

European news culture during the English Revolution:

Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres (1650-1660)

Abstract

This paper analyses a little known London newspaper which appeared every week between 1650 and 1661, and which is remarkable for being published in French, as *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*. The aim is to use this little-known journal to develop new avenues of enquiry regarding print culture in early modern Europe, and to argue that, despite on-going interest in seventeenth century journalism, and repeated claims about the need to understand the European context of the English revolution, scholars have been strangely dismissive of this extraordinary journal. My suggestion will be that *Nouvelle Ordinaires* raises important issues about the commercial, confessional and political forces which influenced the flow of texts across state borders, as well as about novel practices relating to the translation of texts for distribution and consumption on a Europe-wide scale, all of which can be addressed by assessing its audience, its message and its purpose, not least in terms of the newspaper's multi-vocality.

On 18 July 1650 there appeared the first issue of a new four-page London newspaper, which subsequently appeared almost uninterrupted every Thursday until it was shut down by the Restoration regime in January 1661. What makes this particular title remarkable is that it was published *in French*, under the title *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*, and the aim of this paper is to use this little-known journal to develop new avenues of enquiry regarding print culture in early modern Europe. My aim is to suggest that, despite on-going interest in the press and journalism, and despite repeated claims about the need to locate the English (or indeed British) revolution within a broader European context, scholars have been rather slow to explore the European dimensions of England's news

revolution, and strangely dismissive of this extraordinary newspaper. It has been mentioned only briefly by historians of either English or French journalism, one of whom argued that it was ‘safe and dull’ (Frank), while another claimed that it merely parroted other journals, made little impact, and ‘gave every indication of being... an English Puritan newspaper translated almost as an afterthought’ (Knachel).¹ Like scholars working on the earlier decades of the seventeenth century, however, Joad Raymond has demonstrated the importance of taking seriously – as contemporaries evidently did – the importance of European news, and the continental news that appeared in English gazettes, and the contention of this paper will be, since news was central to the political culture of the English revolution, and since our appreciation of England’s news revolution needs to be placed in a European context, it is necessary to think not just about how European news was marketed and received within England, but also about the possibility that *Nouvelles Ordinaires* was actually a serious and important newspaper, which served to connect English and European affairs, and one which raises important issues for historians of early modern journalism.² In part, these revolve around the vexed issue of the intended and likely market for seventeenth-century newsbooks, but they also relate to a much less well-explored topic: the movement of political and polemical texts across state borders, and the forces and imperatives which influenced such flows – commercial, confessional and political – as well as the emergence of new practices relating to the translation of texts for distribution and consumption on a Europe-wide scale. This is something that has become a topic of much greater significance for scholars in recent years, not least in terms of the nature and significance of international news networks and the political and diplomatic forces to which they were subjects, both before

and after the development of printed news, as well as in terms of the audiences for and consumption of political intelligence.³ Although these issues were clearly not created by the development of printed gazettes, corantos and newsbooks, and could easily be explored in relation to oral and scribal modes of communication which remained vital throughout the early modern period, their importance was brought into sharper focus by the development and intensification of the print revolution. What follows, therefore, builds upon these scholarly interests, and analyses *Nouvelles Ordinaires* in terms of its audience, its message, and its purpose, and the goal is to demonstrate that its value lies in shedding light on the ways in which newspapers could be addressed to *multiple* audiences across Europe. In addition, however, the article argues that this ‘multi-vocality’ provides an important way of developing an understanding of the ways in which attempts could be made to engage in cross-border propaganda, with specific titles being utilised as a means of undertaking informal ‘diplomacy’ that was both cultural and political, elite and popular. What will become clear is that *Nouvelles Ordinaires* opens up new avenues of research not just about the rise of printed news, but also about the intersection between domestic news and European print culture, and about the part that news – and more particularly semi-official news – could play in international and transnational political culture in the mid-seventeenth century.

