

**University of Kent
Freie Universität Berlin / Free University Berlin**

Faculty of Humanities (Kent)
Fachbereich Geschichts – und Kulturwissenschaften / Department of History and Cultural
Studies (Berlin)

School of History (Kent)
Geschichte – Friedrich Meinecke Institut / Friedrich Meinecke Institute of History (Berlin)

Text and Event in Early Modern Europe (TEEME)
An Erasmus Mundus Joint Doctorate

Ph.D. Dissertation

**The Figure of Henry of Navarre as Constructed in the French Texts Translated into
English (ca. 1570- ca. 1630)**

Stefania Gargioni

Supervisors:
Dr. David Potter (University of Kent)
Prof. Dr. Claudia Jarzebowski – Schröter (Free University Berlin)

16 December 2020

Abstract

The thesis looks at the way Henry of Navarre's persona was represented in the French texts translated into English (1570 ca- 1610 ca). The outbreak of the Wars of Religion in France triggered the production of political pamphlets that discussed the major events that occurred during the conflicts. The development of cross-channel relations between the French and the English printing industries led to the translation and dissemination of texts about the Wars of Religion in late Elizabethan and early Jacobean England. The French texts translated into English belonged to different genres: political and news pamphlets, political treatises and historical writings. They were written mainly by Huguenot and *Politiques* writers and they developed a partisan narrative of the events, aiming to attack the radical Catholics, led by the Guise family.

Among the narratives developed by the French texts translated into English, the figure of Henry of Navarre had a prominent role. The French publications disseminated in England followed the political career of the Protestant prince throughout the Wars of Religion. While the texts translated between the late 1560s and the early 1580s focused mainly of Navarre's deeds, and on his growing importance as Huguenot leader, Navarre's new role as presumptive heir to the throne triggered the dissemination in late Elizabethan England of texts discussing the idea of kingship and the legitimacy of the royal power. Navarre's conversion to Catholicism and his coronation as king of France (1593) marked a change in the kind of French texts translated into English, disseminating historical writings that provided an early interpretation of the Wars of Religion. Through these publications, the "legend" of Henry IV – that promoted the idea of divine right monarchy – reached the English readers in the first half of the Seventeenth Century.

Zusammenfassung der Doktorarbeit

Diese Doktorarbeit untersucht die Art und Weise in der die historische Persönlichkeit Henry von Navarra in französischen Texten , die zwischen circa 1570 und 1610 ins Englische übersetzt wurden, repräsentiert wurde. Der Beginn der französischen Religionskriege brachte eine Produktionswelle von politischen Pamphlets mit sich, welche die herausragenden Begebenheiten dieses Konflikts kommentierten. Die entstehenden Beziehungen zwischen Druckerei Industrien beider Nationen am Ärmelkanal führte zu Übersetzungen und Dissemination von Texten mit dem Thema der Religionskriege im späten Elisabethanisch und frühen jakobinischen England. Die französischen Texte, die ins Englische übersetzt wurden, gehörten verschiedenen Gattungen an: politischen, journalistischen Pamphleten, politischen und historischen Abhandlungen. Sie wurden hauptsächlich von Hugenotten und Politiques verfasst und entwickelten eine Partisan Auslegung der Geschehnisse mit dem Ziel die radikalen Katholiken, angeführt von der Familie Guise, zu attackieren.

Unter den gängigen Interpretationen in den französischen Texten, die ins Englische übersetzt wurden, spielte die historische Persönlichkeit des Henry von Navarra eine herausragende Rolle. Französische Publikationen, die in England herauskamen, verfolgten die politische Karriere des Protestantenprinzes während des gesamten Religionskrieges. Wo sich Texte, die zwischen den späten 1560 und den frühen 1580 Jahren übersetzt wurden, auf Henrys Taten sowie auf seine zunehmende Rolle als Hugenottenführer bezogen, hatte seine neue Rolle als rechtmäßiger Thronfolger, Texte, die die Legitimität von königlicher Macht und die Idee des Monarchen an sich behandelten, zur Folge. Ein Einschnitt kam mit Henrys Konvertierung zum Katholizismus und mit seiner Krönung zum französischen König (1593), dem zu Folge wurden mehr Texte verbreitet, die eine frühere Interpretation der Religionskriege beinhalten. Die „legend“ des Henry des Vierten, welche die Idee des göttlichen Rechts auf den Thron vertrat, wurde durch diese Publikationen verbreitet und erreichte die englischen Leser in der ersten Hälfte des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts.

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Introduction

This doctoral research project deals with the representation of Henry of Navarre in texts produced during the Wars of Religion in France. It focusses mainly on sources that would circulate as translations in Elizabethan England. In addition to discussing the significance of my topic, this section will also examine in some detail the main questions pertaining to my research. I will first introduce the themes explored in my thesis, followed by an overview of the current body of scholarship relevant to my subject. The main focus of the thesis will be devoted to discussing the primary sources I used. This discussion will be divided into three parts: a) review of existing scholarship and discussion of my methodological approach, b) the early narratives about Henry of Navarre between 1570 and 1584, c) the discourse on kingship in texts translated during the last decades of the Sixteenth-Century and d) the reception of Henry's image in the aftermath of his assassination in 1610.

1. *Historiographical Context and Methodological Approach*

Since the 1570s the frequency with which French political works were translated into English increased considerably. Henry of Navarre's persona in his various roles as *prince de sang*, as the cousin to the Prince of Condé, and as the illustrious son of Antoine de Bourbon and Jeanne d'Albret gained a prominence in these publications.¹ This attention may be attributed to the leading role Henry played in the complicated political situation of the French Wars of Religion. However, this image was not one without ambiguity. In 1574, after his marriage to Margaret of Valois – which precedes the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre - Henry formed an alliance with his brother-in-law, François d'Alençon, in order to oppose the rule of Henri III and Catherine de' Medici.² As one of the protagonists in the Wars of Religion, Henry became, in the late 1570s the "*chef du parti*" of the Huguenots. In this increasingly tense

¹ Arlette Jouanna, Jacqueline Boucher, Dominique Biloghi and Guy Le Thiec, *Histoire et dictionnaire des guerres de religion* (Paris : Laffont, 1998), pp. 1004-1005. See also: Mack P. Holt, *The French Wars of Religion, 1562-1629*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 123-136.

² The *Malcontents* faction, led by François d'Anjou, opposed Henry III's policy between 1574 and 1576, laying on the nobility's power. The role of Navarre in the *Malcontents'* affair is well studied by Mack P. Holt in his monography about François d'Alençon and the French Wars of Religion. See: Mack P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle during the Wars of Religion*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 36.

political situation the sudden death, in 1584, of the heir to the throne of France, the Duke of Anjou led to Navarre becoming the first in line to succeed Henry III by the system of royal lineage established under the Salic Law. Henry's elevated role, as a Calvinist prince to the throne of France, threw the kingdom into the civil war's most acute phase. The Catholic faction headed by the Guise family led once again - in a much more radical manner - to the foundation of the Catholic League. With the assassination of Henry III and the Cardinal of Guise in 1589 Henry IV was nominally crowned the King of France. Navarre began a long re-conquest of the kingdom as the Catholic League did not recognize him as ruler and questioned the legitimacy of his succession. Only in 1595 did he successfully seize the French crown after having officially converted to the Catholic faith.

The French texts translated into English between 1570 and 1610 narrate Henry's deeds, his feasts as the young prince of Navarre, the path to his rightful place as king of France and ultimately his assassination in 1610 by the Jesuit friar Jacques Ravallac. This material also sheds light on the debates surrounding kingship, the legitimacy of and the martial conflicts that followed as a result of Navarre's succession to the throne. All this was well reported in Elizabethan England thanks to the massive exercise of translating French political writings into English. This thesis will conclude by outlining the reception of the image of Henry IV in the years following his death. Ravallac's murderous act raised Henry to the subject of legend, one that was created immediately after his death, circulated and reshaped over the centuries, only to be significantly revised in contemporary historical scholarship regarding Henry IV and his reign.³ It was in the Seventeenth Century that the main contours of the Henry IV legend began to emerge. He started to be viewed as the harbinger of peace, as the personage responsible for re-establishing the institutions of French monarchy and granting religious freedom to the Huguenots with the famous Edict of Nantes (1598). He was declared the restorer of the French kingdom, one that had been destroyed by decades of bloody civil war. The initial forms of the legend of "Henry the Great" found themselves

³ On the development of Henry IV's myth, see: Ronald S. Love, *Blood and Religion. The conscience of Henry IV* (Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001) pp. 3-26; *Henri IV le roi et la reconstruction du royaume, Volumes des actes du colloque Pau-Nérac 14-17 Septembre 1989*, ed. by Pierre Tucoo-Chala (Pau: J & D Editions, 1990) pp. 338-340; Annette Finley-Crowwhite, 'The Faux pas of a Vert Galant: The Historiography of Henry's IV military leadership', *Journal of the Western Society for French History*, 33 (2005), 79-94, (pp. 82-83).

echoed even in England. The presence of translated pamphlets relating to Henry's assassination, his burial ceremony and Seventeenth Century English renditions of the first historical and biographical works about the French King demonstrates the interest of English readership in Henry's career and deeds.

The French political works translated in English in the second half of the Sixteenth Century constitute the main body of sources for my thesis. This corpus of materials has received little attention from historians especially considering the vast and numerous studies that have been dedicated to the French editions of these texts. The French material has been used by historians for various purposes. They have used it to reconstruct the main areas of political debate in the intervening period of the Wars of Religion and also, in cultural history, to throw light on the discourses of violence and bloodshed in the period.⁴ Up to now the English translations of the writings have mainly attracted interest from those working in the history of ideas. J.H. Salmon's work⁵ is significant in this regard for exploring the weight that political theories originating in the Wars of Religion in France might have held for Seventeenth Century English political thought. Alongside Salmon's contribution, it is important to mention Lisa Ferraro Parmelee's monograph⁶ which is dedicated to the English reception of French works. This work provided us with a reliable estimate of the number of English translations of French texts circulating in the late Elizabethan age. Another pioneering essay by A.G. Dickens⁷ is the only one dedicated to the translations produced in

⁴ Among the works that draw on this approach, see: Denis Crouzet, *Les Guerriers de Dieu. La violence au temps des troubles de religion vers 1525-vers 1610* (Seysssel: Champ-Vallon, 1990), p. 13; Denis Crouzet, 'Identity and Violence: French Protestants and the Early Wars of Religion', in *Toleration and Religious Identity. The Edict of Nantes and its implications in France, Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Carol Baxter and Ruth Whelan 2003 (Dublin: Fourth Court Press) pp. 73-91 (p. 78); David El Kenz, *Les Bûchers du roi. La culture protestante du martyrs 1523-1572* (Seysssel: Champ-Vallon), 2007, p. 46-47.

⁵ John H.M. Salmon, *The French Wars of Religion in the English Political Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959) p. 53-84. The fifth chapter of this book is entirely devoted to the Elizabethan reception of the French Wars of Religion's political works.

⁶ Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France. French Anti-League Propaganda in Elizabethan England* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1996), p. 34-35.

⁷ Arthur G. Dickens, 'The Elizabethans and Saint Bartholomew', in *The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew: reappraisals and documents*, ed. by Alfred Soman (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974) pp. 52-70 (p. 54). Dickens's article on the Elizabethans and Saint Bartholomew, with its declared focus on "the testes and reactions of the middling groups of society", pays little attention to the court-centric political significance of many items. More recently, Robert Kingdon's book has stressed the myth-making enterprise of the Calvinist propaganda, but includes only a short chapter on English works and their domestic significance. See: Robert Kingdon, *Myths about the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre 1572-1576* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 39-45.

the 1570s. It investigates the reaction of Elizabethan England in the aftermath of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre.

Of late new approaches to cultural history, with their interests in the role of news culture and the connections between politics and media in the early modern period, have brought renewed attention to this material. For instance, Sarah Barker's recent studies⁸ on the circulation of international news in Early Modern England, and her work on the bibliographic projects "Renaissance Cultural Crossroads" (University of Warwick) and "Universal Short Title Catalogue" (University of St Andrews) have helped produce a more detailed account of the number of pamphlets and political writings translated during the French Wars of Religion in England. Considering this antecedent scholarship, the methodological approach that I would follow borrows from work being done in the cultural history of politics. This orientation has already been widely employed by scholars, both French and Anglo-Saxon, for the study of the French versions of the political pamphlets. Studies by Denis Crouzet and Tamara Baranova-Debbagi on the defamatory writings at the time of the Wars of Religion in France and work by H  l  ne Duccini on the use of political propaganda during the reign of Louis XIII are good examples in this regard.⁹

I also had to consider scholarship focused on the interpretations of Henry IV's reign. Scholars dealing with this theme have mainly concentrated on the political and economic aspects of Henry's rule. It is important to remember that recent interpretations of the first Bourbon's reign, even the ones where the weaker aspects of his governance have been emphasised, have benefited from the revisionist stance adopted by work that was carried

⁸ Sara K. Barker, 'News lately come. European News-book in English Translations', in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain 1473-1610*, ed. by Sara K. Barker and Brenda Hosington (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013), pp. 227-245, (p. 228); Sara K. Barker, 'International news in Elizabethan England', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Printing Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 145-157, (p. 148).

⁹ In addition to the already mentioned Denis Crouzet's monograph on the violence during the French Wars of Religion, see: Tatiana Baranova Debbagi, 'Le r  le des   crits satiriques et diffamatoires dans la formation des parties politiques des guerres de religion', in *Identit  , appartenances, revendications identitaires, XVIe-XVIII si  cles. Actes du colloque organis   a Paris X-Nanterre le 24 et 25 Avril 2003*, ed. by Marc Belissa, Anna Bellavitis and Bernard Cottret (Paris : Nolin, 2003) pp. 113-122 (p. 115) ; Tatiana Baranova Debbagi, 'Les genres po  tiques diffamatoires pendant les guerres de religion et la Fronde: continuit  s et ruptures', in *La concurrence des genres historiques autour des guerres de religion (XVI-XVIII si  cles). Actes du colloque international de Paris*, ed. by Jacques Berchtold and Marie Madeleine Fragonard (Gen  ve : Droz, 2007) pp. 211-233 (p. 215); H  l  ne Duccini, *Faire voire, faire croire. L'opinion publique sous Louis XIII* (Seysssel, Champ-Vallon, 2003), pp. 32-33.

out from the 1970's onwards. These revisionary studies were in turn influenced by the legendary status that accompanied the study of Henry IV's image. The mythification of Henry's life over the centuries adapted itself to the main concerns that pervaded hindsight over different epochs. In the Seventeenth Century Henry was regarded as a pacifier and the initiator of a new age of prosperity for France. He was a "champion of religious tolerance" for Enlightenment writers and a romantic and gallant "hero" for the Nineteenth Century.¹⁰ With the biography by Jean-Pierre Babelon and the subsequent works of Janine Garrisson and Mark Greengrass,¹¹ the actions of the Bourbon were finally released from such hagiographical limits with the most controversial aspects of the 'real' pacification brought forward.

Previously only certain key points in Navarre's career, such as his conversion to Catholicism and the initial phases of his reign, had attracted generous attention in historical scholarship. It is only recently that the mythologizing of Henry has begun to be dissected. Studies in this direction have investigated the propaganda machinery put in place by Henry and have emphasised the role that 'self-fashioning' played in rendering the first elements of this legend.¹² The bulk of my sources include political pamphlets and historical works based on French texts translated to English between 1570 and 1610. I have also been looking at English texts which refer to or borrow from those French texts or translations focused on the Wars of Religion in France. This material is generically heterogeneous. In addition to news-books, there are political treatises of varying lengths and the historical accounts that form the first interpretations of the French Wars of Religion. The variety of texts translated between 1570 and 1610 require looking at the themes of my research from different perspectives and approaches. While the pamphlets primarily collect news and give it a particular type of spin, the political treatises elaborate on important themes in the political debates conducted during the second half of the Sixteenth Century. Early historical accounts such as those by Jean de Serres use the content of these political pamphlets to provide a

¹⁰ Finley-Croswhite, pp. 79-84 (p. 81).

¹¹ Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Henri IV* (Paris : Fayard, 1982), p. 67; Janine Garrisson, *Henri IV. Le roi de paix* (Paris: Seuil, 1984), pp. 38-39; Mark Greengrass, *France in the age of Henri IV* (London and New York: Longman, 1984), pp. 45-46.

¹² Katherine B. Crawford, 'The Politics of Promiscuity: Masculinity and Heroic Representation at the Court of Henry IV', *French Historical Studies*, 26 (2003), 225-252 (p. 232); Éliane Viennot, *Marguerite de Valois, "La Reine Margot"* (Paris: Perrin, 2005), pp. 260-269; Jean-François Dubost, *Marie de Médicis. La reine dévoilée* (Paris: Payot, 2009), pp. 93-110.

historical reconstruction of the events of the Wars of Religion. The latter parts of my research focus on the perspectives of such interpretations and the reception of Henry IV's image after his death.

Another important characteristic that should engender interest in this corpus of materials is its partisan nature. French pamphlets produced by the Catholic League were in circulation at the same time as publications that were on the side of the Calvinists and the moderates, the so-called "*Politiques*",¹³ but those which were translated into English were for the most part solely endorsing and even celebrating the life and feats of Henry of Navarre. This can be easily understood given the English political situation. England was an ally of Henry's and anxious about the Spanish support for the Catholic League.¹⁴ Elizabeth I used this propaganda to build consensus on her foreign policy. Despite only reporting an unequivocal point of view, this militant literature allows the positions of the opposing party to be admitted and summarized in ways which allow us to plot the contours of the contemporary political debate.

The bilingual context to which these English translations belong also contributes to this material's research value. The translations are not merely restricted to verbatim transactions. Significant changes are introduced in the form of prefatory material such as colophons. These are used to address and direct the reader, emphasising or critiquing certain elements of the text. Thus, it becomes important to put these texts in their dual contexts. This involves research which will investigate the political and cultural terrains of both, the places in which these texts originate and the ones in which they circulate as translations. The migration of these political works from France to England were subject to a continuous process of negotiation especially in the form of institutions exercising control over the print market and the reader publics that were interested in such publications. This

¹³ During the French Wars of Religion, the moderates of both religious faiths that believed that only a restoration of a strong monarchy could save the kingdom were described by the term *Politiques*. Frequently including a pejorative connotation, the term gained significant currency during the 1570s. Among the extensive bibliography on this topic, see: Mario Turchetti, *Concordia o tolleranza? François Baduin e I Moyenneurs 1520-1573* (Genève: Droz, 1984), pp. 36-38; Mario Turchetti, 'Middle Parties during the Wars of Religion, in Reformation', *Revolt and Civil War in France and Netherlands 1555-1585*, ed. by Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Hank Van Nierop and Marc Venard (Amsterdam: Royal Netherland Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999), pp. 165-183 (p. 170-171).

¹⁴ Nicola M. Sutherland, *The Huguenots Struggle for Recognition* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1980), pp. 33-35.

corpus will also be useful in offering answers to why only some French publications rather than others were made available in English during those years. Historians agree that these translations were a strategic tool for Elizabethan political propaganda, but it should also be remembered that these texts brought to early modern Britain the echoes of the political debates surrounding the legitimacy of royal power that were occurring in late Sixteenth Century France.

The political discourse generated by Navarre's contested succession to the throne aroused a lively interest amongst the English public. Several studies show the Elizabethan government exercising policies of censorship which encouraged the dissemination of information regarding Elizabeth's French ally but the increased number of translations and their circulation can be explained by other reasons as well.¹⁵ That the war was caused by a dynastic crisis was undoubtedly a factor in this discourse being particularly well received by the English readers. Elizabeth I's succession was a complex issue for the English monarchy in the last decades of the Sixteenth Century. The clandestine circulation of political treatises concerning Elizabeth's succession and historical works dealing with English monarchy attest to a specific audience's interest in these thorny issues.¹⁶ The attention the French writings evinced could be interpreted as a further confirmation of the hypothesis that there was curiosity and concern for these happenings which were officially barred from discussion. The work I will present on the English translations will constantly and necessarily refer to the original French editions which they derive from. I will also be looking at other publications that bear inter-textual relations with these texts.

¹⁵ Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, 'Printers, Patrons, Readers and Spies: Importation of French Propaganda in Late Elizabethan England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25 (1994), 853-872 (p. 855); Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 21-28.

¹⁶ Susan Doran, 'Three late Elizabethan Succession Tracts', in *The Struggle for Succession in Elizabethan England: Politics, Polemics and Cultural Representations*, ed. by Jean-Christophe Mayer (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry, 2004) pp. 91-117 (pp. 92-93); Paulina Kewes, 'The Exclusion Crisis of 1553 and the Elizabethan Succession', in *Mary Tudor: Old and New Perspectives*, ed. by Susan Doran and Thomas Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2011) pp. 49-61 (p. 52).

2. *The Figure of Henry of Navarre as Constructed in the English Translations of French Political Pamphlets (1570-1584)*

The texts I collected follow Navarre from the period beginning with the end of the fourth war of religion where his place in the alliance within the Huguenots started to become increasingly prominent and up to the 1584 when he became the presumptive heir to the French throne. Among the primary sources main themes are the political roles of Henry. This includes his first political and military actions as *chef* of the Huguenot alliance which he held with his cousin, the Prince of Condé. The illustrious origins of Henry as son of Jeanne d'Albret and Antoine de Bourbon and his Calvinist upbringing are the other important subjects raised in these pamphlets. The translations give importance to the *Malcontents* conspiracy where Henry endorsed the claims of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Alençon, and fought by his side during the Fifth War of Religion. The texts arguing in the favour of Huguenot interests justify Henry's position and portray him as a prisoner at the court of Henry III. The 'Nérac negotiations'¹⁷ where Catherine de' Medici held discussions with Navarre for the pacification of the kingdom are also accounted for in the pamphlets. This meeting is important in establishing the role of Henry as the charismatic leader of the Huguenot alliance. However, the accounts of his marriage to Margaret of Valois are not given the same extensive space and are employed only as a pretext to emphasize Henry's royal lineage and his loyalty to the crown. Henry's repeated abjurations of Calvinism are similarly absent. I will emphasize on these various ambiguities concerning Navarre's representation up to 1584.

3. *The Debate about the Idea of Kingship and the Legitimacy of Royal Power in Navarre's Succession to the French throne (1584-1595)*

This forms the core of my project. One of the key issues discussed in these texts is the right of heredity by blood enshrined in the revered constitution of the Salic law. This was

¹⁷ The Treaty of Nérac (February 1579) and the Peace of Fleix (November 1580) concluded the Seventh War of Religion in 1580. After that, Henri of Navarre consolidated his control on the Southwest of France. See: Thierry Wanegffelen, *Catherine de Médicis: le pouvoir au féminin* (Paris Payot : 2005) pp. 45-49.

Navarre's chief claim to the throne after the murder of Henri III. The sacred role of the sovereign, a medieval principle that formed the monarch's basis of authority and determined the relations to his subjects and the Church is also a key topic of discussion.¹⁸ Documents dealing with the period of the King's accession (August 1589 - July 1593) are dominated by opinions on Henry's conversion to Catholicism. This theme touched upon important questions such as the nature of kingship and the legitimacy of the royal power. The issue of succession that initially gave the Catholic League its impetus and purpose became the reason for its division and dissolution. Some of these texts touch upon other fundamental themes in the discourse on kingship such as gender, religion and the French lineage of the monarch. The issue of the sovereign's religious faith is vital as it the basis by which the Catholic League refused to recognize the legitimacy of Henry's succession. This led to the final and most severe instalment of the French Wars of Religion. The League maintained that the Cardinal Charles of Bourbon was the legitimate heir to the throne of France given his Catholic faith and his close ties with the family of Guise.¹⁹

The volatility of the political situation was echoed in the French texts and its translations. The issue of consequence here was the weight that a particular brand of religious faith had in determining and legitimizing the power of the king. The Leaguers considered it unthinkable that a Huguenot could become their monarch and vehemently insisted that the catholicity of the ruler should be a decisive element for the choice of a monarch who as a defender of the heresy had to profess the faith of the Church of Rome. Following the sudden death of Cardinal de Bourbon in 1591, the Catholic League was left without a claimant to the throne. In order to oppose Navarre's succession, they proposed a model of elective monarchy where the king is directly appointed by the Estates General. To counter this, the Huguenots and the moderates garnered support for Navarre by appealing to the Salic Law²⁰ which stated that in the absence of a direct heir to the throne of France the crown would be transferred to the first male relative who falls in the collateral line. In order to oppose the Leaguers endorsement of Infanta Isabella of Spain the moderates also insisted on the

¹⁸ Holt, *The French Wars of Religion*, pp. 133-135.

¹⁹ Thierry Wanegffelen, *Le pouvoir contesté. Souveraines d'Europe à la Renaissance* (Paris : Payot, 2008), pp. 111-135.

²⁰ Éliane Viennot, *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir. L'invention de la loi Salique (Ve-XVIe siècles)* (Paris: Payot, 2006), p. 68.

necessity of a French lineage for the future king.²¹ The different criteria that were proposed for determining the legitimacy of royal power were deployed depending on political affiliation with strategies to counter the opposition each side faced. Despite this the legitimacy of royal power and the actual debates on the gender, religion and lineage of the potential sovereign were crucial to determining the consensus each political faction mobilised. The discourse on the presumptive validity or otherwise of the Salic Law represented an important challenge in the discussion that linked the discourses on kingship and gender.

These decrees were endorsed at different times by different sides of the debate. These laws excluded women, the male descendants of the female line and pretenders from foreign families (such as Savoy or Lorraine) from succession to the throne. After the death of Henry III and the Cardinal of Bourbon, the supporters of Navarre became staunch defenders of this fundamental law to challenge the candidacy of Infanta Isabella who was consequently supported by Philip II and the Leaguers. The re-conquest of the kingdom and the abjuration of Calvinism by Henry IV in 1593 would however allow the slow pacification of the kingdom under the aegis of a French sovereign who was both male and Roman Catholic.

The image of Henry of Navarre in these debates changed according to the shifting roles he assumed. This includes Henry as presumptive heir to the French throne where contrasts were developing with the image of Henri III that was circulating at the time. This imagery was deployed to counter the violent criticism directed by the Leaguers against the last Valois.²² After 1584, the image of Navarre was defined increasingly as that of a prince with a robust masculinity, remarkable military prowess and ability in battle. These traits seemed to be tacitly engineered in opposition to the representation of the last Valois kings and that of Henry III. Charles IX and Henry III were both depicted at times as physically weak and lacking virility. Although the official iconography tried to conceal and obscure these perceived drawbacks, the contemporaries of this period associated this lack of physical

²¹Éliane Viennot, 'Les écrivains "Politiques" et la loi salique', in *De Michel de L'Hospital à l'Édit de Nantes. Politique et religion face aux Églises*, ed. by Thierry Wanegffelen (Clermont-Ferrand : Presse Universitaire Blaise Pascal, 2003) pp. 31-48 (p. 33).

²²Anita M. Walker and Edward H. Dickerman, 'The King Who Would Be Man: Henri III, Gender, Identity and the Murders at Blois in 1588', *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques*, 24 (1998), 253-281 (p. 265); Keith Cameron, 'Henri III: the Anti-Christian King,' *Journal of European Studies*, 4 (1974) 152-163 (p. 155); Keith Cameron, *Henri III: A Maligned or Malignant King* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 1978), p. 68-69; David Potter, 'Kingship in the Wars of Religion: The Reputation of Henri III of France', *European History Quarterly*, 25 (1995) 485-528 (p. 487).

strength and masculinity with the inability to govern. These representations were accentuated by their infertility and the inability of the Valois dynasty to perpetuate itself. It was thought that Charles IX was weak and submissive to the authority of his mother, Catherine de' Medici and correspondingly Henri III to his group of favourites, the so-called "*mignons*".

Such limited authority was understood as the main cause for feebleness of the monarchy in the civil wars' year. This is in great divergence with how the narratives presenting Henry IV develop in these pamphlets. He is shown to be a skilled military strategist equipped with bodily vigour; an image suffused with strong masculinity. The texts do not mention the circumstances surrounding his disastrous marriage with Margaret of Navarre or the goings on with his many mistresses. We encounter an image of Henry as a virile prince capable of perpetuating the lineage and averting the danger of a dynastic crisis if provided with the appropriate marital opportunity. Thus, the representation of Henry can come to be seen as created in contrast with that of Henry of Valois. This material allows us to see how publicists in favour of Navarre created differences between the two sovereigns to clearly define the Bourbon's image. The image of Henry III was distorted by the Catholic League that tried to connect his alleged homosexuality and perversions to his inability to govern. The pamphlets foreground the differences between the bodily attributes of Henry III who is corrupted by perversions and the strong body of Navarre that is able to withstand the hardships of war.

These representations can be also linked to the symbolism regarding the king's body. The resilient body of Henry of Navarre became a metaphor for France itself that regained its strength under his rule. The pamphlets that touch upon the re-conquest of France by Navarre, seems to rely on patriarchy derived rhetoric to denote the relationship between king and kingdom.²³ France is portrayed as being gradually liberated from the Catholic League army which the new king was then able to defend thanks to his undoubted qualities as a military strategist. The inability of the last Valois to inhabit the visual assertions of physical power and self-confident masculinity can be seen as a part of the larger crisis of authority the monarchy faced in late Sixteenth Century. Navarre's image in turn articulated

²³ The king's association with the lands over which he ruled sustained a rhetoric of duality which took many forms related to the impact of the French Wars of Religion upon the kingdom. See: Penny Roberts, 'The Kingdom's Two Bodies? Corporeal Rhetoric and Royal Authority during the Religion Wars', *French History*, 21 (2007) 147-164 (pp. 150-151).

the narratives that preceded and accompanied his accession.²⁴ The image of Navarre also seems to be calculated to appeal to those most invested in matters of war, the nobility of the court.²⁵ Up to 1592, the devoted Catholics continued to resist Henry's rule because he had not overcome the history of royal reproductive failure or dispelled the gendered sexual anxiety that was attached to it. Henry was thus susceptible to many of the same charges of weakness and impotency that had marked the previous reign.²⁶

4. The Representation of Henry IV and the King's Image in the Years Following His Death (1610-ca. 1630)

After his renunciation of Calvinism and his coronation as King of France, the number of English translations of pamphlets relating to Henry reduced. A plausible explanation for the decrease in translation might be the end of the Wars of Religion.

in France, which no longer required the direct support of the English as well as the progressive involvement of Elizabeth I in the Netherlands matter. Although France was still apparently pacified, Henry IV remained an ally of the English monarchy against Philip II and the English readers followed French international politics in many pamphlets that were now focused on the conflict against Spain at least until the Treaty of Vervins in 1598. English and Scottish readers were also interested in following the main events of his reign whose themes involved the coronation ceremony, the Edict of Nantes, Henry's marriage to Maria de' Medici, and French international policy against Spain. Henry's assassination as a subject saw a marked increase in the number of pamphlets translated. The migrations of these texts show how England becomes a strong echo of Henry's legend. These depictions were coherent with the previous representations of Navarre during the last decades of the Sixteenth Century. After the regicide, French writers who were a part of Henri IV's entourage

²⁴Roberts, pp. 147-164 (p. 153). On the legal metaphor regarding the king's two bodies see: Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p. 56. See also : Alain Boreau, *Le simple corps du roi. L'impossible sacralité des souverains français XVe-XVIII siècle* (Paris : Les Éditions de Paris, 1988), pp. 19-23.

²⁵ David Buisseret, *Henry IV* (London: Routledge, 1984), pp. 28-43.

²⁶ Yves-Marie Bercé, *Henri IV et la maîtrise des opinions populaires in Avènement d'Henri IV: Quatrième centenaire* (Paris : Coutras, 1989) pp. 111-123 : Yves-Marie Bercé, *Le roi caché: sauveurs et imposteurs. Mythes politiques populaires dans l'Europe moderne* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), p. 122. Bercé argued that Henry IV was an active participant in the orchestration of his own image.

took it upon themselves to establish the canonical traits of the royal personage. It was Henry's strength, good fortune, tenacity, tolerance, his desire for justice and peace and his role in restoring France to unity and prosperity that formed the core of the legend. This set of attributes was repeated *ad infinitum* by subsequent generations influenced by those hagiographical works authored by Henry's coterie. By distilling anecdotes and embellishments, and by narrating the primary stages of Henri's life and work, these hagiographers were unwittingly establishing the future leitmotifs of the legend. These include a bucolic upbringing in the Béarn that forged his character and exceptional physical stamina. The narratives of the early years progressed into the image of a chivalrous figure and a victorious warrior who leads the nation.²⁷

The narratives about Henry's exceptional qualities went hand in hand with critiquing the policy towards the Huguenots pursued by Henry's successors. Additionally, these works show how Henry's image was memorialised in the aftermath of his assassination. Analysis of these texts allows us to establish which elements were considered significant enough for English readers to embody not just an interpretation of his life and rule but also a criticism of the French policy towards the Huguenots. For example, the re-conquest of the kingdom between 1589 and 1593 and the reconstruction of the monarchical institution in France were stated as the most denoting parts of his reign and represented the core of the personage's evaluation. Henry's reign and the French Wars of Religion were characterised as a new beginning, with the rule of the Bourbon dynasty. His image was built on several models that were a part of Navarre's representation during the Wars of Religion especially in the years leading to his succession to the French throne. His chivalric deeds and his exceptional ability to pacify the kingdom after decades of Wars of Religion are marked out as extraordinary. These narratives travelled down the centuries up to the 1970s when historical scholarship began to take a more critical stance.

This work is going to explore the figure of Henry of Navarre throughout the French Wars of Religion and in the aftermath of his assassination. The focus on the bilingual context in which these texts circulated allows investigating the migration of a significant discourse, as the one on kingship. The narratives about Henry of Navarre are going to be investigated, evaluating his challenging role for the debate on the legitimacy of the royal power. By

²⁷ Love, pp. 123-131; Greengrass, pp. 236-248.

analysing the reception of Henry's image, the research is also going to examine how the King and his reign were memorialized in the broad history of the French Wars of Religion.

5. *Structure of the Thesis*

The thesis will follow a chronological approach, analysing the way Henry of Navarre's persona was represented between the 1560s and the 1630s. For each time period considered, the analysis will follow a thematic approach and will investigate the different narrative embodied in the French texts translated into English.

The first chapter will provide a detailed discussion of the historical context within the body of French texts was translated into English. It will examine the Anglo-French cultural and diplomatic relations, the main characteristics of the French and English printing industries and the features of the text translated into English. The chapter will also look at the networks of publishers, printers and translators involved in the dissemination of French texts in England.

The second chapter will explore the early narratives about Henry of Navarre, by looking at the way the beginning of his political career was represented in the French texts translated into English. Since the last phase of the French Wars of Religion represented the peak of Navarre's popularity – and the moment in which his complicated succession to the throne was used as a challenge to discuss the idea of kingship - the period between 1585 and 1594 will be analysed through two different chapters. Chapter four will analyse the narratives developed about Navarre's persona (1585-1594), while chapter five will look at the theoretical debate about the idea of kingship originated in the same period by the struggle for the succession. The last chapter will analyse the way Navarre's persona was represented after his succession to the French throne, looking at the way his rule and his assassination were discussed in the *libelles* and the early historical accounts translated in the first half of the Seventeenth Century.

The conclusion will review the main themes analysed by the thesis, discussing both the role that the printing industry had in disseminating the French texts in England and the way

Navarre's persona and the issue of succession were discussed in the publications translated into English.

6. Notes on Terminology and Conventions

By drawing on Mack P. Holt's claim of 'putting religion back into the Wars of Religion',²⁸ I will refer to the wars occurred in France as the "French Wars of Religion" or "French religious conflicts". By appreciating the generic nature of the term "Protestant", I will employ instead the terms "French Calvinists" or "Huguenots" when referring to the French religious minority. When referring to the French publications translated into English, I will refer to the term "pamphlet" when indicating a kind of cheap written texts debating contemporary political issues. When looking at the specific publications, I will describe them as *libelles*, "news pamphlets" and political treatises by drawing on Tatiana Baranova-Debbagi and Joad Raymond's arguments²⁹ about the specific nature of these texts.

I have left the spelling of the early modern published sources and manuscripts unmodernised, with only the letters u/v/w and i/j/y transcribed in a modern way. Whenever possible, I used signature numbers as page references, using page numbers only when they were already included in the early modern publications. When mentioning a printed source for the first time, the full title – along with the place of publication and the name of the printer – were included in a footnote. The tables included in the appendices reported additional information about the early modern texts, including the STC number, the original French text (if traced) and notes concerning their inclusion into the Stationers' Register.

²⁸ Mack P. Holt, 'Putting Religion Back into the Wars of Religion', *French Historical Studies*, 18 (1993), 524-551 (p. 525).

²⁹ Tatiana Baranova-Debbagi, *À coups de libelles. Une culture politique au temps des guerres de religion 1562-1598* (Genève: Droz, 2012), p. 15; Raymond, p. 127.

1. France and England in the Sixteenth Century: Cultural Exchanges and Circulation of Texts

1.1. Diplomatic Relations between France and England (1570- ca. 1640)

This chapter will discuss the historical context in which the texts French about the Wars of Religion were translated, published and disseminated between 1570 and 1610. In order to do this, this section of the thesis will firstly examine the diplomatic relations that occurred between France and England in the second half of the Sixteenth Century. Thus, this chapter will analyse the main features of the corpus of French texts translated into English. Finally, it will examine the different networks – printers, publishers, translators and governmental officers – that had a role in importing and disseminating the French publications about the Wars of Religion.

Before examining the key features of the corpus of French texts translated into English and the networks of printers, translators and governmental officers involved – to a different extent – in the dissemination of these publication, it is necessary to discuss the diplomatic relations between France – at the eve of the Wars of Religion – and Elizabethan England. As Simon Adams argued 'the Sixteenth Century was an unusual chapter in the long history of England's complex relations with France'.³⁰ For most of the Century, England kept amity with Spain and Low Countries, mainly because of enduring tensions with France and Scotland. In 1559, with the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis and the following loss of Calais, England did not have any more possessions on the other side of the Channel. Furthermore, Anglo-French relations in the Sixteenth Century were also marked by a constant struggle – diplomatic and sporadically military - for influence over Scotland. During the early 1560s, with the progressive predominant position gained by the Huguenots in France and the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, England gained the French Protestants as important 'ideological allies'.³¹ Therefore, Elizabeth's rule 'was characterised by a quadrilateral relationship between England, the French Crown, the Huguenots and Scotland'.³²

³⁰ Simon Adams, *Tudor England's Relations with France* [online]. Cengage Learning EMEA, updated May 2009 [cited 20 April 2020]. Available from: <https://www.gale.com/intl/essays/simon-adams-tudor-englands-relations-france>

³¹ Adams, *Tudor England's Relations with France*.

³² Ibid.

Regarding Elizabeth's foreign policy, David Trim argued how it was 'a commonplace of historians that the queen did not want to help European Protestants and that she did so only reluctantly and half-heartedly'.³³ This interpretation was grounded on the myth of a *politique* that Elizabeth – supported by most of her ministers – was unwilling in directly supporting the Continental Protestants. Recent scholarly works – like the studies of William Haugaard and Susan Doran – highlighted the queen's personal attachment to Protestantism and the impact that Elizabeth's religious beliefs had on her foreign policy.³⁴ As Simon Adams argued in his remarkable work, Elizabeth's counsellors supported and shared her religious positions.

Therefore, as Elizabeth encouraged the Protestants' revolts in the Low Countries during the 1560s and the 1570s – and opposed Spanish pressure on England's foreign policy – she also supported the Huguenots cause in France. From 1559, Elizabeth's privy councillors were in contact with the French Calvinists and sympathised for them. Among those English Protestants councillors, there were Sir Philip Sidney, the Earl of Leicester, Francis Walsingham and Francis Devereux, count of Essex. When describing the political positions of Elizabeth's privy councillors – that Marie-Céline Daniel called *dévots* - Patrick Collinson stated that abroad 'they had a Protestant ideological approach [...] based on the fear of a Popish enterprise of England'³⁵ and the conviction that religion and security would both be served by a more positive intervention on the Protestant side in France and in the Low Countries.³⁶ Within Elizabeth's privy council, the political beliefs of this group – that Collinson defined as Puritanism³⁷ – were opposed by men such as William Cecil, Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Nicolas Throckmorton, appointed ambassador in France in the 1560s. Even though Cecil, Hatton and Throckmorton had important connections with the Huguenots and feared the Guises' Catholic influence over French affairs, their political position was more moderate than the one of Leicester and Walsingham. Collinson used the French term

³³ David J.B. Trim, 'Seeking Protestant Alliance and Liberty of Conscience, on the Continent 1558-1585', in *Tudor England and Its Neighbours*, ed. By Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson (Basingstoke: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2005), pp.139-178 (p. 145).

³⁴ Paul Edward John Hammer, 'The Crucible of War: England Foreign Policy: 1589-1603', in *Tudor England and Its Neighbours*, ed. By Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson (Basingstoke: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2005), pp. 235-267 (p. 147).

³⁵ Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967) p.165.

³⁶ Collinson, p. 166.

³⁷ Collinson, p.167.

Politiques to define this, by emphasising what Marie-Céline Daniel called 'la vision que subordonnent les questions religieuses au pouvoir pacificateur de la reine'.³⁸

After the outbreak of the French Wars of Religion in 1562, Huguenots leaders as the Prince of Condé and the Admiral of Coligny sent representatives to the English court, demanding military support. Elizabeth and her councillors were keen to materially help the French Protestants because they were convinced that 'the two Lorraines had a good chance utterly to extinguish [and to] overthrow the Protestant religion in France'.³⁹ As Cecil wrote, 'the victory of the Guises would put us in danger for our religion',⁴⁰ likely because of their connections with Mary Queen of Scots. More generally, Elizabeth and her *entourage* feared an alliance between a Catholic France – led by the Guises – and the Spanish monarchy, aimed to destroy the Protestant countries in Europe. Therefore, Elizabeth and Privy Council supported the Huguenot struggle in France from the early 1560s. During the First War of Religion (1562-1563) Elizabeth sent a 6000-strong royal army commanded by the Earl of Warwick that supported the Huguenots forces in Normandy. After the mid-1560s, English foreign policy changed and tended to be more cautious. The objectives remained substantially the same, but the ways to achieve them became more covered. Instead of direct military interventions – that Elizabeth and her councillors judged inappropriate looking at the weakness of English military infrastructures – the government promoted its objectives through diplomatic channels and financial ways. Despite Elizabeth's formal promises of non-intervention – such as the one written in a letter to the ambassador La-Mothe Fénelon in 1568 – in February Catherine de' Medici complained that the queen 'had maintain[ed] overtly and covertly seditious persons and rebels with money, munitions and artillery'.⁴¹

Therefore, England provided to the French Huguenots⁴² – all along the Wars of Religion – 'food, weapons, powder and shot, armour and other equipment'.⁴³ The French Huguenots welcomed the support provided by the English monarchy, claiming the importance of

³⁸ Marie Céline Daniel, "A boldness of French speech": le discours, un réponse anglais aux enjeux des guerres de religion français?', *La Clé des Langues- ESN Lyon*, (1) 2011, 11-24 (p. 13).

³⁹ Adams, *Tudor England's Relations with France*.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Arlette Jouanna, *La France de la Renaissance* (Paris: Perrin, 2009), p. 37.

⁴³ Trim, pp. 139-178 (p.153).

'Calvinist collective security'.⁴⁴ Therefore, the Prince of Condé claimed in December 1567 that, 'as those princes professing the false religion spare no pains in assembling a league to exterminate the true religion [...] it is necessary and most just that the kings and princes professing the true religion join themselves in one accord and union'.⁴⁵ Later on, in 1575 and 1576, Henry of Navarre claimed – in two letters to the queen – that the pope and the King of Spain 'were enemies of all true Christian Princes and States'.⁴⁶

The religious differences made it complicated for Elizabeth to have a 'natural sympathy'⁴⁷ for Charles IX, while the growing Spanish power in the Low Countries compelled the English government to maintain good relations with France. Elizabeth established also a personal relation with the French Crown. As Susan Doran claimed, both Elizabeth and Catherine de' Medici sought to keep a durable Franco-English peace 'in the interest of the realms for which each took responsibility'.⁴⁸ The two queens maintained regular ambassadorial exchanges that promoted good relations and shared a mutual respect, despite some controversial events – such as the Saint Bartholomew's massacre in 1572 – that made Catherine a suspicious figure for the English people.

The fragile peace reached in France after the Third War of Religion through the Edict of Saint-Germain (1570) and the excommunication that in the same year Pope Pius V issued against Elizabeth I, urged England to get more practically active in the building of a Protestant alliance. According to Nicola Sutherland, in 1571 and 1572 both French and English diplomacy – led mainly by Francis Walsingham - supported a new outbreak of the revolt in the Low Countries. The Anglo-Huguenots alliance led to an exacerbation of the situation in France, that ultimately led to the massacre of Saint-Bartholomew in 1572. During the subsequent Wars of Religion (1572-1573 and 1574-1576), the English diplomacy tried to establish an alliance between the French Huguenots, William of Orange and the elector Palatine. As Mack P. Holt argued, 'the English aim was the 'complete liberty of conscience'⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Trim, pp. 139-178 (p.154).

⁴⁵ Trim, pp. 139-178 (p.156).

⁴⁶ Jeffrey K. Sawyer, *Printed Poison. Pamphlet Propaganda, Faction Politics and the Public Sphere in Early Seventeenth Century France* (Berkeley-Oxford: University of California Press), p.21.

⁴⁷ Trim, pp. 139-178 (p. 157).

⁴⁸ Susan Doran, 'Elizabeth I and Catherine de' Medici', in *The Contending Kingdoms: France and England 1420-1700*, ed. By Glenn Richardson (London: Routledge, 2018), pp. 499-520 (p.518).

⁴⁹ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 56.

for the Huguenots. For that reason, England subsidised massively Condé and Navarre's armies in the Fifth War of Religion. The supremacy of the Huguenots led to the Edict of Beaulieu (1576), 'the most elaborate chart that the French Protestant got, that granted them generous concessions'.⁵⁰

Overall, the 1570s represented the most complex moment within the Anglo-French diplomatic relations in the Sixteenth Century. As Simon Adams argued, those complexities were not only originated by the Huguenot struggle but also by the courtship that the Duke of Alençon and Anjou paid towards Elizabeth between 1578 and 1582. As Susan Doran demonstrated, Elizabeth I was 'neither totally in control of these various negotiations nor entirely at the mercy of her councillors in their conduct and conclusion'.⁵¹ Few rumours about possible marriage negotiations between Elizabeth and the youngest son of Catherine de' Medici started to circulate in 1571 when the Henry – the former Duke of Anjou and future Henry III – declined the idea of marrying the Protestant queen of England⁵². The two ambassadors in charge at the time – La Mothe-Fénelon for France and Burghley for England - started to discuss a potential marriage between Elizabeth I and Alençon in January 1572. When gathering information about the young French prince, English diplomatic officers picture a controversy image of Catherine de' Medici's son:

Alençon is not so tall or fair as his brother, but that is as he is fantasied. Then he is not so obstinate, papistical, and restive like a mule as his brother is. As for getting of children they seem to assure that he is more apt than the other.⁵³

Subsequently, Elizabeth I declined the idea of the marriage in July 1572. In August 1572 La Mothe-Fénelon claimed that the Massacre of Paris ended any future negotiation for a possible marriage:

⁵⁰ Trim, pp. 139-178 (p.158).

⁵¹ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 6.

⁵² Estelle Paranque, *Elizabeth I of England through Valois Eyes. Power, Representation and Diplomacy in the Reign of the Queen 1558-1603* (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2018), pp. 28-30.

⁵³ *Correspondence diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon, ambassadeur de France en Angleterre de 1568 à 1575*, ed. by Alexandre Teulet (Paris : Bannytine Club, 1838-1840) p, 1583.

Et tout ainsy que je pense bien qu'ung tel accident muera assex la forme des choses par delà, je voy que l'on est desjà icy altération qu'il faudra, à mon advis, qu'on recommance, une nouvelle forme d'y procéder, de votre costé; et ne pouvant encore bien discerner comme elle aura à se faire, je laysseray toutes les choses du passé en quelques suspens, jusques à ce que, par celles qui sont freschement survenues nous pourrons cognoistre comment nous gouverner celles d'après.⁵⁴

Despite La Mothe-Fénelon's opinion, the Saint-Bartholomew massacre did not represent a critical moment for the Anglo-French diplomatic relations. After Elizabeth's decision to accept the invitation of becoming the godmother of Charles IX's daughter, the Queen in June 1573 clarified to Edward Horsey her position towards the French Crown in the aftermath of the massacre:

He is to say also that since the death of the Admiral and the great multitude with him at Paris last summer, and afterwards infinite numbers of others, manifestly slain only for their religion, there has grown generally no small doubt of the good success of this marriage, and that it has been thought meet by her Council that she should deal plainly with the King, his mother and M. le Duc, to require to understand how their continual proceeding so earnestly in this manner of persecution daily of their subjects to death and destruction, with the hazard of many of their own dear servants of great value, may be otherwise interpreted than as the world judges, a determination generally as far as they may to root up all persons who profess and exercise the reformed religion.⁵⁵

Elizabeth's need for clarification about the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre emphasised the incoherence of the French Crown's political actions, which aimed to keep good relations with Protestant England despite the controversial role that the Valois monarchy had in the

⁵⁴ *Correspondence diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon*, p.1584.

⁵⁵ Holt, *The Duke of Anjou*, p. 81.

massacre of the Huguenots. The echo of the Saint-Bartholomew's butchery reached Elizabethan England through the *récits* translated and published in England and the oral reports diffused by the Huguenots *émigres* in England.⁵⁶

The marriage negotiations were resumed in the second half of the 1570s, despite Alençon's participation to the siege of La Rochelle and his following escape from the French court with Condé and Navarre and his role as leader of the *Malcontents* during the Fourth War of Religion (1574-1576). Furthermore, Elizabeth was quite critical towards the behaviour of Alençon, who positioned himself against Henry III and Catherine de' Medici. In a letter to Edward Horsey, the Queen clarified that her refusal of welcoming Alençon in England was due to the duke's ambiguous conduct:

Her meaning to utter these conceits to the King is not to offend him, but to discover the causes which move her council to advise her not to be hasty in granting to the Duke's coming, until he gives some better hope of his moderation.⁵⁷

The outbreak of a new war in the Low Countries in 1578 and the intervention of Alençon in support of William D'Orange – in exchange of the title of sovereign of that country – led to a new phase in the marriage negotiations. Even if the Elizabeth did not support the involvement of 'a so dangerous and mighty personage'⁵⁸ in the Low Countries' affairs, the Queen and her councillors judged the hypothesis of a marriage as convenient for England. In addition to control Alençon's actions, a union between Elizabeth and the youngest son of Catherine de' Medici would have been a way to both avoid any French attempt of conquering the Low Countries and to establish privileged relation with a territory former dominated by Philip II of Spain. As Susan Doran showed,⁵⁹ the negotiations became quite intense between the end of 1578 and the first half of the 1579. With the arrival of Jean de Simier in January

⁵⁶ Bernard Cottret estimated that in 1578 the Huguenots represented the 5% of England's population. See: Bernard Cottret, *Terre d'exil: l'Angleterre et ses réfugiés français et wallons, de la Réforme à la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes* (Paris: Aubier, 1985), p, 131.

⁵⁷ Holt, *The Duke of Anjou*, p. 85.

⁵⁸ Adams, *Tudor England's Relations*, p.8.

⁵⁹ Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony. The Courtship of Elizabeth I* (London: Routledge, 1996), p.162.

1579 as ambassador – 'the turning-point in the long Anjou courtship'⁶⁰ – the situation became progressively complicated, while the Privy Council got divided in two factions: one supporting the marriage's negotiations and led by Burghley and Sussex; the other one – grouped around Leicester, Midlmay and Hatton – opposing the project. Despite Anjou's visit to Elizabeth's court in August 1579, the English context became hostile to the marriage project, while the Queen's personal intentions seemed quite fluctuating till a definitive end of the negotiations in 1582.

According to Glenn Richardson, the Anglo-French relations entered a new phase in the mid-1580s, with the sudden death of the Duke of Anjou and Alençon and the succession's struggle initiated by the role of the Huguenot Henry of Navarre as presumptive heir to the French throne. While the last years of Henry III's rule appeared already troubled by the *Leaguers'* claims to the French crown, his assassination by Jacques Clément in 1589 brought the country again into the French Wars of Religion. Since Henry III did not have any direct heir, the Huguenot Navarre and the *Leaguers* struggled themselves for the succession. In terms of Anglo-French relations, the support that Elizabeth offered to Henry of Navarre led to the foundation of more effective bonds between the two countries. The Queen sent to Henry money and troops to support him in the war against the League from 1589 to 1595. Furthermore, Elizabeth generously subsidized Henry in Normandy and Brittany – a gesture much appreciated by the Huguenot prince – in order to prevent a possible Spanish occupation of the Channel. By the early September 1589 an initial four-thousand English troops were sent France. As Trim showed, thousands more English soldiers joined Navarre's army until 1594. Despite the military and financial support that Elizabeth granted to Henry, the Queen became 'increasingly mistrustful' towards Navarre. As Richardson argued, the way in which Henry largely ignored or changed the conditions that she had set for sending him aid led Elizabeth to be constantly frustrated by Henry's conduct. An example of that was the struggle around Calais in 1596. When the Spanish armies threatened the town in March 1596, Elizabeth sent soldiers in Calais to defend the town. Despite the Queen's attempt of bargaining her aid for an English control of the town, Navarre firmly denied letting Calais to Elizabeth. The intricate situation led to a delay in the envoy of the English troops and to the temporary conquest of Calais by Spain. The Privy Council – and

⁶⁰ Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, p. 153.

particularly Burghley and Sir Christopher Hatton – made consistent efforts to secure the Queen's support to the Protestant common cause.

Henry's conversion to Catholicism in 1593 disappointed Elizabeth and was considered even as outrageous by Burghley, who hoped 'for some notable avenge upon the French King for his perfidy towards God and men'.⁶¹ The main reason for which Elizabeth continued to support Henry was the rivalry with Spain, as Thomas Wylkes – a clerk of the Privy Council – highlighted by affirming that 'if the King of Spain be dead, we are like enough to care little for France'.⁶² Despite her disappointment followed to Henry's abjuration of Calvinism in 1593, the Queen – following a pragmatic anti-Spanish policy – assisted him in the war against Spain that led to the treaty of Vervins in 1598. Once again, Elizabeth's foreign policy was built around the rivalry against Spain and the idea of supporting Protestants' claims in the Continent. According to what Richardson argued about Elizabeth's last years of rule, the Queen viewed Henry IV 'with a mixture of resigned disappointment and grudging admiration'.⁶³ Although irritated by the attitude that Henry demonstrated towards her decisions, Elizabeth recognised him 'as a monarch who had fought as hard to obtain his kingdom by war as she had fought to retain hers through peace'.⁶⁴

Doran's study on Anjou's courtship and Elizabeth's foreign policy demonstrated more generally that – despite particular difficult moments related with religious and political differences – the 'two political nations of England and France'⁶⁵ progressively shared by the second half of the Sixteenth Century a 'broadly similar culture and rhetorical language'.⁶⁶ The subsequent help that Elizabeth offered to Henry of Navarre showed how the Elizabethan government supported the succession of the Calvinist prince in order to prevent the establishment of a Spanish domination over the European continent. It is also important to acknowledge – as Richardson claimed – that this *rapprochement* was reflected not only in a general interest on what was happening on the other side of the Channel among the political and intellectual *élites*, but also from the reading public. In France there was a growing demand of news about England, together with the publication of geographical and

⁶¹ Adams, *Tudor England's Relations*.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Doran, 'Elizabeth I and Catherine de' Medici', p.519.

⁶⁴ Doran, 'Elizabeth I and Catherine de' Medici', p.520.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Doran, 'Elizabeth I and Catherine de' Medici', p.521.

topographical texts about that country. In England there was a parallel interest for France, characterised by the translation of treaties, news and historical writing concerned with the succession's issues and more generally with the events of the French Wars of Religion.

1.2. *The French Printing Industry and the Wars of Religion: Censorship and Circulation of Texts*

The discussion of the arguments and the ideas developed by the French texts translated into English during the Wars of Religion required the analysis of the original contexts in which these works were written and published. As Luc Racaut highlighted, the medium of print played a very relevant role in the French Wars of Religion.⁶⁷ The printed texts served not only to spread news about certain political events, but also to debate theoretical questions about religion and politics. This process was enabled by a certain openness of the French market, in which the publication of printing materials often escaped the sensor's control. In order to investigate the main characteristics of the French printing market, this section will explore the main changes that occurred to the printing industry during the Sixteenth and the early Seventeenth Century: the dissemination of Calvinist and Lutheran texts with the spread of Reformation in France, the spread of both Catholic and Huguenots' texts after the outbreak of the Wars of Religion and the output of royal propaganda texts with the restoration of monarchical authority in 1594. Furthermore, this section will look at two aspects that informed the shaping of the French printing context: the production of both Protestant and Catholic texts – in both Paris and in the provinces – and the impact that the royal censorship had in the developing of the printing industry.⁶⁸

One of the most important aspects of the French Wars of Religion was the inextricable link between these conflicts and the printing market. As Jonas van Tol argued, 'the conflict in France not only dominated the private correspondence of the princes but was also hotly debated in the public domain'.⁶⁹ The printed texts – pamphlets and political treatises – had

⁶⁷ Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print. Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity During the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), p. 18.

⁶⁸ Roger Chartier and Henry-Jean Martin, *Histoire de l'édition française. Le livre conquérant. Du Moyen Age au milieu du XVII siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1989) p. 305.

⁶⁹ Jonas van Tol, *Germany and the French Wars of Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), p. 102.

a very significant role in spreading ideas around and sharpening the tension between Huguenots and Catholics. Since the beginning of the Reformation in France, the printing had a major role in disseminating the new religious ideas. The texts that circulated in the early years of the Reformation in France were mainly instructional and mainly aimed to spread the new beliefs of both Lutheran and Calvinist churches. Between 1520 and 1540 important Reformed religious books were printed in France, such as *L'Exposition sur le sermon que nostre Seigneur fit en la montagne*, by François Regnault in 1520 and the French translation of the most important works of Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon in 1521.⁷⁰

The spreading of books – short publications or more lengthy texts – supporting the Reformation soon led to the reaction of the authorities. Supported by the Parisian *Parlement*, François I forbade in 1521 the printing of any text 'touchant la foi chrétienne, ou l'interprétation des écritures saintes'.⁷¹ From this point onwards, further censorship measures were enforced, such as the mandatory registration of any religious book at both the *Parlement* of Paris and the provincial royal courts. Therefore, the censorship machine operating in early Sixteenth Century France worked mostly on both a central and a peripheral level.⁷² The censorship decrees issued by the monarchical authority were reinforced by the Parisian *Parlement* and the other provincial courts. In the following years, the royal authority reinforced regularly the censorship measures, releasing a list of forbidden books compiled by the Sorbonne (1542) and prohibiting 'toute impression sans permission d'imprimer'⁷³ (1571). Despite the censorship put in place by the governmental authorities, French printers and publishers regularly managed to purchase texts coming from Geneva. This element contributed to a progressive spread of the Calvinist religion in Sixteenth Century France, leading this religious groups to grow significantly in the first half of the Sixteenth Century. Therefore, from the second half of the Sixteenth Century the majority of Reformed texts circulating in France belonged to the Calvinists.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Chartier and Martin, p. 306.

⁷¹ Chartier and Martin, p. 307

⁷² Frédéric Barbier, *Histoire du livre en Occident* (Paris: Armand Collin, 2012), p. 71.

⁷³ Chartier and Martin, p. 327.

⁷⁴ Jean-François Gilmont, *Le livre réformé au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque National de France, 2005) p. 63.

Despite the establishment of the royal censorship in the 1550s, Roger Chartier and Henry-Jean Martin highlighted the existence of networks supporting a 'clandestine distribution'⁷⁵ of printed texts. These *réseaux* linked French printing centres like Paris and Lyon to Geneva or Frankfurt, enabling a wide circulation of forbidden texts. In addition to Paris, towns like Caen, Rouen, Orléans and Lyon became very important printing centres, in which active printers such as Eloi Gibier, Estienne Dolet and Louis Rabier operated.⁷⁶ Among all French provincial towns, Lyon was certainly the most active printing centre. Due to the town's geographical position – situated next to many important commercial routes – Lyon became the second most important printing centre after Paris.⁷⁷ Moreover, due to the presence of very audacious printers like Etienne Dolet, the royal censorship did not operate effectively in Lyon.⁷⁸

In the 1550s, French provincial printing markets started to develop significantly, focusing their production not only on lengthy publications such as literary or religious texts, but also on news pamphlets. As demonstrated by Andrew Pettegree, cities like Rouen, Toulouse and Valenciennes became important printing centres, disseminating early news pamphlets across the country.⁷⁹ Additionally, Protestant printing centres as La Rochelle developed significantly, focusing largely on the production of Huguenot texts. The first half of the Sixteenth Century marked not only the spread of the Calvinist ideas through the printing, but also circulation of the Catholic response to these materials. Therefore, the 1550s and 1560s were characterised by a progressive polarisation of the French printing market, disseminating both Catholic and Huguenot publications. As Jeffrey K. Sawyer argued, the antagonist factions fighting during the French Wars of Religion started to acknowledge 'political significance'⁸⁰ of the medium of print, using it to disseminate specific interpretations of political events:

Pamphlets authors and political leaders [...] worked hard to influence
the general public's perception of the conflict [...] Experienced

⁷⁵ Chartier and Martin, p. 328.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Jean-François Gilmont, *La fabrication du livre au XVI^e siècle*, in *Le Livre et ses secrets*, ed. by Jean-François Gilmont (Genève: Droz, 2003), pp. 59-68 (p. 61).

⁷⁸ *Étienne Dolet 1509-2009*, ed. by Michèle Clément (Genève: Droz, 2012), pp. 151-152.

⁷⁹ Andrew Pettegree, *The French Book and European Book World* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 19-43.

⁸⁰ Racaut, p. 48

tacticians [...] realized that the confrontation would actually be won in the sphere of public opinion before it was won on the battlefield. [...] The government sought to control the printing press from the beginning. It was well known that this effort broke down in the sixteenth Century, once pamphlets began to be used systematically as weapons in the arsenal of the Protestants [one should add “and Catholic”] reformers. Effective control of the printing industry did not begin until the 1620s, when Richelieu was finally able to enforce the law.⁸¹

Within this complex context, the outbreak of the French Wars of Religion led to what Roger Chartier described as the 'politisation de l'imprimé'⁸² between 1565 and 1600. The early years of the Wars of Religion marked a tightening of the censorship measures against the Reformed texts, which only partially stopped the publishing of these texts. Additionally, the outbreak of the French Wars of Religion led to a change in the type of texts that were printed, shifting the production from religious to political publications. According to Tatiana-Baranova Debbagi, the most significant development enabled by the outbreak of the French Wars of Religion was the dissemination of political pamphlets aimed to discuss the most important political events. Both Catholics and Protestant authored these texts, which had a very broad focus.⁸³

As Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin argued, these publications were concerning both French and international affairs.⁸⁴ The pamphlets regarding French events focused mostly on the conflicts – often having occurred at local level – between the Catholics and the Huguenots, while the texts concerned with international affairs looked at various topics, such as the English situation or the conflicts in the Netherlands. The political pamphlets represented a peculiar aspect of the French Wars of Religion, both in relation to the genre itself and to the high production of these texts during the conflicts occurred in France during the Sixteenth Century.⁸⁵ Scholars of the French Wars of Religion studies largely these texts,

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Chartier and Martin, p. 305.

⁸³ Baranova-Debbagi, *A coups des libelles*, p. 42.

⁸⁴ Chartier and Martin, p. 332.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

trying to define the genre they belonged to. While Roger Chartier and Denis Pallier⁸⁶ focused on the polemical tone that they deployed, Tatiana Baranova Debbagi looked at the *diffamatoire* attitude that they conveyed. Subsequently, it is possible to divide the French political pamphlets into different categories: the news pamphlets, the longer political or religious treatises and the more militant and *diffamatoire* texts, described by Tatiana Baranova Debbagi as *libelles*.⁸⁷ These texts were written either in poetry or in prose, while the element that strongly characterises them is the cheap way in which they were printed. Along with political pamphlets, the printing of royal edicts and *déclarations* released by important political leaders represented another type of texts largely printed across the country.

The dramatic beginning of the French Wars of Religion in 1562 led also to important changes in the French printing market, leading Paris to lose some of its most active printers. In the 1560s, the royal authorities enforced the control over local printing workshops, closing the business suspected of publishing Huguenots texts.⁸⁸ Therefore, important Parisian printers as Pierre Haultin or Charles Langelier were forced to temporarily close their business between in 1562 and in 1564.⁸⁹ Additionally, the Saint- Bartholomew's massacre in 1572 led Huguenot printers as André Wechel to leave the country. Other Calvinist printers decided instead to move to French areas in which the Huguenots were not under threat. Examples of that were Barthélemy Breton, who decide to leave Limoges for La Rochelle.⁹⁰

Despite the royal control and the complex situation experienced by the Huguenots, in the 1560s and 1570s there was a significant increase in the output of Protestant printing texts. Apart from Paris – which was more controlled by both the royal authority and the Sorbonne – printing centres like Orléans, Lyon, Rouen and Carcassonne began to publish a significant number of Huguenot texts. Subsequently, throughout the 1560s and 1570s Lyon became a leading centre in the production of Protestant texts, establishing further connection with German printing markets like Cologne.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Chartier and Martin, p. 333; Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue 1585-1594*, (Genève: Droz, 1976) p. 133.

⁸⁷ Baranova-Debbagi, *A coups des libelles*, p. 43.

⁸⁸ Jouanna, *La France de la Renaissance*, p. 138.

⁸⁹ Chartier and Martin, p. 342.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Jouanna, Boucher, Biloghi and Le Thiec, p. 315.

The outbreak of the French Wars of Religion – and the subsequent increase of the printing output – supported the creations of commercial relations between France and neighbour countries. As demonstrated by Malcom Walsby, Normandy and Brittany’s printings centres – like Caen and Rouen – established business connection with English centres.⁹² Alexander Wilkinson also highlighted how French publications about Mary Stuart – authored by Catholic writers – reached late Elizabethan England either translated or in original language.⁹³ Moreover, as Jonas van Tol argued texts printed during the Wars of Religion reached also Germany, through the links created between printing markets in Rhineland and in France.⁹⁴ Alongside the French Calvinists – or Huguenots as they were called – the Catholics had also an active role in the dissemination of political texts during the Wars of Religion.⁹⁵ The military successes of the Catholic factions – such as the battles of Jarnac and Moncontour – were celebrated by political texts printed in towns like Lyon, Angouleme and Dijon while publications celebrating the Saint Bartholomew’s massacre in 1572 appeared in several French printing markets, such as Paris, Troyes and Poitiers. The Catholic faction – led by the Guises – played a role in the tightening of the censorship measures during the French Wars of Religion.⁹⁶ After the death of the Duke of Anjou in 1584 and the subsequent increase of the Catholic influence over Henry III, the control on the Huguenots’ publication became extremely severe.

Following to the assassination of the Duke of Guise in 1585 – and until the end of 1594 – the newly created Catholic League controlled the output of the printing in some of the most important French centres. Paris became the most important printing centre of the Catholic League, followed by towns like Lyon, Troyes, Toulouse, Rouen and Orléans.⁹⁷ The output of radical Catholic printing press was extremely high between 1585 and 1594. Only in Paris, Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin traced 870 titles printed by 1585 and 1594, while 362

⁹² Malcolm Walsby, 'The Vanishing Press: Printing in Provincial France in the Early Sixteenth Century', in *The Book Triumphant. Print in Transition in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2011) pp. 97-115 (p. 101).

⁹³ Alexander S. Wilkinson, *Mary Queen of Scots and French Public Opinion 1542-1600* (Basingstoke-New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) pp. 109-118.

⁹⁴ Van Tol, p. 103.

⁹⁵ Chartier and Martin, p. 340.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Pallier, p. 145.

were recorded in Lyon and 120 in Troyes.⁹⁸ These publications were heterogenous in nature and mainly belonged to the two most popular kind of texts printed during the French Wars of Religion: political pamphlets and edicts and declarations released either by the monarchy or by the leaders of the Catholic League. These texts were highly ephemeral, aiming to provide a partisan interpretation of the most recent events. Therefore, between 1585 and 1594 several Parisian printers started to work exclusively for the Catholic League, such as Nicholas Nivelles and Rolin Thierry.⁹⁹

Despite the Catholic oppressive control, the Huguenots and *Politiques* authors managed to publish a certain number of books, even if the production of Huguenots' texts decreased heavily in number. Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin highlighted the development of a 'contre-propagande royaliste'¹⁰⁰ between 1589 and 1594. This process was supported by few Parisian printers and publishers, such as Lhuillier, Montroeil and Richer. The texts published by these printers belonged to the Huguenot and the *Politiques* groups and openly supported the right of Navarre to succeed to the French throne. As the texts published by the printers loyal to the Catholic League, these publications were either official decrees and declarations or political pamphlets spreading the news of Navarre's victories and defending the legitimacy of his claim to the French crown. The production of these texts occurred mainly in provincial centres where the Leaguers' censorship was less enforced than in Paris. An example of that was certainly the Normandy – and towns like Rouen, Caen, La Rochelle and Nantes – in which 'Protestantism had secured some of its earliest adherents'.¹⁰¹

Additionally, other Protestant strongholds in the south of France – such as Montauban, Nîmes and Niort – produced a certain number of Huguenot and *Politiques*' texts supporting the succession of Henry of Navarre. Despite the censorship control established by the Catholic League, some other printers managed to remain independent from the "propaganda machine" built by the Leaguers, leading to a 'political itinerancy'¹⁰² of printers and publishers between 1585 and 1594. An example of that was certainly the printer Ian

⁹⁸ Chartier and Martin, p. 341.

⁹⁹ Tom Hamilton, *Pierre de L'Estoile and his World in the Wars of Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 149.

¹⁰⁰ Chartier and Martin, p. 341

¹⁰¹ Pettegree, *The French Book*, p. 45.

¹⁰² Malcolm Walsby, 'Printer Mobility in Sixteenth Century France', in *Print Culture and Peripheries in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Benito Rial Costa (Leiden: Brill, 2013) pp. 249-271 (p. 265).

Mettayer, who worked in Tours and decided to keep printing official edicts.¹⁰³ Along with them, Mettayer was able to publish political pamphlets supporting the succession of Navarre, which granted him the privilege of becoming 'printer of the king'¹⁰⁴ when Henry IV managed to reconquer Paris in 1594.

The end of the Wars of Religion – marked by the conversion of Henry IV to Catholicism in 1598 – led to a new change in the French printing market. The pamphlets – which represented most of the texts printed during the conflicts – decreased in production, while printers and publishers focused their attention on different types of publications, like historical and literary books. Nevertheless, Jeffrey J. Sawyer, Helene Duccini and Sharon Kettering traced a certain output of political pamphlets between 1598 and 1610.¹⁰⁵ Similarly to the period of the French Wars of Religion, the political pamphlets circulating in France were heterogeneous in genre. They included official documents and letters, news pamphlets, 'argumentative discourses and literary pieces – usually dramatic dialogues'.¹⁰⁶

Additionally, the quality of the text printed changed, increasing the production of large and more expensive in-folio publications. The changes that occurred to the French printing market were also related to the great awareness that Henry IV had about the importance of the written text. When succeeding to the French throne, the Bourbon king ordered 'the burning of all such pieces concerning the Catholic League'.¹⁰⁷ Subsequently, Henry IV supported the printing of texts that Roger Chartier described as pieces of 'royal propaganda'.¹⁰⁸ These publications – ephemeral in nature – aimed to celebrate the king's deeds, reinforcing his public image. Thus, the printing production of ephemeral publications supported the output of short texts that often included engravings representing Henry IV's

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Chartier and Martin, p. 343.

¹⁰⁵ Sawyer, p. 38; Sharon Kettering, 'Political Pamphlets in Early Seventeenth-Century France: The Propaganda War between Louis XIII and his Mother, 1619-20', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 42 (2011) 963-980 (p. 965); Duccini, p. 22-23.

¹⁰⁶ Sawyer, p. 40.

¹⁰⁷ Roger Chartier, *The Culture of Print: Power and the Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 162.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

deeds. According to Sarah Barker, this aspect marked Henry's 'changing status within France and his evolving relationship with the medium of print'.¹⁰⁹

Supported by the royal authority, between the end of the Sixteenth and the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, the production of the Parisian market largely increased, alongside with that of other important towns like Lyon, Angouleme and Poitiers. Between 1598 and 1610, royal censorship started to operate again in France, after the break constituted by the dominion of the Catholic League. As in the 1550s, 1560s and 1570s, the Sorbonne and the royal courts enforced the censorship measures. According to Jeffrey K. Sawyer's research, 'royal edicts insisted that printers and printers obtain royal permission for any published *livre* or *écrit*'.¹¹⁰ Despite the attempt of exercising this strict control, the partial application of these decrees and possibility for author to 'conceal their real identity'¹¹¹ kept the printing market quite open and many political pamphlets 'escaped such regulations'.¹¹²

The context in which the French texts – subsequently translated into English – were written and published was marked by several important elements, that characterised its nature: the spread of the Reformation and early dissemination of Protestant texts, the outbreak of the French Wars of Religion and the significant increase in the output of Catholic and Huguenots text and the restoration of the monarchical authority at the end of the Sixteenth Century. These elements – alongside a censorship system that was not systematically effective – led to a certain openness of the French market, in what political pamphlets written by both Catholic and Protestant widely circulated across the country. Additionally, these aspects enabled the French printing industry to establish international links, particularly with England and Germany. These commercial relations with neighbour countries led also to a broader circulation of the texts written and published in France during the Wars of Religion.

¹⁰⁹ Sara K. Barker, 'Translating Treason: Printed Accounts of Conspiracies against Henry IV in France and England', in *Negotiating Conflict and Controversy in the Early Modern Book World*, ed. by Alexander S. Wilkinson and Graeme J. Kemp (Leiden- Boston: Brill, 2019), pp. 178-213 (p. 180).

¹¹⁰ Sawyer, p. 41.

¹¹¹ Sawyer, p. 42.

¹¹² Ibid.

1.3. *The Corpus of French Texts Translated into English: Literary Genres and Key Features*

In the second half of the Sixteenth Century, there was a gradual increase in the translation of French political texts into English. Starting in the 1560s, the dissemination of French political works that were translated into English had a noticeable turning point between mid-1585 and 1595. The corpus of French texts that are translated into English has been the subject of several studies in the field of historical research. These publications have attracted the attention of historians of ideas as John H. Salmon,¹¹³ who focused on the reception of the French political theories in the late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth centuries English political thought. There were few attempts to contextualize the translation of French texts into English within the most recent research concerned with the history of book. Besides some preliminary notes contained in the monograph by Lisa Ferraro Parmelee and the contributions of Marie- Celine Daniel,¹¹⁴ the scholarship did not include other studies on the subject. This section will examine the main features of the French texts translated into English, by looking both at the chronological periods in which the texts were translated. Furthermore, this part of the thesis will look at the genres to which these publications belonged: pamphlets – among whose there were short political texts, transcriptions of official documents, *libelle* and news pamphlets - political and religious treatises and historical writings.

The analysis of the process that led to the dissemination of French texts in late Elizabethan England revolved around several questions - such as the importance of the news networks in the early modern age and the history of translations¹¹⁵ - that have been raised in recent scholarship relating to the cultural and social history. Sarah Barker recently demonstrated that the importation and translation of texts from France was highly significant for the development of the English printing market.¹¹⁶ Despite the interest that English printers and

¹¹³ John H.M. Salmon, *Renaissance and Revolt. Essays in the Intellectual and Social History of Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 158-159

¹¹⁴ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good newes from France*, p. 35; Daniel, p.11.24 (p. 13).

¹¹⁵ Barker, 'News lately come', pp. 227-244 (p. 229); Barker, 'International news', pp. 145-157 (p. 147).

¹¹⁶ Barker, 'International News Pamphlets', pp. 227-244 (p. 231).

publishers had for texts coming from foreign countries other than France,¹¹⁷ the translation and dissemination of materials coming from the other side of the channel represented a lucrative business for the English printing personnel. The reconstruction of the networks of printers, publishers and translators who encouraged the dissemination of French texts in England is also concerned with the scholarly debate about censorship occurring during the Elizabethan age. The scholars who had previously approached these themes theorised that - starting from the 1570s - there was a strong intervention by the government in support of the dissemination of these written works.¹¹⁸ The core of this process occurred between 1585 and 1595, when these texts were used as a tool for Anti-Spanish and Anti-Catholic propaganda.¹¹⁹

Some evidence that members of the Elizabethan government were aware of the circulation of French texts was found in diplomatic correspondence,¹²⁰ while historians traced also some records of a direct connection between them and the world of the printers.¹²¹ In more recent years, scholars revisited the censorship process and the role of the government in the dissemination of printed texts in Elizabethan England. Historians largely debated on the role of the government in the dissemination of printed works and in controlling the printing industry. In recent times, scholars as Siebert highlighted how those ways of establishing censorship were 'not systematic, uniformed or securely centralised',¹²² while historians as Cyndia Susan Clegg demonstrated how ecclesiastical licensing norms were not consistently enforced and how the powers of the High Commission were not regularly enforced.¹²³ As Clegg recently concluded in her book, control of the press was neither routine nor consistent

¹¹⁷ English printers and publishers were also involved in the translation and dissemination of texts coming from the Low Countries. See: Barker, *International News*, pp. 227-244 (pp. 230-231); Andrew Pettegree, 'A Provincial News Community in Sixteenth-Century Europe', in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. By Judith Poolman and Andrew Spicer (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006) pp. 207-227 (p. 215-216).

