: occupational groups, notables, officiers, those asked to pay a forced loan, etc.

Through these two approaches it has been possible to use the registers to create a vivid picture of the Protestant community during the 1560's. The results suggest that much could be learned by putting the information in the later registers into machine readable form as well. By dealing with the data both statistically (1) and as lists and groups of individuals with particular characteristics (2), it has been possible to reap the benefits of computer technology despite the limitations of sixteenth-century sources. The pursuit of historical demography in this period is usually frustrated by the inadequacies of the baptismal, marriage and burial data available.⁴ This study endeavors to show how such material can be used in another way with fruitful results.

Note on Protestant population estimates

All figures on the Caen Reformed population were derived by applying a multiplier of 25 (40 baptisms per 1,000 population) to the number of baptisms for a given period. A multiplier of 25 has been shown to correctly reflect early modern French urban populations.⁵

Footnotes

1

On the Protestant registers of baptisms, marriages and burials of the sixteenth century see Benjamin Faucher, "Les registres de l'Etat civil protestant en France depuis le XVIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours," Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes, 84 (1923), 306-46; Jacques Levron, "Les registres paroissiaux d'état civil en France," Archivum, 9 (1959), 55-100; Benedict, "Rouen during the Wars of Religion, pp. 182-90, 396-98.

2

On the discovery of the registers see Beaujour, L'église réformée de Caen, pp. x-ix.

3

Charles-Edmund Lart, The Registers of the Protestant Church at Caen (Normandy) (Vannes, 1907).

4

The data necessary for studies using the Louis Henry, Manuel de démographie historique (Geneva and Paris, 1960) are not generally available for the sixteenth century, particularly for the Protestant community. An exceptional study of a sixteenth-century city using parish registers is Alain Croix, Nantes et le pays nantais au XVIe siècle: Etude démographique (Paris, 1974).

5

Henry, Manuel de démographie historique, p. 53.

Appendix 13: Protestant baptisms in Caen, 1560-1607.

<u>Year</u>		<u>Number</u>
1560	} one pastor	1
1561		42
1562		106
1563		203
1564		375
1565		497
1566		435
1567		440
1568 (9 months)		306
1570 (4 months)		81
1571		256
1572 (8 months)		205
1576 (9 months)		115
1577 (3 months)		46
1578		93
1579		140
1580		193
1581		145
1582		180
1583		166
1584		152
1585 (7 months)		65
1590 (11 months)		33
1591		122
1592		196
1593		206
1594		241
1595		289
1596		248
1597		236
1598		181
1599		243
1600		197
1601		228
1602		200
1603		249
1604		211
1605		218
1606		195
1607 (3 months)		58

Appendix 14: Caen echevins (1555-69) and the magistrates of the Caen Presidial Court (1552-70).

A. Caen echevins

1555-57

Guillaume Desobeaux (P)
 Jean Denis, sieur de Petiville (P)
 Adrien Goseaume
 Jean de Bacilly
 Jean Jourdain (P)
 Michel Ysorey

1558-60

Marin de Viquet (P)
 Jean Morin, sieur de Mondeville
 Jean de Cauvigny, sieur de
 Maupas (P)
 Jean Le Picard
 Bertrand Pouterel (P)
 Guillaume Rouxel (P)

1561-63

Jessé de la Lande
 Regnaud Cachera
 Pierre Bourdon, sieur de
 Roquereul (P)
 Michel de la Bigne, sieur de
 Londel (P)
 Jean Brise (P)
 Robert Le Hulle (P)

1564 (original group)

Jacques Le Massecrier
 Pierre Vaultier (P)
 Pasquier Le Charpentier
 Thomas Le Brethon, sieur de
 Contrières (P)
 Louis LeVavasseur (P)
 Michael Anger (P)

1564 (6 chosen in August)

Jean Onfray (P)
 Pierre Beaulart, sieur de Maizet (P)
 Laurent Le Porcher (P)
 Jean Mauger (P)
 Thomas Allain (P)
 Pierre Ovardel, sieur de Mesnil (P)

1564 - (October) - 1566

Jacques Le Massecrier
 Pierre Vaultier (P)
 Pierre Ovardel, sieur de Mesnil (P)
 Pasquier Le Charpentier
 Laurent Le Porcher (P)
 Thomas Allain (P)

1567-69

Robert Roger, sieur de Lion (P)
 Thomas Le Brethon, sieur de
 Contrières (P)
 Jean Vaultier, dit Laporte (P)
 Robert Lesmery (P)
 Robert Lechartier
 Louis LeVavasseur (P)

(P) = Protestant (identified in the registers of the Protestant church)

B. Magistrates of the Presidial Court

Lieutenant général civil du bailli - Olivier de Brunville (P)

Lieutenant général criminel du bailli - Jerome LePicard (P)

Lieutenant particulier civil

et criminel du bailli

Charles de Bourgueville, sieur de Bras
(to 1568)

Guerin de Villy, sieur de Marcambye
(1568- ?)