I

As with many seventeenth century newspapers, relatively little is known about the organisation and orchestration of *Nouvelles Ordinaires* beyond the identity of its printers

and publishers. Its guiding light was probably its publisher, Nicholas Bourne, one of the great newsmongers of the seventeenth century, and it was the last great project of someone who had pioneered English journalism since the early 1620s, often in association with the more famous Nathaniel Butter.⁴ For most of its long life the paper was printed by another well-known figure, William Dugard, a prominent schoolmaster as well as printer during the 1640s and 1650s, before being switched, in its dying days, to the presses of Mathew Inman and John Macock. Its editor, however, is more obscure, and as with so many early gazettes little is known about who provided the specific news stories from a wide variety of different locations, and who was responsible for crafting each issue. He may have been a Frenchman called Jean de L'Ecluse, but he may just as easily have been John Cotgrave, the son of the great French lexicographer, Randle Cotgrave, and someone who had experience of journalism in French, as the editor of an earlier London paper called *Le Mercure Anglois*.⁵ Beyond this it can be said with confidence that *Nouvelles Ordinaires* was no mere translation of another newspaper, but rather an independent venture.⁶ Close scrutiny reveals that both its text and its coverage were different from the English government newspaper, *Mercurius Politicus*, and that although there were almost certainly moments where it copied from Nedham's paper, and shared some of his sources – especially for military news – it had different correspondents and contained different reports.⁷ And this makes sense in terms of its intended audience, which more obviously lived on the Continent than in England, and in terms of the fact that in mainland Europe it would also have been competing with *Politicus*, which evidently circulated fairly widely.⁸

This is not to say that *Nouvelles Ordinaires* was only aimed at people across the channel, and it was certainly available in London, perhaps for the burgeoning community of Huguenots.⁹ It was initially sold by a consortium of stationers, which included Francis Tyton and Mary Constable, the latter of whom operated ‘à l’enseigne de la clef dans la salle de Westminster’ (issue 2), but more important than either of these was Bourne, who sold the paper from his shop near the Royal Exchange. However, it can also be shown to have been sold across Europe, with some success. This is because in May 1651 Bourne complained that the work was being counterfeited by ‘un certain Imprimeur Anglois’ at The Hague, who was said to be an enemy to the republic, and also because Bourne explained that readers could find genuine copies at the shop of Jean Veely, a bookseller ‘à l’enseigne des chroniques de Holland’ (issue 44).¹⁰ It also seems likely that it circulated across France, and copies in the possession of the Bibliotheque Nationale were previously owned by the Minim Monastery in the Place Royale, having been donated in the seventeenth century by a Parisian called Descombes.¹¹ Other copies survive in The Hague and in Grenoble, while very few copies survive in places like the British Library. The provenance of the copies used in researching this article – a complete run in the Beinecke Library at Yale – is uncertain,¹² but it can be demonstrated that the work was at least occasionally read and referred to by Cardinal Mazarin and by men like the Baron de Greisy in Turin.¹³

This question of audience can also be approached textually, however, in terms of both coverage and tone. What is striking, therefore, is that *Nouvelles Ordinaires* dealt almost exclusively with *British* affairs. Indeed, its detailed coverage meant that it was, in many ways, a mirror image of *Politicus*, which concentrated so heavily on European

news, and which offered little in terms of domestic news, particularly regarding Parliament and the Council of State. As such, it is possible that, while the audience may have been both continental *and* English, in terms of merchants, expats and exiled royalists, some of its detailed information may have been most directly relevant to English readers in particular.

In some ways, therefore, the target audience seems to have involved English merchants who were based abroad. The paper certainly provided details about merchant ships that had arrived in London, with their countries of origin and their cargoes.¹⁴ It alerted readers to the appearance of a new book which would be of particular use to the merchant class – John Marius’s *Advice Concerning Bills of Exchange* – although this perhaps reflected the fact that it too was published by Nicholas Bourne.¹⁵ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* also provided chapter and verse about the committees and councils of trade (including the names of their members and secretaries, the composition of their sub-committees and the business with which they dealt), and it also published the texts of acts of parliament relating to trade (such as the Navigation Act and an act relating to the transport of commodities of December 1656). In addition, it also provided details about the charter of the East India Company, its elections and the travails of its members. Beyond this, it also reported the zeal of the regime to punish those – like the former regicide, Colonel Edmund Harvey – who had been engaged in fraud as customs commissioners, and devoted a fair amount of space to the celebrated case of George Cony, the merchant who was prosecuted for refusing to pay customs duties in November 1654.¹⁶ Although ‘mercantile’ news was intrinsically ‘international’, in the sense that merchants of all kinds would have benefited from practical information about the

political policies and machinations which impacted upon their commercial interests and daily transactions, at least some of the detail offered in *Nouvelles Ordinaires* would have been of particular interest and significance to English traders.¹⁷