¹¹⁸ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good newes from France*, pp. 33-42.

¹¹⁹ Baranova-Debbagi, *A coups de libelles*, p. 11.

¹²⁰ Ferraro Parmelee, 'Printers, Patrons, Readers and Spies', pp. 853-872 (p. 853-857).

¹²¹ Daniel, "A boldness of French speech", p.11-24 (p. 13).

¹²² Fredrick S. Siebert, *Freedom of the Press in England, 1476-1776: The Rise and Decline of Government Control* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1965), p. 45.

¹²³ Cyndia Susan Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) p. 36.

but rather an individual response to particular texts that the government perceived to be dangerous.¹²⁴

My methodological approach considers the fact that the translation of the French texts in Elizabethan England should be contextualised within the dynamics of the English printing milieu. In addition, the dissemination of French texts over such a broad chronological period revolved around two factors: the diplomatic and cultural relationships between the two countries,¹²⁵ and the continuous evolution of the printing market. The translation of texts coming from abroad started in the 1490s and was linked to the significant role that foreigners had in the development of the English printing industry. Furthermore, as Brenda M. Hosington showed, the publication of foreign texts was not a process initiated in the Sixteenth Century.¹²⁶ The absolute novelty brought by the French texts was the speed at which these publications were translated and disseminated on the printing market from the 1560s onwards.

The body of French texts translated into English between 1562 and 1610 appeared to be heterogeneous. It included news pamphlets, political and religious treatises, royal proclamations and historical accounts regarding the French Wars of Religion, that were recently defined by Philip Benedict as 'instant histories'.¹²⁷ While the pamphlets primarily spread news or commented on specific events, the treatises discussed important lively political questions. Early historical writings - such as those written by Jean de Serres -

¹²⁴ According to Clegg, royal censorship was used mostly on issues related to internal English policy, such as problems related to Elizabeth's failed marriage and her lack of descendants. See: Clegg, *Press Censorship*, p. 38.

¹²⁵ David Potter, 'Foreign Policy in the Age of Reformation: French Involvement in the Schmalkaldic War, 1544-1547', *Historical Journal*, 20 (1977), 525-544 (p. 528); David Potter, 'Mid-Tudor Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: 1547-1563', in *Tudor England and Its Neighbours*, Basingstoke, Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005, ed. By Susan Doran and Glenn Richardson (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005) pp. 106-138 (p. 109); Glenn Richardson, 'Introduction', in "*The Contending Kingdoms*". *France and England 1420-1700*, ed. by Glenn Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 5-21 (p. 7).

¹²⁶ Brenda M. Hosington, 'The Role of Translations and Translators in the Production of English Incunabula', in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain 1473-1610*, ed. by Sara K. Barker and Brenda M. Hosington (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013) pp. 3-21, (p. 8).

¹²⁷ Philip Benedict, *Graphic History. The Wars, Massacres and Troubles of Tortorel and Perrissin* (Gèneve: Droz. 2007) p. 127. Philip Benedict defined as "instant histories", the volumes that traced the course of very recent events. Among others, he included in this category the *Commentaires on the State of Religion and Commowael under the kings Henry and Francis the Second and Charles the Ninth*, written by Pierre De la Place in 1565 (and translated also into English in 1573) and the *Memoires de la Troisieme guerre civile et des derniers troubles de France sous Charles IX* by Jean de Serres.

elaborated on the content of these political pamphlets to develop an historical account of the French Wars of Religion.¹²⁸ The *corpus* of French texts translated into English between 1562 and 1610 included 194 publications. Within this wide chronological arc, the peak in the translation and dissemination of French texts was represented by the years 1585-1595 in which 120 French political works translated could be listed. They were heterogeneous texts in genre, related to the war between Henry of Navarre and the Catholic League for the French throne. Other noticeable chronological arcs were the two-year period 1568-1570, in which 12 publications were translated, the four-year period 1573-1576, with 17 texts. The year 1585 - during which eight French political writings were translated- represented the turning point in the number of imports from France. While these chronological moments showed a peak in the translation of French texts, the years between 1595 and 1610 listed 16 titles, marking a decrease in the translation of French texts. Concerned with the reign of Henry IV and the pacification of French kingdom after the troubles of the Wars of Religion, this period marked a change in the kind of French texts translated and disseminated in England. Most texts published between 1595 and 1610 were historical works about the French Wars of Religion, while the polemical or news pamphlets were very few.

These temporal arcs represented meaningful turning points for French history and for the Huguenots faction led by Henry of Navarre. Furthermore, these texts were characteristically partisan because they all belonged to the Huguenot group. Therefore, they offered a very biased interpretation of the persecutions against the Huguenots - supported by the Valois monarchy - and the Calvinist struggle for the concession of greater religious tolerance. French pamphlets produced by the Catholic League circulated in France at the same time as publications that were on the side of the Calvinists and the moderates - the so-called *Politiques*¹²⁹ - but those which were translated into English were for the most part solely endorsing and even celebrating the life and feats of Henry of Navarre. Moreover, these texts offered to the readers very detailed information, often the same as that of the material contained in diplomatic newsletters. Additionally, the writer's point of view was clearly expressed, and attempted to maintain an 'assertion of objectivity' as Matthias A. Shaaber

¹²⁸ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, pp. 45-50.

¹²⁹ Turchetti, *Concordia o tolleranza?*, p. 68; Turchetti, *Middle Parties*, pp. 165-183 (p. 175).

described it.¹³⁰ Although these texts included very detailed information, some facts witnessing a direct intervention of the English government were totally ignored in the publications translated from France, such as the official English intervention in the Third War of Religion or the contacts between the Huguenot leaders and Elizabeth I.¹³¹

Among the French political pamphlets translated into English, there was a striking absence of zealously Calvinist Monarchomachs texts. Works of this genre developed extreme theories of popular sovereignty and included justifications for royal deposition and regicide. They included Hotman's spirited polemic, the *Francogallia* of 1573 and *Le Reveille Matin des François*, Theodore Beza's, *Du droit des magistrats* – an appeal for popular sovereignty so radical it was even censored in Geneva; and the compendia of materials associated with Simon Goulart. Likely, the carefully selected fourth part of the *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* was offered to the English readership in 1588, (nine years after its original publication) to accord with English intervention in the Low Countries.¹³² According to some historians – such as Lisa-Ferrara Parmelee and Catherine Buchanan – the absence of Monarchomachs texts was evidence of a governmental intervention in the dissemination supporting Elizabethan policy.¹³³

The *corpus* of French texts translated into English was composed by publications belonged to different literary genres: religious and political treatises, news pamphlets and early historical accounts of the Wars of Religion. When categorising these texts, a first element of difference was marked by their length: treatises and news pamphlets were generally brief publications, whether historical accounts were texts of a certain length, always superior to one hundred pages. Therefore, it is possible to provide a first categorisation of the corpus of French text by looking at this criterion. Historians described the shorter publications included in the corpus – religious works, political treatises and news reports – as

¹³⁰ Matthias A. Shaaber, *Some Forerunners of the Newspapers in England (1476-1622)* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1929), p. 67. This point was remarked by Brendan Dooley. See: Brendan Dooley, 'Making It Present', in *The Dissemination of News and the Emergence of Contemporaneity in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Brendan Dooley (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010) pp. 95-115 (pp. 97-100).

¹³¹ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 108.

¹³² Members of Leicester's circle may have been familiar with such works since William Camden annotated a first edition of Hotman's *Francogallia*. See: Salmon, *Renaissance and Revolt*, pp. 79-80.

¹³³ Ferraro-Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 35.

“pamphlets”, while the early account of the French Wars of Religion were categorised as historical writings.¹³⁴ Within the texts labelled as “pamphlets” it is necessary to distinguish between two different genres: the *libelles* and the news pamphlets.¹³⁵

Historians have differently defined “pamphlets”, by emphasising in diverse features that the texts presented. In categorising these texts, I will draw on Joad Raymond’s definition of what was a pamphlet. He developed a definition that looked at both the format and the literally style of these texts. According to Raymond, a pamphlet was ‘a short, quarto book’.¹³⁶ It generally consisted of between one and twelve sheets, while some of them were slightly longer. Furthermore, Raymond argued that they constituted a literary form. He claimed that they used rhetorical devices, connecting this latter element to their ultimate polemical and political purpose. Made of cheap material – with often no particular care for the quality of printing – they appreciated ‘not only reference to immediate political and social context’¹³⁷ but also to the polemical tradition of pamphleteering. Bibliographically, the French pamphlets translated had the same features of the ones printed in England. As pamphlets were ephemeral publication, they did not mean to survive. Most of these texts counted one or two copies, while very few of them still existed in more than ten copies. Due to that, the analysis of the survived copies included in the English Short Title Catalogue did not provide an accurate picture of number the French pamphlets that were published. Therefore, the analysis of the Stationers’ Register provided additional information, but it did not secure a precise assessment of the number of French pamphlets imported and translated into English. While some pamphlets were entered in the Register, some surviving copies were not included, and some items were not identified at all. Thus, when discussing the evidence provided by the Stationers’ Register, George B. Harrison argued that

In theory every book ought to have been entered in the Stationers’ Register before printing; in practice the Elizabethan printer was a casual over his entries in the Register as in his obedience in his obedience to any other kind of regulation. Many books were never entered at all, some after printing but before publication, some after

¹³⁴ Adams, *Tudor England’s Relations with France*.

¹³⁵ Baranova-Debbagi, *A coups de libelles*, p. 35.

¹³⁶ Raymond, p.89.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

publication. A few of the entries in the Register were intended to establish copyright and thereby to block publication; some were made before the books were even written.¹³⁸

In his research about the English news pamphlets, Joad Raymond corroborated the conclusion presented by Harrison. Raymond claimed that only a minority of the French texts translated into English were entered into the Stationers' Register. He also mentioned that only one pamphlet, entitled *A Discourse and True Recitall of Everie Particular of the Victorie Obtained by the French King* (1590) included a note stating that it was 'seen and allowed',¹³⁹ and therefore licensed.

As discussed at the beginning of this section, the texts translated from French into English belonged to different *genres*. A significant part of the French publications translated and disseminated in England belonged to the publications that Tatiana Baranova-Debbagi categorised as *libelles*¹⁴⁰, as already mentioned in this chapter of the thesis. The main characteristic that she associated with this type of text was the tendency to strongly – and even violently – support a certain political position, by often defaming the political enemies. Tatiana Baranova-Debbagi included among the *libelles* different publications: transcriptions of royal edicts – sometimes accompanied by an introduction aimed to explain the position that has to be taken towards the decree, long statements or speeches justifying a certain political position or a *prise d'armes* and polemical texts addressed against a relevant political figure and treatises of various lengths discussing current affairs and religious issues.¹⁴¹ Tatiana Baranova-Debbagi and other historians – such as Arlette Jouanna¹⁴² – have strongly linked the output of the *libelles* to the development of political and religious conflicts in Sixteenth Century France. The production of the *libelles* did not started with the beginning of the French Wars of Religion. However, as Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin

¹³⁸ George B. Harrison, 'Book and Readers 1599-1603', *The Library*, (14) 1934, 102-118.

¹³⁹ Raymond, p. 110.

¹⁴⁰ Baranova-Debbagi, *A coups de libelles*, p. 38.

¹⁴¹ Tatiana Baranova-Debbagi and Natalie Szczech, 'Introduction', in *Usages et Strategies Polemiques En Europe, (XVIe-Premier XVIIe Siècles)*, ed. by Tatiana Baranova-Debbagi, Marie Bouhaïk-Gironès and Natalie Szczech (Oxford; Peter Lang, 2016), pp. 3-12 (p. 4-5).

¹⁴² Arlette Jouanna, *Idéologies de la guerre et idéologies de la paix en France dans la seconde moitié du XVI siècle*, in *Idéologie et Propagande en France*, ed. by Myriam Yardeni (Paris: Picard, 1987) , pp. 87-98 (p. 89).

argued¹⁴³ in their precise and comprehensive study on the history of French printing, this kind of texts already circulated during the early years of the Reformation in France, between 1520s and 1530s. These early *libelles* or pamphlets were generally treatises of different lengths, aimed to discuss the most significant religious questions. The outbreak and the worsening of the Wars of Religion led to a change within the production of these texts, by using them to debate current political affairs. During the early years of the Reformation political pamphlets began to include the transcription of long speeches – given by the monarch or by important political figures – and royal decrees. Pamphlets and *libelles* represented a popular genre not only in Sixteenth Century France, but also in early Tudor England. Joad Raymond traced back their production during the early years of Edward VI's reign and the rule of Mary Tudor, when 'something resembling a propaganda war'¹⁴⁴ began to attract educated English readers. According to Raymond, these publications – aimed to vigorously defend a certain religious or political position – included 'anti-Catholic writing, surreptitious, anti-government polemic'.¹⁴⁵ These texts contributed to the development of a Protestant literary tradition, by disseminating treatises aimed to debate relevant religious issues.

The *corpus* of French texts translated into English included a certain number of news pamphlets focusing on the principal political and military events occurred during the French Wars of Religion. The news pamphlets focused mostly on foreign news political and military events in France, Low Countries and Geneva. Domestic news was not a popular subject for publications within the English book market, since they were forbidden until the abolition of the Star Chamber decree in 1641. The content of the French pamphlets translated into English followed the complicated French political and religious events. As Paul Voss claimed, 'the recurring protagonists in the reports and the developing story line give to the quartos a narrative structure'.¹⁴⁶ The long struggle that characterised the French Wars of Religion – and the enormous outcome of printed texts that they generated – embodied the pamphlets with a continuative narrative that the English audience had the opportunity to follow for various decades.

¹⁴³ Chartier and Martin, p. 179.

¹⁴⁴ Raymond, p. 15.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Paul J. Voss, *Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe, and the Birth of Journalism* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2001), p.17.

As Marie-Celine Daniel discussed,¹⁴⁷ these texts were in fact short publications, written in a fairly, simple language and aimed to recount to the readers military contingencies – such as battles – or political events, like a coronation or the summoning of an assembly. The format used was either a report or an account written in an epistolary form, while the texts were written 'in a demotic English'.¹⁴⁸ The front-page had some indication of their content, even though this information was often not accurate. The authors of these texts constructed – through the lexicon they employed and the events they chose to highlight – an account of the events aimed to be truthful to the eyes of the readers. Joad Raymond – when discussing the dissemination of news pamphlets in England – argued that the titles of these texts (e.g. a declaration, a description, a true report) – conveyed a precise kind of lexicon that 'endeavoured to establish the veracity of the reports'.¹⁴⁹ These publications also looked at sensational events, such the Massacre of Vassy and the assassinations of important political figures, like the Duke of Guise, Henry III and Henry IV.

The printing and dissemination in France of news pamphlets grew during the Wars of Religion and reached its peak during the last phase of the wars, when Henry of Navarre and the Catholic League fought for the succession to the French throne (1589-1595). Historians have argued how English readers – and consequently the printing market – have showed a growing interest for news pamphlets in the second half of the Sixteenth Century. Joad Raymond argued that from the 1560s 'printed media supplied the appetite for news among the reading public'.¹⁵⁰ The 1560s and 1570s represented the moment in which several of these publications started to be disseminated on the Elizabethan printing market: accounts of English forces sent to France in support of the Huguenots and treatises defending the legitimacy of the government during the revolt of the Northern Earls (1569). Prior to 1580s, English news pamphlets included also royal proclamations, often introduced by long preambles expressing praises for the Queen's wise government. As in France, the production of news pamphlets in Sixteenth Century England had a peak in the 1580s, with the English intervention in the wars between France, Low Countries and Spain.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ Daniel, "A boldness of French speech", pp.11-24 (p. 7).

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Raymond, p. 105.

¹⁵⁰ Raymond, p. 106.

¹⁵¹ Raymond, p. 110.

Within the corpus of French texts translated into English, few publications belonged to a further literary genre: the early historical accounts of the French Wars of Religion. Marie-Madeleine Fragonard described these publications as the 'recueils documentaires qu'on construit la mémoire des guerres de religion'.¹⁵² The historical accounts of the French Wars of Religion started to appear on the French printing market from the early 1560s. Some of the authors of these texts, like Jean de Serres, often witnessed the conflicts that occurred in France and belonged to the 'generation des années 1530',¹⁵³ while others – like Auguste de Thou or Pierre de L'Estoile – lived instead in later decades, and more precisely during the later rule of Henry III and that of Henry IV. All these authors aimed to provide – after few years from the occurrence of the events – an account of the facts related to the French Wars of Religion, by placing them into a chronological order. By acknowledging the features of these publication, I will refer to them as “historical writings” or “historical accounts”, drawing on the definition suggested by Daniel Woolf, who stressed the difference between historical texts and historical thought:

Historical writing and what is sometimes called historical *thought* are related but not synonymous terms. The former, and more narrow term, I take to be the formal historiography produced in a particular era, understood as such by contemporaries. The latter, of course, is far broader and less socially exclusive. It involves perception of, selections on and utterances about virtually any aspect of the past, and it can be found in virtually any written document of any period.¹⁵⁴

The features of these publications changed consistently from that of the *libelles* or the news pamphlets.¹⁵⁵ In first instance, these volumes were large and meticulously bound, indicating that they were printed for a readership interested in keeping and accurately reading them,

¹⁵² Marie Madeleine Fragonard, *Une mémoire individualisée. Editions et rééditions des acteurs témoins des guerres*, in *La mémoire des guerres de religion. La concurrence des genres historiques (XVI-XVIII siècles)*, ed. by Jacques Berchtold and Marie Madeleine Fragonard (Génève : Droz, 2007), pp. 29-67 (p. 36-37).

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Daniel R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 63.

¹⁵⁵ Daniel, “A boldness of French speech”, pp.11-24 (p. 7).

rather than quickly accessing the information they included, as happened with ephemeral publication such as the pamphlets. Additionally, these texts were generally quite long – around 100 pages – and printed in a big in-folio format, while the name of the authors was very often published in the front page.¹⁵⁶ Some of these publications also included a simple table of contents, enabling the readers to navigate through their content and eventually coming back to the most interesting sections. The historical accounts were divided in chapters, with the titles of each section written in italics at the beginning of it. The narrative followed a chronological order, with precise information about events, dates, places and relevant historical figures related to the facts presented in the text. Additionally, these historical works were regularly printed and disseminated on the French printing market during the Wars of Religion. Some significant periods – such as the years following to the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre and the aftermath of Henry IV's assassination – were characterised by an increase in the production of these texts, that were written by *Politiques*, Huguenot and moderate Catholic authors. Despite their formal structure that recalled historiographical texts, these publications built a biased narrative of the French Wars of Religion, interpreting the facts occurred through a certain political and religious perspective.

The sources used by the authors of those historical writings were often *libelles* and news pamphlets, and therefore offered a mystified narrative of the conflicts occurred in France during the second half of the Sixteenth Century. The historical accounts of the French Wars of Religion translated into England reached the other side of the channel quite quickly, getting translated within the same year in which they were published in France. The main difference between the historical writings printed in France and the ones lately translated, was the political position of their authors. If the texts published in France belonged to authors of different political positions, the volumes translated and disseminated in late Elizabethan and early Stuart England were mainly written by *Politiques* and Huguenots authors that supported the succession of Henry of Navarre, like Jean de Serres or Pierre Matthieu. Only in 1684, during the last years of the reign of Charles II, the *History of the League* written by the Catholic Louis de Maimbourg was translated and published in England.

As discussed above, the French texts translated into English belonged to different literary genres: political pamphlets - including treatises and official documents - *libelles*, news

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

pamphlets and longer texts aimed to build historical accounts of the French Wars of Religion. If the political pamphlets and the *libelles* were translated and disseminated in England across the entire period of the conflicts in France, the news pamphlets and the historical accounts started to be regularly translated and printed from the 1580s. The change in the kinds of texts imported and published in England also influenced the ways in which the English readership accessed information about the French Wars of Religion. Between 1562 and 1595 they read about the main events that occurred and about the most important political and religious issues related to them, while from the mid-1590s the English readers accessed historical accounts that built a certain narrative of the French Wars of Religion. The most significant commonality shared by the publications translated from French between 1562 and 1610 was the development of a partisan narrative about the French Wars of Religion, grounded solely of the interpretation that the *Politiques* and the Huguenots deployed.

1.4. The Translation and Circulation of French texts in England: Cultural Exchanges and Development of Networks within the Printing Milieu

Elizabeth's reign marked a significant change in the relations between England and French during the Sixteenth Century. Charles Giry-Deloison compared this turning point in the relations between the two countries to the Perpetual Peace of 1527.¹⁵⁷ The mutual respect reached during Elizabeth's reign represented a period of peace between France and England, leading to the arrival of French Protestants seeking for protection in Elizabethan England. This section will look at the cross-channel relations that occurred between France and England in the Sixteenth century. Nurtured by the peace established in the first half of the Sixteenth Century, cultural and economic relations facilitated exchanges across the cross-channel book market. Subsequently, this part of the thesis will examine the process by which the importation of much of this literature took place, and will illustrate the networks of printers, publishers and translators who encouraged the circulation and translation of French works in late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth Century England.

¹⁵⁷ Charles Giry-Deloison, 'France and Elizabethan England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, (14) 2004, 223-242 (p.223).

Even though it is difficult to assess the precise number of people that emigrated to the other side of the Channel, there was a rapid growth of the French refugee's communities in the southern area of the country, during the 1570s and the 1580s. The settlement of French Huguenots appeared to be regular during these decades. However, the emigration of French Protestants did not begin in the second half of the Sixteenth Century. During the reigns of Francis I and Henry II, French Protestants already sought protection by emigrating in England. Steve Rappaport assessed there was a significant growth of foreign communities in London from the second half of the Sixteenth Century. According to his study, in 1567 there were 4700 foreign people, while in 1571 and 1573 the number raised up to 4850 and 5315. Among the population that came from abroad, the Huguenots certainly represented the biggest group, particularly from the 1560s.¹⁵⁸ The Protestant churches founded by the Huguenots emigrated to England also constituted an important political connection with France. Culturally, the two kingdoms became again closer during the Sixteenth Century. Trade and commerce between France and England grew during the rules of Henry VII and Henry VIII, while the artistic patronage carried out by Francis I mediated the English access to Continental Renaissance. Historians working on this period provided evidence that long before the death of Elizabeth I, the strong hostility of late Medieval period changed into 'something more complex and nuanced', as Glenn Richardson has argued.¹⁵⁹ Under the Tudor an entire pattern of 'reciprocal contact and comparison'¹⁶⁰ was re-established. Therefore, the relations were marked by a mutual respect that lasted for all the Sixteenth Century.

The diplomatic and cultural connections established between France and England supported the circulation of printed materials diffusing information of the two countries across the channel. According to George Ascoli and William Brencheley Rye – two Nineteenth Century historiographers who studied the Anglo-French cultural exchanges in the early modern age – only two Sixteenth Century French travel accounts concerned with England were accessible in Paris between 1602 and 1613.

¹⁵⁸ Steve Rappaport, *Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) p. 103.

¹⁵⁹ Doran, 'Elizabeth I and Catherine de' Medici', pp. 117-133, p. 118.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

As Charles Giry-Deloison pointed out, the circulation in France of information and accounts about England depended on multiple factors.¹⁶¹ First of all, there were several channels through which those materials reached the other side of the Channel. The small – but fragmented – English communities settled abroad played certainly an important role as *intermédiaires*: governmental officers, soldiers, comedians, intellectuals, – such as the Jesuits Robert Parsons in the 1580s – were conveying those materials to France. Information between the two countries was also exchanged through oral and written channels. Letters, diplomatic despatches and reports were kept between small circles of people. Any manuscript work did not circulate widely and was addressed only to few recipients and patrons. Additionally, printed texts were published and were accessed by ‘an increasingly literate public’.¹⁶² In addition to the French pamphlets disseminated on the other side of the Channel, various English texts were translated and published in France, such as the *Discours des troubles nouvellement advenues au royaume d’Angleterre, au mois d’Octobre 1569* and Adam Blackwood’s *Martyre de la royne d’Escosse*. Sixty records of French texts about the intervention in Low Countries and the conflict with Spain were found in libraries and archive collections, leading historians to conclude that the French audience had a certain awareness of English events. Moreover, works regarding England and printed outside France were accessible to the French public. Humphrey Llwyd’s description of England was published in Cologne in 1572 under the title of *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum* and reprinted the following year in English. Most writings concerned with English history – including Guillaume Paradin and David Chambers - were relied on the *Anglica Historia* printed in Basel in 1534 and openly mentioned by French jurist and writers as François Hotman and Jean Bodin.¹⁶³

According to Charles Giry-Deloison’s research, French published texts and manuscripts produced in Elizabethan period belonged to four categories: ‘descriptions of England (eight items), travel diaries and journals (four) histories of England (seven) and accounts of current events in England (forty-one)’.¹⁶⁴ These figures led to the hypothesis that the information on Elizabethan England – circulating in France – focused mostly on political and religious events. For example, the description of the captivity and the execution of Mary, Queen of

¹⁶¹ Giry-Deloison, pp. 223-242 (p.226).

¹⁶² Giry-Deloison, pp. 223-242 (p.227).

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Giry-Deloison, pp. 223-242 (p.228).

Scots was certainly the most popular theme on which the English pamphlets translated into French focused on. All the other books and pamphlets translated from English into French dealt with contemporary events and discussed religious matters. The Catholics were particularly active in several moments: the Northern Rising, the aftermath of Mary Stuart's execution (1587) and the last phase of the French Wars of Religion (1589-1595) when radical Catholics as Robert Parsons supported the League's claim to the throne. These publications kept the French readers constantly informed on the English events and raised their attention on the Catholic opposition based in England.

Therefore, the translation and the dissemination of French publication about the Wars of Religion should be contextualised within these cultural exchanges between the French and the English printing market during the Sixteenth Century.¹⁶⁵ Beginning in the late 1560s, there was a significant increase in the amount of translated French texts. The increase was noticeable in the 1570s, during the aftermath of the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. The authors of the pamphlets and treatises about the massacre - most of whom were Protestant refugees from France - disseminated their writings in various European countries to spread the news about the massacre. In England, where many refugees – including Huguenot polemicist Philippe du Plessis-Mornay¹⁶⁶ – were permitted to settle on the southern coast, some London printers produced editions of the writings about the massacre. These writings were either written by or distributed by the refugees. Publisher Henry Bynneman brought out English and Latin editions of Francois Hotman's *De furoribus Gallicis* in 1573, as well as a translation of Jean de Serres' *Commentaries concerning the state of religion, and the commonwealth of Fraunce* in 1576. Thomas Vautrollier, who was a Huguenot refugee, printed many works by French Protestants, including pamphlets about the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre. The business relationship between Vautrollier and the translator Arthur Golding was extremely important, as they published the pamphlet entitled *The lyfe of the most godly, valeant and noble Captein Colignie Shatilion* in 1576. During this period, there was also a significant connection between London printers and the French Protestant community of La Rochelle.

¹⁶⁵ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 41.

¹⁶⁶ Hugues Daussy, *Les huguenots et le roi : le combat politique de Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, 1572-1600* (Genève: Droz, 2002), p. 154-155.

This cross-channel relation often resulted in accessing and publishing French works originally printed in La Rochelle.¹⁶⁷ In the aftermath of Alençon's death in 1584 – the cross-channel relations between French and English printers intensified, highlighting the development of collaborations between the printers of London and Rouen in the mid-1580s.¹⁶⁸ For example, a pamphlet entitled *The Kinges Edict for the Reuniting of his Subjectes in the Catholique, Apostolique and Romish Church* displayed on the front page references to both the English and the French printer, mentioning how the texts was 'imprinted at Roan by Martin Mesgissier, the Kinges Printer, 1585. With Priviledge. And Imprinted at London by Richard Jhones, the 27. of July, 1585'.¹⁶⁹

Therefore, the translation and dissemination of the French texts concerning the Wars of Religion was supported by a cross-channel network of translators, printers and publishers. In order to contextualise this process within the mutual exchanges and collaborations occurred between the French and the English printing industries, it is important to look at some key characteristics of the Tudor printing market in the second half of the Sixteenth Century. Research in book history indicated how publications such as ballads, broadsides, sermons and news pamphlets became popular items in the printing market, supported by the rise of literacy and reading abilities in urban areas.¹⁷⁰ The popularity of these publications was also linked to the increase of the literacy and the economic power of book merchants and booksellers. Additionally, the relatively cheap price of these printed texts made them accessible to different kinds of readership, from the *élite* to less wealthy social groups.¹⁷¹ Moreover, the rapid growth of the press and the loose censorship led to a difficult regulation of the printing market in the second half of the Sixteenth Century.

Within the English printing industry – ready to offer possibilities of social and economic change – several printers and publishers looked at the French texts about the Wars of Religion as a chance to expand their own business and to develop their networks, by

¹⁶⁷ Walsby, 'The Vanishing Press', pp. 97-115 (p. 103).

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ *The Kinges Edict for the Reuniting of his Subjectes in the Catholique, Apostolique and Romish Church* (London: Richard Jhones and Roan: Martin Mesgissier, 1585). For a copy of the frontispiece, see Appendix 4.

¹⁷⁰ Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories in Seventeenth Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 67.

¹⁷¹ David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 88-89.

establishing links for future working partnerships. Among the printers who were involved in the importation and translation of French political texts into English, John Wolfe was a significant figure. John Raymond described him as a 'specialist in news publications'.¹⁷² According to Raymond, John Wolfe was a 'very imaginative printer'¹⁷³ that used to produce clandestine texts, such as the writings of Niccolò Machiavelli.¹⁷⁴ Wolfe produced from a quarter to a third of all titles printed in London between his 1583 induction into the Stationers' Company and his death in 1601. At the beginning of his career, Wolfe studied printing in Italy and worked as a printer in Florence in the mid-1570s. He may also have lived in Frankfurt for a certain period, establishing a connection with the annual book fair. In later years, he established efficient lines of communication with France as well. Wolfe's unique abilities as an *entrepreneur* and his continental connections made him an invaluable resource to the English printing industry. In the early 1580s, seeking to expand production with a shortage of materials at home, Wolfe started also to print works from Machiavelli and Aretino, which were included in the Index Librorum Prohibitorum.¹⁷⁵

Additionally, Wolfe worked as rapidly as possible to publish sensationalized English versions of French newsletters and pamphlets.¹⁷⁶ As Joad Raymond argued, Wolfe's publications often 'were conceived as a continuation of the series'.¹⁷⁷ Particularly, the front pages' lexicon of those news pamphlets have often included words as 'continuation or journall',¹⁷⁸ or even references to the date to which the publication referred, by building a sort of chronological sequence that linked different news pamphlets. The seek for seriality certainly underlined the enterprising approach that John Wolfe had. It also situated the translation and dissemination of the French texts translated into English as part of that bigger process that led to the development of serial publications of news and later of newspapers.

¹⁷² Raymond, p. 107.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Raymond, p. 107.

¹⁷⁵ Jason Lawrence, *'Who the devil taught thee so much Italian?' Italian language learning and literary imitation in early modern England*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 190.

¹⁷⁶ Clegg, pp. 88-90; William Craig Ferguson, 'The Stationers' Company Poor Book, 1608–1700', *The Library*, 1 (1976) 37–51 (p. 39). Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 120-122; Joseph Lowenstein, 'For A History of Literary Property: John Wolfe's Reformation', *English Literary Renaissance*, 3 (1988) 389–412 (p. 399-400); Stephen L. Goldberg, 'A Note on John Wolfe, Elizabethan Printer', *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand*, 7 (1955) 55–61 (p. 57).

¹⁷⁷ Raymond, p.107

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

According to H. S. Bennett,¹⁷⁹ these translations and the work of other publishers represented at least one-fifth of the printers' total output and were crucial to the economy of the trade. Most of these publications consisted of brief battlefield reports, letters, and edicts; the publications were gathered by Wolfe's French and English correspondents and were often published within a matter of weeks. However, a significant amount was lengthier writings of a more ideological nature. Among these texts, some of the most prominent ones are Francois Hotman's *The English thunderbolt* (1586); Michel Hurault's *A discourse upon the present state of France* (1588), *Anti-Sixtus* (1590), *A politike discourse for the time present* (1589), *The Anti-Spaniard* (1590) and *The discourse upon the present state of France* (1591).

Henry Bynneman was another English printer greatly involved in the publication of French texts translated into English. Bynneman started his career as apprentice of Richard Harrison in 1559, moving later to work with Harrison's former collaborator, Reginald Wolfe. Subsequently, after Wolfe's death in 1573, Bynneman acquired his devices, ornaments, and initials. After Bynneman was freed as a stationer on 15 August 1566, he printed in Paternoster Row at the sign of the Black Boy. However, in 1567, Bynneman adopted his familiar sign of the Mermaid, moving to the premises first on Knightrider Street (1568–75) and later Thames Street near Baynard's Castle (1579–83). Bynneman became a liveryman of the Stationers' Company on 30 June 1578. He was involved in the printing of nine English translations of French Works between 1570 and 1582. In addition to Hotman's *A true and plaine report of the furious outrages of Fraunce*, Bynneman printed several royal declarations and edicts, issued by Charles IX and Henry III.¹⁸⁰ Additionally, John Day and Thomas Creede had a significant role in printing and publishing French texts. During the 1560s, Day printed several French works translated into English.¹⁸¹ John Day published mainly Calvinist pamphlets and books - such as theological treatises and sermons – and

¹⁷⁹ Henry Stanley Bennett, *English Books and Readers, 1558 to 1603. Being a Study in the History of Book Trade in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965) pp. 165-166.

¹⁸⁰ Mark Eccles, Bynneman's books, *The Library*, 12 (1957) 81–92 (p. 83); John Barnard and Maureen Bell, 'The Inventory of Henry Bynneman (1583): A Preliminary Survey', *Publishing History*, 29 (1991), pp. 5–46 (p. 40).

¹⁸¹ Elizabeth Evenden, *Patents, Pictures and Patronage. John Day and the Tudor Book Trade*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 39.

was well known for having printed John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. Beginning in the 1590s, Creede printed some important French political texts, translated into English. Among his publications, there are several editions of Jean de Serres's works that are translated into English.¹⁸² Based in London, he was also known for printing literary works such as Shakespeare's plays.

Another printer that had a significant role in published French texts about the Wars of Religion was Thomas Vautrollier. French Huguenot exiled in England and member of the London Stationers' Company, Vautrollier developed some links with the Elizabethan court. After having obtained a printer's licence in 1573, Vautrollier got a ten-year permission in 1574 to print works about theology and classics. The text of the patent suggested that the printer had quite significant links to the royal court, since it was addressed to 'our well beloved subjecte Thomas Vautrollier, typographus Londinensis in claustro vulgo Blackfriars commemorans'¹⁸³ and renewed several times within the following years.

At the end of the Seventeenth Century, other printers began to publish French texts translated into English. Robert Barker – famous for having printed King James Bible in 1611 was involved in the publication of Edmond Skory's book on French history. Other important printers – like Edward Allde, Miles Flesher, George Eld and John Windet – actively collaborated to the translation of French *libelles* and historical account in the first half of the Seventeenth Century.¹⁸⁴

The printers and the publishers involved in the dissemination of French texts about the Wars of Religion received assistance from a network of translators, who helped put the translations in print. The job of a translator was not a professional role in the Sixteenth Century. Most translators worked on commission for the printers, and their names often

¹⁸² Akihiro Yamada, *Thomas Creede, Printer to Shakespeare and His Contemporaries* (Tokyo: Mesei University Press, 1994), p. 56; William Craig Ferguson, 'Thomas Creede's Pica Roman', *Studies in Bibliography*, 23 (1970) 48–153 (pp. 151-152).

¹⁸³ Catherine Buchanan, 'The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew's and the Sack of Anrtwerp: Print and Political Responses in Elizabethan England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, London School of Economics and Social Sciences, 2011), p. 126.

¹⁸⁴ *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: 1557-1695*, ed. by John Barnard and Donald Francis McKenzie with the assistance of Maureen Bell, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998-2019), IV (2002), p. 609.

remained obscure. As Peter Burke acknowledged,¹⁸⁵ the early modern translators were sometimes professional figures, but were more likely *amateurs* or individuals carried out several related professions. Edward Aggas was an important translator involved in the dissemination of French publication. Aggas, a publisher for at least 30 years, was the translator for approximately 30 works: most of the works ranged in length from 24 to 30 pages and were commissioned by John Wolfe. Aggas was an apprentice to Humphrey Toy, a stationer and citizen of London, for nine years, beginning in 1564. He worked as an apprentice in 1577 and 1580, and in 1601, his name appeared from time to time in the registers. He published many theological works and translations from the French.¹⁸⁶

Additionally, Arthur Golding was one of the most prolific and accomplished translators of his time. His works included translations from Calvin and Beza, as well as Seneca and Ovid. Golding translated the *Lyfe of Colignie* and he was also responsible for the translation to English of Philippe du Plessis-Mornay's theological works after the death of Sir Philip Sidney. Moreover, Golding translated Jacques Hurault's *Politicke, moral and martial discourses*. According to Lisa Ferraro-Parmelee, his patronage network included an impressive array of many prominent Elizabethans.¹⁸⁷

Another active translator was Anthony Munday, who translated *The Masque of the League*, *The Spanyard discovered*, and *The coppie of the Anti-Spaniard* into English. The variety of works translated by Munday was linked to the hybrid background knowledge that translators had in the Sixteenth Century. As a translator and miscellaneous writer, Munday began his career as an apprentice to a printer. He published different kinds of text, including ballads and translations of French and Spanish prose books. According to Tracey Hill, Munday's political treatises were dedicated to the Privy Council as a whole or to various individual councillors, including Leicester, Burghley, and Walsingham.¹⁸⁸ Similarly, Geoffrey Fenton was a notable translator of French works during the 1570s and the early 1580s. His

¹⁸⁵ Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia, 'Introduction' in *Cultural Translations in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Peter Burke and Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 1-4 (p.3).

¹⁸⁶ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, pp. 31-34.

¹⁸⁷ He also numbered among his patrons Sir Christopher Hatton, Leicester, the earl of Essex, Sir Walter Mildmay, Archbishop of Canterbury Edmund Grindal, and the earl of Huntingdon. See: Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 38.

¹⁸⁸ Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p. 44.

biography indicated how the figure of the translator was still not professional in the Sixteenth Century. Fenton began his career first as a translator and then as an administrator in the growing Elizabethan state bureaucracy. Throughout the 1570s, he translated a wide variety of works, mainly French.¹⁸⁹

Other important translators were Sir Edward Hoby and Joshua Sylvester. Hoby translated Matthieu's *The historie of France: the first foure books*, while Sylvester worked on the writings of the Huguenot poet Du Bartas. A poet and writer, Sylvester had a strong knowledge of French due to his education.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, at the end of the Sixteenth Century, Edward Grimeston appeared to be one of the most prolific English translators. Grimeston's work was related to the translation of Jean de Serres and Pierre Matthieu's historical writings. In addition to that, Grimeston was also a very active author, publishing accounts of Dutch and Spanish history. He also continued the Jean de Serres' *A generall historie* published in 1624, writing a section on the events occurred in France between 1610 and 1622.

When analysing the way French texts were translated and published in late Sixteenth Century England, scholars looked also at the role that governmental officers played in this process. Lisa Ferraro Parmelee worked extensively on this aspect, highlighting how Elizabethan officers were aware of the circulation of these materials. Despite the fragmented evidence found in the State Papers, Lisa Ferraro Parmelee suggested how officers like Burghley and Walsingham were somehow involved in the dissemination of these texts, purchasing some of the French books through the English personnel based in Paris and attached to the embassy. The scarce evidence provided by the records included in the State Papers – and the negative results of the additional research I conducted on diplomatic correspondence for the completion of study – supported the idea that the publication of the French text was a process mainly facilitated by the printing industry, in which Elizabethan officers had a minor role.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ In 1579 he published an English version of Francesco Guicciardini's *History of the Wars of Italy*. See: Robert L. Douglas, 'Introduction', in *Certain Tragical Discourses of Bandello*, by Geoffrey Fenton, ed. by Robert L. Douglas (London: D.Nutt, 1898), pp. 3-5 (p.4).

¹⁹⁰ Ferraro Parmelee, 'Printers, Patrons, Readers', pp. 853-872 (pp. 868-869).

¹⁹¹ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, pp. 37-51.

The analysis of the networks that supported the circulation of French texts – and the fragmented evidence found in the diplomatic correspondence – led to the contextualisation of the translation and publication of these materials within the cultural exchanges occurred between England and France in the late Sixteenth and the early Seventeenth Centuries. The complexity of the networks – that promoted the translation and the printing of these publications – suggested how the dissemination of French texts stimulated not only cross-channels relations, but also the growing of the English printing industry. Printers, publishers and translators demonstrated a lively interest for the French texts translated into English, meeting the demands of a readership that was appealed by what discussed in these publications.

2. Narratives about Henry of Navarre's persona in Elizabethan England: Shaping the Figure of a "Protestant" hero (1568-1585)

2.1. *Early Narratives about the French Wars of Religion: The Beginning of the Huguenot Struggle (1562-1563)*

The early 1560s were marked by the outbreak of the Wars of Religion in France. The attempts made by Catherine de' Medici – regent for the eleven years-old Charles IX – to maintain the precarious coexistence between Catholics and Huguenots failed after the so-called "Massacre of Vassy" (1562), in which almost sixty Huguenots were killed by the troops of Francis, Duke of Guise. The Huguenots' reaction – led by the Prince of Condé and the Admiral of Coligny – brought France into the First War of Religion, which will be ended in 1563 with the Edict of Amboise.¹⁹²

In the early 1560s – following these important events on the other side of the Channel – several French pamphlets were translated and published in English. Those texts – which covered some of the major events concerned with the early Wars of Religion – supported openly the Huguenot cause. Through the access to these publications, the English audience began to get familiar with what was happening in France. These texts constructed a narrative of the French Wars of Religion that was the basis for the representation of these conflicts constructed by the publications translated in late Elizabethan and early Jacobean age. By supporting the Huguenots, the French texts translated into English built a narrative in which the French Calvinists were depicted as persecuted by Catherine de' Medici and the Guises. The texts focused on the deeds of the major Huguenots' *chefs du parti*: the Prince of Condé, the Admiral of Coligny and Henry of Navarre.¹⁹³ Moreover, the publications translated into English covered the major events of the very early Wars of Religion: the massacre of Vassy, the Edict of Amboise (1563), the Edict of Saint-Maur (1567) and the

¹⁹²Jouanna, *La France de la Renaissance*, p. 130.

¹⁹³Louis, Prince of Condé (1530-1569). He was the younger brother of Antoine de Bourbon. In 1569, Condé was killed in the battle of Jarnac 1569. Gaspard de Coligny (1519-1672). He was one of the leading French noblemen to convert to Calvinism. His murder in August 1572 triggered the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre. See: Holt, *The French Wars*, pp. 138-140 and pp. 145-150.

second Edict of Saint-Germain (1570).¹⁹⁴ In the following decade – and particularly between 1570 and 1572 - the French pamphlets translated into English deployed a detailed account of the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre, by depicting the Huguenots' carnage as a result of a precise plot led by Catherine de' Medici, Charles IX and the ultra-Catholic faction dominated by the Guises. Furthermore, these publications followed the aftermath of the massacre, by focusing on the *Malcontents'* plot, the Fourth and Fifth Wars of Religion. Along with that, the French texts disseminated in England followed the military deeds of the Huguenots' leaders, among whom the figure of Henry of Navarre progressively gained importance.

This chapter focuses on the narratives built about the early Wars of Religion (1562-1579) by the French texts translated into English. I will analyse the way in which these publications conveyed a precise narrative of the early conflicts in France, partisan in nature and oriented to support the Huguenots' cause. Firstly, I will look at how the French texts translated into English built a narrative of the First War of Religion aimed to depict positively the Huguenot leaders and to contrast them with the Guises, portrayed as greedy and tyrannical. This narrative set the principal elements around which the texts translated within the following decades depicted the events occurred during the French Wars of Religion: the rightfulness of the cause defended by the Huguenots – persecuted by the Guises but loyal to the Crown – and the negative connotations attributed to the Catholic factions. Thus, I will examine how the French publications disseminated in England developed an account of Navarre's early deeds in which the Huguenot young prince gained progressively importance. Lastly, I will analyse the narrative that the French texts developed about the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre and role that Navarre had during that event.

The publications focused on the carnage that happened in Paris in 1572¹⁹⁵ built a narrative aimed to vividly describe the cruelties inflicted to the Huguenots – and particularly to the Admiral of Coligny, whose assassination was depicted as a martyrdom. Within this narrative, Henry of Navarre began to be represented as the most important leader – along with Condé – of the Huguenot faction. The Calvinist prince was portrayed as a victim of the plots deployed by Catherine de' Medici and the Guises, who murdered the Huguenots, imprisoned Navarre and forced him and Condé to convert to the Catholic religion. This

¹⁹⁴ Jouanna, *La France de la Renaissance*, pp. 140-143.

¹⁹⁵ Denis Crouzet, *La nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy: un rêve perdu de la Renaissance* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), p. 12.

representation of Navarre's persona – as a committed Huguenot leader with excellent military skills – was the foundation on which the text translated in the following decades built the representation of the valiant prince struggling against the Catholic League for his rights to the throne.

As discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, the publications translated from the early 1560s to the 1585 were mostly pamphlets, including reports of the political and military events or the texts of royal declarations and edicts. The pamphlets translated from 1562 and 1567 were mainly report of major events concerned with the First War of Religion along with texts of major edicts, such as the one of Amboise. They constructed a narrative of the first conflict between Catholics and Huguenots that indicated the massacre perpetrated at Vassy as the cause of the war outbreak between the two factions. The first text translated into English and concerned with the First War of Religion was a pamphlet entitled *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed by the Duke of Guise and his company in Vassy*.¹⁹⁶ The text was the verbatim translation of the French pamphlet entitled *Destruction du saccagement, exercé cruellement par le duc de Guise et sa cohorte, en la ville de Vassy, le premier jour de Mars. 1562* and printed in Caen in 1562.¹⁹⁷ It was published in the 1562 as a translation of the French text printed in the same year in La Rochelle. The anonymous author of the pamphlet represented the Duke of Guise as a butcher and his men as a group 'of meaner degree'.¹⁹⁸

As Stuart Carroll argued, it has been unlikely that the Duke premeditated the massacre of Vassy.¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the pamphlets diffused a narrative of the event that was shared by

¹⁹⁶ *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed by the Duke of Guise and his company in Vassy* (London: 1562). The pamphlet included also another publication, entitled *A declaration made by the Prince of Condé*. This latter text included the transcription of the speech given by Condé to justify the outbreak of the war in April 1562. Condé's declaration was also printed individually in 1562 by two different printers. The text printed by Roland Hall was entitled *A declaration made by the Prince of Conde, for to shew and declare the causes, that have constrained him to take upon him the defence of the Kinges authoritie of the gouvernement of the Queene, and of the quietnes of this realme, with the protestation there upon requisite*, while the one printed by Lucas Harrison was published under the title of *A declaration of the Prince of Conde and his associates to the Queene, upon the iudgement of rebellion, set forth against the[m] by their enemies, terming the[m] selues to be the court of parlamente of Parys*.

¹⁹⁷ *Destruction du saccagement, exercé cruellement par le duc de Guise et sa cohorte, en la ville de Vassy, le premier jour de Mars 1562* (Caen, 1562).

¹⁹⁸ *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed*, sig. B2.

¹⁹⁹ Stuart Carroll, *Martyrs and Murderers. The Guise Family and the Making of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 76.

foreign Protestants, as a letter sent from Mundt to Cecil in May 1564 demonstrated. In his writing, Mundt claimed that Huguenots based outside France attributed uniquely the massacre to the violent Duke of Guise and his religious radicalism.²⁰⁰ The pamphlet portrayed Guise as an extremist, obsessed with dynastic claims, establishing a precedent in the representation of the French radical Catholics. The Duke of Guise's son was portrayed similarly to his father, through a representation emphasizing his violent attitude and his role in planning the assassination of the Admiral of Coligny in August 1572. *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed* encouraged the English audience to think about the massacre of Vassy within a partisan perspective aimed to blame the Guises – and their ambitious obsession for power – for the outbreak of the French conflicts. The narrative embedded in *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed* represented the First War of Religion as a conflict occurred uniquely between Huguenots and Catholics, and in which the monarchy did not have any role. The focus of the *libelle* was the violence deployed by the Catholics and the forced - but rightful reaction of the French Calvinists.

The episode of Vassy and the murder of around 60 Huguenots was described in details in *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed* from the very beginning of the *libelle*, when 'many of the Dukes band and some others entered into the said towne of Vassy, where there was the sermon of the Huguenots'.²⁰¹ In the following lines, the anonymous author of the text remarked how the Duke of Guise planned to massacre the French Protestant in Vassy, by stating that 'so long thought he might execute his former determined intente, as it is easie to see and judge'.²⁰² The butchery of Vassy was described as something that occurred across different moments. Firstly, the Duke and his troops entered the church in which 'those of the said Churche and reformed Religion made their preaching'.²⁰³ According to the author, the Huguenots found themselves suddenly surrounded by the Catholics and the massacre began:

Then entred in the Duke, with many others, shooting at the thickest assemble of all the people, and slewe and hurt a great numbre. That done they wente upon them with greate slices of swordes and

²⁰⁰ Buchanan, pp. 109-110.

²⁰¹ *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed*, sig. B2.

²⁰² *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed*, sig. C2.

²⁰³ *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed*, sig. D1.

curtalaces, and hunted out the poore men, the women, and children. and when they were out: of necessitie they must passe betwixt two rankes, as well of men of armes, as of others of his companie, and even thorowe the middest betwene bothe, as it were thorowe a lane, or an alley of a great lengthe. And in passing, every one of them strake at them with great blowes of curtilace and swoorde, in suche sorte as manye of them wente not farre, but felle downe starke deade.²⁰⁴

When an additional Catholic army – still led by the Duke of Guise – joined the Catholic leader and his former troops in Vassy, the massacre moved into a second phase, in which other Huguenots were murdered. The anonymous author included a detailed description of the supposed last murder committed by the troops of the Duke of Guise. The inclusion in the narrative of this short episode – in which a mother crying over his dying son was murdered by a member of the Catholic army – showed to the readers the ruthlessness of Francis of Guise and his followers:

And or ever the Duke departed Vassy, before he came oute of the churche, the wife of a man called Nicholas la Vausse, an honeste merchant who was sore hurt, and minded to go to her house, saw her sonne in passing thorow the market place, whose bodie one ranne thorowe with a sworde, wherwith she being moved, thinking for pitie to save him, but she so little prevailed, as a horseman ran at her, and after he had thrust her thorow with his sworde, tooke from her purse.²⁰⁵

Therefore, the inclusion of this element represented a precise narrative choice, aimed to guide the readers towards a negative judgment of the actions committed by the Catholic army. This aspect was an important element in the development of the narrative about the Guises – and more in general about the Catholic party – that circulated in Elizabethan England during the 1560s.²⁰⁶ The leaders and the members of the Catholic faction were represented – since the beginning of the French Wars of Religion – in a very negative way. They were depicted as disloyal with Crown and cruel with the Huguenots. Thus, the English

²⁰⁴ Ibid.

²⁰⁵ *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed*, sig. D2.

²⁰⁶ Giry-DeLoison, pp. 223-242 (p.231).

readership – which only accessed Huguenots texts – developed a negative view about the Guises, that will be nourished in the 1570s, 1580s and 1590s by the texts focusing on the massacre of the Saint-Bartholomew and the rule of the Catholic League over the city of Paris.

Moreover, *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed* offered a representation of the massacre of Vassy that highlighted how the massacre was accurately planned by the Duke of Guise. According to the *libelle*, the Duke of Guise decided to stop at Vassy because of 'the sermons of the Huguenots'.²⁰⁷ The emphasis was placed constantly on the cruelty with which the French Protestants were killed:

One sort being hurte, some other unhurte: but immediately they were rencountered with another troupe of the companie which slew and hurt with as much crueltie as the others, and that as much as in them lay. Those which went up to the top of the barn seeking all meanes to save themselves were shott at, and overtaken with shot of harquebouse, whereby many were stricken and fell down dead to the ground, which was an horrible sight and a dreadfull, the same enduringe before it ceassed one hour and a half.²⁰⁸

Furthermore, the text emphasised the joyful atmosphere that marked the moment after the massacre, in which the troops of the Duke of Guise used the 'trumpettes'²⁰⁹ to show their victory. This element – that already stressed the cruelty of the Catholic army – clashed with the description of the Huguenots dying after the massacre:

After this were the trumpettes blowen up in sign of victory and triumph, after which sounding, yet they withdrew not themselves in half an hour more. They died within the barn: XII men, women, and Children, and many others.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed*, sig. D3.

²⁰⁸ *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed*, sig. D4.

²⁰⁹ *The destruction and sacke cruelly committed*, sig. E1.

²¹⁰ Ibid.

Moreover, the French texts translated into English remarked how the Huguenot leaders were constrained by the Catholic violence to declare war. Therefore, the publications disseminated in England presented Condé – and consequently the Huguenots – as loyal to the monarchy. For example, a French pamphlet translated into English and focused on the events of the First War of Religion argued that the Duke of Guise was the only responsible for the conflicts happening in France. The text - entitled *The verye trueth of the conference betwixt the Queen Mother and the Prince of Condé* and printed in 1562 – was the translation of the French text entitled *Les Moyens de pacifier le trouble qui est en ce royaume envoyez à la royne par Monsieur le prince de Condé*,²¹¹ printed in the same year by Éloi Gibier in Orléans.²¹² The anonymous author of the *libelle* argued that Condé was pushed by the circumstances to declare a war against the Catholics and therefore, to rebel against the French monarchy:

The said Prince in time and place convenient proved that he put him self in armes by the express commandement of the Queene, for the defence of the King, her self, and the Realme, from the oppression of the foresaid Tyrannes.²¹³

During the 1560s, the French texts translated into English developed a partisan narrative focused on the deeds of the Huguenot leaders. Therefore, the English readers familiarised with political figures such as the Prince of Condé and the Admiral of Coligny. The French texts translated and disseminated in England followed the Huguenot *chefs du parti* throughout all the major events that occurred during the First War of Religion (1562-1563): the declarations of war – released by the Prince of Condé and aimed to justify the 'prise d'armes'.²¹⁴ The narrative shaping the personas of the Huguenots leaders was important because it established the model on which the narrative about Navarre will be developed: the *libelles* translated into English presented them as noblemen loyal to the monarchy and constrained to undertake a military fight by the 'tirannie'²¹⁵ of the Catholic party, led by the Guise family.

²¹¹ *The verye trueth of the conference betwixt the Queen Mother and the Prince of Condé* (1562).

²¹² *Les Moyens de pacifier le trouble qui est en ce royaume envoyez à la royne par Monsieur le prince de Condé* (Orléans: Éloi Gibier, 1562).

²¹³ *The verye trueth of the conference*, sig. A1.

²¹⁴ Jouanna, Boucher, Biloghi and Le Thiec, p. 312.

²¹⁵ *The verye trueth of the conference*, sig. A1.

The moment marking the development of an early narrative about the Huguenot leaders was the translation and publication in 1562 of the speech that the prince of Condé gave to justify the outbreak of the war against the Catholics. The transcription of Condé's statement was originally published in 1562 and entitled *Declaration and Protestation de Monseigneur le Prince du Condé sur sa prise d'armes*. Within the same year, a translation of this pamphlet appeared on the English market, under the title of *A declaration made by the Prince of Conde, for to shew and declare the causes, that have constrained him to take upon him the defence of the Kinges authoritie of the gouvernement of the Queene, and of the quietnes of this realme*,²¹⁶ with the protestation thereupon requisite. The text was printed in London by Roland Hall for the publisher Edward Sutton, who were both involved in the translation and publication of French texts between 1562 and 1563. The English pamphlet was a verbatim translation of the French publication and – as the original text printed in France – was divided into two sections: a *Déclaration* and a *Protestation*. These two documents were the transcription of the speech that the Prince of Condé gave on 7 April 1563 at Orleans to justify the upcoming war against the Catholic army. In 1562, The *Protestation* included in this pamphlet was also printed separately from the *Declaration* under the title of *A seconde declaration of the Prince of Conde, to make know the causers of the troubles which are at this day in this realme, and the dutie wherein he had and yet put him selfe in at this presente, for the pacifyeng of the same*²¹⁷ by Roland Hall and Edward Sutton.

Through the translation of Condé's *Déclaration*, the English readers began to get familiar with the claims of the Huguenot party. At the beginning of the pamphlet, Condé introduced the 'matters of religion',²¹⁸ the main reason that led him to declare war to the Guises. Despite the clear reference to religious questions, the Prince of Condé stated that his primary concern was the respect 'for the power of the King, the supreme authority of the realme'.²¹⁹ Moreover, Condé presented himself as the protector of the monarchy, aiming to 'defend the

²¹⁶ *A declaration made by the Prince of Conde, for to shew and declare the causes, that have constrained him to take upon him the defence of the Kinges authoritie of the gouvernement of the Queene, and of the quietnes of this realme*²¹⁶, with the protestation thereupon requisite (London: Roland Hall, 1562).

²¹⁷ *A seconde declaration of the Prince of Conde, to make know the causers of the troubles which are at this day in this realme, and the dutie wherein he had and yet put him selfe in at this presente, for the pacifyeng of the same* (London: Roland Hall, 1562).

²¹⁸ *A declaration made by the Prince of Conde*, sig. A2.

²¹⁹ *A declaration made by the Prince of Conde*, sig. A3.

King and realme of France from the slaunders said by the enemies of its peace and tranquility'.²²⁰ Furthermore, the Huguenot leader mentioned clearly the Guises, by arguing how their 'tyranny and arrogance caused immense troubles to the realme of France'.²²¹ The Prince of Condé did not only present the Guises as eager of power, but remarked explicitly how they were disloyal to the monarchy, since they never 'obeyed to the orders of the Queen Mother'.²²² Thus, the speech of Condé followed a precise structure that – after having introduced to the reader the reasons behind the war declaration and having proclaimed his loyalty to the Charles IX and the Queen Mother – touched upon the supposed crimes committed by the enemies, in particular the massacre of Vassy:

And he may not go about to excuse him self for taking the said armour and gathering such a company together for fear that he had of them of the reformed churches, men call Huguenots which is as much to say as heretikes. For it is well known that before the murder at Wassy. he marched with weapons forbidden by the kings decree.²²³

The translations of Condé's *Déclaration* offered to the English readers a clear explanation of his actions. Thus, the audience settled in England got familiar with the structure – and the claims – that the Huguenot leaders deployed in their speeches. These pamphlets – and the following ones about the First War of Religion that were translated during the 1560s – offered to Elizabethan readers a partisan narrative of the early conflicts in France that emphasised the rightfulness of the Huguenots' claims against the 'tyranny of the Guises'.²²⁴

Along with the narrative built around the deeds of Condé, the French texts translated into English focused on the deeds of another Huguenot leader: Gaspard de Coligny, Seigneur de Chatillon. Prominent figure of the Huguenot faction, Coligny obtained the title of Admiral of France and was engaged in major events of the Wars of Religion during the 1560s, such as the Assembly of Notables summoned at Fontainebleau, when his rivalry with the Duke of Guise broke out violently. An interesting account of Coligny's deeds was included in a short

²²⁰ *A declaration made by the Prince of Conde*, sig. B1.

²²¹ *A declaration made by the Prince of Conde*, sig. B2.

²²² *A declaration made by the Prince of Conde*, sig. B3.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ *A declaration made by the Prince of Conde*, sig. D1.

libelle entitled *An answer to the examination that is saide to have bene made of one named John de Poltrot, calling himself the Lord of Merey, upon the death of the late Duke of Guise*.²²⁵ The text was printed in 1563 –a year after the publication of the original French work, entitled *Response à l'interrogatoire, qu'on dit avoir esté fait à un nommé Jehan de Poltrot soi disant seigneur de Merey, sur la mort du feu duc de Guise*²²⁶ and printed in Orléans by Éloi Gibier. The English pamphlet was printed in London by Roland Hall for the publisher Edward Sutton. Furthermore, the text indicated that the English publication was translated in accordance with 'the coppie printed in Caen'.²²⁷ This *libelle* was particularly interesting because it focused extensively on an episode of the French Wars of Religion that was not yet discussed by the French texts disseminated in England: the assassination of the Francis, Duke of Guise by the Huguenot Jean de Poltrot de Méré on 18 February 1563. Since the Duke of Guise was murdered by a Calvinist man during a crucial event of the Second War of Religion – the siege of Orléans – the Huguenots were immediately accused of having instigated the assassination.²²⁸

Due to the personal rivalry between Francis of Guise and the Gaspard de Coligny, the Huguenot Admiral was blamed by several Catholic *libelles* of having directly planned the murder. Instead, *An answer to the examination* developed a very different narrative of the assassination of the Duke of Guise and of the accountability of Coligny for that. The *libelle* – likely written by a Huguenot writer – was structured as a dialogue between the assassin of the Duke of Guise – Jean de Poltrot - and an anonymous interviewer. Through the answers that Jean de Poltrot gave to the different questions, *An answer to the examination* attempted to discharge the Admiral from any accusation of having instigated the murder of the Duke of Guise. The pamphlet suggested that Coligny's supposed involvement was a 'slander'.²²⁹ To corroborate the truthfulness of this information, the anonymous author of *An answer to the examination* reported that Jean de Poltrot confessed in front of Catherine de' Medici, asking for forgiveness:

²²⁵ *An answer to the examination that is saide to have bene made of one named John de Poltrot, calling himself the Lord of Merey, upon the death of the late Duke of Guise* (London: Roland Hall, 1563).

²²⁶ *Response à l'interrogatoire, qu'on dit avoir esté fait à un nommé Jehan de Poltrot soi disant seigneur de Merey, sur la mort du feu duc de Guise*, (Orléans: chez Éloi Gibier, 1562).

²²⁷ *An answer to the examination*, sig. A1.

²²⁸ Jouanna, Boucher, Biloghi and Le Thiec, p. 342.

²²⁹ *An answer to the examination*, sig. A2.

He has beinge commanded by the said Queene to declare truly the cause of his enprisonement who provoked him to shot the Duke of Guise on Thursday last: what his entent was, or theirs which had caused him to do it, and what money he received for it or trusted for to receive. Said and confessed kneeled on his knees before the Queen and asking pardon.²³⁰

As mentioned above, the different answers given by Jean de Poltrot aimed to discharge Coligny from any accusation of being involved in the assassination of the Duke of Guise. According to the text of *An answere to the examination*, the Huguenot Admiral 'know not when the said Poltrot arrived at Orleans, [...] and remembered not that ever he saw him nor heard him speak'.²³¹ Later on in the text, Jean de Poltrot stated that 'the said lord admiral, have more reason to persist in his answers which contain the pure and plaine truth'.²³² remarking the truthfulness Coligny's defense. Interestingly, *An Answere to the examination* included another short *libelle* entitled *A copy of the letter sente to the quene by the said lord Admiral with the foresaid answer*.²³³ The text was the translation of the French text *Une epistre envoy  par Monseigneur l'Admiral de Coligny   la Reine Mere du Roi*,²³⁴ printed in Paris in 1563. To the eyes of the English readers, the joint printing of these two texts provided a strong defense of the Huguenot Admiral. Therefore, the publication of *An answer to the examination* and *A copy of a letter* built a positive narrative about Coligny and offered to the English readership a representation of the Admiral's persona that emphasised his loyalty and bravery. In *A Copy of a Letter*, Coligny remarked how he was not involved with the assassination of the Duke of Guise. Throughout the text, the Huguenot Admiral also reaffirmed his loyalty to the French Crown and showed mercy to Jean de Poltrot, by asking Catherine de' Medici to have some consideration for 'a weak mind'²³⁵ and to avoid a possible execution of the murderer, before the truth about the assassination will be established:

²³⁰ *An answere to the examination*, sig. B1.

²³¹ *An answere to the examination*, sig. B2.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ *A copy of the letter sente to the quene by the said lord Admiral with the foresaid answer* (London: 1563).

²³⁴ *Une epistre envoy  par Monseigneur l'Admiral de Coligny   la Reine Mere du Roi* (Paris: 1563).

²³⁵ *An answere to the examination*, sig. D1.

Because it is the thing that I most fear in this world least the said Poltrot should be put to execution before the truth of this matter be known, I most humbly beseech your maiestie to command that he may be well kept.²³⁶

The texts provided a strong defence of Coligny's position and highlighted the clemency and the benevolence of the Huguenot leader, discharging him from any responsibility in the murder of the Duke of Guise. Therefore, the accounts of Coligny's deeds conveyed a positive representation of the Huguenot leader that contrasted with his tragic death during the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre.²³⁷

The texts translated into English during the 1560s provided a model for the pamphlets disseminated in the later decades of the French Wars of Religion. The themes discussed by the texts translated in the 1570s, 1580s and 1590s recalled the ideas conveyed in the early Wars of Religion's texts: the truthfulness of the Huguenots' claims about the freedom of worship, the cruelty and the greediness of the Guises and the supreme authority of the French crown. Additionally, Navarre's representation was built on the narratives developed in the early 1560s about the Prince of Condé. Therefore, the representation of Navarre and Condé had significant commonalities: their role as protectors of the Crown and defenders of the Huguenot freedom of worship, against the Catholic faction led by the Guise family.

2.2. From Slight Interest to Strong Engagement: Texts on Navarre and the French Wars of Religion (1568-1570)

Coincident with the explosion of the First French War of Religion in 1562 some of the most important texts related to the war such as the manifesto issued by the Prince of Condé and the text of the Edict of January 1562, were translated into English. All through the 1560s, a heterogeneous corpus of material discussing French troubles were imported into England and translated. Among these publications we found political manifestos, royal declarations

²³⁶ *An answer to the examination*, sig. D2.

²³⁷ Crouzet, *La nuit de la Saint-Barthélemy*, p.172.

and edicts, short treaties, news pamphlets and historical accounts.²³⁸ Within the various themes deployed by these texts, the narrative reconstructing the political career of Prince Henry of Navarre was of particular significance because it represented a veritable *fil rouge* in the wider context of French political literature translated into English.²³⁹ Navarre's persona was recorded in the texts from the 1560s and became more important in the 1570s. The year 1585 represented a turning point for narratives related to Navarre. His complicated succession brought to England echoes of the vehement French debate regarding the nature of kingship and the legitimacy of royal power.

This chapter aims to analyse the narratives related to Henry of Navarre's persona contained in French texts that were translated into English between late 1560 and 1585. These narratives were of major importance because they constructed the figure of Navarre in a way that remained largely stable during the late Sixteenth Century. From 1585 up to his coronation in 1595, Navarre's persona was very popular in the French political literature imported into England and translated into English. The news pamphlets focused on his war against the Catholic League for the French crown, whereas a significant number of the translated French political treaties focused on discourses related to the concept of kingship and to the legitimacy of royal power. These issues became important in Late Elizabethan England, when concerns related to succession gained significance.²⁴⁰ In addition to these questions, the narratives disseminated in England clearly focused on Henry's persona and provide an early interpretation of the French Wars of Religion. Therefore, the early narratives about Navarre's persona, which were developed between the end of the 1560s and the mid-1580s were crucial for the late representation of the French prince. His mythic appearance as a "Protestant hero", which was diffused from late 1580, relied on the early representation of Navarre as a Huguenot leader and his later exploits as *chef du parti* of the Calvinists.

The *corpus* of French texts examined below outlined the beginning of Henry of Navarre's

²³⁸ Marie Céline Daniel 'Livre Politique et politique du livre: l'influence de l'actualité française des guerres de religion sur l'utilisation du livre comme instrument politique en Angleterre entre 1570 and 1610' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Paris-Sorbonne, 2009), p. 22.

²³⁹ Voss, pp. 110-154. Paul Voss proposed an interesting comparison between the figure of Navarre presented in the news pamphlets between 1585 and 1595 and the fictive character of the French king in the texts of Marlowe, Shakespeare and Spenser.

²⁴⁰ Doran, *Three late Elizabethan Succession Tracts*, pp. 91-117 (p. 95); Kewes, 'The Exclusion Crisis of 1553 and the Elizabethan Succession', pp. 49-61(p. 53).

political career between 1568 and 1570. The legitimate son of Antoine of Bourbon and Jeanne d'Albret, the young Prince of Navarre was already prince *du sang* by right of birth and was thus part of the circle of princes closest to the royal family. His youth was especially marked by the great influence that his mother, Jeanne d'Albret, the strongly Calvinist and charismatic Queen of Navarre, exercised on him in religious matters. Although he was initially baptised as a Catholic in March 1554, he converted to Calvinism in 1560, a few months after Jeanne d'Albret's official abjuration of Catholicism.²⁴¹ The Queen of Navarre's strong influence, in the religious sphere, also translated to the political realm as she was anxious to protect Huguenot interests in Béarn and in her personal dominions in the south of France. She educated Henry in the Calvinist faith so that he could continue Jeanne's work as her direct successor. Until the death of his father in 1562, Henry's participation in one of the two faiths was disputed by his parents, both of whom held important political roles. The premature death of his father in 1562 brought the young prince back under the protection of his mother and the aegis of Calvinism.²⁴² The Third War of Religion, which exploded in France in 1567, saw Henry measuring himself for the first time as the Huguenots' *chef du parti*. The translated French texts' presentation of these events represented Henry in the eyes of the English readers as a young leader with great political and military abilities who was under the protection of his mother but stood independently beside more important Huguenot leaders, such as the Prince of Condé and the Admiral of Coligny.

The texts examined here reflect a growing interest in Henry of Navarre. If, at the end of the 1570s, there existed some rather short and extremely concentrated references to events related to the Third French War of Religion, the texts translated from the start of this decade demonstrated greater attention regarding the fate of the prince: his marriage with Marguerite of Valois, the complicated plots related to the night of Saint Bartholomew, his later abjuration of Calvinism and the role played by him in the so-called Conspiracy by the *Malcontents*.²⁴³

The narrative related to Navarre was developed in the text using two different modalities. On one side, Navarre's political career was depicted positively in the texts. These

²⁴¹ Love, pp. 36-41; Babelon, pp. 45-53; Nancy L. Roelker, *Jeanne d'Albret, reine de Navarre (1528-1572)* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1979), pp. 34-39.

²⁴² Jeanne d'Albret resisted all royal pressure to summon Henri until an agreement of marriage favourable to his religion had been concluded. See: *Lettres d'Antoine de Bourbon et de Jeanne d'Albret*, ed. by Le Marquis de Rochambeau (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1877), pp-347-352.

²⁴³ For a more detailed discussion of these topics, see the section 2.4. of this chapter.

publications noted the political and religious influence of a charismatic woman such as Jeanne d'Albret; the progressive insertion of Henry, although very young, among the leaders in the Protestant faction; and his charisma, military valour, and political ability. This narrative surely left margins for ambiguity, as represented by the controversial relationship between Henry and the Valois royal family. This constant ambiguity revealed, on the other side, a narrative of opposition between Henry of Navarre and the members of the Valois family: the Duke of Anjou, the Duke of Alençon and Catherine de' Medici all had negative connotations which were set in a literary tradition already present in the texts translated from French during the 1560s.²⁴⁴ Not even his marriage to Marguerite of Valois mitigated this ambiguity; instead the marriage was likely to have exacerbated it, with Henry's forced abjuration from Calvinism and his "golden" captivity at the court. In the narrative about the plot of the *Malcontents*, the Duke of Alençon was presented as an ambitious and ambiguous figure, while Navarre was clearly portrayed as a prince with great political capacities who used contingency to the benefit the Huguenots. Henry's image was formed through these connotations until 1585, developing the basis of Henry's myth in late Elizabethan England.

In relation to texts more specifically examined in this section, news related to the Third French War of Religion reached English readers through numerous publications. Most of these texts appeared to have been translated from French originals, although one appears to have been translated and published in England by an anonymous English writer.²⁴⁵ The year 1568 saw the resumption of hostilities in France at the end of Michel de l'Hospital's chancellorship, which represented an important stage of civil tolerance in relation to the Huguenots. That year, the promulgation of the Edict of Saint-Maur, which broke with de l'Hospital's policy, declared a strong change in the relationship between the Catholics and the reformers.²⁴⁶ With the escape of Condé and Coligny to La Rochelle in the summer of 1568, open confrontation was decreed between the Huguenot army and the royal army, led by the brother of Charles IX, Henry d'Anjou, who obtained reinforcements from Spain and from the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The fighting in the Third War of Religion lasted almost

²⁴⁴ The late Elizabethan authors, as Marlowe for example, used this narrative as a fictional element. An interesting analysis of this is given by Richard Hillman. See: Richard Hillman, *Shakespeare, Marlowe and the Politics of France* (Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2002), pp.72-112

²⁴⁵ The text, a short treatise in support of the Huguenots' cause is entitled: *A politike discourse for appeasing of troubles in the realme of France, showing how requisite and necessary it is for the conservation of the state of the Crown* (London: Thomas Purfoote, 1569). See: Clegg, pp. 140-145.

²⁴⁶ Jouanna, Boucher, Biloghi and Le Thiec, pp. 174-178.

two years. The Huguenots almost always fared the worst in field battles; the battle of Jarnac in March 1569 was particularly significant for them because the Prince of Condé died. In 1570, Catherine de' Medici sought a way to form a treaty and put an end to the war. Her desires were realised in August 1570 with the Edict of Saint-Germain, which returned to a partial tolerance of the Calvinist faith.²⁴⁷

Ten French texts arrived in England and were translated. Among them, four were translations of the edicts of Longjumeau and Saint-Germain,²⁴⁸ and one was a letter issued by Charles IX as an accompaniment to the Edict of 1570. The remaining five texts were four news pamphlets and an historical account. Among these works, three appeared particularly interesting in relation to the reconstruction of the narratives related to Navarre's persona. All three texts presented in detail the facts related to the third French War of Religion. It is especially interesting that the texts highlight certain connotations of Henry of Navarre that remain unchanged in his representation to the English public even after 1585: the strong influence exercised by his mother, Jeanne d'Albret, his political and military capacities and the proximity to the major leaders Coligny and Condé, which legitimised his role.

The relationship with Jeanne d'Albret is, as stated above, was a fundamental characteristic of the narratives related to Henry. In the first of the three texts analysed in this paragraph entitled *A Discourse of things that happened in France since the month of September, 1568*.²⁴⁹ The text is the translation of a single pamphlet entitled *Discours sur les faicts du Prince de Navarre et de Condé passes a partir de l'anné 1568* and included in the French publication *Coppie d'un remonstrance, que Messieurs les prince de Navarre and Condé entendeint presenter au Roy [...] Avec deux copies de letters et un discours sur les faicts du*

²⁴⁷ Holt, *The French Wars*, pp. 48-50. One of the most relevant articles of the peace is that it granted the Huguenots control of four "fortified towns": La Rochelle, Cognac, Montauban and La Charité for two years.

²⁴⁸ The text of the edict of Saint-Germain was published in England under the title *An edict set forth by the French king, for appeasing the troubles in his kingdom, the 16th of August 1570* (London: 1570). Two identical copies of this text survived. They were printed in 1570 from the same French original text published in Paris during the same year and entitled *Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de ce Royaume* (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1570).

²⁴⁹ *A Discourse of things that happened in France since the month of September, 1568* (London: John Day, 1569).

