

Abstract

This thesis conducts a case study of news in early modern Europe. It examines Dutch and English news pamphlets about the assassination of King Henry IV of France in 1610. The thesis argues that news about the assassination circulated in an international public sphere. This international public sphere was characterized by a large appetite for foreign news, a well-informed 'public' and most importantly, a commonly established international anti-Catholic discourse, which enabled news to travel across national boundaries. The Dutch discourse depicted Henry's assassination as a joint papal and Spanish plot to depose Henry and to reclaim the rebellious Netherlands. In England, news about Henry's death was explicitly linked to the debate about the Oath of Allegiance. Despite these national differences, both discourses drew on a socially constructed image of the Jesuits as a tightly organized conspiratorial group. It referred to a standardized set of beliefs, stereotypes and sentiments that epitomized a view of militant Catholicism, commanded by the pope, the Jesuits and Spain. This anti-Catholic discourse was based on a transnational Protestant mentality, as it consistently referred to key moments in the Protestant history of persecution, plots and assassinations. The thesis also expresses some reservations about the level of participation in this international public sphere. Particularly in England, pamphleteering was confined to the capital, and the central government seemed to have played an active part in regulating access to the international public sphere, both by practices of censorship and propaganda. It hence follows that news about the assassination of Henry IV was debated in an international public sphere, but that the level of access to this public sphere strongly depended on the specific national context.

News in early modern Europe
A case study of Henry IV's assassination

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1. Introduction

Historians have debated whether early modern Western Europe knew something similar to a ‘public sphere’, in which private individuals came together as a public to join in political debate. In his *The Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere*, Jürgen Habermas located the emergence of the bourgeois public sphere primarily in eighteenth-century coffee houses and salons. In his view, literary discussion and criticism gradually developed into more fundamental political debates, which laid the foundation for a modern political system. Habermas considered this public sphere ‘a category that is typical of an epoch’, since it emerged alongside capitalism and the modern state.¹ It is therefore a historically specific phenomenon that fundamentally differs from earlier notions of publicity that have existed in Europe. In Habermas’ view, a public sphere separate from the private sphere did not exist in medieval or early modern Europe. The feudal relationships that constituted European society did know a certain ‘publicness’, but this was only practiced through means of feudal representation. This practice of symbolic representation did not distinguish between public and private, or state and society, as publicness was primarily a characteristic of the ruler(s).² In that sense – in the words of Habermas – this representative publicness was practiced ‘before’ the people, not by them.³

This view has been seriously contested by early modern historians, who have drawn attention to the large circulation of news pamphlets, the establishment of periodical newsletters, and accordingly to the large interest of ‘the public’ in major political and religious events during the early modern era. Many have emphasized earlier developments that created favorable conditions for the rise of the public sphere, particularly the rise of Protestantism in the early sixteenth century. Reformation historian Andrew Pettegree has pointed out that Luther’s religious ideas in the early years of the Reformation were eagerly distributed and read by all strata of society. Between 1518 and 1526, approximately 6 million copies of around 6000 editions of pamphlets were published in the Holy Roman Empire.⁴ Similarly, in his critique of Habermas’ periodization, David Zaret has argued that the rise of Protestantism in the sixteenth century had subverted the church’s monopoly over religious discourse and instead appealed to the individual judgment of lay people. The early Reformation thus contributed significantly to the proliferation of printed media and the

¹ J. Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 1992), p. xvii.

² C. Calhoun, ‘Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere’, In: C. Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 7.

³ Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, p. 8.

⁴ A. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge, 2005), pp. 163 – 166.

interest of ‘the public’ in matters of religious concern. Religion played an important role in the development of a political public sphere, as ‘religious discourse was a, if not the, predominant means by which individuals defined and debated issues in this sphere’.⁵ Furthermore, various historians have emphasized the specific propagandistic nature of the early modern public sphere, and the way ruling elites increasingly appealed to a ‘public’. In several works, English historian Kevin Sharpe has drawn attention to the way early modern English regimes undertook deliberate attempts to represent themselves in the most favorable light, thereby aiming to positively influence public discussion and portrayals of their authority.⁶ Additionally, in his work on pamphleteering and propaganda in England’s seventeenth-century political culture, Jason Peacey concluded that the early modern public sphere did not just create opportunities for democratization and public debate, but also opened ways to manipulate and control public opinion.⁷ With the rise of the state from the sixteenth century onwards, public officeholders increasingly felt the need to communicate their policy to the public. Government publications were put on the market to influence the public’s ideas in general or in order to secure the public’s compliance with governmental policies.⁸

These studies on the nature of the early modern public sphere have mainly focused on national political or religious conflicts. For instance, historians of the Dutch Revolt (1568 – 1648) have emphasized the large public interest in news during the second half of the sixteenth century. As Alastair Duke demonstrated, the opposition of the Dutch ‘Beggars’ during the 1560s to the Spanish persecution of heretics was accompanied by a widespread circulation of propagandistic political tracts and pamphlets. Most of these were of modest size and price, and hence affordable to the lower strata of society.⁹ Although it is hard to establish the authorship of these pamphlets, they were probably the work of Calvinist ministers, nobles or urban elites. Similar arguments have been made about the English Civil War (1642 – 1651) in which both the parliamentarian and the royalist party employed the printing press to promote their political views. The rising English periodical press helped to spread

⁵ D. Zaret, ‘Religion, Science, and Printing in the Public Spheres in Seventeenth-Century England’, In: C. Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 213.

⁶ K. M. Sharpe, *Image Wars: Promoting Kings and Commonwealths in England, 1603-1660* (London, 2010); K. M. Sharpe, *Selling the Tudor Monarchy: Authority and Image in Sixteenth Century England* (London, 2009).

⁷ J. Peacey, *Politicians and pamphleteers: propaganda during the English civil wars and interregnum* (Ashgate, 2004).

⁸ F. Deen, e.a., ‘Pamphlets and Politics: Introduction’, In: F. Deen, e.a. (eds.), *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden & Boston, 2011), pp. 12 – 13; J.F. Sawyer, *Printed Poison: Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics, and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth-Century France* (Berkeley & Los Angeles & Oxford, 1990) p. 2.

⁹ A. Duke, ‘Dissident propaganda and political organization at the outbreak of the revolt of the Netherlands’, In: P. Benedict e.a. (eds.), *Reformation, revolt and civil war in France and the Netherlands 1555-1558* (Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 115 – 132.

parliamentary discussions to the street and conversely presented members of Parliament with popular views on topics.¹⁰ Similarly, it has been argued that the French Wars of Religion (1562 – 1598) were accompanied by intense periods of pamphleteering, which spread aristocratic conflict to the streets and engaged the public in bitter polemics.¹¹ Studies like these have demonstrated the interest and engagement of a wider ‘public’ in major political and religious events. Early modern European countries knew a public sphere, in which matters of common concern were intensely debated by various strata of society, and in which political elites often actively engaged themselves.

However, not much attention has been paid to the transnational nature of news in early modern Europe. This is unfortunate, because there are several reasons to assume that news in early modern Europe was increasingly discussed in an international context. Firstly, it has been demonstrated that national audiences showed a vital interest in political and religious developments abroad. In Joad Raymond’s collection of essays on news in early modern Britain, Fritz Levy argued that the English war with Spain by the end of the sixteenth century rapidly increased the desire for news on foreign affairs. He has highlighted the practice of sixteenth-century English printers to translate and publish French pamphlets in support of the French Huguenots during the French Wars of Religion.¹² Based on evidence that the sale of these pamphlets in England was good business, there are strong indications that the public interest in these sorts of events was high. Political events in one country were closely watched and commented upon in others, especially when national political interests were at stake. Secondly, the Reformation process in the sixteenth century had created religious identities that transcended national boundaries. Religious sentiments expressed in one national context could easily find a fertile ground in other national contexts. In particular members of the Calvinist diaspora, with a shared history of exile and persecution, did strongly identify themselves with their fellow ‘brethren’ in other European countries.¹³ This not only suggests that the early modern public showed a vital interest in foreign news; it also suggests that news

¹⁰ J. Raymond, ‘The Newspaper, Public Opinion, and the Public Sphere in the Seventeenth Century’, In: J. Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London & Portland, 1999), pp. 109 – 140; Zaret, ‘Religion, Science, and Printing’, pp. 217 – 218; J. Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 202 – 275.

¹¹ D. Roussel, ‘L’espace public comme enjeu des guerres de Religion et de la paix civile. Réflexions sur la notion d’espace public et ses métamorphoses à Paris au XVI^e siècle’, In: P. Boucheron & N. Offenstadt, *L’espace public au Moyen Age – Débats autour de Jürgen Habermas* (Paris, 2011), pp. 131 – 146.

¹² F. Levy, ‘The Decorum of News’, In: J. Raymond, (ed.) *News, Newspapers, and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London & Portland, 1999), pp. 12 – 38.

¹³ O.P. Grell, *Brethren in Christ: A Calvinist Network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2011).

could be discussed within a framework of an international public sphere, characterized by a common religious discourse.

To what extent then did an international public sphere really exist? This thesis examines this question by looking at the spread and content of news pamphlets circulating in the Anglo-Dutch sphere following the assassination of King Henry IV of France (r. 1589 – 1610). The English and Dutch news pamphlets about this murder provide an excellent case study of the way news on major political and religious events travelled across European national boundaries and was discussed within a framework of a commonly established international discourse. Henry IV – the formerly Protestant Henry of Navarre – had assumed the French throne in 1589 and during his reign, France had witnessed a decade of recovery, both in economic and political terms. Although Henry’s controversial religious background continued to engender suspicion among his subjects, his Edict of Nantes (1598) guaranteed Protestants religious liberties, and effectively ended the French Wars of Religion that had tormented the country for decades.¹⁴ In the spring of 1610, Henry nevertheless considered military support of the German Protestant Union in the quarrels over the succession in the Duchies of Jülich-Kleves, an area strategically located on the border of the Holy Roman Empire, the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic.¹⁵ On 14 May 1610, the King was attacked in his carriage by a Catholic fanatic named Francois Ravailac, who stabbed the King three times.¹⁶ Ravailac later claimed he had committed the murder because he rejected Henry’s intention ‘to make war on the pope’ and his refusal to act against French Protestants (the Huguenots).¹⁷ The murder therefore re-fueled religious divisions that had dominated most sixteenth-century Western-European countries. Ravailac consistently denied the involvement of others, but due to recent publications by European Jesuits on the question of tyrannicide, the French Jesuit order was accused of having encouraged the murder.¹⁸ After Henry’s death, news of the murder quickly spread to other parts of Western-Europe, particularly to England and the Dutch Republic. Several pamphlets initially published in Paris concerning the murder were translated in both Dutch and English, and separately published in cities like London, The

¹⁴ V.J. Pitts, *Henry IV of France: His Reign and Age* (Baltimore, 2009), pp. xii – 5.

¹⁵ M.J. Hayden, ‘Continuity in the France of Henry IV and Louis XIII: French Foreign Policy, 1598 - 1615’, *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (1973), p. 8; A.D. Anderson, *On the verge of war: International relations and the Jülich-Kleves Succession Crises (1609-1614)*, (Boston, 1999), p. 23.

¹⁶ R. Mousnier, *The Assassination of Henry IV: The Tyrannicide Problem and the Consolidation of the French Absolute Monarchy in the early Seventeenth Century* (London, 1973), p. 24.

¹⁷ Pitts, *Henry IV*, pp. 326 – 327.

¹⁸ E. Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy: Catholic Reform and Political Authority in France (1590-1615)* (Hampshire & Burlington, 2005), pp. 147 – 207.

Hague, Rotterdam and Delft. Furthermore, various original Dutch or English pamphlets discussing the murder were written and published in England and the Dutch Republic.

It is the nature of these news pamphlets – written in response to Henry’s death – that is the main concern of this thesis. A total of 30 pamphlets has been derived from online catalogues, such as the Knuttel Catalogue in TEMPO, and the early modern English catalogue EEBO.¹⁹ Many of the pamphlets have also been derived from the online collections of the University of Gent, which has digitalized the nineteenth-century pamphlet collection of Isaac Meulman.²⁰ Since the thesis focuses on a particular political event, mostly 1610 pamphlets about Henry’s assassination have been selected. This enables an examination of the ‘immediate’ response to the assassination.²¹ The methodological approach is determined by the particular nature of the early modern ‘pamphlet’. Pamphlets are often short, although occasionally long, documents in which certain political, religious or social events are commented on by a contemporary, which makes them very useful for conducting a study on the public response to such events.²² There were many different genres of pamphlets, ranging from government publications to poems and songs.²³ Despite some controversy on its exact defining characteristics, a pamphlet appears to have had a clear function. It was a ‘form of topical publication that was intimately connected to current events’, as its aim in most cases was ‘to persuade and convince the audience for political ends’.²⁴ Because of the strong link to current political events, Niek van Sas has typified pamphlets as ‘a typical workhorse of crisis politics’.²⁵

The assassination of a European monarch can certainly be typified as a political crisis and hence created a large corpus of pamphlets. The particular topical and political nature of a pamphlet demands a specific approach to its study. Firstly, authors and publishers of pamphlets were no objective spectators of historical events, but rather active participants in

¹⁹ ‘The Early Modern Pamphlets Online (TEMPO)’, <http://tempo.idcpublishers.info/search.php>, visited on 18 June 2013; ‘Early English Books Online (EEBO)’, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>, visited on 18 June 2013. Due to the long length of many pamphlet titles, the following chapters only refer to shorter versions of the titles. The full titles can be consulted in the Bibliography.