More generally, the intended English readership was probably royalist exiles who wanted to keep up with events in Britain, or at least English readers abroad who are likely to have been taken aback by recent developments, and who may have inclined towards, and been prevailed upon to support, the cause of Charles Stuart. Here *Nouvelles Ordinaires* was incredibly thorough. It provided extremely detailed coverage, for example, of parliamentary elections, with the names of those returned, and even biographical details about men like Humphrey Mackworth (governor of Shrewsbury). It also offered close readings of the disputes and disturbances which took place at polls across the country. Particular attention was paid, for example, to the contest involving John Barkstead and Daniel Blagrave at Reading in 1656, and reference was made to suspicions that some of those who had cast votes had been in arms with the king, and ought to have been disqualified. A lengthy report was also made of the ‘grande difficulté’ in the election for the West Riding of Yorkshire, not least as a result of the arrival of Captain Bradford at the head of a party of 400 Quakers.¹⁸ In addition, *Nouvelles* also provided details about, and the texts of, many acts of parliament, including the Acts of Oblivion and Indemnity, the act establishing the army committee, and the act for the sale of delinquents’ estates, as well as the act abolishing titles of honour granted by Charles I since January 1642, all of which appeared as part of a wider process of reporting fairly scrupulously on business that was being conducted in Parliament.¹⁹ Special issues – entitled *Nouvelles Extraordinaires* – were produced to outline the arrangements under the

new constitutions of the 1650s: the Instrument of Government (1653); and the Humble Petition and Advice (1657). The paper even reported in some depth about legal cases that were being tried at the Old Bailey. One reader paid particular attention – even if only by means of marks in the margin – to stories about the powers that were given to Cromwell's Major-Generals, the military governors who were appointed to oversee the implementation of godly discipline as well as administrative rectitude across provincial England.²⁰

Indeed, the paper also went to some lengths to concentrate on material that would have been of particular relevance to royalists who were interested in their own affairs and those of their friends, as well as in the fate of their estates and their chances of returning home. In addition to crucial pieces of legislation, therefore, it printed lists of notable delinquents, and provided details about the trials of leading royalists, the latter of which were put in a European context by explaining that they represented retaliation for the killing of the English agent in Spain, Anthony Ascham, who was said to have been assassinated on the orders of Charles Stuart in May 1650. It printed orders that were passed requiring royalists to leave London, and material that would have been useful for those who wanted to take the Engagement, to petition, to return to England and to compound for their delinquency, in terms of the processes and the people involved.²¹ It gave evidence about the proceedings relating to an Act of Indemnity, and about which kinds of people were excluded, just as its coverage of the Act for the Settlement of Ireland in 1652 made clear who would be excluded from pardon there. And it provided evidence about the sale of delinquents' estates, and about the cases of a great many specific individuals who had

sought to recover sequestered estates, or who had had their property confiscated, not least men like Sir John Stawell and Lord Craven.²²

Of course, the likelihood that *Nouvelles Ordinaires* was intended, at least in part, for English readers at home and abroad sits awkwardly with the fact that it was produced in French, but this seems explicable by the fact that this was not the only audience that its publisher and editor had in mind. English merchants and royalists, of course, were scattered across the Continent, and not all of them found France to be a conducive home, at least not all of the time. As such, it seems likely that French was chosen for its value as an – perhaps in some senses *the* – international language, at least for audiences beyond those who had a command of Latin. Some of the newspaper's references, therefore, were designed for people who lacked familiarity with England, its recent history and its ways. The first issue made perfectly clear that *Nouvelles Ordinaires* was intended – at least in part – for ‘nations étrangères’, and that it was written in a language which was comprehensible ‘par tout l’Europe’. As such, things like the complexities of the legislative process – and the various stages through which draft bills went in the House of Commons – were explained in ways that would probably not have been necessary for most English readers, and some locations were described for those who were unfamiliar with English places and terminology.²³ Southwark, for example, was said to be ‘de l’autre côté du pont de cette ville’ (issue 325), while the Guildhall was described as London’s ‘hôtel de ville’ (issue 409).²⁴ In other words, the paper’s coverage suggests that it was intended for specific but fairly diverse audiences, and as such its purpose echoed that of Bourne’s earlier work, the *Mercure Anglois*. In the prospectus with which the latter was launched in 1644, Bourne stressed that his new venture was intended for ‘all merchants *and others*’ who were

