

Protestant Toleration or Catholic Unification?: A Study of Printed French Royal Acts

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Peace and religious tolerances were difficult to earn in the sixteenth century. In most places, local authorities believed that they were antithetical; true peace rested on single universal religion shared by citizens. France was no exception. The difference was that the French Protestants were in the minority and that they were influential and powerful enough to question traditional belief. France thus experienced civil wars over the question of religious tolerance. The question posed was, “Should Huguenots have the freedom to worship in the kingdom?” John Calvin believed so. According to his preface in his seminal work, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, he addressed the French king, Francis I, with a near “full defense”¹ to reconsider the crown’s policy against the Protestants. His feelings changed to frustration and condemnation. Raymond Mentzer takes note of the shift in 1561 as it culminates in Calvin’s dedication in his book on Daniel; France is where “God’s eternal truth . . . was chased away and banished.”² The book was published before the failed proceedings of the Colloquy of Poissy, and Calvin died before he was able to see his native countrymen live with limited freedom under a compromise instituted under the Bourbon king, Henry IV.

The question of religious tolerance was answered inconsistently by the French monarchy for much of the sixteenth century as can be seen from their official royal decrees. This paper will discuss the crown’s pendulum-swinging answers by studying editions of religious royal decrees printed in the French vernacular. Its main purpose is to discuss the popularity of religious topics, toleration or Catholic unification, during the French Religious Wars (1562-1598). A comparison will follow

1. Calvin wrote the preface on August 23, 1535 in Basel. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion: 1541 French Edition*, trans. Elsie Anne McKee (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 22.

2. Raymond A. Mentzer, “Calvin and France,” in *The Calvin Handbook*, ed. Herman J. Selderhuis (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 79.

of the number of surviving editions from the period focusing on edicts of toleration, where limited freedom of worship was allowed, with edicts of unification, where Protestantism was not tolerated but suppressed. The number of different editions also gives indications of where editions were published, in or outside Paris. Until recently, scholarship has focused on Parisian publications since Parisian libraries have been well-established hubs of primary sources. However, now, after the French Book Project of the University of St. Andrews, a new list can be made. This new list shows the overall popularity on which policy the French preferred at the national level (now including the provinces): toleration or unification.

The statistical information (to follow below) presents a general overview and grand participation from not just Paris but also from the provincial towns of France. Andrew Pettegree, at the University of St Andrews, is currently the leading scholar in the field. His database, which he published as *French Vernacular Books* in 2007 with Malcom Walsby and Alexander Wilkinson, is extremely helpful in assessing popularly printed books in the French vernacular throughout France, not just in specific towns.³ This paper is simply a natural employment of the coveted massive catalog using 153 original sources of “official print” published in the French vernacular that covers peace and unification during the French Religious Wars.⁴

This article will first list the towns in the chart below and articulate quick observations to provide a broad overview of the various religious acts promulgated during the sixteenth century. Following the broad overview, it will provide a more detailed, yet brief, understanding first about the French printing industry and discuss each edict listed in the chart. What will be enumerated is the number of towns each edict was

3. Andrew Pettegree, Malcolm Walsby, and Alexander Wilkinson, *French Vernacular Books: Books Published in the French Language before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). I headed the section of “Official Print” by the royal crown. See Lauren J. Kim, “French Royal Acts Printed Before 1601: A Bibliographical Study” (doctoral thesis, University of St. Andrews, 2008). This article stems from my doctoral research.

4. Unfortunately, providing a full bibliography of the sources would be too long for this journal. If one is interested in the sources, feel free to email the author: l.kim@ttgu.ac.kr. The alternative is to collect the sources in volume two of the author’s doctoral dissertation, which is a compilation of royal acts printed before 1601. There are, however, over 5,800 works listed in the second volume which covers over 10 percent of Pettegree, Walsby, and Wilkinson, *French Vernacular Books*. For further information, see page ix of *French Vernacular Books*. The doctoral dissertation is available online at the University of St Andrew’s repository website. University of St Andrews Repository, “Research @ St-Andrews: Full Text,” University of St Andrews, search “Lauren Kim,” <http://hdl.handle.net/10023/463> (accessed April 27, 2012).

published in. Finally, a summary of statistical analyses will be presented to demonstrate the popularity of a religious decree.