²⁰ ‘Isaac Meulman’, <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/63254639>, visited on 13 June 2013; ‘University of Gent Catalogue’, <http://search.ugent.be/meercat/x/view/hth01/001169880>, visited on 9 June 2013.

²¹ There are three pamphlets included from 1611: *Een slecht ende eenvoudigh discovers* most clearly represents the Dutch discourse about the assassination; Two English pamphlets (*A discourse to the lords of the Parliament & Anti-Coton*) knew 1610 versions in both French and Dutch and hence were included to demonstrate the transnational nature of news about Henry’s assassination.

²² Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, p. 163.

²³ Sawyer, *Printed Poison*, p. 11

²⁴ Deen, ‘Pamphlets and Politics’, p. 12.

²⁵ N. van Sas, ‘The Netherlands, 1750 – 1813’, In: H. Barker & S. Burrows, *Press, Politics and the Public Sphere in Europe and North-America* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 58.

their political and social contexts.²⁶ This means that pamphlets are less appropriate for purely empirical approaches in which the aim is to reconstruct historical facts. Secondly, it is often hard – if not impossible – to establish whether opinions articulated in pamphlets can be used to discern something like a ‘public opinion’.²⁷ This thesis will tackle these problems by focusing on the concept of the ‘public sphere’ in which the pamphlets circulated, rather than by attempting to describe the response of ‘the people’ to the murder. Pamphlets do not necessarily reflect what people in the early modern period thought, but they do provide insight into the opinions, perceptions and ideas present in the early modern public discourse. In that sense, pamphlets can be helpful in determining the patterns of discourse that shaped and reshaped the general communication network of early seventeenth-century Europe.

The thesis therefore mainly follows a cultural-historical approach, in which the analysis of discourse takes a central place, and in which pamphlets are considered to be cultural constructs. Such an approach is not only concerned with the content of pamphlets, but also tries to ‘read between the lines’ in order to say something about the texts’ meaning in the larger context of the international public sphere. This can provide much insight in the concerns and intentions that may have led to the pamphlets’ production, what discursive devices were employed, what audience they sought and how they were intended to be read and received.²⁸ As a case study of news in early modern Europe, the pamphlets about Henry IV’s assassination offer some insights in the nature of the international public sphere around 1610. Chapter 2 demonstrates the transnational nature of the news pamphlets discussing Henry’s assassination, and the large appetite for foreign news. This is done by pointing at the practice of translation, the way authors of pamphlets intended to inform their audience, and how they at the same time seemed to assume their audience to be well-informed about the political and religious context. Chapter 3 then conducts a discourse analysis of the way in which news on Henry’s assassination was incorporated into specific national discussions in England and the Dutch Republic. Although framed in the context of national debates and controversies, such as the Dutch Revolt against Spain and the English controversy around the Oath of Allegiance, the pamphlets largely appealed to an international anti-Catholic discourse, which enabled the news to spread easily from one country to another. Chapter 4 then makes some notes of caution to prevent drawing too optimistic conclusions about the scope of, and accessibility to the international public sphere. Particularly in England, pamphleteering was

²⁶ Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, p. 157.

²⁷ G. de Bruin, ‘Political Pamphleteering and Public Opinion in the Age of De Witt (1653 – 1672)’, In: F. Deen, e.a. (eds.), *Pamphlets and Politics in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden & Boston, 2011), pp. 63 – 95.

²⁸ C.S. Clegg, *Press censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 7.

confined to the capital, and the central government seemed to have played an active part in regulating access to the international public sphere, both by practices of censorship and propaganda. The thesis thus poses the question to what extent Henry IV's assassination was debated in an international public sphere. It argues that in the early seventeenth century the assassination of Henry IV was debated in an international public sphere, with the public discussion showing a strong awareness of foreign politics, and appealing to an internationally established anti-Catholic discourse.

2. An international audience

2.1. *The Jesuit controversy in Paris*

Francois Ravailac, Henry's assassin, insisted that he had acted alone. Yet, various pamphlets accusing the French Jesuits circulated in Paris in the months following the assassination.²⁹ The most influential pamphlet, the *Anticoton*, argued that the Jesuits were responsible for the assassination of Henry, as they had promoted foreign theories on tyrannicide in France.³⁰ Other pamphlets, such as the *Remonstrance à Messieurs de la Covr de Parlement*, went even further and called for the immediate expulsion of the Jesuits from France. Supported by the Sorbonne University, the *Parlement de Paris* – France's supreme court of justice – responded by reaffirming the law against regicide in France. In addition, the *Parlement* ordered the public burning of three books, published by Jesuits.³¹

The accusations referred to publications by prominent Jesuits such as Juan de Mariana and Robert Bellarmine who had made some controversial statements on the concept of tyrannicide and the pope's power to depose monarchs. Juan de Mariana had published his *De rege et regis institutione libri tres* (three books on the king and the royal institution) in 1599, more than ten years before it became controversial. Mariana's aim to tackle the question of tyrannicide was nothing new in the deeply religiously divided Europe of the early seventeenth century. With millions of people living under the rule of a sovereign who promoted a different religion than they adhered to, questions concerning the conditions under which a ruler could be deposed – or in extreme cases, murdered – by his citizens, had been a central theme in both Catholic and Protestant intellectual debates. From the 1572 St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre onwards, French Huguenot theorists had advocated the right of rebellion to monarchs who violated the law of God. In particular, these 'Monarchomachs' offered a theoretical justification of tyrannicide.³² The issue was particularly difficult for the Jesuit order, as 'killing a tyrant invariably meant killing a natural superior, with potentially disastrous consequences for the accepted hierarchical order. Whoever had the right to decide whether or not a prince has lapsed into tyranny automatically enjoyed authority superior to that of the prince'.³³ Mariana's discussion of this topic was particularly controversial, because he presented it as a commentary on the assassination of Henry III of France (r. 1574 – 1589).

²⁹ A.M. Walker, 'Mind of an assassin: Ravailac and the murder of Henry IV of France', *Canadian journal of history*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (1995), pp. 201 – 230.

³⁰ *Anticoton*; Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy*, p. 174.

³¹ Nelson, *The Jesuits and the Monarchy*, pp. 156 – 158.

³² W.J. Stankiewicz, *Politics and Religion in Seventeenth-Century France: A Study of Political Ideas from the Monarchomachs to Bayle, as Reflected in the Toleration Controversy* (Berkeley, 1960), pp. 32 – 43.

³³ H.E. Braun, *Juan de Mariana and Early Modern Spanish Political Thought* (Aldershot, 2007) p. 82.

Arguing that this assassination was the result of Henry’s own actions, Mariana appears to eulogize the assassin, pointing out conditions under which a private individual – without the consent of any political body – would be entitled to kill a king.³⁴ As a result of this controversy, various pamphlets circulated in Paris that explicitly accused the Jesuit order, and Mariana in particular, of having encouraged Francois Ravailac.

2.2. Translations and adaptations

Particularly significant about this anti-Jesuit discourse, is its rapid spread across national boundaries to England and the Dutch Republic. For instance, an English author states that ‘Francois Ravallaic, the villaine, who gaue that accused stroke’ had ‘found his conscience cleared of all scruple’ in falling upon Mariana’s book, which ‘fully resolved’ him to undertake the murder.³⁵ This spread of anti-Jesuit discourse happened first of all through the translation of multiple French pamphlets into English and Dutch. At least 24 pamphlets in the entire body of 30 sources have been (partly) translated from French. For instance, the French *Discourse lamentable sur l’attentat commis en la personne de très-heureuse mémoire Henri III* was translated into both English (*A lamentable discourse*) and Dutch (*Claechlick discours*).³⁶ Additionally, some English pamphlets were based on French publications, yet also included

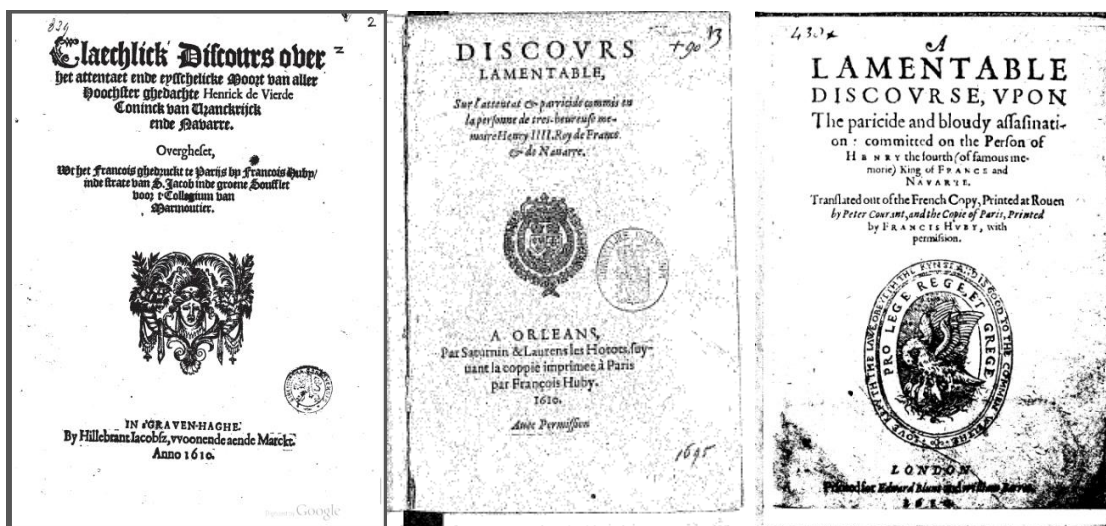


Figure 1: The same pamphlet in three different languages.

an added introduction or other explanatory material provided by the translator. Firstly, *An Extract out of the Historie of the last French King Henry the fourth of famous memorie* claims

³⁴ Braun, *Juan de Mariana*, pp. 82 – 85.

³⁵ *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*, p. 37.

³⁶ See for a more elaborate summary of the way French, English and Dutch pamphlets corresponded Appendix 7.2.

to have been written ‘According to an Authentique Copie written in his lifetime’, thereby most likely referring to a French text. The description is nevertheless preceded by a letter written by an English author, Edmond Skory, which is dedicated to William Viscount Cranborne (1591 – 1668). This Viscount Cranborne was a young English nobleman who would eventually become an important advisor to James I, and who had been sent to France in 1608 by his father – Lord Treasurer Robert Cecil.³⁷ The letter clearly demonstrates that news of Henry’s murder was explicitly published with an eye to the English public. The exact relationship between Edmond Skory and Cranborne is not known, but it is apparent that this English author edited, altered and added explanatory material to the foreign pamphlets he re-published in England.

Secondly, alterations and editions to the original French texts have been made in the *copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*. This pamphlet bundles two texts (one in Latin, one in French) originally published in France, and then provides English versions of both. The first text concerns the decree of the Sorbonne in which the doctrines on tyrannicide are strongly condemned; the second text concerns the Arrest of Parliament, in which the *Parlement de Paris* adopts the Sorbonne’s decree and calls for the public burning of Mariana’s book in Paris.³⁸ Despite the French origin of these texts, the pamphlet is introduced by an unknown English author who frames the murder largely in the English context, starting with the line: ‘It hath bene long since obserued, that England whilest it was in captiuitie and bondage vnder the Bishop of Rome, was of all other Countreys most oppressed with his intolerable exactions, and most heauy impositions’.³⁹ The specific national debate in which Henry’s assassination was framed in England will be further elaborated upon in the next chapter. At this point, it is interesting to note that the French texts on Henry’s assassination travelled across national boundaries and were edited by English authors for publication on the English market.

A third source, *A Letter of a Catholike Man Beyond the seas, written to his friend in England* further demonstrates this. This source was written in defense of the Jesuit order and published in the Southern Netherlands, yet it was explicitly intended to be read by an English audience. The author, Thomas Owen – an English Jesuit – wrote an extensive defense of the order, but also included a letter by Pierre Coton, a French Jesuit and confessor to Henry IV, who published pamphlets in defense of the Jesuits in Paris in 1610. Thus, Owen draws on

³⁷ ‘William Cecil, 2nd earl of Salisbury’, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37272?docPos=3>, visited on 9 June 2013.