‘desirous weekly to impart *beyond seas*, the certain condition of affaires here, and of the proceedings of the war’.²⁵

II

This ‘multi-vocality’ is a neglected aspect of early modern news and polemic, even though it goes to the heart of crucial but extremely perplexing issues relating to the intended and actual audiences for such gazettes and mercuries. This is notoriously difficult territory for historical analysis, and a wealth of recent scholarship on the reading and reception of texts has arguably only gone some way towards enhancing our understanding.²⁶ Crucially, very little attention has been paid to the possibility that news texts, like other products of the print revolution, were likely to have been consumed by different kinds of people simultaneously, that they might have been appreciated differently by different people, and that this would have been understood by authors, editors and publishers alike.²⁷ In this regard, part of the the value of *Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres* is that it, while its format was very similar to other printed newspapers, involving a compilation of stories from various locations, it also serves to bring such issues into stark relief. This is because, much more obviously than a title like *Mercurius Politicus*, it was evidently designed to cross the borders between different European states; to acknowledge that the ‘public’ for whom information about English affairs was likely to be of interest was extremely diverse and dispersed; and to find ways of presenting the news in ways that recognised how different constituencies were likely to have different interests and aspirations. The challenge for those involved, in other

words, was to use a single text to report on English affairs, and on the English regime's interactions with continental powers – in terms of imperial, diplomatic and military encounters – in ways that were persuasive to continental governments, English exiles and Europe's merchants alike.

The key to this strategy lay not so much in the newspaper's format, but rather in the selection and presentation of its stories. Something that is very noticeable is the fact that, while Bourne's paper was clearly loyal to the interregnum government, it lacked the overt republicanism of the *Mercurius Politicus*, and devoted considerable energy to emphasising the orderliness, stability and moderation of successive regimes during the 1650s. This meant that, much more obviously than Marchamont Nedham's official government newspaper, *Nouvelles* emphasised that action was taken across Britain against religious radicals, including Ranters – 'gens desbauchés et de mauvaise vie' – like Thomas Tany (issue 19), Quakers ('trembleurs') like George Fox and James Nayler, and other insolent 'pilliers de cette secte frénétique' (issue 248), as well as disaffected soldiers and sectarians like Lawrence Clarkson and Vavasor Powell. Such individuals were recognised as a threat, but treated as a problem that was being dealt with fairly effectively, and *Nouvelles* tended to refrain from giving their ideas the oxygen of publicity, and instead stressed that they did not find widespread support and that troublemakers were often won over and neutralised.²⁸ One particularly detailed account documented Cromwell's response to an appeal by the Socinian, John Biddle, for religious toleration, which made it perfectly clear that the protector had refused to grant protection to anyone whose views were considered to be blasphemous.²⁹ In addition, attention was also paid to the Blasphemy Act, to plans to restore order to the church, and to efforts

aimed at ensuring the reformation of manners and the observance of the Sabbath, and at effecting the propagation of the Gospel.³⁰ Indeed, emphasis was continually placed not just on religious moderation – as with the glowing obituary for Archbishop James Ussher, a ‘personnage fort grave et ancien, et tres fameus’, and the respectful coverage of his state-sponsored funeral – but also on attempts to achieve religious harmony, not least in a special issue devoted to the creation (and composition) of a committee for the approbation of ministers (April 1654).³¹ In addition, the editor challenged those who saw in the dissolution of the Rump the death-knell of the republic, drawing attention to the speed with which a new Parliament was nominated, as well the smooth transition to the protectorate, and the paper consistently emphasised the constitutional propriety and business-like behaviour of successive parliaments.³² It also stressed popular satisfaction at the investiture of Cromwell in October 1657, which was said to have been met by ‘acclamation et cries de joie’, and with chants of ‘longue vie à son Altesse et la continuation de son Gouvernement’.³³ The paper even claimed, somewhat less credibly, that Cromwell’s Major-Generals proved popular, that they acted reasonably and equitably, and that the aim in Ireland was not ‘d’extirper toute la nation’, but rather to act with ‘la clémence et le pardon’. A positive spin was even put on the transplantation of Irish Catholics to Connaught.³⁴ Subsequently, in late 1658 and early 1659, the paper also wrote glowingly of Richard Cromwell, and printed many of the loyal addresses that were presented to him.³⁵