Survey of Edicts of Toleration and Catholic Unification

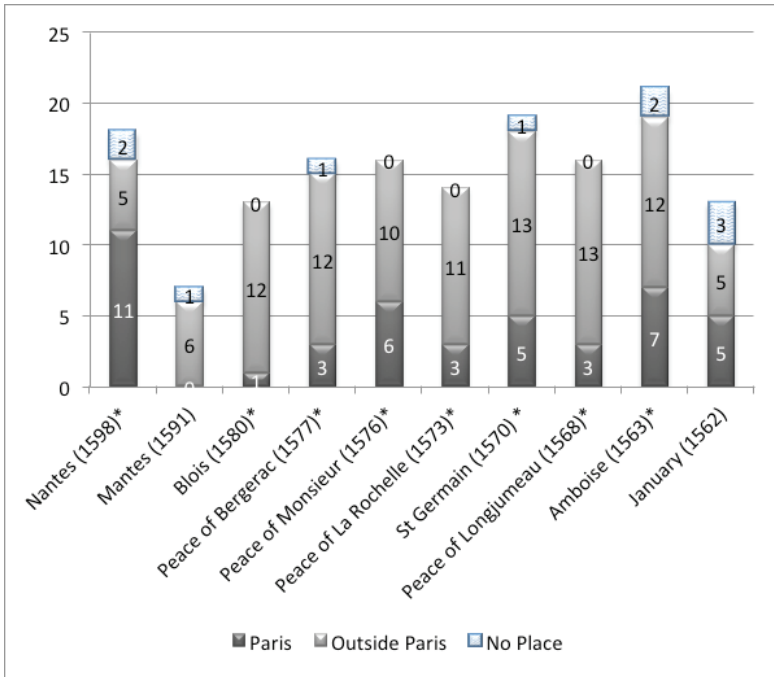


Chart 1: Editions of Toleration and Unification Edicts

The chart above lists the most printed royal edicts and the number of surviving editions printed within the first two years of their promulgation according to where they were published: Paris, outside Paris, or without a location. The names of the edicts of Catholic unification in 1568, 1586, and 1588 are spaced differently from the edicts of toleration. Edicts of pacification are also edicts of toleration. To distinguish them from other edicts of toleration, asterisks are added next to their names in the chart above. For example, the Edict of Amboise (1563) was the first edict of pacification to settle the first religious war, and thus has an asterisk next to the year of creation. Eight out of ten edicts of toleration qualify as an edict of pacification. The exceptions are the Edict of January (1562) and the Edict of Mantes (1591).

The first two years of printing are chosen to demonstrate each royal act's immediate reception after its promulgation.⁵ For example, the Edict of Nantes (1598) will include editions published in 1598 and 1599. Any republications thereafter are excluded from this survey. This is to maintain consistency and to minimize irregularities such as seemingly random reprints of previous acts by publishers.⁶

The crown was compelled to constantly reissue royal acts to quell the violence of the civil wars. The king had to issue more edicts of pacification (and thus, toleration) to accommodate the Huguenots. Overall, ten edicts produced ninety-nine editions on toleration. The edicts that suppressed Protestantism were three in print with a total of seventy-four editions.

Other points to be discussed in further detail includes where edicts were published. In terms of location, one can deduce two observations from the chart above. The first is that, with the exception of the Edict of Mantes (1591), Paris consistently contributed the highest number of editions. What is not visible in the chart is that, on few occasions, Paris shares the title with another town. For example, the Peace of Longjumeau (1568) was printed at least three times in Paris and three times in Troyes. This will be discussed in another section in this article. Secondly, already seen in the first chart is that the total number of non-Parisian decrees are more numerous than the number of Parisian edicts. Provincial editions and the available internationally printed works outnumber Parisian editions, save the Edict of Union (1588) and of Nantes (1598).

Finally, on an individual level, edicts of Catholic unification are more numerous published in general than edicts of toleration, and edicts of pacification are published in more editions than the edicts of toleration. The exceptions to these generalizations will be explained in the next sections.

A Bibliographical Context

When it comes to terms, definitions, and understanding, I follow the definitions of copies and editions according to *French Vernacular*

5. Some royal decrees were republished ten years later by printers. For a fuller understanding, see Kim, "French Royal Acts," 1:220ff.

6. Edicts of toleration took more time than other edicts to register in the Parlement of Paris, which sometimes delayed the printed version. For example, the Edict of Nantes was promulgated April 1598 but registered in the Parlement of Paris in February 1599. A national edict was not legally binding until it was published in the Parlement of Paris.

Books.⁷ For example, the term “copies” refer to two books that are exactly the same. If, however, there is a visible difference within the texts then they are counted as separate editions although the contents therein are the same. In other words, if something in the book was dissimilar, such as the typecasts that were reset on the title page or from within the text, it is considered a different edition. For example, a word might be located at the end of a page on “A2 verso,” in one edition; and in another copy by the same printer, the same word may appear on the following page at the beginning on “A3 recto.” They are counted as two different editions. When these variations are found, they qualify the books as distinct editions. Naturally, the same book printed by another printer is also considered as a separate edition. Changes, or rather more often, additional information, in royal decrees, are also regarded as separate editions. For example, some first editions of a published royal act do not include its local parliament registration or crier information (when it was publicly shouted around the town), whereas second and third editions include such subsidiary information.⁸ These, too, are considered different editions of the same royal act. Thus, separate editions are classified as books with variations in physical layout of the book and within the text.

Most of these edicts were published for commercial sale. Many provincial printers published for profit, or they were hired by the local authorities to publish on their behalf. With the exception of Paris and Rouen, it would be fair to say that the other towns expressed an independent willingness to publish royal decrees whether for profit, interest, or for royalist conviction for most of the sixteenth century.

The only town outside Paris that had an *imprimeur du roi* who published royal acts on behalf of the crown was Rouen. Martin Le Mégissier began to advertise his position since 1563.⁹ It is also arguable, however, that even in Paris and Rouen, though the original production

7. Pettegree, Walsby, and Wilkinson, *French Vernacular Books*, ix.

8. Compare the Estienne editions of the Edict of Longjumeau found in Paris at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in volume F 46835. One edition does not have the local crier information (found as no. 18 in the volume) and the other does (found as no. 19 in the volume). Charles IX, *Edict du Roy sur la pacification des troubles* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1568). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France: F 46835 (18, 19).