³⁸ *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*, pp. 25 – 36.

³⁹ *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*, p. 3

French news pamphlets and texts, but also edits and adds material that makes the pamphlet accessible to an English public.

Similarly, news of Henry's assassination traveled to the Dutch Republic. Several original French pamphlets were published in the Low Countries, some of them still in French, yet most of them translated into Dutch. Again we see that the Dutch 'public' had an interest in the proceedings of the Sorbonne and the French *Parlement de Paris*, for these texts were also published in the Dutch Republic.⁴⁰ Particularly interesting is that at least three Dutch pamphlets concerning Henry's assassination were not translated from French, but from English. The pamphlet *By the King: a proclamation for the due execution of all former lawes against recusants* knew at least two different versions in Dutch: *By den Coninck – Een Proclamatie omme de behoerlijcke executie van alle voorgaende Wetten tegen de Paepse Refusanten* (published in Amsterdam and Rotterdam) and *By den Coninck – Proclamatie ofte uytroep ghedaen teghen alle priesters, Jesuiten ende andere derghelijcke* (published in Middelburg). The content of both pamphlets corresponds, but the translations largely diverge. Furthermore, the aforementioned *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone* knew its Dutch edition in *Copie van het Decreet of Besluit vande Sorbonne van Parys*. This Dutch edition is an exact translation from the English version, and hence includes all the references to England in the introduction. Apparently, the Dutch public had not just an interest in the political events in Paris, but also in the way the English responded to these events.

2.3. Public awareness

Why did these pamphlets circulate in England and the Dutch Republic? An observation of the nature of the corpus of pamphlets demonstrates that – without excluding other possible purposes – most of the pamphlets seemed to have been published with a clear purpose to inform the reader about the assassination. The majority of sources – particularly the ones directly translated from French – seem to have been aimed at providing their audience with 'factual' information about the events that happened in Paris. For instance, *The funeral Pompe and obsequies of the most mighty and puissant Henry the fourth* takes 24 pages to describe the procession with which Henry IV was placed on a bier and buried on June 29 and 30. The pamphlet is full of detail, describing for instance the decorations in the hall in the Louvre, the clothes of the new King Louis XIII and the order in which all religious orders, guards, nobles and members of the royal household, took place in the procession. Another pamphlet – *The*

⁴⁰ *Arrest of besluit vant hof van Parlement; Copie van het Decreet of Besluit vande Sorbonne.*

Terrible and deserued death of Francis Ravilliack offers an almost cruelly detailed account of the way Ravaillac was executed. When coming to the part where Ravaillac was tied to four horses to tear him into pieces, the pamphlet states:

‘But so strongly was his flesh and ioints knit together, that of long time, these four horses, could not dismember him, not any way teare one ioint from the other, so that one of the horse fainted, the which a Merchant of the City of Paris perceiuing put to one of his owne, being a horse of exceeding great strength, yet notwithstanding for all this, they were constrained to cut the flesh vnder his arms & thighs with a sharp razor, by which means his body was the easier torn in pieces: which being done the rage of the people grew so violent, that they snatched the dismembred carkasse out of the executioners hands, some beate it in sunder against the ground, others cut it in pieces with kniues, so that there was nothing left but bones, which were brought to the place of execution and there burned to cinders, the ashes whereof was scattered into the wind, as being thought vnworthy of the earths burial’⁴¹

The amount of detail that was put into the pamphlets is remarkable. Likewise, the *Tranen ende bevveeninghen van Vranckrijck* provides a detailed account of the life, actions and ‘ghedenckvveerdighe Feyten’ of Henry IV, pointing at his multiple military victories, but also his good governmental capabilities.⁴² These include his ‘voorsicheyt inde Financien, zijn mildicheyt inde belooningen, zijn oordeel inde verkiesinghe der persoonen (...), zijn getrouheyt tegen den ghenen daer hy mede verbonden, zijn maticheyt t’allen tyden, zijn Wijsheydt in alle saken’.⁴³ Naturally, such statements are not ‘factual’ in the strictest sense, because they are clearly intended to glorify Henry IV. However, the detailed nature of the descriptions offered in the pamphlets hints at an important role for news pamphlets in informing the public. Apparently this is what readers wanted to read.

The fact that contemporaries cared about properly informing the public about crucial political and religious events is underlined by the author of *A Letter of A Catholike Man*, who, in his defense of the Society of Jesus, wrote that he decided: ‘to turne it into English tongue, that so the truth may there [England] also be known to the honor & glory of the author of all truth, & comfort, not only of the innocent, but also of al them, that with true charity desire to know the truth, & maintaine the same’.⁴⁴ It is significant that this pamphlet was published by St. Omer’s Colleges Press – an English Jesuit college located in the Spanish Low Countries. Considering the fact that this English Jesuit outside of England aimed to influence the English

⁴¹ *The Terrible and deserued death of Francis Ravilliack*, p. 5.

⁴² Translation: Memorable facts; p. 5.

⁴³ Translation: his caution in finance, his mildness in rewards, his judgment in the election of persons, his loyalty to the ones allied with him, his all time moderation, his wisdom in all cases; p. 10

⁴⁴ *Letter of a Catholike Man*, p. 6.

discourse on Henry's assassination, it is clear that he was concerned with what people in England thought about the Jesuits. Even though it is evident that Owen's letter was mainly intended to influence English governmental policy on the Oath of Allegiance (see next chapter), one could argue that Owen did so by publicly making his argument, thereby automatically engaging a wider audience. Thus, whatever their other intentions, authors of news pamphlets around 1610 were concerned with informing a broader, international public.

Perhaps 'the public' around 1610 was in fact quite well-informed about the course of major political and religious foreign events. Several elements in the pamphlets discussing Henry's assassination hint at the well-informed nature of the reader. For instance, the pamphlet *Hellish and horrible Council, practiced and used by the Jesuits* (in Dutch: *Helschen Raedt ofte Grouwelicke Pracktjcken*) describes rituals the Jesuits supposedly had performed in order to prepare an assassin for the murder of a king. An interesting feature about this pamphlet is that it does not explicitly refer to Henry or Ravailiac. The reader is assumed to be able to establish the link to Henry's regicide. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the original Dutch pamphlet *Een slecht ende eenvoudig discovrse, Over de doot van Henry le Grand, Coningh van Vranckrijck*.⁴⁵ This pamphlet discusses extensively the so-called 'Brandaristen' (Jesuits), who, commissioned by the King of Spain (referred to as 'Senor'), had been involved in the assassination of Henry IV. There is no explicit reference made to the term 'Jesuits', nor is there any explicit reference made to the Spanish King. It is up to the reader to determine the actual meaning of the term 'Brandaristen', which was most likely a reference to the Jesuits Society's founder Ignatius de Loyola.⁴⁶ Although the author of this pamphlet is unknown, he apparently assumed his audience would be able to identify his pamphlet as a sarcastic comment on the events in Paris and the presumed involvement of the Jesuits. A similar foreknowledge is presumed of the international context in which Henry was assassinated. The *slecht ende eenvoudig discovrse* discusses the mission of the 'Brandaristen' in the context of Henry's intention to go to Aachen in July, thereby referring to Henry's planned military intervention in this region. Clearly, authors of pamphlets presumed their audience to be well-informed about this matter. A similar observation can be made about the *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*. In the last paragraph of this pamphlet, the author describes the close relationship of Henry IV with the Jesuit order. According to the author, the Jesuits were not satisfied with their position under Henry until they 'had gotten his heart into

⁴⁵ Translation: A silly and simple discourse about the death of Henry le Grand, King of France.

⁴⁶ 'Ignis' means 'fire' in Latin. The Dutch word 'brand' means fire as well. 'Brandaristen' therefore refers to the order founded by Ignatius de Loyola: the Jesuit order – J. Andriessen, *Jezüieten en het samenhorigheidsbefef der Nederlanden, 1585 – 1648* (Antwerpen, 1957), pp. 244 & 250 & 330.

their hands'. That is why the author ends the pamphlet with a riddle: 'T'is you alone (you sacred crue); To whom the hearts of Kings are due; When the great Harts are hunted hard; The entrails are the Hounds reward'.⁴⁷ Although the riddle is clearly linked to the general content of the pamphlet (the Jesuit's involvement in Henry's assassination), the author does not consider it necessary to expound on it. He says: 'the riddle may perhaps seeme at the first somewhat obscure, but I know you will reade it without a Light'⁴⁸, clearly assuming that his audience would know how to interpret it. Statements like these indicate that there was no need for the author to provide any further explanations, as people were assumed to be informed about the context in which comments like these needed to be placed. It is therefore reasonable to state that news about the assassination of Henry IV circulated in an international public sphere, in which people in various countries expressed a keen interest in foreign affairs, and in which authors and printers did their best to accommodate them.

⁴⁷ *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*, p. 43.

⁴⁸ *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*, p. 43.

3. An international discourse

Most pamphlets circulating in England and the Dutch Republic after Henry IV's assassination had originally been published in France. It is therefore unsurprising that the concerns expressed in these sources appertain to the 1610 French context. The fact that these pamphlets were re-published and read by English and Dutch audiences again emphasizes the large appetite for foreign news in both countries. However, Dutch and English authors also discussed the murder in relation to a particular national discussion. In doing so, they appealed to an internationally established set of anti-Catholic sentiments and stereotypes, which enabled the discourse – although related to a specific national context – to appeal to a larger international audience.

3.1. *The Dutch Republic*

In the Dutch Republic, the murder and the presumed involvement of the Jesuits was associated with general fears of Spanish hegemonic ambitions and Catholic plots, led by the pope. This is clearly demonstrated by the pamphlet *Een slecht ende eenvoudigh discovrs, Over de doot van Henry le Grand, Coningh van Vranckrijck*.⁴⁹ It is significant how this pamphlet – written and published in the Dutch Republic – directly frames Henry's death in terms of a conflict with Spain. The first line reads:

'Het is kennelijck, hoe dat over meenighe jaren Vranckrijck ende Spaengien ghestreden hebben om een hoogh verheven Stoel, ghe-naemt Monarchie: Welcken Stoel van soodanighen aert is, dat de gene die daer op sit, can andere Coninghen ende Potentaten dwinghen, ofte ten minsten buyghen naer zynen will: Can oock tot Heylighe Ampten, als tot Pausen, Cardinalen, Bisschoppen verheffen dien hy wil: hy can seghenen ende vervloecken nae zijn ghelieven'.⁵⁰

The pamphlet then poetically describes the Franco-Spanish conflict, in which Spain initially gained an upper hand, but saw its victory thwarted by the 'Nederlandesche Oorloghe door Senors [Spain's] tyrannie verweckt zijnde' and the 'aencomste van Henry le Grand aen de Croone van Vranckrijck'.⁵¹ Particularly remarkable about the way Henry's assassination is debated in the Dutch public sphere is that the fates of both France and the Dutch Republic are

⁴⁹ Translation: A silly and simple discourse about the death of Henry le Grand: King of France.

⁵⁰ Translation: It is known that over many years, France and Spain have fought over a highly exalted Seat, named Monarchy: this seat is of such nature that the one who sits on it, can force other Kings and potentates, or at least bend them to his will: he can also exalt to holy offices, popes, Cardinals, Bishops, whoever he wants: he can bless as he pleases; p. 2.

⁵¹ Translation: Dutch war, generated by Senor's tyranny & arrival of Henry le Grand on the Crown of France; p. 3.

presented as being strongly intertwined. The pamphlet claims that both Henry's victory and the Dutch Revolt resulted in Spain's downfall and forced 'Senor' to abandon his claim on the French throne. In this regard, Henry is considered the most powerful king on earth and a great protector of the free Netherlands. This supreme position is again emphasized by the statement that the French king is 'als een Heer der Heeren, als een Coningh der Coninghen, jae als een Gode der Goden op aerden'.⁵² By both eulogizing Henry's powers and linking the French-Spanish conflict explicitly to the Dutch Revolt, it is clear the pamphlet considers France as the main protector of Dutch liberties and interests. This is bolstered by the association of the Dutch victory over Spain with the arrival of Henry on the French throne. The Netherlands directly depended upon the 'beleyt van de groote Jagher, die de Castiliaensche Wolven, Beyren ende wilde Swynen, uyt de Vrye Nederlandese Tuyn verjaecht ende verdreven heeft'.⁵³ Henry is considered not just a brother of the Dutch, but an exceptionally big brother, who had defended and preserved Dutch freedom against Spanish-Habsburg hegemony. The Dutch repugnance towards the Habsburg dynasty is furthermore highlighted in a reference to Henry's planned military intervention in the Jülich-Kleves succession in 1610. According to the pamphlet, the Spanish king feared that Henry would be seated on the chair of his forefather, Carolus Magnus, in Aachen. This refers to Charlemagne, who favoured Aachen as a place of residence. This statement – which explicitly claims Henry to be the rightful descendant of Charlemagne – aims to deride the Habsburg dynasty, as Holy Roman emperors also claimed their empire to be a descendant of Charlemagne's empire.⁵⁴ The pamphlet thus deliberately emphasizes Henry's French monarchical legitimacy, in order to dismiss and mock the Spanish Habsburgs.