This stress on the popularity and stability of the regime was clearly devised not just with merchants in mind, but also as means of addressing enemies, including moderate and pragmatic royalists as well as foreigners. It was mirrored, therefore, in consistent attempts to

document the succession of European diplomats who made their way to London, and to emphasise the respect shown to the republic and protectorate by European powers. In December 1655, indeed, a special issue was devoted to the terms of the Anglo-French treaty.³⁶ Such reports were contrasted, moreover, with the difficulties faced by royalists. This was partly about demonstrating the efficiency with which the regime in England dealt with threats to security, and responded to plots, rebellions and assassination attempts, and partly about documenting English military victories in Scotland and Ireland, something which was done at length and in depth. In February 1656, for example, the editor felt able to boast that the royalist cause in Scotland, which had once been so strong, was now utterly lost, and that the common people north of the border were happy to be delivered from their former rulers, and to be living under a just and fair regime. In April 1656, meanwhile, it was noted that, while the Irish continued to demonstrate ‘leur ancienne disposition à rébellion’, their efforts had been undermined by the removal of rebel leaders, ‘par la juste main de Dieu’.³⁷

Beyond this, attempts were made to emphasise the social, financial and diplomatic difficulties faced by the exiled Stuarts, and by ‘le prétendu Roi d’Ecosse’ (‘pretended king of Scotland’). This involved making claims about divisions amongst royalists – English and Scottish exiles were said to be engaged ‘en mortelle et continuelle querelle’ (issue 300) – as well as about popular hostility to the exiles, and about the negative response to Charles II from the people of Paris (‘la haine du people de Paris est extrêmement grande contre le prétendu Roi d’Ecosse’ (issue 103)).³⁸ This also explains the coverage given to the foreign language editions of books by John Milton, to the European reaction to them, and to the difficulties encountered by those with whom he engaged in debates, including Salmasius

and Alexander Morus, against whom there was said to have been a popular backlash. In June 1651, therefore, it was suggested that

la réponse faite par ledit Sr Milton au livre injurieux du Sr de Saumaise y est généralement applaudie, comme tres docte & fort à propos, non seulement par les amis de notre République, mais même par les plus grands ennemis; & que la reyne de Suede (laquelle avoit fair venir audit pais ledit Sr de Saumaise, & lui avoit donné pension, depuis la publication de sondit livre) aiant leu ladite réponse du Sr Milton, lui avoit non seulement donné son approbation en public, mais memes ne pouvoit plus souffrir ni voir led Sr de Saumaise & avoit envoié ordre en Hollande de lui faire tenir grand nombre de copies de ladite response.³⁹

In addition, the newspaper also strove to highlight the financial hardships that royalists faced, and the difficulties that they encountered securing support from European powers, and it was said that Charles II had little money and little hope of effecting his plots and ‘cabales’ (cabals).⁴⁰ In the summer of 1653 it was noted that royalists had failed to make common cause with the House of Orange, that their position in France was increasingly perilous, and that their ambassadors – like Thomas, Lord Wentworth in Denmark – faced an uphill struggle and had ‘peu d’esperance de succez’.⁴¹ Again and again, in other words, the editor of *Nouvelles Ordinaires* emphasised the disappointed hopes of exiled royalists, even to the point of mocking how debauched celebrations about imminent victories – based upon ideas about ‘des grands tumultes et brouilleries imaginaires, qu’ils voudroient persuader au monde être à present à Londres’ – proved to be premature.⁴²