Prince de Navarre et de Condé passes pendant l'année 1569,²⁵⁰ a collection of several pieces. The French work was printed in La Rochelle, a town occupied by the Huguenots, by Barthélemy Breton. Although the translator was unknown, the name of the printer was marked clearly. The text was printed by John Day²⁵¹ in 1569 in London. The author who was anonymous and clearly Huguenot accurately related the facts regarding the Third War of Religion. Starting with Condé's escape to La Rochelle, the author stated from the start that the Huguenots had the favour of God: 'What God's goodness and Providence, with manifest help and fatherly care had saved the prince of Condé and the Admiral from the estreme peril. He guided them to La Rochelle'.²⁵² Again, divine protection appeared to accompany Henry of Navarre and Jeanne d'Albret:

The favour of God appeared also in the passage of the Queene of Navarre and the Prince her son, which went through the whole country of Gascoigne, passed the river of Garonne and Dordoigne, with other rivers, when they went through many perils. The Queene of Navarre, taking with her the Prince her son, and the Princesse her daughter, went likewise to Rochel, so to avoyde the pretences and intents of her enemies, against her and hers: Descars and Monluc, that commanded at Perigord, Limosin, and Guyenne, used all the means they could to hinder her: but the troupes that conducted her, having three Regiments of footed, and eight Corners of light-horse, assured her way, where upon she certified the king, the Queen, the Duke of Anjou, and the Cardinal of Bourbon, of the causes of her voyage.²⁵³

²⁵⁰ *Coppie d'un remonstrance, que Messieurs les princes de Navarre et de Condé, et les Seigneurs, Chevaliers, Gentilshommes, et autres qui les accompaignent, entendent faire presenter au Roy par le Sieur de l'Estrange, pour lequel ils auroyent envoyé demander suaf-conduit à Monseigneur, le XXIII jour de Juin, 1569. Avec deux coipes de lettres, l'une de Monsieur le Mareschal de Montmorency, envoyee à Monsieur l'Amiral, et l'autre de mondit Sieur l'Amiral, responsive à la precedente, sur le fait de la presente Remonstrance. Avec deux copies de lettres et en discours sur les faicts du Prince de Navarre et de Condé passes a partir du 1568* (La Rochelle: Barthélemy Breton, 1569). The BNF catalogue included two other copies of this text, which were printed in 1569 without any reference about the place of printing and the name of the printer. On the French printer Barthélemy Breton, see: Eugène Droz, *L'imprimerie à La Rochelle*. Barthélemy Breton (Géneve: Droz, 1960), pp. 37-69. According to my research, ten English translations of French works came from original texts printed in La Rochelle between 1562 and 1589.

²⁵¹ Evenden, p. 67.

²⁵² *A discourse of things happened in France*, sig. A2.

²⁵³ *A discourse of things happened in France*, sig. A3.

In successive portions of the text, the 15-year-old Henry was expressly mentioned as the leader of the Huguenot group: 'In La Rochelle, the Prince of Condé and the Admiral had the help of the other chefs as the Prince of Navarre, d'Andelot, Monluc'.²⁵⁴

Another relevant text regarding Henri's role during the Third War of Religion was an historical account entitled *A discourse of the Civile Warres and late troubles in France*.²⁵⁵ It was the translation of the first part of Jean de Serres' *Memoires de la Troisieme guerre civile*,²⁵⁶ appeared in France in 1570 by an unknown printer. *A discourse of the Civile Warres and late troubles in France* was published in London by Henry Bynneman and Lucas Harrison in 1570. The text included a letter of dedication that was not present in the original edition and that was written by the translator, Geoffrey Fenton,²⁵⁷ who was involved in the translation of French material until the 1570s. Dedicated to Sir Henry Sidney, the letter expressed the translator's intentions and the presumed modalities by which he came into possession of the French work: 'I'd like to present you this short report of the third and late French troubles that I received, written by a diligent eye witness, assisting all their actual proceedings'.²⁵⁸ Even in this text, the character of Henry was always united to that of his mother, as if the effective leadership remained in Jeanne d'Albret's hands. A large paragraph was dedicated to the movements made by Henry and Jeanne d'Albret during the siege of Angouleme:

During the siege arrived the Queene of Navarre and the young prince, her son with Madame Catherine her daughter, accompanied by the regiments of Gascoigne. After the siege of Angouleme, the Queene with the young lady her daughter retired to Rochel, leaving the Prince his son in the camp which afterwards was called the camp of the Princes, because the said Princes of Navarre and Condé commanded

²⁵⁴ *A discourse of things happened in France*, sig. B2.

²⁵⁵ Jean de Serres, *A discourse of the civile warres and late troubles in France, drawn into English by Geoffrey Fenton and divided into three books* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1570).

²⁵⁶ Jean de Serres, *Mémoires de la troisième guerre civile, et des derniers troubles de France, composées en quatre livres, contenant les causes, occasions, ouverture et poursuite d'icelle guerre* (1570). The BNF catalogue included other two copies of this text, both printed in 1571. According to the BNF catalogue, they were probably printed in Geneva.

²⁵⁷ Douglas, pp. 3-5 (p.5).

²⁵⁸ De Serres, *A discourse of the civile warres and late troubles in France*, sig. B3.

together in the Armie.²⁵⁹

This text was the first official presentation of Henry's role as a Huguenot military leader, that was strongly desired by Jeanne d'Albret and was known by the English diplomatic network.²⁶⁰ The text then dedicated a long digression to Jeanne's charisma; she is described as a queen with great political endowments and was one, 'to complain clearly of the rage and the passion of the enemy'.²⁶¹ The text's continuation included *The Second Book of the late Troubles and Civil Warres in France*; the narration, always dry and rich in information, concentrated more on the young Prince of Navarre. The narrative of the second book began with the death of the Prince of Condé during the battle of Jarnac in 1569. The author referred to his death as 'a great loss to them of the Religion'²⁶² and begins to describe the rather confused situation of the Huguenots under siege in La Rochelle without Condé's charismatic leadership: 'they were about thousand men, well-motivated and armed, but without the authority of a chief'.²⁶³ The author remembered how already after the siege of Cognac, Navarre was explicitly considered to be one of the Huguenots' political and military leaders:

The Admirall brought the Princes of Navarre and Conde from Saint John to Charente, where he met the Queene of Navarre, to encourage such as were in doubt, and to take Council what was to be done. Their horsemen were mustered, whereof the Prince of Navarre was appointed Generall, to whom all of them, being the number of four thousand Gentlemen, made oaths of fidelitie.²⁶⁴

At this point, the narration, which adopted quasi-theatrical tones compared to the dryness

²⁵⁹ De Serres, *A discourse of the civile warres and late troubles in France*, sig. D1.

²⁶⁰ Love, pp. 163-164.

²⁶¹ De Serres, *A discourse of the civile warres and late troubles in France*, sig. D1.

²⁶² De Serres, *A discourse of the civile warres and late troubles in France*, sig. E3.

²⁶³ De Serres, *A discourse of the civile warres and late troubles in France*, sig. G2

²⁶⁴ De Serres, *A discourse of the civile warres and late troubles in France*, sig H1. Since the Huguenots' army were composed by noblemen, the "oath of fidelity" had a significant meaning in relation to the concept of "honour". See: Kristin B. Neuschel, *Word of Honor: Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth Century France* (Ithaca-New-York; Cornell University Press, 1989), pp. 65-68, 76-77 and 204-208; Arlette Jouanna, *Le devoir de révolte. La noblesse française et la gestation de l'État moderne 1559-1661*, (Paris: Fayard, 1989), pp. 33-45; Brian Sandberg, *Warriors Pursuit. Noble Culture and Civil Conflict in Early Modern France* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2010), pp. 15-32.

that had previously characterised it, focused for a long time on relating 'the oath of the Prince of Navarre':²⁶⁵

It was openly there that the Prince of Navarre declared himself chief of the armie, with the promise not to leave the camp till a good and happy peace, and much less to spare his life and goods in that behalf. To them of Religion was a good thing to see such a capable prince with the armie.²⁶⁶

This passage represented the consecration of Henry's character as the Huguenots' *chef du parti*. The importance of his political and military role was successively re-established in the text, when an alliance was struck between the armies of the Prince of Orange and the Huguenot armies in September 1569:

And lately in these terms, against the Catholikes camp, was pronounced the judgement of September 1569 in the council established by the princes of Navarre and Condé, and assisted by the prince of Orange, the Counte of Mansfelde.²⁶⁷

Even during the months in which peace talks were held before the end of the War of Religion, in August 1570, Navarre was in the line of fire together with Condé at the peace negotiations. Another text that was imported and translated into English and presented the increasingly prominent role held by Navarre alongside Prince of Condé and the Admiral of Coligny was —, entitled *Instructions given by the Princes of Navarre and of Condé and other Lords and Gentlemen of their counsell, and others chosen by the nobilitie of the Province of this Realme for the negotiation of the peace*.²⁶⁸ This text is printed by Henry Bynneman in

²⁶⁵ De Serres, *A discourse of the civile warres and late troubles in France*, sig. H2.

²⁶⁶ De Serres, *A discourse of the civile warres and late troubles in France*, sig. H3.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ *Instructions given by the Princes of Navarre and of Condé and other Lords and Gentlemen of their counsell, and others chosen by the nobilitie of the Province of this Realme for the negotiation of the peace* (London: Imprinted by Henry Bynneman, 1570).

London in 1570. Although the English title was different, it was the verbatim translation of *Les articles presentez au Roy, par les deputez de la royne de Navarre and de messeigneurs les Princes, ensemble la response qui y a esté faitte, avec les apostilles*, published in La Rochelle by an anonymous printer in 1570.²⁶⁹ The publication of this work accompanied the editorial appearance on the English market of at least two editions of the integral text of the Edict of Saint-Germain. This text showed the terms required for the talks that led to the peace of Saint-Germain, on 5 August 1570.²⁷⁰ Naturally, the point of view was again solely that of the Huguenots. It is interesting to highlight here how Navarre was - by the end of the Third War of Religion - presented as the Huguenots' *chef du parti*, and continuously growing in importance compared to the other leaders. In fact, the text reported:

The Admiral of Coligny, the Princes of Navarre and Condé were at the conference for peace. They give precise instructions about what they desire to live in the respect of the king. They wish to enjoy their lands in the respect of the king and wish that their subjects could live in the freedom of their Religion.²⁷¹

In addition to re-establishing the loyalty of the Huguenot leaders to Charles IX, the successive pages showed some of the conditions required by Navarre and the Huguenots. The advantages that Henry's leadership could have brought to the Huguenot party were far greater than those warranted by Condé²⁷² alone. Henry possessed two fundamental qualities that his uncle did not have. First, Henry's ability to protect the Huguenots from royal decrees was certainly superior to that of Condé because he was heir to the throne of

²⁶⁹ *Les articles presentez au Roy, par les deputez de la royne de Navarre and de messeigneurs les Princes, ensemble la response qui y a esté faitte, avec les apostilles* (La Rochelle: 1570).

²⁷⁰ Buchanan, p. 123.

²⁷¹ *Instructions given by the Princes of Navarre and of Condé*, sig. A2. Jean de Serres reported the same episode in this way: «The Princes of Navarre, Condé and the Counte Admirall of Coligny and others Lords and Gentlemen of their counsell, were upon the conference held with Biron and Malasize (two of the king's privy council) for the negotiation of peace». As the two passages show, the texts narrated the event with almost the same sentences. It may be affirmed that both the authors referred to identical sources to compiling the texts. See: De Serres, *A discourse of the civile warres and late troubles in France*, sig. H4.

²⁷² Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 140. Henri of Bourbon-Condé (1552-1588). Son of Louis of Condé, who was killed during the battle of Jarnac in 1569. He served the Protestant cause until his premature death.

Navarre. Second, as the Bourbon dynasty's first Prince du Sang and descendant, Henry automatically preceded his uncle in the line of succession to the throne of France. For these reasons, Henri of Condé had already agreed to divide his leadership with his cousin at the end of the War of Religion in 1570. Jeanne and Coligny immediately confirmed Henry's leadership position within the party.²⁷³

The narratives related to the Third War of Religion develop Navarre's character as the Huguenots' party leader. This role, which he maintained until his succession to the throne of France, gradually placed him at the centre of the narratives of French texts that were translated into English. Despite his young age, the texts already praised his political and military qualities. The proximity to his charismatic mother Jeanne d'Albret and to the Huguenot leaders Coligny and Condé appeared to sanction his apprenticeship as *chef du parti*. When he was officially acclaimed as the Huguenots' *chef du parti* due to his prestigious origins, his character was released from maternal protection and appeared to reach a personal centrality within the French political context. This was later sanctioned by his participation in the negotiations for the peace of Saint- Germain. The ambiguity of his position as Calvinist Prince du Sang became more evident at the beginning of the 1570s with his marriage to Marguerite of Valois. Nonetheless, this decade also brought Henry's definitive confirmation as leader of the Huguenots.

2.3. The Representation of the Saint-Bartholomew's Massacre: Narratives about the Huguenots Carnage and the Death of Coligny in Elizabethan England

As discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, the 1570s were particularly significant for the Anglo-French relations. In fact, from 1571 to the end of the decade, negotiations took place between the English and French diplomats to plan a potential marriage between Elizabeth and the two youngest sons of Catherine de' Medici. First, Henry, Duke of Anjou, between 1571 and 1572, then, Francis, Duke of Alençon, from 1573 to 1574 and from 1578 to 1579.²⁷⁴ Meanwhile, the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in August 1572 had

²⁷³ Love, pp. 46-50

²⁷⁴ Wallace T. McCaffrey, *Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy 1572-1588* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) pp. 164-190; Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, p. 86.

consequences even for England. Although official relations between the two kingdoms remained friendly, many Huguenots sought refuge in England from the perilous situation in France.²⁷⁵ The French texts that were imported and translated throughout the 1570s covered a diverse range of matters pertaining to the Wars of Religion: from the Saint-Bartholomew's Day to the plot of the *Malcontents* and to the conference of Nérac in 1579. The 17 translated titles were just as varied as those of the previous decade, including news pamphlets, historical works and royal edicts.²⁷⁶ However, new texts were translated in the aftermath of Saint-Bartholomew's day, like the political pamphlets written by famous Huguenot theorists, such as François Hotman and Innocent Gentillet.²⁷⁷

The Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre did not instigate a significant importation of Huguenot materials from France. Only six texts discussing the event were translated. An examination of diplomatic correspondence, particularly the dispatches of Walsingham,²⁷⁸ revealed a long series of handwritten newsletters that kept Elizabeth's entourage up to date on the aftermath of the massacre, long before the texts were effectively published in 1573.

The first publication was the translation of François Hotman's famous book *De Furoribus Gallicis*, translated into English under the title of *A true and plaine report*.²⁷⁹ In the English edition, the author took on the pseudonym Ernest Varamund, and the date and place of publication were given as 'Scotland, 1573',²⁸⁰ while the translator remained unknown. The text was the verbatim translation of the *Discours simple et veritable des rages exercées, par la France, des horribles et indignes meurtres commiz es personnes de Gaspar de Colligni*

²⁷⁵ Kingdon, p. 95. On the Huguenots' immigration to England after the 1572, see: Robin D. Gwynn, *Huguenot Heritage. The History and Contribution of Huguenots in Britain* (New York-London: Routledge, 1985), pp. 52-74; Bernard Cottret, *The Huguenots in England. Immigration and Settlement c.1550-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 50-63.

²⁷⁶ Kingdon, *Myths*, p. 79; Clegg, pp. 79-103.

²⁷⁷ I refer here to: Innocent Gentillet, *A declaration concerning the needfulness of the peace made in France* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1575) and to François Hotman, *A true and plaine report of the furios outrages of France* (1573).

²⁷⁸ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 38; Buchanan, p. 108.

²⁷⁹ François Hotman, *A true and plaine report of the furious outrages of Fraunce and the horrible and shameful slaughter of Chastillion the admirall, and diuers other noble and excellent men, and of the wicked and straunge murder of godlie persons, committed in many cities of Fraunce, without any respect of sorte, kinde, age, or degree. By Ernest Varamund of Freseland* (Striveling, 1573). According to Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, this text was printed - with a reference to a false place of printing - by Henry Bynneman in London. See: Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 24.

²⁸⁰ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p.1.

Amiral de France,²⁸¹ and was published in England in 1575, few months after it was printed in France. François Hotman was a very important Huguenot theorist and polemicist. During the 1570s, Hotman developed theories that were closed to the *Monarcomaques* thought: his masterpiece *Francogallia*, in which he theorised the *tyrannicide*, was not translated into English until the Seventeenth Century. Despite these workarounds, which also occurred in the Latin edition of the work published in England in 1573, it was highly probable that the text was printed by Henry Bynneman in London although the translator remained unknown.

The translation and publication of the second text, *The Fourth Part of the Commentaries of the Civil Warres in France and in the Low Countries* appeared mostly straightforward. This work was the translation of the *Fourth Part of the Commentaires* by Jean de Serres, who was already widely known as an author by English readers.²⁸² Although the English title included a reference to the Low Countries, the translated text focused mainly on French events, dedicating only a short passage to the Low Countries in reference to the Duke of Anjou's expedition there. The title was likely to have changed to make it more interesting for English readers, who were following the war in the Low Countries with interest. A confirmation of this hypothesis may be found in the text that were translated and published with the *Commentaries* entitled *A supplication to the kings majesty of Spaine made by the Prince of Orange*. The front page indicated that the text was printed for Humfrey Toy by Henry Bynneman in London in 1576. The text contained also an additional dedicatory letter by the translator, which was absent in the French edition. The translator, Thomas Tymme,²⁸³

²⁸¹ François Hotman, *Discours simple et veritable des rages exercées, par la France, des horribles et indignes meurtres commiz es personnes de Gaspar de Colligni Amiral de France, et de plusieurs grandz Siengneurs gentils-hommes et aultres illustres et notables personnes: le tout traduit en François, du Latin d'Ernest Varamond de Frise* (1573). According to Matthias Schmoekel, the text was printed in Basel. See: Matthias Schmoekel, 'François Hotman', in *Great Christian Jurists in French History*, ed. by Olivier Descamps and Rafael Domingo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p. 163. The text of Hotman was also published in Latin language, under the title of *De furoribus Gallicis, horrenda et indigna Amiralij Castillionei, nobilium atq[ue] illustrium virorum caede, scelerata ac inaudita piorum strage passim edita per complures Galliae ciuitates, sine villo discrimine generis, sexus, aetatis et conditionis hominum: vera et simplex narratio. Ernesto Varamundo Frisio auctore* (1573). In the title of the text, Hotman used again the pseudonym of Varamund of Freseland. Moreover, the text included the false imprint of "Edinburgi". Instead, even the Latin edition was printed in London by Henry Bynneman. See: Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 43.

²⁸² Jean de Serres, *The Fourth Part of Commentaires of the Wars of Religion in France. And of the Low Countries of Flanders. Translated by Thomas Tymme* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1576). The first part of Jean de Serres' *Commentaires* were translated and published in England in 1570 and 1573. In 1574, a new part of his work was published together with the first three parts of the *Commentaires*.

²⁸³ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p.44.

signed the end of letter, dedicating the translation of the book to Lord Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

The focus of the narrative built around the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre by the French texts disseminated in England remained largely on the events that happened in Paris in August 1572. Elizabethan diplomats – such as Walsingham were immediately aware of the Parisian troubles.²⁸⁴ In addition to the information that circulated through the diplomatic correspondence, the French texts translated into English built an extensive and detailed narrative of the massacre in Paris. Therefore, the English readership accessed a very particular narrative about the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre. The interpretation of the events built by the French texts translated into English was based on three different elements: the presentation of the massacre as a power struggle and a Machiavellian conspiracy, supported by Catherine de' Medici and the Spanish monarchy; the representation of Coligny's death as a Protestant martyrdom; and the emphasis on the idea that the massacre in Paris was a mob aimed to murder the French Calvinists.²⁸⁵

By building on the narrative already presented in the French texts translated in the 1560s about the willingness of the Guise in massacring the Huguenots, the *libelles* recounting the events happened in Paris provided a biased – and partisan - interpretation of the French conflict focused on a supposed conspiracy put in place by the Valois monarchy – with the support of international allies, such as Spain – to kill the Huguenots and establish Catholicism as the unique religion of France. The biased representation of the Wars of Religion of France included in the *libelles* portrayed the conflicts as a dual struggle involving only the Catholics – represented as radicals and supported by the royal family – and the persecuted Huguenot minority, with no reference to the moderates. This narrative was extremely important in supporting the development of a certain representation of Henry of Navarre's persona during the 1560s and the 1570s. The Calvinist prince, military leader of the Huguenots during the 1560s, was progressively portrayed as a key-figure, gaining prominence as the *chef* of one of the two political factions involved in the French Wars of Religion.

²⁸⁴ Buchanan, p. 109.

²⁸⁵ Kingdon, p. 56; Nicola M. Sutherland, *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559-1572* (London: Macmillan, 1973), p. 78.

The translation of Hotman's *libelle De furoribus gallicis* – entitled *A true and plaine report* provided a narrative that presented the massacre happened in Paris as a plot put in place by the Queen Mother and her Catholic entourage. As in other French texts published in England, *A true and plaine report* included a long introductory letter addressed to the English readers. This section was not included in the original French publication, showing how the English printers and translators intervened on the original texts. In these introductory lines, Hotman explained how the aim of his work is to help English readers to get a correct understanding of events happened in France, in order to defend the 'true religion'²⁸⁶ in both kingdoms:

This booke carieth evidence to furnish your understandings, as other bookes do that make rehearsals of the acts and states of princes, common weales and peoples [...] and to save these realms and the state of the true religion from the peril.²⁸⁷

In the preamble of *A true and plaine report*, Hotman stated clearly the aim of his publication. The text attempted to provide a reliable account of what happened during the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre and established a true narrative of what happened, against the 'slanders'²⁸⁸ disseminated by the Catholics:

It were to be wished that the memorie of the fresh slaughters and of that butcherly murthering that had lately bene committed in a manner in all the townes of France, were utterly put out of the minds of men: for so great dishonor and so great infamie hath thereby stained the whole French nation, that the most part of them are now ashamed of their owne country [...] But for as much as there flee every where abroad Pamphlets written by flatterers of the Courte, and men corruptly hired for reward, which do most shamefully set out things said and falsely imagined, instead of truth, I thoughte my selfe bound to do this service to posteritie.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁶ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 15.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 18.

²⁸⁹ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 22.

A true and plaine report also supported the idea that the Guises should be blamed for what happened in Paris. Hotman argued that the Duke of Guise was the most culpable of the massacre. Moreover, Hotman's text insisted quite significantly upon the role that the Spanish monarchy had in planning the Saint Bartholomew's events. Additionally, The Huguenot writer claimed that the Guises and their *entourage* at the French court were extremely close 'to the Kyng of Spayne'²⁹⁰. Hotman argued that this element demonstrated 'their traitorous infedelitie'.²⁹¹ According to *A true and plaine report*, the members of the Guises' entourage – Retz, Anjou, Gonzague and Tavannes – planned with the Queen Mother the massacre of the Huguenots. *A true and plaine report* also included a presumed transcription of the speech that the Florentine Queen gave to the Catholic group before the massacre:

Those whome they had king bene in waite for, were now sure in hold, and the Admiral in his bed maimed [...] and not stirre, the King of Navarre and Prince of Condé were fasted lodged in the castle [...] the captaines thus taken, it was not to be feared that any of the Religion woulde from thenceforth stirre anymore. Now was a notable opportunitie (said she) offered to dispatch the matter.²⁹²

Therefore, Hotman's theory was that of a conspiracy carried out by the Catholic family of Guise. This idea was clearly expressed by Hotman:

All the massacres, the blood, the death of excellent men was prepared by the Queen Mother and the Duke of Guise. This was done to weaken the Huguenots and to kill their best men.²⁹³

Hotman presented the massacre as a trap, organised to attract all the Huguenots in Paris and to murder them. By using the transcription of the speech, Hotman claimed the truthfulness of the account he provided. Additionally, *A true and plaine report* argued that Catherine supported the massacre by inviting the Huguenots leaders in Paris for the marriage of Henry of Navarre and Marguerite of Valois.

²⁹⁰ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 25.

²⁹¹ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 28.

²⁹² Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 30.

²⁹³ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 27.

Another French *libelle* translated into English and entitled *A Mervailous discourse upon the life, deedes and behaviours of Katherine de Medicis*²⁹⁴ discussed the role of Catherine and the Catholics in ideating the massacre. The text was printed in Paris in 1575, translated and published in England within the same year.²⁹⁵ The *libelle* depicted Catherine as a Machiavellian conspirator who – despite the fact she visited the injured Coligny before the massacre – planned openly the massacre.²⁹⁶ *A Mervailous discourse* attributed the design of the massacre to the Queen Mother and- differently from *A true and plaine report* - discharged the Guises from any involvement in the Saint-Bartholomew's events. The text also discussed the real purpose of the massacre, stating that the Queen Mother's secret aim was 'to bring the whole French nobilitie to destruction'²⁹⁷ Later *libelles*, translated and published in England, reinforced the narrative developed by *A true and plaine report* and *A Mervailous discourse* by remarking the charges against Catherine de' Medici.

Furthermore, several French texts translated and disseminated in England focused extensively on the manner of Coligny's death. Due to the translation of French texts following the Admiral's deeds in the 1560s, Coligny was a familiar figure for the English readers. Moreover, Elizabethan readership was probably aware of the personal rivalry between Coligny and the Duke of Guise. As Robert Kingdon discussed in his study about the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre, in the early months of 1572 it was rumoured in London that the Duke and the Cardinal of Guise reunited their troops to challenge Coligny's plan of invading the Low Countries.²⁹⁸

Therefore, the French texts translated into English represented Coligny's death as 'an unjustified murder and a form of martyrdom'.²⁹⁹ The text entitled *The life of the most glodly*

²⁹⁴ *A mervailous discourse vpon the life, deedes, and behaviours of Katherine de Medicis Queene mother: wherin are displayed the meanes which she hath practised to atteyne unto the usurping of the kingedome of France, and to the bringing of the estate of the same unto utter ruine and destruction* (Heydelberge: 1575). As in Hotman's text, this publication included a false imprint "At Heydelberge". Instead, the text was probably printed by Henry Middleton in London. See: Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 29.

²⁹⁵ The French original text was entitled *Discours merueilleux de la vie, actions et deportemens de Catherine de Medicis roine mere: auquel sont recitez les moiens qu'elle a tenu pour usurper le gouvernement du royaume de France, et ruiner l'estat d'icelui* (Paris, 1575). The four different editions held by the BNF did not include any reference about the printer that published the text.

²⁹⁶ *A mervailous discourse*, p. 54.

²⁹⁷ *A mervailous discourse*, p. 59.

²⁹⁸ Kingdon, p. 76.

²⁹⁹ Buchanan, p. 100.

*valeant and noble capteine and maintener of the trew Christian religion in Fraunce, Iasper Colignie Shatilion, sometime greate admirall of Fraunce.*³⁰⁰ – and probably written by François Hotman³⁰¹ - provided an account of Coligny's death supposedly drew on some information gathered from the Admiral's chaplain, Merlin. This element expanded the account of Coligny's sufferings by emphasising his courage. The text presented Coligny as a zealous Calvinist in 'following the religion'.³⁰² Additionally, the text reinforced the Admiral's 'stayednesse'³⁰³ by describing the fearlessness with which the Admiral faced three different attempts of severing his 'broozed fingers'.³⁰⁴ This account depicted Coligny as a martyr, by drawing a comparison between him and the victims of the Catholic persecutions presented by authors as Coverdale and Foxe.³⁰⁵

A true and plaine report also emphasised the bravery that the Admiral showed when facing the men coming to kill him. When describing this moment, Hotman's text included a transcription of the dialogue occurred between Coligny and his assassins. This element reinforced the claimed truthfulness of the account, by showing to the reader that the text was based on specific and precise events:

When they were broken into the Admirals chamber, a man came to him, and bending his drawn sword upon him, said, Art not thou the Admirall? he with a quiet and constant countenance, (as we have since understode by them selves) answered, I am so called.³⁰⁶

Other representations of Coligny's agony – for example that included in *A true and plaine report*– emphasised how the Huguenot Admiral accepted his destiny, by comparing him to

³⁰⁰ *The life of the most godly, valeant and noble capteine and maintener of the trew Christian religion in Fraunce, Iasper Colignie Shatilion, sometime greate admirall of Fraunce. Translated out of Latin by Arthur Golding (1576).* The original French text was instead entitled *La Vie de Messire Gaspar de Coligny augmentée de quelques annotations et de plusieurs pièces du temps servant à l'histoire* (1576). The title of the French text was not a verbatim translation of the French one. Supposedly, Golding decided to change the title in order to make the publication more appealing in England. In the English title were added references to Coligny as protector of the Protestant religion, when describing him "*maintener of the trew Christian religion in Fraunce*".

³⁰¹ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 55.

³⁰² *The life of the most godly valeant and noble capteine*, p. 32.

³⁰³ *The life of the most godly valeant and noble capteine*, p. 33.

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Buchanan, p. 102.

³⁰⁶ *The life of the most godly valeant and noble capteine*, p. 39.

the early Christian martyrs. *A true and plaine report* - translated and published in England in 1575 – reinforced this narrative of Coligny's death, by reporting that

He said that he was readie with the most willing hearte to render into the hands of God the spirit that he had lent him to use for a time. He added that this violent crueltie was prepared not so much for his destruction, as for dishonouring of Christ and the tormenting of so many Churches.³⁰⁷

A true and plaine report also insisted on the way in which Coligny – as a martyr – worried more about the destiny of his entourage than his own when acknowledging the upcoming danger:

When the Admirall understoode, he caused those that were about him to lift him out of his bed, and casting on a nightgowne upon him, he rose upright on his feete, he bad his friends and servantes to flee and make shift for them selves, and to take no more care for him.³⁰⁸

Later on, *A true and plaine report* described how the body of Coligny was defenestrated, as ordered by the Duke of Guise. Moreover, the text mentioned how the body was exposed after the sever of the head, while the hands and the genitals were cut off during a violent mob followed to his assassination. Both *A true and plaine report* and *A Mervailous discourse* focused extensively on the exposure of Coligny's body. *A true and plaine report* reported that 'the Admirals body, hanged up by the heeles upon the common gallows of Paris'³⁰⁹ was taken to Mountfacon and exposed there, while *A Mervailous discourse* mentioned sarcastically how Coligny's body represented 'a beautifull spectacle'³¹⁰ for the Guises and their Catholic followers. [...]. *A true and plaine report* insisted on the same point described by *A Mervailous discourse*, by mentioning in detail the outrage of the Admiral's body:

³⁰⁷ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 38.

³⁰⁸ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 39.

³⁰⁹ *A Mervailous discourse*, p. 45.

³¹⁰ *A Mervailous discourse*, p. 46.

Now to retourne to Paris, the Admirals body being hanged up by the heeles upon the common gallowes of Paris, as is aforesaid, the Parisians went thither by heapes to see it. And the Queene mother to feede hit eyes with that spectacle, had a mind also to go thither, and she caried with her the king and both her other sonnes.³¹¹

The *libelle* stressed how Catherine de' Medici supposedly decided to see the remains of the men that she decided to murder. Additionally, *A true and plaine report* reported how the Parisians participated to the mob, highlighting the outrages addressed to Coligny's dead body. Furthermore, the French texts translated into English developed a narrative of the death of Coligny that is structured around the same elements, repeated throughout the different texts: the murder of the Admiral in his room, the exposure and the following outrage of his body. Interestingly, *The life of the most valeant and noble capteine* structured differently the account of the Admiral's death, by mentioning an element that was not included either *A true and plaine report* or in *A Mervailouse discourse*. The *libelle* mentioned how the young Duke of Guise – considered one of the noblemen that planned the massacre of Saint-Bartholomew - trampled upon the Admiral's remains before letting the Parisian crowd outraged it:

The Admiralls bodie being throwne downe out of a windowe, was trampled under foote by the yong Duke of *Guise*, and anon after tumbled into the myre in the open streete and mangled and used with all the vilanie that might be.³¹²

The insistence on the cruel outrage of the Admiral's body strongly conveyed the idea that the destiny of the Admiral – murdered because his faith – should be associated with the one of the Christian martyrs. The description of what happened to Coligny's body showed how the popular violence – which was instigated by the Guises and started from the assassination of the Admiral - transformed Paris in 'a monument of their madnesse and crudelite'.³¹³ Through the emphasis on this element, *The life of the most valeant and noble*

³¹¹ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 44.

³¹² *The life of the most godly valeant and noble capteine*, p. 42.

³¹³ *The life of the most godly valeant and noble capteine*, p. 45.

capteine aimed to describe the collective violence that marked the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre:

Then a certaine Italian of Gonzagues band, cut off the Admirals head, and sent it preserved with spices to Rome to the Pope and the Cardinall of Loraine. Other cut off his hands, and other his secret partes. Then the common labourers and rascals three dayes together dragged the dead body thus mangled and berayed with bloud and filth, through the streetes.³¹⁴

Furthermore, *The life of the most valeant and noble capteine* insisted in describing the spread of the violence in Paris. The Huguenot writer accurately reported how the violent mob initiated with the Admiral's assassination continued with vandalism raids aimed to pillage the houses of the Huguenots, included that of Coligny. The scenario described by Hotman was almost apocalyptic. The city of Paris was depicted as a place in which no order existed anymore:

And many other most flourishing young noble men and gentlemen were every where butcherly murdered in that streete. Then the noble mens bands, and Cossins souldiers went ransacking from house to house: and the Admirals house and all the other houses were all sacked and spoiled, even in like manner as is used to be done by souldiers greedy of pray in a towne taken by assault: and many by this robberie, were of beggers sodeinly become riche men.³¹⁵

Additionally, *The life of the most valeant and noble capteine* continued to emphasise the role that the Catholics had in instigating the massacre. Hotman attributed the outbreak of the violence to 'the sermons and the speeches given by Catholics priests',³¹⁶ who had convinced the Parisians that the Admiral – and more in general the Huguenots – were the enemies to fight:

³¹⁴ *The life of the most godly valeant and noble capteine*, p. 51.

³¹⁵ *The life of the most godly valeant and noble capteine*, p. 58.

³¹⁶ *The life of the most godly valeant and noble capteine*, p. 43.

For in as much as the same towne is above all other given to superstitions and is with the seditious preachings of Monks and Friers daily enflamed to crueltie, it is hard to expresse how bitterly they hated the Admirall and the professors of that Religion.³¹⁷

By insisting on this aspect, *A true and plaine report* showed to the English readers the moral degeneration brought by the Catholics during the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre. The insistence on the effects of Catholic violence was an element on which later *libelles* translated from French – particularly the texts published in English between 1589 and 1593– built on to develop a narrative aimed to depict the decline that France experienced during the dominion of the Catholic League.³¹⁸ The *libelles* depicted the miserable situation of Paris, by emphasising the destruction brought by the Catholic violence to the most important French town. The author of *A Mervaylous discourse* describe how the Parisians disrespected the victims of the massacre, reporting how

Common labourers and porters, and other of the most rascals of the people and desperate villaines, to have the spoile of their clothes, stripped the dead bodies strake naked and threw them into the river of Seane.³¹⁹

The interpretation of the massacre offered by the French texts translated into English was also nourished by anti-Italian and specifically anti-Machiavellian ideas, mainly related to the role that Catherine de' Medici and her entourage – defined by Hotman as 'Italogalles'³²⁰ had in planning the massacre. *A true and plaine report* suggested that the Queen Mother used the 'vizerds and the maske of religion'³²¹ to reach her ultimate purposes, such as the extermination of the French nobility and the establishment of a tyranny. Therefore, the *libelles* translated into English about the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre disseminated a very negative image of the Queen Mother, by directly accusing Catherine de' Medici of ideating the murder of the Huguenots. These texts suggested that the Queen Mother was

³¹⁷ *The life of the most godly valeant and noble capteine*, p. 44.

³¹⁸ Giry-DeLoison, pp. 223-242 (p.228).

³¹⁹ *A Mervaylous discourse*, p. 61.

³²⁰ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 34.

³²¹ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 47.

supported by the Italian members of her entourage such as the Chancellor, René de Birague 'a Millanois used to murders, slaughters, and traitorous outrages'³²² and Albert de Gondi, comte de Retz 'a stranger that was helped by Suysers, Reiters and Piedmontois'.³²³

By presenting to the English readers a narrative of the Saint-Bartholomew in which Catherine de' Medici and the Catholics courtesans were identified as the architects of the massacre, the French *libelles* represented the massacre as a precise plan that was designed by the French crown to exterminate the Huguenots and their most influent leaders. Within this picture, Navarre's persona was described as an innocent victim, fell into the trap organised by the Valois and their supporters. This narrative of the massacre – developed in the second half of the 1570s – was extensively remarked in the following decades as a justification for the war that Navarre undertook against the Catholic League in 1589.

2.4. Navarre, the Saint-Barthelemy and the Malcontents' plot: The Image of Henry as a "Protestant Leader" in Elizabethan England

The narratives of the French texts translated into English during the 1570s concerned three fundamental events that occurred during Navarre's political career. During the 1570s, these three passages defined the figure of Henry as the undisputed leader of the Huguenots and emphasized his prominent involvement in the Wars of Religion. The texts follow three significant events in Henry's career: his marriage to Marguerite of Valois and the subsequent massacre of Saint Bartholomew's Day, his forced abjuration in the aftermath of the massacre, and his involvement in the conspiracy of the *Malcontents*. Furthermore, these texts build a negative *topos* about the royal family of Valois; some, such as the *Discours Merveilleux sur la vie, les actions et les deportements de Catherine de Médicis*,³²⁴ paint a dark and savage portrait of the Italian queen, her entourage, and her sons.

Among the various texts translated into English immediately preceding and following the massacre, two looked at Navarre's *persona*. It could be noted that English readers had

³²² Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 49.

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ Nicole Cazauran, 'Introduction', in *Discours merveilleux de la vie, des actions et des deportements de Catherine de Médicis*, ed. by Nicole Cazauran (Gèneve: Droz, 1995), pp. 11-54 (pp. 41-42).

access to many translations of royal acts and speeches that added details to the information inserted in historical accounts or short treatises. It was certain that all these texts, as with the previous decade, provided English readers with a univocal interpretation of events in France, in which the central discussion was once again the persecution of the Huguenots. In addition to this, the French Protestant authors blamed the Valois family for having supported the Catholics. The Moderate works, such as those produced by the *Politiques*, were not translated in England until the beginning of the 1580s, when Jean Bodin's *Les Six Livres de la République* were published for the first time.

The two texts considered to be the most important in regard to the narrative about Navarre's persona during the 1570s were the above-mentioned *A true and plaine report*, and *The Fourth Part of the Commentaries of the Civil Warres in France and in the Low Countries*, which was published in 1575. Although these works cultivated an 'appearance of objectivity',³²⁵ Hotman built a narrative aimed to present the massacre as a conspiracy plotted by the Catherine de' Medici and her *entourage*. The text did not allude to some critical events that immediately preceded the massacre, such as the invasion of Hainault by Louis of Nassau, and the subsequent occupation led by him of two Catholic cities, Mons and Valenciennes.³²⁶

The first reference to Henry's career in Hotman's texts concerned his marriage to Marguerite of Valois, the daughter of Catherine de' Medici, which should have been a symbolic sanction of enduring peace between the Huguenots and the French monarchy. Negotiated between Catherine and Jeanne d'Albret until 1570, the marriage was planned for the summer of 1572. Although doubts emerged, especially on the part of the Queen of Navarre who died in June 1572, as it could be read in certain passages of her correspondence,³²⁷ the marriage was presented in both texts as a positive event, that could have stabilised conditions in France. In fact, at the beginning of his work, François Hotman wrote:

There was none greater and more assured symbol of public peace and quietness than this, that the king purposed to give his sister Margaret in marriage to the prince Henry, son of the Queene of

³²⁵ Buchanan, p. 103.

³²⁶ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 78.

³²⁷ *Lettres d'Antoine de Bourbon et Jeanne d'Albret*, pp. 339, 350.

Navarre, which Prince had in the last warre defended the cause of the Religion, and been sovereign of their armie. Which marriage the king declared, that should be the most straight bond of civil concorde, and the most assured testimony of his good will to those of Religion.³²⁸

In the following paragraph, Hotman again emphasised how Charles IX and his entourage did much to overcome the obstacles presented by Henry's Calvinist faith. He affirmed how Charles IX's acceptance of Henry's faith convinced the Huguenots of the monarch's good intentions:

And also because it was alleged that the said Prince Henry was restrained in conscience, so as he might not marry the Lady Margaret being of a contrary Religion, a Catholicke and given to the rites of the Romish Church, the king for answer said that he would discharge him of the Popes lawes, and notwithstanding the crying out of all his countries to the contrary, he permitted, that without all ceremonies, in the porch of the great Church of Paris the marriage should be celebrate in such a fourme as the ministers of the Refourmed Church misliked not. Which thing being by reports and letters spread through the world, it cannot be espresse how much it made in the hearts of those of Religion and how it canceled all feares and jealousies in their mind.³²⁹

Hotman's text went on to describe in many details the stages of the assassination of Coligny and the other Huguenots. According to Hotman, Coligny was brutally assassinated, while Navarre and Condé held under surveillance as de facto prisoners.³³⁰ In the following lines, the author argues that behind Navarre's salvation from the massacre was the clear intention of Catherine de' Medici and her *entourage* to forcibly convert the young prince to

³²⁸ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 27.

³²⁹ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 27.

³³⁰ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 28. The passage to which I refer here is: «The king of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were lodged in the castle, the gates were kept shut all night, and watches placed, so that they could not escape».

Catholicism:

The Queene opinion was allowed. Howbeit it was thought best, partly for his age, and partly for the affinities sake, that the King of Navarre life should be saved. As for the Prince of Condé before, it was doubted whether it were best to spare him for his age, or to put him to death for hatred of his father's name. But, here, in the opinion of Gonzague took place, that they should with fear of death and torment, be drawn from the Religion. So that counsell breake up, with appointment that the matter should be put in execution the next night early and that the ordering and doing of all should be committed to the Duke of Guise.³³¹

The second text, *The Fourth Part of the Commentaries*, also built its narrative around the same episode cited by Hotman. In the text, Jean de Serres dedicated some short lines to the marriage³³² itself but the narrative runs meticulously through every event of the massacre. This text provides more information on the story of the rescue and the forced conversion of Navarre. This is more likely because it was written two years later than Hotman's text. The author wrote that the lives of Navarre and Condé were saved but only under the condition that they renounced Calvinism:

The king of Navarre and the Prince of Conde being called to speake with the King, and by his owne mouth were certified what had past, adding, that he saved their lives upon condition, that they should

³³¹ Hotman, *A true and plaine report*, p. 30.

³³² Although, he dedicated few lines to the marriage itself, Jean de Serres inserted a long eulogy of Jeanne D'Albret: « She was a Princesse of great experience, both by many adversities, wherein she shewed an invincible constancie, and heroicall greatnesse of courage: most affectionate to her religion, very careful of the bringing up of her children especially his son in the feare of God, charitable towards them whom shee often advertised of their duties: in words most grave, and full of motherly affection: she had a readie wit and well advised, but indowed with great zeale and integritie, pittifull and easie to bee perswaded: no offender could avoide her cen|sure: shee opposed her selfe against vices, and liberally maintained that which she judged to be good, and conformable to the will and pleasure of God. Prosperitie hindered her, her mind much given to pleasant conceits, being of a leane complexion, and very agreeable with her ingeniositie, having great vivacite to comprehend all things, and grace lively to represent them by writing or word of mouth: with a iesture of all the bodie, and a countenance well liked of all men». See: De Serres, *The Fourth Part of Commentaries*, p. 28.

renounce their religion, and follow his: otherwise, that they should looke for the like punishment that their adherents had and should receive. The King of Navarre besought the king to remember his promise of the alliance newly contracted, and not to constrain him in his religion.³³³

The text of the *Commentaries* emphasised Navarre's forced abjuration of Calvinism more than Hotman's work. This text described almost angrily how in addition to renouncing their religion, Navarre and Condé were also forced to participate in the official abjuration ceremonies at Saint-Michel:

Let us see what entertainment the King of Navarre and the Prince of Conde had within Parris, their enemies not content to have led them to the Masse, after abiuration of the religion, made the be assistant at the ceremonies of S. Michael, published in their presence so many precepts and libels, made and devised against the innocence of the massacred, constrained them to heare the means devised for the extirping of the rest. Besides, their said enemies aided themselves by the Cardinall of Bourbon, uncle to those two Princes, to induce them to acknowledge and do homage to the Pope: in such sort, that messages dated the third of October, were sent in their names, whereby they desired to be received into the Romish Church. The Pope sent them his pardons upon the first of November.³³⁴

The text aligned perfectly with all accounts of the events surrounding the abjuration of the two princes published in France by the Huguenots, which may be indicated as the main sources of information for the historical accounts.³³⁵ The princes' renunciation of Calvinism was presented as a cruel epilogue to the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre. In the wake of

³³³ De Serres, *The Fourth Part of Commentaries*, p. 34.

³³⁴ De Serres, *The Fourth Part of Commentaries*, p. 36.

³³⁵ For example, see: *Copie des lettres du roi de Navarre et de Monsieur le Prince de Condé envoyée à nostre treissaint Pere le Pape pour se reunir à la sainte Eglise Catholique 3 Oct. 1572* (Lyon: chez Michel Jove, 1572).

this event emerged a complex intrigue in which the negative role of Catherine de' Medici and her entourage is strongly emphasised. Moreover, the author theorised an international anti-Protestant conspiracy in which Spain and the papacy played a central role.

The years immediately following the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre (1573-1576) were crucial to Navarre's political career. These were turbulent years that would see Navarre in a "golden captivity" at the French court. In 1576 he formed a military alliance with the *Malcontents*, who represented the claims of the old French nobility and had in part converted to Calvinism. The Huguenot nobility, as Arlette Jouanna has described, felt excluded from the highest offices of the kingdom, which were reserved for the entourage of Catherine de' Medici and Henry III.³³⁶ English readers had access to the translations of political declarations issued by the most important figures of the *Malcontents'* as those by Montmorency-Damville and the Duke of Alençon, heir to the throne.³³⁷ More than Montmorency-Damville, the Prince of Condé, and Henry of Navarre, Alençon was involved in the cause of the *Malcontents* to serve his own personal interests. Dissatisfied with his position as always secondary to the real centre of power, between 1574 and 1575, Alençon tried to obtain a more prominent role in the French affairs. The youngest son of Catherine de' Medici sought the military support of the Huguenots, allying himself with the Prince of Condé and the *reîtres* of John Casimir, Count Palatine. For the King of Navarre, the military alliance with Alençon was a way to secure his escape from the court and to regain the leadership of the Huguenot armies.³³⁸ Navarre succeeded in escaping the court in February 1576. The author of the *Commentaries* describes his escape as follows:

The King of Navarre that could not forget the bloodie day that had consumed many of his servants, and perceived not himselfe so much in danger as his inferiours, in matters of estate, abandoned the honourable captivitie of the Court, and those that had follow him, with all the Princes of his house, together for his protection.³³⁹

³³⁶ Jouanna, *Le devoir de révolte*, pp. 170-171.

³³⁷ I refer here to the following pamphlets: Henry de Montmorency-Damville, *A Declaration and a protestation of M. the Mareschal Damville* (London, 1575) and François d'Anjou et d'Alençon, *The Protestation of the most high and mightie Prince, son and brother of a king, Duke d'Alençon*. Translated out of French (London:Thomas Vautrollier, 1576).

³³⁸ Holt, *The Duke of Anjou*, pp. 33-38, 44-49, 52-58 and 63-67.

³³⁹ De Serres, *The Fourth Part of Commentaries*, p. 48.

The text went on to describe the next stages of the Fifth War of Religion, in which Henry of Navarre was fully restored as *chef du parti* of the Huguenots. Sought as an ally by Alençon to force Henry III to make concessions to Catherine de' Medici's youngest son, the Huguenot leader took up arms to unite their religious cause with the Alençon's personal interests. Whereas the duplicity of Alençon's persona was clearly presented in the text, the figure of Navarre was drawn unilaterally as the most prominent and prestigious Huguenots' leader. His political and military prestige allowed him to obtain the aid of foreign forces, such as the *reitres* of John Casimir, Count Palatine:

The King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé procured strangers aide, not as their enemies professed, to shake off the yoke of the Monarchy and to divide themselves into as many Commonwealths, as there are Provinces in France. But to live in obedience under the king, and in freedom of conscience.³⁴⁰

Furthermore, the text presented the contingency that led to the end of the war and to the peace of Beaulieu in 1576. Henry III and the Queen Mother were in no financial position to maintain an army that could stand against the united forces of Alençon, Condé, Navarre, Damville, and Casimir with his *reitres*, which joined the Huguenot force in April 1576.³⁴¹ Jean de Serres presented Navarre and Condé's as the true victors of the war. They succeeded in obtaining concessions that had not been considered since the end of the 1570s.

And thereby they obtain a peace which was made between the king and Monsieur his brother, the king of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, whereby the free, publike and generall exercise of the religion was permitted unto the Protestants, in all the places and Towns, which as then they held, they being declared capable, to have their places in Parliaments and chambers of justice severally: the memorie of the heads of their part taken away, and the cruel day of Saint-Bartholomew

³⁴⁰ De Serres, *The Fourth Part of Commentaries*, p. 53.

³⁴¹ Holt, *The Duke of Anjou*, pp. 71-72.

will disappear.³⁴²

Although many events that were represented in the French were translated into English in the 1570s, the figure of Navarre became particularly prominent in these works. The transcript of the Edict of Nérac – entitled *The French King edict of proclamation for the pacification*³⁴³ and published in England one year after his proclamation in 1579 - told briefly of the events that preceded the negotiation of this peace. The anonymous colophon that introduced the text of the royal edict emphasised that Catherine de' Medici went to Nérac to negotiate the peace directly with the King of Navarre. This episode clearly enforced the prestige of Navarre in the French political context:

And thereby, to obtain the peace, the Queene-Mother went to meet the King of Navarre at his court in Nérac, who was the chief of the Huguenot camp. The peace was made during a conference some days later.³⁴⁴

In the late 1570s Navarre was chosen by the Huguenot synods as the uncontested *chef du parti*, to the detriment of the Prince of Condé. For the Huguenots, Navarre's lineage and prestige were unquestionably superior to those of his cousin Condé and could potentially represent an advantage for the future.³⁴⁵ The figure of Alençon was fading fast in the eyes of English readers by the end of the decade. The failure of his expedition to the Low Countries had led Elizabeth's entourage to end marriage negotiations permanently.³⁴⁶ It may be concluded that during the 1570s, texts translated from the French increased in number and gained a regular flow of importations that increased from the 1560s. In addition to forming a positive connotation of Navarre's persona, these texts continued the narrative built

³⁴² De Serres, *The Fourth Part of Commentaries*, p. 57.

³⁴³ *The French King edict of proclamation for the pacification of the troubles in his realme* (London: John Alde, 1580).

³⁴⁴ *The French King edict of proclamation for the pacification*, sign. A1.

³⁴⁵ Love, pp. 65-71; Viennot, *Marguerite de Valois*, p. 83.

³⁴⁶ The last text focused on the Duke of Alençon et Anjou translated in English was: *The joyful and royal entertainment of the mightie Prince Francis, the French King inly brother in his citie of Antwerp*. Translated by Arthur Golding (London, 1582). On Anjou and the Low Countries, see: Holt, *The Duke of Anjou*, pp. 80-85; Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony*, pp. 120-128 and Natalie Mears, 'Love-Making and Diplomacy: Elizabeth I and the Anjou Marriage Negotiations, c.1578–1582', *History*, 26 (2001), 442-466 (p. 445-446).

by the early French works translated into English in the 1560s. The representation of Navarre gained a substantial evolution: from that of an emerging leader of the Huguenots to that of a central figure in French political events. His prestige and military power conferred upon him a prominent role in the negotiations of the Treaties of Beaulieu in 1576 and Nérac in 1579.

3. Henry as Heir to the French throne: Shaping the Figure of Navarre as “Protestant hero” and Legitimate Monarch in Late Elizabethan England (1585-1598)

3.1. *A Contest of Gender and Words: Henry of Navarre and Henry III (1585-1589)*

The death of Henry II's youngest son, the duke of Anjou, who was the presumptive heir to the French throne, had two important consequences for England. On the one hand, Anjou's death definitively ended all the marriage negotiations between the Valois and Elizabeth I. On the other hand, it simplified the attitude of the English government towards the French situation.³⁴⁷ During the 1570s, Elizabeth managed to preserve good relations with Henri III and always publicly condemned the persecutions experienced by the Huguenots. However, she had unofficially supported the Huguenots during the 1560s and the 1570s. Following the death of the duke of Anjou, the Elizabethan government began to openly support Navarre's cause. The fact that Henri de Navarre became the presumptive heir had crucial consequences for the dissemination of French political texts in late Elizabethan England. From the mid-1580s onwards, news pamphlets and political treatises translated from French into English increased in number. These publications gradually supplanted the polemical pamphlets and historical works such as those by Jean de Serres, which were regularly translated from French in the 1560s and 1570s.³⁴⁸ In the second half of the 1580s, the printed works translated from French dealt with the confrontations between Henri III, the King of Navarre and the Catholic League. These texts reported the major events that occurred in France and debated Navarre's rights to the throne by dealing with the discourse about the nature of kingship and the legitimacy of the royal power.

The chapter will analyse the representation of Navarre's figure in the years following the death of the duke of Anjou in 1584. By looking at the depiction of the Calvinist prince in the French texts translated into English between 1585 and 1595, the chapter will explore how

³⁴⁷ Sutherland, *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew*, p. 78. For a minor but revealing example of the complexities of Anglo-French relations in the aftermath of the massacre, see Simon Adams and Mark Greengrass, 'Mémoires et procédures de ma négociation en Angleterre (8 October 1582–8 October 1583) by Jean Malliet, councillor of Geneva', in *Religion, Politics and Society in Sixteenth-Century England*, Cambridge, ed. by Ian W. Archer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 137-196 (p. 140-141).

³⁴⁸ Daniel, 'Livre politique et politique du livre', pp. 121-122.

the figure of Navarre was represented in these publications: from a valiant Protestant prince – fighting for the succession to the throne – to the rightful French monarch. If the previous chapter focused on the early narratives about Navarre, this section of the thesis will explore the representation of Navarre in the difficult years of the succession's war. Firstly, the opposition between Navarre and Henry III will be investigated: the narratives included in these publications emphasized both the ambiguous relationship between Navarre and the Valois family and the weakness of the French monarchy. Subsequently, this chapter will look at how the narrative about Henry III – traditionally an enemy of Navarre – changed after his assassination in 1589. The French texts translated into English restored the honour of Henry III and conveyed a clear condemnation of the regicide, by stigmatising the Leaguers as the restless instigators of the French troubles. Furthermore, this section of the thesis will analyse how the French texts translated into English developed a narrative of Navarre as a warrior and valiant prince. Through both the glorification of Navarre and the stigmatization of his enemies, the French texts translated into English depicted Henri as a "Protestant hero".³⁴⁹ Finally, this chapter will discuss the representation of Navarre's persona between 1593 and 1595. After the conversion to Catholicism in 1593, Navarre was finally recognised as the legitimate French monarch, despite the resistance held by the Leaguers in their last strongholds. The French texts translated and disseminated in these years aimed to portray Navarre – who became Henry IV in 1595 – as the rightful ruler of France, in the attempt of reinforcing his royal authority against the ultimate uproars of the Catholic League.

In late Elizabethan England, the year 1585 represented a turning point for the translation of texts concerning the French Wars of Religion. The increase in the printing of foreign texts – particularly news pamphlets – was a phenomenon that relied not only on the publications from France, but also on texts coming from other parts of the Continent, as the Low Countries.³⁵⁰ This process should be contextualised both within the growth of the late Elizabethan printing market and the more general English interest for the news coming from the Continent. Nevertheless, news about the French situation also came to the English government through diplomatic newsletters. Evidence from diplomatic correspondence showed how the English government was aware of the major events occurring in France. Eminent political figures, like Lord Burghley and Francis Walsingham, were in direct

³⁴⁹ Voss, p. 183.

³⁵⁰ Barker, 'News lately come', pp. 227-244 (p. 240).

correspondance with Henry of Navarre during the last phase of the Wars of Religion (1585-1593).³⁵¹

As mentioned above, in the second half of the 1580s there was a remarkable increase in the number of titles translated into English. In 1585, eleven French works were translated, and four of these translations were published in two different editions.³⁵² The decade 1585-1595 represented the most significant moment for the translation of French political texts into English. Between 1589 and 1591, a major peak occurred, with a total of 47 titles translated. The texts that were translated provided detailed information to the English on the events related to the Huguenots and Henry of Navarre. Official documents, news pamphlets and political treaties gave to the English readership a detailed idea of what was happening in France. These texts also built narratives in which Navarre's figure gained a significant prominence.

Navarre's declarations were translated into English for the first time in the mid-1580s. In previous years, Navarre's deeds were often mentioned in the French texts disseminated in England, but none of his official declarations were translated into English during the 1560s and the 1570s. During the conflict following the death of the Duke of Anjou, Navarre's

³⁵¹ Love, pp. 146-147.

³⁵² The corpus of texts translated from French into English in 1585 included different kinds of texts focused on the events related to the succession question. In addition to the publications mentioned in this chapter, this body of publications includes the following works: *An advertisement from a French gentleman touching the intention and meaning which those of the House of Guise have in their late leaving of forces and armes in the realme of France* (London: Charles Barker, 1585); André Maillard, *Advertissement to the King of Navarre to unite himself with the King and the Catholique faith. Truly translated according to the coppie printed in French* (London: 1585); Pierre de Belloy, *A Catholicke apologie against the libels, declarations written and published by those of the League perturbors of the quiet estate of the realme of France* (London: George Robinson, 1585); *A true report of the taking of Marseille by the favourers of the League together with the rescue by the king faithfull subjects* (London: John Windet, 1585); Pierre Erondelle, *A declaration and catholicke exhortation to all Christian princes to soccour the Church and the Realme of France* (London: George Robinson, 1585); *A necessary discourse concerning the right which the House of Guise pretended to the Crowne of France. Faithfully translated out of French* (London: George Robinson, 1585); *An answer to the League written by a French Gentleman* (London: George Robinson, 1585); François Hotman, *The brutish thunderbolt: or rather feeble fier-flash of Pope Sixtus the fift, against Henrie the most excellent King of Navarre, and the most noble Henrie Borbon, Prince of Condie Together with a declaration of the manifold insufficiencie of the same. Translated out of Latin into English by Christopher Fetherstone minister of Gods word* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1586).

Edward Aggas' name is included in five of the eight titles translated from French in 1585. This was evidence of a more general involvement of Aggas in the translation of French works, not exclusively related to his partnership with John Wolfe.

political role gained importance. When the Calvinist prince became the presumptive heir to the French throne, the extremely tense situation led the weak Henry III to support the Leaguers's claims against Navarre's candidacy. The struggle for the French throne was conducted by the different parties 'par les armes et par la plume',³⁵³ as Arlette Jouanna claimed.³⁵⁴ Along with military battles, Navarre, the League and Henry III confronted each other by using written pamphlets through which their political actions were justified. Navarre sensibly detached himself from the Valois family with whom he had previously maintained a conflictual relationship. For the English readership, the Calvinist prince became the legitimate heir to the throne of France. Navarre's antithetical position in relation to Henry III and the League only confirmed to the English readership the *clichés* with which they were already familiar: Henry III's weakness and the political viciousness of the Guise family, who were considered usurpers and persecutors of the Huguenots. The texts translated into English represented Navarre as a valiant prince and Henry III as a weak and incapable king, influenced by the Guise family and the Leaguers.³⁵⁵

In 1585 the Catholic League was newly constituted as a reaction to Henry of Navarre's candidacy for the throne of France. The political purposes of the Catholic League were exposed in an official declaration, issued in Chalons in March 1585 by the Cardinal of Bourbon and other members of the great Catholic dynasties, including the Duke of Guise, Charles de Mayenne and Philip-Emmanuel de Mercoeur.³⁵⁶ This text was published in Paris under the title of *Déclaration du Cardinal du Bourbon sur les moyens pour retablir la religion catholique dans le royaume de France*³⁵⁷ and was translated into English in the same year as *A Declaration of the causes that have moved the Cardinal of Bourbon*.³⁵⁸ The Declaration was printed by John Wolfe, who was at that time the most active printer of political texts

³⁵³ Jouanna, *Idéologies de la guerre et idéologies de la paix*, pp. 87-98 (pp. 97-98).

³⁵⁴ Wanegffelen, *Le pouvoir contesté*, p. 206.

³⁵⁵ Jouanna, Boucher, Biloghi and Le Thiec, pp. 1004-1005; Holt, *The French Wars*, pp. 123-136. .

³⁵⁶ Frederic Baumgartner, *Radical Reactionaries: the political thought of the French catholic League*, (Genève: Droz, 1976), p. 106; Jean-Marie Constant, *La Ligue* (Paris: Fayard, 1996) p. 98; David El Kenz, 'Du temps de Dieu au temps du Roi. L'avenir dans les placards ligueurs et anti-ligueurs (1589-1595)', *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps*, 21(1990) 3-11 (p.9).

³⁵⁷ *Déclaration du Cardinal du Bourbon sur les moyens pour retablir la religion catholique dans le royaume de France* (Paris, 1585). The BNF catalogue included another edition of this text, printed in Rouen without indication about the printer's name. The structure and the content of the two texts are identical.

³⁵⁸ *A Declaration of the causes that have moved the Cardinal of Bourbon* (London: John Wolfe, 1585).

translated from French at that time. The translator was not mentioned, but it was likely to be Edward Aggas, John Wolfe's business partner and the author of more than thirty texts translated from French between 1585 and 1595. The *Declaration of the Causes* was published together with Henry of Valois' official declaration issued in Paris in April 1585 as a reply to the proclamation made by the Catholic League. The English translation is entitled *Declaration set by the French King concerning the new troubles in his Realme* was also printed by John Wolfe.³⁵⁹ The publication of these two texts in a single edition is significant because it represented the first volume to contain translations of multiple French texts related to the same series of events. The creation of such a publication reflected the editorial practises employed by the English publishers.³⁶⁰ The *Declaration* issued by Henry III was extremely important because it affirmed the monarchy's support to the Catholic League. The publication of this text confirmed Henry III's weakness in the eyes of the English readership. During the 1570s French texts translated into English such as *The Marvellous Discourse on the Life , actions and misconducts of Catherine de Medici* or *The Life of the most godly Captain de Coligny* built a negative representation of Henry III.³⁶¹ English texts were also

³⁵⁹ *Declaration set by the French King concerning the new troubles in his Realme* (London: John Wolfe, 1585). In the following years others official declarations issued by Henri III were translated into English and published by John Wolfe and Edward Aggas. Particularly between 1588 and 1589 several official documents concerning the French situation were translated into English. The texts covered the critical moment in which Henry III distance himself from the Leaguers and the turning point represented by the assassination both of the Duke of Guise and Henry III: *A declaration of the Kings pleasure, published after his departure from Paris, importing the cause of this sudden going away* (Paris, 1588) and the *Directions from the King to the governors of the Provinces, concerning the death of the Duke of Guise* (Paris, 1589). The text source of the first publication was the *Déclaration de la volonté du Roi faicte depuis son département de Paris* (Paris, 1588), without references to the printer. The English Short Title Catalogue did not trace the source text of the second publication. A close analysis of the Calendars of State Papers offered some supplementary evidence about that. A text entitled *Instructions from Henry III to the Sieur de Chaste, governor of Dieppe upon the death of the Duke of Guise* is included in a letter sent by Buzenval to Burghley in early January 1589. The publication mentioned in the diplomatic correspondance between Buzenval and Burghley may be considered as a possible source text for the *Directions from the King*: the elements mentioned, the structure of the argument and also several sentences showed some commonalities between the two texts. See: National Archives, Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, January-July 1589, Jan. 2, 1589, Buzenval to Burghley, fol. 7.

³⁶⁰ The publication of different texts in a same volume became a relevant editorial practice during the 1580s and the 1590s for news texts came from the Continent and translated into English. See: Barker, 'International news in Elizabethan England', pp. 145-157(p. 148).

³⁶¹ Henry was a controversial figure in his own lifetime. Henry's piety was seen as undignified for a king, and many aristocrats were alienated by the nepotism shown to his *mignons*. Henry III was largely dismissed in the centuries after his death as too pious, too ineffectual, and responsible for the collapse of royal authority. Information about Henry III came to the English readership trough the polemical text published immediately after the Saint-Bartholomew massacre. Works as the

critical towards Henry III: *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf whereunto England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage* written by John Stubb was pervaded by a violent polemic against the Henri III and Catherine de' Medici.³⁶²

Weak, incapable and influenced by Catherine de' Medici's wicked authority, Henry showed in this proclamation the extreme weakness of the Valois monarchy. In the prologue of his statement, Henry III clearly stated the importance of both Catherine and his Catholic *entourage* in the political decisions made by the crown:

Moreover although after the example of the late king his brother with divers other Christian Princes, whose Empires and dominions have ben afflicted with sondry opinions of the said religion, his Maiesty by the prudent advise of the Queene his Mother, my Lord the Cardinall of Bourbon, with other the Princes, Officers of the Crowne, and Lords of his Counsaile who then were about him, hath pacified such troubles as were amonge his subiectes by reason of the saide religion, untill it might please God to reunite them into the church: It doth not neverthelesse therefore follow that his zeale and devotion so farre as

Marvellous Discourse or as *The life of the most godly captain of Coligny* conveyed all the most popular *clichés* about the last Valois king. His weaknesses, his submission to the authority of Catherine de' Medici and to the Guises are the principal connotation of Henry's figure in the polemical literature translated from French. The early historiography of the French Wars of Religion was for a long time informed by these *clichés* as well. See: Jean-François Solnon, *Henri III : un désir de majesté* (Paris: Perrin, 2001), p. 12; Jacqueline Boucher, *Société et mentalités autour de Henri III* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007), p. 85 ; *Henri III et son temps : actes du Colloque international du Centre de la Renaissance de Tours, octobre 1989*, ed. by Robert Sauzet (Paris: Librairie Vrin, 1992), p. 92 ; Nicolas Le Roux , 'Courtisans et favoris : l'entourage du prince et les mécanismes du pouvoir dans la France des guerres de religion', *Histoire, économie et société*, 3 (1998) 377-387 (p. 379); Nicolas Le Roux, *La Faveur du roi. Mignons et courtisans au temps des derniers Valois (vers 1547 - vers 1589)* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2001), pp. 101-102; Isabelle de Conihout, Jean-François Maillars, Guy Poirier, *Henri III mécène des arts, des sciences et des lettres* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2006), pp. 140-143.

³⁶² An outspoken attack on Elizabeth's intended marriage with Francis, Duke of Alençon and Anjou was *A Gaping Gulf*, appeared in August 1579. In this pamphlet, the author John Stubb argued that English values, customs, language and immorality would be undermined by a close a relationship with the French monarchy. The criticism towards the French royal family was particularly virulent. The duke of Anjou is depicted as an ambitious prince: Anjou is also represented by Stubb as weak figure, manipulated continuously by Henry III and Catherine de' Medici. According to Stubb's text the cruelty of the Valois family and particularly of the Queen Mother is clearly demonstrated by the Saint-Bartholomew massacre in which "a king murdered his subjects". See: Daniel, 'Livre politique et politique du livre', p. 14.

concerneth the glory of God and perfect restoration of the Catholike, Apostolike and Romish Church should be any whit changed or diminished rather now then he shewed it to be during the said troubles.³⁶³

Catholicism was described as the only religion allowed in the Kingdom of France. Although there were no formal changes to the royal legislation that had previously allowed Protestant worship with limitations, Henry III did not mention the Reformed religion. In a moment in which the French monarchy found itself in a state of extreme weakness, this statement intended to reaffirm the authority and the strength of royal power:

Moreover, as his Maiestie hath always been most jelous of the honor of God, and carefull for the commonwealth of his said subiects, as much as in a Prince most Christian and truly good, can, by acknowledging all evils and calamities of any estate to arise principally through the default of true godlinesse and iustice hath since the said peace continually labored to raise up two pillers, which the violence of the saide troubles had almost subverted and laide along. For the compassing whereof, he hath begunne by naming capable persons such as the holy decrees do appoint to ecclesiasticall promotions, having charge of soules. He had also by his owne example invited his subiects to reformation of their manners, and to have recourse to the grace and mercy of God through prayer and austeritie of life, which have confirmed the Catholikes in the duetie to his devine Maiestie, and moved some of those that were seperated from Gods Church to reconciliation to the same.³⁶⁴

The final lines of the declaration stated the importance of the Catholic religion and reinforced Henry's image as a weak monarch who was influenced by the Guise family:

The King doth therefore most straightly command them and all other

³⁶³ *Declaration set by the French King, sig. A1.*

³⁶⁴ *Declaration set by the French King, sig. A2.*

his subjectes to reunite themselves in the Catholicke, Apostolike and Romish Church, and to reunite themselves unto him, as nature, duety, and their owne wealth and health doth bind them, to the ende that if these commotions do procede any farther (which he beseecheth the goodnesse of allmighty God not to permit) he may have assistaunce and succor in their counsaile, weapons and commodities to the preservation of the Realme, whereunto is linked the Catholike Apostolike and Romish Church.³⁶⁵

The final capitulation of Henry III to the Leaguers' claims took place in July 1585 with the Edict of Nemours.³⁶⁶ The Edict ended the so-called "War of Three Henrys" in favourable terms for the Catholic League: Henry III was obliged to forbid the exercise of reformed religion within the kingdom. For the Huguenots, this restriction was a huge setback: even the places of refuge that had been secured during previous wars were handed back to the royal forces. There was no longer a place that would welcome Protestant worship and the French subjects who wished to freely practise their Protestant faith had to leave the country. Such a severe decision from France only corroborated the mistrust that the English felt towards Henry III, whom they considered as a persecutor of the Huguenots.³⁶⁷ The news about the situation of the Huguenots in France had implications for neighbouring countries such as England, which was dealing with a growing number of continental refugees in London, in the Channel Islands and along the entire length of the English coast.

The Edict of Nemours was published in England under the title, *The Kinges Edict for the Reuniting of his Subjectes in the Catholique, Apostolique and Romish Church*.³⁶⁸ The cover page beared the names of two publishers rather than one: 'Imprinted at Roan by Martin Mesgissier, the Kinges Printer, 1585'. And Imprinted at London by Richard Jhones, the 27 of July 1585'.³⁶⁹ According to the information included in the frontispiece of the English

³⁶⁵ *Declaration set by the French King*, sig. B1.

³⁶⁶ Love, pp. 295-298.

³⁶⁷ Sutherland, *The Huguenots Struggle*, pp. 90-93; Arlette Jouanna, *La France au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1996) pp. 67-71; Janine Garrisson, *Les Protestants au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1988), pp. 100-104.

³⁶⁸ *The Kinges Edict for the Reuniting of his Subjectes in the Catholique, Apostolique and Romish Church* (Roan: Martin Mesgissier, 1585; London: Richard Jhones, 1585). For a copy of the frontispiece see Appendix 4.

³⁶⁹ *The Kinges Edict for the Reuniting of his Subjectes*, p. 1

edition, the volume contained the original French text as well as an English translation signed by Hector Rowland³⁷⁰. This cooperation demonstrated the interest that the English maintained in the issues surrounding the French Wars of Religion. The French texts translated and published in the second half of the 1580s, encouraged the English interest in French affairs and depicted Henri de Navarre in a laudatory manner, in opposition both to the Guizard and Henri III. Henry of Navarre became the point of convergence 'de la passion Anglaise pour la France', as Marie-Celine Daniel writes in a recent article.³⁷¹ Former ally of the Duke d'Alençon and chef of the Huguenots, Henry of Navarre embodied the dynastic legitimacy. Henry's figure became popular in the French literature translated into English, which depicted him with heroic connotations.³⁷²

After the registration of the Edict of Nemours by the Parisian Parlement in 1585, a copy of a letter sent by Henry of Navarre to Henry III was published in English. In this letter, Navarre criticized Henri III's political behaviour which was officially respectful of Navarre's role but also submissive to the Guizards' claims. The English translation of Navarre's official declaration was entitled, *A Letter Written by the King of Navarre unto the French King concerning his innocencie, against the sclaunders of his adversaries*³⁷³. The cover page specified, 'Truly translated out of *French*. Anno 1585' and the publication was presented in an *in-octavo* volume of twelve pages. Despite the indication that the text was translated out of a French pamphlets, the scarce evidence made difficult to identify what this text was. The English Short Title Catalogue asserted that the Letter against slander was the translation of the *Déclaration du roi de Navarre sur les calomnies publiées contre lui et sur les protestations de ceux de la ligue qui se sont eslevez en ce royaume*, published in 1585 without indications both about the printer and the printing place. Indeed, the two publications

³⁷⁰ According to my research, Hector Rowland signed this unique translation from French into English. This point was already highlighted by Lisa Parmelee. See: Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 39. No biographical notes about him are included in the secondary material I investigated.

³⁷¹ Daniel, 'Livre politique et politique du livre', pp. 231-232.

³⁷² Adam Fox related the extraordinary popularity of Navarre's figure to the chivalric connotations he got in the French literature translated into English. Fox argues that the attention given to Navarre was connected to "popular perceptions of the monarchy and its activities [...] fashioned by the traditions of chivalric legend and historical romance". See: Adam Fox, 'Rumours, News and Popular Political Opinion in Elizabethan and Early Stuart England', *The Historical Journal*, 3 (1997) 597-620 (p. 616).

³⁷³ *A Letter Written by the King of Navarre unto the French King concerning his innocencie, against the sclaunders of his adversaries*, (London, 1585).

presented substantial differences. The two texts were of different size: the English text was composed by a dozen of pages, while the French version was constituted by fifty-one pages. The dates of issue included in both the French and the English texts are also different: the English text is dated 21 July 1585, while the French text reported the date of 10 June 1585.³⁷⁴

Moreover, the French publication consisted of two different texts: the *Déclaration* was preceded by a public letter compiled by Navarre and addressed to Henri III, which could be identified as a public letter addressed to Henry III by Navarre and consigned to Henri III through two men of Navarre's entourage on 21 June 1585. Although the English edition did not include this second publication, there was a reference to it in the text. Navarre referred to the letter when he reproached to Henri III his unclear behaviour: 'All which promises your Maiesty have from time to time reiterated in all your Letters, which beeing in your owne handwriting I do reserve, as also you have promised the same to the Lords of *Cleruant* and *Chassin-court*'.³⁷⁵ Since between the June and mid-July 1585 at least three documents attributed to Navarre circulated in France, the English text could have been based on different *Déclarations* issued by Navarre, published in France and lately imported in England.

The *Letter against the Slander* was not simply a public letter addressed to Henri III by the presumptive heir to the throne. In quite a short text, Henri de Bourbon defined his political role after the death of the duke of Anjou. Invoking the French chivalrous tradition described by Adam Fox,³⁷⁶ Henry of portrayed himself as a respectful vassal in terms of his duties towards Henry III:

These my Lord, were the very effect of the wordes of your Letters. With this letter, your Maiestie honored me, as acknowledging solemnly and expressely adding the union of my person with yours. My will, I say, my Lorde, is subjected to yours as my service is devoted to your

³⁷⁴ For a copy of the final pages of both texts – including different dates for the issue of the declaration – see Appendix 5.

³⁷⁵ Babelon, p. 187.

³⁷⁶ Fox, pp. 597-620 (p. 617).

Majestie.³⁷⁷

Navarre skilfully reminded Henry III of his own presumptive hereditary status while stressing that the Valois' overthrow also meant his own downfall. Recalling the chivalric tradition, he proposed a duel against the Guises as a way to seek redress for the wrongs he had been the victim and to save the blood of the French: 'I haue craued that this quarell might be decided between them and mee, yea for the cutting off of common calamities, euen betweene their persons and myne'.³⁷⁸ The presumptive heir implied that Henri III prevented him from honouring the rank and the royal blood running through his veins:

To be briefe, I have beyond all shew of reason contrary to all naturall sense, yeelding to whatsoever your Maiesties commaundements proceeded against my blood. This inequalitye made my person equall with my inferiors.³⁷⁹

Henry of Navarre referred to the feudal world, by emphasizing the service to the monarch and the importance of social hierarchy that separated noblemen from the members of the royal family. In just a few pages, Navarre criticised the royal policy, by affirming that Henry III was responsible for the critical situation in France:

If therefore my mishappe bee such (which I wil not yet beleeeue) that your Maiestie haue proceeded so farre, as notwithstanding all these my conclusions and submissions, to conclude such a treatie, and thereby to infringe your Edictes, and to arme your Rebelles against your estate, against your blood, yea and against your person, I can not but hartely lament and bewaile your Maiesties condition especially seeing your highnesse through contempt of my faithful seruice, forced to vtter subuersion of your estate, together with the consideration of the calamities of your realme, the end whereof we are in vaine to looke or hope for, except in the totall ruyne of the same.³⁸⁰

³⁷⁷ *A Letter written by the King of Navarre*, sig. A2.

³⁷⁸ *A Letter written by the King of Navarre*, sig. B1.

³⁷⁹ *A Letter written by the King of Navarre*, sig. C2.

³⁸⁰ *A Letter written by the King of Navarre*, sig. D1.

The text emphasised how Henri III's weakness led him to a political *impasse* where he continued to pander to the Guise family to the point of handing over the kingdom to them. Moreover, Navarre presented himself as the only guarantor to the French Kingdom.³⁸¹

This important declaration was followed by another famous statement, issued in Bergerac on August 10, 1585, by the Calvinist prince and his allies, including the prince of Condé and the Duke of Montmorency. The French text was published in La Rochelle and Paris under the title of *Déclaration et Protestation du Roy de Navarre, du Prince de Condé and du Duc de Montmorency*.³⁸² The English translation appeared in the same year and was entitled *Declaration and Protestation by the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé and the duke of Montmorency*.³⁸³ It was printed by John Wolfe and translated by Edward Aggas. The English publication was a verbatim translation of the text published in La Rochelle. A second edition of the translated text was published the following year by John Wolfe with other statements by Navarre that were issued between August and September 1585.³⁸⁴ In France, these additional statements were published separately from the Bergerac declaration under the title *Déclaration et Protestation du roy de Navarre*.³⁸⁵ In this text, Navarre presented the disturbed French situation and emphasised the negative role of radical Catholics in such a troubled political context:

It is not unknowne to all men, and they may soone call to minde in what estate the affaires of this Realme stoode, and of what minde the King was, when the house of Lorraine under the title of a Holy League began to raise Wars against his Maiestie and to trouble the quiet estate of this Realme. For through Gods grace Peace began to take roote in the depth of mens hearts, and thence to expell all hartburning and mistrust: Iustice under the wings thereof gathered strength by the exercise of lawes: Religion on both parts crept into credite in mens

³⁸¹ *A Letter written by the King of Navarre*, sig. E2.