9. Charles IX, *Lettres patentes du roy contenant que toutes personnes qui ont prins aucuns fruitstz* (Rouen: Martin Le Mégissier, 1563). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France: F 46824 (39). This is Martin Le Mégissier (II), who took over the family business after his father of the same name. For his dates, see Brian Woledge, *Bibliographie des romans et nouvelles en prose française antérieurs à 1500* (Geneva: Droz, 1975), 161.

may have been ordered by the crown, the following reprints can be a result of the popularity of a decree. Before the reign of Henry IV, the interdependence between the printer and king was still forming from its medieval contractual relationship. *Imprimeurs du roi* were contracted printers and publishers. The king's royal acts composed only a part of their business. One perk of being the king's printer in terms of sales was that they had a limited monopoly of publishing decrees for a period of time before other printers could cash in on their popularity.¹⁰ During the War of the Three Henrys (ca. 1585-1589) and following, the crown began to appoint more royal printers in the provinces to advance the royalist cause.¹¹ By the time of Henry IV, there was a shift in the printing industries and most official printers began to publish decrees on the king's behalf in the provinces.

Edicts of Toleration: Overview

Decrees that attempted to answer the question of toleration were the most popular printed among edicts in the last forty years of the sixteenth century in France among royal acts.¹² The crown produced royal decrees to organize and govern French society. A range of topics was promulgated for public information and dissemination from revamping the judicial system to the creation of new taxes, printed money, or call for military service and war. For example, Francis I reorganize the medieval French judicial system in his great judicial work, the Ordinances of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539.¹³ The king reorganized the judicial process, courts, and even changed the language (now the courts were to use French instead of Latin). Popularly printed decrees included edicts and ordinances on coins, where the kings would circulate pictures of real French money and false money, such as the Edict of St. Germain

10. For more information about royal printers, see chapter four in Kim, "French Royal Acts," 1: 139ff. This chapter deals with royal printers in the sixteenth century.

11. The dating of the War of the Three Henrys varies from historian to historian. I used 1585 because that is when the Treaty of Nemours was published to start the last religious war.

12. There were different types of royal acts in the sixteenth century: *ordonnances, lettres patentes, mandements, déclarations, and édits*. The most popularly reprinted royal act was major ordinances that changed the judicial system in France: the Ordinances of Blois (1499), of Lyon (1510), of Villers-Cotterêts (1539), of Orléans (1561), of Moulins (1566), and of Blois (1579). See Kim, "French Royal Acts," 1: 215-216, 266-267. For a list of topics discussed by kings, see Kim, "French Royal Acts," 1:179-182.

13. For a discussion of these ordinances, see Kim, "French Royal Acts," 1: 192-194.

of 1564.¹⁴ However, in the last forty years of the sixteenth century, a popularly printed topic was religious decrees that answered the question of whether Protestants should have religious freedom.

The term “popularly printed topic” requires further qualification. There were several different edicts of toleration issued by the crown. For example, the Edict of January (1562) allowed Protestants to worship throughout France outside walled cities, although the Edict of Amboise (1563) reduced this freedom to the estates of Huguenot leaders and strongholds before the first war’s outbreak among other specifications.¹⁵ Therefore, in terms of popularity of a topic, I mean edicts of toleration, instead of a specific decree, Edict of January (1562).

Edicts of toleration granted Huguenots limited freedom to worship in specified areas of France; again, the contents of each act varied. In the last four decades of the sixteenth century, printers in France published ten edicts of toleration. Among them, seven were issued as edicts of pacification because they were created to stop a civil war. Not all edicts of tolerance were edicts of pacification. The following lists the edicts of toleration in France; those that were also edicts of pacification are noted with asterisks:

1. Edict of January or Saint-Germain-en-Laye / St Germain (1562)
2. Edict of Amboise (1563)*
3. Peace of Longjumeau or Edict of Paris (1568)*
4. Edict of Saint-Germain-en-Laye / St Germain (1570)*
5. Peace of La Rochelle or Edict of Boulogne (1573)*
6. Peace of Monsieur or Edict of Paris dit Beaulieu / Paris / Beaulieu (1576)*
7. Peace of Bergerac or Edict of Poitiers (1577)*
8. Edict of Blois (1580)*
9. Edict of Mantes (1591)
10. Edict of Nantes (1598)*

The number of editions printed in the provinces exceeds the number of editions printed in Paris. In other words, forty-four editions were printed in Paris and ninety-nine different copies were published in the provinces. Nearly every decree published in the provinces outnumbers Parisian editions. The exception is the Edict of Nantes (1598), of which

14. For a discussion of popular financial ordinances, see Kim, “French Royal Acts,” 1: 250-257.

15. R. J. Knecht, *The French Religious Wars, 1559-1598*, 2d ed. (New York: Longman, 1996), 32, 37-38.

the king's four royal printers published eleven different editions for sale and distribution.¹⁶

Overall, there was national interest in the proclamation of religious tolerance in France. If one compares them to another topic such as edicts that addressed commercial activities (excluding ordinances on money), edicts of tolerance were very popular.¹⁷ They were, in effect, sources of news and information before the advent of newspapers.¹⁸ The second chart below reveals that the edicts of pacification were clearly more popular in the provinces with over ten editions each. The exception, again, is the Edict of Nantes (1598).