Where this ended, of course, was with very clear attempts to damage the reputation of royalists, whatever their status. Charles II's supporters at Bruges were dismissed as men 'de fortunes desespérées' in November 1656, and notice was also taken of Lucy Walter, one of the king's mistresses; of her bastard son, the Duke of Monmouth; and of the king's decision to grant her a pension of 5,000 francs.⁴³ References were continually made to the popish inclinations of the king's supporters, and when Godfrey Goodman, the former bishop of Gloucester, died in March 1656 the editor pounced on evidence of his Catholicism, by saying that this merely confirmed suspicions about the Caroline bishops. It was claimed, therefore, that Goodman '*a confirmé à sa mort l'opinion qu'on avoit toujours euë de lui & de divers autres de sa robe, savoir qu'ils étoient Papistes*'.⁴⁴ More importantly, of course, such stories and allegations focused on the court, and on both Charles II and the Duke of York. Attention was paid to divisions between Charles and Prince Rupert, who '*étoient tombez en grande querelle*' (issue 205); to the fact that the king was forced to travel incognito; and to his tendency to make extravagant and empty promises, as well as to engage in foolish boasting '*comme s'ils avoient tout le monde à leur commandement*' (issue 361).⁴⁵ In May 1653, the paper drew attention to the king's attempt to persuade the Pope to assist in securing military and financial support from '*les Princes Chrétiens pour son rétablissement*', in return for promises about toleration for Catholics, saying that he had offered '*de permettre la Religion Papistique par tout l'Angleterre, l'Ecosse, & l'Irlande*'. Similarly, it also drew attention to the links between the exiled court and the Jesuits in Paris.⁴⁶ The Duke of Gloucester, meanwhile, was said to have been consorting with Jesuits as a confessed papist in December 1654, even in the hope of being made a cardinal, while Charles II was

said to have held meetings with Jesuits in Cologne in April 1656. The Duke of York's chaplain was said to have delivered a sermon about how Charles I was martyred 'pour la pureté & vérité de la Religion Chrétienne contre des Hérétiques' in February 1656 (issue 299), which made it possible to gauge his popish inclinations, and it was eventually said that Charles himself had confided in the Queen of Sweden that he was seeking instruction regarding a conversion to 'la Religion Papistique' (issue 310).⁴⁷

III

By contrasting the viability of successive English regimes with royalists' lack of credibility, as well as their debauchery, factiousness and Catholicism, those responsible for *Nouvelles Ordinaires* can ultimately be shown to have done more than merely recognising that, in the conditions of the 1650s, it was necessary to engage with English readers abroad, particularly those moderate and Protestant exiles who might be persuaded to forswear Charles Stuart and to accommodate the republic and protectorate. Indeed, it seems clear that another part of the aim was to promote and defend the English government and to undermine its enemies in the eyes of European audiences. Readers of all kinds were made to think about the veracity of the news that they consumed, and on more than one occasion the paper responded directly to reports that were being peddled on the Continent. It corrected 'fables' that had been published 'pour amuser le peuple' (issue 135), confronted 'faux bruits' that were circulating in Rotterdam about the success of Scottish royalists (issue 175), and challenged a story in the Brussels gazette which involved a 'malicieuse calomnie' which described the English as heretics and infidels

(issue 424).⁴⁸ Thus, while Royalists were targeted to undermine their morale, their hopes for the future, and their faith in the king and his court, European readers were addressed to convince them about the respectability and stability of interregnum regimes, and to disabuse them of any notions they had about the potential for working with the Stuarts. As such, the paper may be thought to have involved a covert form of diplomacy, and it is striking that in April 1652 Mazarin pondered the implication of news – reported in ‘the Nouvelles Publiques de Londres’ – that ‘the English commonwealth is on good terms with the states of Holland’.⁴⁹ This seems to have been a reference to reports regarding audiences for, and conferences with, the Dutch ambassadors in London, as well as to stories that Dutch magistrates responded coldly to the arrival of the Leveller, John Lilburne, in order to maintain ‘une bonne intelligence avec la République d’Angleterre’.⁵⁰ The term ‘diplomacy’ seems appropriate, in other words, because the strategy underpinning *Nouvelles Ordinaires* involved not just defending and promoting English regimes of the 1650s, but doing so at least partly for a European audience, and one which was probably known to include members of European political elites.