³⁸² *Déclaration et Protestation du Roy de Navarre, du Prince de Condé and du Duc de Montmorency*, Paris, s.n., 1585 and *Déclaration et Protestation du Roy de Navarre, du Prince de Condé and du Duc de Montmorency* (La Rochelle, 1585).

³⁸³ *Declaration and Protestation by the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé and the duke of Montmorency* (London: John Wolfe, 1585).

³⁸⁴ *Declaration and Protestation by the King of Navarre, the Prince of Condé and the duke of Montmorency* (London: John Wolfe, 1586).

³⁸⁵ *Déclaration et Protestation du roy de Navarre* (Paris, 1586).

consciences, whence the licencious libertie of warres had almost expelled it: Nobilitie grewe into familiaritie and gave over partialities and factions: The Commons after so many mischiefes and calamities, began to enioye the fruites of their labours, and through such good order as the King had taken, were in possibilitie speedely to be freed from the pillage and insolencie of the Souldier.³⁸⁶

An additional section of Navarre's *Declaration and Protestation* was dedicated to the difficult issue of succession to the throne. Navarre clearly stated his right of succession and described the ways employed by the Guise family to usurp the throne. To support his argument with evidences, Navarre referred to the reign of the young Francis II, when the Guise family influenced the inexperienced son of Catherine de' Medici through his wife, Mary Stuart:

For it may be evidently knowen to all men what the pretences and practises of those of that house have bene as also what meanes they have from time to time used, especially since the raigne of Francis the second: which, to be brief, is the extinguishing of the house of Fraunce, and intruding of themselves into the place thereof. And for the easier attaining to such their drifts and enterprises, how they have sought to set devision in the Realm, to nourish troubles, to weaken the power of the Nobilitie by the losse and shedding of their bloud.³⁸⁷

A large portion of the text described the inauspicious role played by the Guise family in the Wars of Religion that engulfed France, while Navarre portrayed himself as the guarantor of French peace. This digression about France's previous Wars of Religion allowed Navarre to identify other moments in French history in which the Guise family threatened the French state. In particular, Navarre attributed the explosion of French religious conflicts to the Duke of Guise and the massacre of Vassy, which violated the edict signed in Saint-Germain in 1562:

³⁸⁶ *Declaration and Protestation by the King of Navarre*, sig. A2.

³⁸⁷ *Declaration and Protestation by the King of Navarre*, sig. E3.

For when they perceived that the generall estates lawfully reunited and assembled did call them to accoumpt for their administrations and dealings, they began to cloke their ambition with the vayle of earnest zeale to the Catholick Romish religion. They, who but fower daies before had put the *Germain* Princes in such hope of ioining with them in the confession of *Ausbourg*, beginning with the murder of many persons of all sortes, ages and kinds at *Vassy*, did violate the lawes and infringe the peace and publicke tranquillitie of the Realme, for the continuaunce whereof, the said general estates had found it expedient to graunt the exercize of both Religions, and to the same end had published a solemne edict veriefied in all the Courtes of Parliament: which could not bee attributed to force, feare, or other unlawfull pursuite, but onely to the sole consideration of the benefite and tranquillitie of this estate: With armes during the Kings minoritie they seized upon his person together with the Queen Mother.³⁸⁸

As discussed in the second chapter of this thesis, Catherine de Medici was negatively portrayed in many French texts, some of which reached England and were translated after the night of Saint Bartholomew. Navarre, therefore, considered Catherine de Medici to be an enemy of his and a threat to peace in the kingdom. To justify his call to arms, Navarre identified his own enemies to be the reading public and used rhetorical expressions referring to the miserable situation of the French people in an attempt to subvert the French state and its laws. Each of these reasons for war were used in previous statements calling for arms, such as that of the Prince of Condé, dating from the 1560s and 1570s:

Further, the saide Lorde King of *Navarre*, the Lord Prince of *Conde*, and the Lord Duke of *Montmorency*, acknowledge that the Guizards desire the war, especially domesticall warre, wherein the poore innocent people are in greatest danger. They do these calamities and miseries for their ambition.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ *Declaration and Protestation by the King of Navarre*, sig. G1.

³⁸⁹ *Declaration and Protestation by the King of Navarre*, sig. G3.

The year 1585 represented an important turning point in the representation of Navarre, as determined by the French political texts that reached Elizabethan England and were translated into English. As a testament to his role as a leading figure, Navarre's first declarations were translated into English for the first time in the mid-1580s. The ambiguity of Navarre's relationship with the Valois family was highlighted in the mid-1580s by his *de facto* opposition to Henry III, despite his continuous claims of being 'faithful to the king'.³⁹⁰ Navarre's stigmatisation of his enemies, primarily those in the Catholic League, formed a crucial aspect of his image among the English public. This stigmatisation continued in the three years following 1585, during which he gained increased popularity as a valiant prince struggling against the 'Catholic usurpers'.³⁹¹

3.2. Reconsidering the Image of the King and Condemning the Regicide: The Debate about Henry III's Assassination (1589)

The years 1588 and 1589 were marked by the radicalisation of the struggle between the Huguenots and the Catholic League. As Mack P. Holt argued, the Day of the Barricades – during which the Sixteen conquered Paris (12 May 1588) – 'marked the nadir of the royal authority'.³⁹² Henry III failed to both regain the military control of Paris and to reaffirm the strength of the royal authority. Subsequently, Henry was forced to sign the Edict of Union (July 1588) in which he formally recognised the main requests of the League and the Sixteen: the reaffirmation of his willingness to fight the Huguenot religion and the formal recognition of the cardinal of Bourbon as his legitimate heir. Additionally, Henry III was forced to summon the Estates-General to plan a new war against the Huguenots. Trapped in this situation, Henry III sought a reconciliation with Navarre, which led to 'the pact between the two Henries'.³⁹³ The alliance between Henry III and Navarre established a yearly truce during which the Huguenots would have not been persecuted. In this convoluted scenario, a radical Jesuit, excited by the Leaguer rhetoric, assassinated Henry III. The news of Henry's assassination reached quite immediately Elizabethan officers. On 7th August 1589, Richard

³⁹⁰ Love, p. 203.

³⁹¹ Walker and Dickerman, pp. 253-281 (pp. 262-263).

³⁹² Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 187.

³⁹³ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 188.

Scofield wrote to Walsingham about the 'dolorous news'³⁹⁴ concerning Henry III. Scofield also reported how 'the King of France was murdered by a Jacobin friar in a cloister [...] with a dagger'.³⁹⁵ Despite the Elizabethan officers' awareness of Henry III's assassination, the news of the murder was not extensively covered in the French pamphlets translated and disseminated in England. As Marie Céline Daniel argued, the regicide was a complex question to be discussed at the end of Elizabethan reign. The succession was a problematic issue for Elizabeth I – who did not have a legitimate heir to the throne. Moreover, the Tudor queen had to face throughout her reign a strong Catholic opposition, led until 1587 by Mary Queen of Scots.

The narrative about Henry III's assassination built by the French texts translated into English developed an account of the event aimed to emphasise three main motifs: the restoration of Henry III's honour, the condemnation of the regicide and the stigmatisation of the enemies of the French monarchy, identified with the Catholic League. Therefore, the account of Henry III' murder offered a different representation of him. If the texts translated and disseminated before 1589 tended to portray Henry as a weak ruler – influenced by Catherine de' Medici and the Catholic nobility – the account of the regicide restored the honour of Henry III. This narrative described Henry III as a magnanimous king – a victim of the conspiracies of the League – and aimed to strengthen the ideas of royalty and kingship against the claims supporting the regicide. Furthermore, the account of the regicide stigmatised the Leaguers as the enemies of monarchy – and more generally demanded pacification of the kingdom. The French texts translated into English presented the League as the most disruptive force acting within the Wars of Religion and provided a vivid portray of the violence and the tragedies provoked by them.

The assassination of Henry III was largely covered in the texts published in France. According to Denis Pallier, almost a third on the texts published in Paris during the year 1589 focused on the murder of Henry III.³⁹⁶ In late Elizabethan England only one *libelle* circulated about the regicide. The text was printed in *octavo* and was entitled *The whole and true discourse of the enterprises and secrete conspiracies that have bene made against the*

³⁹⁴ National Archives, Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, August-December 1589, Aug. 7, 1589, Scofield to Walsingham, fol. 1.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ Pallier, p. 181.

person of Henry de Valois, most Christian king of Fraunce and Poland Wherupon followed his death by the hand of a young Jacobin frier, the first day of August, 1589.³⁹⁷ The front-page of the *libelle* included a reference to the printer and the location: the text was printed by Thomas Purfoote in London, 'out of the French copie, printed at Caan in Normandie'.³⁹⁸ This element provided further evidence of the networks established between French and English printers and of the links between the printing markets of the countries. However, research conducted on the Short Title Catalogue and on the Catalogue de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France showed that *The whole and true discourse* was not the verbatim translation of any text included in the two catalogues. Therefore, the text could have been either the translation of a pamphlet that was not recorded in the catalogues or a text put together by the English publishers and modelled on the different French *libelles* written about the regicide. Due to the scarcity of supplementary evidence, it is difficult to assess what was the real origin of this publication. However, the analysis of the text's structure supported the hypothesis that *The whole and true discourse* was a text prepared ad hoc for the English market.

As suggested by the title, the *libelle* aimed to provide an account of the 'conspirancies that have bene made against the person of Henry de Valois',³⁹⁹ culminated with his assassination in August 1589. *The whole and true discourse* did not aim to provide any theoretical reflection on the issue of the regicide. In the introduction, the anonymous author stated that the the publication wanted to provide a detailed account of the 'act [...] committed against our so gracious and mercifull King, Henry de Valois'.⁴⁰⁰ However, the following lines clarified to the reader the position of the author about the regicide. The anonymous author argued against the regicide, by affirming that 'the anointed of the Lord should not in any wise couch or hurt'.⁴⁰¹ Therefore, *The whole and true discourse* developed a partisan narrative

³⁹⁷ *The whole and true discourse of the enterprises and secrete conspiracies that have bene made against the person of Henry de Valois, most Christian king of Fraunce and Poland Wherupon followed his death by the hand of a young Jacobin frier, the first day of August, 1589. Whereby the enemies of the Crown, thought to have reduced and brought all Fraunce to their will and devotion. Together with the assembly that the king before his death made of the princes of the blood, lordes and gentlemen that were in his armie, with the heads of the straungers, to whom he declared his last will. Englished out of the French copie, printed at Caan in Normandie* (London: Thomas Purfoote, 1589).

³⁹⁸ *The whole and true discourse*, sig. A2.

³⁹⁹ *The whole and true discourse*, sig. A3.

⁴⁰⁰ *The whole and true discourse*, sig. C2.

⁴⁰¹ *The whole and true discourse*, sig. C3.

of the assassination of Henry III, in which the regicide is presented as a horrendous crime against divine authority. The narrative about the assassination was deployed around the same elements included in other French publication about the regicide: the arrival of Jacques Clément at Saint-Cloud, the delivering of a letter from the President of the Parisian *Parlement* as the excuse to approach Henry and the stabbing happening while Henry read the dispatch from Paris. The account of the regicide followed a linear chronological arrangement that started with the arrival at Saint-Cloud of the Jesuit Jacques Clément:

Upon Tuesday the first of August, very early in the morning, this divelish person, taketh his jorney, purposing to find his Majesty at S. Clou, two small leagnes from Paris. Attending his uprising, for feare of losing the occasion to speake with him.⁴⁰²

The *libelle* offered a detailed description of what happened just before the assassination. By drawing on the same information used by the French pamphlets focused on Henry III's assassination, *The whole and true discourse* described specifically how Clément managed to meet Henry III on 1 August 1589. According to the *libelle*, the Jesuit priest 'assured to have entrance to him'⁴⁰³ by pretending 'he had in his hands a letter or missive to deliver'.⁴⁰⁴ *The whole and true discours* provided a detailed account of the moment preceding the regicide: the anonymous author drew the attention of the readers on the supposedly arrogant attitude of Clément, who entered the room 'with a bold face, as hardy as a lion'.⁴⁰⁵ The anonymous author of the *libelle* built up tension by emphasising the evil nature of Clément in the moment in which he stabbed Henry III. *The whole and true discours* portrayed vividly how the 'Jacobin, continuing in his wicked mind, drew this knife and therewith thrust the king into the little belly'.⁴⁰⁶

The account of the regicide developed by the *libelle* continued with the description of Henry III's reaction to the assault of Clément. The narrative built by *The whole and true discours*

⁴⁰² *The whole and true discourse*, sig. C4.

⁴⁰³ *The whole and true discourse*, sig. D1.

⁴⁰⁴ *The whole and true discourse*, sig. D2.

⁴⁰⁵ *The whole and true discourse*, sig. D3.

⁴⁰⁶ *The whole and true discourse*, sig. D4.

portrayed Henry III as a valorous ruler. Despite the sudden assault, he tried to rescue himself by stabbing the Jesuit priest:

The king seeing this, and being mooved, laid hold of a dagger that lay neere into him, and therwith stroke the said Monke, who being hurt with the stroke, and much affrighted, fell presently down for feare.⁴⁰⁷

The moment of the assassination represented the central event – and the climax – of the narrative deployed by *The whole and true discours*. The account of the assassination took place is very similar to the narrative developed by the French *libelles*. For example, a text entitled *L'assassinat et paricide commis en la personne du tres-chrestien et tres-illustre Roi de France, et de Pologne, Henry III du nom, le premier d'Aoust 1589*⁴⁰⁸ and published in 1589 described the Henry III's murder in the following way:

Avec violence il donna un coup a coste du petit ventre de sa Majesté, attentivue à la lecture, et laquelle neanmoins, se sentant grievuement blessé, retira de la playe le couteau que ce malhereux y avoit laissé, en donnant un coup au dessus de l'oeil à ce maudit Apostat.⁴⁰⁹

The French account touched upon the same elements included in *The whole and true discourse*: the assault happened when Henry was reading the letter, his attempt to rescue and the injuring of Clément. *The whole and true discourse* continued with a description of the events occurred immediately after the murder. According to the *libelle*, the body of Henry III was dressed and then took outside the room. Thus, the focus on the narrative shifted to Jacques Clément's fate. As reported in the text, Clément was imprisoned and subjected to an interrogatory during which he confessed 'who set him, the authors, and all other

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁸ *L'assassinat et paricide commis en la personne du tres-chrestien et tre-illustre Roi de France et de Pologne, Henry III du nom, le premier d'Aoust 1589. Emsemble les dernières paroles de sa Majesté touchant l'obeissance deue à Henry de Bourbon Roy de Navarre, lequel il declare son vray et legitime successeur à la Couronne de France (1589).*

⁴⁰⁹ *L'assassinat et paricide*, sig. D1. A similar narrative was developed by the *libelle* entitled *Le Discours aux François avec l'histoire veritable sur l'admirable accident e la mort de Henry de Valois, naguères Roi de France, advenue au bourg Saint-Cloud- Lès- Paris. Le premier jours d'aoust 1589 (Paris, 1589).*

information'.⁴¹⁰ Afterwards, Jacques Clément was executed, in accordance to the procedure established for those culpable of regicide: his body was quartered and burned. *The whole and true discours* developed an interesting narrative of this moment. The *libelle* did not linger on the moment of the execution. Instead, the text focused on the supposed transformation of the dead body of Clément:

Which being finished, through impatiency he was killed, suffering about a hundred thrusts with daggers, it is reported that the said Monks flesh became as blacke as a very raven, which is easie to be beleevved, because Sathan dwelt within him, and then the Iudgement of god that appeareth to men in diverse sorts: behold here a pityfull tragedy.⁴¹¹

According to *The whole and true discours*, the supposed transformation of the Jesuit priest's body was an indication of his evil nature. By adding to the narrative these supernatural elements, the *libelle* implicitly reaffirmed his position against the regicide. The assassination of Henry III was presented as the most terrible crime, inspired by Sathan. In the following lines, *The whole and true discours* completed its partisan account of the regicide by mentioning how the moribund Henry III was able to summon the most important noblemen of the kingdom to announce that Henry of Navarre was his legitimate successor to the French throne:

But as God will serve his purpose with men, by many and diverse sortes, the king being yet of good there, with the hope which hee had conceived that his wound might mend, sent with speede, for his brother in lawe the king of *Navarra*, the lordes of his Court [...] When they were all thus assembled, God put into the kings mouth so stedfast and speach, as though he had felt no grieffe, and began to signify to the assemblie: hat the lawful succession of the royall estate of *Fraunce*, fell not to anye other, saving in the person of *Barbon*, and declaring at that time the kinge of *Nauarra* first successor.⁴¹²

⁴¹⁰ *A whole and true discourse*, sig. E1.

⁴¹¹ *A whole and true discourse*, sig. E2.

⁴¹² *A whole and true discourse*, sig. E3.

However, the French and the English edition differed on the way they presented the role of the League in the planning of Henry III's assassination. Differently from the French text, *The whole and true discourse* placed a greater emphasis on the evil nature of the Leaguers. For example, *The whole and true discours* included some specific details such as the reference to the weapon used by the Jesuit priest to murder Henry III. The text mentioned how someone - presumably the Leaguers - previously empoisoned the knife used by Clément:

Upon the resolution thereof, they prepared him a knife for this purpose, which they double poisoned with such kind of poison, that though the party stricken with this Instrument dye not presentlie yet it shall not be possible for him to escape, nor lieu long after.⁴¹³

Additionally, *The whole and true discours* argued that the member of the Catholic League were culpable of having inspired the regicide. In the eyes of the English readers, the Catholics were again the faction responsible of having prepared the most heinous crimes:

These of the League, upon consideration thereof, provoke and stirre more and more, this poore cursed wretch, within whose hart Sathan lodged; to keepe, him alwaies in this cursed mind.⁴¹⁴

Furthermore, *The whole and true discourse* presented the regicide as an evil plot that the Leaguers planned in Paris. The *libelle* clearly presented the planning of Henry III's assassination as plan supported by the most heinous forces, such as Satan. According to what argued in the *The whole and true discourse*, Sathan chose Jacques Clément during an assembly supposedly organised in Paris:

This Counsell was holden at Paris, whereat were present at that time the principall heads of this league, in which place, Sathan offered one worse than ludas, for ludas kissed his maister after he had sold him, and acknowledged his offence afterwards. But this yong man, a Jacobin Frier.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹³ *A whole and true discourse*, sig. F1.

⁴¹⁴ *A whole and true discourse*, sig. F2.

⁴¹⁵ *A whole and true discourse*, sig. F3.

Through the description of this scene, the *libelle* portrayed in the mind of the reader a supernatural scenario, in which Sathan is imagined as the person who inspired the regicide. By creating this vivid image about Sathan, the *libelle* deployed a narrative in which the Leaguers were represented as the most malicious faction involved in the French Wars of Religion. The Leaguers were depicted as men belonging to 'many sortes of folke'.⁴¹⁶ The *libelle* portrayed the followers of the League as men that did not have any ability to discern what is good and what is evil. According to *The whole and true discourse*, the Leaguers were 'ignorant, ledde by their owne affection without judgement'.⁴¹⁷ The text continued to attack the Leaguers, by emphasising dishonesty and by remarking how they were people 'entermeddle to do things contrarie to all honest conversation'.⁴¹⁸

The great emphasis on the evil nature of the Leaguers was probably an ad hoc element added by the English publishers in order to make the text more appealing for the English readership and to reinforce a popular motif permeating the late Sixteenth Century English pamphlets, such as the anti-League propaganda. As Paul Voss argued, the 'Anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit propaganda was a very relevant theme discussed in Late Elizabethan pamphlets'.⁴¹⁹ The stigmatisation of the Leaguers as the most hateful enemies of the moderates and the Huguenots was a motif deployed by other *libelles* translated from French into English. Among the pamphlets translated during Henry of Navarre's conquest of the kingdom, several publications focused on the carnage of the war, by emphasising the horrors of the Catholic violence. The narrative focused on the tragedies of the war, by describing the horrors of the murders and the famine. The French publications translated into English attributed the responsibility of the situation to the violence of the radical Catholics. The pamphlets gave a strong emphasis to the condition of the city of Paris. For example, a French pamphlet entitled *The discoverer of France to the Parisians, and all other the French nation*⁴²⁰ translated by Edward Aggas and published by Thomas East in 1590, described the difficult situation in which Paris and its habitants were forced to live during the final years of the Wars of Religion:

⁴¹⁶ *A whole and true discourse*, sig. G1.

⁴¹⁷ *A whole and true discourse*, sig. G2.

⁴¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁹ Voss, p. 94.

⁴²⁰ *The discoverer of France to the Parisians, and all other the French nation. Faithfullies translated out of the French by E.A.* (London: Thomas East, 1590).

It is most certaine that Paris is become abandoned, her beautiful habitations being either lefte desolate, or turned into hospitals of diseased persons. Famine and sickness raging over her traitorous inhabitants, who by pride and rebellion challenging the powers instituted of God, and become anatomies of his anger.⁴²¹

A similar narrative is developed by another text translated into English and entitled *The Miserable estate of the citie of Paris at this present*.⁴²² The publication – printed by John Wolfe for Thomas Nelson in 1590 - aimed to highlight the horrors of the war in order to blame the Leaguers for the troubles that the wars caused. The anonymous author of *The Miserable estate* described in detail the critical situation that the city Paris and its habitants were experiencing due to the Wars of Religion. According to the text, the Leaguers were culpable of have provoked the difficult situation for the city of Paris, for not having accepted Navarre's legitimate succession to the throne:

First, in slaughtering the bloud of many thousande innocents, and secondly for resisting and rebelling from time to time against the authoritie of their Soueraigne and Christian King, wherein they have of long time continued. For which their so insolent crimes, doubtles almighty God doth iustly plague and punish them, the rather to make it knowen unto them and others, that he is a iust God, and will punish the bloud-thirstie and wicked, as he hath promised, even to the third and fourth generation.⁴²³

The anonymous author of text highlighted the terrible moments that the habitants of Paris experienced during the domination of the League. The text emphasised the famine that the people of Paris suffered, by describing the miserable practices to which they were forced in order to find subsistence:

⁴²¹ *The discoverer of France to the Parisians*, sig. C1.

⁴²² *The miserable estate of the citie of Paris at this present. With a true report of saundrie straunge visions, lately seene in the aire upon the coast of Britanie, both by sea and lande* (London: John Wolfe, 1590).

⁴²³ *The miserable estate of the citie of Paris*, sig. C3.

They are enforced to eate Horses, Asses, Dogges, Cattes, Rattes, Mice and other filthie and unaccustomed things for their sustenance, yea that which is more odious in respect of their necessitie, it is said that they are enforced to feede one upon an other.⁴²⁴

Furthermore, the *libelles* insisted significantly on the description of the starving that Paris' inhabitants suffered. A text entitled *A discourse of all such fights, skirmishes, exploits, and other politike attempts which have happened in France since the arrival of the Duke of Parma, and the ioyning of his forces with the enemies*⁴²⁵ and printed in London by Thomas Scarlet for William Wright in 1590 portrayed the situation in a very compelling way. The text reiterated the idea that the Leaguers were the main enemies of the French kingdom. As discussed in the first chapter of this thesis, this motif was already used in the 1560s by the French texts translated into English. While in the early years of the Wars of Religion, the Guises were identified as the responsible of the pillages and the massacres, in the late 1580s the Catholic League was blamed of having committed the same crimes:

Weasels and moles became daintie dishes at gentleman tables, and bore such a price, that no poore person was able to compass any, and then our stomacks began to be contended with any thing, were it a frying panne full of frogs, a dish of snails, or a skillet full of garden wormes sod in broth.⁴²⁶

Other *libelles* included references to rape and pillage. For example, a text printed in 1590 and entitled *The process or unpardonable crimes committed by the Parisians leaguers, who have beene authors of all the troubles, warres and calamities in France, and at this present feeling them selves oppressed with miserie, in most humble sort doe seeke and intreat to*

⁴²⁴ *The miserable estate of the citie of Paris*, sig. C4.

⁴²⁵ *A discourse of all such fights, skirmishes, exploits, and other politike attempts which have happened in France since the arrival of the Duke of Parma, and the ioyning of his forces with the enemies. Wherei is most truelie declared the good successe of the Kings Maiestie, and the manner of the entreching of the said Duke with all his forces in a moore, neere unto the castle of Brou. Trulie translated, and published according to the originall sent by the French King to his embassador here in England* (London: Thomas Scarlet, 1590).

⁴²⁶ *A discourse of all such fights, skirmishes, exploits*, sig. B1.

*come unto composition*⁴²⁷ placed a strong emphasis on the motivations that led the anonymous author to write about such horrible crimes. The text stated that the English readers knew about the war in France but were not aware of 'how and in what sorte this warre hath beene ledde and conducted'.⁴²⁸ The pamphlet described how the Leaguers' armies had 'most barbarously sack and spoile the country, kill the poore inhabitants thereof, deflour virgins and force women'.⁴²⁹ On the following page, the anonymous author continued telling stories about slaughter and rape. The scenario depicted by the text was almost apocalyptic and aimed to portray in the mind of the English readers the horrors perpetrated against the most vulnerable kind of people, such as women:

For it may be said truly, that fewe of all women and maidens that are fallen in their hands, have hardly escaped dishonesting, and those resisted their violence, in so much that they could not force them, have bin massacred. Nay, it is known (a thing to be execrable, and the like not heard among the barbarous people of Scitia) that some women being hurt to death, and ready to yeeled up their ghosts, and these villains desirous to enjoy their companies, departed out of this life, even as they play under them.⁴³⁰

The French texts translated into English remarked greatly the effect that the illegitimate rule of the League had on the French kingdom. The publication disseminated on the other side of the channel reinforced in the minds of the English readers the negative representation that the French publications have built about the radical Catholics since the 1560s and which emphasised what Arlette Jouanna described as the 'construction des antagonistes nationaux'.⁴³¹

⁴²⁷ *The process or unpardonable crimes committed by the Parisians leaguers, who have beene authors of all the troubles, warres and calamities in France, and at this present feeling them selves oppressed with miserie, in most humble sort doe seeke and intreat to come unto composition. Wherein all true subjectes may learne to beware, not to resist and rebel against their soveraign, by any allurements of traitours and seditious men* (London: John Wolfe, 1590).

⁴²⁸ *The process or unpardonable crimes committed by the Parisians leaguers*, sig. E3.

⁴²⁹ *The process or unpardonable crimes committed by the Parisians leaguers*, sig. G3.

⁴³⁰ *The process or unpardonable crimes committed by the Parisians leaguers*, sig. E4.

⁴³¹ Jouanna, *La France de la Renaissance*, p. 176.

The translation of the *The whole and true discourse* represented a significant moment within the process of translating and disseminating French texts in late Elizabethan England. The regicide represented a pressing issue in early modern Europe, in which several rulers presented themselves as divine right monarch. Moreover, the question of the regicide was considered as extremely dangerous in Elizabethan England, where the Tudor Queen did not have any heir to the throne. However, the translation of *The whole and true discourse* represented an evidence of the great interest that the event had for Elizabethan readers. The network of professionals behind the publication of the text had a precise idea of the demands of the English printing market. They put together a text that had a double purpose: satisfying the high demand for sensational news and focusing readers' attention on the dramatic events regarding the French Wars of Religion. By doing this, *The whole and true discourse* presented the regicide as the cruellest crime and developed further the anti-League propaganda.

3.3. *Narratives about the Struggle for the Succession: Navarre as a Valiant and Masculine Warrior (1589-1593)*

In the second half of the 1580s, Henri de Navarre appeared more than ever to be a providential man who intended to make France a co-religionist of England. The conflict between Henri de Valois and Henri de Bourbon prevented the full and complete devotion of the relevant authorities to the Huguenot cause. While the League experienced a radical evolution from 1584 onwards, the possibility of a Protestant taking over the throne of France came to be seen as an achievable possibility. Consequently, Navarre struggled to save France from threatening foreign influences, particularly Spain. Bourbon's military exploits signalled the correctness of his cause, and the English were regaled with accounts imported from the Continent. Texts translated from French flooded the English market from 1587 onwards, providing testimony of de Bourbon's political career. The composition of the volumes in which the French texts translated were published attested a careful attention paid by the printers to production of these publications.⁴³² Moreover, these texts built a

⁴³² Cyprian Balgden, *The Stationers' Company: A History, 1403-1959* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1958), pp. 287-292; Siebert, pp. 34-40; Clegg, pp. 85-91; Joseph Lowenstein, *The Author's Due: Printing and the Prehistory of Copyright* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 120-125.

precise image of Navarre: the French prince became a valiant warrior and a Protestant hero, who was fighting against the violent Leaguers.⁴³³ These traits seemed to be tacitly engineered in opposition to the representation of the last Valois kings and in particular that of Henry III, portrayed as physically weak and lacking virility. These materials showed how publicists in favour of Navarre created differences between the two sovereigns to clearly define the Bourbon's image. An *octavo* text of approximately fifteen pages, printed by John Wolfe, entitled *A Briefe discourse of the merveilous victorie gotten by the King of Navarre, against those of the holy League, on the twentieth of October 1587*,⁴³⁴ provides an account of the battle of Coutras in which Navarre and Condé dealt with the Catholic troops.⁴³⁵ The victory obtained by the Huguenots was overwhelming and immediately recorded in the Huguenots' accounts both in France and abroad, in part because the Duke of Joyeuse, one of Henri III's favourites, died on the battlefield. Navarre and the Huguenots were described as heroic, courageous and fearless in combat, yet magnanimous at the same time. They were said to be willing to die for their cause but even more prepared to rescue the injured and bury their dead with dignity:

The King of Navarre notwithstanding his good successe seeketh to win his aduersaries by his great curtesie, having entreated his prisoners and such as were wounded in such sort, as that they have great cause to acknowledge and confesse that he love France and Frenchmen.⁴³⁶

Additionally both the personal and the military qualities of Navarre were exalted. He had great military ability and an extraordinary charisma that was particularly significant for the positive ending of the battle. Moreover, all the negative connotations were reserved to the Leaguers:

⁴³³ Potter, 'Kingship in the Wars of Religion', pp. 485-528 (p. 490).

⁴³⁴ *A Briefe discourse of the merveilous victorie gotten by the King of Navarre, against those of the holy League, on the twentieth of October 1587* (London: John Wolfe, 1587).

⁴³⁵ The Battle of Coutras was fought on 20 October 1587 close to the town of Coutras in Aquitaine. The battle was a major engagement in the French Wars of Religion between a Huguenot army under Henry of Navarre and a royalist army led by Anne, Duke of Joyeuse. Henry of Navarre was victorious; Joyeuse was killed while attempting to surrender. See: Babelon, pp. 108-109; Garrisson, *Henri IV*, pp. 75-79; Greengrass, pp. 89-94.

⁴³⁶ *A Briefe Discourse*, sig. A3.

The excellent military knowledge of the King of Navarre gave great advantages to the Huguenots in the battle of Coutras. The true value of his prince was clear in Coutras. The vanity, the ambition and the anger were in his adversaries.⁴³⁷

The portrayal of Henri de Navarre as a generous warrior appeared to be the most salient aspect of this publication. Indeed, the narration was characterised by a rather flat style, giving the impression that the author was not concerned with particular rhetorical devices.⁴³⁸ The text appeared to be of an informative nature, as indicated by the detailed accounts of the battle and the list of fatalities and prisoners appearing at the end of the document. There was no obvious distinction in the way that the deaths of Catholics were reported as compared to those fighting with Navarre.

Interestingly, the *Briefe discourse* was composed in two languages, as evident from the cover page, which reads, 'both in English and in French, as it was printed in France'.⁴³⁹ The French text follows the English text and it is entitled *Discours sommaire de la Miraculeuse victoire, obtenue par le Roy de Navarre, contre ceux de la Ligue le 20 d'octobre 1587*.⁴⁴⁰ The character type settings for each language were different, with the English appearing in Gothic lettering and the French appearing in Roman lettering. Indeed, it was very difficult to establish whether the French and English versions came from France or whether John Wolfe had the French text translated. A comparison of the two texts revealed some divergence: in several instances, the English version, the *Briefe discourse*, contained more accurate accounts than the French text. Similarly, the English text included additional information as the presence of supporting armies coming from the German area.⁴⁴¹ Therefore, it is difficult

⁴³⁷ *A Briefe Discourse*, sig. A4.

⁴³⁸ The tone of the pamphlet was quite factual, as the following examples illustrate. The syntax employed in the text was simple as the following examples could illustrate: "The Prince of Conde had his horse slaine under him. The Earle of Soysson took with his owne hand diuers prisoners. The Lord of Turennes horse was slaine under him". Another relevant passage regarding this point could be: "Many auncients and standards were taken, and amongst them the chiefe standard of al. The footemen all slaine. The ordinance taken. The carriage lost". See: *A Briefe Discourse*, sig. A4.

⁴³⁹ For a copy of the English the French frontispieces, see Appendix 6.

⁴⁴⁰ *Discours sommaire de la Miraculeuse victoire, obtenue par le Roy de Navarre, contre ceux de la Ligue le 20 d'octobre 1587* (1587).

⁴⁴¹ In the French text, no geographical origin was assigned to the troops in question. The English expressions were often more carefully worded than their French counterparts, particularly in cases

to determine with certainty which of the two texts served as the source for the other, especially because English text is sometimes more precise than the French text.⁴⁴² It is also possible that this bilingual edition published by Wolfe is the result of an ad hoc composition created for an English readership. Additionally, the presence of a French text could be a tool employed by the publisher to make the text more authentic.

At the end of the volume, there was a reproduction of a letter from the King of Navarre to his Secretary of State, Monsieur de la Marcelliere, written in an official tone. The publisher must have seen the inclusion of this letter as important, as it is mentioned on the volume's cover:

Whereunto is added as soone as it came to my hand since the first impression, The true copie of a Letter sent by the King of Navarre to his Secretary at Rochil, aswell in confirmation of the victorie against the Duke loyeuse, as also the overthrow that the Switzers gave the Duke of Guise.⁴⁴³

The pamphlet provided authenticity to the account that followed and emphasised the significance of such a publication. The longer account of the battle at Coutras was more detailed than the description included in other sources, as the letter sent by Henry of Navarre to Burghley.⁴⁴⁴ The unquestioned victory of the Huguenots was as attributed to the piety of the victor:

The great Ordinance, Artillerie, Cornets and Ensignes, both of horsemen and footemen are taken, with a generall dissipation of the whole Armie, for the which it is duetifull that in publike and priuate

when the troops' movements were described: "On Tuesday next following betimes in the morning the Duke of loyeuse marched forward and encamped himself between the Roch Chalais and Coutras, with all his armie: and pointed to fight his field halfe a league from Coutras, with the most vantage". See: *A Briefe Discourse*, sig. A5.

⁴⁴² For example, to describe an order given by the military leaders, the English text employ the word "ordinance", whereas the French version make use of words with a more general meaning as "canon" or "pieces". See: *A Briefe Discourse*, sig. B1; *Discours sommaire*, sig. B2.

⁴⁴³ *A Briefe Discourse*, sig. E5.

⁴⁴⁴ National Archives, Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, October-November 1587, Nov. 5, 1587, Henry of Navarre to Burghley, fol. 2.

sorte, we render thanks to almighty God.⁴⁴⁵

A military genius and a good Christian, the prince appeared once more as an irreproachable hero. An analysis of the texts revealed a series of discrepancies that suggest the occurrence of modifications in the process of translation. The English version was not simply a *duplicata* of a source text. The English publishers printed the text with substantial modifications: the most significant was represented by the length of the text. The English version was undoubtedly shorter than the French one. The parts not included in the English account were concerned with the descriptions of particulars that occurred during the battle, like the different movement of troops. The English texts seemed to offer a less articulated account of the event, in which the most relevant thing appeared to be the description of the victory obtained by the Huguenots. Therefore, it is difficult to evaluate exactly what role the translator or the publisher played in the construction of the English text, but it is certain that intervened in the creation and circulation of such writings in England.

A similar account of the battle of Coutras was included in a text published in England in the same year. The publication was printed by John Wolfe and Edward Aggas and is entitled *A Letter written by a French Catholike gentleman to the Maisters at Sorbonne. Concerning the late victories obtained by the King of Navarre, aswel against the Duke of loyouse at Coutras upon Tuesday the Twentieth of October 1587*⁴⁴⁶ and it is the translation of *Lettre d'un gentilhomme Catholique a Messieurs de la Sorbonne sur les dernieres victoires du Roy de Navarre contre le Duc de Jouyese le 21 Octobre 1587*,⁴⁴⁷ published in Paris in 1587. The translation was not signed, but the participation of Edward Aggas in the publication was evidence of his involvement in the creation of English version. Therefore, it was probable that Aggas was the translator, as it was common for him to translate the texts that he published. Aggas' involvement indicated that the anonymous text could have been written by Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, a Huguenot theorist and also a close advisor to Navarre. During his life, Aggas collaborated in various publications of Duplessis-Mornay's works translated into English. In 1576 and 1577, John Alde published with Aggas his translation of the *Excellent*

⁴⁴⁵ *A Briefe Discourse*, sig. F2.

⁴⁴⁶ *A Letter written by a French Catholike gentleman to the Maisters at Sorbonne. Concerning the late victories obtained by the King of Navarre, as wel against the Duke of loyouse at Coutras vpon Tuesday the Twentieth of October 1587* (London: John Wolfe, 1587).

⁴⁴⁷ *Lettre d'un gentilhomme Catholique a Messieurs de la Sorbonne sur les dernieres victoires du Roy de Navarre contre le Duc de Jouyese le 21 Octobre 1587* (Paris, 1587).

discourse of life and death, which originally appeared in French in 1576.⁴⁴⁸ *A Letter* was of a much larger scale and magnitude than the *Brief discourse*. The volume was approximately eighty pages in length and consisted of powerful, gothic type. The author claims that he decided to address a public letter to the Sorbonne's doctors in order to end the struggle generated by the succession to the French throne. The account of the battle at Coutras included in the text served as an illustration of the superiority of the King of Navarre over the Catholics. The death of the Duke of Joyeuse was mentioned as the principal cause of Catholic defeat:

I bewaile this publike calamitie, howbeit, not so as to despaire of whatsoeuer this heauy day hath left us, but rather to seeke after the moste firme and stedfast kinde of hope, that we lay and ought to conceyue, to the ende to bring forth the peace of this miserable realme.⁴⁴⁹

The account of the battle serves as a prelude to the deeper analysis of the situation in France at the time. The account of the Coutras battle covered no more than a quarter of the text, but these twenty pages constituted a much more developed version of the battle than was presented in *Briefe Discourse*. The text repeated numerous expressions⁴⁵⁰ already used in other accounts, as the *Briefe Discourse*. For example, the explanation of the context of the battle was very similar in both *A Letter* and in the *Brief Discourse*: The author of *A Letter* described it as follows:

I will lay open vnto you the new wounds that we haue receyued in the late battaile of *Coutras* the twentieth of this moneth by the King of *Navarre*, with the assistance of the Lords the prince of *Conde*, the Earle of *Soissons*, the Lord of *Turenne*, *Trimouille*, and other Lords and gentlemen their partakers. The saide King being returned from *Monsoreau* where he had happely sojourned for the space of

⁴⁴⁸ Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, *Excellent discourse of life and death* (London: John Allde, 1576)

⁴⁴⁹ *A Letter written by a French Catholicke*, sig. A2.

⁴⁵⁰ *A Letter written by a French Catholicke*, sig. C1. Some recurring expressions were – for example – those describing the different times in which the actions took place. The *Brief discourse* referred to very precise moment such as 'the Tuesday next following' and 'so about eight o'clock' to which *A Letter by a French Catholicke* and *Newes from France* mentioned too.

fiftéene dayes or more after the ouerthrow of the troupes of the late D.
of *loyeuse*.⁴⁵¹

Even the structure of the anecdotes mentioned is the same in both texts: firstly there was a description of the battle with the celebration of the victory and after several episodes that underlined the clemency of Navarre. Unsurprisingly, the portrayal of the King of Navarre was laudatory:

Concerning the King of Navarre, I have heard credibly reported that he was one of the sharpest in fight, and buckled earnestly, yea so farre fourth as by force to cary away Chasteau-renauds Cornet, also to have received a taint in the necke with a speare and other blowes that bruised his hands and face. To be briefe, that he shewed himselfe a Captaine in ordering his battailes and a souldier in fight.⁴⁵²

Based on the same military events, the author of *A Letter of a Catholicke Gentleman* glorified cleverly the Huguenots' victory more than the *Brief discourse*. The Huguenots' kindness towards the prisoners, which was shortly mentioned in the *Brief discourse*, gained in this text a significant prominence. The author emphasised Navarre's charisma, which convinced a defeated army to join the ranks of the vanquisher:

The same is but too sufficient to wrest from you this belief: and if you do but beholde the rest that remaineth captive with the King of *Navarre*, you shall as a man would see our sorrow more liuvely, as if their captivitie should unchaine those mischiefes which come in poste to our oppression. The most notable of them will also name unto you. All these were Captains and men of authoritie, and so acknowledged of all, among when I reckon not the Captaines of the foolemen, neither many other private Gentlemen that had no charge, and are either taken, wounded or slaine. As for those that yet live, it

⁴⁵¹ *A Letter written by a French Catholicke*, sig. C2.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*

may be shall hereafter have some comfort of them, as hoping they may returne into the kings of Navarre service.⁴⁵³

As mentioned above, the *Letter of a Catholicke Gentleman* included also an analysis of the French situation related to the succession of Navarre to the throne. The centrality of the religious issues was further emphasised in relation to the question of the complicated French succession. The responsibility of the violent French conflict was attributed both to the Guises and the Spain. The polemic both against the most important French Catholic *lineage* and the Spanish kingdom was central for the English readership, since the relations between Spain and England were conflictual. Once more, the author reproached the Leaguers for using religious arguments as a pretext to reach their political purposes. The Guise appeared as the most capable manipulators, and their thirst for power was insatiable:

The Guizardes would, to the preiudice of the house of Burbon, inuade this realme, every man knoweth it, neither is there any thing so common in the peoples mouthes: wherefore, because the King of Navarre, who is the neerest and the Prince of Conde, do professe the reformed religion, and so consequently are called heretikes. To be briefe, for the fulfilling of their ambition, we must heape up our tombes with carkases: the heapes of their oppressed partakers are the staires whereby they climbe up to heaven.⁴⁵⁴

The Guises were represented as manipulators concerned with their ambitions and their craving for power. These outrageous remarks represented the attitudes of an aggrandizing Spain, always quick to harm its neighbours. Spain was described as the supreme enemy. Following the signing of the Treaty of Joinville in December 1584, Phillip II and the Duke of Guise were in constant contact, and the King of Spain officially supported the candidacy of the Cardinal of Bourbon for the French throne, despite the wishes of the King of Navarre.⁴⁵⁵ Additionally, for certain Huguenots authors, Phillip II played a supporting role in French

⁴⁵³ *A Letter written by a French Catholicke*, sig. D1.

⁴⁵⁴ *A Letter written by a French Catholicke*, sig. D2.

⁴⁵⁵ Holt, *The French Wars*, pp. 86-88.

internal politics.⁴⁵⁶

In opposition to a negative representation of the *Leaguers*, Henry's reputation reached near-heroic proportions. Reports from the news pamphlets and elsewhere described Henry as the most humane, intelligent, honourable and valiant prince. In a publication entitled *A true discourse of the most happy victories of the King of Navarre*⁴⁵⁷ - that was the verbatim translation of the *Discourse sur les heureuses victoires du Roy de Navarre*⁴⁵⁸ - Henry was described enthusiastically:

He was remarked for the most heroicall and magnanimous King, for the most victorius and invincible warrior that ever unsheated sword for a Kingdom [...] Having been personally present and fought more then fourteene of fiveteene pitched fields, and had a victorie on his side at them all.⁴⁵⁹

In this description of Henry and in other passages, one constant remained: Henry emerged as a man full of courage, valour and magnanimity. The pamphlets implicitly foregrounded the differences between the bodily attributes of Henry III - corrupted by perversions - and the strong body of Navarre, which was able to withstand the hardships of war. Keith Cameron highlighted how these representations were linked to the symbolism regarding the king's body. The resilient body of Henry of Navarre became a metaphor for France regaining strength under his rule. The narrative developed by these texts seemed also to rely on a 'patriarchy derived rhetoric',⁴⁶⁰ describing the bond between monarch and kingdom. The reports contained no mention of conflict, trouble or disagreement between Henry and his troops. The image of Navarre also seemed to be calculated to appeal to those most invested in matters of war, the nobility of the court. The following passage was illustrative of this positive tone:

Every man must confess the great clemencie of the King and how he

⁴⁵⁶ Myriam Yardeni, 'Antagonismes nationaux et propagande durant les guerres de religion, *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*', 13 (1966) 273-284 (p. 280).

⁴⁵⁷ *A true discourse of the most happy victories of the King of Navarre* (London: John Wolfe, 1588).

⁴⁵⁸ *Discourse sur les heureuses victoires du Roy de Navarre*, (1588).

⁴⁵⁹ *A true discourse*, sig. C1

⁴⁶⁰ Cameron, *Henri III*, pp. 153-154.

had rather win his rebellious people by mercie than by rigour as by Chartraines may be seene. The ostinated hearts would not acknowledge his M. for their soveraigne, but wist hood him to the uttermost of their might, treating and breathing out most unnatural speeches against him.⁴⁶¹

The English perception of Henry, at least the image that dominated the Elizabethan era, usually included a measure of divine providence. Paul Voss stated that the pamphlets suggested that Henry, like Queen Elizabeth, was an extension of God's beneficence. Henry was at various times compared to Solomon, Saint-George, Hercules and Alexander the Great. For example, the *True Discourse* presented Navarre as assisted by God:⁴⁶²

Who so considere the present estate of the French King may easily see and perceive how unspeakable and what power of woorkes of God are, in the defence of those that put their trust in him [...] It cannot be otherwise saide, but the God of Heaven doth aide and assist his majestie.⁴⁶³

Given the many positive and widely circulating oral and written representations of Henry in England prior to his conversion, he became the most famous and beloved non-English person of the era. Henri III's death was a huge shock to the English nation, but it permitted the ascension of Henri IV to the throne, which would have been unimaginable twenty years earlier. From the second half of 1580s to 1593, the English followed Henri IV's progress with intense interest. The texts circulating in England were drawn from the same source as those of the previous period: official texts, which are often official documents, polemical treaties and authentic or fictitious accounts that focused on the major events that occurred during the French Wars of Religion.⁴⁶⁴ In this context, Navarre's figure became interesting for the English readership: a valiant and generous prince, Navarre was represented in England as the legitimate heir to the French throne.

⁴⁶¹ *A true discourse*, sig. C2.

⁴⁶² Voss, pp. 135-137.

⁴⁶³ *A true discourse*, sig. C3.

⁴⁶⁴ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, pp. 45-47.

3.4. Narratives about the Early Deeds of Henry IV: Reaffirming Navarre's Legitimate Succession and Strengthening Royal Authority (1593-1598)

The early 1590s marked the peak of the struggle between Henry of Navarre and the Catholic League for the French Crown. The Leaguers were determined to not acknowledge the succession of the Calvinist Navarre by imposing their candidates to the throne, such as the Duke of Mayenne and the young Duke of Guise.⁴⁶⁵ However, the lack of participation to the Estate General - held in January 1593 and summoned by the Leaguers in order to set aside the principles of the Salic Law – showed how the representatives considered a meeting not recognised by the French monarch as illegal. In this complex context, on 25 July 1593 Henry of Navarre abjured the Calvinist faith and converted to the Catholic religion. With this strategical move – decided by Henry in agreement with his closest advisors, such as Duplessis-Mornay⁴⁶⁶ - the former Huguenot prince 'eliminated at a stroke the *raison d'être* of the Estates-General and dissolved the one unifying thread that held the League together since 1588'.⁴⁶⁷ On 27 February 1594, Henry IV was crowned in the cathedral of Chartres and in the following months – till the beginning of 1595 – he managed to reconquer most of the major French towns, yet submitted to the League. Despite the early difficulties in the consolidation his power in a kingdom torn by three decades of Wars of Religion, Henry IV managed to achieve two important political goals: the pacification with the Huguenots – granted by the Edict of Nantes in 1598 – and the end of the war with Spain, established in the same year by the Edict of Vervins.

The echo of the major events concerned with deeds of Henry of Navarre reached Elizabethan government through the channel of diplomatic correspondence. When Elizabeth I received the news of Henry's conversion, she expressed all her disappointment in a letter sent to the French monarch in July 1593:

Ah! que douleurs, oh! quels regrets, oh! que gemissements je sentoie
en on ame per le son de telles nouvelles que Morlains m'a compté!
Mon Dieu! Encore j'espere que plus saine inspiration vous adviendra.

⁴⁶⁵ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 151.

⁴⁶⁶ Babelon, p. 279.

⁴⁶⁷ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 152

Cependant, je ne cesseray de vous mettre au premier reng de mes
devotions.⁴⁶⁸

The sudden conversion of Henry IV jeopardised the cordial friendship that began in the early 1570s. Despite the withdrawal of the English army from France – decided by Elizabeth after Henry's conversion– records in the diplomatic correspondence showed how the two monarchs continued to have a regular and respectful relationship until Elizabeth's death in 1603.⁴⁶⁹

The English readership continued to follow Henry's deeds after his conversion. However, this moment represented a turning point in the developing of a narrative about Henry of Navarre in late Elizabethan England. After the conversion, the number of French texts translated into English and focused on the Wars of Religion began to decrease in 1593. The Stationers' Register recorded only six texts translated from French, while in 1592 and 1591 were reported eleven and twenty-five publications respectively. If the interest for the French affairs seemed to have decreased – and to get substituted by the attention to the conflict with Spain – the texts translated into English followed the main moment of Henry's deeds after the conversion: the general truce signed by Leaguers and Henry in August 1593, the edicts with which he announced the war against Spain,⁴⁷⁰ his coronation (27 February 1594), the attempted regicide committed by Jean Châtel (29 December 1594) and the edict of Nantes (1598).⁴⁷¹

⁴⁶⁸ National Archives, Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, January-July 1593, Jul. 27, 1589, Elizabeth I to Henry IV, fol. 1.

⁴⁶⁹ Rayne Allinson, 'Well Worth a Letter: King Henry IV of France, 1572-1603', in *A Monarchy of Letters. Royal Correspondence and English Diplomacy in the Reign of Elizabeth I*, ed. by Rayne Allinson (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2012), pp. 151-166 (p. 151).

⁴⁷⁰ The translation of the pamphlets concerning the war declaration against Spain were particularly appealing to the English readership, given the conflict occurred between Elizabeth I and Philip II (1588-1604). See: Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 115.

⁴⁷¹ The official decrees issued by Henry IV and translated into English between 1593 and 1598 were the following: *Articles accorded for the truce generall in France. Faythfully translated out of the French cobby*, London, printed by John Wolfe for Andrew White, 1593; *The French kings edict upon the reducing of the citie of Paris under his obedience. Published the 28 of March 1594. Whereto is adioyned the said kinges letters patents for the reestablishment of the Court of Parliament at Paris. Also a decree of the saide Court of Parliament of the 30 March, concerning a revocation of whatsoever hath bene committed in prejudice of the kings authoritie, and the lawes of the land. All faithfully translated out of the French copies printed at Paris by Frederick Morell, by E.A.* (London: John Windet, 1594); *The copie of a letter sent by the French king to the people of Artoys and Henault*,

The publications translated from French and disseminated after Henry's conversion aimed to portray Henry's persona as the legitimate ruler of France. If the publications translated between 1589 and 1593 developed a narrative that portrayed Henry as a valiant warrior, the texts imported and disseminated by 1593 and 1598 mainly highlighted the lawfulness of Henry's ruler, by presenting him as a rightful monarch, who fought for the safety of his kingdom. The French texts translated into English did not make 'any allusion to the controversial change of religion'⁴⁷² or to the circumstances surrounding his disastrous marriage with Margaret of Navarre, which did not lead to the birth of any heir.⁴⁷³ They rather focused on episodes that emphasised the royal authority gained by Henry through the succession, such as the coronation in the Chartres' cathedral and the attempted regicide. Therefore, these publications developed a partisan narrative seemed to reinforce Henry IV's royal authority, by discussing events that dealt with the affirmation of monarchical power. Through the condemnation of the regicide and the celebration of Henry's coronation, the French texts translated into English that aimed both to strength the authority – previously contested – of the new king and to portray him as a rightful monarch.

The English readership followed the major event that marked the establishment of Henry IV's royal authority: the coronation that happened in Chartres on 27 February 1594. A French text translated from French into English, printed in 1594 and entitled *The order of the ceremonies observed in the anointing and coronation of the most Christian King of France and Navarre, Henry the IIII. of that name, celebrated in our Lady Church, in the cittie of Chartres uppon Sondag the 27 of February 1594.*⁴⁷⁴ According to the information provided on the front-page of the text, was 'faithfully translated out of the French

requesting them to remooove the forces gathered by the king of Spaine, from the borders of France, otherwise denouncing open warre, Also a declaration of the French kings proclaiming open warre against the king of Spaine and his adherents, and the causes him moving therto (London: Peter Short, 1595); *The Kings edict and declaration upon the former edicts of pacification. Published in Paris at the Parliament held the XXV of Februarie 1599. At Paris, by the printers and stationers ordinary ordinary to the King, 1599, cum provilegio dictae Maiestatis* (London: Richard Field, 1599).

⁴⁷² Voss, p. 185,

⁴⁷³ Viennot, *Marguerite de Valois*, p. 91. Up to 1592, the devoted Catholics continued to resist Henry's rule because he had not overcome the history of royal reproductive failure or dispelled the gendered sexual anxiety that was attached to it. Henry was thus susceptible to many of the same charges of weakness and impotency that had marked the previous reign.

⁴⁷⁴ *The order of the ceremonies observed in the anointing and coronation of the most Christian King of France and Navarre, Henry the IIII. of that name, celebrated in our Lady Church, in the cittie of Chartres uppon Sondag the 27. of February 1594. Faithfully translated out of the French copy printed at Roan, by commaundement of the said Lord, by E.A* (London: John Windet, 1594).

copy printed at Roan⁴⁷⁵ by Edward Aggas and published in London by John Windet for John Fiasket. The information provided in the front-page of the text provided evidence of the connections between the French and the English printing network: as other pamphlets discussed in this thesis, *The order of the ceremonies* was translated from the French copy printed in Rouen. This front-page of this text presented also another peculiarity: despite the cheap *in-octavo* edition, the printer John Windet included a woodcut portrait of Henry IV on the cover page of the pamphlet. This woodcut was one of the rare portraits of Henry IV circulating in late Elizabethan England.⁴⁷⁶ The image reiterated Henry's representation in official portraits. He wore an elegant gown, while his most important physical connotation was included in the woodcut: the important nose, the fluent beard and the magnanimous smile.⁴⁷⁷

Since the beginning, *The order of the ceremonies* reinforced the rightfulness of Henry's rule by stating how the divine will had 'miraculously guided and advanced the king to the lawful succession of the monarchy'.⁴⁷⁸ Subsequently, the text offered a detailed description of all the rituals concerned with the coronation of Henry IV. The pamphlet followed all the stages that led to the preparation of the ceremony: the arrival of Henry in Chartres, the gathering of the nobility, the procession leading to the cathedral. Furthermore, *The order of the ceremonies* provided a long and elaborated description of the anointment, the key-moment of the entire ceremony. Through the anointment, Henry became officially the legitimate king of France. Therefore, the English readership followed the moments that led the former Protestant prince to become the French monarch. Through the emphasis on the anointment, *The order of the ceremonies* reinforced the idea that Henry – after he had triumphantly defeated the Leaguers – was chosen and anointed by God as the legitimate king of France. This element was extremely important for the reconstruction of the public image of the French monarchy. Subsequently, *The order of the ceremonies* emphasised the problems encountered by Henry IV in choosing the appropriate location for the coronation ceremony. The traditional rituals of the French monarchy established that the coronation had to be held in the cathedral of Reims. However, because the city of Reims was still under the League's

⁴⁷⁵ *The order of the ceremonies*, sig. A.

⁴⁷⁶ Appendix 7 includes a copy of the woodcut

⁴⁷⁷ Appendix 8 includes Henry IV's portrait by Frans Pourbus le Jeune (ca. 1610), which contributed to spread his official image.

⁴⁷⁸ *The order of the ceremonies*, sig. A3.

domination, Henry IV had to choose an alternative location for the ceremony: Chartres, which represented one of the most ancient cathedrals of the French kingdom.

Additionally, *The order of the ceremonies* emphasised Henry's entry in the town of Chartres. The royal entry – a crucial moment symbolising the bond between the towns and the new monarch – was extremely important at the time of Henry's succession, when the monarch had to reaffirm the strength of the royal power. As Paul Kleber Monod argued, 'under the rule of Henry IV public rituals concentrated on show the majesty, like the coronation and the triumphal entrées into important towns':⁴⁷⁹

His Maiesty arrived there, uppon Thursday the seaventéenth of February last, without any triumphant entry, which the French kinges doo use to make, at the towne where they are to be annoynted, the day before the solemnization thereof: but in respect that at the reduction of the said towne into his Maiesties obedience, he had already there made his entry.⁴⁸⁰

The passage remarked how Henry made his entry before the coronation – and therefore had formally submitted the town to his power. The coronation ceremony was presented as a supplementary evidence of the loyalty that the town of Chartres had already demonstrated to Henry IV. Therefore, *The order of the ceremonies* developed a striking contrast between Reims – a rebel town, still held by the Leaguers – and Chartres that showed its loyalty to the new King of France:

His Maiesty therefore resolved to be annoynted, and could have wished that the said ceremony might have béene perfourmed in the Church of Rheims, the rather for that of long time, the kinges have never béene other where annoynted but there [...] that in as much as Rheims was still enclined to persist in her rebellion, the same should be perfourmed at our Lady Church in Chartres.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷⁹ Paul Kléber Monod, *The Power of Kings. Monarchy and Religion in Europe, 1589-1715* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 76.

⁴⁸⁰ *The order of the ceremonies*, sig. B1.

⁴⁸¹ *The order of the ceremonies*, sig. B2.

Subsequently, *The order of the ceremonies* portrayed Henry as a humble monarch who had submitted himself to the supreme divine power. This element marked a difference in the way Henry was portrayed by the French texts translated into English. Between 1589 and 1595 Henry was portrayed as a masculine and valiant prince, willing to defend his kingdom against the violence of the Catholic League. After the succession, Henry's public image changed: he began to be represented as the legitimate and benevolent ruler. Indeed, he submitted the kingdom to his authority, which came directly from a divine will:

The king being thus cloathed, the Archbishop tooke againe the plate whereuppon lay the holy oyntment, and layd some upon the palme of the kinges right hand, for the right annoynting. Then in the palme of the left hand for the ninth annoynting [...]The kinges handes thus annoynted and hallowed, hée layeth them close uppon his brest, and then delivereth him a paire of hallowed gloves, wherin he putteth his hands, and this is the blessing of the gloves.⁴⁸²

Furthermore, the attempted regicide committed by Jean Châtel led to the publications of several accounts of the episode in France: these publications developed a narrative of the attempted murder and sometimes included details about the execution of Châtel, which took place in Paris on 29 December 1594. Three of these publications were translated and disseminated in late Elizabethan England. Two of them were *libelles*, offering an account of the attempted regicide, while one of them was the text of an official document containing the decrees released by the *Parlement* of Paris against Châtel.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸² *The order of the ceremonies*, sig. B3.

⁴⁸³ The SCT included two copies of the decree issued by the *Parlement* of Paris against Jean Châtel, both printed in 1595 respectively by Robert Walde and Peter Short. The texts were translated out of the French text published in Paris by Jean Mettayer, as stated by the titles: *The decree of the Court of Parliament against John Chastel, scholler, student in the Colledge of the Iesuites, upon the parricide by him attempted against the King's person. Also for the banishment of the whole societie of the said Iesuites out of France and all the Kings dominions, withal containing a prohibition, not to send their children to any Colledge of the saide societie. Faithfullie translated out of the French copy printed at Paris, by Iamet Mettayer and Pierre L'Huillier, the Kings printers and stationers ordinarie* (Edinburgh, Robert Walde, 1595); *The decree of the Court of Parliament against John Chastel, scholler, student in the Colledge of the Iesuites, upon the parricide by him attempted against the King's person. Also for the banishment of the whole societie of the said Iesuites out of France and all the Kings dominions, withal containing a prohibition, not to send their children to any Colledge of*

One of the two *libelles* translated into English was entitled *The copie of a letter sent to Monsieur de Beauvoir lord ambassador for the French king wherin is shewed the late attempt of a Jesuite who would have killed the kings Maiestie with a knife*⁴⁸⁴ and – accordingly to the information provided on the cover page – was printed in London by Peter Short in 1594. As inferable from the title, the text was written as a letter supposedly sent to Jean de la Fin, seigneur de Beavoir-La Nucle and ambassador of Henry IV at the Elizabethan court. This publication had a significant peculiarity: along with the English letter, the *libelle* included a supposedly original version of the document in French. The inclusion of the two versions of the letter should be considered a way to reinforce the truthfulness of the information proposed. Such a hypothesis is supported by the information we have about the way publishers and printers of cheap texts operated in Sixteenth Century England. Due to high demand of cheap and sensational texts, people involved in the printing process attempted to use all the possible stratagems to implement the number of pamphlets sold. According to Joad Raymond, printers and publishers often tried to emphasise the truthfulness of their publication by either providing the copy of the text in the original language or by adding reference to individuals who had received and transmitted the news⁴⁸⁵.

The copie of a letter started with a short praise to God, who ‘with his great mercie miraculously preserved his Majesty from it’.⁴⁸⁶ The anonymous author of the text selected very carefully the events around which the account revolved. *The copie of a letter* described how the attempted regicide happened at the ‘returne of the kinge into the cittie of Paris, from out the Picardie’,⁴⁸⁷ when Henry IV was accompanied by members of the nobility such as ‘the Lords and Princes of Conty, and Saint Paule, and aboue thirty or forty of the chiefe Noblemen, and gentlemen of his court’.⁴⁸⁸ Before describing the moment of the attempted

the saide societie. Faithfullie translated out of the French copy printed at Paris, by Iamet Mettayer and Pierre L’Huillier, the Kings printers and stationers ordinarie (London: Peter Short, 1595). Sarah Barker suggested that the reference to Mettayer and L’Huillier’s texts represented an evidence of cross-channel links between printers and publishers. See: Barker, ‘Translating Treason’, pp. 178-213 (p. 210).

⁴⁸⁴ *The copie of a letter sent to Monsieur de Beauvoir lord ambassador for the French king wherin is shewed the late attempt of a Jesuite who would have killed the kings Maiestie with a knife*, (London: Peter Short, 1594). The original French text was not traced.

⁴⁸⁵ Raymond, p.148.

⁴⁸⁶ *The copie of a letter sent to Monsieur de Beauvoir*, sig. A2.

⁴⁸⁷ *The copie of a letter sent to Monsieur de Beauvoir*, sig. A3.

⁴⁸⁸ *The copie of a letter sent to Monsieur de Beauvoir*, sig. B1.

regicide, *A copie of a letter* included a detailed description of Jean Châtel, that created a vivid portrayal of the murderer in the mind of the English readers:

It happened a yoong fellowe, of verie smal stature, and not above eightéene, or ninetéene yeares of age, called *Peter Chastel*, the sonne of a Merchant draper in this cittie, followed in amongst the prease, into the chamber.⁴⁸⁹

Subsequently, the moment of the attempted regicide was described with abundance of details. Jean Châtel was portrayed as a devious man, who took advantage of the magnanimity Henry IV and managed to come close to the King in order to assassinate him:

And thrusting forward as néere to the person of the kinge as hee coulde, (without being noted or suspected of any there present) he strake at the king with a knife, whith he had brought to that purpose, thinking to have thrust him into the belly. But so, it fell out through the mightie providence of God, that the king in that verie instant, bowing himselfe forward, to take up the saide lordes of *Ragny*, and *Montagny*, (which kneled before him) the stroke lighted upon his face on the upper lip toward the right side, and brake one of his téeth, without dooing any further harme.⁴⁹⁰

The copie of a letter attributed Henry's safety to the intervention of God. This element represented an important aspect aimed to reinforce Henry's image of legitimate monarch. In a moment in which Henry had still to face the League's opposition in few French towns, the attribution of his safety to the divine will remarked the bond between the monarch and God and emphasised the legitimacy of his succession to the throne. The divine intervention also represented a meaningful way to contrast the regicide's ideas spread by the Leaguers: God's authority blessed Henry's succession and sanctioned the rightfulness of his rule.

⁴⁸⁹ *The copie of a letter sent to Monsieur de Beauvoir*, sig. B3.

⁴⁹⁰ *The copie of a letter sent to Monsieur de Beauvoir*, sig. C1.

The final lines of *The copie of a letter* linked the Châtel's action to the anti-Jesuit propaganda. This motif was highly popular in France, and various texts concerning the attempted regicide discussed the supposed involvement of the Catholic congregation in the murder. The pamphlets circulating in France mentioned how Châtel and the Jesuits – to which the French priest belonged – inspired the idea of assassinating Henry IV.⁴⁹¹ Attacking the Jesuits – and stigmatised them as a congregation disloyal to the monarchy – was a motif largely deployed in Sixteenth Century England. Therefore, *The copie of a letter* identified the Jesuits as enemies of Henry IV. This element reinforced the motif of the Anti-Jesuit propaganda already circulating in late Elizabethan England:

Denying the fact a while at the first, afterwards he voluntarily confessed it. We can as yet get nothing out of him, but that hee hath bene brought up for the space of this thrée years in the Colledge of the Jesuites, in which place we suppose hee received instructions, to practise this treason.⁴⁹²

The theme of the regicide was reiterated by the second *libelle* translated into English and entitled *A state discourse upon the late hurt of the French king*.⁴⁹³ The text was the verbatim translation of the *Discours d'estat sur la blessure du Roi*.⁴⁹⁴ The *libelle* offered a short account of the episode and a more theoretical reflexion on the regicide. The author of *A state discours* was Alexander de Pontaymeri, 'a Huguenot man of property, soldier and poet',⁴⁹⁵ who wrote several political and philosophical treatises of various lengths. In 1595, the text was translated and printed in London by Edward Aggas, whose important role in the dissemination of French texts in late Elizabethan England has been already discussed. As

⁴⁹¹ Trevor Peach, 'Autour de "l'affaire Chastel" (27 Decembre 1594): le Discourse de l'amour du père (d'Etienne Pasquier?)', *Réforme Humanisme Renaissance*, 40 (1995) 37-51 (p. 44).

⁴⁹² *The copie of a letter sent to Monsieur de Beauvoir*, sig. B4. On the Anti-Jesuit propaganda in late Elizabethan England, see: Arthur F. Marotti, *Southwell's Remains: 'Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early modern England'*, in *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, ed. by Cedric C. Brown and Arthur F. Marotti (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 1997), pp. 37-65 (p. 45).

⁴⁹³ Alexandre de Pontaymeri, *A state discourse upon the late hurt of the French king. Faithfully translated out of French by E.A.* (London: Edward Allde, 1595).

⁴⁹⁴ Alexandre de Pontaymeri, *Discours d'estat sur la blessure du Roi* (Paris: Claude de Monstr'œil and Jean Richer, 1595).

⁴⁹⁵ Brenda Hosington, 'Anthony Munday and the Transmision of Some Continental Writings on Women and Love', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature – Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée*, 46, (2) 2019, 268-294 (p. 269).

stated in the front page of the text, *A state discours* was dedicated to the 'Lord of Harlay, one of the Kings privie Counsaile, and of the Counsaile of Estate Kinight'.⁴⁹⁶ Therefore, Pontaymeri established a direct link with the entourage of Henry IV, positioning himself among the Bourbon's followers. Differently from *The copie of a letter*, Pontaymeri's text did not provide an account of the attempted regicide. Instead, *A state discours* deployed a celebration of Henry IV and of his safety after the attempted assassination. Thus, *A state discours* began with a long praise of Henry IV, in which the author emphasised how the new monarch restored the peace after three decades of religious conflicts. Pontaymeri described Henry IV as 'the late King of happie memory, when he relieved us found himselfe overwhelmed'⁴⁹⁷ and recalled his victories, such as Jarnac and Montocour where 'the soules of the rebels do yet sigh'.⁴⁹⁸ *A state discours* continued to praise Henry IV, by imagining the hypothetical scenario of his death. According to Pontaymeri, this moment would have left the French kingdom in total despair:

All this had almost come to passe in the hurt of our King His death would have quailed our libertie: his fall would have overwhelmed our felicitie: his losse would have made desolate our families: his absence woulde have acquainted vs with that which wee feare: his ship wrack would have swallowed us up.⁴⁹⁹

Henry's praise was the occasion to offer a short reflection on the regicide and to condemn this act as a 'parricide'.⁵⁰⁰ The position that Pontaymeri took in relation to Henry's attempted assassination was similar to the one presented by the text entitled *The whole and true discourse of the enterprises and secrete conspirancies that have been against the person of Henry de Valois* and discussed earlier in this chapter. Both texts conveyed a precise message and offered a strict condemnation of the regicide, arguing that 'the preservation of the king and the punishment of the paricide'⁵⁰¹ were the principles that French people should follow. Furthermore, Pontaymeri included a prologue that explained to the reader the reasons for which the text was written. According to him, the Catholic League caused

⁴⁹⁶ De Pontaymeri, *A state discourse*, sig. A2.

⁴⁹⁷ De Pontaymeri, *A state discourse*, sig. A4.

⁴⁹⁸ De Pontaymeri, *A state discourse*, sig. B1.

⁴⁹⁹ De Pontaymeri, *A state discourse*, sig. B3.

⁵⁰⁰ De Pontaymeri, *A state discourse*, sig. B4.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid.

France's main problems – including the attempted regicide. By using a medical metaphor, the text described the League as a 'disease surely united to French mindes, as the fever is unto the corrupt humours of unsound bodies'.⁵⁰²

The French texts translated and disseminated in England between 1593 and 1595 offered a new and different representation of Henry IV's persona. Until 1593, Henry was represented as a courageous prince and a valiant warrior willing to defend the kingdom from the violent mobs of the Catholic League. After the succession and the struggle to submit the areas held by the Leaguers, Henry's representation started to change. The former prince of Navarre was then portrayed as the rightful ruler of France: the texts translated into English looked at crucial moments concerned with Henry's kingship. Therefore, the coronation and the condemnation of the attempted regicide represented significant moments for the affirmation of the royal authority. While the coronation stressed the creation of the bond between the monarch and the people, the emphasis on the attempted regicide reinforced the link between the royal power and the divine authority, by offering a clear condemnation of monarchs' assassination. These narratives about Henry's persona were fundamental for the English readership, providing a foundation for the mythical representation of Henry developed by the early historical writings.

⁵⁰² De Pontaymeri, *A state discourse*, sig. C1.

4. Henry of Navarre and the Issue of Succession: A Challenge to Debate Kingship in Sixteenth Century England (1585-1594)

4.1. Defending Navarre and Discussing the Monarch's Religion: The French Huguenot Texts Translated into English

The period preceding Henry of Navarre's conversion to Catholicism marked a crucial moment in the French Wars of Religion. The claim to the throne made by the Calvinist prince provoked both a continuation of war and a crucial production of political pamphlets debating the issue of the succession to the throne.⁵⁰³ The extensive discourse embodied in these texts focused both on the idea and the legitimacy of royal power. French authors maintained three positions regarding the issue of Navarre's religion: those of the Leaguers, who represented the radical Catholics,⁵⁰⁴ the Huguenots and the moderate faction, the so-called *Politiques*.⁵⁰⁵ The Leaguers were strongly opposed to Navarre's candidacy, because the Calvinist faith professed by Navarre led them to consider him as a heretic. The Huguenots and the *Politiques* supported Navarre's succession with different arguments. The Huguenots energetically defended their political leader: Navarre's position as "premier prince du sang" legitimated his claim to the throne. According to the Huguenot writers, Navarre's Calvinist faith represented an additional guarantee for the concessions of religious tolerance in France. The *Politiques* justified Navarre's claim to the throne with different arguments.

A political milieu formed by expert jurists and members of the French Parliaments, the *Politiques* supported Navarre's succession with arguments based on the 'anciennes lois du Royaume'.⁵⁰⁶ This political faction – which included Michel Hurault, a Catholic royalist whose work was translated into English – gradually supported the idea of Navarre's conversion to Catholicism. For this moderate faction, the most important goal was the achievement of peace: converting to the French monarchy's traditional faith would allow Navarre to succeed as a legitimate king and would end the Wars of Religion. Both the

⁵⁰³ Holt, *The French Wars*, pp. 99-101; Jouanna, Boucher, Biloghi and Le Thiec, pp. 138-140.

⁵⁰⁴ Baumgartner, p. 134-135.

⁵⁰⁵ Turchetti, *Concordia o tolleranza?*, pp. 140-143.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

Huguenots and the *Politiques* defended the Salic law strenuously, stating that women could in no case transmit or inherit a right to the throne. To prevent the candidacy of the Infanta of Spain proposed by the Catholic League, both the factions strongly opposed a female succession to the throne.⁵⁰⁷ Though all the political positions are represented in the texts published in France, the corpus of texts translated into English belonged only to Huguenots and *Politiques* authors. These publications were clearly partisan: their primary purpose was presenting Navarre as the legitimate heir to the throne. However, two significant discourses are developed in these texts: the issue of succession in relation to religion and gender and the legitimacy of royal power, which were significant both for England and France at the end of the Sixteenth Century.

This chapter focuses on the discourse about succession built in the French texts translated into English between 1585 and 1593 and aims to demonstrate how Henry of Navarre represented a challenge to debating this issue in late Elizabethan England. Firstly, the relationship between religion and succession will be investigated by examining both the Huguenots' and the *Politiques*' position. Secondly, I will also look how these texts discussed the relationship between monarchical and religious power, standing aside Gallican position and questioning the superiority of the Papal authority on that of the French monarchs. I will then analyse the discourse about gender and succession, by focusing on the political debate surrounding the Salic law. I will argue that these texts, even though partisan in nature, brought a challenging discourse about monarchy in late Elizabethan England, where the issue of succession was particularly relevant. By analysing the different arguments included in these publications, I will discuss how these texts constituted a platform to debate the controversial issue of succession. Succession in England did not exclude females and revolved instead around questions of positive law (e.g. the validity of Henry VIII's will) or nationality (e.g. the birth of a claimant outside the realm). While the treatises that debated the dynastic issues circulated clandestinely in late Elizabethan England,⁵⁰⁸ the French texts translated into English constituted a theoretic space to discuss a significant topic for both France and England.

⁵⁰⁷ Viennot, *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir*, p. 86-87; Viennot, 'Les écrivains "Politiques" et la loi salique', pp. 31-48 (p. 33).

⁵⁰⁸ Among the clandestine political treaties about succession in late Elizabethan England, Robert Person's *Conference about the next succession to the Crowne of England (1595)* circulated widely. See: Doran, 'Three late Elizabethan Succession Tracts', pp. 91-117 (p. 94-95); Kewes, 'The Exclusion Crisis of 1553 and the Elizabethan Succession', pp. 49-61 (p. 52).

Between 1589 and 1593 the vehement French political debate was brought into late Elizabethan England through the translation of 98 titles, both belonging to the Huguenots and the *Politiques* factions. My research shows that the source texts of the English translations were traced in texts published mostly in Rouen and La Rochelle. A minor part of the publications translated was based on editions printed in Paris. This massive importation of texts involved a network of translators and printers who collaborated during the 1580s and the 1590s in the production of these works, like John Wolfe and Edward Aggas. In addition to Wolfe and Aggas, printers such as Richard Field, Thomas Purfoot and Thomas Orwin had a significant part in the publication of texts translated from French. Among the others, both the publishers Thomas Nelson and Thomas Woodcock and the translator Anthony Munday should be mentioned.

As stated previously, the discourse about kingship and succession should be considered as the main issue discussed in the corpus of French texts translated into English between 1585 and 1595. This debate had implications both for France and England, that shared a medieval tradition of sacred monarchy, as Marc Bloch suggested in the 1920s.⁵⁰⁹ Recently, scholarship belonging to the field of cultural history of politics has underlined how the issue of religion and monarchy represented a problematic question in early modern France and England.⁵¹⁰ The discourse built by the English translations of French works had relevant implication for the idea of sacred monarchy: the king's religion and the importance – or unimportance – of the ruler's gender were founding themes for defining royal power in the early modern age. By discussing the relationship between gender, religion and succession, the texts translated from French into English challenged both the ideas of kingship and the legitimacy of royal power, debating such fundamental issues related to the monarchical institution.