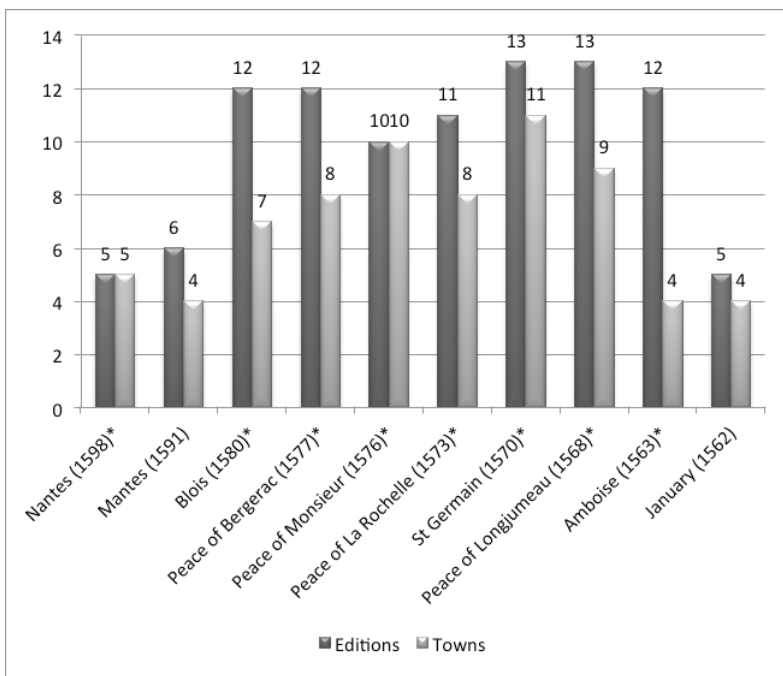


Chart 2: Toleration Editions by Provincial Towns

The second chart shows the number of towns outside Paris that possessed local editions and it compares the number of towns to their editions. Most towns would print one to two editions of a single royal

16. For more discussion, see Kim, “French Royal Acts,” 1: 247-248.

17. If one compared them to ordinances that, say, pictured money, they rivaled them in popularity. See Kim, “French Royal Acts,” 1:250-254.

18. For a lengthy discussion about pamphlets and royal news, read the second chapter in Andrew Pettegree, *The French Book and the European Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 20ff.

act. Outside Paris, it was uncommon for a town to publish more than two editions of a single royal act and rarely more than three reprints. Exceptions occurred when a town had a specific relationship to the edict. For example, the Edict of Amboise (1563) ended the first religious war. It was printed in five different editions in Orléans because this town was a Huguenot base for the first religious war.¹⁹ Similarly, Rouen also published the same edict four times as it was one of the first towns to fall into the hands of the Huguenots during the same war.²⁰

Each royal act above was printed in France. Only once was the Edict of Nantes printed outside the kingdom in the French vernacular in today's Zweibrücken, Germany. The French called the town, Deux-Ponts.²¹ This will be dealt with later in the next section.

Edicts of Toleration: A Brief Analysis

Edicts of toleration were issued several times; they were usually created to quell religious wars in France. The number of proclamations in addition to the number of editions naturally resulted in the subject of toleration to become the most reprinted topic among edicts during the last decades of the sixteenth-century.

The Edict of January (1562) was not popularly received. It was the product of the queen-mother's last attempt to alleviate the mounting tension between the Catholics and Protestants after the miserable failures of the Colloquy of Poissy and St Germain. The Parlement of Paris registered the edict on March 6, 1562 after repeated demands from the crown. Geographically, the towns that printed the edict are located throughout France. It was printed in Paris five different times, twice in Poitiers, and once in Lyon, Rouen, and Toulouse.²² Its application, however, was annulled when the first religious war broke out that same month after the Massacre of Vassy on March 1, 1563.

The Edict of Amboise (1562) signaled Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, as a failed leader after his capture by the Catholics. The Protestant prince of blood quickly became a symbol of betrayal according to both

19. It was also published by the king's printer, Robert Estienne, in partnership with Louis de Condé's printer, Eloy Gibier. Kim, "French Royal Acts," 1: 224. Mark W. Konnert, *Local Politics in the French Wars of Religion: The Towns of Champagne, the Duc de Guise, and the Catholic League, 1560-95*. St Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 79.

20. Kim, "French Royal Acts," 1: 224.

21. Henry IV, *Edict du Roy, & declaration sur les precedens Edicts de pacification* (Deux-Ponts: Caspar Wittel, 1598). Bern, Universitätsbibliothek: Bong V 261 (11).