Although the pamphlet does not explicitly mention Henry's formerly held Protestant beliefs, the mocking condemnation of Spain and Habsburg, Jesuits and the pope all highlight the Protestant nature of the author's identification with Henry. In ridiculing the Jesuits, the pamphlet refers to an ostensible 'Senor' (the Spanish King) who was puzzled on how to stop the French from driving the Spanish from the Netherlands. Senor did not find any saint prepared to perform the 'mirakel' that the king deemed necessary to stop Henry, and therefore had to call upon a half saint ('halve Sant'). This saint had a 'vuyrige naem, omdat hy als een Salamander groote lust ende welbehaghen heeft in't vuyr van de Inquisitie: daeromme zo zijn

⁵² Translation: As a Lord of Lords, a King of Kings, yes as a God of Gods on earth; p. 3.

⁵³ Translation: The policy of the great hunter, who has driven off and expelled the Castilian Wolves, Bears and Swines from the Free Dutch Garden; p. 4.

⁵⁴ H.J. Hahn, *German thought and culture: From the Holy Roman Empire to the Present Day* (Manchester, 1995), pp. 1 – 26.

rechte Duytsche naem S. Brandaris'.⁵⁵ Although the Jesuits are not mentioned by name, it is clear that 'Brandaris' is a reference to the Jesuit order. Firstly, the name 'Brandaris' ('Brand' means 'fire' in Dutch) refers to the Jesuit order's founder Ignatius de Loyola ('Ignus' means 'fire' in Latin).⁵⁶ Secondly, the pamphlet clearly reveals its mocking nature, by sneering that this Brandaris was only a half saint and had been standing in the gantry for more than fifty years. This most likely refers to Ignatius de Loyola who had been beatified by Pope Paul V in 1609, but not yet canonized. The ridiculing of the Catholic practice of saint veneration is then artfully used to associate these 'so-called saints' with Henry's assassination. The author describes Brandaris in conversation with Senor, in which Brandaris propagates himself as someone who had performed many other miracles. Brandaris refers to his miracle in Delft twenty-seven years ago, which is clearly a reference to the murder of William of Orange in 1584. Brandaris is perfectly willing to conduct certain miracles again and to abate Senor's fear that the Netherlands – 'de beste Deele van onse Croone' – will be taken away from Senor, as soon as Henry leaves for Aachen in July (a reference to Henry's intention to intervene in the conflict over the Julich-Kleves succession).⁵⁷

What is particularly significant about this pamphlet, originally published in Dutch, is



Figure 2: Brandaris' Shield

its skillful combination of Spain, the Jesuits, the Inquisition, and the pope in one coherent discourse that links past assassinations and plots. The term 'Brandarist' in itself links (the founder of) the Jesuits and the Inquisition (instituted by the pope). The last page of the pamphlet also refers to the militant nature of the Jesuit order and includes an image of Brandaris' shield. The various weapons used in the assassinations of Henry IV (knives) and William of Orange (guns), and the 1605 plot against James I (gunpowder) are depicted. The illustration also depicts a dragon in the middle spitting the fire of the Inquisition, again connecting the militant Jesuits and the Inquisition.

Likewise, when referring to Mariana's book *de rege*, the author casually mentions its Spanish origin, and its commissioning by the Spanish king. The author continues by claiming that the pope has always privileged Spain over other nations and

⁵⁵ Translation: had a fiery name, because like a salamander he had great lust and complacency in the fire of the Inquisition: that is why his true German name is S. Brandaris; pp. 5 – 6.

⁵⁶ Andriesen, *De Jezüieten*, p. 250.

⁵⁷ Translation: The best parts of our Crowne; p.7.

that therefore those who serve the pope (implicitly referring to the Jesuits) also serve Spain. In that sense, the Jesuits are the militant arm of both the pope and the King of Spain. A similar association between the assassination and the pope is artfully made in another original Dutch pamphlet, which describes Henry's assassin as an 'Italiaen'.⁵⁸ Although this pamphlet is not explicit in its accusations against Rome, it does skillfully point at the existence of a wider plot, stating that 'het schijnt datter noch meer van sijn complicen waren, daer men seer near soeckt' and that there have been rumors 'dattet op meer ander Coninghen en Potentaten gemunt was'.⁵⁹ Without making the accusations explicit, publications in the Dutch Republic depicted the assassination of Henry IV as a joint papal and Spanish plot to depose Henry and to reclaim the rebellious Netherlands.

3.2. England

A similar anti-papal and anti-Jesuit discourse can be found in the English pamphlets. The introduction of the *copie of a late decree of the Sorbone* strongly rages against the 'false brood of Romish Priests and hypocrites' who have been 'traiterously brought vp in the Seminaries beyond the sea' and have cunningly entered the English kingdom to teach English subjects 'false sleights and iuggling trickes'.⁶⁰ This is a direct reference to the English Jesuit College at St. Omer in the Spanish Low Countries, where the Jesuit Thomas Owen published his *Letter of a Catholike Man* in response to Henry's assassination. It shows that English authors were well aware of the Jesuit's attempt to influence the English debate, and it also demonstrates that – although discussing the English context – the author of the *Copie* sought an international audience. He laments the time when England was 'in captiuitie and bondage vnder the Bishop of Rome' who oppressed his English subjects and bothered them with the most heavy impositions, 'in so much as this our most noble Countrey was termed by the Frenchmen *the popes Asse*'.⁶¹ The author is displeased to see that – although England has freed itself from the popes' yoke – Jesuits and priests still continue to bewitch and seduce English subjects to superstition and idolatry, and 'infect with their poyson yong Gentlemen, and such others of the Laitie'.⁶²

This anti-papal and anti-Jesuit sentiment is discussed in the context of the Oath of Allegiance, instituted in the aftermath of the 1605 assassination attempt on King James I. This

⁵⁸ Translation: Italian; *Waerachtighe Beschrijvinghe*, p. 2.

⁵⁹ Translation: It appears that there were more of his [the murderer] accomplices, whom men diligently look for & that more Kings and Potentates are targeted; *Waerachtighe Beschrijvinghe*, p. 2.

⁶⁰ *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*, pp. 5 – 6.

⁶¹ *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*, p. 3.

⁶² *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*, p. 7.

'Gunpowder Plot' was hatched by a group of Catholics in response to several anti-Catholic measures taken by James.⁶³ The plot aimed to blow up the House of Lords during the first meeting of the new parliamentary session. It was uncovered after an anonymous letter and the subsequent discovery of 36 barrels of gunpowder in the House of Lords. Since England's principal Jesuit Henry Garnet knew about the plot, anti-Jesuit sentiment accompanied anti-papal and anti-Catholic rhetoric following the discovery of the plot.⁶⁴ The resulting 1605 Oath of Allegiance required English Catholic recusants (people who refused to attend the national Church of England) to swear loyalty to James and to disavow the doctrine of tyrannicide and the papal power to depose monarchs.⁶⁵ The 1609 Oath of Allegiance Act then required members of the House of Commons to take it. The Oath was no official parliamentary oath, as it was not sworn in the Parliament and there were no penalties for refusal. James considered the Oath mainly a call for civil obedience and not a tool to impose religious conformity, for it primarily aimed to distinguish between civilly obedient papists and the perverse plotters of the Gunpowder treason.⁶⁶

Right after its institution, the Oath met with European-wide resistance. Cardinal Bellarmine and Pope Paul V both condemned it shortly after it became law.⁶⁷ After Henry's assassination, English pamphlets hence explicitly linked the assassination to the Oath-controversy. Thomas Owen's *Letter of a catholike man Beyond the seas* offers an argument against the Oath of Allegiance. In concluding his defense of the French Jesuits concerning Henry's death, Owen thought it 'good to ad one thing instead of newes, and in few words let you understand, what is the judgement here about the Oath that you call of Allegiance, the rumor wherof is now spread through the whole world, & many books are abroad about that subject'.⁶⁸ He believes the Oath to be unwise, since no man can swear such a thing without sound knowledge of the meaning of its content. It is Owen's contention that English subjects are now 'forced to enter into diuers considerations of many circumstances which were more conuenient for them to belieue, then to examin'.⁶⁹ Owen thus deems it unwise to propose to subjects any examination of the power and rights of kings and princes, as this may encourage citizens – who ought to be obedient to their sovereign in all cases – to question the natural

⁶³ G.E. Seel, *Regicide and republic. England 1603 – 1660* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 22.

⁶⁴ A. Fraser, *The Gunpowder Plot: Terror and Faith in 1605* (London, 1996), pp. 275 – 359.

⁶⁵ M.L. North, 'Anonymity's Subject: James I and the Debate over the Oath of Allegiance', *New Literary History*, Vol. 33, No. 2 (2002), p. 215.

⁶⁶ H. Höpfl, *Jesuit Political Thought: The Society of Jesus and the State, c.1540-1630* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 325.

⁶⁷ North, 'Anonymity's Subject', p. 215.

⁶⁸ *Letter of a Catholike Man*, p. 43.

⁶⁹ *Letter of a Catholike Man*, p. 44.

authority of their rulers. Furthermore, Owen considers it inconvenient to ask English citizens to swear the Oath, because:

‘therby many learned men which before were quiet, and without any question yealded obedience to the prince, are not only forced openly to refuse such an Oath pertaining to faith, about the authority of Christ his Vicar upon earth, but also openly to professe the contrary, both by word and writing’.⁷⁰

Owen claims that the obligation to take the Oath will force English Catholics – who were both loyal to the English King and the pope – into disobedience, as it would force them to take a strong and public stand against the English sovereign. Thus, Jesuits such as Thomas Owen defended the order from the accusations of their involvement in Henry’s assassination, and did so by discussing national controversies such as the Oath of Allegiance.

At the same time, proponents of the Oath took Henry’s assassination as an occasion to propagate their cause and to emphasize its justice. Among them was the English King James I himself, who issued a proclamation in 1610. This was published as a pamphlet in both England and the Dutch Republic.⁷¹ In his proclamation, James argues for the execution of all laws against recusants, the banishment of all papal recusants and Jesuits from the court and London, and the strict compliance to the Oath of Allegiance. The proclamation and its subsequent publication were undertaken to prove James’ rightful issuing of the Oath. The Gunpowder Plot and Henry’s assassination are presented as two strongly connected events: now that the ‘horrible Powder Treason’ is joined by this ‘horrible and lamentable accident abroad’ (the murder of Henry IV), James states that the English Parliament had urged him to more strictly oversee the papists in the kingdom. In combining the Gunpowder Plot and Henry’s murder, the English discourse appealed to general anti-Jesuit suspicions, based on the idea that both events ‘had many [Jesuit] abettors’.⁷² In England one of these was the Jesuit Henry Garnet, ‘drawen end hanged for his Treason’⁷³; in France this was Juan de Mariana, whose ‘traiterous, deuelish and heretical doctrine’ was condemned by the Sorbonne University.⁷⁴ Since both the Oath of Allegiance controversy and Henry’s assassination touched on the question of tyrannicide, James used the occasion to defend his Oath once

⁷⁰ *Letter of a Catholike Man*, pp. 45 – 46.

⁷¹ *By the King; By den Coninck* (2 versions)

⁷² *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*, p. 6.

⁷³ *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*, p. 6.

⁷⁴ *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*, p. 10.

more, arguing against this ‘Papists bloody doctrine, that make Martyrs and Saints of such as kill their owne Kings the anoynted of God’.⁷⁵

James re-emphasizes the distinction between obedient followers of the Catholic religion and ‘Popish Priests and Recusants’, whom he accuses of conducting treason against the English state.⁷⁶ He states that, although the pope highly impugned the Oath, it was in fact ‘an Acte of great fauour and clemencie towards so many of Our Subiects, who though blinded with the superstition of Poperie, yet carried a dutifull heart towards our Obedience’.⁷⁷ It therefore appears that James had designed the Oath of Allegiance as a deliberate attempt to divide the English Catholics, for he must have known that this division would create fierce debates within the Catholic community. Although anti-papal rhetoric in the English Kingdom was in itself nothing new, the strong anti-Jesuit discourse that followed Henry’s assassination in Paris also found fertile ground in England, because it further promoted the division which James had been keen to create. Although the orders issued by James were severe, his proclamation appears to have primarily served a rhetorical function, rather than forming an actual change of monarchical policy. For instance, James’ proclamation orders the English Justices of Peace to take away all armor, gunpowder and munitions from the Popish recusants, but it is highly unlikely that James actually believed the houses of English recusants to be full of gunpowder. Thus, the English pamphlets about Henry’s assassination framed the event within the context of the Oath of Allegiance debate. Various English pamphlets discussing Henry’s assassination took the event as a confirmation of their originally held beliefs, and used the opportunity to promote or oppose the Oath.