What makes all of this particularly intriguing is evidence that *Nouvelles Ordinaires* was not so much a commercial venture as a quasi-official newspaper, with strong ties to the regime in Whitehall. Its printer, Dugard, had become a trusted government printer in 1649, and the text was said to be produced ‘by authority’. Crucially, it also survived the dramatic Cromwellian purge of the newspaper industry in 1655, which otherwise left only Nedham’s two official papers in circulation.⁵¹ More importantly, when John Pell, the English diplomat in Switzerland, pleaded with secretary of state John Thurloe in 1656 that ‘the gazetteer may be admonished to write with more

civility', his complaint about the treatment of the Duke of Savoy was clearly aimed at *Nouvelles Ordinaires* rather than *Politicus*.⁵² Indeed, in May 1658, Pell explicitly complained about a specific issue of Bourne's paper, which contained references to the massacres of Protestants in Piedmont, and expressed concern that these reports would cause offence to Baron de Greisy in Turin, who it was thought might 'take occasion to do that poor people some great mischief'.⁵³ It seems at least plausible, moreover, to suggest that *Nouvelles Ordinaires* represented the views of 'moderates' within the republic and protectorate, and those most keen on 'healing and settling'.

As such, the *Nouvelles Ordinaires* provides striking evidence not just about the ways in which news texts could be produced in one country, translated into another language and transported across Europe in order to reach very different audiences, but also about how they fed into a broader news culture, and how they could be deployed as diplomatic weapons in European political life. The importance of Bourne's paper lies, in other words, in the fact that it was not merely a *commercial* venture, like the *Mercure Anglois*; in the fact that it was a precursor of the *Gazette de Londres*, which was a straightforward translation of the *London Gazette* in the 1660s; and in the fact that it seems to have been regarded as complementary to, rather than in competition with, *Mercurius Politicus*. As such, it provides a lens through which to examine the bigger issue of cultural diplomacy and the gradual emergence in the early modern period of a pan-European 'public sphere', albeit one which was not necessarily thought of as being monolithic, but which was instead recognised as being comprised of a range of different audiences, each of which was more or less geographically dispersed across the Continent, and each of which might be capable of being reached with a carefully crafted printed text.

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Notes

¹ Bastide, “Les gazettes Francaises,” 150-3; Alger, “French newspaper,” , 286; Rostenberg, “Republican credo,” i. 149; Frank, *English Newspaper*, 210-11, 244; Knachel, *England and the Fronde*, 62-3; Chouillet and Fabre, Diffusion et reception’, 182.

² Raymond, “Newspapers,” 240-57. See also: Milton, “Marketing a maddacre,” , 168-90.

³ Raymond and Moxham, *News Networks*.

⁴ Rostenberg, “Nathaniel Butter,” , 22-33. At Bourne’s death in April 1660 the newspaper was run, briefly and much less successfully, by his widow, Jane.

⁵ Bateson, ed., *Cambridge Bibliography*, i. 760. For Cotgrave, see: *ODNB*.

⁶ Sgard, *Dictionnaire de Journaux*, ii. 970-2.

⁷ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 16, 17-24 Oct. 1650, 61-2; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 21,21-28 Nov. 1650, 82-4; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 22, 28 Nov.-5 Dec. 1650, 88.

⁸ One reader explicitly compared *Nouvelles* with both *Politicus* and its sister title, the *Publick Intelligencer*: Beinecke Library, Yale University, Z 17 109: *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 292, 27 Dec. 1655-3 Jan. 1656, 1167-8; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 293, 3-10 Jan. 1656, 1171-

3. For the circulation of *Politicus* on the Continent, see: Peacey, “Cromwellian England,” 193-8.

⁹ Bastide, “Les gazettes Francaises,” 153.

¹⁰ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 2, 18-25 July 1650, 8 [‘at the sign of the key in Westminster Hall’]; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 44, 1-8 May 1651, 176 [‘a certain English printer... at the sign of the Chronicles of Holland’]; Bastide, “Les gazettes Francaises,” 152-3; Knachel, *England and the Fronde*, 62-3.

¹¹ Alger, “French newspaper”, 286.