22. Kim, "French Royal Acts," 1: 221-223.

John Calvin and Admiral Gaspard de Coligny, the leading Protestant military leader in France.²³ Condé negotiated his release at the expense of the Protestants' freedom to worship, which suffered tremendously. The following towns published editions: Paris (7 editions), Orléans (5), Rouen (4), Lyon (2), and Chambéry (1). It is very possible that the French crown played a large role in publishing editions in Paris, Orléans, and Rouen, since the king's printers published nearly every edition in the three towns save two copies. Robert Estienne, the king's chief printer of royal acts, published six out of seven editions in Paris. He then entered in partnership with Condé's preferred printer, Eloy Gibier. Together, they produced four out of five editions from Orléans, which was the Protestant base during the first religious war. Martin Le Mégissier published every edition in Rouen, where Protestants were able to conquer the city from within and mortally wound the Catholic leader, Antoine de Bourbon.²⁴

Historians generally agree that the second civil war was very similar to the first in how it began (suspicion, fear, preemptive attacks) and in terms of military tactics (conquering towns). However, the royal treasury was depleted; the crown had to negotiate a new armistice. The Peace of Longjumeau (1568) was signed by the Protestants and the French crown with both parties knowing that it was a temporary settlement. Like the second war, the contents of the treaty echoed the Edict of Amboise (1563). Printers in Paris and Troyes published three editions. Why Troyes published three times is unclear. Perhaps, it was due to the tension in the city. Mark Konnert states that within the vicinity of Champagne, "Troyes was the city most clearly troubled by internal religious dissent, and this was manifested in the internecine violence which the city experienced."²⁵

Other publications were geographically spread out throughout France. Two editions were published in Lyon and Orléans. Printers in Angers, Caen, Dijon, Poitiers, Rouen, and Toulouse published one edition for each of their towns. This was followed by the anti-tolerant Edict of Saint-Maur (1568), which will be discussed later.

The Edict of St Germain (1570) concluded the third civil war which lasted for nearly two years. It was also the most widely printed edict of toleration with eleven total towns publishing the decree. The edict's content demonstrated Huguenot strength; it was the most generous toleration edict created up to that point. They were now able to worship

23. Knecht, *French Religious Wars*, 37-38.

24. Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, reprint (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 54-55.

25. Mark W. Konnert, *Local Politics in the French Wars*, 98-110.

inside towns.²⁶ It was published in Paris in five editions. Within the first two years of its proclamation, Troyes and Rouen printers produced two editions each. The following towns published one edition: Angoulême, Bordeaux, Caen, Clermont, Dijon, Lyon, Poitiers, Rennes, and Toulouse.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew (1572) was a huge blow to the Protestants. Huguenots were now ready to secede from the monarchy; the people in Protestant bastions refused to recognize the crown. Charles IX was determined to take the impenetrable La Rochelle, until rumors began to circulate that the British were about to invade France to aid the Huguenots. The crown settled for peace. The Peace of La Rochelle (1573), however, demonstrated the crown's cunning to undermine the Protestants. Mack Holt states, "In effect, the new terms allowed the Huguenots freedom of conscience in theory, but in practice Protestant worship was only allowed in the private homes of the reformed in three towns: La Rochelle, Montauban, and Nîmes."²⁷ Their recognition of the Huguenots was limited to the paper (or in this case, edict) that acknowledged them. Both Paris and La Rochelle published the edict three different times. In Lyon, it was printed in two editions. The towns of Caen, Bordeaux, Douai, Toulouse and Troyes possessed one local edition each.

The Peace of Monsieur (1576), equally known as the Edict of Beaulieu, concluded the fifth religious war. It was a Huguenot victory. Geographically, it was the second most widely printed edict of toleration after the Edict of St Germain (1570), which was, up to this point before Beaulieu, the most pro-Huguenot decree. The heir presumptive, the Duke of Alençon, allied with Protestant armed princes.²⁸ The king's printer published the royal act in six editions. It was also printed throughout France. The following local printers published one edition in the following towns: Bordeaux, Bourges, Caen, Dijon, La Rochelle, Lyon, Orléans, Rouen, Toulouse, and Troyes.

Catholic towns refused to acknowledge the Edict of Beaulieu (1576) and the wars were renewed. This time, the king's younger brother's allegiance reverted to the crown. Although the king had the support of the Estates-General, he was in no financial position to fight an extensive war. The Peace of Bergerac (1577) was a compromise between the generous Edict of Beaulieu (1576) and the demands of the Estates-General.²⁹ It was printed in sixteen editions. The royal printer

26. Holt, *French Wars of Religion*, 70.

27. Holt, *French Wars of Religion*, 70.

28. Holt, *French Wars of Religion*, 103-106.

29. Holt also believes that it also demonstrated the king's desires in toleration. Holt, *French Wars of Religion*, 111.

in Paris published the act at least four times. It was reprinted twice in Lyon, Poitiers, and Tours; and once in Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Le Mans, Montauban, and Rouen.

As France's economic situation worsened, the peasant revolts joined the Protestants in their dissatisfaction and rebelled against the crown. Their causes became fused in the eyes of Catholic authorities as violent forms of dissent. Catherine de Medici was sent to the southern region of France to mitigate the situation. The Edict of Blois (1580) confirmed the Treaty of Nérac (1580) and conferences were held at Fleix and Coutras (1580) where Henry of Navarre represented the Protestants. It was printed in Bordeaux five times, of which two editions were printed with the Treaty of Nérac. The town of Lyon also published one edition with the treaty and one edition without the treaty. Printers in Poitiers and Toulouse published one edition each with the treaty. Meanwhile, publishers in Blois, Montauban, and Tours printed the edict only.³⁰

The Edict of Mantes (1591) is arguably insignificant compared to the other publications. I include it because it was issued by Henry IV, while he was in exile. Despite his circumstances, he was determined to push the line of toleration as the new king. It was published by loyal royalist printers in two editions from Châlons and Tours and in one edition from Metz and Langres. The Holy Catholic League controlled the capital city; thus, it was not printed there.³¹

The Edict of Nantes (1598) concluded the French Wars of Religion in the sixteenth century. As mentioned earlier, it defies many of the generalizations that can be made for edicts of pacifications. The provinces did not supply more editions than the royal printers in Paris. In fact, every edition published in France was printed by the king's printers in Paris, Bordeaux, and Rouen. It was also printed internationally in the French vernacular. The Zweibrücken edition was published by the official printer of the local ruler, the Count of Pfalz-Zweibrücken.³² As unpopular as it was throughout France, the king was determined to make it known. These editions waited for the Parlement of Paris to register the act, thereby making it legally binding for the rest of the kingdom.