The ruler's religion was the primary issue discussed in the corpus of French texts translated into English between 1585 and 1593. Among these publications, a significant part belonged to the Huguenot faction. The main intention of these authors was to justify Henry of Navarre's

⁵⁰⁹ Marc Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges. Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale, particulièrement en France et en Angleterre* (Strasbourg and Paris : Librairie Istra, 1924), p. 35-38.

⁵¹⁰ Ronald G. Asch, 'Sacred Kingship in France and England in the Age of the Wars of Religion: from disenchantment to re-enchantment?', in *The English Wars of Religion Revisited*, ed. by Charles W.A. Prior and Glenn Burgess (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 27-48, (p.33).

claim to the throne and to present him as the legitimate heir to the crown. The Huguenot writers employed two kinds of arguments in this regard: they both glorified Navarre's persona and discuss the issue of the monarch's religion, by defending the claim of their political leader to the throne. For the Huguenots, the Calvinist faith professed by Navarre was not presented as an obstacle for the succession. They argued in support of Henry's legitimate claim to the throne by underlining both his legitimate bloodline as *premier prince du sang* and his figure as a good governor of his personal lands in Navarre and Béarn. By emphasizing the rights derived from Henry's lineage, which were challenged by the Leaguers' arguments, the Huguenot writers defended Navarre's claim to the crown.⁵¹¹ The idea of a good monarch, susceptible to the approbation of the subjects, was related to the Monarchomachs' theories developed after the Saint Bartholomew's massacre.⁵¹² In addition, Henry's religion was presented by the Huguenots as a way to secure a future religious tolerance.

The Huguenot writers argued that the succession of a Calvinist prince to the crown would prevent possible religious persecutions. Among the texts included in the corpus of French texts translated into English, an anonymous treatise appeared to be particularly relevant. The publication was attributed by several scholars to Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, who was a notable Huguenot theorist and a member of Navarre's entourage.⁵¹³ The text, published in France in 1585 and entitled *Advertisement sur l'intention et but de MM. de Guise en la prise d'armes*,⁵¹⁴ was translated into English in the same year and printed in London by Charles Barker under the title *An Advertissement from a French gentleman touching the intention and meaning which those of the house of Guise have in their late levying of forces and armes in the realme of France: written as an answer to a certaine declaration published in the name of the Cardinal de Bourbon*.⁵¹⁵ Written in response to the *manifesto* of the Cardinal de Bourbon and the Duke de Guise justifying the refoundation of the Catholic

⁵¹¹ Sutherland, *The Huguenots Struggle*, pp. 130-132.

⁵¹² Thierry Ménissier, 'La place des Monarchomaques dans le débat sur le relations d'obéissance au XVI^e siècle', in *Et de sa a bouche sortait un glaive: les Monarchomaques au XVI^e siècle*, ed. by Paul-Alexis Mallet (Genève : Droz, 2006) pp. 15-31 (p. 17).

⁵¹³ Daussy, pp. 148-151.

⁵¹⁴ *Advertisement sur l'intention et but de MM. de Guise en la prise d'armes*, (1585).

⁵¹⁵ *An advertisement from a French gentleman touching the intention and meaning which those of the house of Guise have in their late levying of forces and armes in the realme of France: written as an answer to a certaine declaration published in the name of the Cardinal de Bourbon* (London: Charles Barker, 1585).

League, the text addressed both to the issue of Henry of Navarre's faith and the question of the religion professed by the French monarch. Firstly, the author of the *Advertissement* compared the Guise's claims to the French crown with Henry of Navarre's legitimate right of succession to the throne:

It is a thing notoriously known, that those of the House of Guise give out and pretend that they be descended of the race of Charlemagne, and by this title pretend the Crown. The pettegrees look not as true. At this present, the king of Navarre has to come to the Crown, according to the laws of the kingdom and his blood.⁵¹⁶

The members of the House of Guise were considered as usurpers, attempting to get the French crown through false pretences. The author of the *Advertissement* presented Navarre as the legitimate heir, in accordance with the laws of the kingdom and the rights derived from his lineage. The Guises were also considered as those responsible for the wars that troubled the French kingdom. According with the author of the *Advertissement*, the members of the Catholic League diffused, through the dissemination of political pamphlets, ideas about the supposed rightfulness of their claims to the French crown:

They dispersed from hand to hand the witnesses of their pettegrees. Especially this appeared by the volume which they caused to be printed at Paris four or five months since⁵¹⁷. In which, by allegations untruly suggested and drawn beyond and against the true, it is laboured to proof that those of his house are descended from Pharamond, and intended to insinuate that this Crown pertained into them.⁵¹⁸

⁵¹⁶ *An advertissement from a French gentleman*, sig. A2.

⁵¹⁷ The volume mentioned in the text may have been the *Discours au peuple de Paris, et autres Catholiques de France, sur les nouvelles enterprises des rebelled et seditieux* (Paris : Michel de Roigny, 1585). This publication defended the Guises' rights to the throne. Apart from the *manifestos* published by the Catholic League's leaders, this pamphlet was the only text that defended strenuously the Guises' claim in the early months of 1585.

⁵¹⁸ *An advertissement from a French gentleman*, sig. A3.

In the following parts of the texts, the writer argued in support of Navarre's political role, by emphasising the qualities of Jeanne d'Albret's son in governing his personal lands in Navarre and Béarn. Navarre was presented as an effective governor and his lands as an example of good administration, in which the Huguenots weren't persecuted:

In this part which God has left him of his kingdom of Navarre, which is far greater than his country of Béarn. He had permitted the Catholicke and Romane religion unchanged, but without persecutions to those of the Reformed religion. [...] The king that now reigns, employed his years with all the prosperous and fortunate success that could be wished to suppress those of the contrary religion and brought to ruin his whole state.⁵¹⁹

In addition to the emphasis over the religious tolerance practised in Navarre's lands, the author of the *Advertissement* reviewed Navarre's political career and argued that Navarre's Calvinist faith would guarantee a future religious freedom for the Huguenots:

The King of Navarre employed the past years, since when he was young, to defend the Reformed religion in France. He fought together with the Admiral of Coligny and the Prince of Condé against those of the Catholicke and Roman religion. By his faith, he defended those of the Reformed religion. The King of Navarre has to come to the Crown: he is a good a legitimate king, according to his qualities and his blood.⁵²⁰

The writer clearly expressed the importance of the Calvinist faith professed by Navarre in regard to a future policy of tolerance towards the Huguenots. Navarre was considered the legitimate heir to the throne according to his lineage: his personal qualities as a good governor represented an additional argument to support Henry's claim to the French crown. Navarre's positive representation as an excellent ruler was related to the Monarchomachs' idea of the pact between a good monarch and his subjects. Another text, translated in 1586

⁵¹⁹ *An advertisement from a French gentleman*, sig. B3.

⁵²⁰ *An advertisement from a French gentleman*, sig. B4.

and printed in London by Charles Barker under the title *An answer to the League written by a French gentleman*,⁵²¹ follow the same line of argument included in the *Advertissement*. This text, that is the verbatim translation of the French work entitled *Response faite à la Ligue par un gentilhomme François*,⁵²² was printed in Paris in 1586. The anonymous author justified Navarre succession not only by mentioning his lineage, but also by mentioning how Navarre was chosen as a monarch by God's authority. Navarre was represented as a providential ruler, sent by the divine authority to restore the peace in the French kingdom. *An Answer to the League* had a strong militant purpose, like the *Advertissement*. They both fiercely argued in favour of Navarre's legitimate succession to the throne. The style and the lexicon employed in this text were significantly polemical: these features differentiated the Huguenots' writing from the Politiques' works, which were less polemical and mostly based on legal arguments.⁵²³ At the beginning of the text, the anonymous author of *An answer to the League* stated clearly that Navarre's religion should be considered as a pretext used by the Leaguers to prevent the succession of the legitimate heir to the throne:

The pretence of religion served them for an occasion to entertain these Wars of Religion. Under this godly title, they abuse the devotion of our princes and the zeal of the nations to their purpose, and how this was a pretence and not a true cause. They kindle fires at the four corners of France, putting all in combustion under a colour of this pretended zeal of religion.⁵²⁴

As in the *Advertissement*, the author of this publication praised Navarre's personal qualities, by defining him as 'a Prince most Christian, most devout, a Prince zealous in his religion'.⁵²⁵ The element that mainly differentiated the arguments included in these texts from the ideas presented in the *Advertissement* was the reference to the divine authority's role in choosing Navarre as successor to the throne. The author of *Answer to the League* developed this

⁵²¹ *An answer to the League written by a French gentleman* (London: Charles Barker, 1586).

⁵²² *Response faite à la Ligue par un gentilhomme François* (Paris, 1586).

⁵²³ Arlette Jouanna, 'Les ambiguïtés des Politiques face à la Sainte Ligue', in *De Michel de L'Hospital à l'Édit de Nantes*, ed. by Thierry Wanegffelen (Clermont-Ferrand : Presses Universitaires de l'Université Blaise Pascal, 2003), pp. 475-495 (pp. 480-482).

⁵²⁴ *An Advertissement from a French gentleman*, sig. C2.

⁵²⁵ *An answer to the League*, sig. A2.

argument in the third page of the text, by arguing: 'for God that make Princes and takes their cause into his hands, the Prince of Navarre has to come to the Crown'.⁵²⁶

Navarre was presented as the legitimate heir, chosen by divine authority. Since Navarre's succession was established by God, the Calvinist prince cannot be considered as the dangerous heretic presented by the Catholic League:

They said that the Prince of Navarre is a hereticke. So they think that France could be in the hands of a hereticke. This is not true, because God taking his cause and put the French subjects under the obedience of this Prince. Those who are contrary to the Prince of Navarre swear not allegiance into their king.⁵²⁷

By pursuing this line of argument, the author of *An answer to the League* referred extensively to the idea of a divine intervention in choosing the French heir to the crown. This argument was related to the idea of predestination proper to the Calvinist background, to which the anonymous author of this text belonged. Furthermore, the text included a reference to the Monarchomachs' idea of the pact between the ruler and his subjects. The writer affirmed the rightfulness of Navarre's succession, by stating how the nobility and the other social group should submit themselves to the Calvinist prince:⁵²⁸

God, that decided over the Princes, had appointed the King of Navarre to the Crown. This Prince never carried out his matters with ambition. He was moved by his religion and by the love of all the subjects. The Nobility and the Estates have to be under the obedience of this Prince.⁵²⁹

The representation of Navarre as a good ruler supported by God was deployed by another text translated from French into English. The English publication was entitled *A Declaration*

⁵²⁶ *An answer to the League*, sig. B1.

⁵²⁷ *An answer to the League*, sig. B2.

⁵²⁸ Hugues Daussy, 'Nouveaux espaces et autres temps: le problème de la Saint-Barthélemy et l'horizon européen des Monarchomaques', in *Et de sa bouche sortait un glaive*, ed. by Paul-Alexis Mallet (Genève : Droz, 2006) pp. 101-133 (p. 120).

⁵²⁹ *An answer to the League*, sig. C1.

*and catholick exhortation to all Christian Princes to succour the Church of God and the Realme of France*⁵³⁰ and was published in London during the year 1587 by George Robinson for Edward Aggas. The French source text was a short political treatise attributed to the Calvinist Pierre Erondelle,⁵³¹ author of several political and religious works published during the last decade of the French Wars of Religion. Erondelle's text shared the same arguments deployed by *An Advertissement* and *An Answere to the League*. It attempted to legitimise the succession of Jeanne d'Albret's son to the throne by referring to the arguments developed by the Leaguers about the religion professed by the French monarch:

I direct this brief discourse to those seeking for the truth. In our France, there are the authors of these present troubles, namely the House of Guise. Besides I will not delay the time in beautifying this discourse with any painted speech to adorn it with all, but I will write about the right cause of the prince of Navarre.⁵³²

Erondelle argued that Navarre was the legitimate heir to the throne, because he was directly appointed by God. The Calvinist theorist followed the same argument pursued in *An Answere to the League*:

God appointed the King of Navarre to the Crown of France. This is because he is a faithfull and Christian Prince. Those who are saying that he is a hereticke are using the pretest of religion to bring the state to the ruin of the wars.⁵³³

Additionally, Erondelle affirmed that the Catholic religion practised by the Leaguers should be considered as an erroneous worship. Navarre cannot be considered as a heretic because the religion he professed was the rightful one, unlike the Catholic faith proclaimed by the Pope and the Church of Rome:

⁵³⁰ Pierre Erondelle, *A Declaration and catholick exhortation to all Christian Princes to soccour the Church of God and the Realme of France* (London: George Robinson, 1587).

⁵³¹ The source text was the French publication entitled *Déclaration et exhortation pour le royaume et l'Église de France* (Paris, 1587).

⁵³² Erondelle, *A Declaration*, sig. A3.

⁵³³ Erondelle, *A Declaration*, sig. B2.

The Prince of Navarre is not a heretic because the faith professed by the Pope and the Church of Rome is a mere error. Those of the House of Guise that follow the Pope are doing the same error.⁵³⁴

According to Erondelle's argument, Navarre's legitimacy was based exclusively on religious criteria. For the Calvinist author, Henry's religious faith did not represent an obstacle; instead, it was described as the unique religion based on true assertions. Additionally, Pierre Erondelle reiterated the same argument included in the *Advertissement*: Navarre's rule could be considered as the beginning of a peaceful age for the Huguenots, who did not have to expect religious persecutions.

The issue of the ruler's religion was one of the most significant themes deployed by the French texts translated into English between 1585 and 1590. From the 1590s onwards, the question of the monarch's religion will be debated along with the issue related to gender, kingship and succession. The texts discussed in this section – which were published between 1585 and 1588 – belonged to the Huguenots' faction. Their position supported the legitimacy of Navarre's heir to the throne. According to the arguments conveyed in these texts, Navarre's legitimate succession derived initially from his lineage. Furthermore, his religious faith did not represent an obstacle for his right of inheritance; instead, it was considered as an assurance of future religious tolerance. The Huguenots also argued that Henry's legitimate succession was established by God's will: the Calvinist concept of predestination was developed through an argument that supported the idea of monarchs chosen directly by the divine authority.⁵³⁵ Within this articulated discourse, the references to the concept of good rule – susceptible to a pact signed between the monarch and the subjects – was also linked to the discourse issued by the Monarchomachs' theories, developed by the French Protestants in the aftermath of the Saint Bartholomew's massacre.

4.2. *The Excommunication of Henry of Navarre: Debating Monarchical and Religious Authority in the Huguenot and the Politiques' Texts Translated into English*

⁵³⁴ Erondelle, *A Declaration*, sig. C1.

⁵³⁵ Nicola M. Sutherland, *Princes, Politics and Religion 1547-1589* (London: Bloomsbury Academy, 1984) pp. 67-69.

The excommunication of Navarre – that Sixtus V proclaimed through a bull released on 9 September 1585 – stated that the presumptive heir to the French throne and the Prince of Condé were *hérétiques*.⁵³⁶ Through the excommunication, the Pope declared Navarre devoid of any right to succeed to the French throne. Sixtus V's bull worsened the political position of Navarre. Even though he became the presumptive heir to the throne in 1584, the treaty of Nemours (July 1585) – which restricted significantly Huguenots' rights and disinherited Navarre from the throne⁵³⁷ – and the subsequently excommunication prohibited the rightful succession of the Huguenot prince to the French crown.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, Navarre's complicated succession to the French throne triggered the production of *libelles* – written by the Huguenots and the *Politiques* – aimed to defend his rights as legitimate heir to the throne. These *libelles* – that were largely translated into English – discussed not only the legitimacy of Navarre's claims, but also strongly criticised the excommunication proclaimed in 1585. According to Sophie Nicholls, the excommunication of Henry of Navarre increased the tension between supporters of the monarchical and the religious power.⁵³⁸ Therefore, the Huguenots authors developed an articulate reflection on both the rightful succession of their *chef du parti* and on the legitimacy of the Pope's interventions in the French affairs. As Arlette Jouanna argued, Sixtus V's bull exacerbated the tensions between monarchy and Papacy and 'reveillé le Gallicanisme'.⁵³⁹ It is important to acknowledge that – as discussed by John H. Salmon - the English and the French national church 'showed some remarkable similarities, despite the fact that one was Catholic and the other Protestant'.⁵⁴⁰ The common problematic relationship that the two national church had with the Jesuits and 'the ultra-montane pressure'⁵⁴¹ reinforced in the two countries the interest for Gallican texts in the last decades of the Sixteenth Century. These texts embodied not only a reflection on the role of the Pope and that of the council, but also a discourse confuting the supposed supremacy of the Papacy over the monarchical power. Additionally, these publications vigorously attacked the Papacy and its supposed corruption. Even though this negative representation of the Papal authority was linked to the

⁵³⁶ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 188.

⁵³⁷ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 189.

⁵³⁸ Sophie Nicholls, 'Gallican Liberties and the Catholic League', *History of European Ideas*, 40 (2014) 940-946, (p. 943).

⁵³⁹ Jouanna, *La France de la Renaissance*, p. 168.

⁵⁴⁰ Salmon, *Renaissance and Revolt*, p. 133.

⁵⁴¹ Salmon, *Renaissance and Revolt*, p. 134.

Huguenot background of the writers who authored these texts, the attack to the Papacy was also deployed to reinforce positions that were promoting the supremacy of the monarchical authority over that of the Pope. Within this context, the French texts translated and disseminated in England contributed to the debate concerning the boundaries to be set between religious and monarchical authorities. The derogatory attitude displayed by Sixtus V towards the assassination of Henry III in 1589 led the French pamphleteers – particularly Huguenots and *Politiques* – to develop strong Anti-Papist arguments, aimed to disvalue the Papal authority and to reinforce that of the French monarch. Therefore, the texts translated from French into English disseminated not only new contributions to the debate about religious and monarchical powers, but also elements of a partisan Anti-Papist discourse familiar to the English readership.

In 1585, the first *libelle* concerning Navarre's excommunication was translated and disseminated in late Elizabethan England. The text was entitled *An aunswere to the excommunication lately denounced and published by Sixtus Quintus, Pope of Rome*,⁵⁴² and was printed in London by Charles Barker. *An aunswere to the excommunication*. The *libelle* was the verbatim translation of the French text entitled *Réponse à l'excommunication du pape Sixte cinquiesme*⁵⁴³ and written by Huguenot diplomat Jacques Bongars. Being a convinced supporter of Navarre, Bongars attempted to fully defend the Huguenot prince and his right to succeed to the French throne. In his short *libelle*, Bongars argued against the points supporting Sixtus V's excommunication. At the beginning of *An aunswere to the excommunication*, the Huguenot diplomat clearly presented where he stood aside and stated the falseness of the Pope's accusation:

As concerning the crime of heresie, whereof he is falsly accused the the said excommunication [...] the Pope had therein most falsely and wickedly lied.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴² Jacques Bongars, *An aunswere to the excommunication lately denounced and published by Sixtus Quintus, Pope of Rome so called against the two Christian princes, Henry king of Navarre, and Henry Prince of Conde, made by the saide princes, and sent to Rome* (London: Charles Barker, 1585).

⁵⁴³ Jacques Bongars, *Réponse à l'excommunication du pape Sixte cinquiesme contre le roi de Navarre et le prince de Condé* (1585).

⁵⁴⁴ Bongars, *An aunswere to the excommunication*, sig. A2.

Furthermore, the Huguenot diplomat developed the argument introduced at the beginning of the text. Bongars argued that Henry of Navarre did not belong to a rank inferior to that of the Pope, by stating that 'the saide King of Navarre being in state nothing inferior to the Pope'.⁵⁴⁵ Therefore, Sixtus V could not impose his authority to the French prince –and excommunicating Navarre. Bongars continued the defence of the Huguenot prince by arguing that the true heretic was Sixtus V, and not Henry of Navarre:

And repute him a verie Antichrist, and in that qualitie of Antichrist denounceth perpetuall warre against him [...] the Popes wicked sentence to be unlawfull and insufficient.⁵⁴⁶

Bongars also reaffirmed the supremacy of monarchical power over the Papacy. When describing Sixtus V as heretical, the Huguenot diplomat argued in favour of a position very close to the Gallican assumptions, by claiming that the Pope 'should submit himself to a generall or common Councill lawfully assembled'.⁵⁴⁷

If *An answer to the excommunication* was quite a short publication that discussed in a polemical but limited manner the issue of the excommunication, another French text translated into English provided a very articulated reflection on the same event and on the issue concerned with the boundaries between monarchical and religious power. This text – a political treatise in which multiple theological questions were also debated – was entitled *The brutish thunderbolt: or rather feeble fier-flash of Pope Sixtus the fift, against Henrie the most excellent King of Navarre, and the most noble Henrie Borbon, Prince of Condie. Together with a declaration of the manifold insufficiencie of the same.*⁵⁴⁸ It was translated out of Latin by Christopher Fetherstone and published in London by Arnorld Hatfield for George Bishop and Richard Newbery in 1586. The text was the verbatim translation of *P. Sixti fulmen brutum in Henricum sereniss. Regem Navarrae et illustrissimum Henricum Borbonium, Principem Condaeum* written by François Hotman and published in

⁵⁴⁵ Bongars, *An answer to the excommunication*, sig. B2.

⁵⁴⁶ Bongars, *An answer to the excommunication*, sig. C2.

⁵⁴⁷ Bongars, *An answer to the excommunication*, sig. D1.

⁵⁴⁸ François Hotman, *The brutish thunderbolt: or rather feeble fier-flash of Pope Sixtus the fift, against Henrie the most excellent King of Navarre, and the most noble Henrie Borbon, Prince of Condie Together with a declaration of the manifold insufficiencie of the same. Translated out of Latin into English by Christopher Fetherstone minister of Gods word* (London: Arnold Hatfield, 1586).

Paris in 1585.⁵⁴⁹ As already discussed in the third chapter of this thesis, François Hotman was a well-known author for the English readers,⁵⁵⁰ since his writings regarding the Saint-Bartholomew's massacre were translated and disseminated in England during the 1570s.

The edition of *P. Sixti fulmen brutum* designed for the English printing market was different from the French one, since it included one dedicatory and one introductory letter created ad hoc for the readership settled on the other side of the channel. These additional elements were evidence of the complex editorial scenario behind the translation and publication of the text.⁵⁵¹ Publishers and translators largely intervened on the original text, trying to create a publication appealing for the English market. The first dedicatory letter was addressed to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, who acted as a patron of both François Hotman and his son Jean in England.⁵⁵² Despite the decision of remaining anonymous – and not revealing his authorship of the text – Hotman clarified immediately his right and his expertise to discuss the problem of the excommunication, by describing himself as very knowledgeable about the matter he was about to discuss: 'author (albeit not specified heerin by name) seemeth to be a man of great reading, singular iudgement, and excellent dexteritie, in handling the matter which he undertooke'.⁵⁵³

Through this clear statement – aimed to present the author as fully able to unpick the most important elements of a complex problem, such as the excommunication – Hotman wanted to clarify immediately his prestigious position as both a Huguenot writer – who knew the matter under discussion – and a member of Dudley's influential circle. As mentioned above, the English edition of Hotman's text also included an introductory letter – addressed to the reader – written by Christopher Fetherstone, the man who translated the text from French. A prominent member of Leicester's circle, Christopher Featherstone – who also dedicated in 1584 Calvin's *Commentary upon John* to Dudley – translated in 1586 Hotman's book. As Catherine Buchanan argued, this element represented a strong evidence of the links

⁵⁴⁹ François Hotman, *P. Sixti fulmen brutum in Henricum sereniss. Regem Navarrae et illustrissimum Henricum Borbonium, Principem Condaeum* (Paris, 1585).

⁵⁵⁰ Mathias Schmoeckel, 'François Hotman: (1524–1590)', in *Great Christian Jurists in French History*, ed. by Olivier Descamps and Rafael Domingo (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 149–172 (p. 152).

⁵⁵¹ Raymond, p. 137.

⁵⁵² Schmoeckel, pp. 149–172 (p. 153).

⁵⁵³ Hotman, *The brutish thunderbolt*, sig. D3.

between Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and the Hotman family – particularly François and his son Jean. Another element supporting the links between Leicester and Hotman was the correspondence that Dudley had with them during the 1580s⁵⁵⁴. Except for a short period in 1585, the younger Hotman was at Leicester's service as his secretary from 1582 until the Earl's death.⁵⁵⁵

This letter aimed to explain the reasons for which the text was translated into English. Through the dedicatory letter, Fetherstone communicated directly to the readers – not necessarily able to read Latin – explaining how the text was translated and helping them making sense of what Sixtus V did through the excommunication. Fetherstone's letter offered to the readers some elements to tackle the complex matters discussed by Hotman:

Christian Reader, my onely drift and purpose in translating this Treatise, was, to acquaint my councitmen, who are not skilfull in the Latine toong, with such papall practises as are heerin described. The title wherof being in the Latin copie, Brutun fulmen, I was first of opinion that I might well english it, The Brutish Thunderbolt.⁵⁵⁶

Interestingly, Fethersone explained to the reader not only the main questions addressed by Hotman's text, but also how he approached the translation of this political treatise. Additionally, the introductory letter written by Fetherstone presented very clearly the main purpose of *The brutish thunderbolt*. The translator used a bold – and even violent – language to criticise the excommunication proclaimed by the Pope. This kind of language was very similar not only to Hotman's text, but also to the early Huguenots' *libelles* which often attacked violently the Papacy⁵⁵⁷: 'his thunderbolts of excommunications and bannings have beene esteemed as paper-shot by those noble Princes of the house of *Borbon* and *Vendosme in France*'.⁵⁵⁸ At the very beginning of *The brutish thunderbolt*, Hotman provide a detailed description of the circumstances related to the excommunication

⁵⁵⁴ Hotman, *The brutish thunderbolt*, sig. D4.

⁵⁵⁵ Buchanan, p. 117.

⁵⁵⁶ Hotman, *The brutish thunderbolt*, sig. E2.

⁵⁵⁷ Luc Racaut 'Religious polemic and Huguenot self-perception and identity 1554-1619', in *Society and Culture in the Huguenot World 1559-1685*, ed. by Raymond A. Mentzer and Andrew Spicer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) pp. 29-44 (p. 34).

⁵⁵⁸ Hotman, *The brutish thunderbolt*, sig. E3.

of Henry of Navarre and of the Prince of Condé. The Huguenot writer emphasised the fact that the main consequence of the excommunication was denying the right of the two Calvinist princes – but particularly of Navarre – to rightfully succeed to the French throne:

Wheras of late there was a declaration pronounced by Pope *Sixtus* the fift of that name, and it was shortly after published and printed, that *Henrie* the most noble King of *Navarre*, and also *Henrie Borbon* the most excellent Prince of *Condie*, should first be excommunicate as notorious heretiks from among Christians; and also that they should be put from their empires, honors, and al dignities, and principally from hope of succéeding in the kingdome of France: secondly, that their subiects and vassals should be absolved from the oth of alleageance wherewith they were bound to them: last of al that they should be set upon by force, sword, arms, and camps by the most mightie king of France.⁵⁵⁹

Subsequently, Hotman began to present the arguments for which the excommunication should be considered untrustworthy. In order to support this thesis, the author of *The brutish thunderbolt* discussed multiple arguments, such as the 'impitie and the tyrannie in the Church and the crime of mocking religion'.⁵⁶⁰ The Huguenot jurist also touched upon important theological matters that were already part of the controversial discussions between Catholic and Reformed theologians in the 1530s. In *The brutish thunderbolt* Hotman discussed also the superiority of the Papal power on the monarchical power. Therefore, Hotman largely discussed the invalidity of the Donation of Constantine, on which the legitimacy of Papal supremacy also resided. By confuting the truthfulness of the Donation of Constantine, Hotman affirmed how the kings of France were not subordinated to the Pope. Therefore, Sixtus V was not entitled to excommunicate Henry of Navarre because the Papacy did not hold any power on the French monarchs:

For their invention is intollerable, which dispute, that that principalitie was first given to the pope of Rome by Christ [...] It followeth that the

⁵⁵⁹ Hotman, *The brutish thunderbolt*, sig. E4.

⁵⁶⁰ Hotman, *The brutish thunderbolt*, sig. F1.

sentence pronounced by him is none in law, and that of it selfe, and without any appeale it falleth to the ground.⁵⁶¹

Following a claim in favour of the royal power's superiority, Hotman touched upon other important matters, such as the rightful jurisdictions of French institutions – like the *Parlement* of Paris – over any problem concerned with the French legislation. By affirming the superiority of French institutional bodies, Hotman not only confuted again the validity of the excommunication, but also developed a reflection close to the Gallican principles:

And we cannot doubt, but that the iudgement and authoritie of the most part of Christendome aforesaid, shall be of great importance with magistrates and orders, and principally with the Parleament of France: séeing it is evident that this is the law of all nations, that in deliberations especially being hard and weighty, iudgement be alwaies given according to the sentence and opinion of the most part: especially where the more part is iudged not onelie by the number of persons.⁵⁶²

At the end of *The brutish thunderbolt*, Hotman summarised the different arguments he deployed to confute the rightfulness of the excommunication proclaimed by the Pope. Differently from the explicative attitude used throughout the text, the tone permeating the conclusion was extremely violent. Moreover, Hotman cleverly mentioned that the *Parlement* of Paris, which with its opposition the registration of Sixtus V's bull – represented a guardian of the Gallican liberties. In the final lines of *The brutish thuderbolt*, Hotman's writing recalled the introductory letter written by Fetherstone, by stigmatising the corruption and the depravation of the Papacy:

That all that furious curse is nothing, but a brutish thunderbolt of the Romane papacie, whose force is frivolous, vain, and of none account: and that principally for fower causes: namely, for the incompetencie of the rash iudge, the falsenes of the allegation, the want of iudiciall order, and for the foolishnes of the forme wherein it is written: wherof

⁵⁶¹ Hotman, *The brutish thunderbolt*, sig. F4.

⁵⁶² Hotman, *The brutish thunderbolt*, sig. G1.

we wil héerafter intreat in the same order wherein they are set
downe.⁵⁶³

After having discussed the invalidity of the supposed superiority of the Pope on the French monarchs, Hotman attempted to undermine the credibility of any judgements expressed by Sixtus V and his predecessors by recalling how rulers from different countries had condemned the Papacy and embraced the Reformed religion:

Therefore, the first cause of *Nullitie* is the incompetencie of a rash iudge, which appéereth therby, bicause the papacie of Rome which hath taken this iudgement upon it against so great princes, hath long ago béene condemned for seven most grievous crimes, by the most part of Christendome: namely, *England, Scotland, Denmarke, Sweueland*, the most part of *Germanie*, and also the most part of *Heluetia*: namely, for impietie, for exercising tyrannie in the Church.⁵⁶⁴

As showed in the passages analysed above, *The brutish thunderbolt* combined effectively a discussion based on theological – and judicial – questions with the Anti-Papist discourse. The Anti-Papist propaganda was an important element embodied in the French texts translated into English during the Wars of Religion. Elements concerned with this discourse were sporadically included in the publications translated and disseminated in England during the 1560s and the 1570s. In the 1580s the exacerbation of the Wars of Religion – and the progressive power gained by the Catholic League – led to a major development of the Anti-Papal discourse.⁵⁶⁵

The assassination of Henry III triggered even more the tensions between the Huguenots – who already stood aside Gallican position – and the Papacy. Sixtus V did not openly condemn the regicide which occurred in August 1589 'and refused to hold a memorial service or to recognise him as a King of France'.⁵⁶⁶ Some of the *libelles* written in the

⁵⁶³ Hotman, *The brutish thunderbolt*, sig. G3.

⁵⁶⁴ Hotman, *The brutish thunderbolt*, sig. G4.

⁵⁶⁵ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 49.

⁵⁶⁶ Robert J. Knecht, *Hero or Tyrant? Henry III, King of France 1574-1589* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2014), p. 156.

aftermath of the assassination – which commented the derogatory attitude displayed by Sixtus V towards the Valois King – deployed a violent anti-Papist discourse aimed to only to undermine the foundation of the Papal authority, but also to emphasise the corruption and the depravation of the Papacy. Furthermore, these texts developed a bold critique of the conduct of Sixtus V – and his predecessor Gregory XIII – during the French Wars of Religion. An example of the Anti-Papist discourse deployed by the French texts translated into English was the text entitled *Antisixtus. An oration of Pope Sixtus the fift, upon the death of the late French King, Henrie the third. With a confutation upon the said oration, wherein all the treacherous practises of the house of Lorraine, are largely described and layde open unto the view of the world, with a briefe declaration of the kings death, and of many other things worthy the noting, which never yet came to light before.*⁵⁶⁷ Written by the *Politique* Michel Hurault,⁵⁶⁸ nephew of Michel de L'Hospital and secretary of Navarre, the text aimed to counterargue to the accusations – developed by Sixtus V – about Henry III. The text circulated originally in Latin and was made of two sections. The first part included a transcription – under the title of *Henrici Tertii morte sermo* – of Sixtus V's oration of 2 September 1589, with the *AntiSixtus* published just after that. The English edition – printed in 1590 by John Wolfe – included both the Pope's oration and the text written by Hurault. The *Antisixtus* claimed that the position taken by the Pope towards Henry was not the consequence of the supposedly heretic conduct of Navarre, but of the support that the Papacy regularly offered to the radical Catholics during the Wars of Religion. According to Hurault, Sixtus V interfered in the French conflicts only to 'overthrowe of the Heretikes [...] and proclaime open warre against those of the reformed Religion'.⁵⁶⁹ Among all the evil actions that Hurault attributed to the Pope, the excommunication of Navarre and Condé was recalled as a 'thunderbolt'.⁵⁷⁰ When discussing this point, the author of the *AntiSixtus* discussed the invalidity of the excommunication, by derecognising the Papal authority. Despite Hurault's argument about the untruthfulness of Sixtus V's act was different from that proposed by Hotman and Bongars – and placed its foundation on the fact

⁵⁶⁷ Michel Hurault, *Antisixtus. An oration of Pope Sixtus the fift, upon the death of the late French King, Henrie the third. With a confutation upon the said oration, wherein all the treacherous practises of the house of Lorraine, are largely described and layde open unto the view of the world, with a briefe declaration of the kings death, and of many other things worthy the noting, which never yet came to light before* (London: John Wolfe, 1590).

⁵⁶⁸ Myriam Yardeni, 'La pensée politique de Michel Hurault', *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, 46 (1968) 381-402 (p. 385).

⁵⁶⁹ Hurault, *AntiSixtus*, sig. B3.

⁵⁷⁰ Hurault, *AntiSixtus*, sig. C1.

that the excommunication was only decided by the Pope, without the divine approval. Nevertheless, the author of the *AntiSixtus* reached the same conclusions proposed by *The brutish thunderbolt* and *An answere to the excommunication*:

Héereuppon presently the Pope sent his thunderboltes, whereby he excluded the king of Navarre (at this present ruling in Fraunce) and the Prince of Conde, unheard; innocent, and thinking nothing such, from his Apostolicke blessing: but hereby may easely appeare, that God and none of the Apostles were present at the rash iudgement of the cause.⁵⁷¹

Subsequently to *AntiSixtus*, another text written by Michel Hurault⁵⁷² – and deploying a strong Anti-Papist discourse – was translated and disseminated in Late Elizabethan England. The text represented a continuation of the *AntiSixtus* and developed another detailed discussion of the oration pronounced by the Pope in the aftermath of Henry III's assassination. The text was translated into English with the title of *Martine Mar-Sixtus A second replie against the defensory and apology of Sixtus the fift late Pope of Rome, defending the execrable fact of the Jacobine frier, upon the person of Henry the third, late King of France, to be both commendable, admirable, and meritorious. Wherein the saide apology is faithfully translated, directly answered, and fully satisfied*⁵⁷³ and printed in London in 1591 by Thomas Orwin for Thomas Woodcock.

Even though the argument deployed by Hurault was substantially like the one proposed in the *AntiSixtus*, *Martine Mar-Sixtus* was permeated by a more aggressive tone, leading the author to convey violently his arguments. Hurault developed a strong Anti-Papist argument that revolved around the involvement of Sixtus V in the French Wars of Religion, beside the Guises. *Martine Mar-Sixtus* argued that both the King of Spain and the Papacy supported

⁵⁷¹ Hurault, *AntiSixtus*, sig. G3.

⁵⁷² The French original text was: Michel Hurault, *AntiSixtus* (1590).

⁵⁷³ Michel Hurault, *Martine Mar-Sixtus A second replie against the defensory and apology of Sixtus the fift late Pope of Rome, defending the execrable fact of the Jacobine frier, upon the person of Henry the third, late King of France, to be both commendable, admirable, and meritorious. Wherein the saide apology is faithfully translated, directly answered, and fully satisfied* (London: Thomas Orwin and Thomas Woodcock, 1591).

the Catholic League. Hurault claimed that Sixtus – ad his predecessors – joined a war planned by the Guises, while Henry III was caught into that due to his naivety:

The Guises proclaimed open war against the prince of Conde and al heretikes, and easely perswaded therunto the king himselfe [...] to stirre up the rest to civill warres with a hope of spoile and such like novelties. Call moreover Philip King of Spaine, and thy predecessor Sixtus, unto their aide.⁵⁷⁴

Hurault's argument appeared to be similar to the ideas deployed in other French texts aimed to attack the Papacy. The questions discussed by Hurault were also familiar to the English readership, which found the same arguments in different texts supporting an Anti-Spanish – and an Anti-Catholic – discourse. Subsequently, Hurault used another recurring motif proper of the Anti-Papist discourse, such as the stigmatisation of the Jesuits.⁵⁷⁵ In the text, Hurault claimed that Sixtus V – and his predecessors – 'have hallowed the hands of Priests and Jesuites to offer violence'⁵⁷⁶ by presenting them as the military wing of the Papacy. Once again, *Martine-Mar Sixtus* conveyed an Anti-Papist argument, recalling the discourse deployed by other French texts translated into English, such as the *libelles* translated after the assassinations of Henry III in 1589 and Henry IV in 1610.⁵⁷⁷

The French texts that discussed the excommunication of Navarre brought in Late Elizabethan England the echoes of the lively debate on monarchical and religious authority occurred in France in the later years of the Wars of Religion. The dispute around the boundaries that should be placed between monarchical and religious power was also linked to the development of an Anti-Papal discourse. These arguments represented an element of interest for the late Elizabethan readers, who were already familiar with the main arguments of the Anti-Catholic discourse.

⁵⁷⁴ Hurault, *Martine Mar- Sixtus*, sig. E3.

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁶ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 147.

⁵⁷⁷ Marotti, pp. 37-65 (p. 64).

4.3. Strengthening the Monarchical Institution: The Discourse on the Ruler's Religion in the *Politiques'* Texts Translated into English

The discourse about the ruler's religion was developed both by the Huguenots and the *Politiques* between 1585 and 1593. The *Politiques* were a political faction composed of moderates, both Catholic and Huguenot, who belonged to the French *Parlement's* milieu. The *Politiques* developed political theories in which the achievement of the peace and the strengthening of the monarchical institution were considered the priorities. Since the 1560s, this group of moderates argued in favour of the accomplishment of the peace in France: according to them, this condition could be achieved by the concession of a certain religious tolerance to the Huguenots. These theories were related to the idea of prioritising the political factors over the religious ones. The discourse that the *Politiques* built on the issue of kingship and religion followed this line of argument. This political group affirmed the legitimacy of Navarre's claim to the throne: according to them, Henry's rightful succession was based on the laws of the French kingdom, which secured the position of Navarre as the legitimate heir of Henry III. The *Politiques* gradually supported the conversion of Navarre to the Catholic religion, which could have legitimised Henry's succession within a monarchic tradition that was embodied in the Catholic religion. Within the body of texts translated from French into English, the discourse developed by the French moderates on the issue of religion and kingship was built on arguments that differed from the ideas supported by the Huguenots. According to the *Politiques*, the ruler should practice the Catholic religion, which was the worship professed by all the French monarchs. The profession of Catholicism also ensured the obedience of both the nobility and the different French institutions to the future sovereign. Particularly, this political faction argued in favour of Henry's conversion because this was considered the unique way to get a legitimate succession and then restore peace in the French kingdom.⁵⁷⁸

The political theories articulated by the *Politiques* in the texts translated from French between 1585 and 1593 debated mainly the issue of the ruler's religion, but also gave important contributions to the controversial discourse about gender and kingship. It has to be mentioned that this milieu of French moderates developed a significant discourse that

⁵⁷⁸ Marie Madeleine Fragonard, 'Donné toute priorité à la paix du Royaume, un argument des *Politiques*?', in *De Michel de L'Hospital à l'Édit de Nantes*, ed. by Thierry Wanegffelen (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses de l'Université Blaise Pascal, 2003) pp.419-441 (p. 430).

also challenged the idea of the legitimacy of royal power. The *Politiques'* writings discussed fundamental questions in the early modern period, such as the royal sovereignty and the relationship between church and state: their positions were relevant to the development of ideas like the Gallicanism.⁵⁷⁹ Even though a part of these texts was compiled by anonymous authors, several French texts translated into English were written by excellent theorists and important members of the *Parlement's* milieu: among the others, Guillaume du Vair, Guy Coquille, Pierre de Belloy, Michel Hurault and André Maillard.

Considering their militant nature, the texts written by the *Politiques* could be classified as short or medium-length political treatises. The main features of these publications were concerning the abundance and the clearness of the arguments employed, while the polemical element proper of the Huguenots' writings informed only a minor part of these texts. A significant publication concerned with the discourse of kingship and religion developed by the *Politiques* was a short treatise entitled *Advertissement to the King of Navarre, to unite him selfe with the king and the Catholique faithe. Beeing in trueth a very slanderous, false and seditious libel, against the said King of Navarre and other Christian princes. Truely translated according to the coppie printed in French*⁵⁸⁰ and written by André Maillard. In 1585 Maillard, a jurist and a member of the Parisian Parliament,⁵⁸¹ published his work in France under the title *Advertissement au Roy de Navarre de se reunir avec l'Eglise Catholique*.⁵⁸² Even though the title of the English edition published in 1585 was the verbatim translation of the French one, the structure of the French text was modified in the English translation by the inclusion of a colophon. This additional part is formally constructed as a

⁵⁷⁹ Alain Tallon, *Conscience nationale et sentiment religieux en France au XVI siècle* (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), pp. 87-91.

⁵⁸⁰ André Maillard, *Advertissement to the King of Navarre, to unite him selfe with the king and the Catholique faithe. Beeing in trueth a very slanderous, false and seditious libel, against the said King of Navarre and other Christian princes. Truely translated according to the coppie printed in French* (1585).

⁵⁸¹ André Maillard' work illustrated the complexity of the motivation belonged to the *Parlement's* milieu when discussing Gallican ideas. As underlined by Michael Wolfe, Maillard extended the concept of service beyond the principle of obedience to the prince alone, including the eternal principles of justice that the crown was committed to defend. As guardians of the law, the royal judges considered its maintenance a collaborative effort between themselves and the prince. See: Michael Wolfe, *The Conversion of Henry IV: Politics, Power and Religious Belief in Early Modern France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 270-272 and Nancy L. Roelker, *One King, One Faith: the Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformation of the Sixteenth Century* (Los Angeles and Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), pp. 460-461.

⁵⁸² André Maillard, *Advertissement au roy de Navarre de se reunir avec le roy et la foy catholique*, (1585).

letter addressed to a hypothetical 'Gentle Reader'.⁵⁸³ The purpose of this colophon was to refute the main argument developed in Maillard's text: the conversion of Navarre to legitimate the succession of the Calvinist prince to the French throne. In the beginning of the colophon, the anonymous author argued that Maillard's text should be considered a mediocre pamphlet written by 'wicked minde against God, the King and the sinceritie of true Religion'.⁵⁸⁴ In the following lines of this colophon, Maillard is accused of having written a text that denigrated both Henry of Navarre and the Calvinist religion professed by the French prince:

And here in, by many needless shifts and palpable cavils, he laboured to inveigh against the said King, because of his Christian Religion, and for that he will not stop to the man of Rome.⁵⁸⁵

The colophon added to the English edition of Maillard's texts was particularly relevant in relation to the importation and translation of the French texts published during the decades of the religious conflicts. Even though these kinds of modification were not extremely common, they were evidence of the editorial practices conducted by the network of printers, publishers and translators involved in the dissemination of these texts in late Elizabethan England. Even though in the case of Maillard's text there were no references to the names of the printer and the translator, an attentive study of the colophon and of the original source text may lead to two different hypotheses about the way the English text was designed.

On one hand, the colophon may be related directly to an attempt of making the text more appealing to the English market, contrasting it with the line of argument deployed by the Huguenots. On the other hand, the addition of the colophon may be related to the development of a certain censorship control over the book market, which will be marked by the Star Chamber's decree of 1586.⁵⁸⁶ The insertion of a denigrating colophon by the personnel involved in the publication could have allowed a wider circulation of a controversial text, such as a treatise supporting the idea of Navarre's conversion to

⁵⁸³ Maillard, *Advertissement to the King of Navarre*, sig. A. The Appendix 9 of this thesis includes a copy of the colophon added to the English translation of Maillard's text.

⁵⁸⁴ Maillard, *Advertissement to the King of Navarre*, sig. A2.

⁵⁸⁵ Maillard, *Advertissement to the King of Navarre*, sig. A3.

⁵⁸⁶ Clegg, pp. 142-144.

Catholicism. Even though this kind of argument was developed in other texts belonged to the *Politiques*' authors and translated into English, Maillard's treatise was the only text conveying clearly the idea of Navarre's conversion. André Maillard did not include any dedicatory letter addressed to the reader. At the beginning of the text, the French jurist expressed the main purpose behind the publication of his work:

I write about the succession of a young Prince, healthfull and well beloved by his Subjects. I think that there I have an expedient available for you, which many take occasion to give you, upon the chance to bring you nearer to this Crown.⁵⁸⁷

At the beginning of the text, Maillard stated clearly the main purpose of his work: helping Navarre to obtain the crown. The French jurist argued that Henry should be considered the legitimate heir to the throne because he was the first male candidate in the line of succession, according to the law:

The Ancient Laws assure that you are the very nearest successor into the Crown. By nature, you are the first Prince of Blood and the only Prince that could be the successor of our King.⁵⁸⁸

After affirming Henry's legitimacy of succession, Maillard developed two different arguments in support of his necessary return 'into the Church, where the king received the first mark of Christian'.⁵⁸⁹ Maillard's thesis was supported by two diverse lines of arguments: the first one relied on the fact that all the French monarchs professed the Catholic faith, while the second one referred to the idea that Catholicism gave to the French monarchs the necessary legitimacy towards both the French nobility and the *États généraux*. To develop the first argument, Maillard referred to the history of French monarchy.⁵⁹⁰ Firstly, he identified Catholicism as the unique religion that has provided legitimacy to rulers since the foundation of the French kingdom:

⁵⁸⁷ Maillard, *Advertissement to the King of Navarre*, sig. C3.

⁵⁸⁸ Maillard, *Advertissement to the King of Navarre*, sig. B2.

⁵⁸⁹ Maillard, *Advertissement to the King of Navarre*, sig. F3.

⁵⁹⁰ Myriam Yardeni, *Enquête sur l'identité de la "nation France" de la Renaissance aux Lumières* (Seyssel : Champ-Vallon, 2005), pp. 78-89.

The Kings your predecessors Sir, have left so many fair foundations, so many and holy ordinances and illustrious conquests. The Catholick religion was the only cause that gave this to them. Have they ever been any other then Catholics? If the Kingdom had any splendour and increase: it has been for the Catholic faith that was the most religious observed.⁵⁹¹

Furthermore, Maillard argued that only the Catholic religion elicited the sacredness of the French monarchy since the Carolingian age:

Each one knows that Clovis the first Christian King of France, reigned five hundred years or there about after the death of our Saviour, at which time the primitive Church did yet flourish. The forms at this present day observed at the Coronation of our Kings are the same that were instituted for the Crowning of the said Clovis. The Ceremonies used at the Coronations of Kings of France unite them with the Catholicke religion and consecrate the Kings under the Catholicke religion.⁵⁹²

If the coronation ordained and legitimised the monarch, professing the Catholic religion granted to the monarch the loyalty and the respects of all the institutional bodies:

Sir, you should be found to be a Catholick. This could give you the approbation and the consent of all the Estates, the Nobility and of the Parliaments of this state. They could take you as a lawfull successor and yet none should be able to say that any thing changed in the lawful and ancient order of succession. This convert you to the affection of the Nobility, assure yourself of the good will and force of the estate, do establish your authoritie and win again the hearts of all the people.⁵⁹³

⁵⁹¹ Maillard, *Advertissement to the King of Navarre*, sig. F4.

⁵⁹² Maillard, *Advertissement to the King of Navarre*, sig. G3.

⁵⁹³ Maillard, *Advertissement to the King of Navarre*, sig. H2.

According to Maillard, the coronation should give to Navarre the necessary legitimacy to rule over France. Additionally, a conversion to the Catholicism would also allow Navarre to inherit the crown in conformity to all the French laws. As argued by Maillard, this choice would stand against all the arguments raised by the Catholic League against Navarre's claim to the throne:

Sir, if you became a Catholick, your enemies have not any other pretention on the Crown. They moved the people by some kind of fear that the Crown should fall upon the head of some Huguenots.⁵⁹⁴

In addition to Maillard's text, the treatise entitled *A Catholicke Apologie against the libels, declarations adviced and published by those of the League, perturbors of the quiet estate of the realme of France. Who are risen since the decease of the late Monsieur, the Kings only Brother*⁵⁹⁵ discussed the possibility of Navarre's conversion. This publication, printed anonymously in English, was the translation of a French text entitled *Apologie catholique sur les déclarations advises et consultations de ceux de la Ligue*⁵⁹⁶ and written by Pierre de Belloy, a jurist who belonged to the *Politiques*' milieu.⁵⁹⁷ The text was printed by George Robinson for Edward Aggas, who could also be identified as the translator of this French work. The English edition is the verbatim translation of De Belloy's treatise: no modification can be found and both texts included the same dedicatory epistle written by the author. At the beginning of the dedicatory letter, the author addressed the text to a 'French and Catholick Reader' to whom the publications would have 'offered better meanes then at this time to discover and smell out the subtelties of our enemies',⁵⁹⁸ identified by De Belloy as the Catholic League. The purpose of the writer was clearly stated in the following lines of the dedicatory epistle:

⁵⁹⁴ Maillard, *Advertissement to the King of Navarre*, sig. H3.

⁵⁹⁵ Pierre de Belloy, *A Catholicke Apologie against the libels, declarations adviced and published by those of the League, perturbors of the quiet estate of the realm of France. Who are risen since the decease of the late Monsieur, the Kings only Brother* (London: George Robinson, 1586).

⁵⁹⁶ Pierre de Belloy, *Apologie catholique sur les déclarations advises et consultations de ceux de la Ligue* (1586).

⁵⁹⁷ Pierre de Belloy (1540-1611/1613) was a jurist, member of the French *Parlement* of Toulouse. *A Catholicke Apologie* was the only text by Pierre De Belloy translated into English. See: Jouanna, *La France au XVIe siècle*, p. 141.

⁵⁹⁸ De Belloy, *A Catholicke Apologie*, sig. A2.

According to the slaunders and lyes that have been spread against our Prince, the King of Navarre, he is considered as a usurper for his religion. My purpose is to defend the King of Navarre from all this lyes and to demonstrate that he is the lawfull successor to the Crown and the only Prince that could restorer the peace in France.⁵⁹⁹

In contrast to Maillard's text, Pierre de Belloy's treatise was structured in different sections, which were focused on different issues concerning Navarre's succession to the throne. The intention of De Belloy was to both persuade Navarre about a future conversion and to refute the main arguments supported by the Catholic League. The issue related to the ruler's religion was the main question discussed in *A Catholicke Apologie*: more than a half of the treatise is devoted to this. Furthermore, De Belloy's text also addressed other questions such as the causes of the French Wars of Religion and the issue of the female succession to the throne.

In the discussion about the monarch's religion, De Belloy employed the same line of argument deployed by Maillard's treatise: the conversion would align Navarre's rule to the Catholic tradition pursued by the French monarchs and would give to Henry the necessary legitimacy towards the nobility and the *États généraux*. Differently from Maillard, De Belloy mentioned the accomplishment of peace as the most relevant reason for which Navarre should convert to the Catholic religion. The author of *A Catholicke Apologie* followed an argument proper of the *Politiques'* theories: the priority given to the accomplishment of the peace, which should be considered the most important achievement. At the beginning of the text, De Belloy argued in favour of Navarre conversion to Catholicism:

Our Prince, the King of Navarre, should come to the Catholicke Religion. He is the lawfull successor to the Crown. He is the first prince of Blood and nearest successor, according to the Ancient Laws. The Catholicke Religion was the faith observed by all the French Kings,

⁵⁹⁹ Ibid.

since Clovis to our King, Henri III. The King of Navarre should become a Catholick as all his predecessors.⁶⁰⁰

De Belloy pursued the same argument included in Maillard's treatise: Navarre should convert and follow the Catholic tradition proper of the French monarchs. The conversion to Catholicism was considered by De Belloy as the only way to legitimise Navarre's succession, which was established rightfully by the law of the French kingdom. Like Maillard, De Belloy argued that a coronation in conformity to the Catholic religion was the only ceremony that granted the legitimacy and the sacredness to the French monarch:

The Coronation of the French King consecrates the lawfull King under the Catholicke Religion. This could give to our beloved Prince, the consent of the Nobility, of the Estates and of all the Parliaments. The King of Navarre could have again at his side all the subjects.⁶⁰¹

After following the same line of argument pursued in Maillard's treatise, De Belloy focused on the issue of peace: Navarre's conversion was the only mean to achieve a future condition of peace in the French kingdom:

As each one knows, our state is troubled since thirty-years. The Wars of Religion brought to the ruin our beloved Kingdom. Since the edict of January and the massacre of Wassy, France was never in peace. If the king of Navarre became a Catholick and after that the lawfull king of France, he could restorer the peace in all the parts of this state.⁶⁰²

According to the author of *A Catholicke Apologie*, Navarre's conversion represented the only way to accomplishment an enduring peace in the French kingdom. This particular argument was resumed by other writers belonged to the *Politiques* such as Guillame du Vair and Guy Coquille.⁶⁰³ In the final part of *A Catholicke Apologie*, De Belloy argued that Navarre's

⁶⁰⁰ De Belloy, *A Catholicke Apologie*, sig. A4.

⁶⁰¹ De Belloy, *A Catholicke Apologie*, sig. B3.

⁶⁰² De Belloy, *A Catholicke Apologie*, sig. C2.

⁶⁰³ Alexandre Tarrete, 'Guillame du Vair: un gallicane sous la Ligue (1556-1621)', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 1 (2009) 87-103 (p. 91).

conversion and his following succession to the throne were the necessary means to end the Wars of Religion, which troubled France for three decades:

France is seeking for peace. It's since thirty-years that the Kingdom is troubled by the wars: we saw bloodsheeds and massacres. The lawfull succession of the king of Navarre to the Crown and his reunion with the Catholic religion could restorer the peace and the laws.⁶⁰⁴

The priority given to the achievement of an enduring peace was an argument followed in other treatises translated from French into English between 1585 and 1593. A text entitled *A Declaration and Catholicke Exhortation about the French troubles*⁶⁰⁵ clearly pursued the same line of argument developed by Pierre De Belloy. The publication, written by an anonymous author, was published both in Paris and La Rochelle in 1588 under the title *Declaration et Catholic Exhortation sur le troubles de la France*.⁶⁰⁶ The English translation, that was modelled on the French edition printed in La Rochelle, did not display any indication of the printer involved in the publication: the information included in the frontispiece stated only that the text was printed in London during the year 1588. This short treatise was particularly relevant since it supported arguments proper of the *Politiques'* theorists, which were also included in both Maillard's and De Belloy's texts. The anonymous author of this publication affirmed that the King of Navarre 'should reunite himself with the Catholick Church, for the healthness of the French state'.⁶⁰⁷ Differently from Maillard and De Belloy, the writer did not argue that the conversion would align Navarre's rule to the Catholic tradition followed by the French monarchs. According to the author of *A Declaration*, the ending of the religious wars should be the most important purpose to achieve through Navarre's succession to the French throne:

The King of Navarre is the lawfull successor to the Crown. If he reunites himself to the Catholicke Church, he could come to Crown and restorer the peace. The French men are in the troubles of the Wars of Religion since many years: this afflicted the poor people.

⁶⁰⁴ De Belloy, *A Catholicke Apologie*, sig. E2.

⁶⁰⁵ *A Declaration and Catholicke Exhortation about the French troubles* (London, 1588).

⁶⁰⁶ *Declaration et Catholic Exhortation sur les troubles de la France* (La Rochelle, 1588).

⁶⁰⁷ *A Declaration and Catholicke Exhortation*, sig. A3.

These wars, made under the pretence of religion, brought the French kingdom to the ruin and destroyed all the laws.⁶⁰⁸

After discussing the issue of an enduring peace through all the text, the anonymous author emphasised this point in the final part of his work. According to the writer, the Guise family should be considered as the main responsible of the French troubles. Instead, Navarre and his rule could bring a future prosperity to the French kingdom:

Furthermore, those of the House of Guise are the real enemies of the prosperity of France. They are usurpers that kindled the fire of the wars under the pretence of the religion. Our Prince, the King of Navarre will gain the hearts of his subjects, because he is the real protector of this Crown and the restorer of the peace.⁶⁰⁹

As discussed above, this short treatise emphatically supported the idea that Navarre's rule could bring a permanent peace in a kingdom troubled by decades of religious wars. The *Politiques'* argument about the necessity of Navarre's conversion became widely accepted by Henry's supporters in the early 1590s. The arguments developed by the *Politiques'* theorist in the French text translated into English were extensively articulated. Along with the juridical background and the moderate position towards the religion issues, the French moderates strongly supported the idea of the monarchical power's reinforcement. According to this milieu of moderates, the French monarchy would have been strengthened by both an enduring peace and the respect for the *corpus* of French laws.⁶¹⁰ Navarre's conversion and the subsequent possibility of his rule over France were considered by the French moderates as the only means to achieve both the reinforcement of the monarchical authority and a lasting peace for the French kingdom.

⁶⁰⁸ *A Declaration and Catholicke Exhortation*, sig. D2.

⁶⁰⁹ *A Declaration and Catholicke Exhortation*, sig. D3.

⁶¹⁰ Mack P. Holt, 'L'évolution des Politiques face aux Églises (1560-1598)', in *De Michel de L'Hospital à l'Édit de Nantes*, ed. by Thierry Wanegffelen (Clermont-Ferrand, Presses de l'Université Blaise Pascal, 2003) pp. 591-608 (pp. 603-604).

4.4. *The Quest for a King: The Debate on Gender and Succession in the English Translations of French Political Texts*

After examining the issue of the monarch's religion, I will focus on the French discourse about gender and succession in late Elizabethan England. Drawing upon a small *corpus* of texts translated from French into English in the early 1590s, I will investigate the way in which the discourse about gender and succession was articulated in the translations of French texts. Firstly, I will examine the main features of these texts and their context. Furthermore, I will analyse the ways in which the authors (anonymous or not) built their arguments (e.g. historical examples, references to the contemporary political situation) and their position about the question of gender and succession. I will argue that despite the centrality of gender in legitimising the royal power, the debate brought in England by the French text did not have the breath and the depth that the one about the religion of the ruler had. The French texts translated into English did not articulate any detailed theoretical reflection on the role that gender had in legitimising the royal power. Instead, the authors of the texts developed only a fierce defence of the Salic Law, arguing how only that should prevent the female succession to the French crown.

As discussed in this chapter of the thesis, the question of religion and succession was the most debated by the text discussing the struggle of Navarre for the French crown. However, in 1590s the question of gender and succession began to gain a certain relevance.⁶¹¹ Following the sudden death of Cardinal de Bourbon in May 1590, the Catholic League was left without a claimant to the throne. In order to oppose Navarre's succession, they proposed the candidacy of Infanta Isabella of Spain, daughter of Philip II and granddaughter of the Henri II of France. To oppose this choice, the Huguenots and the *Politiques* garnered support for Navarre by appealing to the Salic Law,⁶¹² which stated that, in the absence of a direct heir to the throne of France, the crown would be transferred to the first male relative falling in the collateral line. In order to oppose the Leaguers' endorsement of Infanta Isabella

⁶¹¹ The Catholic League supported the succession of Catholic candidate, the Cardinal Charles de Bourbon. According to the members of the Catholic League, the French king was "the Most Christian King" in early modern Europe, a title accorded to the monarchy by the papacy. The rituals of the monarchy and the symbolism of the crown relied on Catholicism. See: Wanegffelen, *Le pouvoir contesté*, pp. 111-135.

⁶¹² Viennot, *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir*, p. 88; Craig Taylor, 'The Salic Law and the Valois Succession', *French History*, 4 (2001) 358-377 (p. 361).

of Spain, the *Politiques* also insisted on the necessity of a French lineage for the future king. Therefore, the issues concerning the gender of the ruler became a prominent theme deployed by the French pamphleteers. Additionally, the discourse on the presumptive validity of the Salic Law represented the pivotal point around which revolved the debate about gender and succession. The Salic law excluded women, the male descendants of the female line, and pretenders from “foreign” families - such as the House of Savoy or the House of Lorraine - from the succession to the throne. After the death of Henry III and the Cardinal of Bourbon, the *Politiques* and the Huguenots started a major defence of the Salic Law, which they defined as the 'la premiere lois des Français'⁶¹³ to challenge the candidacy of Infanta Isabella, who was consequently supported by Philip II and the Leaguers. The reconquest of the kingdom and the abjuration of Calvinism by Henry IV in 1593 would, however, allowed the slow pacification of the kingdom under the aegis of a French sovereign who was both male and Roman Catholic.

The discourse about gender and power was not new in late Sixteenth-Century France. This issue was already debated since the 1570s in various polemical pamphlets such as the *Discours Merveilleux sur la vie, les actions et les deportements de Catherine de Médicis* and the theoretical works of Jean Du Tillet.⁶¹⁴ By the end of the Sixteenth Century, French political theorists confirmed the exclusion of women from the right to inherit monarchical power. But, unlike Knox in England, the French theorists did not attempt to make this exclusion universal. They all recognised the fact that different traditions, customs, and laws applied in different countries. Their principal argument was that France would not recognise the female line of inheritance, but they also accepted that a different custom prevailed in England and in other European countries, such as Spain.

Two *libelles* and a political treatise – translated into English between 1589 and 1590 – outlined the basic arguments issued both by the *Politiques* and the Huguenots to defend the Salic Law. Despite their different in genre, these texts shared some commonalities. In first instance, their tone was fairly aggressive, often shifting the discussion of theoretical issue to violent attacks towards the Catholic League. Additionally, these texts provided only

⁶¹³ Viennot, ‘Les écrivains “Politiques” et la loi salique’, pp. 31-48 (p. 39).

⁶¹⁴ The work of Du Tillet was entitled *Recueils des roys de France, Leurs Couronne et Madison. Ensemble le grand rang de France* (Paris : Abel l’Angelier, 1580). See : Éliane Viennot, ‘L’invention de la loi Salique et ses répercussions sur la scène politique de la Renaissance’, in *Le Genre face aux mutations, du Moyen Âge au XXe siècle*, ed. by Luc Capdevilla and others (Rennes : Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), pp. 5-19 (p. 11).

fragmented – and quite marginal references – to the question of gender and succession, due to the different aims that permeated the texts. While the *libelles* aimed to provide a vehement response to the claim of the League, the political treatise relied on wider legal questions concerned with Navarre's complicated succession. Despite the scattered reference to gender and succession – which were also evidence of the scarce relevance that this theme had in terms of theoretical reflection – these texts offered an interesting insight on the way Huguenots and Politiques theorists developed their arguments about the gender of the ruler.

The first *libelle* was entitled *The Contre-League*⁶¹⁵ and belonged to the Huguenots' milieu. It was translated by Edward Aggas and printed in England by John Wolfe in 1589. Although the title was abbreviated in the English edition, the text was the *verbatim* translation of *La contre ligue et responce a certaines lettres envoyees à Messieurs de Renes par un Ligueur, se disant Seigneur de la Valee du Mainne and gentil-homme de la suite de feu Monsieur de Guise*, published in France in 1590.⁶¹⁶ The original author and the French printer remained anonymous, since there were no references about them in the frontispiece of the text. The *libelle* was written in response to some radical Catholic pamphlets refusing the Salic Law and represented one of the most extensive defences of the Salic Law. *The Contre-League* deployed from the beginning a very polemical tone, developing a strong attack towards the Leaguers and their claims about the French crown: 'the Leaguers want to give the French crown to the Spanish King and they are persuaded that the French crown could be held by a foreign prince'.⁶¹⁷

Furthermore, the author of *The Contre-League* began to argue in favour of the Salic Law. To develop his argument, the anonymous author relied on episodes of French history. The author claimed that the tradition of excluding female inheritance was reintroduced in 1328, when Edward of England attempted to claim the French throne from the dying Charles the Fair through his sister, Isabella. Philip of Valois, Charles' cousin through his paternal uncle,

⁶¹⁵ *The Contre-League and ansvere to certaine letters sent to the Maisters of Renes, by one of the League who termeth himselfe Lord of the valley of Mayne, and gentleman of the late Duke of Guizes traine. Faithfully translated into English by E.A.* (London: John Wolfe, 1589).

⁶¹⁶ *La contre ligue et responce a certaines lettres envoyees à Messieurs de Renes par un Ligueur, se disant Seigneur de la Valee du Mainne and gentil-homme de la suite de feu Monsieur de Guise* (Paris, 1590).

⁶¹⁷ *The Contre-League*, sig. A2.

claimed that there was an ancient fundamental law, the Salic Law, which excluded women from inheriting the French throne. The writer included a discussion of the exact wording of the Salic Law, which differentiated between inheritance of the king's land and that of other land. He concluded that even if such a law had not existed, 'the practice and customs of the nation preserved with such complete agreement over centuries obtain the force of written law'.⁶¹⁸ He also argued that Philip of Valois could have drawn on other feudal laws to support his case, but he had obviously believed in the rightfulness of the Salic Law. At the end of the *libelle*, the writer reiterated his definition of the Salic Law, which excluded not only female inheritance of the throne, but also inheritance through the female line 'just as the king's daughter does not succeed to the French crown, neither does her son'.⁶¹⁹

Furthermore, a *Politique* treatise translated into English deployed a fierce defence of the Salic Law. The text was entitled *The restorer of the French estate discovering the true causes of this warres in France*,⁶²⁰ and was printed in London by Richard Field in 1590. Although it was clearly indicated that the text was 'translated out of French',⁶²¹ the French original edition was not traced. Some historian suggested this text to have been written by the same author of *A discourse upon the state of France*, identified as Michel Hurault.⁶²² Structured as a treatise, the text was concerned with arguments proper of the *Politiques'* thought, like the strengthening of the monarchical institution. In this work, the author did not just deny to women the right to inherit the crown, but he also opposed the possibility that women could participate in the government of the country. To strengthen his argument, the author of *The restorer of the French Estate* mentioned how the Ancient Romans excluded women «from both public and private affairs because of the weakness of their judgement». Nevertheless, he acknowledged that in other contexts – such as England - 'the people did not distinguish between sexes in government'.⁶²³ The author of *The Restorer of the French Estate* discussed episodes of French history in which women led the government, such as

⁶¹⁸ *The Contre-League*, p. D3.

⁶¹⁹ *The Contre-League*, p. H1.

⁶²⁰ *The restorer of the French Estate discovering the true causes of these warres in France and other countries, and delivering the right course of restoring peace and quiet to all Christendome. Wherein are handled these principal questions touching religion, policie, and justice. Translated out of French* (London: Richard Field, 1590).

⁶²¹ *The restorer of the French Estate*, sig. A.

⁶²² Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 155.

⁶²³ *The restorer of the French Estate*, sig. A3.

the regencies.⁶²⁴ The anonymous author argued in favour of the exceptionality of these circumstances, claiming that 'a woman does not have the right and power to rule'.⁶²⁵ He claimed that the title of queen in France did not have any practical implication in leading women to get a role in the government of the country. Subsequently, the author referred directly to the Salic Law, arguing that it should be considered the most important law of the kingdom:

This Salic Law had conserved the Kingdom for two- thousand years, from a French male to a French male. Briefly, this law holds all the others and maintain the prosperity of our state.⁶²⁶

Subsequently, *The Restorer of the French Estate* referred to the Wars of Religion, presenting a scenario in which the French kingdom was destroyed by the rule of a foreign monarch. In his view, 'all of the Frenchmen will be taken in captivity, and everything will be destroyed'.⁶²⁷ As a result, Europe would be brought into a new conflict, like the Hundred Years' War: 'and What the Turcs will do, while we are destroyed by our wars? We will see only the blood of the Christians the churches and the cloisters destroyed'.⁶²⁸

The author of *The Restorer of the French Estate* attempted to oppose to the succession of the Infanta Isabella by using the Salic Law to defend two principles on which the French monarchy was based: the male gender and the French background of the ruler. According to the anonymous author, the only solution was to 'contrast every foreign prince or princesses, as the Salic Law and the others laws of the French kingdom recommended'.⁶²⁹ Among the texts written in support of the Salic Law, a *libelle* entitled the

⁶²⁴ According to the author of this text, Queen Blanche, mother of Louis IX was an example of such 'womanly boldness'. On the figure of Queen Blanch as a model for the French Queens, see: Fanny Cosandey, 'Les régence de Catherine et Marie de Médicis: un heritage italien?', in *Le donne Medici nel sistema europeo delle corti XVI-XVIII secolo. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Firenze – San Domenico Fiesole 6-8 ottobre 2005*, ed. by Giulia Calvi and Roberto Spinelli (Firenze: Edizioni Polistampa, 2008) pp. 345-360 (p. 348).

⁶²⁵ *The restorer of the French Estate*, sig. A4.

⁶²⁶ *The restorer of the French Estate*, sig. B2.

⁶²⁷ *The restorer of the French Estate*, sig. D4.

⁶²⁸ *The restorer of the French Estate*, sig. E3.

⁶²⁹ *The restorer of the French Estate*, sig. H2.

*Masque of the League and the Spaniard discovered*⁶³⁰ discussed the question of gender and succession. It was printed in London by Ian Charlewood for Richard Smith. The cover page of the text included the name of the translator, Anthony Munday, who collaborated in many translations of French works, as Jean de Serres' *Commentaires* in the late 1590s. The text was the verbatim translation of a Huguenot *libelle* entitled *La Masque de la League and de l'Hispaniol decouvert* and printed in Paris by lamet Mettayer in 1592.⁶³¹ The author remained anonymous, but the popularity of the text was incredibly high, since it was mentioned in many polemical treaties published during that period in France.

The author of *The Masque of the League* discussed the Salic Law, and the rights of women to govern. Like the anonymous author of *The Contre-League*, the author of this treatise believed that the exclusion of women was determined by custom and traditional law. Therefore, individuals should respect fundamental French laws, as the Salic Law. He argued that women's rule, or gynaecocracy, was 'directly contrary to the laws of nature'.⁶³² Additionally, he claimed that men were more naturally endowed with the qualities necessary to rule, stating that the Divine authority established how women were submitted to men 'in the government and in the family'.⁶³³ Furthermore, he discussed women's qualities, using them to prove the scarce predisposition that they have for ruling. He argued that women lack the most important abilities to govern, not only because of 'their lack of prudence, but also for the natural modesty and reserve of women'.⁶³⁴ Like the author of *The Contre-League*, the author of *The Masque of the League* acknowledged that different countries had different customs and mentioned that 'the English people make no difference between the men and the women for the succession to the crown'.⁶³⁵ Despite the similarities with *The Contre-League*, the author of *The Masque of the League* deployed his argument in a different way. He supported the Salic law but avoid any discussion of its origins or any reference to women's government in the past. Instead, the author continued to reaffirm the importance of the Salic Law, claiming only that it was a fundamental law of the French kingdom:

⁶³⁰ *The Masque of the League and Spaniard discovered. Faithfully translated out of the French coppie* (London: Ian Charlewood for Richard Smith, 1592).

⁶³¹ *La Masque de la Ligue et de l'Hispaniol decouvert* (Paris, lamet Mettayer, 1592).

⁶³² *The Masque of the League*, sig. A3.

⁶³³ *The Masque of the League*, sig. B2.

⁶³⁴ *The Masque of the League*, sig. C3.

⁶³⁵ *The Masque of the League*, sig. D4.

The law that has maintained the French kingdom strong for Eight-Hundred years. The Salic Law is the oldest law of the nature and the law that should be respected by the Kings of France.⁶³⁶

The arguments deployed by the French texts translated into English demonstrated how the discussion on the ruler's gender represented only a complementary component of the wider debate about the legitimacy of the royal power. Huguenot and *Politiques* theorist did not convey an articulate reflection on the question of gender and succession, debating superficially this point only to oppose the League's claim about the Infanta Isabella's succession. As highlighted in this section, the discourse embodied in the Huguenots and *Politiques* texts discussed mostly the rightfulness of the Salic Law, using that as the main argument to reject the Leaguers' claims. The theoretical reflection on female rule ultimately relied on common places, such as the scarce qualities that women had for ruling and their inferior condition to men.

As demonstrated by the analysis of the texts, the French discourse, generated by a complicated political situation, was strictly related to theoretical issues, such as the religion and the gender of the rule. These aspects represented an element of interest for the English readers, troubled by the complicate succession of Elizabeth I. Even though the arguments developed by the French texts translated into English referred to the peculiarities of the situation occurred in France, the issues debated in these publications provided a place to discuss an issue – such as the royal succession – common to both late Sixteenth – Century France and England.

⁶³⁶ *The Masque of the League*, sig. H2.

5. Henry of Navarre as King of France: Representing the Bourbon Monarch and His Rule over France in Seventeenth Century England (1598-ca.1630)

5.1. *The Translation into English of Early Historical Accounts of the Wars of Religion: Building an Interpretation of French Conflicts in Early Jacobean England*

The agreement that Henry reached with the French Protestants in 1598 – known as the Edict of Nantes – was influenced by what M.P. Holt defined as Henry IV's 'politics of appeasement'.⁶³⁷ The result was a compromise that did not satisfy entirely either the Catholics nor the Huguenots. As highlighted by Roland Mousnier, the Edict of Nantes did not establish a policy of religious toleration, but more likely assured a temporary co-existence between Catholics and Huguenots, recalling previous agreements such as the Edicts of Beaulieu and Poitiers (1577).⁶³⁸ Even if the Edict of Nantes represented a major turning point in the history of early modern France, its promulgation did not resolve completely the struggle between Catholics and Huguenots. As a result of that, the reign of Louis XIII was marked by several religious conflicts that led to the Huguenot defeat in La Rochelle (1629) and – on a long-term basis – to the Edict of Fontainebleau in 1685.⁶³⁹

The formal pacification between Catholics and Huguenots – and the rights granted to the latter – were presented by the followers of Henry IV as the most significant step towards the complete pacification of France. Additionally, the peace with Spain – signed in 1598 in Vervins – and the marriage between Henry and the Florentine Princess Marie de' Medici contributed to develop a very positive image of the French monarch.⁶⁴⁰ Henry started to be represented as a magnanimous monarch who was able – due his exceptional political and military skills - to reconcile France after many decades of Wars of Religion.⁶⁴¹ Between 1598 and 1610, Henry's public image was largely associated with Hercules, 'which appealed to

⁶³⁷ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 166

⁶³⁸ Roland Mousnier, *The Assassination of Henry IV. The Tyrannicide Problem and the Consolidation of The French Monarchy in the Early Seventeenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1973), p. 219.

⁶³⁹ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 170

⁶⁴⁰ Babelon, p. 230.

⁶⁴¹ Corrado Vivanti, 'Henry IV the Gallic Hercules', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 30 (1967), 176-197, (p. 176).

the King's life-long self-construct as heroic warrior',⁶⁴² creating what Corrado Vivanti as defined as 'the Gallic Hercules'.⁶⁴³ As already mentioned in this thesis, Henry IV was aware of the political significance of the medium of print. Therefore, Henry supported the dissemination of pamphlets that were positively describing his deeds, contributing to the development of a mythical interpretation of his life.⁶⁴⁴

This glorified image of Henry – developed also through his constant presence at public ceremonies and gatherings, that were then reported by news pamphlets – was also conveyed through the use of arts and literary works aimed to celebrate the success of the French monarch.⁶⁴⁵ This representation developed a very positive image of Henry which -in the aftermath of his tragic assassination – contributed to create what Mark Greengrass has described as 'the legend'⁶⁴⁶ of Henry IV. This legendary interpretation of Henry IV – that aimed to celebrate the political stability that France enjoyed during his rule⁶⁴⁷ - had an extraordinary success throughout the Seventeenth, Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century and is still reflected in the popular views on the French king.⁶⁴⁸ This mythical representation of Henry IV served also to reinforce the prestige of the French monarchy, undermined by the weakness of the Valois during the Wars of Religion.