3.3. A Protestant discourse

The anti-papal and anti-Jesuit sentiments expressed in the English and Dutch pamphlets constitute a response to Henry’s assassination that is mainly Protestant in nature. Although the news of Henry’s assassination was largely discussed in the context of national debates and controversies, the content of the pamphlets reveals a strong sense of Protestant identification with their religious ‘brethren’ across the border. King James himself explicitly referred to the formerly Protestant religion of Henry in calling him ‘onsen seer weerden Broeder’ in his 1610 Proclamation.⁷⁸ This transnational Protestant identification is also underlined by the fact that the English and Dutch pamphlets refer to each other’s discourses. For instance, various Dutch

⁷⁵ *By the King*, p. 3.

⁷⁶ *By the King*, p. 1.

⁷⁷ *By the King*, p. 4.

⁷⁸ Translation: our much valued Brother; *By den Coninck*, p. 3.

pamphlets make reference to the English Gunpowder Plot. In describing the various weapons employed by the 'Brandaristen' (Jesuits), the pamphlet *Een slecht ende eenvoudigh discovrs* mentions knives, pistols, and also 'een tonneken Engels Boscruyt'.⁷⁹ The pamphlets' discourse also shows a remarkable awareness of the history of the religious conflicts between Protestants and Catholics. In the Dutch *Waerachtige Beschrijvinghe* not just Henry's death is lamented; the author also makes an explicit reference to another 'Grouwelijcken moord van Parijs'.⁸⁰ This probably refers to the St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572, in which thousands of Protestants were massacred in Paris and other French cities. Apparently, this event still haunted the minds of many Protestants around the year 1610. Also mentioning the assassination of William of Orange in 1584, the pamphlet presents Henry's assassination as being next in the sequence of disastrous events that had happened to European Protestants over the last decades. Clearly, the religious quarrels of the previous century had created a mentality in which key moments in the Protestant history of exile and persecution were repeatedly highlighted and reproduced.

This underscores the existence of an internationally established common discourse in which allusions to earlier news events formed a recognizable framework for multiple national audiences. It is clear that both the English and Dutch pamphlets shared a deep anti-Jesuit and anti-papal sentiment. The Jesuits were considered the militant arm of Rome, had come to symbolize activist Catholicism, and were perceived as a serious threat against the peace and unity of both the English and Dutch nations. It is remarkable to note how this 'black legend' of the Jesuits had established itself on the international scene so events such as Henry's assassination could be incorporated in different national contexts, yet still appeal to images and stereotypes all West-European audiences would be able to interpret.⁸¹ This demonstrates the existence of a highly developed international public sphere, in which anti-Jesuit sentiment easily traveled across national borders and found a fertile ground in different national contexts.

This highlights an important prerequisite for the international spread of news: in order for news on political and religious events to travel across national boundaries, it was necessary that it could appeal to a standardized set of beliefs, stereotypes and sentiments that epitomized a certain view of militant Catholicism. If such a framework would have been

⁷⁹ Translation: a ton of English gunpowder; p. 14.

⁸⁰ Translation: Horrible murder in Paris; p. 3.

⁸¹ See for a more information about the 'black legend' of the Jesuits: P. Burke, 'The Black Legend of the Jesuits: An Essay in the History of Social Stereotypes', In: S. Ditchfield (ed.), *Christianity and Community in the West: Essays for John Bossy* (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 165 – 182.

missing, it would have been much harder for early modern authors to correlate actual unrelated events into a coherent discourse. The image of the Jesuits as a tightly organized conspiratorial group was first and foremost a construct, which enabled news of Henry's assassination to find an audience in different European countries. The accusations made against 'popish priests' and Jesuits in particular evoked dangers and fears and created a commonly recognized image of a group of people considered to be up to all sorts of no good. The repeated reference to gunpowder as an important weapon of the Jesuits (in both Dutch and English pamphlets) demonstrates the constructed nature of the 'black legend' of the Jesuits perfectly, as it shows how one event (in this case the Gunpowder Plot) created a stereotype to which contemporaries in various countries continued to appeal. In artfully combining more or less 'factual' elements in pamphlets (such as Henry Garnet's knowledge of the Gunpowder Plot and Mariana's statements on tyrannicide, published in Spain), a coherent image of the Jesuit as a conspirator and assassin was constructed, which showed the Catholic church and religion in a bad light. Thus, although Henry's assassination was debated differently in different national contexts, there was no doubt who the common enemy was. Authors of the pamphlets used similar rhetoric in different national contexts. This shows that they appealed more and more to an international public, whose identity was not just shaped by their national background, but increasingly by their religious Protestant identity that transcended national boundaries.

4. Restrictions on the international public sphere

The question remains to what extent news pamphlets about Henry IV's assassination really engaged all social strata of society. What kind of people participated in this international public sphere, either by reading or by publishing pamphlets? This is a tough question to answer, because information about the numbers of editions and sales does not exist. What is nevertheless apparent is that English and Dutch authors and publishers put much effort in making the news accessible to a large public, most importantly by translating the French news into the vernacular of their home countries. In that sense, it is reasonable to assume that the pamphlets were read by a wider audience than just the noble and clerical elites, for whom there was no need to translate French or Latin texts into English or Dutch. This suggests that the pamphleteering about Henry's assassination at least reached the literate urban middle-class.⁸² This does not mean that pamphlets did not reach a more poor and illiterate audience. Due to the commercial nature of pamphlet production, sellers of pamphlets had to promote their products and usually did this by yelling or singing part of the pamphlet in public spaces, where they were often surrounded by a crowd.⁸³ Additionally, pamphlets were not only read on an individual basis. The content was also passed along by city criers in harbors, markets, and taverns, where pamphlets were read aloud.⁸⁴ This suggests that all sorts of people were able to participate in the international public sphere, either as consumers of news, or as active contributors to the formulation of the anti-Catholic discourse. Unfortunately, there are several notes of caution to be made about this optimistic view on the inclusive nature of the international public sphere.

4.1. Level of concentration

First of all, it is questionable whether the English news about Henry's death also reached places outside London and the lower strata of society. With the exception of only two pamphlets, all the English pamphlets discussing Henry's assassination were published in London, the court city.⁸⁵ Many pamphlets were intended to be sold at a place strongly related to the English court. Various pamphlets were intended for sale at a shop in Britain's Bourse.⁸⁶ This was an exchange with various small luxury shops that was constructed and owned by

⁸² Deen, 'Pamphlets and Politics', p. 11.

⁸³ Deen, 'Pamphlets and Politics', pp. 26 – 27.

⁸⁴ Sawyer, *Printed Poison*, pp. 67 – 71.

⁸⁵ One pamphlet (*The Terrible and deserved death of Francis Ravilliack*) was published in Edinburgh. The other pamphlet (*Letter of a Catholike Man*) was published in St. Omer, in the Spanish Low Countries.

⁸⁶ *The Sighes of Fraunce & A Trve Report*

Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury (James' principal minister).⁸⁷ Other pamphlets were also intended for sale at places where members of the court frequently gathered. *The Fvnerall Pompe* was ought to be sold at Pauls Church-yard, 'at the signe of the Tygers head', just like the *Discovrse to the Lords of the Parliament*, which was printed for sale at Thomas Purfoot's shop at the S. Augustines Gate of that same yard. *The Hellish and horrible Councell* was to be sold at a shop in Christ-Church-gate (a church opposite of St. Paul's). Joad Raymond has typified St. Paul's Church as a predecessor of the Habermasian coffee house. 'Principal members of the gentry, lords, courtiers and men of all professions' met in and around St. Paul's church in the late morning and discussed business and news.⁸⁸ Although St. Paul's church was very much a commercial, general public space, also accessibly to middling sorts of people, the concentration of English pamphleteering in the English capital suggests a limited spread of the international public discourse to other parts of England. It thus seems that only people in London were able to engage themselves with the international anti-Catholic discourse that followed Henry's assassination.

The concentration of the pamphlets' publication in the English capital stands in sharp contrast to the Dutch Republic, in which a similar level of concentration of pamphleteering in the governmental city did not exist. True, some of the Dutch pamphlets were published in The Hague, the city where the Dutch government resided, but many pamphlets were also published in other cities, such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Vlissingen. This suggests that engagement in the international public sphere in the Dutch Republic was not restricted to one city. In various Dutch cities, news about Henry's assassination was published and presumably read by an urban audience. The fact that the spread and scope of the news about Henry's assassination largely differed per national context, suggests that the level of participation in the international public sphere remained strongly determined by national political systems and news practices.

4.2. Government control and censorship

Related to that, the public access to international news was restricted in another way, namely by the fact that early modern governments – particularly the English one – exercised control over the publication of pamphlets about Henry's death. This did not necessarily influence the access of the reading public to news, but it certainly restricted the level of accessibility on the producers' side, as not everyone was enabled to publish pamphlets and actively contribute to

⁸⁷ B. Jonson, *Epicene, Or the Silent Woman* (Manchester & New York, 2003), p. 297.

⁸⁸ Raymond, 'The Newspaper', p. 114.

the international discourse. In England, censorship was far more successful than in the Dutch Republic, and it was still quite strongly established around 1610.⁸⁹ Founded in the early fifteenth century as a guild, London's Stationers Company held a monopoly over the English publishing industry from 1557 onwards. The Stationers possessed the right to seize books that were considered controversial by the Church and State. Since the establishment of the London High Commission in 1586, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, the Stationers could bring publications before ecclesiastical authorities. That way, a book or pamphlet could receive some form of official approval prior to its publication.⁹⁰

There are various elements of the pamphlets discussing Henry's death that suggest that the English censorship practices influenced the spread and content of the news about Henry's death. Firstly, the fact that many pamphlets were to be sold at Britain's Bourse – an exchange owned by James' principal minister Robert Cecil – suggests that English governmental authorities – and Robert Cecil in particular – held a strong grip on the publication of pamphlets in London. All the other exchanges where the pamphlets were sold also lay within the influence of the King or his most prominent officials. Secondly, printers who were commissioned to print pamphlets discussing Henry's assassination were closely connected to the English court. Robert Baker, a printer who published at least three of the English pamphlets on Henry's assassination, was James' main printer and was listed as 'Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie'.⁹¹ This means that printers were held directly accountable to governmental authorities and were therefore unlikely to express any controversial opinions. Thirdly, on most of the front-pages of the English pamphlets, the printer emphasizes that the pamphlet had been seen and allowed by some form of authority.⁹² This seems to indicate that the content of pamphlets was often subjected to some sort of scrutiny by the London High Commission, after which it was approved for publication. However, it has been argued that close supervision of pamphlet production was not always possible, as the number of publications far outnumbered the capacity of the Commission.⁹³ Therefore, these statements of authoritative approval on the front-page of many pamphlets do not automatically indicate that their entire content had been closely read and approved by ecclesiastical authorities. Rather, it shows that English printers considered it necessary to emphasize the approved and correct nature of their publications. Clearly, the hold of the English government on the news

⁸⁹ W. Behringer, 'Communications Revolutions: A Historiographical Concept', *German History*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (2006), p. 353.

⁹⁰ Clegg, *Press censorship*, pp. 27 – 28.

⁹¹ *An Extract*, p. 1.

⁹² See for instance: *An Extract; A Lamentable Discovrse; The Terrible and deservued death of Francis Ravilliack*.

⁹³ Clegg, *Press censorship*, pp. 28 – 29.

sector was strong enough to fear any prosecution in case of any unforeseen critique on the printed works. Although any strong claims on English censorship in the specific case of Henry's assassination cannot be made solely on the basis of the pamphlets used in this study, these findings do indicate that not everyone in England was equally enabled to contribute to the international debate about Henry's death.