Procureur du roi - Pierre de Verigny, sieur des Londes (P)?

Avocate du roi - Pierre du Hamel (P)

Jacques de Cordouen, sieur de Gressain (P)

Jean de Cordouen

Jean Vauquelin, sieur de la Fresnaye

Counsellors appointed in 1552 - Denis Bazire

Guerin de Villy, sieur de Marcambye

Jean de Perrières, sieur de Touchet

Nicole Le Bigot

Jean Le Saulnier

Antoine Gohier

François Richard, sieur de

 Hérouvillette (P)

Tanneguy Sorin, sieur de Lessey (P)

Louis Turgot, sieur des Tourailles (P)

Pierre Richard, sieur de Bombanville (P)

Counsellors appointed 1560-72 - Julien Le Cloutier

Baptiste Salet, sieur de Repas

Pierre Patrixe (P)

Jean Beullart, sieur de Lesbizé

Jean du Prey (P)

Olivier Gouhier, sieur de Fontenay (P)

Pierre de Poitevin, sieur de

 Tamerville (P)

François Malherbe, sieur d'Igny (P)

Ursin Potier, sieur des Tourailles (P)

Thomas Le Conte (?Court) (P)

Robert Morin (P)

(P) = Protestant (identified in the registers of the Protestant church)

Sources: Carel, Etude sur Caen; Carel, "Les magistrats du Bailliage";
AMC, BB 2-9; ADC 1B 3, f. 173 (7 October 1572).

Appendix 15: Caen elders and deacons, 1563-68.

<u>ELDERS</u>	<u>Years mentioned</u>	<u>Amount paid in 1568 Levy</u>
<u>St. Pierre</u>		
Thomas Allain	1565(?), 1566-68	1.75 <u>livres</u>
Marin Asire (lawyer)	1565-68	3.30 l.
Jean Decheux	1565-68	----
Guillaume Denys ¹	1565	15.00 l.
Michael Lefebvre (dyer)	1564(?), 1565	40.00 l.
Jean Leclerc, dit St. Christofle ³	1566-68	40.00 l.
Robert Morin	1568	4.40 l.
Robert Roger, sieur de Lion	1565	2.20 l.
Jacques Signard ⁴ (lawyer)	1566	11.00 l.
<u>St. Jean</u>		
Nicolas de Gueuteville	1564-66	5.50 l.
Thomas Le Gabilleur, sieur de la Commune	1565-66(?), 1567	15.00 l.
Robert Le Hulle	1565-68	33.00 l.
Jean Vautier, sieur de Billy	1564(?), 1566-67	300.0 l.
<u>Nôtre-Dame de Froiderue</u>		
Thomas Coulomb	1564-68	11.00 l.
Thomas de la Douespe (apothecary)	1563(?), 1565-68	4.40 l.

<u>ELDERS</u>	<u>Years mentioned</u>	<u>Amount paid in 1568 Levy</u>
<u>St. Etienne</u>		
Jean Julien, dit La Margane	1565-67	16.50 l.
<u>St. Sauveur</u>		
Pierre Beaulart, sieur de Maizet	1567-68	50.00 l.
Guillaume Fouquet (?Pouquet)	1564(?), 1566	----
Pierre Phlippe	1565(?), 1568	----
<u>St. Gilles</u>		
Michel Gouville (lawyer)	1565-68	13.20 l.
Michel Le Bas	1565-66	----
Laurent Lorette	1567	----
<u>Bourg l'abbé</u>		
Francois Degron	1564(?), 1565-67	70.00 l.
Jean De la Londe (St. Martin)	1568	6.60 l.
Guillaume Gaffet	1564(?)	5.00 l.
Michel Morin	1566-68	12.00 l.
Geoffroy Sollenge	1564-68	----
<u>St. Michel de Vaucelles</u>		
Guillaume Goguet	1565-68	3.00 l.
Amado Misonart	1565	2.75 l.