This process had also a significant impact in the way Navarre's persona was represented in late Elizabethan and early Jacobean England. The French historical writings translated into English were written largely by Huguenots and *Politiques* authors, who supported the succession of Henry IV and the achievement of political stability in France. Consequently, these publications conveyed an early historical narrative of the French Wars of Religion that emphasised the role played by both the Calvinists and by Henry of Navarre in pacifying the kingdom. By deploying this particular – and partisan – interpretation of the French Wars of Religion, these publications developed early historical accounts that contributed to the creation of what Marie-Madeline Fragonard defined as the 'mémoire partagée des guerres

⁶⁴² Edmund H. Dickerman and Anita M. Walker, pp. 315-337, (p. 316).

⁶⁴³ Vivanti, pp. 176-197, (p. 179).

⁶⁴⁴ Dickerman and Walker, pp. 315-337, (p. 320).

⁶⁴⁵ Chartier, p. 249.

⁶⁴⁶ Greengrass, p. 71.

⁶⁴⁷ Donna Bohanan, *Crown and Nobility in Early Modern France* (London: Palgrave, 2001) p. 34.

⁶⁴⁸ Vincent J. Pitts, *Henry IV of France: His Reign and Age* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009) p. 135.

de religion'.⁶⁴⁹ The translation and dissemination in England of French texts glorifying the Bourbon monarch, developed in the early Jacobean age a narrative aimed to present Henry IV as a powerful and magnanimous King of France. Therefore, the English readership followed the deeds of the former – and very popular - Huguenot prince, by accessing a reading of his rule that exclusively looking at his achievements. By presenting Henry IV in such a positive way, the French publications translated into English reinforced the idea of the absolute monarchy, that started to take place in both France and England during the Seventeenth Century.⁶⁵⁰

This chapter will analyse how Henry IV's persona was represented in the French texts translated into English from 1598 to the 1630s, focusing on the historical writings and the news pamphlets disseminated in England during this period. I will discuss how these texts built a partisan narrative of the French Wars of Religion, stressing the legitimacy of Henry IV's successions and stigmatising the actions of the Catholic League. Additionally, I will analyse the texts translated in the immediate aftermath of Henry's murder. These texts were mainly news pamphlets that provided accounts of both the King's assassination and Ravillac's execution. The publications translated from French mourned Henry's death and openly condemned the regicide. Furthermore, I will investigate the narrative developed by the historical accounts published and translated in the decades followed to Henry's assassination. These publications developed the "legend" of Henry IV, disseminating in early Jacobean England a mythical representation of the French king. I will argue that this positive representation of Henry IV – built on the praising narrative developed by the texts translated between the end of 1560s and the beginning of the 1590s – reinforced the idea of sacral kingship and absolute monarchy. This element had a particular signification in early Seventeenth Century England, where James I and VI supported the affirmation of the divine right monarchy.⁶⁵¹ Once more – after the end of the French Wars of Religion - the figure of Henry IV was used as a challenge to discuss issues concerned with the ideas of kingship and monarchy.

The proclamation of the Edict of Nantes and the coronation of Henry IV marked a change in the kind of texts translated from French. Between 1589 and 1598, the English printing

⁶⁴⁹ Fragonard, 'Une mémoire individualisée', pp. 29-67, (p. 40).

⁶⁵⁰ Monod, p. 83.

⁶⁵¹ Richardson, p. 190.

market witnessed the rapid translation of numerous short *libelles* and more lengthy political treatises. As discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis, the main purpose of these *quartos* or *octavos* was to provide a partisan account of the events occurred in France. At the end of the 1590s, the French texts translated into English changed in nature. The printers and translators involved in dissemination of French texts progressively stopped to translate militant *libelles* and political treatises, while began to focus on historical writings aimed to offer an early interpretation of the French Wars of Religion. From 1597, the number of French historical accounts concerning the Wars of Religion increased significantly, while the amount of news pamphlets and political treaties lowered.⁶⁵² In 1598 Thomas Creede printed the translation of Jean de Serres' historical writings – entitled *An Historical Collection*⁶⁵³ – that focused on the events that occurred in France until the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes. Additionally, in 1599 a long poem concerning the French Wars of Religion attributed to Jean de Nesme was published by John Brown. The interest for the French Wars of Religion was only related to the French texts translated into English. Few English texts that appeared on the English marked at the end of the Sixteenth Century provided historical accounts of the Wars of Religion in France. Few years later – in 1600 and 1609 – the continuation of Comynes' chronicles by Thomas Danett and a history of the French religious conflicts by Anthony Colynet were published.⁶⁵⁴ Even though these texts were published across a decade, they presented some common features: they were quite lengthy and often printed *in-folio*. Additionally, these texts followed what Marie Celine Daniel has defined as 'la pratique éditoriale du recueil',⁶⁵⁵ emphasising their aim of providing long accounts that focused on different historical periods. Furthermore, both the English publications and the texts translated from French drew on the same approach to the historical interpretation of the French Wars of Religion. They used the same sources, and

⁶⁵² The text of the Edict of Nantes was translated into English and published in 1599 under the following title: *The Kings edict and declaration vpon the former edicts of pacification. Published in Paris at the parliament held the xxv. of Februarie. 1599. At Paris, by the printers and stationers ordinary to the King. 1599. Cum priuilegio dictæ Maiestatis* (London: Richard Field, 1599).

⁶⁵³ Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 50.

⁶⁵⁴ Thomas Danett, *A continuation of the historie of France, from the death of Charles the eight where Comines endeth, till the death of Henry the second. Collected by Thomas Danett Gentleman*. London printed by Thomas Creede, 1600; A. Colynet, *French vvarrs civil, and tragicall, historically collected declaring the rebellious attempts of the two treacherous Dukes of Guise and Demaine, and the rest of their confederates in that faction; with the renowned acts and valorous achiuements of the English generals and captaines, assistants in that seruice unto the French King. Viz. The Lord Willowby, sir John Norris, Sir Roger Williams and the late victorious Earle of Essex, at the commande of the most Christian and roiall Queene Elizabeth* (London, 1609).

⁶⁵⁵ Daniel, 'Livre politique et politique du livre', p. 381

they built the narrative around the same sequence of events.

The change in the kind of texts translated from French – and the interest that English writers also showed for the French Wars of Religion – was related to a broader interest developed in late Sixteenth and early Seventeenth England for historical writings.⁶⁵⁶ Therefore, the translation of French historical writings - and the simultaneous production of similar publications in English - had to be contextualised within the general interest for historical works in late Sixteenth Century England. Historians have largely investigated the development of English historical writings at the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. Paulina Kewes described it as a transition from 'histories to the historical',⁶⁵⁷ emphasising the fact that authors of historical accounts started to ground their work on the primary sources they managed to access. Like Kewes, other historians as Fussner,⁶⁵⁸ Woolf⁶⁵⁹ and Levy⁶⁶⁰ highlighted how the Seventeenth Century 'was the most historically-minded age'⁶⁶¹ by referring to the influence that Humanism –and particularly authors like Nicolò Machiavelli and Francesco Guicciardini – had in stimulating this interest in history. Moreover, Levy claimed that 'the great age of history writing had first to be preceded by an age of translation',⁶⁶² by arguing that the translation of historical accounts played a major role in developing a strong interest for historical writings. Furthermore, Ferguson pointed out how this attention for history began to develop in the Sixteenth Century, by discussing the role that historical sources had in informing some of the plays written by William Shakespeare and Christopher Marlowe.⁶⁶³

In a moment of great success for historical writings, the French accounts of the Wars of Religion - translated into English between 1598 and 1610 - enjoyed a great popularity in the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean age. As argued by Richard Hillman, the work of Jean

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁵⁷ Paulina Kewes, 'History and Its Uses' in *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, ed. By Paulina Kewes (San Marino-California, Huntington Library, 2008) 1-31, (p. 14).

⁶⁵⁸ Frank Smith Fussner, *The Historical Revolution: English Historical Writing and Thought, 1580-1640* (London: Routledge and Paul Kegan, 1962) p. 214.

⁶⁵⁹ Woolf, p. 38.

⁶⁶⁰ Fred Jacob Levy, *Tudor Historical Thought* (San Marino-California, Huntington Library, 1967), p. 167.

⁶⁶¹ Levy, p. 152.

⁶⁶² Levy, p. 158.

⁶⁶³ Arthur B. Ferguson, *Clio Unbound: Perception of the Social and Cultural Past in Renaissance England* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1979), p. 230.

de Serres and Pierre Mathieu could have been used by Christopher Marlowe to write *A Massacre in Paris*.⁶⁶⁴ Additionally, scholars in literary studies highlighted how Jean de Serres' work could have served as sources for by Anne Dorwiche.⁶⁶⁵

The idea of reconstructing French History – and particularly the events concerned with the Wars of Religion – was largely deployed by the text entitled *An Historicall Collection of the most memorable accidents, and tragical massacres of France, under the raignes of Henry. 2. Francis. 2. Charles. 9. Henry. 3. Henry. 4. now living*.⁶⁶⁶ The text was the verbatim translation of *Recueil des choses mémorables avenues en France sous le règne de Henri II, François II, Charles IX, Henri III et Henri IV, depuis l'an 1547 jusques au commencement de l'an 1597*,⁶⁶⁷ written by the Huguenot author Jean de Serres. The Calvinist writer was a familiar author for the English readers: his early works were already translated in the late 1560s and in the mid 1570s, while the translations of Jean de Serres' historical accounts continued until 1624. The texts translated in the 1560s and 1570s provided a long account of French history, starting with the rule on Charles VII and ending with the events occurred during the sixth War of Religion (1576-1577). Instead, *An Historicall Collection* covered the events of the last Wars of Religion until the beginning of the rule of Henry IV in 1595. The text was translated from French and published in 1598 in London.

Jean de Serres' *An Historical Collection* represented the most extensive account of French History available in late Elizabethan England both for the breadth of the chronological spectrum - on which the text focused - and for the detailed account provided. However, Jean de Serres developed a partisan narrative of the Wars of Religion aimed to defend the Huguenots – and in first instance, Henry of Navarre – and to stigmatise the Leaguers' role in exacerbating the conflicts that troubled France in the Sixteenth Century. The Huguenot writer built this narrative through a careful choice of the events included in the account,

⁶⁶⁴ Hillman, p. 55.

⁶⁶⁵ Sidney L. Sondergard, *Sharpening Her Pen. Strategies of Rhetorical Violence in Early Modern English Women Writers* (London: Associate Press, 2002), p. 73.

⁶⁶⁶ Jean de Serres, *An historical collection, of the most memorable accidents, and tragical massacres of France, under the raignes of Henry. 2. Francis. 2. Charles. 9. Henry. 3. Henry. 4. now living. Containing all the troubles therein happened, during the said kings times, untill this present yeare, 1598. Wherein we may behold the wonderfull and straunge alterations of our age. Translated out of French into English* (London: Thomas Creede, 1598).

⁶⁶⁷ Jean de Serres, *Recueil des choses mémorables avenues en France sous le règne de Henri II, François II, Charles IX, Henri III et Henri IV, depuis l'an 1547 jusques au commencement de l'an 1597*, (1598).

incorporating episodes such as massacre of Vassy, the Saint-Batholomew, the assassination of Coligny, the Day of the Barricades and the murders of the Duke of Guise and of Henry III. The emphasis on these events - and the idea of providing an early interpretation of them – contributed to reinforce the partisan narrative that Jean de Serres aimed to develop. The massacre of Vassy or the assassination of the Duke of Guise represented controversial moments of the French Wars of Religion and both Catholics and Huguenots competed to provide an account of the events that was publicly recognised as truthful. Therefore, in a moment in which the memory of the French Wars of Religion was 'encore partagée'⁶⁶⁸ – as Marie Madeleine Fragonard argued – the work of Jean de Serres offered to the English readers an interpretation of the Wars of Religion that was biased by the Huguenot background of the author. Moreover, the account of the Wars of Religion's major events developed by Jean de Serres recalled very strongly the narrative developed by the *libelles* translated between the late 1560s and the end of 1580s, showing how *libelles* and news pamphlets were used as sources for longer publications.⁶⁶⁹

Despite the end of the Wars of Religion in France, Jean de Serres' work deployed a strong militant tone, aimed to convey a partisan narrative of the conflicts that affected France in the Sixteenth Century. As Philip Benedict highlighted, these publications were 'instant histories'⁶⁷⁰ that did not yet start to shape the memory of the French Wars of Religion. Therefore, the tone of *An Historical Collection* recalled that of Jean de Serres' publications translated from French into English during the 1560s and the 1570s. As discussed above, Jean de Serres decided to focus on episodes that highlighted the disloyal nature of the Guises and their followers, attempting to demonstrate the role that they had in exacerbating the tensions between Catholics and Huguenots in France. An example of that was the narrative deployed by Jean de Serres about the assassination of the Duke of Guise on 23 December 1588. The assassination of Henry of Guise represented a controversial moment of the French Wars of Religion.⁶⁷¹ Overwhelmed by the power of the Leaguers, Henry III managed to get the Duke of Guise – and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine – assassinated at the end of 1588. Jean

⁶⁶⁸ Fragonard, 'Une mémoire individualisée', pp. 29-67 (p. 30).

⁶⁶⁹ Daniel, 'Livre politique et politique du livre', p. 231.

⁶⁷⁰ Benedict, *Graphic History*, p. 127, See also: Philip Benedict, 'Shaping the Memory of the French Wars of Religion. The First Centuries', in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. By Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollman, Johannes Müller and Jasper van der Steen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 111-126, (p. 114).

⁶⁷¹ Carroll, p. 135.

de Serres developed a narrative of the event that aimed to justify Henry III's action, by putting the blame to the Duke of Guise, guilty of having usurped the royal powers:

The king suspected the Duke of *Guise*, to use these speeches either to induce him to bereave himself of his authoritie, and to give him all soveraigne power, or else to find some means of discontentment, that thereby he might breake up the Parliament, and so make his Maiestie odious to his subiects: wherewith hee could not so much dissemble his displeasure, but that such as were present, perceived well, that it would be the meanes to open the woundes that were thought to be healed, he determined to stop the hopes and enterprises of this Duke, with the price of his life, and no more to indure so many insolencies and braveries of the league, that esteemed it a title of honour to beare the name of *Guisart*, and of infamie and dishonor to have the name of a servant to the king.⁶⁷²

Jean de Serres deployed a partisan narrative of the assassination, in which the Duke of Guise was described as an ambitious nobleman, who exclusively aimed to take over the French crown. Therefore, the author of *An Historical collection* developed a very simplistic narrative of the event, stigmatising the Leaguers and defending Henry III. The argument developed by Jean de Serres recalled claims made by the Anti-Guisian *libelles* translated into English from the late 1560s.⁶⁷³ Interestingly, Jean de Serres deployed a similar narrative when discussing the assassination of Henry III in 1589. The Huguenot writer blamed the Catholic League for the assassination, mentioning how supposedly 'certain confessors'⁶⁷⁴ close to the Leaguers instigated Jacques Clément to commit the murder:

Some certaine weekes before, a young Jacobine Monke, called Fryer Jaques *Clément*, borne (as men report) in a village called *Sorbonne* neare *Seins*, a man drowned in all wickednesse, having passed through the handes of certaine confessors, and

⁶⁷² De Serres, *An Historical collection*, p. 263.

⁶⁷³ For a detailed discussion of the Anti-Guisian texts translated into English during the 1560s and the 1570s see chapter 2 of this thesis.

⁶⁷⁴ De Serres, *An Historical collection*, p. 284.

conferred with some Jesuites and others, was for a kind of dexteritie observed in him, found meete to strike so great a stroke.⁶⁷⁵

Furthermore, Jean de Serres stated openly how the major leaders of the Catholic League – led by the Duke of Mayenne – instigated the Jacobin monk to assassinate Henry III. The reconstruction of the moments preceding the assassination showed that Jean de Serres' text aimed to provide only a partisan narrative of the episode, without developing any historical argument. Therefore, the aim of Jean de Serres' work was not to provide an articulated analysis of the circumstances that led to the assassination, but rather to stigmatise the Leaguers for the regicide by developing a narrative similar to the one deployed by the *libelles* discussing the regicide:

He was urged and put forward therein, and in the end the Duke *de Mayene*, the sister of *Montpensieur* and others, had conference with him in divers places, they requested him to persever in this good determination, which they knew to rise in him, by extraordinarie inspirations, to performe so renowned a service to the holy union, the Catholicque Church, and his countrie.⁶⁷⁶

An evidence of the popularity of French historical texts – and particularly of the accounts written by Jean de Serres - was the publication in 1597 of an English historical writing focused entirely on French Wars of Religion. This book was entitled *The mutable and wauering estate of France from the yeare of our Lord 1460, untill the yeare 1595*⁶⁷⁷ and was published in London by Thomas Creede. The cover page indicated to the reader that the book was a collection of different texts, specifying that the publication included writings from 'both *Latine, Italian, and French historiographers*'.⁶⁷⁸ Despite the fact that *The mutable and wauering estate of France* was published one year before the publication of Jean de Serres'

⁶⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁷⁶ De Serres, *An Historical collection*, p. 285.

⁶⁷⁷ *The mutable and wauering estate of France from the yeare 1460, untill the yeare 1595. The great batailles of the French nation, as well abroad with their foreign enemies, as at home among themselves, in their civil and intestine warres: with an ample declaration of the seditious and trecherous practices of that viperous brood of Hispaniolized Leaguers. Collected out of sundry, both Latine, Italian and French historiographers* (London: Thomas Creede, 1597).

⁶⁷⁸ *The mutable and wauering estate of France*, p. 1.

An Historical Collection, the two texts share some common features. *The mutable and wauering estate of France* developed a partisan narrative like the one embodied in the French *libelles* translated into English. The anonymous author of *The mutable and wauering estate of France* could have accessed the early books of Jean de Serres translated into English, along with the French *libelles* translated into English during the French Wars of Religion. An example that was certainly the account of the Duke of Guise's assassination deployed by *The mutable and wauering estate of France*. Like Jean de Serres, the author of *The mutable and wauering estate of France* justify Henry's decision of murdering the leader of the Catholic League:

Though the King knew not of this sentence of death which was pronounced against him *et* the olde and new iniuries offered unto him by the *Guise*, did sufficiently exasperate him, and made him watch all opportunitie to seeke his revenge, and assoone as ever he could to be ridde of so desperate a traytor.⁶⁷⁹

When discussing the assassination of Henry III, the anonymous author of *The Mutable and wavering estate of France* argued that the Leaguers – and particularly Maine, Aumalle and Nemours – were to be held responsible for Henry's murder. As in Jean de Serres' *An Historical Collection*, *The Mutable and wavering estate of France* presented the Leaguers as violent usurpers, who decided to assassinate Henry III in order to maintain the power they illegally retained:

This made the conspirators to tremble, and to lay their heads together, howe to avoid this perill, which now hung over their heads: whereupon the dukes of *Maine*, *Aumatle*, and *Nemours*, the Archbishop of *Lions*.⁶⁸⁰

Furthermore, the author of *The Mutable and wavering estate of France* developed a detailed narrative of the assassination, arguing that the Leaguers convinced Jacques Clément to assassinate Henry III. The text also referred to the fact that the Leaguers offered to the

⁶⁷⁹ *The mutable and wavering estate of France*, p. 130.

⁶⁸⁰ *The mutable and wavering estate of France*, p. 138.

Jacobin frier a poisoned knife, recalling a detail already included in the *libelles* about the regicide that were translated from French into English. Therefore, the inclusion of this element showed how English authors of historical texts made use of the *libelles*, as sources for the narrative they aimed to deploy:

They perswaded with one Frier *James Clément*, of the order of *S. Dominicke*, a lewd and bold hypocrite, and enduced him with many reasons (who was otherwise readie enough to any mischief) to attempt this tragical and bloody act. They forced the first president of the Senate, named *Harlay*, whom for his faithfulness to his Prince, they had long detained in prison, to write letters to the K. which this Frier should carrie with him. They taught the said Clément likewise a lesson, containing matters of great weight and importaunce, advising him that he should not disclose them to any but to the King, and that in private, and great secrecie. Providing him besides, a sharpe and long knife, envenomed with deadly poison, wherewith he should adventure to murther the said King.⁶⁸¹

The historical writings - concerning the French Wars of Religion and translated into English between 1598 and 1610 - developed a partisan interpretation of the conflicts that occurred in France, emphasising the role of the Guises by exacerbating the tensions between Catholics and Huguenots. Moreover, both the French and the English authors did not display any political analysis of the events. Therefore, the narrative of the French Wars of Religion was built around the rivalry between the Huguenots and the Guise. Within this context, the Navarre's persona was portrayed as a militant leader that supported the Huguenots in the early stages of the wars and subsequently led the struggle for both his legitimate succession and the restoration of the peace in France. Additionally, these historical writings represented the different historical figures (i.e. Navarre, the Duke of Guise, Henri III) around stereotypical connotations, which did not acknowledge the complexity of the conflicts in France. While Navarre was described as the valiant warrior prince – and later as the magnanimous King – that struggled to restore the peace in France, the Leaguers were constantly portrayed as conspirators able to coerce the weak Henry III. As suggested by Natalie Zemon- Davis the

⁶⁸¹ *The mutable and wavering estate of France*, p. 143.

authors of early historical accounts about the French Wars of Religion 'crafted the narrative'⁶⁸² and - through a careful selection of the information - constructed the interpretation they aimed to provide.

5.2. Henry IV and the Early Historical Accounts of the French Wars of Religion: Representing the Image of a Heroic King (1598-1610)

As already highlighted in the previous section of this chapter, the French texts translated into English between the end of the Sixteenth Century and the beginning of the Seventeenth Century were mostly historical accounts aimed to create a partisan narrative of the conflicts between Catholics and Huguenots. Among the events and the historical figures presented in the publications, Henry of Navarre had certainly a predominant role. At the end of the Sixteenth Century – and particularly shortly before his conversion in 1595 – Henry became 'the most famous and beloved non-English person of the time'.⁶⁸³ The former prince was described as the most influential leader of Huguenots faction, along with the Prince of Condé. Following the death of Condé in 1588, Henry became the unique leader of the Huguenots. After Henry III's assassination in 1589 his political importance grew through the affirmation of his legitimate right to succeed to the French throne. The publications translated into English followed progressively his political career by placing a strong emphasis on the account of his deeds.

If the *libelles* and the news pamphlets translated between 1589 and 1598 reported to the English readers all the military events in which Henry of Navarre faced the Catholic League, the French historical writings instead attempted to provide an early interpretation of Henry's deeds. These historical accounts developed a highly partisan narrative, drawing on the more general reading of the French Wars of Religion they aimed to provide. Jean de Serres' *An Historiall Collection* represented an evidence of that. By building of the partisan narrative of the French Wars of Religion that underpinned his work, the French writer developed an historical account that presented Navarre as the legitimate heir to throne after the death of

⁶⁸² Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth Century France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), p. 3.

⁶⁸³ Voss, p. 103.

the Duke d'Alençon in 1585. Jean de Serres' representation of Navarre was built around three key points: the way Navarre fiercely faced his enemies during the Wars of Religion, the respect and the obedience showed by his subject and the political and leadership skills that enable him to deal with new enemies (i.e. the Jesuits, the Spanish monarchy) when he became king. In order to build this representation of Henry, Jean de Serres did not discuss in depth controversial moments of the Bourbon's life, like the conversion to Catholicism.

The main thesis through which Jean de Serres' book revolved around the struggle that led Henry to become king, emphasising his fierce and brave attitude when facing the enemies. Therefore, the author glorified Henry, highlighting not only his rightful succession to the crown, but also the challenges he faced in order to succeed to the throne. Jean de Serres wrote a sort of epic narrative of the French Wars of Religion, in which Navarre was represented as a heroic prince able to restore the peace in France:

This reigne hath two parcells. The beginning is painefull, full of crosses, and confused until that our Henry (sollemnely installed) be acknowledged lawfull King by all his subjects [...] Doubtlesse, we must consesse without flattery, that France had need of this Prince, to roote out (like an other French Hercules) those hideous monsters which made it horrible and fearefull to her own children: to restore the French to the greatness of their reputation, and this crown to her former beauty.⁶⁸⁴

According to the author, Henry was a new 'Hercules',⁶⁸⁵ capable to take France into an age of prosperity. Subsequently, he expressed a strong criticism towards the Catholic league. Even though *An Historicall collection* was published in 1598, the author still defined the radical Catholics as 'monsters'⁶⁸⁶ that have troubled France. As previously discussed in this thesis, the emphasis on Henry's military leadership and stamina strongly characterised the narratives about the French prince. Jean de Serres followed this line of argument and wrote extensively about the different battles faced by Henry's army against the Leaguers. Henry's military leadership is compared to that of the Leaguers: the Duke of Mayenne, the Duke of

⁶⁸⁴ De Serres, *An Historical collection*, p. 902.

⁶⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁶ Ibid.

Aumale and the Duke of Nemours. Jean de Serres described Navarre's fierceness in facing his enemies during the siege of city of Dreux (1590), emphasising Henry's charisma:

Being fixe hundred horses, the king chargeth two thousand of enemies: he breakes them, scatters them, and is so engaged among them as he remained a good quarter of an hour unknown even to his own people [...] he now performe the duty of a brave soldier, and resolute man at armes in fighting. But above all, of a most mild and merciful Conqueror: who in this bloody fight did found that gracious speech: *Save the French and down with the Stranger*.⁶⁸⁷

Throughout the book, the author reiterated Navarre's representation as a magnanimous and chivalrous prince, offering a very detailed - around forty pages long - account of the conflicts between Navarre' army and the Leaguers. The long section focused on the conflicts between the Protestant Prince's army and the Leaguers' one ended with few paragraphs focused on Henry's conversion to Catholicism in 1593. Drawing on his partisan interpretation of Henry's career, Jean de Serres did not comment on this crucial moment of Henry's life, which was judged negatively by some of his contemporaries and by Elizabeth I.⁶⁸⁸ The author decided to simply review the events that led to Henry's conversion. In addition to that, he briefly explained the reasons that have driven Henry to abjure the Protestantism:

For the king discovering the practices of his rebellious subjects, presuming to assemble the Estates of the Realme, which may not be called but by royal authority, and for matter of religion, he protested that besides the convocation of a Council, if there may be found any better of more speedie meanes to come to the instruction which they pretend to give him, to divert him from the exercise of his religion to that of the Catholic and Romish, he will willingly embrace it with all his heart.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁷ De Serres, *An historical collection*, p. 907.

⁶⁸⁸ Love, p. 233; Babelon, p. 278.

⁶⁸⁹ De Serres, *An historical collection*, p. 909

When discussing Henry's conversion, Jean de Serres clarified that the Bourbon king was aware of the danger represented by the Duke of Mayenne and his alliance with Spain, which would have led to the succession of the Infanta Isabella to the French throne. Moreover, he argued that the opening of the General Estates in Paris on 26 January 1593 – which aimed to elect a new king - was also a factor that played an important role in speeding up Henry's decision to convert to Catholicism. Therefore, he attempted to defend the Henry's choice, justifying it with political reasons. After discussing Henry's decision to abjure Protestantism, Jean de Serres initiated a long digression focused on the reconquest of French towns carried out by Henry until his entry to Paris (22 March 1594), which marked the final defeat of the Leaguers. Once more, the author emphasised the Henry's military leadership and stamina.

Subsequently, Jean de Serres began discussing the respect and obedience showed by Henry's subjects, representing Henry as a beloved king. The French author reaffirmed clearly the legitimacy of Henry's claim to the throne by defining him several times as 'our lawfull king'.⁶⁹⁰ Furthermore, he developed a long section about the two events that have characterised the months followed to Henry's conversion: his coronation in the cathedral of Chartres (27 February 1594) and the entry to Paris (22 March 1594). Jean de Serres started to discuss Henry's coronation – 'one thing very necessary to seale the generall approbation of the King's lawfull authority'⁶⁹¹ - by justifying the choice of Chartres. The town was 'the rendez-vous of this solemne ceremony'⁶⁹² because it was close to Reims, which was dominated by the League 'shut the gates against the King'.⁶⁹³ The entry to Paris had a major relevance in Jean de Serres' text, since it represented the moment in which Henry reconquered official the most important French town. The Huguenot writer marked the importance of this episode by starting a new chapter, all focused on the 'miraculous reduction of Paris to his Majesties obedience'.⁶⁹⁴ The author meticulously described Henry's entry in the main French town:

⁶⁹⁰ De Serres, *An historical collection*, p. 910.

⁶⁹¹ De Serres, *An historical collection*, p. 911.

⁶⁹² De Serres, *An historical collection*, p. 917.

⁶⁹³ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁴ De Serres, *An historical collection*, p. 918.

Thus according to the oath which his Maiestie had taken of the Captains of every company, not to do or suffer any insolencie or outrage to any citizen, but to such as should obstinately make resistance, all his troupes enter without disorder, without murther, without spoile and by their perfect obedience testifie how great his authoritie is that command over them.⁶⁹⁵

The emphasis that Jean de Serres placed on the entry to Paris highlighted the importance of Henry's royal authority and the legitimacy of his succession to the throne, showing how the main French towns demonstrated loyalty to the new king. Furthermore, the French author emphasised the extraordinary leadership of Henry, who was able to win over the Spanish and the Leaguers army and to assure to France a peaceful age:

There was nothing but signes of wonderful joy and love: the bitternesse of the proud and insolent command of the Spaniard made the Parisiens to tast the sweetness of the fatherly rule of their King and those detest him as an enemy, who lately feared and respected him as a master.⁶⁹⁶

Jean de Serres' language highlighted the quasi-heroic role that he attributed to Henry. According to the author, Navarre became a respected and beloved king not only for the legitimacy of his succession, but also for his personal leadership, which led to defeat national and international enemies. Through the description of Henry's entry to Paris, Jean de Serres emphasised Henry's status as King of France. Furthermore, this aspect was stressed by the inclusion – within the publication – of an official statement released by the French monarch. The text was entitled *The Kings Edict or Declaration, upon the reduction of Paris under his obedience*. Henry's declaration on the reduction of Paris was printed in France, but it was never translated into English. Instead through *An Historicall Collection*, English readers had the chance to access the document, that represented another way of knowing more about Henry's deeds. Additionally, the four years between Henry's coronation in Chartres (1594) and the promulgation of the edict of Nantes (1598) were largely discussed by Jean de

⁶⁹⁵ De Serres, *An historical collection*, p. 920.

⁶⁹⁶ De Serres, *An historical collection*, p. 933.

Serres. The French writer mentioned how – after Paris – all the other French cities formally declared their submission to the new king. He also highlighted how several members of the League decided to join Henry's side. Jean de Serres did not mention explicitly the reasons behind the choice of the former *Leaguers*, using instead a metaphor to highlight its rightfulness:

Drawing on the generall obedience to the king, many captains, Gentlemen, Noblemen and other chief pillars of the League: so as every bird having his fether, the Crow in the fable remained in the end naked.⁶⁹⁷

Furthermore, two elements characterised Jean de Serres' narrative of Henry's early rule: the emphasis on peace established by Henry and his constant struggle against enemies like the Spanish monarchy and the Jesuits. According to the author, the first event that facilitated the achievement of the peace was 'the reconciliation'⁶⁹⁸ between Henry IV and the Duke of Guise in the autumn of 1594. In the reality, the duke of Guise found himself politically and military isolated after other leaders of the League – such as the duke of Lorraine – already recognised the legitimacy of Henry's succession in the aftermath of his conversion to the Catholicism (November 1594). However, Jean de Serres built a narrative aiming only to represent the magnanimity of Henri IV, by emphasising how he reconciled with his former enemies:

The Duke of Guise did first resiste, that he desired nothing more than the Kings service, and drawing in the month of November to his Majestie service his brethren with himselfe, many Noblemen, the City of Reims and many other places, it did greatly shake this monstrous building, which was now ready to fall to ruine.⁶⁹⁹

As mentioned above, Jean de de Serres constructed his narrative about Henry IV's reign around the contrast between the determination of his enemies and the magnanimity of Henry's purposes. The French author presented the Jesuits' actions as the most dangerous

⁶⁹⁷ De Serres, *An historical collection*, p. 983.

⁶⁹⁸ De Serres, *An historical collection*, p. 985.

⁶⁹⁹ Ibid.

for the peace and the stability of France. He highlighted how – after having supported the League – they supposedly continue to conspire against Henry:

The Sect of the Jesuites had as chiefe pillars of the League, mightly supported it into this day, and by all meanes labored to advance the Spaniard in France: they had spread throughtout the whole Realme, the furious effects of the fire which they had kindled, and continue in private confessions (as lately in their Sermons) to disgrace the memorie of the deceased, and the Majestie of the King now raigning.⁷⁰⁰

As discussed in the third chapter of this thesis, Jean de Serres developed here an argument widely employed by the Huguenots' polemicists during the French Wars of Religion, particularly after Henry III's assassination in 1589. He defined the Jesuits as a sect and highlighted clearly their supposed alliance with the King of Spain. Furthermore, Jean de Serres praised the *arrêt* (29 December 1594) – issued by the Parisian *Parlement* – leading to the expulsion of the Jesuits from France:⁷⁰¹

The court of Parlement (whole authority notwithstanding they did cotemne and reiect) to prononnce and declare thie great decree. Against this the prayers that were pronounced by their disciples did not have any power.⁷⁰²

In order to provide more evidence in support of the Jesuits' disloyalty, Jean de Serres mentioned the attempted assassination of Henry IV by Jean Châtel. Even though the episode happened two days before (27 December 1594) the promulgation of the *Parlement's* decree against the Jesuits, Jean de Serres wisely crafted the narrative and discussed the attempted assassination just after the passage on the expulsion of the Jesuits, highlighting the danger that the Catholic congregation represented for Henry's reign. In addition to the Jesuits, Jean de Serres mentioned the war against Spain, that ended with the treaty of Vervins in 1598. The French author places a strong emphasis on Henry's

⁷⁰⁰ De Serres, *An historical collection*, p. 990.

⁷⁰¹ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 198.

⁷⁰² De Serres, *An historical collection*, p. 995.

military victories, reporting all the conflicts occurred in the French territories, particularly in Normandy. Therefore, English readers followed the Spanish conquest of towns like Calais, Rouen and Amiens and the subsequent war that Henry undertook to rescue them. When praising Henry's military leadership, Jean de Serres claimed that the Bourbon king was supported by the Divine Providence. Therefore, the French writer defended Henry's legitimate succession to the throne, by affirming how the King's success was held back by God's will:

Behold one of the effects of his Majestie speedy resolution, of his great iudgement in war and his excedding diligence in his executions. Behold moreover a pattern of that happiness which attended him at the sieges, and earnest pennie of an abosolute victorie which God prepared for him against his enemies.⁷⁰³

While *An Historical collection* ended with the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598, a new edition of the Jean de Serres' work was translated in 1607. The peculiar features of this publication relied on the fact that the edition published in 1607 included a copy of Jean de Serres' *An Historical Collection* - published in 1598 - followed by another historical account written by Pierre Matthieu (1563-1621), which aimed to cover the events occurred between 1598 and 1607. Matthieu's text was entitled *Histoire des derniers troubles de France sous le règues de Charles IX, Henri III et Henry IIIII* and was published in France in 1604.⁷⁰⁴ The work – translated by Edward Grimeston - was entitled *A general inventorie of the history of France, from the beginning of the monarchie, unto the treatie of Vervins, in this year 1598*⁷⁰⁵ and was presented as the direct continuation of Jean de Serres' historical account. Lawyer

⁷⁰³ De Serres, *An Historical collection*, p. 997.

⁷⁰⁴ Pierre Matthieu, *Histoire des derniers troubles de France sous le règues de Charles IX, Henri III, Henry IIIII contenant tout ce qui s'est passé durant les derniers troubles, jusques à la paix faicte entre les rois de France et d'Espagne, avec un recueil des édicts et articles accordez par le roy Henry IIIII pour la réunion de ses sujets. Dernière édition, revue et augmentée de l'histoire des guerres entre les maisons de France, d'Espagne et de Savoye* (1604). This text was the second edition of Matthieu's work, published originally in 1596 under the title of *Histoire des derniers troubles de France, sous les règnes des rois Charles IX, Henry III et Henry IIIII*. The first edition of the text covered French history until the coronation of Henry IV in 1595, while the second edition – reprinted in 1600, 1601 and 1604 – covered the events occurred until 1601.

⁷⁰⁵ *A general inventorie of the history of France, from the beginning of the monarchie, unto the treatie of Vervins, in this year 1598*⁷⁰⁵ *Written by Jean de Serres ad continued unto these times, out off the best authors which have written of that subject. Translated out of French into English by Edward Grimeston Gentleman* (London: George Eld, 1607).

and writer, Pierre Matthieu was a former supporter of the Catholic League. In 1593 after having been sent as a deputy to homage Henry IV in Paris, he became one of the strongest supporters of the new king.⁷⁰⁶ He wrote tragedies and poems along with historical works. Like Jean de Serres, Matthieu crafted the narrative, aiming to highlight the legitimacy of Henry's succession and his magnanimity as a king.

The translation of Matthieu's historical account contributed significantly to the mythification of Henry's image in late Elizabethan and early Jacobean England. Despite the purpose of the text was to provide a general account of French historical events, Matthieu's work placed a strong emphasis on the deeds of Henry as a monarch. Moreover, a new part of Matthieu's work was translated in 1624 by Edward Grimeston – who acted as translator and editor of a *recueil* of French historical accounts.⁷⁰⁷

As underlined above, Matthieu's historical account started in 1598, when Jean de Serres' work ended. The first section of Matthieu's work is dedicated to the treaty of Vervins that marked the end of the war against Spain, begun in 1595. By following a practice already introduced by Jean de Serres, Pierre Matthieu included original sources within his historical account. An example of that was the text of the peace of Vervins, which represented the only version of the document translated for the English printing market. When constructing the narrative of the events that led to the signature of the peace, Matthieu highlighted the role of Henry IV in reaching such an agreement with the King of Spain. To this regard, Matthieu wrote a long praise of Henry IV, underlying his willingness for peace and his political ability:

The King answered to the King of Spain that he desired peace, not for that he was tired with the discommodities of war, but to give all Christendome meanes for breath. The King would have the sincerity of his intention knowne to all the world, and Paris a witnessse of the

⁷⁰⁶ Mathilde Bernard, *Écrire la peur à l'époque des guerres de Religion. Une étude des historiens et mémorialistes contemporaines des guerres civiles en France 1562-1598* (Paris: Hermann Éditeurs, 2010), p. 97.

⁷⁰⁷ Daniel, 'Livre politique et politique du Livre', p. 315.

oath he should take, to observe peace as religiously as he made war justly.⁷⁰⁸

Additionally, Pierre Matthieu discussed in depth the events that led to the signature of the Edict of Nantes, presenting it as a complementary evidence of Henry's political skills. As in Jean de Serres' text, two main themes underpinned Matthieu's narrative about Henry IV's rule: the criticism towards the Jesuits and the war against his external enemies, such as the Duke of Savoy. The Franco-Savoyard war already familiar to the English readers through news pamphlets and French *libelles* translated into English in 1600, like the *The Oracle of Savoy*.⁷⁰⁹ Along with the edict of Nantes, *A generall historie* celebrated also the Treaty of Lyon, with which Navarre concluded a peace with the Duke of Savoy in 1601. The negotiation of the Treaty of Lyon ended the last conflict in which Navarre was involved, marking the beginning of a period of peace after the three decades in which France was troubled by the Wars of Religion.⁷¹⁰ Matthieu wrote that the 'peace was concluded and proclaimed at Lions, the seventeenth day of January in the year 1601'.⁷¹¹ Additionally, Matthieu added how 'the King was pleased'⁷¹² with the outcome of peace. By building on Jean de Serres' narrative, Pierre Matthieu represented Henry as a magnanimous king with strong leadership skills and exceptional political abilities, enabling him to face all kind of enemies. Pierre Matthieu wrote a long praise of Henry when discussing the signature of the treaty of Lyon:

In my opinion this new alliance will bring good and prosperity to France with more reason now, when we are nearer neighbours, having meanes to succour one another without demanding passage from any Prince, the realme of France being in full peace, restored in her beautie, and her limits extended by the force, the clemency, wisdom and conduct of that great King, who hath justly merited the title of

⁷⁰⁸ *A general inventorie of the history of France*, p. 415.

⁷⁰⁹ *The oracle of Savoy containing the predictions made for thruth to the Duke of Savoy, as concerning the Estate of France, in the month of August. Anno 1600. With a discourse worthy note, upon the same subject. According to the cobby printed in French, both at Lyon and Paris.* (London: Edwarde Allde, 1600).

⁷¹⁰ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 188.

⁷¹¹ *A general inventorie of the history of France*, p. 421

⁷¹² *Ibid.*

greatnesse, for the glory and greatnesse of his vertues, and of his exploits, for in him may be seen the perfect image of a good king and a great capitaine, which is the greatest commendation which the ancient Sages have thought might be given into a mortall man. His Majestie has shewed his valour and force of armes during the ware; he hath also made his bounty and wisdome shine in time of peace. All divisions are ceased in his Realme, and every man lives in peace under his Authoritie, as well by his power, as through the love and affection of his subjects, who reverence and fear him as a great king, and love and observe him as a good father.⁷¹³

Matthieu depicted an idyllic portrait of Henry's rule, by highlighting the qualities that made Henry the most suitable king for France. Therefore, Matthieu's representation of Henry's persona was built around two different points: his military abilities and his political leadership. Through the works of Jean de Serres – who largely emphasised these points – and the historical accounts of Matthieu, Henry's representation as a king relied to certain precise aspects. Differently from the pamphlets that were translated during the Wars of Religion – in which Navarre's persona was represented as positive through the opposition with Leaguers – these historical accounts developed the same contrast, by comparing Henry IV against different enemies (i.e. the Jesuits, the King of Spain and the Duke of Savoy). To this regard, Henry's controversial choice of both taking the Jesuit Pierre Cotton as his confessor and readmitting the Jesuits in France with the edict of Rouen (1 September 1603) was presented by Matthieu as a choice needed 'for the prosperity of France'.⁷¹⁴ The author did not display any political analysis of the events. Instead, he highlighted how the Jesuits – despite their readmission- did not submit to Henry's authority:

That all the Jesuits within the Realme and others which shall received into the said society, shall take an oath before the Officers of those place, not to attempt anything against his Majesties service, the publike peace and the quiet of the Realme.⁷¹⁵

⁷¹³ *A general inventorie of the history of France*, p. 465.

⁷¹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁵ *A general inventorie of the history of France*, p. 610.

Furthermore, Pierre Matthieu largely discussed the annulment of Henry's marriage to Marguerite de Valois (November 1599) and his subsequent wedding to Marie de' Medici (October 1600).⁷¹⁶ The author did not mention any dynastic reasons and the need for an heir as a cause for Henry's new marriage. To develop a positive representation of the Bourbon king, Matthieu only affirmed that the controversial marriage between Henry and Marguerite 'had continued with force and constraint'⁷¹⁷ and that 'the same fear which was at the beginning of the marriage, had continued during the life of her brothers and the Queen her mother'.⁷¹⁸ In other words, Matthieu claimed that the marriage between Henry and the Catherine de Medici's daughter did only last because the Valois kings - and the Queen mother - were ruling the country. He somehow mentioned the negative connotations that the marriage had for the contemporaries, especially due to the massacre of Saint-Bartholomew that followed the ceremony. The dismissive way with which Matthieu referred to Marguerite openly clashed with the positive narrative he crafted about Henry IV and Marie de Medici's wedding. He praised again the 'excellent vertue'⁷¹⁹ of Henry and defined Marie as a 'princesse in which Nature has endowed so many graces, with a rare beauty and a naturall sweetnesse that tempered the royal gravitie'.⁷²⁰

As discussed in this section, Henry IV's representation in the early historical account of the French Wars of Religion translated into English has been concerned with the construction of a very positive figure. Those historical texts certainly built up on the representation of Navarre as a chivalrous and valiant prince developed by texts translated during the French Wars of Religion. In addition to that, the historical accounts of Jean de Serres and Pierre Matthieu offered a representation of Henry as a legitimate king that had finally started to rule on his kingdom. The two authors emphasised Henry's figure as a ruler: in addition to his magnanimity, Henry's political and military leadership are the features that characterised his representation within this text. All the elements concerned with the representation of Henry disseminated in Elizabeth England will be employed again in the translated texts about his assassination (1610) and in following French historical accounts that will be published in England during the Seventeenth Century.

⁷¹⁶ Babelon, p. 291.

⁷¹⁷ *A general inventorie of the history of France*, p. 525.

⁷¹⁸ *A general inventorie of the history of France*, p. 526.

⁷¹⁹ *A general inventorie of the history of France*, p. 553.

⁷²⁰ *A general inventorie of the history of France*, p. 554.

5.3. Narratives about Henry IV's Assassination (1610) in Early Jacobean England: Mourning the King and Debating the Regicide

Henry IV's rule ended on 14 May 1610 when a radical Catholic, François Ravallac, stabbed him while he was attending the Queen's coronation ceremony. Henry's assassination occurred shortly after the establishment of a very fragile peace through the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598. Henry's figure represented the pivotal point of France's stability, due to the policy of religious tolerance he established. Therefore, the Henry's death exacerbated once again the never resolved tensions between Catholic and Huguenots. The French Protestant did not welcome the regency of Marie de Medici, who was supported by a royal council largely dominated by Catholics.⁷²¹

The news of Henry's assassination produced a large production of pamphlets: more than thirty titles were printed just in Paris during the year 1610, while four different texts concerning Henry IV's assassination were translated and disseminated on the English book market. All these texts were printed in 1610, meaning that they were translated and published in England in a very short time. A common feature of these publications was certainly the length: they were quite short – around eight to ten pages. By genre, these texts were divided in two groups: three of them were news reports with a detailed account of Henry's assassination and Ravallac's execution – with small engravings included - while one of them was a political pamphlet condemning the murder. Furthermore, these texts openly blamed the regicide in a moment in which James I and VI was to reaffirm the sacred figure of the monarch in the *Basilikon Doron*.⁷²² Along with the texts providing accounts of Henry's assassination and of Ravallac's execution, a political pamphlet deployed a strong Anti-Jesuit argument,⁷²³ accusing the Catholic congregation of having inspired the action of a Catholic zealot like Ravallac. The translation of this text was evidence of the lively interest

⁷²¹ Holt, *The French Wars*, p. 189.

⁷²² Daniel, 'Livre politique et politique du livre', p. 281.

⁷²³ The text deployed a strong Anti-Jesuit argument was: *The hellish and horrible councell, 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 ansvere to that impudent pamphlet, published by Peter Cotton Iesuite, in defence of the Iesuites, and their doctrine; which also is hereunto annexed. Translated out of French* (London, John Windet, 1610).

that English readership had for the Anti-Jesuit propaganda, which represented an important point deployed by the Protestant pamphlets during the Sixteenth Century.⁷²⁴

The emphasis on the assassination of Henry IV clashed with the scarce number of texts translated in England about Henry III's murder in 1589. This element was evidence of the strong interest demonstrated by the English readers towards the figure of Henry IV, which differed from the attitude they had in regards of the last Valois monarch. Differently from Henry III, Henry IV was the focus of dozens of publications printed and translated between the 1570s and the 1580s. Moreover, the representation of the two kings in the texts circulating in England was significantly different. While Navarre's image was progressively glorified, Henry III's persona did not enjoy a similar popularity. The last Valois monarch was often represented as a weak ruler, submitted to the will of both the Guises and of Catherine de' Medici.⁷²⁵ Consequently, Navarre's figure gained a leading attention, contrasting the relative oblivion in which Henry III's image was left.⁷²⁶

This section will analyse the way Henry's assassination was represented in the French texts translated into English. I will discuss how these publications – written with a very simple and descriptive language – offered a partisan account of Henry's murder, focusing on the condemnation of Ravailiac's action. Furthermore, I will discuss how the texts' emphasis on Ravailiac's execution represented a way to execrate the regicide, by showing the tortures he experienced before his final execution. Even though there is no evidence of government officers' implications in the translation of these French pamphlets, the firm condemnation of the regicide enhanced the reaffirmation of the sacred figure of the monarch, an idea supported in England by James I and VI. Furthermore, I will analyse how the texts translated in the aftermath of Henry's death conveyed a strong Anti-Jesuit argument, aimed to only to condemn the regicide, but also to reinforce the propaganda against the Catholic congregation.

The narratives of Henry IV's assassination deployed some common features. Firstly, the accounts focused on two distinct events: the moment of the assassination and the execution

⁷²⁴ James E. Kelly, 'Panic, Plots and Polemic. The Jesuits and the Early Modern English Mission', *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 1 (2014), 511-519, p. 513.

⁷²⁵ For a more detailed discussion of this topic see chapter 3 of this thesis.

⁷²⁶ Voss, p. 102.

of Ravailiac, which took place on 27 May 1610.⁷²⁷ The longest account of the Henry's assassination was certainly the text entitled *The sighes of Fraunce on death of their late King Henry IV.*⁷²⁸ The text was the verbatim translation of *Les Larmes et lamentations de la France*,⁷²⁹ published in Paris in 1610 by Bernard Hameau and printed in London in the same year by John Windet. The text included an engraving illustrating the pivotal moment of the event. The image portrayed Ravailiac stabbing Henry IV, while he was sat on his coach during the procession to the church of Saint-Augustine. The inclusion of the engraving represented a *quasi-exceptional* element, since the French publication translated into English rarely incorporated illustrations. In the 1580s, few news pamphlets –for example battle reports – included images. This element marked a change in the layout of news pamphlet. As highlighted by Joad Raymond, this aspect started to characterise the production of news pamphlets in the Seventeenth Century, witnessing a progressive sophistication in the publication of these texts.⁷³⁰ Raymond's argument was corroborated by Jeffrey K. Sawyer and Hélène Duccini's research on the use of the printing medium in Seventeenth Century France. Both scholars argued that the inclusion of images became progressively common in the pamphlets published under the reign of Louis XIII, and particularly between 1614 and 1617.⁷³¹

The sighes of Fraunce was written under the form of a letter sent to an unknown recipient and aimed to report the ceremony of the queen's coronation. The anonymous author claimed that he was

ready to write of the Poms and Royalties at the Coronation of the Queene, from which purpose I am so altered, that I am at this time bound to speake of the great grieffe of France, and of the faithfullnesse of the French Nation.⁷³²

⁷²⁷ Arlette Jouanna, Jacqueline Boucher, Dominique Biloghu and Guy Le Thiec, p. 399.

⁷²⁸ *The sighes of Fraunce for the death of their late King, Henry the fourth. The true manner of his murther: the forme of the coronation of Prince Lewes at S. Augustines. Write the oration made by Monsieur Seruin, attourney generall to the King, exhorting both the peeres and pople in alleageance* (London, John Windet, 1610).

⁷²⁹ *Les Larmes et lamentations de la France. Sur le trespas de Henry IIII. roy de France & de Navarre. Avec quelques epitaphes* (Paris, Bernard Hameau, 1610).

⁷³⁰ Raymond, p. 127.

⁷³¹ Sawyer, p. 19; Duccini, pp. 22-23.

⁷³² *The sighes of Fraunce*, sig. B.

Subsequently, the author began his report of the assassination by affirming that a 'villaine, and a damnable parricide have taken away the Pearle of the Pearle of kings'.⁷³³ Furthermore, he reconstructed what happened during the procession to Saint-Augustine church:

The Friday the fourteenth of May, waighting his opportunity, the villaine found him in his caroche at the end of rue de la Feronnerie [...] he came to the Caroche in which His Majesty was and he gave him two blowes with a knife, with so suddaine an execution, that the murther was sooner found out than the murtherer.⁷³⁴

The sighes of Fraunce also discussed the imprisonment of Ravailac who 'at the end of a diligent search was taken'.⁷³⁵ The author did not mention any detail about the execution of the murderer and ended his narration with a long praise of the regent Marie de' Medici and the young Louis XIII. At the end of the publication, the anonymous author also included a long discussion of Henry's achievements, which anticipated the praises conveyed by the historical works published in the Seventeenth Century:

Since he had to deal with us, he had done it like a father and like a prince, with his Divine Majestie that having established him to be a shield of his people. He used his Justice and he had so many victories in the world, both in other Countries and at home.⁷³⁶

Another text entitled *A true report of the most execrable murder committed upon the late French king Henry IV* and printed by Thomas Purfoot in 1610 offered an account of the assassination.⁷³⁷ The similarities with *The sighes of France* were evident. Both texts were

⁷³³ Ibid.

⁷³⁴ *The sighes of Fraunce*, sig. B2.

⁷³⁵ Ibid.

⁷³⁶ *The sighes of Fraunce*, sig. B3.

⁷³⁷ *A true report of the most execrable murder committed upo the late French king Henry IV of famour memory with divers particularities as well concerning the prisoner, as other matters preceding and ensuing the accident. Written i altter form good place, and much differig from the uncertaine relations thereof heretofore published*, (London, Thomas Purfoot, 1610). The original French text was not traced. However, *A true report of the most execrable murder* had some element in common – in

written under the form of a letter aimed to provide a detailed account of the murder. The main body of the text focused – as in *The sighes of Fraunce* – on the description of the moment in which Henry IV was stabbed:

Pasing through the streete called La Ferronerie [...], this villaine which followed it (seeing the king behind in the coach, to talke with Mons. D'Esperton) [...] stabbed him with a knife of a foote long. Whereat the king crying *I am hurt, but it is nothing*, this villaine redoubled his blow, which went right to the heart [...]. At this second blowe his Majestie fell downe upon his face dead.⁷³⁸

Both *The sighes of France* and *A true report of the most exacrable Murder* built the narrative of the event on some common elements. The account of the regicide is constructed around the same sequence: Henry IV sat on the coach going to the coronation ceremony, Ravailiac following the procession, the king getting stabbed by the coach's window. Additionally, the language used in the two texts had some similarities in common. For example, both *The sighes of France* and *A true report of the most exacrable Murder* described Ravailiac as a 'villaine'.⁷³⁹

A further text translated into English and entitled *A lamentable discourse upon the paricide and bloody assassination committed on the person of Henry the fourth*⁷⁴⁰ offered a similar description of Henry's death. The text was the verbatim translation of *Discours lamentable*,⁷⁴¹ written by Thomas Pellettier, an ancient *Liguer* that like many others – as for example the already mentioned Pierre Matthieu – joined Henry IV's side when he got the French crown in 1593. As mentioned in the cover page of the text, the translation of *A lamentable discourse* is based on two different copies, printed by Peter Courant in Rouen

terms of content and structure – with a French text entitled *Discours sur l'exécration parricide commis en la sacrée personne de Henry le Grand, ses tombeaux et larmes sur iceux* (Paris: François Roze, 1610).

⁷³⁸ *A true report of the most execrable murder*, sig. A3.

⁷³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁰ Thomas Pellettier, *A lamentable discourse, upon the paricide and bloody assassination committed on the person of Henry the fourth (of famous memorie) King of France and Navarre. Translated out of French copy, printed at Rouen by Peter Courant, and the copie of Paris, printed by Francis Huey, with permission* (London: John Windet, 1610).

⁷⁴¹ Thomas Pellettier, *Discours lamentable, sur l'attentat commis en la personne de tres-heureuse memoire Henry IIII roy de France et de Navarre* (Paris: François Huby, 1610).

and by François Huby in Paris, respectively.⁷⁴² The narrative deployed by *A lamentable discourse* included the same elements conveyed by *The sighes of Fraunce* and *A true report and most exacrable murder*. Despite these similarities, *A lamentable discourse* developed a narrative richer in details. Pellettier offered the following description of the Henry's assassination:

But mischiefe, or rather our sinnes procured, that an accursed and execrable assasigne named *Francis Rauaill[...]rt*, borne in Angoulesme, approached his person, not farre from S. Innocents; where seeing his Maiesties Caroché stayed by a Cart, which met and stopped their passage; taking opportunity, assaulted with most hellish fury this good King, with a long knife, made of purpose; with which hee gave him two wounds in the left side: the first was given nigh the shoulder, which entered not farre; but onely rased the skinne: the second was mortall, the blowe entering betwixt the fift and sixt rib, cut asunder the veine leading to the heart; and the wound was so deepe, that it reached into the *Cava Vena*, which was pierced with the point of the knife. The Prince finding himselfe wounded to death, lost upon the instant his speech, by reason of the aboundance of bloud, which issued unto his mouth, theefore they turned the caroch to the Louuvre, where hee was no sooner arrived, but hee rendred his soule into the hands of Almighty God.⁷⁴³

From the beginning, the narrative developed by Pellettier appeared to be very rich. *A lamentable discourse* used a very descriptive language, using adjectives to stress particular points of the account. An example of that was the use of the adjective 'hellish'⁷⁴⁴ when describing Ravailac's attitude during the murder. Additionally, the description offered by *A lamentable discourse* referred to many grim details, aiming to picture in the mind of the reader the representation of a very ferocious crime. By including these elements and describing the violent assassination, Pellettier emphasised the commendation of the

⁷⁴² The BNF catalogue included two identical editions *A lamentable discours* printed by Huby in 1610, while the copy printed in Rouen was not listed in there.

⁷⁴³ Pellettier, *A lamentable discourse*, sig. A3.

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid.

regicide. It can be connected to the author's aim of execrating the regicide by describing the violence of such an action. Additionally, this feature of *A lamentable discourse* relied on the interest that Seventeenth Century readers had for sensational news, described with grim and bloody details. As Joad Raymond underlined 'bloody or shocking crimes were often the subject for short pamphlets written in a hurry and printed for profit'.⁷⁴⁵

As mentioned above, the narrative of Henry IV's assassination was developed around two different moments: the murder of the king and the execution of François Ravallac. The account of the murderer's execution was covered by a news pamphlet entitled *The terrible and deserved death of Francis Ravilliack*.⁷⁴⁶ The text was translated and printed in London by Richard Blower and Edward Alde in 1610.⁷⁴⁷ Additionally, *The terrible and deserved death* circulated in Scotland: another edition of the same publication was printed in Edimburgh by Robert Charteris in 1610.⁷⁴⁸ As in the accounts of Henry's murder, *The terrible and deserved death* described Ravallac as a 'villaine'.⁷⁴⁹ The anonymous author remarked the proximity of Ravallac to Catholicism by mentioning the fact how he applied to be part of the Feuillants' congregation.⁷⁵⁰ Furthermore, the narrative of Ravallac's execution followed the same structure of all the other French publication focused on the event.⁷⁵¹ In front of Notre-Dame, Ravallac was forced to kneel down – to make amend for his action 'by crossing himselfe directly over the breast, a signe that he did live and dye an oblistinate'.⁷⁵² Then, the author began to describe Ravallac's torment:

⁷⁴⁵ Raymond, p. 313.

⁷⁴⁶ *The terrible and deserved death of Francis Ravilliack, shewing the manner of his strange torments and his execution, upon Friday the 25 of May last past, for the murther of the late French king, Henry the fourth. Together with an abstract out of divers proclamations, and edicts, now concerning the state of France. As it was printed in French* (London: Richard Blower and Edward Alde, 1610).

⁷⁴⁷ The French original was not traced. However, the text is similar – in terms of both content and structure – to a pamphlet entitled *Supplice, mort, et fin ignominieuse du parricide inhumain, et desnaturé François Ravallat executé à Paris le 27 may 1610* (Lyon, Jean Gautherin, 1610).

⁷⁴⁸ *The terrible and deserved death of Francis Ravilliack, shewing the manner of his strange torments and his execution, upon Friday the 25 of May last past, for the murther of the late French king, Henry the fourth. Together with an abstract out of divers proclamations, and edicts, now concerning the state of France. As it was printed in French* (Edimburgh: Robert Charteris, 1610).

⁷⁴⁹ *The terrible and deserved death*, p. 3.

⁷⁵⁰ The text stated at p.4 that 'this paracide, Frances Rauilliack, in time past of the order of the Felician fryers, but of late a practissioner in the lawe (by some named a pet|ty fogger) borne in the towne of Angolesme, a place not fare distant from the City of Paris'.

⁷⁵¹ For example, see: *Figure représentant le supplice et exécution de l'arrest de mort donné contre le très meschant, très abominable et très détestable parricide Ravallac le 27 mai 1610* (Paris, Jean Le Clerc, 1610).

⁷⁵² *The terrible and deserved death*, p. 4.

The appointed Executioners, pinched and seared the Dugges of his Breastes, the brawnes of his Armes and Thighes, with the calves of his Legges, and other fleshy partes of his body, cutting out Colloppes of Flesh, and burned them before his face: afterward into the same woundes thus made, they powered scalding Oyle, Rosen, Pitch, and Brimstone, melted together.⁷⁵³

The author also described the last tortures inflicted to Ravailiac, when his body – lied on the scaffold –was quartered by four horses:

But now to come to the finishing up of his life, and that the last torture, might in severity equall the first, they caused foure strong horses to be brought to teare his body in peeces, and to seperate his limbes into foure quarters.⁷⁵⁴

The centrality of this moment was emphasised by the inclusion of an engraving, portraying the action of quartering Ravailiac's body.⁷⁵⁵ The image drawn was very similar to the graphic representation of Ravailiac's death that circulated in early Seventeenth Century France.⁷⁵⁶ Like the narrative, the images had some common structural characteristics: the body of Ravailiac lying on the scaffold, the horses' legs attached to his arms and legs and the executioners standing all around him. However, the picture was drawn in a very minimal way in comparison to other images of Henry's assassination circulating in France. This element showed the scarce attention for pages' layout proper of cheap texts, like the news pamphlets.

Additionally, Ravailiac's torment was covered by another pamphlet, entitled *The copie of a letter written from Paris the 20 May 1610 declaring the maner of the execution of Francis*

⁷⁵³ *The terrible and deserved death*, p.5.

⁷⁵⁴ *The terrible and deserved death*, p. 8.

⁷⁵⁵ For a copy of the engraving included in the text see Appendix 10.

⁷⁵⁶ Tom Hamilton, 'Contesting Public Executions in Paris Towards the End of the Wars of Religion', *Culture of Conflicts and Resolution in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Stephen Cummins and Laura Kounine (Abingdon-New York: Ashgate, 2016), pp. 179-203 (p. 196).

Ravaillart, that murdered the French King.⁷⁵⁷ The text was printed in London by Robert Barker.⁷⁵⁸ As in *The terrible and deserved death*, the account of Ravaillac's torment was developed around some key points, such as the public amend, the tortures and the quartering. Both texts aimed to offer to English reader a partisan narrative of Ravaillac's execution that – through hyperbolic descriptions of the torment – condemned publicly the regicide. The two publications shared two main differences: the level of detail with which the episode was presented to the readers and the way in which the different moments were placed in sequence to develop a comprehensive narrative of the event. For example, *The copie of a letter* described very shortly Ravaillac's torment, recalling only the different key moments of the execution:

Then was hee layed naked upon the Stage, and pinched in divers places with hot Pincers, after which they burned his hand with the knife therein, wherewith hee killed the King; Then powred they hot lead into the wounds made with the Pincers, And lastly drew him in pieces with horses. His torments lasted two houres, and at every action with horrible cries and struggling. ⁷⁵⁹

The Copie of a letter described more in detail the moment of Ravaillac's supposed confession, extorted to him during the execution. According to *The copie of a letter*, Ravaillac discussed with a Jesuit priest his purpose of murdering Henry IV:

He confessed that hee had conversed and spoken with a certaine Jesuite in *Paris* called Father d' *Aubigny*, but denied that he had in any sort communicated his purpose unto him; but this Jesuite being

⁷⁵⁷ *The copie of a letter written 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* (London, Robert Barker, 1610).

⁷⁵⁸ The French original text was not traced. However, the inclusion of a reference to Ravaillac's confession drew some similarities with the following French text: *Discours veritable sur la mort de François Ravaillat, executé à Paris le 27 mai* (Lyon, Benoît Ancelin, 1610).

⁷⁵⁹ *The copie of a letter*, p.2.

examined, utterly denied that ever he had seene this man before,
which deniall made the matter the more suspicious.⁷⁶⁰

The reference to the role that the Jesuits have supposedly played in Henry's assassination linked *A copie of a letter* to the arguments deployed against the religious congregation between 1570s and 1590s, when several pamphleteers denounced the alledged conspiracy that the Jesuits, the King of Spain and the Catholic League planned to place a Spanish successor to the French throne instead of the Huguenot Navarre. In the aftermath of Henry's assassination, the French publication translated into English insisted on the supposed role that the Jesuits had in inspiring the regicide, developing a claim already used by the texts that discussed Henry III's assassination and Jean Châtel's attempt to murder Henry IV. A *libelle* entitled *The hellish and horrible counsell, practised and used by the Jesuits (in their private consultations) when they would have a man to murther the King*⁷⁶¹ claimed that the Jesuits conspired to assassinate Henry IV. The *libelle* was printed in London by John Wright and included an introductory text – written under the form of a letter addressed to Marie de' Medici – that aimed to be a reply to the *Lettre Declaratoire*⁷⁶² written in 1610 by Pierre Coton, Henry IV's former Jesuit confessor. From the very beginning, the anonymous author of *The hellish and horrible counsell* stated that the secret aim of the Jesuits was the assassination of Henry IV. His arguments recalled the claims developed by the Huguenots in their Anti-Jesuits publication:

When they would have a man to undertake the resolution of
murthering his King, this is their order: After such a wicked person
shall be entred into their Meditation, or Chamber appointed for such
prayers; then this infernall of spring doe give their attendante.⁷⁶³

⁷⁶⁰ *The copie of a letter*, p.3.

⁷⁶¹ *The hellish and horrible counsell, practised and vused by the Iesuites, (in their priuate consultations) when they would haue a man to murther 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. Translated out of French* (London, John Windet, 1610). The French original text was not traced.

⁷⁶² Pierre Coton, *Lettre declaratoire de la doctrine des Peres Jesuites conforme aux decrets du Concile de Constance, adreesee à la Royne mere du Roy* (Paris, Nicolas Jullieron, 1610).

⁷⁶³ *The hellish and horrible counsell*, sig. C.

Additionally, the author described the Jesuits as a congregation with conspiratorial purposes, which aimed to persuade people about the rightfulness of the regicide. *The hellish and horrible counsell* developed further this claim, by drawing a connection between Ravailac's action and the Catholic congregation. In a passage of *The hellish and horrible counsell*, Ravailac was presented as manipulated by the Jesuits:

Withall, if it might please you, but to remember him, to whom (that monster of men) *Rauilliack*, that robde you of your richest iewell, and vs of our dearest Lord; had shewne the fatall instrument, wherewith he did the deede, and the man commending the beautifull workemanship of the knife, seeing withall, that he kept it curiously, and made no use thereof in his feeding; was answered by the said *Rauilliack*: *That that fayre knife, was to performe a faire deede, yea, that it was to kill a King.* Which wordes, whether he understood not, or guiltily concealed them, were told to him by the Jesuits.⁷⁶⁴

The hellish counsell strongly attacked the Jesuits, arguing that killing a king was the aim underpinning Jesuits' actions. By arguing that the goal of the Catholic congregation was to murder monarch, *The hellish ad horrible counsell* attempted to warn the English readers about the threat represented by the Jesuits. Therefore, the text suggested the idea of a 'supposed international Jesuit conspiracy to eradicate Protestantism',⁷⁶⁵ a theme that was largely conveyed by the Anti-Jesuit propaganda in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century.

Once again, Henry's persona represented a challenge to discuss crucial themes concerning the idea of kingship and the issue of succession. As occurred throughout the French Wars of Religion, the pamphlets translated from French did not only debate current matters, but also discussed significant theoretical questions. Furthermore, these debates developed some propaganda motives, such as the argument deployed against Catholic Spain, the Jesuits and the Papacy. As discussed in this chapter, the aftermath of the assassination represented the last peak of the Henry's popularity. However, in the years following the regicide Henry IV's persona did not disappear from the English printing market. Throughout

⁷⁶⁴ *The hellish and horrible counsell*, sig, B3.

⁷⁶⁵ Gary Schneider, *Print Letters in Seventeenth-Century England: Politics, Religion, and News Culture* (Abingdon-New York: Routledge, 2018) p. 51.

the Seventeenth Century, the English readers followed the construction of Henry IV's myth. Through the translation of important historical books and early biographical accounts of Henry's life, the main elements of his "legend" reached the English printing market.

5.4. The Development of Henry's Legend in the Aftermath of His Death: Representing the Absolute Monarchy in early Jacobean England (1610- ca.1630)

The death of Henri IV in 1610 marked the disappearance of the French king from the news pamphlets that sought to provide accounts of the most significant events of the time. In parallel to that, several historical works appeared in France. Most of them have been written by writers close to Henry IV such as Duplessis-Mornay, Palma-Cayet, Girard du Haillan, Pierre Olhagaray, and the already mentioned Pierre Matthieu.⁷⁶⁶ Within the most general construction of a memory – and more precisely – of an historical narrative of the French Wars of Religion, the texts written by men belonging to Henry's inner circle played an important role in shaping an interpretation of the Wars of Religion that constituted the first historical *doxa* on the topic. According to what Marie-Madeleine Fragonard⁷⁶⁷ argued about the early historical accounts of the French Wars of Religion, the historical narrative of the conflicts was built through different literary genres: pamphlets, memoirs and journals and historical works. Among those publications, what they defined as the 'hagiographie d'Henry IV'⁷⁶⁸ had a very significant role in shaping an interpretation of the French Wars of Religion that highlighted Henry's virtues as ruler and peacemaker. The translation of few of these texts into English during the Seventeenth Century disseminated across the Channel a mythical image of Henry IV, representing his rule as a glorious moment of French history. A further evidence of the popularity of Henry IV was the publication in 1610 of biographical account of the French king, entitled *An extract out of the histories of the last French king* and written by Edward Skory.⁷⁶⁹ *An extract out of the histories of the last French king*

⁷⁶⁶ Bernard, p. 31.

⁷⁶⁷ Fragonard, p. 25.

⁷⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁶⁹ Edward Skory, *An extract out of the historie of the last French King Henry the fourth of famous memorie according to an autentique [sic] 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. styl. Rom. With an appreciation] for the safeguard and happines of our most gracious soueraigne lames the first, and Seene and allowed by authoritie.* (London, Robert Barker, 1610).

developed a praising narrative of Henry's life, showing how Skory used the same sources on which the French historical accounts were grounded on.

This section will analyse the representation of Henry IV's figure that has been developed through the historical texts translated into English in the first three decades of the Seventeenth Century. By following the narrative already built by the early historical texts on the French Wars of Religion, the publications translated into English after the regicide constructed a very precise image of Henry IV's persona, which presented his rule as a "golden age" of French History. These texts were very similar – in terms of structure and topics included – to the historical texts translated during Henry IV's rule, from 1595 to 1610. They were mainly historical writings, even though few of them were biographical accounts of the Henry's life.

Even though these texts were written twenty years after the Edict of Nantes – and the subsequent pacification of France – they mostly relied on the earlier historical accounts of the French Wars of Religion, without changing substantially the interpretation of the conflicts that occurred in France. However, these publications developed the mythical representation of Henry IV by providing an epic narrative of Henry's life, from his childhood to his rule. Furthermore, the narrative revolved around three key points, which strongly recalled the elements discussed by the early accounts of the Wars of Religion: the courage and the magnanimity of the king, the challenges he faced in order to succeed to the throne and the peace France enjoyed during his rule. Furthermore, these texts developed significantly the image of Henry as a founder of a new royal dynasty, by stressing the importance of both the marriage between Henry IV and Marie de' Medici and the birth of the Dauphin. By focusing on these elements, these historical accounts portrayed Henry as a virile and strong prince, contrasting with the weakness of the Valois monarchs.⁷⁷⁰

Through this narrative, the origin of the "legend" of Henry IV reached the English readership, shaping the image of a ruler blessed – and appointed by the divine authority⁷⁷¹. The French historical accounts translated from French into English in the aftermath of Henry's assassination deployed what Paul Kléber Monod described as the 'theatre of the royal

⁷⁷⁰ Solnon, p. 45.

⁷⁷¹ Love, p. 222.

virtue'.⁷⁷² After the challenges that religious problems represented for the European monarchies in the Sixteenth Century, the transition to a model of absolute rule marked a representation of the monarch as 'the natural centre of political order'.⁷⁷³ This element was particularly relevant in the early Jacobean era, when –after Elizabeth I's complicated succession –James I and VI firmly believed in the divine right monarchy.⁷⁷⁴

The narrative built by the historical accounts translated into English after Henry's death revolved significantly around the representation of Henry's magnanimity and courage, highlighting how these qualities enabled him to become a beloved king. The biographical account of Henry IV's life – that what published by John Eld in 1612 – developed a glorifying narrative of the king's deeds. The text was entitled *The heroyk life and deplorable death of the most Christian King Henry the fourth*⁷⁷⁵ and was translated by Edward Grimeston, who contributed to the translation into English of several French texts between the end of the Sixteenth Century and the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. The heroyk life and deplorable death was the verbatim translation of *Le Panégiricq d'Henry de Bourbon IIII*⁷⁷⁶ written by Pierre Matthieu in 1610. On the front page of the text, the author was described as "counciller and historiographer of France",⁷⁷⁷ highlighting the popularity that Matthieu gained as author of historical accounts in the early Seventeenth Century. *The heroyk life and deplorable death* aimed to develop a positive narrative of Henry IV's rule. Pierre Matthieu developed a narrative which was like the one deployed in earlier works, such as *An Historical Collection*. The French writer presented the pacification of the Kingdom as the most important achievement of the Bourbon monarch. The peaceful time that Henry IV guaranteed to France was largely emphasised not only by Matthieu, but also by the writers supporting the succession of Navarre, leading this aspect to become a foundation element of Henry IV's legend: the positive qualities of Henry as a monarch (i.e. magnanimity and fairness):

⁷⁷² Monod, p. 95.

⁷⁷³ Monod, p. 96.

⁷⁷⁴ Richardson, p. 35.

⁷⁷⁵ Pierre Matthieu, *The heroyk life and deplorable death of the most Christian King Henry the fourth Addressed to his immortal memory; by P: Mathieu, councillor and historiographer of France. Translated by Edward Grimeston* (London: John Eld, 1612).

⁷⁷⁶ Pierre Matthieu, *Le Panégiricq d'Henry de Bourbon IIII* (Lyon, Jean Jullieron, 1609).

⁷⁷⁷ Matthieu, *The heroyk life and deplorable death*, p.1.

The peace male Kingdomes and Estates happy, France, which hath enjoyed it twelve yeares under the shadow of her Kings palme and lawrell-branches, may say, that heaven could adde nothing to her felicitie but Constancy, which is more desired then enjoyed in humaine affaires. The seeds of division are rooted out, distrust doth no more trouble mens mindes, there is no cause of factions and alterations, and private miseries are covered with publike prosperities.⁷⁷⁸

Pierre Matthieu also deployed a significant praise of Henry IV, describing him as the 'Hercules of Gaule'.⁷⁷⁹ By using this epithet, the author of *The heroyk life and deplorable death* recalled a popular representation of the Henry IV in many laudatory texts. By referring to Hercules, Pierre Matthieu used an element already conveyed by Jean de Serres in the edition of *An Historical Collection* published in 1598. Additionally, Matthieu used a very particular metaphor to describe Henry IV's ability of defeating his enemies during his struggle for the French throne: the French writer compared Henry to a 'tamer'⁷⁸⁰ able to domesticate 'monsters'⁷⁸¹ like the Leaguers, which presented Henry IV's major enemies in the last phase of the Wars of Religion: 'behold in the end hee is the *Hercules of Gaule, the tamer of Monsters*, which France had not brought forth, but did nourish and entertaine'.⁷⁸²

In the following pages of *The heroyk life and deplorable death*, Pierre Matthieu continued his praise of Henry IV by discussing the *entrée* in Paris (1595), when he managed to reconquer the city. Through the inclusion of this episode, Matthieu developed a narrative that stressed both the achievements of Henry IV and the existing bond between the monarch and his subjects. Therefore, the French writer aimed to represent not only the holiness of the monarch – coming from his rightful succession as a king chosen by the divine authority – but also Henry's benevolence. Matthieu described Henry entering to Paris 'as a king'⁷⁸³ and treating his subjects 'as a father':⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁷⁸ Matthieu, *The heroyk life and deplorable death*, p. 6.

⁷⁷⁹ Matthieu, *The heroyk life and deplorable death*, p. 7.

⁷⁸⁰ Matthieu, *The heroyk life and deplorable death*, p. 8.

⁷⁸¹ Ibid.

⁷⁸² Matthieu, *The heroyk life and deplorable death*, p. 9.

⁷⁸³ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁴ Matthieu, *The heroyk life and deplorable death*, p. 10.