In the Dutch Republic this was rather different. Due to the decentralized nature of governmental authority in the Dutch Republic, censorship was unsuccessful and competition among printers and booksellers was fierce.⁹⁴ The Dutch Republic knew a more widespread – both geographically and socially – culture of pamphleteering, over which the central government lacked any significant control. This is reflected in the pamphlets about Henry's assassination, for this corpus indicates a rather diffuse publication process, with pamphlets about Henry published in various cities such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Delft. Nevertheless, some of the Dutch pamphlets were also published in close relation to the government, situated in The Hague. At least six Dutch pamphlets were printed by Hillebrant Jacobsz, (1577 – 1622) 'Drucker ordinaris vande Hooge Mogende Heeren Staten Generael'.⁹⁵ Being the most important 'landsdrukker' (state printer), Jacobsz provided for the press-work commissioned by the Dutch government. Although his close relation to the Dutch government at least suggests a certain interest by the Dutch government in the publication of these pamphlets, Jacobsz appears to have been relatively free in his publications. For instance, Jacobsz published Dutch versions of both Pierre Coton's pamphlet in defense of the Jesuits, and the *Anticoton*, which strongly attacked the Jesuit order.⁹⁶ The Jesuit apology written by Pierre Coton would have been an obvious candidate for censorship. Perhaps the publisher might have said that it was important to know the arguments of the other side, but the prime motive for publication must have been commercial. According to Femke Deen, the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century saw a transition from publishing for a patron, to publishing for a commercial market.⁹⁷ Assuming that pamphleteering in the Dutch Republic was good business, Dutch printers seem to have published news on Henry's assassination on their own initiative. For instance, the Dutch version of King James' proclamation knew two different translations, published in two different cities.⁹⁸ Moreover, it is likely that the author of a *Slecht ende eenvoudig discourse* was – although literate – not part of a governmental or

⁹⁴ Deen, 'Pamphlets and Politics', pp. 15 – 16.

⁹⁵ Translation: Printer of the highly appreciated States General; *Anti-Coton*; *Arrest vanden Hove*; *Brief Dienende tot verclaringe*; *Clæchlick discours*; *Het Clocke Gheclep*; *Remonstratie*.

⁹⁶ *Anti-Coton*; *Brief dienende tot Verclaringe*.

⁹⁷ Deen, 'Pamphlets and Politics', p. 21.

⁹⁸ *By den Coninck* (2 versions).

intellectual elite. In referring to the intellectual discussion on tyrannicide, caused by Mariana's book, the author states that he leaves this up to 'langhe, breede ende hooghe Gheleerde Doctoren: wiens hoofden raecken to aen de Wolcken toe'.⁹⁹ Accordingly, he claims that the issue is 'veel te diepsinnich voor my ende mijns ghelijcken; het is gheen Allmanachs Schryvers werck'.¹⁰⁰ Whether intended mockingly or seriously, the author's qualification of the discussion as too complicated for him, reveals that he did identify himself foremost with a non-elite literate class, separated from the class of highly learned intellectuals. This suggests that people not part of an elite were free to publish pamphlets and that they did so on their own initiative.

Thus, the publication of Dutch pamphlets discussing Henry's assassination appears to have been mostly initiated by authors and printers not related to the government, but primarily driven by commercial incentives. This is not to say that commercial motives did not play a role in London. St. Paul's church was in many aspects an open commercial space.¹⁰¹ It does show however, that the commercial market of pamphleteering reigned supreme in countries where censorship largely failed, and this must have influenced the level of accessibility of common people to the international public sphere. This is demonstrated by the fact that Thomas Owen's *Letter of a Catholike Man* was published in St. Omer and not in London (while it explicitly targeted an English audience). The pamphlet is an example of a regular phenomenon, namely the production of English Catholic texts in those continental centers where the exiles gathered.¹⁰² This phenomenon highlights the restricted nature of the English press, as Catholic opinions were clearly not allowed to be published in London itself, and had to be secretly smuggled into England. It also shows that it was impossible to prevent some penetration of the English borders by works that would certainly have been censored. Because of this, it is unlikely that this pamphlet was actually for sale in English bookshops; it probably found its way into the Catholic community through Catholic missionaries. Although it is unknown whether many Catholics in England were really interested in these kind of distant discourses, it does show in what way practices of censorship could restrict access to the public sphere.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that the level of access to the international public sphere, in which Henry's assassination was discussed, strongly differed between England and

⁹⁹ Translation: tall, large and high learned professors, whose heads touch the clouds; p. 11.

¹⁰⁰ Translation: way too abstruse for me and my peers. It is no work for an almanac writer, p. 11.

¹⁰¹ Levy, 'The Decorum of News', p. 32.

¹⁰² V. Houliston, *Catholic Resistance in Elizabethan England: Robert Person's Jesuit Polemic, 1580 – 1610* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 1 – 22.

the Dutch Republic. One should therefore be careful in drawing too optimistic conclusions about the inclusive nature of the early modern international public sphere. The diffuse nature of the publication of pamphlets in the Dutch Republic – enabled by the absence of any government control – suggests that people from all strata of society were in principle able to participate in the international public sphere, both through publishing, reading and discussing pamphlets. In London – the only real English center of pamphleteering around 1610 – the publication of news pamphlets was easier to control. For many people, active contribution to the international debate (through the publications of pamphlets) therefore must have been harder to achieve.

4.3. Propaganda

The practice of (English) governmental control on early modern pamphleteering highlights another reason to be skeptical about the inclusive nature of the early modern international public sphere. Early modern governments often employed the printing press for propagandistic reasons, in order to frame news events into a specific light favored by them. This means that pamphlets were not only produced with the intention to advocate a specific political message; it means that pamphlets ‘appeared with the connivance of those political figures whose interest were best served by the existence of such books, tracts and pamphlets’.¹⁰³ There are various aspects of the English pamphlets about Henry’s assassination that suggest the debate to have been unevenly influenced by governmental officials who promoted or connived at their publication. After all, King James himself had taken the occasion of Henry’s death to re-emphasize the righteousness of the Oath of Allegiance by again publishing a proclamation defending the Oath, and it has been argued that James often took an assertive, rather than restrictive, attitude to the publication of news.¹⁰⁴ In one of Baker’s pamphlets, the author even states that the pamphlet was:

‘published in Print, if so it might seeme good to some in Authority: to the end that thereby, if it were possible, not onely the malignant humours of the more furious sort of our Popish Recusants, might be abated, when they shall finde their treacherous and traitorous schoolemasters, the Jesuites, with their adherents, to bee condemned for Haereticks; but that also the more milder and more moderate sort of Priests, and other Recusants, might be induced not to refuse the said Oath of Allegiance ‘.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Peacey, *Politicians and pamphleteers*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Levy, ‘The Decorum of News’, pp. 12 – 38.

¹⁰⁵ *Copie of a late decree of the Sorbone*, p. 12.

It seems that English governmental authorities promoted – or at least connived at – the publication of pamphlets about Henry’s assassination in order to serve the interest of the proponents of the Oath of Allegiance. This is not to say that all publications by Robert Barker were always directly ordered by the English government, but it does show that ‘people in authority’ were often actively involved in the publication of the pamphlets and also aimed to influence the way certain news was depicted. This suggests again that access to the international public sphere could have been unevenly distributed.

It would be too much to claim that all English publications about Henry’s assassination were part of a deliberate propaganda strategy by governmental authorities. Such a harsh claim would not do justice to the commercial incentives that probably played a role in the English publishing industry, and it would also require more research in different types of historical sources, such as administrative texts of the English government and records from the English Stationer’s Company. On top of that, the pamphlets in this thesis provide a more nuanced view on the presumed propagandistic intentions behind their publication. Various pamphlets explicitly oriented their content toward the King, which might suggest propagandistic intentions behind its publication. For instance, *An Extract ovt of the Historie of the last French King Henry the fourth of famous memorie* was explicitly written ‘With an Appreciation For The Safegvard and Happines of our Most Gracious Soueraigne James the first’. The introductory letter that precedes the pamphlet draws a parallel between Henry and James, stating that both of them were ‘The greatest Kings of Europe’.¹⁰⁶ Additionally, the pamphlet concludes with a general discussion of the supreme powers of kings who ‘by the Lawes of Nature’ have been born to reign and to be obeyed by their subjects.¹⁰⁷ In the first instance, it seems therefore that the pamphlet was intended to propagate obedience to King James.

However, the author of the introductory letter, Edmond Skory, has dedicated the pamphlet to William Viscount Cranborne (1591 – 1668). Being the son of Robert Cecil, this Viscount Cranborne would eventually become an important advisor to James.¹⁰⁸ His father had sent him to France in 1608 and he therefore directly experienced the tumult that arose in Paris after Henry’s assassination. According to Skory, he had written his historical extract of Henry because the Viscount had always been a great admirer and acquaintance of Henry and Skory hoped Cranborne would therefore appreciate the text. A reading of the pamphlet

¹⁰⁶ *An Extract*, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ *An Extract*, p. 27.

¹⁰⁸ ‘William Cecil, 2nd earl of Salisbury’, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37272?docPos=3>, visited on 9 June 2013.

suggests that Skory and Cranborne were well acquainted, as Skory repeatedly emphasizes his knowledge of Cranborne's admiration for Henry IV. It is nevertheless questionable whether Skory had actually felt a need to publicly write a letter to Cranborne if he maintained a close relationship with him. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that dedication letters like these did not necessarily express a very personal relationship, but rather expressed a desire for such a relationship. Probably, Cranborne was Skory's patron, for the first line of Skory's letter to him refers to the 'continuall favours I received from your L' in France. The fact that this pamphlet was dedicated to the son of one of James' main advisors and written by an author (Edmond Skory) of whom nowadays nothing is known, suggests that the publishing process was not merely a propagandistic top-down process, in which the King or his main councilors ordered for certain pamphlets to be published. Although statements on the practice of propaganda in early modern England need to be backed with different types of historical sources, this at least indicates that pamphlets could also be intended to blandish influential nobles or the King himself, and could therefore also be published by less influential figures at court. If propaganda was employed, it was therefore probably a form of propaganda which involved various agencies, as 'power certainly resided in the King, but it also resided in certain individuals within the King's government'.¹⁰⁹ Around 1610 this power resided primarily with Robert Cecil, the earl of Salisbury, but also in the parliament and the various courts of law. Still, the concentration of control in the hands of a few prominent government officials, and the indications for active involvement of government officials both suggest that the international public sphere was – particularly on the side of the producers – not always evenly accessible to all sorts of people.

It has already been said that the Dutch Republic lacked any centralized control of the printing press. It follows that centralized propagandistic efforts were rather absent as well. Hillebrant Jacobsz' publication of both Pierre Coton's pamphlet in defense of the Jesuits, and the *Anticoton* shows that he was not concerned with any specific ideological incentives. On top of that, his pamphlets did not include any Dutch introduction or commentary which framed the assassination into a particular Dutch discussion. This suggests that the publication of pamphlets about Henry's death in the Dutch Republic was not part of a deliberate propagandistic governmental strategy to frame the murder in a particular way. Rather, it seems the motives behind the publication of the pamphlets in the Dutch Republic were religious. For instance, the *Helschen Raedt ofte Grouwelicke Pracktijcken, die de Jesuvvijten*

¹⁰⁹ Clegg, *Press Censorship*, p. 19.

ghebruyken was translated by ‘een Liefhebber der Ghereformeerde Religie’ and published in Delft. This can also be said about the *Slecht ende eenvoudig discourse*. The satirical portrayal of Spain and the Jesuits in this pamphlet points at the Protestant nature of the author. More research is needed to establish whether this can be considered as propaganda. At this point it is important to be aware of the fact that the early modern discourse about Henry’s assassination might have been largely influenced and manipulated by governments or groups in society who possessed an advantage in their access to printed media and the means to control it.

Although any definitive conclusions on the practice of early modern government control, censorship and propaganda need to be supported by research in other types of historical sources, this chapter has offered various notes of caution that question the openness and inclusiveness of the international public sphere, particularly in England. National news practices strongly determined what agents were involved in this public sphere, and with what purposes. This does not detract from the existence of an international public sphere, characterized by a common anti-Catholic discourse. It does however show that the level of penetration of the international discourse into all strata of society, largely differed between national contexts and political systems and that one should therefore be careful not to assume that the international discourse automatically reached and engaged all social strata. The centralized nature of English pamphlet production and English practices of censorship and propaganda accordingly suggest that access to news production and discussion was unevenly distributed. The more diffuse nature of the Dutch pamphlet production and the absence of any significant government involvement suggest that the international discourse travelled much easier to all parts of the Dutch republic and the Dutch society. Thus, early seventeenth century Europe knew a vital international public sphere; its scope and reach were still largely determined by national boundaries.

5. Conclusion

This thesis has argued that the early seventeenth century knew a vital international public sphere. News about the assassination of King Henry IV in 1610 circulated in an international context. Many French pamphlets were quickly translated into English and Dutch, and pamphlets originally published in England also circulated in the Dutch Republic. Authors provided their audience with detailed information about the murder and assumed their readers to be well acquainted with the topic of their writing. In both England and the Dutch Republic, the murder was framed within a specific national discussion, which appealed to an internationally established anti-Catholic discourse. In the Dutch Republic, Henry's assassination was depicted as a joint papal and Spanish plot to depose Henry and to reclaim the rebellious Netherlands. The mocking portrayal of the Spanish Habsburgs in *Een slecht ende eenvoudigh discovers* demonstrates how the Dutch discourse artfully combined their repugnance of the pope, Spain, the Jesuits and the Inquisition in one coherent anti-Catholic discourse. In England, news about Henry's death was characterized by a similar anti-papal and anti-Jesuit sentiment, but this was explicitly linked to the debate about the Oath of Allegiance. Proponents (King James I in particular) and opponents (Jesuit Thomas Owen) of the Oath took Henry's death as an occasion to further advocate their cause.