<u>ELDERS</u>	<u>Years mentioned</u>	<u>Amount paid in 1568 Levy</u>
<u>St. Julien</u>		
see n. 1.		
<u>Allemagne (suburb of Caen)</u>		
Pierre Le Maistre	1565(?), 1567	----
<u>DEACONS</u>		
<u>St. Pierre</u>		
Jean Lefebvre	1564	----
Nicolas Le Galloys	1564	2.75 l.
Denis Tiret (Tyrel)	1565-68	1.10 l.
Louis Truchet	1566	----
<u>St. Jean</u>		
Jean Davené ⁶	1566	22.00 l.
Guillaume Laillier, sieur de Mesnil Hue	1564(?), 1565-68	11.00 l.
Michel Piquot	1564(?), 1565-68	5.50 l.
Pierre Patrixe	1565-68	1.10 l.
<u>Nôtre-Dame de Froiderue</u>		
Jean Basselin	1564(?), 1565-66	5.00 l.
<u>St. Etienne</u>		
Georges de L'espine	1565-67	----
Thomas Le Maitre, fils de Jean (butcher)	1566-67	27.50 l.

<u>DEACONS</u>	<u>Years mentioned</u>	<u>Amount paid in 1568 Levy</u>
<u>St. Sauveur</u>		
Pierre Girard	1564(?), 1566-67	1.10 1.
<u>St. Gilles</u>		
Guillaume Allain	1567-68	17.50 1.
Gervais Gemiret	1566	----
Jean Mallesardz	1566	7.70 1.
<u>Bourg l'abbé</u>		
Roger Lefebvre	1564(?), 1566-68	10.00 1.
<u>St. Michel de Vaucelles</u>		
Michel Potier	1567	2.20 1.
Guillaume Yon	1565	22.00 1. (widow)
<u>St. Julien</u>		
Raulin Le Roy	1567	1.20 1.
<u>Mesnil Frémantel (?) (within 10 km. of Caen)</u>		
Delisle	1567	----

Mean amount paid by elders in 1568 Levy = 16.6 livres (excluding outlier Vautier - 300 1.).

-Range: 1.75 to 300.00 livres

Mean amount paid by deacons in 1568 Levy = 9.2 livres

-Range: 1.10 to 27.50 livres

Notes

¹Also elder for St. Julien.

²Also elder for St. Jean.

³Also elder for N^otre-Dame de Froiderue.

⁴Also elder for St. Jean.

⁵Also deacon for the Bourg l'abbé.

⁶Also deacon for N^otre-Dame de Froiderue and St. Etienne.

Appendix 16: The Printers of Caen, 1550-1600.

Martin and Pierre Philippe, 1553-69 (P)

Simon Mangeant, 1556-83 (P)

Robert Macé, 1520-63

Bénédic Macé, 1558-99

Pierre Gondouin, 1561

Pierre Le Chandelier, 1562-91 (P)

Henry Auber and Louis Le Cordier, 1563 (P)

Guillem Henry, c. 1565 (P)

Etienne Thomas, 1563-78 (P)

Jacques Le Bas, 1569-93 (P); widow Françoise Thomas, 1594-1609 (P)

Jean and Vincent Le Fèvre, 1588-1601

Jacques Brenouzet, 1589-1619 (anti-League)

Jacques Mangeant, 1593-1633

Charles Macé, 1599-1616

Francois Brenouzet, 1599-1609

(P) Protestant

Sources: Delisle, Livres à Caen, both volumes.

Lepreux, Gallia Typographica, tome III, vol. I, 419-501.

Muller, Dictionnaire des Imprimeurs français, pp. 10-11.

Lart, Registers of Protestant Church at Caen, passim.

Appendix 17: Working bibliography of the output of the Protestant printers of Caen, 1550-1600*.

HENRY AUBER and LOUIS LE CORDIER (1563) - see + under Simon Mangeant

Bullingere, Henry, Ministre de l'Église de Zurich. Resolution de tous les points de la religion chrestienne, comprise en dix liuvres ...Caen, 1563.

-Bullinger's Decades.

-GT, p. 428.