Paris which had resisted his mildnesse, is surprised by force: he takes it with 400 men. She sees her selfe taken and feels it not, neither is there any alteration but that of ioy dispersed through all the streets for so sweet a change. *He enters like a King and in treats like a father.* He changeth the sword of just revenge, into a scepter of mild command: he pardoneth even the sixteene, the people adore him and kisse his feet. The Lovure receives his Maiesty, the Palace his justice, the temple his piety, and all orders his clemency. Hee visits the Cathedrall church of this citty to give God thanks, who was the Author of this conquest, the founder of this authority, and the fountaine of this felicity.⁷⁸⁵

In the passage reported above, Matthieu continued praising Henry IV. and developed his narrative by presenting him as a magnanimous king, who formally forgave the Leaguers and gave up on any kind of revenge against his former enemies. In the following section of the text, Matthieu emphasised the magnanimity of Henry IV, by arguing how he always sought peace. When referring again to the figure of Hercules, the French writer represented Henry IV's persona as a fair and courageous monarch, who fought for the pacification of the kingdom and could declare was to those menacing the new order he established:

Hee shewes that hee hath not made warre, but for peace, that his club, (like unto that of *Hercules*) is made of an Olive tree, and his sword dipt in Oile. He addes unto his Bayes a crowne of Olive branches, he gives peace to them that demand it, and doth not refuse it, but unto those who beeing ostinate in their owne ruine contemne it.⁷⁸⁶

As discussed above, Pierre Matthieu deployed a praising narrative of Henry IV's rule, presenting him as a pacifying, fair and magnanimous ruler. *The heroyk life and deplorable death* developed Henry IV's "legend" by mainly looking at the achievements of the former Prince of Navarre as a King of France. However, other historical accounts concerning the life of Henry IV adopted a different perspective, by looking at the whole life of the French

⁷⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁶ Matthieu, *The heroyk life and deplorable death*, p. 21.

king. An example of these publications was the text entitled *Abridgement of the life of Henry the Great, the fourth of that name*⁷⁸⁷ published in 1637 by Michael Flesher and probably written by Pierre de Vignolle.⁷⁸⁸ The text developed a narrative that started at the time of the king's childhood, building a *quasi-* hagiographical representation of the king's life. The author included episodes and anecdotes about Henry IV's life in order to show the developing of the king's character and developed almost an epic narrative of Henry IV's life. Through the inclusion of specific episodes, the text wanted to present Henry as a valiant and courageous prince, who was able to face any challenge. It begins with a long reference to the king's childhood where the author discusses Henry's strong character, presenting the death of his father and the disgrace of his uncle, however, representing Henry as very obedient and devoted to his mother, whose advice he followed:

The tendernesse of his first age was hardned by divers great accidents. At nine years old, the King his father dies, the Queene his mother being absent, his Uncle in disgrace, his friends in distrust, and his servants in exile. At thirteene he leaves the Court, and to obey his mother, the religion wherein hee was bred. ⁷⁸⁹

In the following pages, the author developed further the epic narrative of Henry IV's early years with the text describing the tragic events in the King's life, like the death of Jean d'Albret and the massacre of the Saint-Bartholomew. These episodes were discussed in order to highlight again the valiant character of Henry IV, who bravely faced menaces and tragic contingencies. The author also discussed the aftermath of the Saint-Bartholomew, when Henry became a prominent leader of the Huguenot party along with the Prince of Condé:

At nineteene he was intangled in a truely funerall wedding, which began with the unexpected death of his mother, and was followed by the losse of his liberty, death and proscription of his. At twenty three

⁷⁸⁷ Pierre de Vignolle, *Abridgement of the life of Henry the Great, the fourth of that name: King of France and Navarre. Translated out of French* (London: Michael Flesher, 1637).

⁷⁸⁸ The French original text was not traced, while English translation was only mentioned in the *Librorum Impressorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae in Academia Oxoniensi. Volumen Tertium* (Oxonii: E. Typographeo Academico, 1943) p. 725.

⁷⁸⁹ De Vignolle, p. 8.

he was freed from that captivity, to enter into the ordinary servitude of those who command in civill warres. He was often constrained to make necessity a vertue, and to entertaine his army, even by his army.⁷⁹⁰

The author reached the climax of the narrative when discussing the events happened after the death of the Duke of Anjou in 1584. This period was described in the text as a 'storm'.⁷⁹¹ However, the text represents Henry IV as a valiant prince, who managed to defeat the Leaguers' army at Coutras. The myth of Henry is further developed through a reference to the last phase of the Wars of Religion, when Henry fought against the League for the succession to the French crown. The narrative deploys an epic tone, representing the heroic prince facing powerful enemies, such as the Catholic forces supported by the Spanish monarchy:

At once this great calm which they enjoyed, changeth into a terrible storme, which poured on him in five yeares ten royall armies. The battell of *Coutras* the orient of his hopes, manifested that he ought to be feared by those who loved him not. Yet the prosperity of his affaires bereaved him neither of feeling the publique miseries. He seeing the most powerfull forces of *Europe* banded against him, the rebels insolent, and the good subjects astonished, makes as many combats as treaties, as many sieges as lodgings.⁷⁹²

The mythical representation of Henry – built by the historical accounts translated after his death – relied also on his image of a virile prince who initiated the Bourbon royal dynasty. The text entitled *A generall historie*⁷⁹³ revolved around the idea of the new royal lineage created by Henry, emphasising both the peace established by Henry's rule and the King's capacity of assuring an heir to the throne. *A generall historie* – published in 1622 -

⁷⁹⁰ De Vignolle, p. 9.

⁷⁹¹ De Vignolle, p. 10.

⁷⁹² De Vignolle, p. 12.

⁷⁹³ *A generall historie of France written by John de Serres vnto the yeare 1598 ; contynued by Peter Mathew to the death of King Henry the Fourth in the yeare 1610 ; and againe continued unto the peace concluded before Montpellier in the yeare 1622 by Edward Grimston* (London: George Eld ad Miles Flesher, 1624).

represented a continuation of Jean de Serres' *An historical collection* and *A general inventorie of the history of France*, translated and published into English in 1598 and in 1607. It was written by the same author of *The heroyk life and deplorable death*, Pierre Matthieu, and by Edward Grimeston, who served both as a translator of Jean de Serres' works and as editor of *A generall historie*. Along with Matthieu's work⁷⁹⁴ – that incorporated some additional sections not included in the 1607's edition– Grimeston collected and edited other texts of French historiographers being part of Henry IV's circle as Théodore Godefroy and Scipion Dupleix⁷⁹⁵ and aimed to cover the events occurred in France between 1610 and 1622. Unlike the previous editions of both Jean de Serres and Pierre Matthieu's work, *A generall historie* included a large engraving on the front page, which represented Henry IV as Hercules along with some Classical figures.⁷⁹⁶ Henry's engraving was inspired by the famous portrait of the King depicted as Hercules in 1600.⁷⁹⁷

Even though the text aimed to offer a general historical account, Matthieu placed a strong emphasis on Henry IV's persona. Differently from *The heroyk like and deplorable death*, *A generall historie* provided a very detailed account of Henry IV's rule. The French writer explored in detail the main accomplishments of the King, which became some of the foundation elements of his legend. Pierre Matthieu discussed the Edict of Nantes, presenting it as the starting point of a new golden age for France, during which the kingdom could enjoy a long period of peace: 'so the Edict was executed throughout the Realme, and the most savage began to live lovingly together, buryin the remembrance of things past'.⁷⁹⁸

Subsequently, the author of *A generall historie* discussed another achievement of Henry IV: the birth of the Dauphin in 1601.⁷⁹⁹ The marriage of Henry with Marie de Médicis and the

⁷⁹⁴ The historical account of Pierre Matthieu included in *A generall historie of France* was: *Suite de l'histoire de France, Concernant la mort deplorable de Henry IIII. Ensemble un panegyrique et un discours funebre, Dresse a sa memoire immortelle* (Geneve, Pierre Marceau, 1620).

⁷⁹⁵ The other texts included in *A generall historie* were: Théodore Godefroy, *Mémoires concernant la préséance des Rois de france sur les Rois d'Espagne par Théodore Godefroy* (Paris, Chevalier, 1613) and Scipion Dupleix, *Mémoires des Gaules depuis le déluge jusques à l'establissement de la monarchie française* (Paris, Louis Sonnius, 1619).

⁷⁹⁶ For a copy of the frontispiece of the text – including the engraving - see Appendix 11.

⁷⁹⁷ The iconography of Henry IV as Hercules was initiated by the portrait *Henry IV en Herculeus terrassant l'Hydre de Lerne cad La ligue Catholique* depicted by the atelier of Touissant Dubreil (ca. 1600). For a copy of the portrait, see Appendix 12.

⁷⁹⁸ *A generall historie*, p. 833.

⁷⁹⁹ Babelon, p. 247.

consequent birth of the future Louis XIII represented a major achievement of Henry, which also reinforced his public image. The inability of both Charles IX and Henry III of having an heir to the throne contributed to the weakness of the Valois monarch. On the contrary, Henry IV's image relied on a strong masculinity, which was emphasised by the birth of the *Dauphin* in 1601.⁸⁰⁰ Pierre Matthieu stressed this moment in *A Generall historie*, by providing a detailed account of the birth of the heir to the throne and the role of Henry, who blessed his new-born son. This element emphasised Henry's kingship, by presenting the bond between the monarch and his son, who will succeed to him:

The Queene feel in labour on Thursday at night, the sevene and twentieth of September [...] in the end, about eleven of the clocke, shee was delivered of a sonne. The King blessing him put a Sword in his hand, to use it to the glory of God and deference of his Crowne and people. All the Princes and Noblemen flockes to reioyce at this new grace.⁸⁰¹

Matthieu's text ended with a short praise of the King, which followed the account of the regicide. This section of *A generall historie* summarised all the elements that characterised Henry's mythical representation in the aftermath of his death:

Never Prince was more respected by strangers, more feared by enemies and more beloved and respected by his subjects. An even now, being in his greatest glory, and holding himself as it were the moderator of the Christendome, he pleased God and he is not deprived of this light by a tragic death.⁸⁰²

In essence, Matthieu listed the element on which Henry's legend relied: his military and political skills and his magnanimity as a monarch. Furthermore, Matthieu reaffirmed the direct bond between the King and the Divine authority, reinforcing the representation of Henry's sacral kingship.

⁸⁰⁰ Walker and Dickerman, pp. 235-281, (p. 239); Asch, p. 33.

⁸⁰¹ *A generall historie*, p. 871.

⁸⁰² *A generall historie*, p. 889.

The French historical accounts translated into English in the aftermath of Henry's assassination developed a narrative that echoed the legend of the Bourbon king built by the French writers supporting Henry's succession. This representation of Henry's persona focused on the main achievements of the king – like the Edict of Nantes and the birth of the Dauphin – and emphasised elements such as the magnanimity and the strong masculinity of Henry IV. By building up on the narratives developed by both the *libelles* and the historical accounts translated from French into English between the 1560s and the first decade of the Seventeenth Century, this narrative deployed a heroic representation of Henry's persona and a celebration of the absolute monarchy. The translation of the *Abridgement of the life of Henry the Great* represented the end of Henry's great popularity in England. In the second half of the Seventeenth Century various historical accounts of the French Wars of Religion were translated into English, including *The History of the League* by Louis de Maimbourg (1684) and *The History of the famous Edicts of Nantes (1594)* by Élie Benoist.⁸⁰³ However, only one biographical account of Henry's life was translated in the second half of the Seventeenth Century, while Henry's assassination was still discussed in the aftermath of Charles I's execution.⁸⁰⁴

⁸⁰³ Louis de Maimbourg, *The history of the League. Written in French by Monsieur Maimbourg. Translated into English according to His Majesty's command. By Mr. Dryden* (London: Michael Flesher, 1684); Élie Benoist, *The history of the famous Edict of Nantes: containing an account of all the persecutions, that have been in France from its publications to this present time. Faithfully extracted from all the publick and public memoirs, that could possibly be procured. Printed first in French, and now translated into English. With Her Majesties royal privilege* (London: Edward Rumball, 1700).

⁸⁰⁴ Henry's assassination was discussed in the following text: James Parry of Poston, *Two hurrid muthers; one committed upon the person of Henry the fourth of France. The other upon hsi son in law, Charles the first of England. Of the various and lasting tortures by the murtherers of the one (extrcted out of Mr. Howell his history of Lewis the 13th). And of the easy short punishments undergone by the murtherers of the other. Though for the atrocity of the fact, they were not inferior to the first, but considering all circumstances, and complication of treasons went beyond him* (London: Henry Broom, 1661).

Conclusion

1. The Cross-Channel Network of Printers, Publishers and Translators Supporting the Dissemination of French Texts in England

The findings of this research showed that a network of printers, publishers and translators was involved in the translation and dissemination of French texts regarding the Civil Wars. Despite the fragmented evidence currently available to support this claim, the analysis of the texts translated and disseminated highlighted how those involved in the printing process participated actively to the translation of the French text into English and their subsequent dissemination in the Elizabethan printing market.

The results of this study suggested that the personnel involved in printing and published had connections with different French areas, since they were able to access texts printed not only in Paris but also in regions very closed to England, such as Normandy or Brittany.⁸⁰⁵ Therefore, this element suggested how the business relationship between French and English printing markets involved different local networks of printers and publishers. Additionally, this study showed how the collaboration between the French and the English personnel involved in the printing process lasted for the most part of the late Sixteenth century. However, it highlighted how the translation and disseminations of French texts into English occurred across different phases and involved different kind of texts.

The process of translating and publishing French texts about the Wars of Religion started immediately after the outbreak of the conflict in 1562 and ended after the assassination of Henry IV in 1610. As discussed in the thesis, the translation and dissemination of texts coming from France increased slowly throughout the 1570s and the early 1580s, reaching a peak between 1585 and 1595. The conversion of Henry IV in 1595 marked a decrease of translation and publications of French works, which continued until the decades following Henry's assassination. Moreover, the type of texts translated varied significantly. In the 1560s, 1570s and 1580s, most French texts translated were *libelles* and news pamphlets,

⁸⁰⁵ Pettegree, *The French Book*, p. 58.

while in the late 1580s and 1590s long political treatises started to be disseminated in Elizabethan England. With the conversion of Henry IV, historical accounts about the French Wars of Religion began to get translated and published, changing again the kind of French publications disseminated on the English printing market. Despite a new increase in the translation of *libelles* and news pamphlets discussing Henry's assassination in 1610, the historical writings about the French Wars of Religion continued to be translated in the aftermath of the king's murder until the 1630s. As discussed in this research, the French texts translated into English belonged mainly to the Huguenot and *Politiques* factions. Throughout the second half of the Sixteenth century and early decades of the Seventeenth century, some of the most popular French texts reached the English book market. Despite the publications of important French works, the most radical texts – including for example the Monarchomachs' theories – were never translated into English. This element suggested how Elizabethan censorship operated by promoting the translation of texts that were supporting Elizabethan policy. Furthermore, the argument deployed by French texts translated into English never undermined the foundations of the monarchy. Instead, these publications reinforced the holiness of the monarch, by stigmatising the regicides that occurred in 1589 and in 1610. The French publications translated into English supported also the main elements of Elizabethan foreign policy. These texts conveyed a very aggressive Anti-Catholic propaganda that was addressed only towards the Leaguers and the Papacy, but also against the Spanish monarchy, which was Elizabeth's main antagonist in the second half of the Sixteenth century.

This research also suggested how the process of translating and publishing French texts in late Elizabethan England should be primary contextualised within the relationship established between the French and the English printing industries in the second half of the Sixteenth century. The recurring references to the French original texts included in several English translation – represented by either the transcription of the French publication or by indications about the edition on which the English translation was based – were evidence of cross-channel links between printers, publishers and translators. Additionally, this study suggested how those links relied on different geographical areas. If London represented the main English area involved in the cross-channel connections, the French printing industry relied on multiple areas, including not only Paris but also towns situated in Normandy and Brittany, like Rouen or Caen. Furthermore, the analysis of the network supporting the dissemination of French texts translated into English showed how the English printing

industry established commercial relations with French printers and publishers that were close to the Huguenots. This point was not only supported by the fact that the French texts translated belonged mainly to the Huguenot or *Politiques*' factions, but also by the links established with printers either based in traditional Huguenot areas (e.g. Normandy and Brittany) or with printing workshop that did not collaborate with the radical Catholics, such as the one of Mettyaer of L'Huiller.

This study demonstrated how the translation of French texts into English was linked to the demand of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean printing market. English printers and publishers aimed to disseminate materials that appealed to the interest of their readership. Evidence of that was the large output of *libelles* and news pamphlets between the beginning of 1570s and the end of the 1580s. Another example of that was the recurring translation of text that triggered – for various reasons – the readership's interest, such as the different work of Jean de Serres, which were regularly published between the 1560s and the 1620s. Subsequently, the translation of historical writings that occurred between 1598 and the 1630s represented an attempt at meeting the expectations of the English readership, which developed a lively interest in historical writings between the end of Sixteenth and the beginning of the Seventeenth century.

As already highlighted by Joad Raymond,⁸⁰⁶ this element showed a progressive change in the English printing industry, which moved from being a handcrafted practice to becoming a more sophisticated – and business oriented – market. This research also showed a certain fluidity between the different roles participating in the printing process. English printers like John Wolfe and Henry Bynneman were involved in the broader publication process, showing how the role of the printer progressively changed and became a figure supervising not only the technical details of the printing but also the purchasing of the original texts and the selling of the translated ones. Moreover, this research suggested that the role of the translation was still quite hybrid, involving people like Anthony Munday, Edward Aggas and Edward Grimeston, who participated to either the writing or the publications of texts.

On a final note, the fragmented evidence gathered from the diplomatic correspondence supported the idea that the printing industry had a primary role in the translation and

⁸⁰⁶ Raymond, p. 127.

dissemination of French text during the Wars of Religion. The evidence discussed by Lisa Ferraro Parmelee⁸⁰⁷ showed certainly the existence of certain link between Elizabethan governmental officers and the dissemination of French texts into the English printing market. However, the fragmented nature of this evidence led to conclude that the role of Elizabethan officers was quite marginal, highlighting instead the importance of the cross-channel links established by the printing industry between the second half of the Sixteenth century and the beginning of the Seventeenth century.

2. The Theoretical Discourse on Kingship and Succession Embodied in the French Texts: Discussing Navarre's Struggle for the French Crown

This research highlighted how Henry of Navarre represented a challenge to discuss the idea of kingship in late Elizabethan England. Lisa Ferraro Parmelee's⁸⁰⁸ study suggested how Huguenot and *Politiques'* treatises translated into English contributed to the creation of a cross-channel debate that focused on themes such as the resistance theory and the prince's powers. Within this context, the narratives about Henry of Navarre represented a way to unpick the complexity of French political scenario, in relation to the difficult succession of the Huguenot prince. As discussed in this thesis, the last phase of the French Civil Wars (1589-1594) produced a large output of printed texts aimed either to question or to defend Navarre's succession to the French throne. However, the political treatises and *libelles* translated into English conveyed only the Huguenot and *Politiques'* ideas, which aimed to defend Navarre's role as legitimate heir to the throne.

Additionally, the ruler's religion represented another lively question debated by the French texts translated into English. Religious issues characterised mid and late Tudor England, with the changes that occurred during the reigns of Mary I, Edward VI and Elizabeth I. Moreover, Elizabethan England was characterised by a constant fear of Catholic conspiracies that culminated with the imprisonment and the execution of Mary Stuart in 1587. In France, the tension between Catholics and Huguenots permeated the rule of the last Valois rulers, challenging the foundation of the monarchy with the complicate

⁸⁰⁷ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 33.

⁸⁰⁸ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 76.

succession of Henry of Navarre. Within this context, the Huguenot and the *Politiques*' texts translated into English provided two different responses about the issue of the ruler's religion.

The Huguenot writers fiercely defended Navarre's right of being Protestant, supporting his succession to the throne. According to the Huguenots' pamphleteers, Navarre's religion did not prevent him to succeed to the throne, since his lineage represented the factor supporting his claim to the throne. Additionally, for the Huguenot writers the religion of the Bourbon prince was considered an element securing religious tolerance. The Huguenot authors also insisted on the role that the Divine authority had in choosing Henry of Navarre as French king. Drawing this assumption on the Calvinist concept of predestination, the Huguenot pamphleteers identified Navarre as the monarch chosen by God, defending the rightness of the Divine authority's will. These authors used this idea of monarch appointed by God to develop an argument defending Navarre's good rule as a King of France. Even if not explicitly argued, the idea of good rule - linked to a pact signed between the monarch and the subjects - was related to the discourse issued in these texts with the Monarchomachs' theories, developed by the Huguenots in the 1570s. The Huguenot writers dealt also with the issues concerning monarchical and religious authorities, when discussing the excommunication issued by Sixtus V against Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé. Through very aggressive texts, the Calvinist writers argued in favour of a full separation between monarchical and religious powers, arguing that the Papacy should not interfere in the questions concerned with the monarchical institution.

The *Politiques*' texts translated into English provided instead a different reading of Navarre's complex succession to the throne. Despite a stronger criticism towards the Leaguers' arguments – which was shared with the Huguenots writers – the *Politiques* supported Navarre's conversion to Catholicism as a way to secure a stable and smooth succession to the French throne. By prioritising the political stability, the *Politiques* attributed less importance to the religion of the ruler, interpreting it as an element that could be sacrificed in order to end the conflicts that affected France in the Sixteenth century.

This research suggested how gender represented a minor part of the debate about succession in the French texts translated into English. The issue of gender and succession was mainly related to the possible succession of the infanta Isabella of Spain, supported by

the Catholic League. The French authors defended fiercely the masculinity of the ruler, using the Salic Law in support of their argument, highlighting how French and English authors theorised differently the questions of gender and religion. The findings of this research confirmed Lisa Ferraro Parmelee's conclusions⁸⁰⁹ about the different significance that the discourse about gender and kingship had in France and England during the Sixteenth century. The results of this study also supported Éliane Viennot's argument⁸¹⁰ about the strength of the claims concerning women's exclusion from the royal succession in Sixteenth century France.

Furthermore, the French texts translated into English conveyed a strong Anti-Catholic message. This represented an important element of interest for the English readership, who was familiar with these arguments. The Anti-Catholic discourse revolved against three different elements: the Papacy, the Jesuits and the Spanish monarchy. This discourse emphasised the partisan nature of the French texts disseminated in late Elizabethan England, linking them to the English *libelles* and political treatises that supported the same arguments.

3. Narratives about Henry of Navarre's Persona: From the Beginning of His Political Career to the Aftermath of His Assassination

This study highlighted how Henry of Navarre's persona represented a *fil rouge* within the narratives developed by the French texts translated into English. These texts tailored a very precise interpretation of the Huguenot prince, characterising him as a chivalrous and brave political and military leader. The result of this thesis highlighted the high popularity that Navarre enjoyed in Sixteenth century England, remarking Paul Voss' conclusions⁸¹¹ about the great appeal that Henry's persona had for the English readers. This research also demonstrated how the narratives about Navarre were sophisticatedly crafted, confirming what Marie-Celine Daniel argued about the development of French Civil Wars' interpretations in late Sixteenth Century England.

⁸⁰⁹ Ferraro Parmelee, *Good Newes from France*, p. 165.

⁸¹⁰ Viennot, *La France, les femmes et le pouvoir*, p. 135.

⁸¹¹ Voss, p. 196.

Since the beginning of his political career, Navarre's persona enjoyed a very positive representation in late Elizabethan England. From the 1560s onwards, the French texts translated into England followed closely the deeds of the Huguenots, offering to the English readers detailed information about the persecutions they experienced under François II and Charles IX. Within this context, Navarre's persona started to gain significance as military and political leader of the Huguenot faction. Furthermore, the massacre of Saint-Bartholomew changed Navarre's situation, leading him to progressively become the most prominent Huguenot leader. The aftermath of the Paris massacre marked the beginning of Navarre's heroic representation in late Elizabethan England. According to the narratives built by the texts, the Huguenot prince showed courage and moral integrity, despite the different challenges he had to face (i.e. the imprisonment and the court and the forced conversion to Catholicism).

Navarre's position as heir to the throne – following the death of the Duke of Anjou in 1584 – marked another important moment in the way Navarre was represented in late Elizabethan England. As Marie-Celine Daniel and Paul Voss argued,⁸¹² he became a Protestant hero fighting against the same enemies Elizabeth I had to face: the Catholics and the Spanish monarchy. The period between 1589 and 1594 represented the peak of Navarre's popularity, in which England readers not only followed his deeds but also looked at his complicated succession as a challenge to debate theoretical questions about the idea of kingship.

Furthermore, Navarre's coronation – and his subsequent rule over France – represented a way to display the rituals and the conventions of the divine right kingship. In early Jacobean England, Henry IV represented what Paul Kleber Monod described as the 'theatre of the royal virtues'⁸¹³ aimed to reinforce the strength of the monarchical institution after the decades of religious tensions – and conflicts – that affected both France and England. Therefore, Henry's assassination represented in 1610 a new challenge to reaffirm the royal authority and the sacred character of the monarchy. The aftermath of Henry's murder and the development of his "legend" reinforced these aspects, disseminating in Seventeenth

⁸¹² Daniel, 'Livre politique et politique du livre', p. 327; Voss, p. 196.

⁸¹³ Monod, p. 94.

century England the image of a magnanimous and beloved monarch, chosen by God and respected by his subject.

Henry's representation in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth century England demonstrated the growing attention that printers and publishers had in producing texts that appealed to the readers, as suggested by Joad Raymond.⁸¹⁴ Henry represented a popular character and the personnel involved in the printing marked acknowledged the interest that the English readership had for his deeds. During an age of religious and political conflicts, the representation of Henry of Navarre's persona was evidence of the complex – and very sophisticated – way in which the narrative conveyed by printed text was crafted and presented to the readers. Through the representation of Henry's persona, the French texts translated into English offered also a partisan interpretation of the Wars of Religion, linking this message to a strong Anti-Catholic discourse.

⁸¹⁴ Raymond, p. 134.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Works translated and published in England about/or with references to Henry of Navarre (1562-1584)

Identity of author or translator if known	Category of source	Full title	Original French Title if translated	Lang.	Printer and date of publication	STC 2 nd edn	Format and pages	General Notes
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	The destruction and sacke cruelly committed by the Duke of Guyse and his company, in the towne of Vassy, the firste of Marche, in the yeare M.D.LXII	Destruction et saccagement, exercé cruellement par le Duc de Guise en la ville de Vassy	English from French	London, by Henry Sutton for Edward Sutton dwelling in Lumbard streete of the cradell the first of May, 1562	1131 2	16 p. 8°	Publication date from STC. Stationer's Register: entered 1561-1562
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	The Verye trueth of the conference betwixt the queene mother and the prince of Condé, Julye 1562		English	Not marked. STC identifies W. Seres, in London.	4813. 4	10 p. 8°	Publisher and date of imprint suggested by STC.
Gaspard de Coligny, seigneur de Chatillon, 1519-1572	Calvinist pamphlet	An answer to the examination that is sayde to haue bene made of one named Iohn de Poltrot, calling himself the Lord of Meray, vopn the death of the late Duke of Guyse by the Lord of Chastillon admyrall of Fraunce, and other made in the same examination. At Caen, 1562	Response à l'interrogatoire qu'on dit avoir este faite a un nommé Jean de Poltrot, soy disant seigneur de Meray, sur la mort de feu duc de Guyse,	English from French	London, by Rouland Hall, for Edward Sutton, dwelling in Lumbard street at the signe of the Cradell, 1563.	5553	48 p. 8°	Includes the deposition of Poltrot, apparently not printed separately from this work. Stationer's Register: entered 1562-1563.
Pseudonym: I.D.V	Calvinist pamphlet	The translation of letter written by a Frenche gentilwoman to an other gentilwoman straunger, her friend, upon the death of the most excellent and vertous ladye. Elenor of Roye, Princes of Condé, containing her last wyl and testament. Doone by Henry Myddelmore gentyman at the request of the Ladye Anne Throkmorton		English	Imprinted at London by John Daye, or Humfrye Toye, dwelling in Paules chirchyarde, cum privilegio Regia Maiestatis 1564	2456 5	66 p. 8°	
Pierre Viret 1511-1571 Translator: John Shute	Religious pamphlet	The firste parte of the Christian instruction, and generall so[m]me of the doctrine, conteyned in the holy Scriptures wherein the principall pointes of the religion are familiarly handled by dialogues		English from French	Imprinted in London, by John Day, 1565	2477 7	129 p. 8°	Colophon reads: Imprinted at London by Jhon Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, beneath Saint Martins. Cum gratia & priuilegio, regia maiestatis per septennium. These bokes are to be solde at his shop under the Gate.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A short discourse of the meanes that the Cardinal of Loraine useth, to hinder the stablishing of peace and to move new troubles in France		English	Imprinted at London by Henrie Bynneman for lucas Haryson, 1568.	5011	48 p. 8°	Station's Register: entered 1568-1569
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A discourse of such things as are happened in the armie of the prince of Navarre and Condé		English from French	Imprinted in London by John Day, 1569	5813	10 p. 8°	
Charles IX, king of France, 1560-1574	Royal edict	An edict or ordonance of the French King, containing a prohibition and interdiction of al preaching and assembling, and exercise of any other Religion,	Edict du roy contenant interdiction et deffence de toute presche, assemblee et exercice d'autre	English from French	Imprinted in London, s.n., 1568.	5035	32 p. 8°	

		then of the Catholique, the Apostolique and the Romaine Religion. Item an other edict of the same king, remouing al Protestants from bearing any office under the King, in the Realme of France. Newly translated out of Frenche into English.	religion que de la Catholique, apostolicque et Romaine, Paris, Jean Dallier, 1568. French copy printed by Robert Estienne in Paris, 1568. Copy printed in Louvain, apud Ioannem Foulerum, anno 1568.					
Charles IX, king of France, 1560-1574	Royal edict	The kinges edict or decree vpon the pacification of the troubles of his realme, made the.xxiij. of March. 1568. Conteyning also the confirmation of another like edict, of the xix. day of March .1562. The copie whereof is also added, the better to satisfie the readers. And also certayn requestes, made by the Protestants, with the kings answeres therevnto. All nowe translated out of French. The .19. of April.1568.	Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de son royaume, fait le XXIII jour de mars M.D.L.XVIII., Paris, Jean Dallier, 1568.	English from French	Imprinted in London, by William Seres, 1568.	5036	44 p. 8°	Stationer's Register: Entered 1567-68.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A politike discourse for appeasing of troubles in the realme of France, shewing how requisite and necessary it is for the conservation of the state of the croune.		English from French	Imprinted in London, in Poules Church-yarede by Thomas Purfoote for Lucas Harrison, dwelling at the signe of the Crane, 1569.	1128 6	40 p. 8°	Stationer's Register: entered 1568-1569.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	The copy of a letter sent by one of the camp, of the Prince of Condé to a friend of this the XXX of December last past Anno Domini 1568.		English from French	Imprinted at London, at the long shop adioyning unto S. Mildreds Church in the Pultrie by John Allse, 1569	1685 3	8 p. 8°	Stationer's Register : entered 1568-1569
Auth: Serres, Jean de, 1540-1598 Translator: Geoffrey Fenton	Calvinist pamphlet	A discourse of the civile warres and late troubles in France, drawn into Englishe by Geffray Fenton and divided into three bookes, wherof the first beginneth from the breach of peace in March 1568 and continueth till the death of the Prince od Condé. The second, from his death till the battell at Mongotour, which was the first of October, 1569. The third, containeth varietie of matters chauncing iin sundry places since that tyme. Seene and allowed.		English from French	Imprinted in London, by Henry Bynneman, for Lucas Harrison and George Bishop, 1570.	1079 3	218 p. 8°	
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	Instructions giuen by the princes of Navarre and of Condé, the Counte of Collighy admyrall of Fraunce, and other lords and gentleman of their counsel, and others chosen by the nobilitie of the prouinces of this realme, to the deputies of their parte, upon the conferences holden with the sieurs of Biron and Malassize; two of the kings priue counsel, and deputed by his Maiestie, for the negociation of the peace, most humbly beseeching his Maiestie to graunt unto them the		English from French	Imprinted in London, s.n., 1570.	1310 4	48 p. 8°	Place of publication from STC; at end Guyen and Bussy the 21 of June, anno 1570.

		most iust and necessary demanudes which follow, for the health of their soules, and preseruatioun of their honors, lyues and goodes						
Charles IX, king of France 1560-1574	Royal edict	The edict of proclamation set forth by the French king, for appeasing of troubles in his kingdome. Proclaymed in the Court of Parliament at Rouuen, the sixteenth day of August, the yere of our Lord. 1570.	Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume, Paris, Jean Dallier, 1570.	English from French	Imprinted in London, s.n., 1570.	5037	49 p. 8°	Stationer's Register's: entered 1570-1571.
Charles IX, king of France 1560-1574	Royal edict	An edict set forth by the French king, for appeasing of troubles in his kingdome. Proclaymed in the Court of Parliament at Rouuen, the sixteenth day of August, the yere of our Lord. 1570.	Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume, Paris, Jean Dallier, 1570.	English from French	Imprinted in London, s.n., 1570.	5038	48 p. 8°	
Charles IX, king of France 1560-1574	Royal edict	Oration pronounced by the French king		English from French	Imprinted in London, s.n., 1570	4078	12 p. 8°	
Thomas Drant, d. 1578	Sermon	Two sermons preached the one at S. Maries Spittle on Tuesady in Easter weeke 1570 and the other at the court at Windsor the Sunday after twelfth day, being the VIII of January, before in the yeare 1569		English	Imprinted in London by John Day, 1570.	1148 8	164 p. 8°	Second edition: A fruitfull and necessary sermon, specially concernyng almes geuing, preached the Twisday [sic] in Easter weeke. The yere of our Lord. 1572. at S. Maries Spittle. (London: John Day, [1572]; STC 7166).
Author: Leslie, John, 1527-1596	Political treaty	A table gathered out of a booke named a treatise of treasons against Q. Elizabeth, and the crownw of England latelie compiled by a stranger and sent out of France		English	s.l., s.n., 1572.	2361 7.5	44 p. 8°	Dedication signed: G.T.
John Carr	Political treaty	A larume belle for London, with a caueat or warning to England: also a pitfull complaint of the penitente sinner, newlie set for the by Ihon Carre		English	Imprinted at London, by Henry Kirckham, at he signe of the blacke Boie, at the little north doore of Poules, 1573	4684	22 p. 8°	
Pierre de La Place, 1520-1572. Translator: Thomas Tymme	Calvinist history of France	The first parte of commentaries, concerning the state of religion, and the common wealthe of Fraunce, under the reignes of Henry the second, Frauncis the second, and Charles the ninth.	Commentaires de l'estat de la religion,	English from French	Imprinted in London, by Henrie Bynneman, for Francis Coldocke, 1573.	2224 1	271 p. 4°	Includes index.
Author: Du Rosier, Hugues Sureau	Calvinist pamphlet	Confession et recognoissance de Hugues Sureau dit du Roisir, touchant sa cheute en la papauté, et le horribles scandals par luy commis. Servant d'exemple a tout le monde de la fragilité et perversité de l'homme abandonné à foy et de l'infinie misericorde et ferme verité de Dieu enuers ses esieuz.		French from German copy	Imprimé à Londres, par Guillaume Williamson sur la copie imprimée à Heydelberg par Iohan Mayer, 1573.	7368	32 p. 8°	Both Cahix, Genève p. 78 and Droz, La Rochelle, III, 13-15, have recorded editions of this dated 157. Kindon, Myths, pp. 258-59 cites two other editions in Paris and Heidelberg for 1573 and 1576 edition in Heidelberg of the same work.

Author: Du Rosier Hugues Sureau	Calvinist pamphlet	A lamentable discourse of the fall of Hughe Sureau from the truth; and his shamefull offence to the Church together with confession and remorse		English from French	Imprinted at London, by Thomas East dor Lucas Harison and George Bishoppe, 1573	7369	56 p. 8°	A translation of STC 7368. See Kingdon, Myths, p.259.
Pseudonym: Ernesto Varamundò [i.e. François Hotman, 1524-1590]	Calvinist pamphlet	A true and plaine report of the furious outrages of Fraunce, & the horrible and shameful slaughter of Chastillion the admirall, and diuers other noble and excellent men, and of the wicked and straunge murder of godlie persons, committed in many cities of Fraunce, without any respect of sorte, kinde, age, or degree.	De furoribus Gallicis, horrenda & indigna Amirallij Castillionei, nobilium atq[ue] illustrium virorum cæde, scelerata ac inaudita piorum strage passim edita per complures Galliae ciuitates, sine vlllo discrimine generis, sexus, ætatis & conditionis hominum: vera & simplex narratio. Ernesto Varamundo Frisio auctore. Londini: ex officina Henrici Bynneman, 1573.	English from Latin	At Striveling in Scotlande [i.e. London: Printed by Henry Bynneman], 1573.	13847	8o. CXLIII, [1] p.	Kingdon, <i>Myths</i> , p. 256 notes that this translation was republished as an appendix to Timme's translation of Serres's <i>Three Partes of Commentaries...</i> several times in 1574, and once in an abridged form in the 1576 <i>Continuation</i> . Regarding the latin editions, listed in the STC as 13845 and 13846. There are seven surviving copies of this in the British Isles, giving some idea of its popularity. STC notes that this is apparently a reissue of the edition with Bynneman's name in the imprint and colophon, with A1,8 reprinted and quire O reimposed to omit his name and supply a false imprint.
Pseudonym: Ernest Varamond de Frise' [i.e. François Hotman, 1524-1590.]	Calvinist pamphlet	Discours simple & veritable des rages exercées, par la France, des horribles et indignes meurtres commiz es personnes de Gaspar de Golligni Admiral de France, & de plusieurs grandz seigneurs gentils-hommes & aultres illustres & notables personnes, Et du lache et estrange carnage faict indifferement des Chrestiens qui se sont peu recouurer en la plus-part des villes de ce royaume sans respect aulcun, de sang, sexe, age, ou condition. Auquel est adiovestee en forme de paragon, l'histoire tragique de la cite de Holme saccagée contre la foy promise l'an 1517. par Christierne second, Roy de Dannemarch, et de la punition diuinement faicte, de ce tyran & de son Archeuesque Gostaue: extraicte de la cosmogtaphie [sic] de Monster.	De furoribus Gallicis, horrenda & indigna Amirallij Castillionei, nobilium atq[ue] illustrium virorum cæde, scelerata ac inaudita piorum strage passim edita per complures Galliae ciuitates, sine vlllo discrimine generis, sexus, ætatis & conditionis hominum: vera & simplex narratio. Ernesto Varamundo Frisio auctore. Londini: ex officina Henrici Bynneman, 1573.	French from Latin	Imprime à Basle [i.e. London] : par Pieter Vallemmand [i.e. W. Williamson,] ann. 1573.	13847.5	8o. [23], CXVIII, CXX-CXXII, [20] p.	Ernest Varamund = François Hotman. Previously attributed to Théodore de Bèze and to Hubert Languet.
Author: Serres, Jean de, 1540?-1598. Trans.: Thomas	Calvinist pamphlet.	The three partes of Commentaries, containing the whole and perfect discourse of the Ciuill warres of Fraunce, vnder the raignes of Henry the second, Frances the second, and of Charles	Imprinted at London, by [Henry Middleton for] Frances Coldocke, 1574.	English from Latin.	Imprinted at London, by [Henry Middleton for] Frances Coldocke, 1574	22241.5	4o. [16]-494 p., 38 leaves.	As the STC notes, A translation of parts 1-3 of <i>Commentariorum de statu religionis et reipublicæ in</i>

Tymme, d. 1620.		the ninth. With an Addition of the cruell murder of the Admirall Chastilion, and diuer other nobles, committed the 24. daye of August. Anno 1572. Translated out of Latine into English by Thomas Timme minister. Seene and allowed.						<i>regno Galliaē libri</i> by Jean de Serres. Part 1 is actually an abridged translation of <i>Commentaires de l'estat de la religion</i> by Pierre de La Place. The first part was often misattributed to Petrus Ramus. STC 22242.2 is another copy of this edition.
Pseudonym: Gentleman of Florence	Political treaty	Practises touching the state of France, discovered by an Italian, a gentleman of Florence		English from French	[London] Printed by [T. East], 1575	1128 7	8° 26 p.	Place of publication and name from the STC.
Anon. [Likely Innocent Gentillet, d. 1595.] Trans: 'G. H. Esquire.' STC identifies this as George Harte.	Calvinist pamphlet.	A declaration concerning the needfulness of peace to be made in France; and the means for the making of the same: exhibited to the most Christian king, Henrie the second of that name, King of France and Polande, vpon two edictes, put forth by his Maiestie, the one the tenth of September, the other the thirteenth of October. Anno. 1574. Translated out of French by G. H. Esquire.		English from French 'G. H.'	Imprinted at London: By Henrie Bynneman, for Raufe Newberie, dwelling in Fleetstreet, a little aboute the Conduit, [1575].	1126 6	8o. [160]p.	A translation of Innocent Gentillet's: "Remonstrance au roy .. sur le fait des deux edicts .. touchant la necessité de paix & moyens de la faire." There is no other evidence to suggest that Harte translated other works of French news.
Author given as Henri, duc de Montmorency (1534-1614). No trans. given.	Political document / manifesto	A declaration of the protestation of Monseigneur the Mareschal d'Anuille.		English from French.	[London: s.n. (Vautrollier?), 1575].	1805 1.7	8o. 15 p.	Only one surviving copy of this tract exists in the British Library. It is bound with <i>The Destruction and facke cruelly committed by the Duke of Guyfe in.. Vassy</i> (London, 1562; STC 11312). Although the STC does not identify publisher, it is identical to Vautrollier's edition of Francois of Anjou's <i>Protestation</i> (STC 11311).
Anon. author [Likely, Henri Estienne, d. 1598.] No trans. given.	Calvinist pamphlet	A mervaylous discourse vpon the lyfe, deedes, and behaviours of Katherine de Medicis, Queene mother: vvherin are displayed the meanes vvwhich she hath practised to attayne vnto the vsurping of the kingedome of France, and to the bringing of the estate of the same vnto vtter ruine and destruction.		English from French.	At Heydelberge [i.e. London: Printed by H. Middleton?], 1575.	1055 0	8o. 196p.	C/f STC 1464.7 for a German translation. BL copy is incorrectly bound: pp. 81-96 are inserted between pp. 112 & 113. As Kingdon notes, <i>Myths</i> , p.256, copies of two other Eng. editions survive, both printed by J. Ross in Edinburgh, stating Cracow (STC 10551) and Paris (STC 10551.5) as place of publication.

Presented as François, duc d'Anjou, d.1584. No trans. given	Political document	The Protestation of the most high and mightie Prince Fravncis, bothe sonne and brother of King, Duke of Allenson and of Eureux, Earle of Dreux, & of Perche &c.Liuetenant General for the King in all his countries and dominions, protector of the libertie of the Crowne of Fraunce, oppreffed by the fraungers. Translated out of frenche into Englifh, and newly imprinted.		English from French.	[London: T. Vautrollier], 1575.	1131 1	8o. 11 [1] p.	Name of publisher is not acknowledged on the title-page, but type face is identical to STC 22248.
Anon. author. Trans: Arthur Golding.	Calvinist pamphlet	The lyfe of the most godly, valeant and noble capteine and maintener of the trew Christian religion in Fraunce, Iasper Colignie Shatilion, sometyme greate admirall of Fraunce. Translated out of Latin by Arthur Golding.		English from Latin.	Imprinted at London: By Thomas Vautrollier, 1576.	2224 8	8o. 128 p.	The STC notes this has been attributed to Jean de Serres, Jean Hotman, seigneur de Villers-Saint-Paul, and François Hotman. Chaix, <i>Geneve</i> , p.84 identifies one Genevan edition. Kingdon, <i>Myths</i> , p. 257 has also discovered a German and a French language edition.
France. Sovereign (1574-1589 : Henry III). Trans: Arthur Golding.	Royal edict.	The edict or proclamation set forthe by the Frenche Kinge vpon the pacifying of the troubles in Fraunce, with the articles of the same pacification. Read and published in the presence of the sayd King, sitting in his Parliament, the xij. day of May, 1576. Translated out of Frenche by Arthur Golding. Cum priuilegio.		English from French.	Imprinted at London: By Thomas Vautrollier dwelling in the Blacke Friers, [1576].	1309 1	8o. 56, 56-61, [2] p.	A translation of Gentillet's <i>Apologie ou défense pour les chretiens de France de la religion reformée</i> . It is one of only two articles of English news translated from French or Dutch originals c. 1572-80 to receive royal authorisation. The other is Jerome Bowes's translation of <i>An apology or defence for the Christians of Frau[n]ce which are of the euangelicall or reformed religion</i> (London, 1579; STC 11742).
Auth: Serres, Jean de, 1540?-1598. Trans: Thomas Tymme, d. 1620.	Calvinist history of France.	The fourth parte of Co[m]mentaries of the ciuill warres in Fraunce, and of the louve countrie of Flaunders: translated out of Latine into English, by Thomas Tymme minister. Seene and allowed.		English from French.	Imprinted at London: By Henrie Binneman, for Humfrey Toy, Anno. 1576.	2224 3	4o. [8], 35, [1], 1410 [i.e. 150], [30] p., folded plate.	Dedicated to Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, by Thomas Tymme. As STC notes, a copy of "A supplication to the Kings Maiesty of Spain, made by the Prince of Orange" (caption title, unpaginated), 2A1-2D2 is inserted at the end. This is a translation of: <i>Sendbrief. In forme van supplicatie aen</i>

								<i>die Conincklicke Majesteyt van Spaengien.</i>
Author: Pierre de La Place 1520-1572 Translator: Thomas Tomson	Calvinist pamphlet	A treatise of the excellencie of a Christian man, and how he may be knowen	Traité de l'excellence de l'homme chrestien et manière de cognoistre	English from Franch	Imprinted in London, by Christopher Barker, dwelling in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Tygers head, 1576.	1523 1	8°. 134 p.	Publication date from STC.
Author: Henri III king of France 1574-1589 Translator: Arthur Golding	Royal edict	The edict or proclamation set for the by the Frenche Kinges upon the pacifying of the troubles in Fraunce, with the articles of the same pacification. Read and published in the presence of the sayd king, sitting in his Parliament, the XIII day of May, 1576.	Edict du roy sur la pacification des troubles de ce royaume : leu et publié, ledit seigneur seant en son Parlement, le 14 jour de may, 1576, Paris, Frédéric Morel, 1576.	English from French	Imprinted in London, by Thomas Vautrollier dwelling in the Balcke Friers, 1576.	1309 1	8°. 56 [2] p.	Publication date from STC.
Pseudonym Francis de L'isle [i.e. Louis Régnier de La Planche, ca. 1530-ca. 1580]	Calvinist pamphlet	A legendarie, conteining an ample discourse of the life and behaiour of Charles Cardinal de Lorraine, and of his brethren, of the house of Guise. Written in French by Francis de L'isle.	La legende de Charles, cardinal de Lorraine et de ses frères, de la maison de Guise.	English from French	[London?], imprinted 1577.	2085 5	8° 196 p.	Publication place conjectured by STC.
Anon. Translator: John Brooke	Calvinist pamphlet	A Christian discourse upon certeine points of religion. Presented to the high and puissant Lorde, the Pricne of Condé. Translated out of French into English by John Brooke of Asshe next Sandwich, 1578.	[French originally not traced.]	[English from French]	Imprinted at London, by Thoms East, the 6 daye of lune, 1578.	5158	8° [4], 184 [i.e. 185]	
Author: Gentillet, Innocent, ca 1535- ca 1595. Translator: Iherom Bowes Knight	Calvinist pamphlet	An apology or defence for the Christians of Fraunce which are of the evangelicall or reformed religion, for the satisfying of such as wil not lie in peace and concord with them. Written to the king of Navarre and translated out of French into English by Sir Iherom Bower Knight.	Apologie ou défense pour les chretiens de France de la religion reformée	English from French	At London, printed by Iohn Day dwelling ouer Aldersgate. And are to be sold at his shop under the gate, 1579.	1174 2	8° [11], 132 p.	Imprimatur at foot of title: <i>Cum priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis.</i>
Pseudonym: David, Advocate of Paris	Calvinist pamphlet	A summe of the Guisian ambassage to the Bishop of Rome, founde lately amongst the writings of one David an advocate of Paris, and translated out of French into Latin, and from Latin into English.		English from [Latin and French]	[London, by J, Charlewood], Imprinted 1579.	6319	[30] p. 8°	Imprint from STC.
Author: Henri III, king of France, 1574-1589	Royal edict	The French Kings edict or proclamation for the pacification of the trubbles of his realme. Published in the court of Parlement of Roan the third day of February, anno 1581.		English from French	Imprinted at London by Ihon Allde for Edward Aggas and Thomas Humble and are to be solde at the Red Dragon in Paules Churhyard, 1581.	13.09 1.1	8°. 32 p.	
Anon.	News pamphlet	The joyful and royal entertainment of the rught high and mightie Prince, Francis the Frenche Kings only brother, by the grace of God of Barbande, Aniow, Alàunson &c. Into his noble cite of Antwerpe, 1582. Translated out of Frenche by Arthur Golding, according to the copie printed by Plantine at Antwerpe, his highness printer.	La joyeuse et magnifique entrée de Monseigneur Francoys fils de France.	English from French	Imprinted at London, [by Thomas Dawson] for Williamm Ponsonby, and are to be solde at his shoppe in Paules Churchyarde, at the signe of the Bishoppes head, [1582].	1131 0	8° [104] p.	Printer's name and publication date from the colophon.

<p>Author: Pierre Loyseleur, ca. 1530- 1590.</p>	<p>Calvinist pamphlet/ Political treaty</p>	<p>A treatise against the proclamation published by the King of Spayne, by which he proscribed the late Prince of Orange: wherby shall appeare the sclaunders and falce accusations conteyned in the sayd proscrition, which is annexed to the ende of this treatise. Presented to My Lords the Estates generall in the Low Countries. Together with the sayd proclamation or proscrition. Printed in French and all other languages.</p>		<p>English from French</p>	<p>At Delft [i.e. London, s.n., 1584]</p>	<p>1520 8</p>	<p>4° 136 p.</p>	<p>Title page printed in London, 1584 (STC). A translation of Herbert Languet's revision of Pierre Loyseleur's "Apologie du Guillame, prince d'Orange". A reissue, with cancel title page, of STC 15207.5, published ib Delft in 1581.</p>
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Appendix 2: Works translated and published in England about/or with references to Henry of Navarre (1585-1609).

Identity of author or translator if known	Category of source	Full title	Original French Title if translated	Lang.	Printer and date of publication	STC 2 nd edn	Format and pages	General notes
Author: Mornay, Philippe du Plessis-Marly (1549-1623) Translator: Thomas Somerset	Calvinist pamphlet	An aduertissement from a French gentleman touching the intention and meaning which those of the house of Guise haue in their late leuying of forces and armes in the realme of France: written as an answere to a certaine declaration published in the name of the Cardinal de Bourbon	Advertisement sur l'intention et but de MM. de Guise en la prise d'armes, s.l., s.n., s.d.	Englis h from Frenc h	[London, printed by C.Barker], 1585.	12505	8°; [2], 66, 12 p.	Place of publication and printer's name from the STC. " A declaration of the causes that haue moued the Cardinal de Bourbon and the princes...to oppose themselves to those which by all meanes do seeke to subvert the Catholcke religion and the estate" has separate pagination.
Author: André Maillard	Politique pamphlet	Advertisement to the King of Navarre, to unite him selfe with the king and the Catholique faithe. Beeing in trueth a very slanderous, false and seditious libel, against the said King of Navarre and other Christian princes. Truely translated according to the coppie printed in French.	Advertisement au roy de Navarre de se reunir avce le roy et la foy catholique, s.l., s.n., 1585.	Englis h From Frenc h	[Imprinted at London, s.n., 1585]	13127	8°; [6], 37, [1] p.	Imprint from the STC.
Author: Pseudonym E.D.L.I.C. i.e. Belloy, Pierre de, ca. 1540-1613 Translator: Edward Aggas?	Calvinist /Politique pamphlet	A Catholicke apologie against the libels, declarations, aduised and consultations made, written, and published by those of the League, perturbbers of the quiet estate of the realme of France. Who are risen since the decease of the late Monsieur, the Kings onely brother. B E.D.L.I.C.	Apologie catholique sur les declarations, aduises et consultations de ceux de la Ligue, s.l., s.n., 1585.	Englis h From Frenc h	Imprinted at London, [by G.Robinson], for Edward Aggas, [1585 or 1586].	15137	8°; [7], 99, 90-139.	Printer's name and publication date from the STC.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A true report of the taking of Marseilles by the faouurers of the League together with the rescue theof by the kings faithful subiects, wherin may be seene the woonderfull prouidence of almighty God in the deliuerie of them that trust in him from the treacherous and bloudie deuises of their aduersaries. Lately translated out of French.	Original French not traced.	Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by John Windet for Edward Aggas	17468	8°; [24] p.	Publication, date and translator from STC.

France. Sovereign Henri III (1574-1589). Translator: Arthur Golding	Royal edict/declaration	A declaration set forth by the French kinge, shewing his pleasure concerning the new troubles in his realme. Translated out of French into English by E.A.	Déclaration de la volonté du roy sur le nouveaux troubles de ce royaume, Paris, Frédéric Morel, 1585	English from French	London, Imprinted by John Wolfe dwelling in Distaffe lane neere the signe of the Castell, 1585.	13902	8°; 20 p.	
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610 Translator: Claudius Hollyband	Royal edict/manifesto	The declaration of the king of Navarre, touching the slaunders published against him in the protestations of those of the League that are risen upon armes in this realme of Fraunce. With privilege. Truly translated into English according to the French copie.	Déclaration du roy de Navarre sur le calomnies publiées contre luy és protestations de ceux de la Ligue quise sont eslevez en ce royaume	English from French	Printed at London, bt John Charlewood, dwelling in Barbican at the signe of the halfe Eagle and the Key, 1585.	13106	8°; 79, [1] p.	Wolfe, The Conversion of Henry IV, p. 54: attributed to Philippe de Mornay. Translator's dedication signed: Claudius Hollyband. Stationer's Register: Entered 17 July [1585].
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610 Translator: Edward Aggas (?)	Royal edict/manifesto	A declaration and protestation published by the king of Navarre, the L. Prince of Condé, and the L. Duke of Montmorency, concerning the peace concluded with the house of Lorrain, the captaines and chiefe authors of the League, to the prejudice of the house of Fraunce. Als two letters written by the sayd King of Navarre. The one to the Parliament, the other to the maisters of Sorbonne. More an epistle written by Phipp de Mornay to the French King: hereunto, for the palyner declaration of the innocencie of the sayd princes, are inserted the articles agreed upon betweene the King and the Lordes of Guyze. All faithfully translated out of French.	Déclaration et protestation du roy de Navarre, de M. le prince de Condé et M. le duc de Montmorency sur la paix faicte avec ceux de la maison de Lorraine	English from French	Imprinted at London, [by G.Robinson] for Edward Aggas, 1585.	13110	8°; 86, [2] p.	Attributed to Philippe de Mornay. Translated by Edward Aggas (?). Printer's device on last leaf.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	An answer to the excommunication lately denounced and published by Sixtus V, Pope of Rome so called, against Henry king of Navarre and Henry Prince of Condé, made by the saide princes, and sent to Rome	Réponse à l'excommunication du pape Sixte cinquième contre le roy de Navarre et le prince de Condé	English from French	Imprinted at London, by C.B[arker], 1585.	13105	8°; [6] p.	Attributed to Jacques Bongars. Printer's name from the STC. Stationer's Register: entered 6 December [1585] In support of this text was written STC 19769.7.
Author: Pierre Erondelle, 1586-1609.		A declaration and catholick exhortation to all Christian princes to soccour the		English from French	At London, imprinted [by G.Robinson] for Edward Aggas, 1586.	10512	8°. [24] p.	Printer's name from STC.

		church of God and realme of France						
Author: Mornay, Philippe de, seigneur du Plessis-Marly, 1549-1623. Translator: Edward Aggas (?)	Calvinist pamphlet	A necessary discourse concerning the right which the House of Guise pretendeth to the crowne of France. Faithfully translated out of French	Discours sur le droit prétendu par ceux de Guise sur la couronne de France, s.l., s.n., 1583.	English from French	At London, imprinted [by G.Robinson] for Edward Aggas, 1586.	12508	8°; 24 p.	Printer's name from STC. French original title from the s.l., 1583.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	An aunswere to the League: written by a French gentleman. Faithfully translated out of the French, which is hereinto inserted.	Responce faicte a la Ligue: par vn gentilhomme François.	English from French	[London], imprinted at London [by G. Robinson] for Edward Aggas, [1586?].	11373	8°; 24 p.	Printer's name and publication's date from STC.
Author: Hotman, François 1524-1590 Translator: Christopher Fetherstone	Calvinist pamphlet	The British Thuderbolt: or rather feeble fierflash of Pope Sixtus the fift, against Henrie the most excellent King of Navarre, and the most noble Henrie Borbon, Prince of Condie. Together with a declaration of the manifold insufficiencie of the same. Translated out of Latin into English by Christopher Fetherstone, minister of Gods word.	P. Sixti brutum in Henricum sereniss. Regem Navarrae & illustrissimus Henricum Borbonium, Principem Condaeum	English from Latin	Imprinted at London, by Arnold Hatfield, for G[eorge] B[ishop] and R. Newbery, 1586.	13843.5	8°; [16], 321, [15] p.	Bishop's name from STC. Stationer's Register: entered to Newbery 17 August [1586].
Author: Henry IV, King of France, (1553-1610). Translator: Edward Aggas (?)	Royal edict/manifesto	Three letters written by the king of Navarre, first Prince of the bloud and chiefe peere of France to the states of the clergie, nobilitie and third estate of France. More: a letter from the sayd king to the Gouernors and communalitie of the towne of Paris. All faithfully translated out of the French.		English from French	At London, printed [by George Robinson] for Edward Aggas, 1586.	13111	8°; 24 p.	Printer's name from STC. Translator's name from STC.
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610. Translator: Claudius Hollyband	Royal edict/manifesto	The declaration of the king of Navarre, touching the slaunders published against him in the protestations of those of the League that are risen uo n armes in this realme of Fraunce. With priuiledge. Truly translated into English according to the French copie.	Déclaration du roy de Navarre sur le calomnies publiées contre luy és protestations de ceux de la Ligue quise sont eslevez en ce royaume	English from French	Printed at London, bt John Charlewood, dwelling in Barbican at the signe of the halfe Eagle and the Key, 1586.	13106.5	8°; 79, [1] p.	Wolfe, The Conversion of Henry IV, p. 54: attributed to Philippe de Mornay. Translator's dedication signed: Claudius Hollyband. Stationer's Register: Entered 17 July [1585]. Copy of STC 13106.
Author: Constant, Léonard, d. 1610. Translator: Christopher Fetherstone	Calvinist pamphlet	A Christian and wholesome admonition directed to the Frenchmen which are reuolted from the true religion, and haue polluted	Remonstrance chrestienne et salutaire, 1586.	English from French	London, printed by John Wolfe, dwelling in Distaffe Lane, neare the signe of	5154	8°; [144] p.	Publication date from STC. The author's name is ambiguously mentioned by an exhortatory poem on A6v, line 2

		themselves with the superstition and idolatry of popery			the Castle, [1587].			from the bottom, referring to the path "Which constant hath proposed to you".
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A declaration exhibited to the French king concerning the Holy League. Whereunto is adjoined: an advertisement to the three estates of France, comprehending a true report of such occurrences as have passed between the house of Guise, in favour of the Holy League: and the king of Navarre & his adherents for their necessary defence. Faithfully translated out of French.	Original French title not traced.	English from French	London, imprinted [by Abel Ieffes, for Thomas Cadman], 1587.	13100	8°; 54 p.	Printer's and bookseller's name from colophon. Includes "An advertisement to three estates of France, concerning the League", sometimes attributed to Philippe de Mornay, (Mornay's text :Advertisement sur l'intention et but de Messieurs de Guise, en la prise des armes)
	Calvinist pamphlet	A brief discourse of the merueylous victorie gotten by the king of Navarre, against those of the holy League, on the twentieth of October 1587. Both in English, and in French as it was printed in France. Whereunto is added as soone as it came to my hand since the first impression, the true copie of a letter sent by the king of Navarre to his secretary at Rochil, aswell in confirmation of the victorie against the Duke Ioyeuse, as also the overthrow that the Switzers gaue to the Duke of Guise	Original French not traced.	English From French	London, printed by John Wolfe dwelling in Distaffe Lane neare the signe of the Castle, 1587	13129	8°; 16 p.	Stationer's Register: entered 16 November [1587].
Author: La Noue, François de, 1531-1591.	Political Pamphlet	The politike and military discourse of Lord de la Noue, Whereunto are adjoined certaine obseruations of the same author, of things happened during the three late ciuil warres of France. With a true declaration of manie particulars touching the same. All faithfully translated out of the French by E.A.	Discours politiques et militaires du Seigneur de la Noue	English from French	At London, printed for T[homas] C[adman] and E[dward] A[ggas] by Thomas Orwin, 1587. [i.e. 1588]	15215	4°; [16]. 284, 283-446, 445-458. [2] p.	Publisher's names from colophon, which is dated 1588.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	A caueat for France, upon the present euils that it now suffereth. Together with the remedies necessarie for the same. Translated out of French into	French original is not traced.	English from French	London, imprinted by John Wolfe, 1588.	11259	4°; 29, [3] p.	

		English by E. Aggas						
Anon.	Political pamphlet	A politike discours most excellent for this time present: composed by a French gentleman, against those of the League, which went about to perswade the king to breake the alliance with England, and to confirme it with Spaine.	Discours politique, très excellent pour le temps present	English from French	London, printed by John Wolfe, 1588.	13101	4°; [4], 27 [i.e.41], [3] p.	Translator's note signed Francis Mar. i.e. Francesco Marquino Stationer's Register: entered 20 November 1588.
Author: Hurault, Michel, d.1592	Political pamphlet	A discourse upon the state of France. Together with a copie of the kings letters patents, declaring his mind after his departure out of Paris. Whereunto is added the copie of two letters written by the Duke of Guize. Translated out of French into English and now reprinted and corrected by E. Aggas	Discours sur l'estat de la France	English from French	[London, J. Wolfe], Imprinted, 1588.	14003. 7	4°; [3], 2-67 [1] p.	Henry III's letter reprinted from STC 13093. Place of publication and printer's name from STC.
Author: Hurault, Michel, d.1592	Political pamphlet	A discourse upon the state of France. Together with a copie of the kings letters patents, declaring his mind after his departure out of Paris. Whereunto is added the copie of two letters written by the Duke of Guize. Translated out of French into English an now newly reprinted and corrected by E. Aggas.	Discours sur l'estat de la France	English from French	[London], imprinted [by John Wolfe], 1588.	14004	4°; 67, [1], p.	A translation of part 1. of Michel Hurault's Discours sur l'estat de la France
Author: Hurault, Michel, d.1592	Political pamphlet	A discourse upon the present state of France	Discours sur l'estat de la France	English from French	Imprinted at London, [by John Wolfe].	14003	4°; 98 p.	Printer's name from STC. Stationer's Register: entered to J. Wolfe 30 August [1588]. A translation of part 1. of Michel Hurault's Discours sur l'estat de la France
Author: Pseudonym Stephanus Iunius Brutus i.e. Languet, Hubert 1518-1581.	Calvinist pamphlet	A short apologie for Christian souldiours; wherein is conteined, how that we ought both to propagate, and also if neede require, to defende by force of armes, the Catholike Church of Christ, against the tyrannie of Antichrist and his adherents: penned by Stephanus Iunius Brutus, and translated into English by H.P. for the benefite of the	Vindiciae contra Tyrannos	English from Latin	London, printed by John Wolfe, for Henry Carre, 1588.	15207	8°; [32] p.	An English translation of Part 4 of the "Vindiciae contra tyrannos". Entered to Wolfe 26 April [1588].

		resolution of the Church of England, in defence of the gospel						
Anon.	Political pamphlet	A letter written by a French catholike gentleman, to the maisters at Sorbonne. Concerning the late victories obtained by the king of Navarre, aswell against the Duke of Ioyeuse at Coutras upon Tuesday, the twentieth of October, 1587 as els where.		English from French	London, printed by John Wolfe for Edward Aggas, and are to be sold at his shope the West end of Paules, 1588.	18144	4°; 78, [2] p.	Attributed by STC to Philippe de Mornay. Includes, at end, "The King of Nauars song after his victoire".
France. Sovereign Henri III (1574-1589).	Royal edict/manifesto	A declaration of the King pleasure, published after his departure from Paris, importing the cause of his sudden going away. Translated according to the original printed at Chartres.	Original French title not traced.	English from French	At London, printed by Thomas Orwin for Edward Aggas, 1588.	13093	4°; [2], 13, [1] p.	A translation, possible by Edward Aggas, from the original French. Stationer's Register: entered 3 June 1588.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	An admonition giuen by one of the Duke of Sauoyes Coucel to his highness, tending to dissuade him from enterprising against France. Translated out of French by E.A.	Remonstrance d'un conseiller	English from French	London, printed by John Wolfe, 1589.	5043	4°; [20] p.	Stationer's Register: entered 11 April [1589].
Anon.	An advise to the nobilitie and commons of France	Advise, giuen by a Catholike gentleman, to the nobilitie & commons of France, to ioyn together, and take armes speedily (by commandement of the King) against theeues and robbers, which are now abroade ruining the poore people: setting downe an order and policie how they should take armes, to auoide all disorder and confusion amongst them. Whereunto is adioyned, a declaration published by the Duke de Montpencier for the reclaiming of the cleargie and nobilitie of Normandie, vnto his Maiesties obedience, &c. With certaine newes of the ouerthrow of the Gautiers, an diuerse other rebels against the French King, by the said Duke of Montpencier, on		English from French	London, printed by John Wolfe, 1589.	11256	4°; 59, [1] p.	Includes "A declaration published for the reconciling of the cleargie and nobilitie of Normandie vnto the obedience of his Maiestie" and "Nevves of the ouerthrow of the Gautiers, &c." which are translated from: Montpensier, François de Bourbon, duc de. La copie d'une lettre contenant le progres des choses aduenues au voyage de duc de Montpensier. Stationer's Register: entered 22 May [1589].

		the sixt, and on the twentieth daie of Aprill. 1589. Translated out of the French into English, by I. Eliote.						
Author: Frégeville, Jean de.	Political pamphlet	The reformed politicke. That is, An apologie for the generall cause of reformation, written against the sclaunders of the Pope and the League. VVith most profitable aduises for the appeasing of schisme, by abolishing superstition, and preseruing the state of the clergie. Where to is adioyned a discourse vpon the death of the Duke of Guise, prosecuting the argument of the booke. Dedicated to the King by Iohn Fregeuille of Gaut.	Le politique reformé	English from French	Imprinted at London, by Richard Field, dwelling in the Blacke Friers, 1589.	11372	4°; [8], 90, [2] p.	Entered 24 December 1588.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	The contre-Guyse: vwherein is deciphered the pretended title of the Guyses, and the first entrie of the saide family into Fraunce, with their ambitious aspiring and pernitiuous practises for the obtaining of the French crowne.	French original not traced.	English from French	London, imprinted by John Wolfe, 1589.	12506	4°; [96] p.	
France Sovereign, Henr III (1574-1589) Translator: Edward Aggas (?)	Royal edict/Manifesto	Directions from the king, to the gouernors of the prouinces, concerning the death of the Duke of Guyse. Together with the kings letter to the Lord of Taian. Translated out of French into English by E.A.	French original not traced.	English from French	London, printed by Iohn Woolfe, 1589.	13096	4°; [8] p.	Stationer's Register: entered 12 February. [1589].
Anon. Translator: Robert Ashley	Political pamphlet	A comparison of the English and Spanish nation: composed by a French gentleman against those of the League in Fraunce, which went about to perswade the king to breake his alliance with England, and to confirme it with Spaine. By occasion whereof, the nature of both nations is liuely decyphered. Faithfully translated, out of French, by R.A.	Discours politique, très-excellent pour le temps present	English from French	London, printed by Iohn Woolfe, 1589.		4°; [8], 41, [3] p.	Translator's dedication signed: Robert Ashley

Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	The contre-league and ansvvere to certaine letters sent to the Maisters of Renes, by one of the League who termeth himselfe Lord of the valley of Mayne, and gentleman of the late Duke of Guizes traine. Faithfully translated into English by E.A.	La contre ligue	French into English	London, printed by John Wolfe, 1589.	11261	4°; [2], 78 p.	Translation by Edward Aggas (STC). Station's Register: entered to E. Aggas, 26 September [1589].
Author: Frégeville, Jean de.	Calvinist pamphlet	Le politique reforme. Qui est vne apologie povr le general de la reformation, monstrant qu'en icelle n'y a point de heresie, ou chose contraire a l'estat. Contre les calomnies du pape & de la ligue. Avec advis tresvtile pour l'assopissement du schisme, par l'abolission de superstitions en conseruant l'estat du clergé. Avec vn discours sur la mort de monsieur de Guise, poursuivant le subiect du liure. Dedie au Roy, par le sieur de Fregeville du Gaut. Nouuellement imprimé.		French	[London, R. Field], 1589.	11371.5	8°; [8], 136 p.	Place of publication and printer's name from STC. Entered to R. Field, 24 December 1589.
Author: Pseudonym I.L.	Calvinist pamphlet	The birth, purpose, and mortall vvound of the Romish holie League. Describin g in a mappe the enuie of Sathans shauelings, and the follie of their wisdom, through the Almightyes prouidence. By I.L.		English	Imprinted at London, [by T. Orwin] for Thomas Cadman, 1589.	15106	4°; 12 [1] p.	Printer's name from STC. Verse and prose.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	The restorer of the French estate discouering the true causes of these vvarres in France & other countries, and deliuering the right course of restoring peace and quiet to all Christendome: wherein are handled these principall questions touching religion, policie, and iustice: whether it be lawfull to sweare, and keepe promise to heretikes, to force mens consciences		English from French	Imprinted at London, by Richard Field dwellig in the Blacke-Friers, 1589.	11289	4°; [4], 172 p.	Stationer's Register: Entered 14 April [1589] The preface suggests this is by the author of "A discourse upon the present state of France", i.e. Michel Hurault.

		for religion sake, to liue with, and dwell nigh heretikes, to breake the order of succession to the Crowne bycause of religion, or no. Who be schismatikes; and of the chiefe pointcs of religion. How we are to iudge of the schisme in Christendome at this day. Lastly, the conclusion conteining notable admonitions to the clergie, nobles, magistrates, people, and King of France. Translated out of French. Ecclesiæ & reipub. D.						
France. Sovereign Henri III (1574-1589).	Royal edict/manifesto	A declaration of the King, concerning the obseruation of his edicts, of the vnion of his Catholique subiects, to the rooting out of heresie: carrying withall, a putting vp, and burying of all such things as haue beene cmmitted contrarie therevnto, vntill this present, by any of his saide Catholique subiects.		English from French	At Burdeaux [i.e. London, by S.Milanges [i.e. T.Orwin] ordinarie printer unto the King, 1589.	13098.2	4°; 7, [1] p.	Imprint false; actual printer's name and place of publication from STC.
France. Sovereign Henri III (1574-1589).	Royal edict/manifesto	The declarations as vvell of the French King, as of the King of Nauarre. Concerning the truce agreed vpon betwene their Maiesties: and touching the passage of the riuier of Loire.		English from French	At London, printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the black-Friers, neere Ludgate, 1589.	13098.8	4°; 24 p.	Henry III's declaration dated "Saulmur this 24. of April .. 1589"; Henry IV's "Saulmur, the eighteenth of April, 1589". Stationer's Register: Entered 26 May [1589].
France. Sovereign Henri III (1574-1589).	Royal edict/manifesto	The French kinges declaration vpon the riot, felonie, and rebellion of the duke of Mayenne, & the duke and knight of Aumalle, and all their assistantes. Wherunto is adioyned another declaration of the same king, against the tovvnes of Paris, Orleance, Amyens, and Abbeuille and their adherentes. Faithfully translated out of the French.	Declaration du roy sur l'attentat, felonnie & rebellion du duc de Mayenne.	English from French	At London, printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the black-Friers, neere Ludgate, 1589.	13099	4°; 22 p.	Printer's name from STC. Stationers' Register: entered 28 February [1589].
Author: Constable,	Calvinist pamphlet	Examen pacifique de la doctrine des Huguenots. Prouu		English	A Paris [i.e.London, by John	5638.7	8°; [14], 128 p.	Actual place of publication and

Henry 1562-1613.		ant contre les Catholiques rigoureux de nostre temps & particulierement contre les obiections de la response faicte a l'Apologie Ctholique [sic], que nous qui sommes membres de l'Eglise Catholique Apostolique & Romaine ne deurions pas condamner les Huguenots pour heretiques iusques a ce qu'on ait fait nouvelle preuue.			Wolfe], Octob., 1589.			publisher's name from STC. A reply to: Bellarmino, Roberto Francesco Romolo. Responsio ad praecipua capita Apologiae quae falso Catholica inscribitur. Stationer's Register: Entered to J. Wolfe 26 August [1589]
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A true discovrse of the discomfivtre of the Dyke of Avmalle, vvith his trouppes of horsmen in Picardie, by the Dyke of Longveville. Also other troupes of men discomfited in Beausse, by the Lord of Chastillon: together with the king of Nauarre his letters to the inhabitant of Orleans.	Originals not traced.	Englis h from Frenc h	At London, printed by Richard Field, according to the French copies first printed at Tours, 1589.	11291	4°; [4]. 5-21, [1] p.	Stationer's Register: Entered 9 June 1589.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A most sound and perfect discourse, briefly containing the causes and reasons that moued the French king to enter into league with the king of Nauarre, and to vse his forces and helpe against rebelles, and such as sought to vsurpe his estate.		Frenc h from Englis h	At London, printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the Black-Friers, neare Ludgate, 1589.	13102.5	4°; 10 p.	Entered in Stationer's Register, 16 June 1589.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	A politike discourse most excellent for this time present: composed by a French gentleman, against those of the League, which went about to perswade the King to breake the alliance with England, and to confirme it with Spaine.	Discours politique, très excellent pour le temps present	Frenc h from Englis h	London, printed by John Wolfe, 1589.	13101	4°; [4]. 27 [i.e. 41], [3] p.	Copy of STC 13101.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	The vvhole and true discourse of the enterprises and secrete conspiracies that haue bene made against the person of Henry de Valois, most Christian king of Fraunce &	French original not traced	Englis h from Frenc h	London, imprinted by Thomas Purfoote, and are to bee soulde at his shoope without Newgate, ouer against	13103.3	8°; [16] p.	

		Poland. Wherupon followed his death by the hand of a young Iacobin frier, the first day of August, 1589. Whereby the enemies of the Crown, thought to haue reduced & brought all Fraunce to their will & deuotion. Together with the assembly that the king before his death made of the princes of the blood, lordes and gentlemen that were in his armie, with the heads of the straungers, to whom he declared his last will. Englished out of the French copie, printed at Caan in Normandie.			S.sepulchers church, 1589.			
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A true discourse of the most happy victories obtayned by the French King, against the rebels and enemies of his Maiesty. With a particular declaration of all that hath béene done betweene the two armies, during the monthes of September and October, and part of Nouember. 1589. Also of the taking of the suburbes of Paris by the King. Faithfully translated out of French into English, according to the cobby imprinted at Tours. By T.D.	French originally not traced.	Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by John Wolfe and E.White,1589	13143	4°; [22] p.	Stationer's Register: Entered to Wolfe 27 November [1589]. Dedication and verses signed: Luke Wealsh.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A true discourse of the most happy victories obtayned by the French King, against the rebels and enemies of his Maiesty. With a particular declaration of all that hath béene done betweene the two armies, during the monthes of September and October, and part of Nouember. 1589. Also of the taking of the suburbes of Paris by the King. Faithfully translated out of French into English, according to the cobby	French originally not traced.	Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by John Wolfe and E.White,1589	13143. 3	4°; 24 p.	Another issue of STC 13143 with an additional of a preliminary woodcut map (A1) and the titlepage reset to include an additional sentence referring to the map.

		imprinted at Tours. By T.D.						
Anon.	Political pamphlet	A discourse vpon the declaration, published by the Lord de la Noue.		English from French	London, printed by John Wolfe, 1589.	15214	4°; 15, [1] p.	A reply to: La Noue, François de. Declaration de Monsieur de la Noue, sur sa prise des armes. Some copies have the end of Wolfe's name in the imprint masked by the frisket (STC). Stationer's Register: entered 25 January 1589.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	Discours sur la déclaration faicte par Sieur de la Noue.			A Paris [i.e. London, John Wolfe, 1589].	15213.5	[12] p.	
Author: La Noue, François de, 1531-1591.	Manifesto	The declaration of the Lord de la Noue, vpon his taking armes for the iust defence of the townes of Sedan and lametz, frontiers of the realme of Fraunce, and vnder the protection of his Maiestie. Truely translated (according to the French copie printed at Verdun) by A.M.	Déclaration de Monsieur de la Noue, sur sa prise d'armes.	English from French	London, imprinted by John Wolfe, 1589.	15213	4°; 23, [1] p.	
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610.	Royal edict/ Manifesto	A letter written by the king of Nauarr, to the three estates of Fraunce: containin g a most liuely description of the discommodities and dangers of ciuill warre: and a very forcible perswasion to obedience, vnitie, and peace. Together with a breefe declaration vpon the matters happened in Fraunce sithence the 23. day of December. 1588. Translated out of French, by G.R.		English from French	At London, printed by Thomas Purfoote, and are to be sould at his shope against S.Sepulchres Church without Newgate, 1589.	13112	4°; [4], 18, [2] p.	
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610.	Royal edict/Manifesto	A letter written by the king of Nauarr, to the three estates of Fraunce: containin g a most liuely description of the discommodities and dangers of ciuill warre: and a very forcible perswasion to obedience, vnitie, and peace. Together with a breefe declaration vpon the matters happened in Fraunce sithence the 23. day of December. 1588.		English from French	At London, printed by Thomas Purfoote, and are to be sould at his shope against S.Sepulchres Church without Newgate, 1589.	13112.5	4°; [4], 18, [2] p.	Copy of STC 13112.