Despite the difference between the English and Dutch discussions, both discourses were based on a strong transnational Protestant mentality, in which key moments in the Protestant history of assassinations and persecution were repeatedly highlighted and reproduced. The frequent reference to 'gunpowder' as an important weapon of the Jesuits perfectly demonstrates this phenomenon. The resulting discourse was characterized by a deep anti-Jesuit and anti-papal sentiment, in which the Jesuits epitomized a militant Catholicism, instigated by Rome and Spain. This anti-Catholic discourse was important, for it formed an important condition upon which news about Henry's assassination could travel across national boundaries. In order for news to find a fertile ground in various national context, it was important that the news could appeal to a standardized set of beliefs, stereotypes and sentiments that clearly defined a common, Catholic enemy. A coherent image of the Jesuits as a tightly organized conspiratorial group was constructed and this image helped to spread news across national borders and to engage various national audiences.

Although this international discourse enabled news about Henry's assassination to be discussed within an international public sphere, there are some reservations to be made about the scope and inclusiveness of this international public sphere. Firstly, the nature of the Dutch and English political systems strongly differed, which resulted in a more diffuse nature of

pamphlet production in the Dutch Republic and a more concentrated nature of pamphlet production in England. Although St. Paul's church in London certainly was an open commercial space, the concentration of pamphleteering in London means that the international anti-Catholic discourse was unlikely to reach a wide public outside this city. Furthermore, the firmly established English practice of press censorship probably meant that access to the international public sphere was unevenly distributed. On the contrary, the Dutch pamphlets discussing Henry's assassination were published in various Dutch cities, as the central government had no significant means to enforce any form of censorship. The Dutch pamphlets were therefore most likely able to reach a more widespread urban audience. These findings indicate that the existence of a strong international public sphere, characterized by a common anti-Catholic discourse, did not automatically engage and incorporate large national audiences. Engagement in the international public sphere in England seems to have been foremost an affair of the urban and noble London elite. Secondly, governmental elites and political authorities seemed to have played an important part in the shaping of the international discourse. King James actively engaged himself in the debate and a large share of the pamphlets (even in the Dutch Republic) were still printed in some sort of relation to the government. This does not automatically mean that governments always employed pamphleteering as part of a deliberate propagandistic strategy. It does however suggest that access to the international public sphere was unequally distributed and that governments took a prime role in it. One should therefore carefully consider the actual production and reach of news pamphlets, and the specific way in which governments were involved in this process (a topic for further research), before assuming large public engagement of all strata of early modern society.

There are several implications for the study of news in the early modern era that can be derived from this study. Firstly, the particular religious discourse, the seemingly large role of governments and the possibility of propaganda are very much in line with earlier research in this field. Nevertheless, this thesis advocates paying more attention to the transnational nature of news in the early modern public sphere. A unilateral focus on news in national contexts might obscure the fact that national discourses on major political and religious events often drew strongly on concepts, arguments, stereotypes and beliefs that had been constructed in an international public sphere. A one-sided national focus might also neglect the way particular foreign events may have influenced specific national debates. Knowledge of particular foreign events may have influenced the way national topics were constructed and debated.

Secondly, research on the nature of the early modern public sphere – whether national or international – should carefully consider the uneven distribution of access to this sphere, and the way this might have influenced the dominant discourse. Divergent (Catholic) opinions could not always openly be expressed and published, especially not in England. Thomas Owen’s letter – published in the Spanish Low Countries – makes this perfectly clear. It is therefore highly likely that the international discourse was unilaterally shaped by dominant (Protestant) forces in society. The strong anti-Catholic sentiment it expressed should not be mistaken to represent an actual public opinion. It is very unlikely that the Catholic minority living in both countries shared the negative perceptions on Spain and the pope, so fiercely expressed in the pamphlets. The absence of a general Catholic (non-Jesuit) response to Henry’s assassination is significant in this respect. Perhaps this absence can easily be explained by the largely Protestant nature of England and the Dutch Republic, or perhaps it was hard to compete for Catholics in this discussion, which after all highlighted some painful demonstrations of Catholic fanaticism. Anyhow, although the assassination of Henry IV in 1610 was largely discussed in an international public sphere, the dominant discourse was not necessarily the only discourse that appealed to people. Rather, it was a discourse that most easily established itself on the international scene, encouraged by national agents and institutions that took an interest in shaping the discourse in a particular way.

The fact that Henry’s assassination was framed within one clear discourse also implies that the early modern ‘public’ response to these sorts of major political events was rather predictable. This is underlined by the fact that the authors of the pamphlets did not speculate about the consequences of Henry’s assassination. Nor was there any public debate on what this assassination would mean for France or the political and religious situation in Europe in general. Instead, contemporaries were trapped into a more or less standard set of responses. Authors of pamphlets relied on a conventional way of discussing politics and religion, which appears to have been mainly concerned with the past rather than with the future. This suggests that the nature of debate in the early modern public sphere differed significantly from the political debates conducted in later centuries. After all, Habermas’ eighteenth-century bourgeois public sphere was closely associated with a sense of political progress and a development towards modernity. It is particularly this progressive outlook that the early modern discourse seems to have lacked.

Further research can focus on the way in which early modern debates consistently referred back to a past of seemingly similar political and religious events. Perhaps the assassination of Henry IV can also be studied in this light, as the discussion of his death did

not remain limited to 1610. The online databases reveal that pamphlets about his life and death continued to be published throughout the entire seventeenth century. It would be interesting to examine in what way the depiction of Henry's assassination changed over decades, and also whether specific events happening later in the century used Henry's assassination as a key moment to refer back to. This can provide much valuable insight in the way the international discourse developed through time. Furthermore, the absence of any significant Catholic response in England and the Dutch Republic has aroused questions about the Catholic perception on this murder. Perhaps a study of news in early modern Spain or Italy could provide more depth to the conclusions of this study. To what extent was Henry's assassination debated in a real European context and – assuming that other opinions existed – what other sorts of discourses could be identified?

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6.2. Pamphlets

French pamphlets

Anticoton, ov refytation de la lettre declaratoire dv Pere Coton: Liure où est prouué que les Iesuites sont coupables & auteurs du parricide execrable commis en la personne du Roy tres-Chrestien Henri IV (1610).

Author: Pierre Du Coignet

Publisher: unknown, Paris

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.MEUL.001229

Discourse lamentable sur l'attentat commis en la personne de très-heureuse mémoire Henri III (1610).

Author: Thomas Pelletier

Publisher: Francois Huby, Paris

Catalogue Reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) 19565

Lettre declaratoire de la doctrine des peres Jesuites conforme aux decrets du Concile de Constance, adressee à la Royne mere du Roy (1610)

Author: Pierre Coton

Publisher: Nicolas Jullieron, Lyon

Catalogue Reference: gallica.bnf.fr

Remonstrance à la Covr de parlement svr l'assinat commis en la personne de Henry le Grand (1610).

Author: unknown

Publisher: unknown, Paris

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.MEUL.001228

Dutch pamphlets

Anti-Coton Dat is Tegen-Cotton oft Wederlegginghe vanden verclaringh-brief van Pater Cotton (1610).

Author: Pierre Du Coignet

Translated from: French

Publisher: Hillebrant Jacobsz, 's-Gravenhage

Catalogue Reference: unknown – google

Arrest of beslyt vant Hof van Parlement teghen den seer boosen moorder Francoys Ravaillac: Met een cort begriyp verhalende al de boose parriciden die gheattenteert zijn gheweest teghen den Persoon vanden Coning Henry de vierde Coning van Vranckrijck ende Navarre, seer gheluckiger ghedachtenisse (1610).

Author: Parlement de Paris

Translated from: French

Publisher: unknown

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.TIEL.000843

Arrest vanden Hove voor de regeeringhe vande coninginne gheduerende de minder jaricheyt vanden coninck (1610).

Author: Du-Tillet

Translated from: French

Publisher: Hillebrant Jacobsz, 's-Gravenhage

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.TIEL.000841

Brief Dienende tot verclaringe vande leere der Vaderen Jesuijten, ghelijckformich den beslyuten van t' Concilium van Constans: Ghestelt Aende Coninginne, Moeder des Coninx, Regente in Vranckrijck, Door Pater P. Coton: Iesuijt, ordinaris Predicant van sijne Majesteyt: Metten Anti-Cotton daer teghen ghestelt (1610).

Author: Pierre Coton & Pierre Du Coignet

Translated from: French

Publisher: Hillebrant Jacobsz, 's-Gravenhage

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.TIEL.000908

By den Coninck. Proclamatie ofte uytroep ghedaen teghen alle priesters, Jesuiten ende andere derghelijcke, dat sy haer sullen hebben te vertrecken uyt desen Coninckrijcke van Groot Bretagnien, ende niet daer inne wederom te keeren op lijf straffe (1610).

Author: King James I

Translated from: English

Publisher: Richard Schilders, Middelburg

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.MEUL.001199

By den Coninck. Een proclamatie omme de behoerlijcke executie van alle voorgaende wetten tegen de paepse refusanten, haer ghevende eenen dach om weder te keeren tot haere eyghen wooningen, ende daer niet te hove te komen, oft binnen thien mijlen van Londen, sonder speciael verlof; ende omme de selve te ontwapenen soo de Wet vereyscht. Ende mede, dat alle Papen ende Jesuyten uyten Lande op seeckeren dach sullen vertrecken, om niet meer in het Conincrijcke weder te comen; ende omme het voorhouden van Eet van Ghetrouwicheydt volgende de Wet (1610).

Author: King James I

Translated from: English

Publisher: Matthijs Bastiaens, Rotterdam; Paulus Aertsz van Ravesteyn, Amsterdam

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.MEUL.001198

Claechlick discours over het attentat ende eysschelicke moort van alles hoochster ghedachte Henrick de Vierde coninck van Vrankrijk ende Navarre (1610).

Author: Thomas Pelletier

Translated from: French

Publisher: Hillebrant Jacobsz, 's-Gravenhage

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.TIEL.000839

Het clocke gheclep aen den coninck, aen de coninginne regente, Moeder des Conincs, Aen de Princen vanden Bloede, Aen alle de Parlementen, Magistraten, Officieren, goede ende ghetrouwve Ondersaten vande Croone van Vranckrijck: Teghen het boeck vande Wereltlijcke macht des Paus, onlanx int licht gegeven door den Cardinael Bellarmin Iesuijt (1610).

Author: unknown

Publisher: Hillebrant Jacobsz, 's-Gravenhage

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.TIEL.000910

Copie van het Decreet of Beslyvt vande Sorbonne van Parys Tot condemnatie ende verwysinghe van die Godeloose ende Ketersche opinie nopende het vermoorden der Princen: die generalick van de Iesuiten wordt staende ghehouden, ende onder deselve noch onlanghs van Ioannes Mariana, Spaegniaert: Mitsgaders Het Arrest van het Parlament, tot bevestinghe van dat Decreet, ende de condemnatie, van des ghemeld Marians Boeck: openbaerlick van den executeerder te zijn verbrandt (1610).

Author: Sorbonne

Translated from: English

Publisher: Dirck Pietersz, Amsterdam

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.MEUL.001200

Helschen raedt ofte grouwelicke practijcken, die de Jesuwijten ghebruycken, in 't beraetslaghen van te doen vermoorden eenen Coninck (1610).

Author: unknown

Translated from: French

Publisher: Jan Andriesz, Delft

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.TIEL.000906

Opene Brieven, ghegeven tot Parijs den twee en twintigsten dagh Maij. Inhoudende de wille ende uyerlijcke meyninghe des Coninghs, op de uytvoeringhe ende onderhoudinge van Edict van Nantes, ende de Artijckelen inghewillighet synen Onderdanen, belijdinghe doende vande vermeynde Ghereformeerde Religie (1610).

Author: Parlement de Paris

Translated from: French

Publisher: Michiel Colijn, Amsterdam

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.TIEL.000844

Placcaet vanden coninck van Vrancrijck ende Navarre, Lovys den derthienden van dien Name: Over de verbiedinge van aldaer eenighe Wapenen te mogen aenveerden. Mitsgaders eenige plaetsen, Sterckten ofte Casteelen te fortificeren ofte in the nemen (1610).

Author: King Louis XIII

Translated from: French

Publisher: Jan Andriesz, Delft

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.TIEL.000845

Remonstrantie ghepresenteert by d'universiteyt van Parijs, aen de coninginne regeester van Vranckrijck, ende de Princen ende Heeren van haren Rade tegen de Jesuwyten, over de leere die sy drijven van Coninghen te vermoorden (1610).