30. The thirteen editions of the Edict of Blois (1580) can also be contrasted with the singular publications (not shown in the first chart) of the Treaty of Nérac without the Edict of Blois, of which ten editions survive: Paris (3 editions), Lyon (2), Montauban (1), Poitiers (1), Tours (1), and Toulouse (1).

31. In fact, edicts were not printed in Paris during Leaguer rule. See Kim, "French Royal Acts," 1: 243.

32. The title page states, "Imprimeur ordinaire de son Excellence." See Henry IV, *Edict du Roy, & declaration sur les precedens Edicts de pacification* (Deux-Ponts: Caspar Wittel, 1598). Bern, Universitätsbibliothek: Bong V 261 (11).

Since the registration date was delayed until February 1599, these editions were printed nearly a year after its creation.

In a sense, the “forced” toleration demonstrates a change in the printing industry. The king was now capable of printing of more decrees with his printers in each town to rival what was lacking in circulation in regard to his new laws. It thus blurs the line even more so between what is considered a popularly printed decree and political propaganda.

Edicts of Unification: Overview

In contrast to the edicts of toleration, there were at least three important publications that attempted to reunify French citizens under a single religion, Catholicism. I call these edicts, “Catholic unification,” to be fair to the purpose of these decrees. However, by today’s standards, they are biased, anti-tolerant, and oppressive against religious pluralism. These edicts suppressed Protestantism: Saint-Maur-des-Fossés or St Maur (1568), Reunion (1585), and Union (1588). The Edict of Reunion (1585) is better known as the Treaty of Nemours. In short, the edicts of Catholic unification annulled legal religious tolerance and imposed Catholicism on every French citizen. W. J. Stankiewicz explains, “The Peace of Longjumeau (March, 1568) was annulled by the Edict of Saint Maur-des-Fossés (September, 1568). The Treaties of Nérac (1579) and of Fleix (1580) were followed by the ineffective Treaty of Nemours and Paris (July, 1585) and the Edict of Union (1588).”³³

According to the first chart, the publications that were more popularly produced on an individual level were the edicts that suppressed the Protestant religion. As far as the number of editions, both the Edict of Reunion (1585) and the Edict of Union (1588) have thirty-one editions. Their editions outnumber the Edict of Amboise (1563), an edict of pacification, which has the highest number of editions among the edicts of toleration with twenty-one distinct reprints.

The third chart below deals with the edicts of Catholic unification by comparing the number of towns to the number of provincial and international editions that survived from the sixteenth century and that were printed within two years of an edict’s issuance.

33. W. J. Stankiewicz, *Politics & Religion in Seventeenth-century France: A Study of Political Ideas from the Monarchomachs to Bayle, as Reflected in the Toleration Controversy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 28.