		Translated out of French, by G.R.						
Author: France, Sovereign, Henri III (1574-1589)	Royal edict/Manifesto	The declarations as vvell of the French King, as of the King of Nauarre. Concerni ng the truce agreed vpon betwene their Maiesties: and touching the passage of the riuier of Loire.		Englis h from Frenc h	At London, printed by Richard Field, dwelling in the black-Friers, neere Ludgate,1589 .	13095	4°; 24 p.	Henry III's declaration dated "Saulmur this 24. of April .. 1589"; Henry IV's "Saulmur, the eighteenth of April, 1589". Stationer's Register: Entered 26 May [1589].
Anon.	Political pamphlet	A true discourse. Of the most horrible murthers and massacres committed by the troupes of the duke of Sauoye, vnder the conduct of Don Amedee bastard, vppon the inhabitants, farmours, and poore laberours, of the byliwicke of Gex, and of those that lie vnder the subiectio of Gillart and Terny, near the city of Geneua, without respect or exception of person, sexe, or age, as wel of men and women, as of poore infants and children. Translated out of French by A.P.		Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by John Wolfe, 1590	5045.5	4°; [8], 18, [12] p.	Stationer's Register: Entered 26 September 1590.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A letter vvritten by a Catholike gentleman, to the Lady lane Clement, the haulting princesse of the League. From Saint Dennis. Translated out of French into English.	French original not traced.	Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by John Wolfe and are to e sold at his shop right ouer against the great South doore of Pauls, 1590.	5400.3	4°; [14] p.	Stationer's Register: entered 4 November 1590.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A true coppie of a letter intercepted lately sent vnto Sixtus Pope [sic] Rome, by those of the Sorbonne at Paris. Translated out of Latin.		Englis h from Latin	London, printed by John Wolfe, 1590.	5744	8°; [2], 19, [3] p.	Stationer's Register: entered 29 July 1590.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A discourse of all such fights, skirmishes, exploites, and other politike attempts which haue happened in France since the ariull of the Duke of Parma, and the ioyning of his forces with the enemies. Wherein is most truelie declared the good successe of the Kings Maiestie, and the manner of the entrenching of	Sommaire discours au vray de ce qui est advenu en l'armée du Roy Tres-Chrestien depuis que le duc de Parme s'est ioint a celle des ennemis.	Englis h from Frenc h	Printed at London : By Thomas Scarlet, dwelling at the signe of the greene Dragon in Adling street, and are to be sold by William Wright, [1590].	11268	4°; 19, [1] p.	Publication date from STC.

		the said Duke with all his forces in a moore, neere vnto the castle of Brou. Trulie translated, and published according to the originall sent by the French King to his embassador heere in England.						
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	The discouerer of France to the Parisians, and all other the French nation. Faithfullie translated out of the French: by E.A.	Le manifeste de la Frane	Englis h from Frenc h	[London] : Imprinted [by Thomas East? for Edward Aggas], 1590.	11272	4°; 13 [i.e. 15].[1] p.	Printer's name conjectures and publisher's name supplied by STC. Station's Register: Perhaps entered to E.Aggas as <i>Le Manifeste de la France</i> on 23 June [1590].
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	An abstract of the proceedings of the French King. The defeating of the Duke of Parmas forces. The preparation of his Maiestie for the reducing of his townes in Normandie. The request of the Leaguers of Roane to the Gouvernor of Diep. And the wofull estate of the citie of Paris. VVritten by a French gentleman to his friend.			London : Printed [by T. Scarlet?] for VV. Wright, 1590.	13126	4°; 6 p.	Printer suggested by STC.
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610.	Royal edict/Manifesto	A briefe declaration of the yeelding vp of Saint Denis to the French king the 29. of Iune, 1590. And also of the taking of the cities of Marcilies and Granoble: with the great misery that Paris is in. Moreouer of the taking of three traitours in the chamber of presence, who had conspired to kill the king, whom God long preserue to his glory and the comfort of his afflicted members in that kingdom.		Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde by William Wright, 1590.	13128	4°; 11. [1] p.	Stationer's Register: entered 10 July [1590]. Includes folding woodcut.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	The coppie of a letter sent into England by a gentleman, from the towne of Saint Denis in France. Wherein is truely set forth the good successe of the Kings Maiesties forces against the Leaguers and the Prince of Parmas power. With the taking of a conuoie of victuals sen by the enemie		Englis h	Imprinted at London, by Thomas Scarlet for Thomas Nelson, 1590.	10004	4°; [2], 12, 15-23, [1] p.	Stationer's Register: entered to W. Wright on 11 September 1590.

		to succour Paris. And the grievous estate of the said citie at this present.						
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	The causes vvhy the French king did pursue the Prince of Parma in his departure from France. With the good successe which his Maiestie had in the said pursute, by discomforting the forces of the Prince of Parma. Together with that which happened since the 27. of Nouembre last, 1590. Whereunto is annexed the kinges Maiesties letter sent to the Lord Marshall de Biron. Published by authoritie.		Englis h from Frenc h	London : printed by Iohn Wolfe, for Thomas Nelson, 1590.	13141. 7	4°; [2], 9, [3] p.	Stationer's Register: Entered to Wolfe 17 December [1590].
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A canticle of the victorie obtained by the French king, Henrie the fourth. at Yvry. Written in French by the noble, learned, and deuine poet, William Salustius; Lord of Bartas, and counsailor of estate vnto his Maiestie. Translated by Iosuah Siluester marchand- aduenturer.	Cantique de la victoire obtenus par le roy, le quatorzième de mars, 1590, à Yvry.	Englis h from Frenc h	At London : Printed by Richard Yardley, on Bredstreete hill, at the signe of the Starre, 1590.	21669	4°; [2], 18 p.	In verse.
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	A recitall of that which hath happened in the kings armie, since the taking of the suburbes of Paris, vntill the taking of the towne of Humflet.	Original French title not traced.	Englis h from Frenc h	Imprinted at London [by T. Orwin] for Tobie Cooke, 1590.	13139	4°; [2], 26, [2] p.	Stationer's Register: Entered 22 January [1590.]
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	The causes vvhy the French king did pursue the Prince of Parma in his departure from France. With the good successe which his Maiestie had in the said pursute, by discomforting the forces of the Prince of Parma. Together with that which happened since the 27. of Nouembre last, 1590. Whereunto is annexed the kinges Maiesties letter sent to the Lord Marshall de Biron. Published by authoritie.		Englis h	London, printed by Iohn Wolfe, for Thomas Nelson, 1590.	13141. 7	4°; [2], 9, [3] p.	Stationer's Register: Entered to Wolfe 17 December [1590].

Anon. Translator: Anthony Munday	Political pamphlet	The coppie of the Anti-Spaniard made at Paris by a French man, a Catholique. Wherein is directly proued how the Spanish King is the onely cause of all the troubles in France. Translated out of French into English.	Coppie de l'Anti-Espagnol	Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by Iohn Wolfe, 1590.	684	4°; 41 [1] p.	Stationer's Register: entered 26 March [1590].
Anon. Translator: Anthony Munday (?)	Political pamphlet	The coppie of the Anti-Spaniard made at Paris by a French man, a Catholique. Wherein is directly proued how the Spanish King is the onely cause of all the troubles in France. Translated out of French into English.	Coppie de l'Anti-Espagnol	Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by Iohn Wolfe, 1590.	684.5	4°; 41 [1] p.	Another (earlier) edition of STC 684. In this edition title page line 3 ends: 'Anti- Spaniard'; quires D-F in same setting as STC 684.
Author: Hurault, Michel, d. 1592	Political pamphlet	Antisixtus. An oration of Pope Sixtus the fift, vppon the death of the late French King, Henrie the third. With a confutation vpon the sayd oration, wherein all the treacherous practises of the house of Lorraine, are largely described and layde open vnto the view of the world, with a briefe declaration of the kings death, and of many other things worthy the noting, which neuer yet came to light before. Translated out of Latin by A.P.		Englis h from Latin	Londini, excudebat Iohannes Wolphius, M. D. LXXXX [1590].	14001 a	4°; 79, [1] p.	In two parts. Part 1 is a 2 September 1589 oration by Pope Sixtus V upon the death of King Henry III, his "De Henrici Tertii morte sermo", here entitled "Max. de Henrici tertii morte, sermo". Part 2, the "Antisixtus", which is anonymous, is a confutation of part 1. Part 2 authorship given to Hurault by STC. Stationer's Register: entered 16 June [1590]. Other two copies listed in the STC.
Anon.	News pamphlet	Newes from Rome, Spaine, Palermo, Geneuæ and France. With the miserable state of the city of Paris, and the late yeelding vppe of sundrie towns of great strength, vnto the king. Translated out of Italian and French into English.	Original French title not traced.	Englis h	London, printed [by J. Wolfe?] for Thomas Nelson, and are to be sold by William Wright, 1590.	21293	4°; 8 leaves.	Partly in verse. Printer's name suggested by STC. Stationer's Register: entered to Nelson 11 April [1590]. One Italian translation (not traced).
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	The true discourse of the wonderfull victorie, obtained by Henrie the fourth, the French King, and King of Nauarre, in a battell against those of the League, neere the towne of Yurie, on the Plaine of Saint Andrew, the fourteent day of		Englis h from Frenc h	At London, printed by Thomas Orwin for Thomas Man, 1590.	13145	4°; [40] p.	A translation, with additions, of "Le vray discours de la victoire merveilleuse obtenue par le roy de france pres d'Yury le 14. de Mars 1590" (STC 13144). The act of parliament referred to in the title was

		March (according to the French account) in the year 1590. Added thereto first, certaine newes that happened since the said ouerthrow of the Duke of Maine. Also an extract of things registred in the Court of Parliament. And further, an acte of Parliament against such as harbour and aide rebells and theeues, helping them to passe and repasse the riuers. Compiled and sent hither by one of the principall officers of the Kings Maiestie.						promulgated 27 January 1590 Stationer's Register: Entered 10 April [1590]
Anon.	News pamphlet	A letter sent by the French King unto Monsieur de le Verune Liefetenant for his Maiestie at Caen in Normandie, concerning the most happy vicotry which he obtained against the Leaguers and rebels in his kingdome, vpon the 14. daie of March last past, according to the Romane computation. Wherein is effectually set forth the truth of the Kings proceeding to the said Battaile, and the true number of both the armies, and of those that were drowned, and taken prisoners in the same. Whereunto is adioyned the late agrément of the Lordes and states assembled in the court of Parliament, holden in Normandie since the said fourtéenth daie of March. 1590. Truely translated according to the French coppie.		English from French	London, printed by I. Wolfe for William Wright, 1590.	13113.5	4°; [2], 14p.	With an added title page (p. [7]): An act of Parliament, for the taking of all the goods of al the Leaguers and rebels, thei [sic] complices and adherents, holden at Caen in Normandie vpon the foureteenth day of March last past. 1590. ... London. Printed by I. Wolfe for William Wright. 1590.
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610.	Royal edict/Manifesto	The oration and declaration of the French King, Henrie the fourth of that name, and by the grace of God, King of Nauarre. Vttered out of his owne mouth, to the lords and gentlemen of his armie, before		English from French	London, printed by Richard Field for Iohn B[owen]. and are to be sold by Humfrey Lownes at the West dore of Paules, 1590.	13114	4°; 6p.	Publisher's name from STC. Translator unknown. Stationer's Register: Entered to J. Bowen 24 August [1590].

		the cite of Paris, the eight day of this present moneth of August 1590.						
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	The proces or vnpardonable crimes committed by the parisians leaguers, who haue beene authors of all the troubles, warres, and calamities in France, and at this present feeling them selues oppressed with miserie, in most humble sort doe seeke and intreat to come unto composition. VVherin all true subiectes may learne to beware, not to resist and rebel against their soueraign, by any allurements of traytours and seditious men.		Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by lohn Wolfe, and are to be solde by Edward White, 1590.	11287. 5	4°; 8 p.	Stationer's Register: entered 23 July [1590].
Anon.	News pamphlet	An excellent ditty made vpon the great victory, vvwhich the French king obtayned against the Duke de Maine, and the Romish rebels in his kingdome, vpon Ashwednesday being the fourth day of March last past. 1590. To the tune of the new Tantara.		Englis h from Frenc h	[London, s.n., 1590]	13135	[1] + 1 p. (sheet+woodc ut)	Place of Publication from STC. Stationer's Register: entered to W. Wright on 10 mARCH 1590.
Author: Henry IV, king of France (1589-1610)	Royal edict/Manifest o	The letters pattents of the Kings declaration for the referring of the generall assemblee of the princes, cardinals, dukes and peeres, as well ecclesiasticall as temporall, the officers of the crowne, the lords, gentlemen, officers and others, vnto the 15. day of March next comming. Also to reclaime his subiects and rebellious townes to his obedience. Published in the Parliament of Caen the 22. of of [sic] December. 1589. Faithfullie translated out of the French copie printed at Caen.		Englis h from Frenc h	At London, printed by Thomas Orwin for Augustine Lawton, dwelling in Maiden lane neere Woodstreete, [1590].	13113	4°; [2], 13, [1] p.	Publication date from STC. Entered 27 December 1589.
Anon.	News pamphlet	True newes, concerning the winning of the towne of Corbeyll by the French king		Englis h	At London, printed [sic] by E. A[l]de and are to be solde [by E.	13146	4°; [2], 5, [1] p.	Printer's and publisher's name from STC.

		from the Prince of Parma. Which was doone on S. Martins euen at night last past. 1590. Sent from Deepe to an English gentleman.			White] at the little North doore of Paules Church at the signe of the Gunne, 1590.			
Anon.	Calvinist pamphlet	The miserable estate of the citie of Paris at this present. With a true report of sundrie straunge visions, lately seene in the ayre vpon the coast of Britanie, both by sea and lande.		English from French	London, printed [by J. Wolfe] for Thomas Nelson, 1590.	19197	4°; 7, [1] p.	Printer's name from STC. Woodcut illustrations on title page. Stationer's Register: entered 24 August [1590].
Anon.	News pamphlet	A breefe description of the batailles, victories and triumphes, atchiued by the D. of Parma, and the Spanish armye. Sent by the King of Spayne, vnder his conduct to the succour of the rebellious Leaguers of Fraunce. Faithfully translated out of French by E.A. according to the French coppie, printed at Paris.		English from French	At London, printed [by Edward Allde] for Edward White, and are to be solde at the little north doore of Saint Paules Church, at the signe of the Gunne, [1591].	332	4°; [2], 17, [1] p.	Printer's name and publication date from STC. Stationer's Register: entered 23 January 1591.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	An answeare to the supplication. Against him, who seeming to giue the King counsel to become a Catholike, induoureth to stirre vp his good subiectes vnto rebellion. Faithfully translated out of French by E.A.	Original French not traced.	English from French	London, printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde at his shop right ouer against the great south doore of Paules, 1591.	664	4°; [40] p.	Stationer's Register: entered 12 May 1591.
Anon. Translator: Edward Aggas	News pamphlet	A most excellent exploit perfourmed by Monsieur de Diguieres, the French kinges lieutenant, vpon the Popes armie which was vnder the conduct of Earle Hercules the Popes nephew. With the taking of Saint Esprite, and the mutiny in Paris. Together with a discourse of the ouerthrow of the Duke of Sauoyes army defeated by the Lord de Diguieres, in the plaine of Pont-Charra, near to Castle Bayard, in the vale of Gresiuodan the eighteenth of September 1591. Printed at Toures by Iames Mattayer printer to the Kings Maiesty,			London, printed by John Wolfe, 1591,	6878	4°; [16] p.	In two parts, register is continuous. Part 2 has separate dated title page that reads: A discourse of the ouerthrowe of the Duke of Sauoyes armie, defeated by the L. de Diguieres, in the plaine of Pont-Charra etc.,. Part 2 is a translation of: Discours de la desfaicte de l'armee du duc de Sauoye: faicte par le seigneur Des-Diguieres en la plaine de Pontcharra, pres le chateau de Bayard, .. le 18. jour du mois de septembre 1591.

		and truly translated into English, according to the same copy.						
Anon.	News pamphlet	Nevves lately come on the last day of Februarie 1591. from diuers partes of France, Sauoy, and Tripoli in Soria. Truly translated out of the French and Italian copies, as they were sent to right honourable persons.	Original not traced	English from French	London, printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold at his shop, ouer against the great South doore of S. Paule, 1591.	11283	4°; 7, [1] p.	Stationer's Register: entered 2 March [1591].
Anon.	Political pamphlet	A true discourse of an ouerthrow giuen to the armie of the Leaguers in Prouince: by Messieurs D'Esdiquieres and Luallette. Translated verbatim out of the French copie, printed at Tours by Iamet Mettayer.		English from French	London, printed by Thomas Purfoot, dwelling in Saint Nicholas shambles within the New-rents, [1591].	11290	4°; [8] p.	Stationer's Register: entered 23 June [1591].
Anon.	News pamphlet	Nevves from Sir Roger Williams. VVith a discourse printed at Rheines [sic] containing the most happie victorie, lately obtained by the Prince de Conty, lieutenant generall ouer the kinges forces, in Aniou, touraine, Maine, Poictu, Berry, Blaysois, Vendomois, Dunois, high and lower Limosin, and Perche, against the rebellious leaguers, enemies to his Maiestie. VVhereunto is annexed the order or agreement of the Court of Parliament, held in Normandy at sundry times, and now lastly confirmed the eighteenth of August, to the vtter abolishing of the Popes authoritie, th taking away of his reuenues, and the burning of his bulles.		English from French	[London], printed by Iohn Woolfe, and are to be sold by Andrevv VVhite, at the Royall Exchange, ouer against the Conduit in Corne-wall, Anno. 1591.	25734	4°; 19 [i.e. 17], [1] p.	Woodcuts include.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	The rodomantades of Captayne Viques, a most proud and insolent person, a traytour to his King, and an enemy to his cuntry, who in the end was slayne in fight vnder the banner		English from French	London, printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde at his shop at the broad South doore of Paules, 1591.	24767	4°; [12] p.	Stationer's Register: entered 4 November 1590.

		of the Leaguers. Wherein is poetically declared howe his ghost meeting with the soule of a great lord called fouterer, one of the Kinges side, whom the sayd Viques had caused most cruelly to be murdered, fell in communication the one with the other. Wherein is expressed, the desire of a bloody minde, and the reward of a false traitour.						
Author: Colynet, Anthony	Historical account	The true history of the ciuill vvarres of France, betweene the French King Henry the 4. and the Leaguers. Gathered from the yere of our Lord 1585. vntill this present October. 1591. By Antony Colynet.		Englis h	Printed at London. [By Thomas Orwin] for Thomas Woodcock, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of the black Beare, [1591].	5590	4°; [8], 549, [3] p.	Printer's name and date of publication from colophon. Entered 3 August [1591].
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610.	Royal edict/Manifest o	A true declaration of the honorable victorie obtained by the French King in winning of Noyan, and ouerthrow of the Duke de Maine his forces. Performed this present moneth of August, 1591. Published according to the copie sent into England to the Lord Ambassadour for France.		Englis h from Frenc h	London, imprinted by Thomas Scarlet, for Thomas Nelson, and are to be solde at his shop ouer against the south dore of Paules, [1591].	13142. 5	4°; [16] p.	Includes articles for the surrender signed by Henry IV, dated 17 August 1591.
Author: Pseudonym R.W.	Political Pamphlet	Martine Mar-Sixtus. A second replie against the defensory and apology of Sixtus the fift late Pope of Rome, defending the execrable fact of the Iacobine frier, vpon the person of Henry the third, late King of France, to be both commendable, admirable, and meritorious. VVherein the saide apology is faithfully translated, directly answered, and fully satisfied.		Englis h from Latin	At London, printed [by Thomas Orwin] for Thomas Woodcock, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the black Beare, 1591.	24913	4°; 48 p.	Entered 8 November [1591]. A translation of and reply to: Sixtus V. De Henrici Tertii morte sermo.
Translator: Edward Aggas	Royal edict/Manifest o	Articles concerning the yeelding of the cittie of Grenoble into the Kings obedience, agreed vpon betweene		Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde at his shop right ouer against	12359	4°; [8] p.	Translator's name stated by STC. Stationer's Register: entered 2 May [1591].

		the Lord Desdiguers, and the committies of the cuntry. Together with the besieging and yeelding vp of Chartres. Faithfully translated out of the French coppie printed at Tours, by E.A.			the great south doore of Paules, 1591.			
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610. Translator: Edward Aggas	Royal edict/Manifesto	Ordinances set forth by the King, for the rule and gouernement of his Maiesties men of warre. Read and published at Caen the 30. of March. 1591. Faithfully translated out of the French coppie printed at Caen by E.A	Original French not traced.	English from French	London, printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde at his shop right ouer-against the great south doore of Paules, 1591.	13116	4°; [8] p.	Translator's name stated by STC. Stationer's Register: entered 8 May [1591].
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610.	Royal edict/Manifesto	The Kings declaration, importing a reuocation of all such letters for ennoblishment, as haue not been verified in the chamber of accountes of Normandy. Also of all such as haue been graunted to such persons as haue or yet do beare armes against his Maiestie, and fauour rebelles. Together with an arrest or decree of the Court of Parliament of Caen, concerning the residence of clergie men vpon their cures, and the warrantise of their tithes. Faithfully translated out of French according to the coppie printed at Caen.		English from French	At London, printed for Edward White, and are to be sold at the little North door of S. Paules Church, at the signe of the [Gun], [1591].	13116.5	4°; [2], 10, [2] p.	Part of printer's address and publication place date from STC.
Anon.	News pamphlet	Nevves out of France for the gentlemen of England. A stratagem most ventrously attempted, and valiantly atchiued by the French King, the 27. day of Iuly. anno Domini 1591. Wherein is desciphered, what trust his royall Maiestie reposeth on the valour of the English, and their duetifull seruice vnto him at all assayes. Newes also touching 16. shippes taken nigh		English from French	Imprinted at London, [by Thomas Orwin] for Iohn Kid and are to be [..., 1591?].	1030.7	4°; [24] p.	Date of imprint and printer suggested by STC.

		the hauen of Deepe, and the discomfiture of the Popes forces transported into France towards the ayde of the Leaguers, both concurring on the 28. of Iuly last past. VVith a report of the princely meeting, and honorable conioyning of the whole power of the French King the sixt day of this present moneth of August, consisting of English, Germane, and his owne people.						
Anon.	News pamphlet	Aduertisements from Britany, and from the Lovv Countries. In September and October.		Englis h	London, printed by John Wolfe, Anno Domini, 1591.	3802.5	4°; [2], 9, [3] p.	Stationer's Register: entered 25 September and 23 October [1591].
Anon.	News pamphlet	Nevves from France. VVhere monsieur de Signiers in the Kings behalfe, most brauely discomfited the armie of the King of Spaine and the Pope, consisting of ten thousand strong, being Neapolitans, Spaniards, Sauoians and Burgonians. With the taking of fifteene ensignes, the number that were slaine, and how many were taken prisoners, which armie was sent to surprize Languedock and Grenoble. This happened the 18. of September. 1591. With some notes and newes from Deruerne in Holland.		Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by Iohn VVolfe, and are to be sold at his shop right ouer against the great south-doore of Paules, 1591.	11282.5	4°; [2], 5, [1] p.	
Anon.	News pamphlet	A iournall, or briefe report of the late seruice in Britaigne, by the Prince de Dombes generall of the French Kings army in those partes, assisted with her Maiesties forces at this present there, vnder the conduct of Sir Iohn Norreis: aduertised by letters here resident from the said prince to the Kings ambassadour, with her Maiesty, and confirmed bylike		Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by Iohn VVolfe, and are to be sold at his shop right ouer against the great south-doore of Paules, 1591.	13156	4°; 14, [2] p.	Apparently a continuation of "Newes sent out of Britayn, and other places on the third of June 1591. to a gentleman of account" (STC 18654.3). Stationer's Register: entered 5 July 1591.

		aduertisements from others, employed in that seruice. Published, to aunswere the slanderous bruites raised of late by some euill affected to that and other good actions, vndertaken against the enemy of Gods true religion.						
Anon.	News pamphlet	Nevves sent out of Britayn, and other places on the third of Iune 1591. to a gentleman of account. Concerning the seuerall exploits of Sir Iohn Norris, Lord Governour of hir Maiesties forces in Brittain, since his departure from England.		Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by Iohn VVolfe, and are to be sold at his shop right ouer against the great south-doore of Paules, 1591.	18654. 3	4°; 8 p.	Stationer's Register: entered 5 June 1591.
Author: Pseudonym L.T.A. Translator: Anthony Munday	Political pamphlet	The masque of the League and the Spanyard discovered. wherein, 1. The League is painted forth in all her collours. 2. Is shoven, that it is not lawfull for a subiect to arme himselfe against his king, for what pretence so euer it be. 3. That but few noblemen take part with the enemy: an aduertisement to them co[n]cerning their dutie. To my Lord, the Cardinall of Burbon. Faythfully translated out of the French coppie: printed at Toures by Iamet Mettayer, ordinarie printer to the king.	La Masque de la Ligue ou L'Hispanole decouvert	Englis h from Frenc h	At London, printed by I. Charlewoode, for Richard Smyth, and are to be sold at his shoppe, at the west ende of Paules, 1592.	7	4°; [4], 27 leaves;	Signed at the end by the translator A.M. Stationer's Register: entered to J.Wolfe 5 June 1591, to Charlewoode 25 February 1592.
Author: Hurault, Michel d.1592 Translator: Edward Aggas	Political pamphlet	An excellent discourse vpon the now present estate of France. Faithfully translated out of French, by E.A.	Discours sur l'estat de France	Englis h from Frenc h	Imprinted at London, by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold at his shop, ouer against the south-dore of Paules, 1592.	14005	4°; [1], 58, [1] leaves.	A translation by Edward Aggas of part 2 of: Hurault, Michel. Discours sur l'estat de France. Stationer's Register: entered 1 May 1592.
Anon.	News pamphlet	The chiefe occurrences of both the armies, from the eight of Aprill, till the seuateenth of the same month. With other intelligences giuen by credible letters.		Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold at the little shop ouer against the great south doore of Paules, 1592.	11260	4°; [2], 5, [1] p.	Stationer's Register entered 21 April [1592].
Anon.	News pamphlet	A iournall, wherein is truely sette		Englis h from	London, printed by	11277. 5	4°; [1], 21, [1] p.	Stationer's Register: entered

Translator: Edward Aggas		downe from day to day, what was doone, and worthy of noting in both the armies, from the last comming of the D. of Parma into Fraunce, vntill the eighteenth of May 1592, according to the French computation. Wherevnto is added other newes from Genes, the which are confirmed by sondry letters of credite. Translated out of French by E. A.		French	John Wolfe, and are to bee solde at his shop, right ouer against the great South doore of Poules, 1592.			20 May [1592].
Anon.	News pamphlet	A discourse of the great ouerthrow giuen by the French King vnto the leaguers in Poictiers, in Februarie last. With the names of all such men of account as were slaine or taken prisoners. Truly translated according to the French coppie, printed by the Kings printer at Tours.	Discours de ce qui s'est passé en Poictou sur la deffaicte du vicomte de la Guyerche, & de toutes ses troupes, durant le mois de fevrier de l'anne presente.	English from French	London, printed [By T. Scarlet] for Cuthbert Burbie, and are to bee solde at the middle shop vnder Saint Mildreds Church, 1592.	13133	4°; [2], 13, [5] p.	Printer's and bookseller's name from STC. Stationer's Register : entered to J. Wolfe 10 March [1592].
Author: Pseudonym R.W.	Political pamphlet	Martine Mar-Sixtus. A second replie against the defensory and apology of Sixtus the fift late Pope of Rome, defending the execrable fact of the Iacobine frier, vpon the person of Henry the third, late King of France, to be both commendable, admirable, and meritorious. Wherein the saide apology is faithfully translated, directly answered, and fully satisfied.		English from Latin	At London, printed [by Thomas Orwin] for Thomas Woodcock, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the black Beare, 1592.	24913 a	4°; [48] p.	A variant (STC 24913) has imprint date 1591.
Anon.	News pamphlet	A discovrse of that which is past, since the kings departure from Gouy, to pursue the prince of Parma: euen til the first of May. 1592. The last letters thereof came on the fourth of the same month according to the English computation.		English from French	Imprinted at London, by John Wolfe, and are to be sold at his shop, ouer against the South-dore of Paules, 1592.	11270	4°; [2], 13, [1] p.	Another issue has the last page numbered '14', and may or may not have "with new additions by later letters." in title..
Anon.	News pamphlet	Good newes from Fraunce. A true discourse of the winning of sundry cheefe townes, castles, and		English from French	At London, printed [by J. Charlewood] for Thomas Nelson, and are to be	11273. 5	4°; [22] p.	Printer's name and date of publication from STC.

		holdes in Fraunce, which are now in the obedience of the French king. VVith the great victorie which his Maiestie hath had in sundry late battels, skirmishes, and pursutes made vpon the enemy at Mouncounter in Brittanie, and elsewhere, since the winning of Chartres, which was in April last. Together with the defeating, drowning, and taking of much victuaile, corne, and money sent by the enemy to the cittie of Paris. Published by authoritie.			solde by William Wright, [1592].			
Anon.	News pamphlet	Newes out of France. On the first of this moneth of March. Wherein is set downe, the retiring of the Prince of Parma, and the great losse that he hath receiued in the same. Also a true report of a great galley that was brought to Rochell on the sixt of Februarie last.		Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be solde by William Wright, 1592.	11285	4°; [2], 5, [3], 5, [1]p.	Part 2 has separate register and pagination and separate dated title page that reads: The true report of a great galley that was brought vnto Rochell, vpon the sixt of Februarie last. 1592. London printed by Iohn VVolfe. 1592.
4°;	News pamphlet	The continual folloving of the French king vpon the Duke of Parma, the Duke of Guise, the Duke of Maine, and their armies. From the seuenteenth of Aprill, vntill the 20. of the same month. Together with the honourable attempts of Sir Roger Williams and his men.		Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by Iohn Wolfe, and Edvard White, and are to be solde at the signe of the Gunne, [1592].	13130	4°; [2], 5, [1] p.	Publication's date from STC. Stationer's Register: entered to Wolfe 27 April 1592.
Anon.	News pamphlet	A true relation of the French kinge his good successe, in winning from the Duke of Parma, his fortes and trenches, and slaieng 500. of his men, with the great famine that is now in the sayd dukes campe. With other intelligences giuen by other letters since the second of May. 1592. A most wonderfull and rare example, the like wherof, neuer happended since the		Englis h from Frenc h	Imprinted at London, by Iohn Wolfe, and are to be sold at his shop, ouer against the South-dore of Paules, 1592.	4°; [2], 20 p.	13147	Stationer's Register: Entered 4 May [1592].

		beginning of the world, of a certaine mountaine in the Ile of Palme, which burned continually, for fiue or six weeks together, with other both fearful & stra[n]ge sightes, seene in the ayre, ouer the same place.						
Anon	Political pamphlet	An ansvere to the last tempest and villanie of the League, vpon the slanders which were imprinted by the same, against the French king. Intituled: A declaration of the crimes whereinto the Catholikes do fall, in taking the king of Nauarre his part. Translated out of French into English by T.H.	Original French title not traced.	English from French	Printed at London, [By T. Scarlet] for Cuthbert Burby, and are to bee solde at his shop vnder Saint Mildreds Church in the Poultrie, 1593.	4°; [10], 75, 78-88 p.	662	Printer's name from STC.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	Remonstrances, to the Duke de Mayne: lieutenant generall of the estate and crowne of Fraunce. Wherein, by way of information, are discovered diuers prieties, concerning the proceedings and affayres of that Duke, and his associates. Trulie translated out of the French coppie, printed at Paris, by Ant: Ch:	French original not traced.	English from French	London, printed by [A. Charlewood for] Iohn Wolfe, Anno. 1593.	5012	4°; 16 leaves.	Printer's name from STC.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	The fleur de luce	Le fleur de lys	English from French	[London, J. Wolfe, 1593].	11088	4°; [28] p.	Caption title on A2 recto has: The flower de luce. Which conteyneth the discourse of a Frenchman deteyned in Paris, vpon the impieties and counterfeatings conteyned in the manifest of Spayne, published in the month of Ianuary. 1593. Title and imprint from STC. Stationer's Register: entered 12 April [1593].
Author: Thémis, Pons de Lauzière, marquis de, ca. 1553-1627. Translator: Aggas, Edward	Political pamphlet	The copy of a letter written by the Lord of Themines, Seneschall of Quercy: to the lord marshall Matignon, the kings lieuetenant generall in	French original not traced	English form French	London, imprinted by John Wolfe, 1593.	15317	4°; 16 p.	Stationer's Register: entered 11 January [1593]. Text in English and French.

		Guyenne, concerning the battaile at Villemure, and the victory atchieued against the enemies of his maiesty. Also, a decree of the court of parliament sittinge at Chaalons, against a rescript in forme of a bull, directed to the Cardinal of Plaisance, and published by the rebels in Paris, in October last. Faithfully done into English by E.A. Hereunto are adioyned, the reportes of certiane letters, of newes out of France, and Sauoya.						
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610.	Royal edict/Manifesto	Articles accorded for the truce generall in France. Faythfully translated out of the French copy; printed by Fredericke Morel: ordinarye printer to the King		English from French	[London], printed by Iohn Wolfe for Andrew White, and are to be solde [in the shop of E. White.] at the signe of the Gunne, at the little North doore of Paules, 1593.	13117	4°; [2], 10 p.	Stationer's Register: entered to Wolfe 25 August [1593].
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610. Translator: Edward Aggas	Royal edict/Manifesto	The French kings edict vpon the reducing of the citie of Paris vnder his obedience. Published the 28. of March 1594. VVhereto is adioyned the said kinges letters patents for the reestablishment of the Court of Parliament at Paris. Also a decree of the saide Court of Parliament of the 30. of March, concerning a reuocation of whatsoever hath bene committed in preiudice of the kinges authoritie, and the lawes of the land. All faithfully translated out of the French copies printed at Paris by Frederick Morell, by E.A.		English from French	London, imprinted by Iohn Windet, and are to be sold by Samuell Shorter, at the great North doore of Paules, 1594.	13118	4°; [2], 18 p.	Stationer's Register: entered to Windet 14 April 1594.
Anon,	Political pamphlet	The copie of a letter sent to Monsieur de Beauuoir lord ambassador for the French king. vvherin is shewed the late attempt of a lesuite who would haue killed		English from French	London, printed by Peter Short and are to be sold at the great north dore of Poules by Iohn Flasket, 1594.	13130a	4°; [6] p.	In English and French.

		the kings Maiestie with a knife.						
Anon.	News pamphlet	The order of ceremonies obserued in the annointing and coronation of the most Christian King of France & Nauarre, Henry the IIII. of that name, celebrated in our Lady Church, in the cittie of Chartres vppon Sunday the 27. of February 1594. Faithfully translated out of the French coppy printed at Roan, by commaundement of the said Lord. by E.A.	L'ordre du cerimonies du sacre et couronnement du Henri III	Englis h from Frenc h	London, imprinted by Iohn Windet, and are to be sold by Iohn Flasket, at the great north doore of Paules, [1594].	13138	4°; 30 p.	Publication's date from STC.
Author: La Noue, Odet de, sieur de Téligny, d. 1618.	Political pamphlet	The profit of imprisonment. A paradox, vwritten in French by Odet de la Noue, Lord of Teligni, being prisoner in the castle of Tournay. Translated by Iosuah Silvester.	Paradoxe que les aduersitez sont plus necessaries que les prosperités	Englis h from Frenc h	Printed at London, by Peter Short, for Edward Blunt, 1594.	15216	4°; [36] p.	In verse. Stationer's Register: entered 25 May 1594.
Author: Le Roy, Louis d. 1577. Translator: Robert Ashley	Political pamphlet	Of the interchangeable course, or variety of things in the whole world; and the concurrence of armes and learning, thorough the first and famousest nations: from the beginning of ciuility, and memory of man, to this present. Moreouer, whether it be true or no, that there can be nothing sayd, which hath not bin said heretofore: and that we ought by our owne inuentions to augment the doctrine of the aucients; not contenting our selues with translations, expositions, corrections, and abridgments of their writings. Written in French by Loys le Roy called Regius: and translated into English by R.A.	De la vicissitude ou varieté des choses de l'universe	Englis h from Frenc h	At London, printed by Charles Yetsweirt Esq. at his house in Fleetestreete neere the Middle Temple gate, 1594.	15488	2°; [130] leaves.	Translator's dedication signed.
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610.	Royal edict/Manifesto	The copie of a letter sent by the French king to the people of Artoys and Henault, requesting them to remooove the forces gathered by	Lettres du Roy portent declaration de la guerre aux villes de pays d'Artoise, Hainaut, d0isle	Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by Peter Short, for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shop vnder	13119	4°; [2], 5, [i.e. 6], [8] p.	

		the king of Spaine, from the borders of France, otherwise denouncing open warre. Also a declaration of the French kings proclaiming open warre against the king of Spaine and his adherents, and the causes him mouing therto.	et autres de la subjection...		S. Peters church in Cornhill, 1595.			
Anon.	Political pamphlet	The decree of the Court of Parliament against Iohn Chastel, scholler, student in the Colledge of the Iesuites, vpon the parricide by him atttempted against the King's person. Also for the banishment of the whole societie of the said Iesuites out of France and all the Kings dominions, withal containing a prohibition, not to send their children to any Colledge of the saide societie. Faithfullie translated out of the French copy printed at Paris, by Iamet Mettayer and Pierre L'huillier, the Kings printers and stationers ordinarie.	Procédure faicte contre Jean Chastel...	English from French	Edinburgh, printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the Kings Majestie, 1595.	5067	4°; 11, [1] p.	Attributed to E. Pasquier.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	The decree of the court of Parliament against Iohn Chastel, scholler, student in the Colledge of the Iesuites, vpon the parricide by him attempted against the kings person. Also for the banishment of the whole societie of the said Iesuits out of France and al the kings dominions, withal containing a prohibition, not to sende their children to any colledge of the saide societie. Faithfullie translated out of the French copy printed at Paris, by Iamet Mettayer and Pierre L'huillier, the kings printers and stationers ordinary.	Procédure faicte contre Jean Chastel...	English from French	London, printed by Peter Short, for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shop vnder S. Peters Church in Cornhill, 1595.	5066	4°; 3-11, [1] p.	Attributed to E. Pasquier. Stationer's Register: 28 December 1594. Variant edition of STC 5067.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	A pleasant satyre or poesie: wherein is discovered the Catholicon of Spayne, and the chiefe leaders of	Satyre Menippée de la vertu du Catholique d'Espagne	English from French	At London, printed by the widow Orwin for Thomas Man, dwelling in	15489	4°; 159, 170-216, [2] p.	Signed by the translator on 2A1v: T.W., i.e. Thomas Wilcox?.

		the League. Finelie fetcht ouer, and laide open in their colours. Newly turned out of French into English.			Pater-noster row at the signe of the Talbot, 1595.			
Author: Hurault, Jacques. Translator: Golding, Arthur	Political pamphlet	Politicke, moral, and martial discourses. Written in French by M. Iaques Hurault, lord of Vieul and of Marais, and one of the French kings priuie Councell. Dedicated by the author to the French-kings Maiestie: and translated into English by Arthur Golding.	Trois livres des offices d'estat.	English from French	London, printed by Adam Islip, 1595.	14000	8°; [16], 495, [1] p.	
Author: Pseudonym Borget, Juvenall	Political Pamphlet	The diuels legend. or: a learned cachephochysme containing the confession of the leaguers fayth : wherein doctour Pantaloun, and Zanie his pupill, doo teach that all hope ought to be grounded on the puissant King Phillip of Spaine, and vpon all the happie apostles of the holy league, and that they ought not to doo as the Brytans, English-men, and Protestants doo; which beleeeue in God onely, harkening rather to the voyce of Iesus Christ, than vnto their holy Father the Pope. Composed in Rome by the reuerend Father Iuuenall Borget, and sent vnto the gentlemen of England by Charles Cyprian. Translated according to the French coppie.		English from French	Printed at London, [By J. Danter for] Thomas Gosson, and are to be sold at his shop by London Bridge gate, 1595.	3388	4°; [24] p.	Printer's name from STC.
Author: La Popolinière, Lancelot-Voisin, sieur de, 1541-1609. Translator: Edward Hoby	Historical account	The historie of France: the foure first bookes.	Histoire de France	English from French	London, printed by Iohn Windet [and sold by him], 1595.	11276	2°; [12], 253, [3] p.	A translation, by Edward Hoby, of books 1-4 of: La Popolinière, Lancelot-Voisin. L'histoire de France. In the Huntington copy, the second Earl of Bridgewater has signed the name "Tho: Dannett" to the dedication. Colophon reads: London printed by Iohn Windet dwelling at Powles Wharfe at the signe of the Crosse Keyes,

								and are there to be soulede, 1595.
Author: Pontaymeri, Alexandre de. Translator: Edward Aggas	Political pamphlet	A state discourse vpon the late hurt of the French king. Faithfully translated out of French, by E.A.		Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed [by E. Alde] for E. Aggas, dwelling nere the west end of Saint Paules Church, 1595.	20106. 5	4°; [2], 6 p.	Printer from STC. French original from the Paris, 1594, edition (Cioranesco 17767)
Anon.	News pamphlet	The honorable ouerthrow of the duke of Sauoyes troopes neere Aigubelle in Sauoye, the 19 of July. 1597. Also the ouerthrow of companies of the enemies, at Villefranche the fourth of August. 1597. Tr. out of French. By W. P[hilip?]		Englis h from Frenc h	London, E. Alde f. C. Burbie, [1597.]	5043.5	4°; no pagination provided.	
Author: Serres, Jean de	Historical account	An historical collection, of the most memorable accidents, and tragicall massacres of France, vnder the raignes of Henry. 2. Francis. 2. Charles. 9. Henry. 3. Henry. 4. now liuing. Containing all the troubles therein happened, during the said kings times, vntill this present yeare, 1598. Wherein we may behold the wonderfull and straunge alterations of our age. Translated out of French into English.	Recueil des choses mémorables avenues en France sous le règne de Henri II, François II, Charles IX, Henri III, et Henri IV	Englis h from Frenc h	Imprinted at London, by Thomas Creede, 1598.	11275	2°; [12], 24, 35- 310, 72, 75- 216, 213-286, 289-292, [4] p.	The first booke of the historie of the last troubles of France, vnder the raignes of Henry the third, and Henry the fourth now liuing" (caption title) begins new pagination on 2A1r. It is a translation of: Matthieu, Pierre. Histoire des derniers troubles de France.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	The mutable and wauering estate of France, from the yeare of our Lord 1460, vntill the yeare 1595. The great battailes of the French nation, as well abroad with their forraigne enemies, as at home among themselues, in their ciuill and intestine warres: with an ample declaration of the seditious and trecherous practises of that viperous brood of Hispaniolized Leaguers. Collected out of sundry, both Latine, Italian, and French historiographers.		Englis h from Frenc h	London, printed by Thomas Creede, 1597.	11279	2°; [4], 148 p.	Stationer's Register: entered 11 May [1597].
Author: Henry IV, King of	Royal edict/Manifest o	The Kings edict and declaration vpon the former		Englis h from	London, printed by R[ichard]	13120	4°; 66, [2] p.	Stationer's Register entered 20 April [1599].

France, 1553-1610.		edicts of pacification. Published in Paris at the parliament held the xxv. of Februarie. 1599. At Paris, by the printers and stationers ordinary to the King. 1599. Cum priuilegio dictæ Maiestatis.		French	F[ield] for Thomas Man, 1599.			
Anon.	Political pamphlet	The oracle of Savoy: containing the predictions made for truth to the Duke of Sauoy, as concerning the Estate of Fraunce, in the month of August. Anno 1600. with a discourse worthy note, vpon the same subiect. According to the cobby printed in French, both at Lyons and Paris.	French original not traced.	English from French	London, printed [by Edward Allde] for William Ferbrand, and are to be solde at his shop at the signe of the Crowne neere Guild-hall gate, 1600.	5044	4°; 8 p.	Printer's name from STC. Includes "The prognostication made to the Duke of Sauoy by his Deuiner, for the month of August, in the yeare. 1600," in verse.
Author: Henry IV, King of France, 1553-1610.	Royal edict/ Manifesto	The Kings declaration and ordinance, containing the cause of his warre against the duke of Sauoy, warning his subiects, that they carrie not armes against his Maiestie: and a commandement to all true Frenchmen, to retire themselues to his obedience. According to the copi printed at Paris by Iames Mettayer, ordinarie printer to the King, 1600.		English from French	London, imprinted [by S. Stafford] for Iohn Flasket, 1600.	10345	4°; 36 p.	Stationer's Register: Entered 17 September [1600]. Printer's name from STC.
Author: Danett, Thomas, 1566-1601.	Historical account	A continuation of the historie of France, from the death of Charles the eight where Comines endeth, till the death of Henry the second. Collected by Thomas Danett Gentleman.		English	London printed by Thomas East for Thomas Charde, 1600.	6234	4°; [8], 148 p.	Intended as a continuation of the history of Philippe de Comynes, which Danett had translated.
Anon.	News pamphlet	A true discourse of the occurrences in the warres of Sauoy, and the warring of the forte of Mont-millan: by the most Christian King of France and Nauarre Henrie the fourth. Also the number of cannons and munition by his Maiestie taken in the said Mont-millan. Wherevnto i annexed, the oration of Sir Philip Cauriana, knight:		English from French	Imprinted at London, [By R. Read] for Walter Burre, at the signe of the Flower de Luce and Crowne, in Poules Church-yard, 1601.	21802	4°; [16] p.	Stationer's Register entered 27 January [1601]. Printer's name from STC.

		pronounced to the most Christian Queene Ma[r]y de Medicis, at her departure out of Tuscan to goe into France. Faithfully translated out of French by E.A.						
Author: Serres, Jean de 1440?-1598. Translator: Grimeston, Edward	Historical account	A general inuentorie of the history of France, from the beginning of that monarchie, vnto the treatie of Veruins, in the year 1598. Written by Ihon de Serres. And continued vnto these times, out off the best authors which haue written of that subiect. Translated out of French into English, by Edward Grimeston Gentleman.	Inventaire général de l'histoire de France	English from French	Printed at London, by George Eld, 1607.	22244	2°; [24], 209, [5], 152, [26] p.	Supplemented by Grimeston, mostly from works of Pierre Matthieu.
Author: Goulart, Simon	Historical account	Admirable and memorable histories containing the wonders of our time. Collected into French out of the best authors. By I. [sic] Goulart. And out of French into English. By Ed. Grimeston. The contents of this booke followe the authors aduertisement to the reader.	Histoires admirables et mémorables de notre temps.	English from French	Imprinted at London, by George Eld, 1607.	12135	4°; [12], 146, [2] p.	
Author: Colynet, Antony	Historical account	French vvarrs civil, and tragicall, historically collected declaring the rebellious attempts of the two treacherous Dukes of Guise and Demaine, and the rest of their confederates in that faction; with the renowned acts and valorous achievements of the English generals and captaines, assistants in that seruice unto the French King. Viz. The Lord Willowby, sir Iohn Norris, Sir Roger Williams and the late victorious Earle of Essex, at the commande of the most Christian and roiall Queene Elizabeth.		English	Printed at London, [s.n.], 1609.	5590.5	4°; [4], 308, 313-316, 309-312, 317-549, [1] p.	Retains the 1591 colophon which reads: Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin, for Thomas Woodcock, and are to be sould at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the black Beare. 1591.

Appendix 3: Works translated and published in England about/with references to Henry of Navarre (1610-1700)

Identity of author or translator if known	Category of source	Full title	Original title/ French edition/s	Lang.	Printer and date of publication	STC 2 nd edn	Format and pages	General notes
Author: Pelletier, Thomas	Political pamphlet	A lamentable discourse, vpon the paricide and bloody assasination: committed on the person of Henry the fourth (of famous memorie) King of France and Navarre. Translated out of the French copy, printed at Rouen by Peter Courant, and the copie of Paris, printed by Francis Huey, with permission.	Discours lamentable sur l'attentat commis en la personne de très-heureuse mémoire Henri IIII.	English from French	London, printed [by John Windet] for Edward Blunt and William Barret, 1610.	1956 5	4°; [4], 11, [1] p.	Often attributed to Pierre Pelletier, but "plus vraisemblant l'oeuvre de Thomas Pelletier"-- Bibliothèque nationale cat.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	The hellish and horrible counsell, practised and vsed by the lesuites, (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 Henr the fourth, the late French king. Sent to the Queene Regent, in answere of that impudent pamphlet, published by Peter Cotton lesuite, in defence of the lesuites, and their doctrine; which also is hereunto annexed. Translated out of French.		English from French	London, printed [by John Windet] for T. B[ushell] and are to be sold by Iohn Wright at his shop in Christs-Church-gate, 1610.	5862	4°; [24] p.	A reply to and translation of "Lettre declaratoire de la doctrine des peres Jesuites" by Pierre Coton (a different translation from that in STC 19000). Printer's and publisher's names from STC. Stationer's Register: Entered to T. Bushell 13 August [1610].
Author: Owen, Thomas	Political pamphlet	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 Iesus, to the Queene Regent of France. Translated out of French into English. Touching the imputation of the death of Henry the IIII, late K. of France, to priests, lesuites, or Catholicke doctrine.		English from French	[Saint Omer : English College Press], Permissu superiorum. M.DC.X. [1610]	1900 0	8°; 47, [1] p.	
Anon.	Political pamphlet	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.	French original not traced.	English from French	At London, printed [by T. Purfoot] for Iohn Budge, and are to be sold at his shop in Brittain Burse, An. 1610.	1314 7	4°; [4], 9, [3] p.	STC 13147.7 is a copy of this item. Printer's name from STC.
Author: Skory, Edmond	Historical account	An extract out of the historie of the last French King Henry the fourth of famous memorie, according to an autentique [sic] copie written in his life time. To which is added his being murdered with a knife in his coach in Paris the 14.		English	Imprinted at London, by Robert Barker, printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie. Anno 1610. To be sold at Britaine Burse, [1610].	2262 9	4°; [32] p.	

		of May last 1610. styl. Rom. With a appreciation [sic] for the safeguard and happines of our most gracious soueraigne lames the first, &c. Seene and allowed by authoritie.						
Anon.	Political pamphlet	The terrible and deserued death of Francis Rauilliack, shewing the manner of his strange torments at his execution, vpon Fryday the 25. of May last past, for the murder 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 authoritie. 1610.	French original not traced.	English from French	At London, printed [by R. Blower and E. Alde] for William Barley, and Iohn Baylie, 1610.	2075 5	4°; [2], 16 p.	STC 20755.5 is a copy of this item. Stationer's Register: perhaps entered to W. Barley 30 May [1610].
Author: Morillon, Claude	News pamphlet	The funerall pompe and obsequies of the most mighty and puissant Henry the fourth, King of France and Nauarre, solemnized at Paris, and at S. Dennis, the 29. and 30 daies of Iune 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. All faithfully translated out of the French copy printed at Roan by Petit .	Pompe funèbre du grand Henry, roy de France et de Navarre.	English from French	London, printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold in Pauls Church-yard [by L. Lisle], at the signe of the Tygers head, 1610.	1313 6	4°; [28] p.	Bookseller's name from STC.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	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. Printed in the Kings Palace.		English from French	London, printed [by John Windet?] for Iohn Budge, and are to be solde at his shoppe at Britaines Bursse, 1610.	1314 0	4°; [16] p.	Printer's name conjectured by STC.
Anon. Translator: Anthony Hoskins	Political pamphlet	The apologies of the most Christian kinges of France and Navarre, Henry IV and Lewis XIII. As also of the most worthy bishop of Paris, for the fathers of the Society of Iesus. Translated out of Latin into English, Saint Omer, English College Press, 1611.		English from Latin	[Saint-Omer : English College Press], Permissu superiorum. M. DC. XI. [1611].	1315 4	4°; 28 p.	Place of publication, printer and translator from STC.
Author: Matthieu, Pierre, 1563-1621	Historical account	The heroyk life and deplorable death of the most Christian King Henry the fourth. Addressed to his immortall memory; by P: Mathieu, counseller and historiographer of France. Translated by Ed: Grimeston, Esquire.		English from French	London, printed by George Eld, 1612.	1766 1	4°; [8], 135, 134-189, 183-190, [1], 170, [30] p.	"A panegyre: containing the life and heroyck deeds of the most Christian King Henry the fourth" (caption title), a translation by Josuah Sylvester from an unknown source, begins new pagination on leaf 2D1r.

								"The tropheis of the life and tragædie of the death of Henry the Great .Translated .by los. Syl." (3B2r), in verse, source unknown, 3B2a-end.
Author: Grimeston. Edward	Historical account	A continvion of the generall history of France: from the death of King Henry the Fovrth, surnamed the Great, vnto the conclusion of the peace made before Montpellier, in the year 1622. Collected out of the best authors that have written of this subiect. By Edvvard Grimeston Serjeant at Armes.		English	London, printed by G. Eld and M. Flesher, 1624.	2224 6.5	2°; [4], 335, [5] p.	A separate reissue of Grimeston's continuation of Serres, Jean de. Inventaire general de l'histoire de France, which follows Pierre Matthieu's continuation. Also issued as part of de Serres' A generall historie of France ... 1624 (STC 22246).
Author: Serres, Jean de, 1540-1598	Historical account	A generall historie of France, written by lohn de Serres vnto the yeare .1598. contynued by Peter Mathew, to the death of King Henry: the fourth, in the yeare 1610. And againe continued unto the peace concluded before Montpellier in the yeare 1622. By Edward Grimston Sarian at Armes.		English from French	London, printed by G. Eld and M. Flesher, 1624.	2224 6	2°; [20], 539, 538-1209, [1], 335, [17] p.	
Author: Vignolle	Historical account	Abridgement of the life of Henry the Great, the fourth of that name: King of France and Navarre. Translated out of French.		English from French	London, printed [by M. Flesher] for Nath: Butter, 1637.	1312 5	8°; [4], 20, [2] p.	Printer's name from STC. Stationer's Register: entered to Butter and N. Bourne 13 February. [1637].
Author: Pérèfixe de Beaumont, Harduoin de, b. 1605	Historical account	The history of Henry IV. surnamed the Great, King of France and Navarre. Written originally in French, by the Bishop of Rodez, once tutor to his now most Christian Majesty; and made English by J. D.	Histoire du roy Henry le Grand	English from French	London, printed by James Cottrel, for Samuel Speed, at the signe of the Rainbow near the Inner Temple-gate in Fleet-street, 1663.	2031 34	8°; [16], 400 p.	Other three copies printed in 1663 are listed in the STC.
Author: Parry, James of Poston	Political pamphlet	Two horrid murders; one, committed upon the person of Henry the fourth of France. The other upon his son in law, Charles the first of England. Of the various and lasting tortures endured by the murtherers of the one, (extracted out of Mr. Howell his history of Lewis the 13th) And of the easy short punishments undergone by the murtherers of the other. Though for the atrocity of the fact, they were not inferior to the first, but considering all circumstances, and complication of treasons went beyond him. By		English	London, printed for Henry Broom at the Gun in Ivie-lane, 1661.	2020 17	4°; [4], 12 p.	

		James Parry of Poston, Esquire.						
Author: Edward, Stephen d.1706	Historical account	A discourse concerning the original of the povder-plot: together with a relation of the conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth and the persecutions of the Protestants in France to the death of Henry the Fourth. Collected out of Thuanus, Davila, Perefix, and several other authors of the Roman communion; as also reflections upon Bellarmine's notes of the church, &c.		English	London, printed for John Leigh at the Sign of the Blew-Bell by Flying-horse-Court in Fleet-street, 1674.	R19105	4°; [8], 196 p.	
Author: Marvault, Pierre, b.1608.	Political pamphlet	The last famous siege of the city of Rochel. Written in French by Peter Meruault, a citizen of Rochel, who was in the city from the beginning of the siege until the rendition of it. And now translated into English for the benefit of those that do not understand the French tongue.		English from French	London ,printed for John Wickins at the White Hart over against St. Dunstans Church in Fleet-street, 1679.	R1396	8°; [16], 223, [1]; 85, [3] p.	Another copy is listed in the STC.
Anon.	Political pamphlet	A true and perfect relation of the new invented way of persecuting the Protestants in France. Together with the manner, time and place, when and where it first begun to act: as also an exact account after what manner it is pursued contrary to the priviledges granted to them by King Henry the 4th. Lewis the 13th. and this king now reigning.		English	[London], published by Richard Janaway, 1682].	R6238	2°; 4 P.	Imprint from colophon.
Anon.	Historical account	The true history of the Duke of Guise. Extracted out of Thuanus, Mezeray, Mr. Aubeny's Memoirs, and the Journal of the reign of Henry the third of France. Together with some remarks upon the same.		English	London , printed and are to be sold by R. Baldwin, 1683.	R23195	4°; [6], 30, [2] P.	
Author: Maimbourg, Louis de 1610-1686.	Historical account	The history of the League. Written in French by Monsieur Maimbourg. Translated into English according to His Majesty's command. By Mr. Dryden.	Histoire de la Ligue	English from French	London, printed by M. Flesher, for Jacob Tonson, at the Judge's-Head in Chancery-lane near Fleetstreet, 1684.	R25491	8°; [60], 524, 731-966, 49, [43] p.	Includes index.
Author: Benoist, Élie, 1640-1728.	Historical account	The history of the famous Edict of Nantes: containing an account of all the persecutions, that have been in France from its first publication to this present time. Faithfully extracted from all the publick and private memoirs, that could possibly be procured. ... Printed first in French, and now translated into English. With Her Majesties royal priviledge.	Histoire de l'édit de Nantes	English from French	London, printed for John Dunton at the raven in the poultry, MDCXCIV, [1694].	R4319	4°; [2], 101 p.	Translator's dedication signed: Cooke.
Author: Deageant, Guichard, d. 1645.	Political pamphlet	Memoirs of the most secret transactions and affairs of France, from the death of King Henry VI [sic]. to the beginning of the ministry of the Card. Duke de Richilieu. To which is added, a		English from French	London, printed, and are to be sold by E. Rumball, at the Post-house in Russel-street, Covent-garden, 1700.	R174458	12°; [6], 175, [1] P.	A reissue of: The memoires of Monsieur Deageant. London, 1690 (Wing D490) with a new title page.

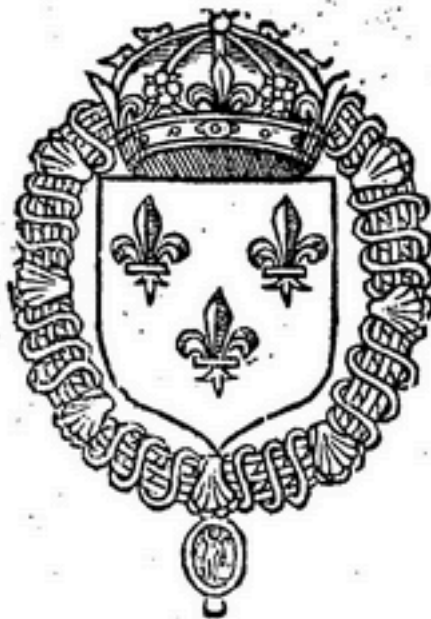
		particular relation of the Archbishop of Embrun's voyage into England, and his negotiation for the advancement of the Roman Catholick religion here; together with the Duke of Buckingham's letters to the said archbishop about the progress of that affair, which happen'd the last years of King James I. his reign. Translated from the French original.						
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Appendix 4: Frontispiece of the pamphlet entitled *The Kinges Edict for the Reuniting of his Subjectes in the Catholique, Apostolique and Romish Church* (Roan: Martin Mesgissie, 1585; London: Richard Jhones, 1585)

THE KINGES EDICT, FOR THE

Reuniting of his Subiectes in the Catho-
lique, Apostolique and Romish
CHVRCHE.

Read, published, and registred in the Court of Parliament at Roan, the 23. of Iuly, 1585. Page 1

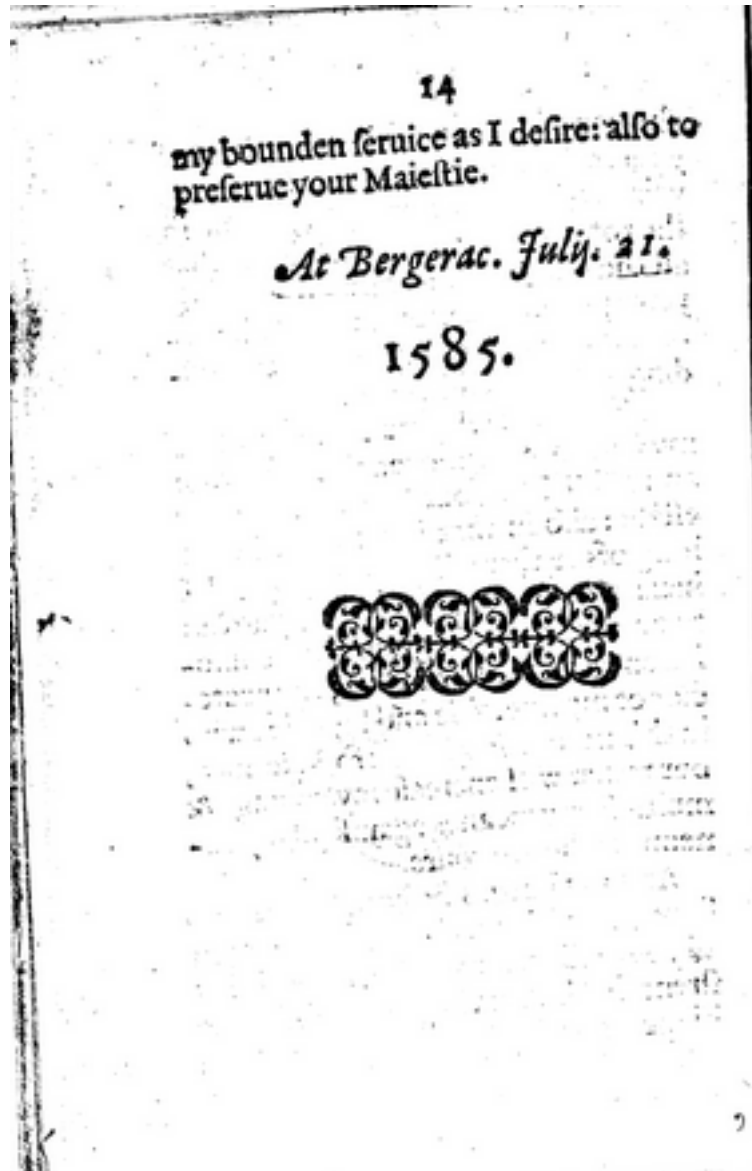


Imprinted at Roan by Martin Mesgissier, the
Kinges Printer, 1585.

With Priuiledge.

And Imprinted at London by Richard
Jhones, the 27. of Iuly, 1585.

Appendix 5: Final pages of *A Letter Written by the King of Navarre unto the French King concerning his innocencie, against the sclaunders of his adversaries* (London:George Robinson, 1585) and of *Déclaration du roy de Navarre sur les calomnies publiées contre lui et sur les protestations de ceux de la ligue qui se sont eslevez en ce royaume* (1585)



proteste faux, s'il a iamais rien conceu de mal contre la personne du Roy, contre son Estat, contre les subiets de toutes qualitez de quelque Religion qu'ils soient: Si iamais il a basti son dessein sur son tombeau, si iamais il minuta en son esprit violence aucune contre la Religion Romaine, ou contre les Catholiques. Dieu aussi, duquel il attend la benediction, la bien-vueillance, & la faueur, contre ceux qui sans occasion le pourchassent sa ruine, sous ombre de son nom, remuent ce Royaume, réuersent tout ordre, ruinent le peuple, veulent despoiller le Roy de son Estat.

Fait à Bergerac le dixieme iour de Iulij mil cinq cens quatre vingts cinq.

Signé

H E N R Y.

Et plus bas


Lallier.

Appendix 6: Frontispiece of the pamphlets entitled *A Briefe discourse of the merueylous victorie gotten by the King of Nauarre, against those of the holy League, on the twentieth of October 1587* (London: John Wolfe, 1587)


Henry IV, King of France.
A
**Briefe discourse of the
merueylous victorie gotten
by the King of Nauarre, against
those of the holy League, on the
twentieth of October.**
1587.

*Both in English, and in French
as it was printed in Fraunce.*

**Whereunto is added as soone as it
came to my hand since the first Im-
pression, The true copie of a Let-
ter sent by the King of Nauarre to
his Secretary at Rochil, aswel in con-
firmation of the victorie against the
Duke Ioyeuse, as also the ouer-
throw that the Switzers
gane to the Duke
of Guise.**

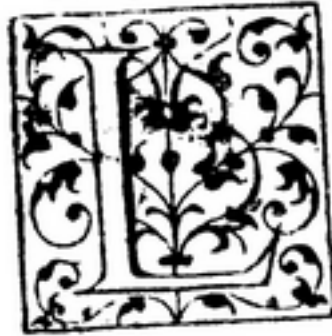


L O N D O N
*Printed by Iohn Wolfe dwelling in
Distaffe Lane neare the signe of
the Castle. 1587.*



Discours, sommaire de la Miraculeuse victoire, obtenue par le Roy de Nauarre, contre ceux de la Ligue, le vingtiesme d'Octobre.

1587.



LE Roy de Nauarre prenoit son chemin vers son armée estrangere par l'abord des Prouinces qui luy sont fauorables, & pour cest effect auoit à passer les riuieres de Drougne, & de l'Isle.

Monfieur de Ioyeuse auoit chargé de luy empêcher ce passage à quelque peril que ce feust, pensant que luy def-faiçt par vne raisonnable consequence, l'armée estrangere ne pourroit subsister.

Le dict Sieur Roy, assisté de Messieurs le Prince de Conde, Comte de Soisson, se resoult de passer. Ledit Sieur de Ioyeuse de l'empêcher, renforcé de plusieurs compagnies de gens-d'armes, que le Roy luy auoit enuoyées.

Le dict Sieur de Ioyeuse prend son logis à Barbezieux de puis à Chalays. Le Roy de Nauarre à Archiac. Et puis à Monlieu, & lieux prochains, resolz tous deux de gagner le passage de la Drougne, & sur tout le logis de
Coutras

Appendix 7: Frontispiece of *The order of the ceremonies observed in the annointing and coronation of the most Christian King of France and Navarre, Henry the III. of that name, celebrated in our Lady Church, in the cittie of Chartres vppon Sondag the 27. of February 1594. Faithfully translated out of the French cobby printed at Roan, by commaundement of the said Lord, by E.A* (London: John Windet, 1594)

The Order of Ceremonies obserued
in the annointing and Coronation of the most Christian King of France & Nauarre, HENRY the III. of that name, celebrated in our Lady Church, in the Cittie of Chartres vppon Sondag the 27. of February 1594.

Faithfully translated out of the French cobby printed at Roan, by commaundement of the said Lord. by E.A.



L O N D O N

Imprinted by Iohn Windet, and are to be sold by Iohn Flasket. at the great North doore of Paules.

Appendix 8: Frans Porbus le Jeune, *Henry IV*, (ca. 1610)



Appendix 9: Colophon included in the pamphlet entitled *Advertissement to the King of Navarre, to unite him selfe with the king and the Catholique faithe. Beeing in trueth a very slanderous, false and seditious libel, against the said King of Navarre and other Christian princes. Truly translated according to the coppie printed in French (1585)*



To the Reader.



Before thou enter into this discourse (Gentle Reader) I am to admonish thee of certaine speciall poyntes, whereof I would desire thee to haue some regarde. First as concerning this Pamphlet, it is made as an Epistle to a very modest and dutifull Prince, written by the KING of Navarre.

The Epistle

NAVARRÉ, to the King his soueraigne Lord, as concerning the slanders published against him &c. 1585.

And heerin, by many needlesse shifts and palpable cauilles, he laboreth to inuicid against the saide King, because of his Christian Religion, and for that he wil not stoupe to the man of Roome. In which windlasses, he dooth but waste time, with high woordes and termes of his grace, against those who with all humilitie, are content to beare the heauie yoke for their maisters sake, which the rudenes of the time laieth vpon them, and God hath appointed to make triall of his Children.

Secondly, for the contempt he maketh of Religion, and aduaucing of his inuentions and traditions of men, lately condemning the Christians, who are true onely to the woord of God, contained in the olde and new Testament, and

who will beleue no other doctrine, though an Angell should reueale it from Heauen: I doubt not but his childish, grosse and absurd reasons, will be very safely perceiued, and specially of the learned, who knowe that better wine neuer comes from such vessells, nor greater reasons from such fencelesse cauillers, therefore rather to be pitied for their folly, then enuied, because we will shewe more Christian charitie.

Lastly where he inuicideth against our Cuntry of ENGLAND, and entreteth into matters about my reach: I must leaue them to the Iudgement of such, who are better acquainted with such high poyntes, albeit I beleue them to be heere false, and vttered vpon a malicious stomack. What els is in this lewd and slanderous Pamphlet, of bad nature (as it is all) or hurtfull to any, as I should be loth, I leaue it to the good consideration

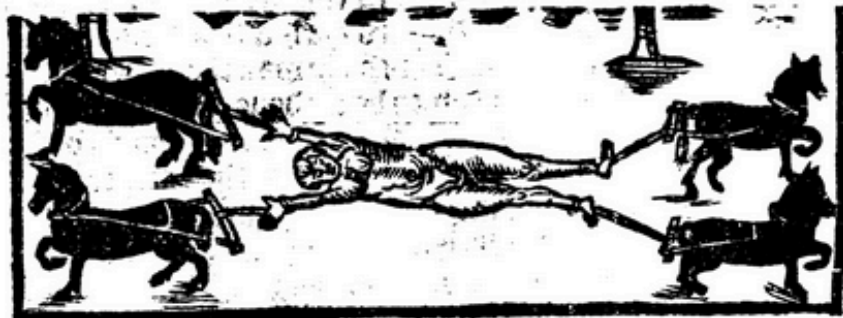
sideration of such, who dayly behold the mallice of Sathan and his ministers, against the godly and well inclined, and therefore to ioyne with me in praier, that God wil either soone amend them, or end them.

FINIS.



Appendix 10: Engraving included in the pamphlet entitled *The terrible and deserved death of Francis Ravilliack, shewing the manner of his strange torments and his execution, upon Friday the 25 of May last past, for the murder of the late French king, Henry the fourth. Together with an abstract out of divers proclamations, and edicts, now concerning the state of France. As it was printed in French (London: Richard Blower and Edward Allde, 1610).*

II
 mented in the **Brazen Bull**, of the **Tyrant**
Phalares. But now to come to the finishing by
 of his life, and that the last torture, might in
 severity equal the first, they caused foure

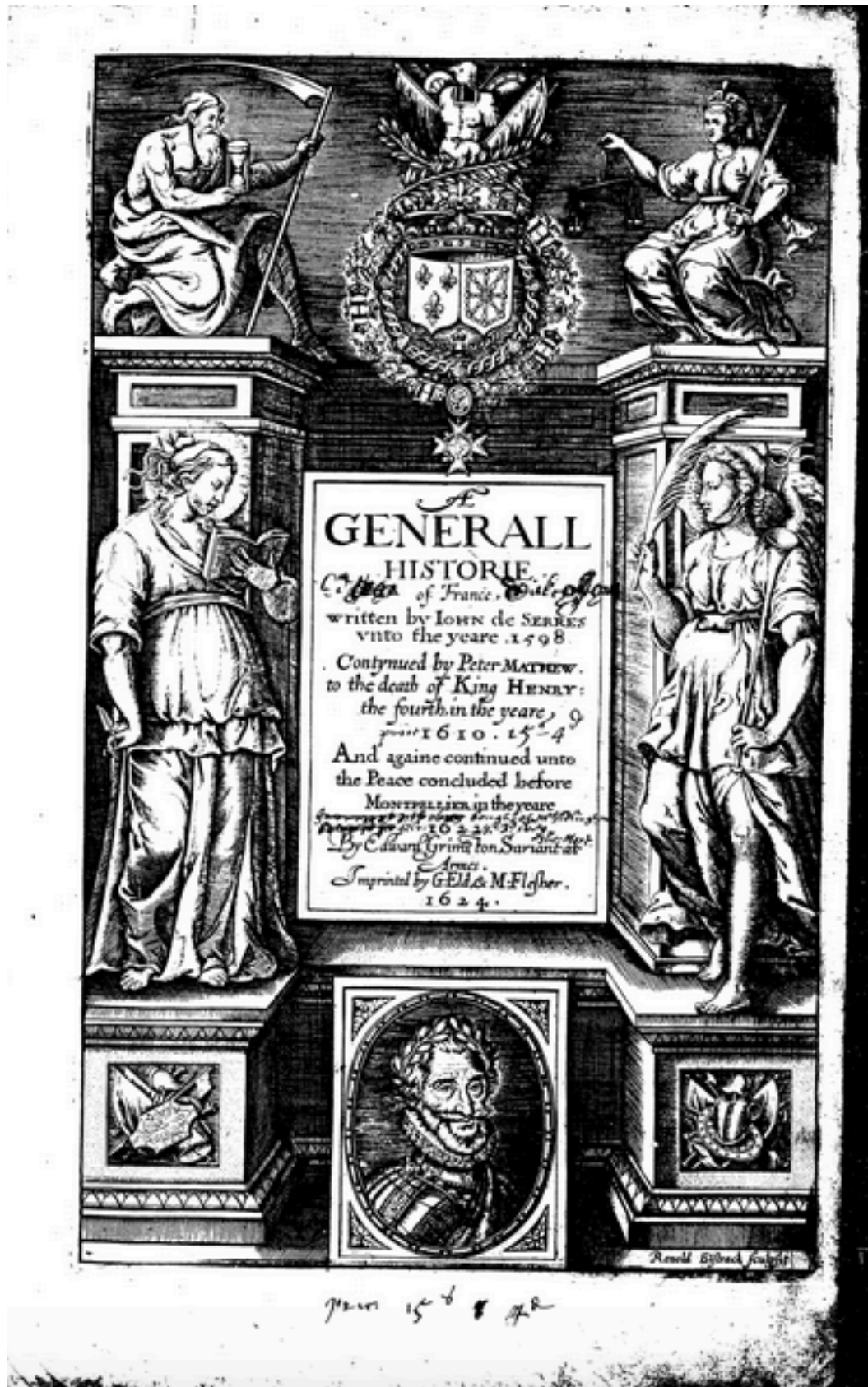


strong hozes to be brought to teare his body
 in peeces, & to seperate his limbes into foure
 quarters, where being ready to pay his last pu-
 nishment, he was questioned againe to make
 knowne the truth, but he would not and
 so died without speaking one word of God,
 or remembering the daunger of his soule.

But so strongly was his flesh and ioynts
 knit together, that of long tunc, these foure
 hozes could not dismember him, nor any way
 teare one ioynt from the other, so that one of

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Appendix 11: Frontispiece of *A generall historie of France written by John de Serres vnto the yeare 1598 ; continued by Peter Mathew to the death of King Henry the Fourth in the yeare 1610 ; and againe continued unto the peace concluded before Montpellier in the yeare 1622 by Edward Grimston* (London: George Eld ad Miles Flesher, 1624)



Appendix 12: *Henry IV en Hercule Herculeus terrassant l'Hydre de Lerne cad La ligue Catholique*, portrait depicted by the atelier of Touissant Dubreil (ca. 1600)



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The verye trueth of the conference betwixt the Queen Mother and the Prince of Condé (1562)

The whole and true discourse of the enterprises and secrete conspiracies that have bene made against the person of Henry de Valois, most Christian king of Fraunce and Poland Wherupon followed his death by the hand of a young Jacobin frier, the first day of August, 1589. Whereby the enemies of the Crown, thought to have reduced and brought all Fraunce to their will and devotion. Together with the assembly that the king before his death made of the princes of the blood, lordes and gentlemen that were in his armie, with the heads of the straungers, to whom he declared his last will. Englished out of the French copie, printed at Caan in Normandie (London: Thomas Purfoote, 1589)

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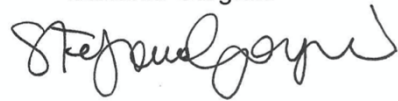
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Milan, 16.10.2020

I declare that I have referenced all resources and aids that were used and assure that the paper is authored independently on this basis.

Stefania Gargioni

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Stefania Gargioni', written in a cursive style.