Author: unknown

Translated from: French

Publisher: Hillebrant Jacobsz, 's-Gravenhage

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.TIEL.000907

Een slecht ende eenvoudigh discovrs, over de doot van Henry le Grand, coningh van Vranckrijck (1611).

Author: unknown

Translated: no

Publisher: unknown

Catalogue Reference: TEMPO – 01825

Tranen ende beweeninghen van Vranckrijck, over het overlyden van Henricus de IV, Coning van Vranckrijck ende Navarra. Mitsgaders 'tgheene datter ghepasseert is op saterdach den 25 Mey, als den Coning Lovijs den derthienden is uyt-gheroepen Coning, ende de Coninginne zyne Moeder Gouvernante van Vranckrijck. Met noch een cort begrijp van't Leven ende Daden vanden Alder-gheluckichster Memoriën des selvighen over-ledenen Conings (1610).

Author: Jean Petit

Translated from: French

Publisher: unknown

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.MEUL.001193

Vertooch Aen myne Heeren vant Hof van Parlemeute, op de Vader-moort begaen in den persoon des Conincks Hendrick de Grootte (1610).

Author: unknown

Translated from: French

Publisher: unknown

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.TIEL.000840

Waerachtighe beschrijvinghe vanden grouwelijcken moordt des alder-christelicksten conincks van Vranckrijck. Ghedaen op Vrijdach, wesende den 14 dagh van mey, anno 1610. Noch is hier by ghevoeght een testament van een jonge dochter van Leyden, die te Steenwijck onthooft is (1610).

Author: Unknown

Translated: no

Publisher: Jan van Dale, Vlissingen

Catalogue Reference: MeerCat Gent – BIB.MEUL.008864

English pamphlets

Anti-Coton, or A refutation of Cottons letter declaratorie: lately directed to the Queene Regent, for the apologizing of the Iesuites doctrine, touching the killing of kings A booke, in which it is proued that the Iesuites are guiltie, and were the authors of the late execrable parricide, committed vpon the person of the French King, Henry the fourth, of happy memorie. To which is added, a supplication of the Vniuersitie of Paris, for the preuenting of the Iesuites opening their schooles among them: in which their king-killing doctrine is also notably discovered, and confuted (1611).

Author: Pierre Du Coignet

Translated from: French

Publisher: Thomas Snodham, London

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) / 5861

By the King: a proclamation for the due execution of all former lawes against recusants, giuing them a day to repaire to their owne dwellings, and not afterwards to come to the court, or within 10. miles of London, without speciall license: and for disarming of them as the law requireth: and withall, that all priests and Iesuits shall depart from the land by a day, no more to returne into the realme: and for the ministring of the oath of allegiance, according to the law (1610).

Author: King James I

Translated: no

Publisher: Robert Barker, London

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) / 8447

The copie of a late decree of the Sorbone at Paris, for the condemning of that impious and hæreticall opinion, touching the murthering of princes: generally maintained by the Iesuites, and amongst the rest, of late by Ioannes Mariana, a Spaniard: together, with the arrest of the Parliament, for the confirmation of that decree, and the condemning of the said Marianas booke, to be publicquely burnt by the executioner. Taken out of the Register of the Parliament, and translated into English (1610).

Author: I.B & I.W (English), Sorbonne (French)

(Partly) translated from: French

Publisher: Robert Barker, London

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) / 19204

The copie of a letter vvritten from Paris, the 20. of May 1610: Declaring the maner of the execution of Francis Rauaillart, that murdered the French King. With what he was knowen to confesse at his death. And other the circumstances and dependencies thereupon. Together with two edicts; one of the Parliament alone; the other of the new King in Parliament, declaring the confirming the Queene mother Regent of France (1610).

Author: Edmond Skory (English), Du Tillet (French)

(Partly) translated from: French

Publisher: Robert Barker, London

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) / 20754

A discourse to the lords of the Parliament: As touching the murther committed vppon the person of Henrie the Great, King of Fraunce. Manifestlie proving the Iesuites to be the plotters and principall deuisers of that horrible act (1611).

Author: Philippe de Mornay

Translated from: French (Translator: William Crashaw)

Publisher: Thomas Purfoot, London

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) / 13134

An extract out of the historie of the last French King Henry the fourth of famous memorie: according to an autentique copie written in his life time. To which is added his being murdered with a knife in his coach in Paris the 14. of May last 1610. With an appreciation for the safeguard and happines of our most gracious soueraigne Iames the first (1610).

Author: Edmond Skory

(Partly) translated from: French

Publisher: Robert Barker, London

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) / 22629

The funerall Pompe and obsequies of the most mighty and puissaint Henry the fourth, King of France and Navarrem solemnized at Paris and at S. Denis, the 29 and 30 daies of June last past 1610. Together with the order and ceremonie of remouing the body of Henry, the third of that name, King of France and Polonia, at Saint Dennis the 22 of Iune last past (1610).

Author: Claude Morillon

Translated from: French

Publisher: Nicholas Okes, London

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) / 13136

The hellish and horrible counsell, practised and vsed by the Iesuites, (in their priuate consultations) when they would haue a man to murder a king: According to those damnable instructions, giuen (by them) to that bloody villaine Francis Rauilliacke, who murdered Henry the fourth, the late French king. Sent to the Queene Regent, in answere to that impudent pamphlet, published by Peter Cotton Iesuite, in defence of the Iesuites, and their doctrine; which also is hereunto annexed (1610).

Author: unknown & Pierre Coton

Translated from: French

Publisher: John Windet, London

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) 5862

A lamentable discovrse, vpon the paricide and bloody assasination: committed on the person of Henry the fourth (of famous memorie) King of France and Navarre (1610).

Author: Thomas Pelletier

Translated from: French

Publisher: John Windet, London

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) / 19565

A letter of a Catholike man beyond the seas, written to his friend in England, including another of Peter Coton Priest, of the Society of Jesus, to the Queen Regent of France (1610).

Author: Thomas Owen (English) & Pierre Coton (French)

(Partly) translated from: French

Publisher: English College Press, St. Omer

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) / 19000

The sighes of Fraunce for the death of their late King, Henry the fourth: The true maner of his murther: the forme of the coronation of Prince Lewes at S. Augustines. With the oration made by Mounsier Seruin, attourney generall to the King, exhorting both the peeres and people to alleageance (1610).

Author: unknown

Translated from: French

Publisher: John Windet, London

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) / 13140

The Terrible and deserued death of Francis Rauilliack: shewing the manner of his strange torments at his execution, vpon Friday the 25. of May last past, for the murther of the late French King Henry the Fourth: together with an abstract out of diuers proclamations, and edicts, now concerning the state of France: as it was printed in French in three seuerall bookes published by authority (1610).

Author: R.E.

Translated from: French

Publisher: R. Blower & E. Allde, London; Robert Charteris, Edinburgh

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) / 20755 & 20755.5

A true report of the most execrable murder committed vpon the late French King Henrie the 4. of famous memory: with diuers particularities aswell concerning the prisoner, as other matters preceding and ensuing the accident. Written in a letter from good place, and much differing from the vncertaine relations thereof heretofore published (1610).

Author: unknown

Translated: no

Publisher: Thomas Purfoot, London

Catalogue reference: EEBO – STC (2nd ed.) / 13147.7

7. Appendices

7.1. English translations

Footnote	Page	Translation
42	14	Translation: Memorable facts.
43	14	Translation: his caution in finance, his mildness in rewards, his judgment in the election of persons, his loyalty to the ones allied with him, his all time moderation, his wisdom in all cases.
45	15	Translation: A silly and simple discourse on the death of Henry le Grand, King of France.
49	17	Translation: A silly and simple discourse about the death of Henry le Grand: King of France.
50	17	Translation: It is known that over many years, France and Spain have fought over a highly exalted Seat, named Monarchy: this seat is of such nature that the one who sits on it, can force other Kings and potentates, or at least bend them to his will: he can also exalt to holy offices, popes, Cardinals, Bishops, whoever he wants: he can bless as he pleases.
51	17	Translation: Dutch war, generated by Senor's tyranny & arrival of Henry le Grand on the Crown of France.
52	18	Translation: As a Lord of Lords, a King of Kings, yes as a God of Gods on earth.
53	18	Translation: The policy of the great hunter, who has driven off and expelled the Castilian Wolves, Bears and Swines from the Free Dutch Garden.
55	19	Translation: had a fiery name, because like a salamander he had great lust and complacency in the fire of the Inquisition: that is why his true German name is S. Brandaris.
57	19	Translation: The best parts of our Crowne.
58	20	Translation: Italian.
59	20	Translation: It appears that there were more of his [the murderer] accomplices, whom men diligently look for & that more Kings and Potentates are targeted.
78	23	Translation: our much valued Brother.
79	24	Translation: a ton of English gunpowder.
80	24	Translation: Horrible murder in Paris.
95	29	Translation: Printer of the highly appreciated States General.
99	30	Translation: tall, large and high learned professors, whose heads touch the clouds.
100	30	Translation: way too abstruse for me and my peers. It is no work for an almanac writer.

7.2. Table translations

French	English	Dutch
Anticoton, ov refvtation de la letter declaratoire dv Pere Coton.	Anti-Coton, or A refutation of Cottons letter declaratorie: lately directed to the Queene Regent.	Anti-Coton Dat is Tegen-Cotton oft Wederlegginghe vanden verclaringh-brief van Pater Cotton.
Discours lamentable sur l'attentat commis en la personne de très-heureuse mémoire Henri III.	A lamentable discovrse, vpon the paracide and bloody assassination: committed on the person of Henry the fourth (of famous memorie) King of France and Navarre.	Clæchlick discours over het attentæet ende eysschelicke moort van alles hoogster ghedachte Henrick de Vierde coninck van Vrankrijk ende Navarre.
<i>Title unknown – English and Dutch pamphlets partly based on:</i> Lettre declaratoire de la doctrine des peres Jesuites conforme aux decrets du Concile de Constance, adressee à la Royne mere du Roy.	The Hellish and horrible Council, practiced and used by the Jesuits, (in their private Consultations) when they would have a man to murther a king.	Helschen Raedt ofte Grouwelicke Practijcken, die de Jesuijten ghebruycken in't beraetslaghen van te doen vermoorden eenen Coninck.
Remonstrance à messieurs de la Cour de Parlement sur le parricide commis en la personne du roy Henry le Grand.	<i>(Partly based on the French pamphlet)</i> A discourse to the Lords of the Parliament: As touching the Murther committed vpon the person of Henrie the Great, King of Fraunce.	Vertooch Aen myne heeren vant Hof van Parlemeute, op de Vadermoort begaen in den persoon des Conincks Hendrick de Grootte.
Lettre declaratoire de la doctrine des peres Jesuites conforme aux decrets du Concile de Constance, adressee à la Royne mere du Roy.	<i>(Partly based on the French pamphlet)</i> A letter of a Catholike man beyond the seas, written to his friend in England, including another of Peter Coton, Priest, of the Society of jesus, to the Queen Regent of France.	<i>(Also based on the Anticoton)</i> Brief Dienende tot verclaringe vande leere der Vaderen Jesuijten, ghelijckformich den besluyten van t' Conciliium van Constans. (...) Metten Anti-Coton daer teghen ghestelt.
<i>Not based on a French text</i>	By the King: a proclamation for the due execution of all former lawes against recusants, giuing them a day to repaire to their owne dwellings, and not afterwards to come to the court, or within 10. miles of London, without speciall license.	By den Coninck: Een Proclamatie omme de behoorlijcke executie van alle voorgaende Wetten tegen de Paepse Refusanten / By den Coninck: Proclamatie ofte uytroep ghedaen teghen alle priesters, Jesuiten ende andere derghelijcke, dat sy haer sullen hebben te vertrecken uyt desen Coninckrijcke van Groot Bretagnien, ende niet daer inne wederom te keeren op lijf straffe.
<i>Title unknown</i>	The copie of a late decree of the Sorbone at Paris, for the condemning of that impious and haereticall opinion, touching the murthering of princes, generally maintained by the Iesuits, and amongst the rest, of late by Ioannes Mariana, a Spaniard.	Copie van het Decreet of Beslyvt vande Sorbonne van Parys Tot condemnantie ende verwysinghe van die Godeloose ende Kettische opinie nopende het vermoorden der Princen: die generalick van de Iesuiten wordt staende ghehouden, ende onder deselve noch onlanghs van Ioannes Mariana, Spaegniaert.

Note: This table merely aims to show how French, Dutch and English pamphlets corresponded. It does not include all pamphlets used in this thesis, nor does it include all the pamphlets published about Henry's assassination in 1610 and later years. More English and Dutch pamphlets used in this thesis were based on French texts, but their original French source could not always be identified. Only pamphlets used in this thesis, of which a copy in both English and Dutch was known, were therefore included in this table.