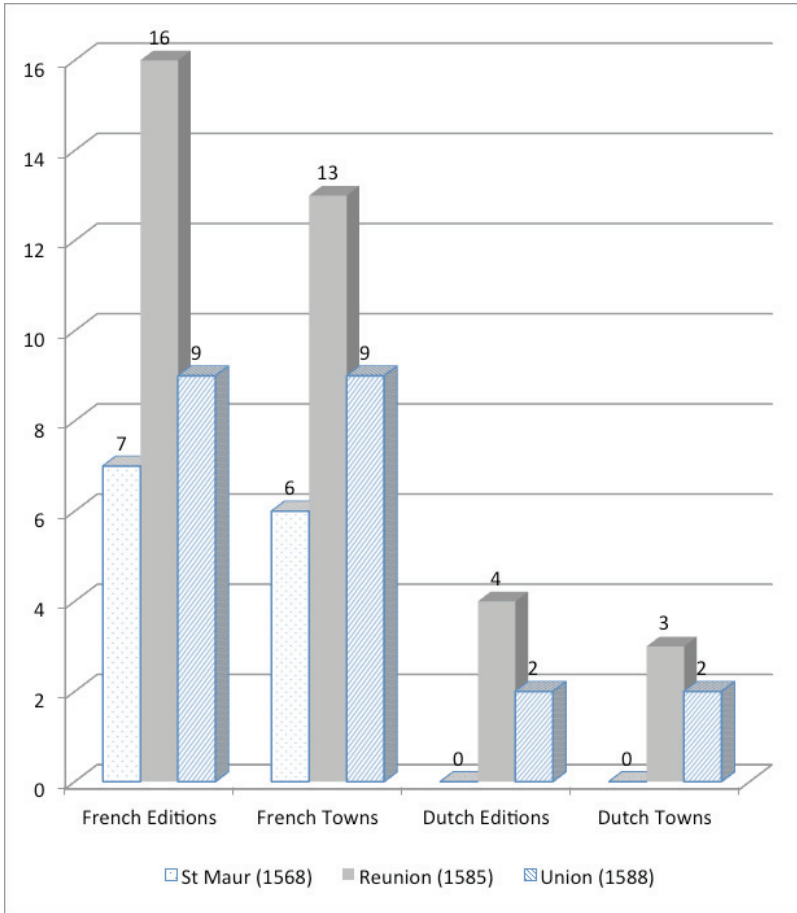


Chart 3: Unification Editions by French Provincial and Dutch Towns

Comparing the second and third charts, the most widely published edict according to geographical locations among the edicts of toleration and unification is the Treaty of Nemours, or here known as the Edict of Reunion (1585), with twenty provincial towns that published the royal act. The mostly widely printed edict among toleration edicts was the Edict of St Germain (1570) with eleven towns that published the royal act. The Edict of Reunion (1585), in contrast, was published in at least fifteen different towns. Each unification decree will be discussed shortly.

Since the edicts of unification were issued less frequently than the edicts of pacification, it is important to note that they could not have been the more popularly printed royal acts by topic. However,

on an individual level, they rivaled the most popularly and broadly geographical printed decree in the sixteenth century.

Edicts of Catholic Unification

The edicts of Catholic unification display the handiwork of the House of Lorraine, who were vehemently anti-Protestant. They were an influential family in the Valois dynasty. They came in two powerful groups from the duchies of Lorraine and of Guise. The cadet branch of the Lorraine family was the House of Guise. During their highest popularity, Claude de Lorraine, the first Duke of Guise, was able to marry his daughter to the King of Scotland, James V; their issue was Mary, Queen of Scots, who was most famous for her paramours, and eventually, her imprisonment and execution by Elizabeth I, Queen of England.

The Edict of St Maur (1568) was issued three months after the creation of the Peace of Longjumeau (1568). N.M. Sutherland explains that this edict was “prepared by the cardinal of Lorraine largely to precipitate the third civil war, which he desired,”³⁴ and “in a sense, Lorraine’s manifesto and triumph.”³⁵ It suppressed the Protestant religion and exiled Protestant pastors from France. However, in comparison to Longjumeau, it was printed in fewer towns; the edict was printed in seven towns in contrast to the ten towns that possessed a local edition of Longjumeau. The Edict of St Maur (1568) was published in Paris with six editions, followed by Troyes with two editions. Local printers in the following towns produced one edition each: La Rochelle, Le Mans, Lyon, Rouen, and Tours.

The next two royal acts were virtually penned by the House of Lorraine and Guise. The difference was now they had the full support of Spain. Popular confidence in Henry III waned and the king was weak both in money and in power. The Treaty of Nemours was printed as the Edict of Reunion (1585) entitled, *Edict du roy sur la reunion de ses subjects à l’Eglise Catholique, Apostolique & Romaine*.³⁶ Sutherland also explains, “The treaty of Nemours was imposed on Henry III by the duc de Guise and his Catholic League and, like the edict of Saint-Maur, September 1568, destroyed all the laboriously won edicts of pacification.”³⁷ This sparked the last religious war. However, unlike the Edict of St Maur in 1568, the

34. N.M. Sutherland, *The Huguenot Struggle for Recognition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 358.

35. Sutherland, *Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*, 170.

36. For example, see Henry III, *Edict du roy sur la reunion de ses subjects à l’Eglise Catholique, Apostolique & Romaine* (Paris: Frédéric Morel, 1585).

37. Sutherland, *Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*, 364.

printed popularity of this edict surged to an international level in the French vernacular distinguishing it as the most widely printed French edict thus far in history.³⁸

It was published in fourteen different towns: eleven towns were in France, and three other towns were located in the Netherlands. The king's printer in Paris published seven editions. Three editions were printed by local bookshops in Lyon, Rouen, and Tours. The following French local printer published one edition: Aix, Angers, Bourges, Caen, Douai, La Rochelle, and Le Mans. The edict was also sold in the Low Countries (the Netherlands). Two different printers published the edict separately in Leiden. One local edition was published in French in Antwerp and in Middelburg. These Dutch editions establish this decree to be most internationally published royal act printed in the French vernacular before 1601.

There is a looming question of how this edict gained notoriety in the Netherlands. We know today that at this point in history, Spain's attention and resources were divided. King Philip II of Spain was forging two international wars: one, helping the Guises and the Holy Catholic League in France; and two, building an Armada against England.³⁹ Spain was winning its current war against the Protestants in the Low Countries. The Duke of Parma decimated Reformed towns. Antwerp, this first Calvinist base, fell in August 1585.⁴⁰ During the next four years, "40,000 Protestants left for the north in these years, mostly going to Amsterdam and Middelburg."⁴¹ Haarlem and Leiden also received large immigrant populations over time thus increasing their Protestant population.⁴² Andrew Pettegree lists Calvinist towns in Holland during the sixteenth century: Dordrecht, Gouda, Leiden, Haarlam, Rotterdam, and Delft.⁴³ Thus, it appears that towns with a significant number of Protestants were keenly interested in Spain's new foreign policy and

38. The most widely printed royal act was the truce between Henry IV and the Duke of Mayenne in 1593. Local printers produced the act in sixteen towns. The most reprinted royal act before 1601 was published in forty editions: the Ordinances of Orléans (1561) and the Ordinances of Moulins (1566). See Kim, "French Royal Acts," 1: 224-225, 259-260.