ETIENNE THOMAS, JACQUES LE BAS & WIDOW FRANÇOISE THOMAS (1563-1609)

Edit et ordonnance dv Roy, donne a Movlins au moys de Féurier mil cinq cens soixante six. Contenant plusieurs articles, sur le fait & administration de la justice. Caen: Etienne Thomas, 1567.

-GT, p. 500, n. 3.

Psautier huguenot [and Kalendrier Historial]. Caen: Jacques Le Bas for Etienne Desloges, 1569.

-GT, pp. 465-69; BSHPF. 28 (1879), 175.

Cahagnesii, Iac. De Academiaram, & liberalium artium vtilitate Oratio. Caen: Jacques Le Bas, 1583.

-GT, p. 467.

_____. De morte Ioannis Ruxelij Oratio funebris. Caen: Jacques Le Bas, 1586.

-GT, p. 467.

Cahaignes, Jacques de. Oraison funebre sur le trespas du sieur de Bretheville-Rouxel. Caen: Jacques Le Bas, 1586.

-published in Vauquelin de la Fresnaye, Jean. Oeuvres diverses en prose et en vers. Edited by J. Travers.

Caen, 1872.

_____. Discours de l'entrée à Caen de Monseigneur le Duc d'Epéron... le samedi 14 may 1588. Caen, Jacques Le Bas, 1588.

-BMC

Le Diadesme francois Au Roy de France et de Navarre. Par V.D.L.V. Gentilhomme François. Caen: Jacques Le Bas, 1589.

-GT, p. 468.

Remonstrances svr l'arrest de Paris dv premier iour de Mars, 1589. par lesquelles se verifie , tant par les Escritures saintes, les saints Docteurs anciens & modernes, que par les exemples

*Organized by publisher in order of publication. See p. 548 for list of abbreviations to sources for this appendix.

& autorités prises des Historiens & Jurisconsultes, Qu'il n'est licite au subiect de s'armer contre son Roy, pour quelque cause ou prétexte que ce soit. Caen: Jacques Le Bas, 1589.

Declarations dv Roy, et des princes de son sang, & autres Ducs, Pairs, Seigneurs & Gentilshommes de son Royaume, pour l'observation & manutention de la Religion Catholique, Apostolique & Romaine, & des personnes & biens Ecclesiastiques. Caen: Jacques Le Bas, 1589.
-GT, p. 466.

De l'obeissance deve av prince. Pour faire cesser les armes, & restablir la Paix en ce Royaume. Caen: Jacques Le Bas, 1590.
-GT, p. 466.

Paschalij, Caroli. Christianirvm precvm libri duo. Caen: Jacques Le Bas, 1592.
-GT, p. 468.

Morologie des Jesvites. Morologie des favx prophetes maniticores iesvites, soy disans fausement de la compagnie de Iesus, ou Description de plusieurs & diuerses heresies, erreurs faussetez, folles et sottes paroles remplies de calumnies & faux blasmes, pour faire paroistre no[m]bre de faussetez, sur lesquelles leur maudite religion & superstition est fondee, Quiest aussi vne Antilipsie & deffence pour respondre aux calumnies & menteries impudentes mises n'agueres en avant contre M. Estienne de Malescot, amateur & serviteur de la parole de Dieu par des libelles diffamatoires par eux semes sous main, & sans estre imprimez: faite & composee par Iessen Conte de Malte, Seigneur des Touches, Paradis, & la Leuf. Caen: Jacques Le Bas, 1593.
-GT, p. 466.

Vauquelin des Yvetots, Nicolas. Trois Harangues de N. Vauquelin, Lieutenant général du bailliage de Caen. Caen: Veuve de Jacque Le Bas, 1596.
-BMC.

Statuts et ordonnances de la Prevosté de Caen avec les privileges aux bourgeois, manans et habitans. Caen: chez Jacques Le Bas, 1598.
-BMC.

Cahaignes, Jacques de. De Unitate. Caen: Jacques Le Bas, 1609.
-BMC.

_____. Elogiorum civium cadomensium centuria prima. Caen: Jacques Le Bas, 1609.

-GT, p. 468 & BMC

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Abbreviations

- BMC Bibliothèque municipale de Caen, Caen
- BSHPPF Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français.
- GT Lepreux, Georges. Gallia Typographica ou Repertoire biographique et Chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la Révolution. Tome III, pt. I. Paris, 1912.
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