39. Richard Bonney, *The European Dynastic States, 1494-1660. The Short Oxford History of the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 162.

40. The first Reformed church in the Netherlands was established by the French (Walloon) in 1554. The first Dutch Reformed church was established in the year after.

41. Bonney, *European Dynastic States*, 162-163.

42. Bonney, *European Dynastic States*, 163.

43. Andrew Pettegree, "The Netherlands," in *The Reformation World*, ed. Andrew Pettegree (London: Routledge, 2000), 357.

published France's affairs, especially ones that involved Spanish interests such as the edicts of Catholic reunification.⁴⁴

The French crown's authority was at its nadir when Henry III promulgated the Edict of Union in July 1588. The Holy Catholic League, led by the Guises, had taken over Paris and the king escaped in May that year. The last Valois monarch was a king-in-exile. The Catholic League and the crown met in Rouen. The outcome was that they decided to continue the war against the Huguenots. In this edict, Henry III was forced to join forces publicly with the League. He promised his citizens that he would continue to eradicate heresy, and denounced Henry of Navarre as the rightful heir to the throne.⁴⁵ Although this Leaguer edict was published in just as many editions as the Edict of Reunion (1585), it was not printed in as many towns. Printers in Paris account for twenty editions alone. Two editions were found in Lyon and Rouen. The rest were distributed among five French and two Dutch towns with one edition each: in France, Angers, Le Mans, Orléans, Tours, and Troyes; in the Netherlands, Antwerp and Delft.

Statistical Analysis

Among the edicts of Catholic unification, thirty-one editions survived for the edicts of Reunion (1585) and Union (1588). However, they were not all published in the same towns. The Edict of Reunion (1585) was published in more towns than any of the edicts of unification and tolerance. It is also the most internationally printed royal act printed before 1601.

Among the edicts of tolerance, the Edict of Amboise (1568) outnumbers other edicts in its category with twenty-one editions printed within its first two years of promulgation. The Edict of St Germain (1570) follows with nineteen editions. However, when it comes to the edict of toleration that was published in the most places, the Edict of St Germain of 1570 (12 towns) leads with the Peace of Monsieur of 1576 (11) and the Peace of Longjumeau of 1568 (10) trailing behind.

On average, edicts of unification have the highest average with twenty-four (24.7) editions per edict. This is in contrast to the edicts of toleration that had an average of a little over fifteen (15.3) editions

44. Protestants were likely wondering about the extensive power of the Spanish king through these edicts; or if the common people were not aware of Habsburg influence through the Guises, ignorant Protestants may have been concerned about how their fellow French Huguenots were suffering from intolerant Catholics because they too were being persecuted by Catholics.

45. Sutherland, *Huguenot Struggle for Recognition*, 365.

per edict. If we simply focus on the edicts of pacification, this is raised slightly from sixteen to seventeen (16.6) editions per edict.

This is in contrast to the number of towns. Edicts of unification also average higher in their number of places of publication. An average of over ten (10.7) towns printed each unification edict. Printers published royal decrees on average of nearly eight (7.9) towns per edict of toleration; among them, the edicts of pacification average nearly nine (8.8) towns.⁴⁶

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to demonstrate the national popularity, including towns printed outside Paris, of religious royal acts that dealt with the topic of religious toleration during the French religious wars. From the statistical analysis seen above, in terms of publication, both in the number of editions and in the number of towns, the edicts of unification that suppressed toleration were printed at a more popular level than their more tolerant counterparts. These numbers indicate that Calvin's movement did not have much of a chance to dominate and overturn the kingdom of France. Persecution of the Huguenots was not simply a repression instituted by the government; it had popular interest, if not support. The royal acts which were geographically printed most broadly were those that supported catholic unification.

As an epilogue, before Henry IV, such eagerness to publish a royal act during a time when the monarchy was weak showed an independent interest of the publisher and printer. By the end of the sixteenth century, it was clear that the French people had chosen Roman Catholicism over Protestantism as their religion of choice. French King Henry IV understood this reality and knew that the extreme Catholics and Protestants would not relent. Expectedly, the more pragmatic approach for Protestant survival was the *politique* compromise made by Henry IV where Huguenots were granted limited rights to live in France; and the king's printers published the work repeatedly, possibly to make-up for the lack of popularly printed publications and circulations of the act. The kingdom and the churches had to heal from the civil wars and limited toleration was the most practical answer.

46. If we exclude the Edict of Nantes (1598), this number raises the number to over nine (9.1) towns per edict of pacification.

to determine the “true” heroes and villains in Korean mission history does not belong to us, but to the omniscient God. Even so, we need to examine critically and honestly the positive and negative depictions of missionary activities that took place in Korea in efforts to discern God’s sovereign role in the history of missions.

In Korea, many second generation descendants of the first generation missionaries remained or returned to Korea to serve as missionaries. Many missionary wives (as well as husbands) became widows, but they chose to remain in Korea to fulfill their remaining tasks. Many wished to be buried in Korean soil as the literal “seeds” of the gospel. Fortunately, in the memory of the Korean people, there are more heroes than villains.