¹² The Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague has issues 102-3, 159-63, 165-73. The British Library has issues 186-7, 199-200, 202-9, 214-23, 225-9 (BL, PP 3398). The Bibliotheque Nationale has issue 400 (BN: Nd 83). The National Archives one issue of a later title with the same name from April 1663: *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1663-4*, p. 119; TNA, SP 29/72, fo. 89. See also: *Catalogue des Livres*, 411.

¹³ Bastide, “Les gazettes Francaises”, 152-3. For references to the paper, see: *Journal Continant*, 20-27 Sept. 1652, 73; *Le Franc Bourgeois*, 18; Knachel, *England and the Fronde*, 62-3; Vaughan, ed., *Protectorate*, ii. 285-7.

¹⁴ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 240, 4-11 Jan. 1655, 956-7; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 241, 11-18 Jan. 1655, 960.

¹⁵ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 270, 2-9 Aug. 1655, 1078; Marius, *Advice*. The book was mentioned in the text, rather than advertised; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* did not carry advertisements, unlike *Politicus*.

¹⁶ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 4, 1-8 Aug. 1650, 15; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 68, 16-23 Oct. 1651, 269-70; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 276, 13-20 Sept. 1655, 1100; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 284, 8-

15 Nov. 1655, 1131-2; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 290, 13-20 Dec. 1655, 1162; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 293, 3-10 Jan. 1656, 1174; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 313, 22-29 May 1656, 1251; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 314, 29 May-5 June 1656, 1255; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 316, 12-19 June 1656, 1263; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 343, 18-25 Dec. 1656, 1371-3; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 345, 1-8 Jan. 1657, 1379; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 357, 26 Mar.-2 Apr. 1657, 1427; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 386, 8-15 Oct. 1657, 1550; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 387, 15-22 Oct. 1657, 1554; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 389, 29 Oct.-5 Nov. 1657, 1559-60; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 396, 17-24 Dec. 1657, 1590; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 259, 17-24 May 1655, 1034. For Harvey, see: *ODNB*.

¹⁷ For the value of studying mercantile records in international context, see: Talbott, “Franco-Scottish commerce,” 149-68.

¹⁸ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 325, 14-21 Aug. 1656, 1299, 1302; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 326, 21-28 Aug. 1656, 1306; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 327, 28 Aug.-4 Sept. 1656, 1307-9 (quoted); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 329, 11-18 Sept. 1656, 1317-18.

¹⁹ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 75, 4-11 Dec. 1651, 297; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 80, 8-15 Jan. 1651, 317; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 84, 5-12 Feb 1652, 334-5; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 88, 4-11 Mar. 1652, 351-2; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 89, 11-18 Mar. 1652, 353-4; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 119, 7-14 Oct. 1652, 473-4; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 123, 4-11 Nov. 1652, 489.

²⁰ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 183, 22-29 Dec. 1653, 709-10; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 185, Jan. 1654, 717-23; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 371, July 1657, 1483-90; Beinecke, Z 17 109: *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 292, 27 Dec./6 Jan-3/13 Jan. 1656, 1167-8; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 293, 3/13-10/20 Jan. 1656, 1171-3.

²¹ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 1, 11-18 July 1650, 4; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 2, 18-25 July 1650, 8; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 4, 1-8 Aug. 1650, 13; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 6, 15-22 Aug. 1650, 21; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 19, 7-14 Nov. 1650, 73; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 24, 12-19 Dec. 1650, 96; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 282, 25 Oct.-1 Nov. 1655, 1123; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 329, 11-18 Sept. 1656, 1315-16; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 115, 9-16 Sept. 1652, 457-8.

²² *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 88, 4-11 Mar. 1652, 351-2; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 89, 11-18 Mar. 1652, 353-4; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 107, 15-22 July 1652, 425; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 110, 5-12 Aug. 1652, 437; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 113, 26 Aug.-2 Sept. 1656, 449-50; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 169, 15-22 Sept. 1653, 675-6; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 232, 9-16 Nov. 1654, 923.

²³ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 1, 11-18 July 1650, 1 (quoted: ‘foreign nations’); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 16, 17-24 Oct. 1650, 61.

²⁴ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 325, 14-21 Aug. 1656, 1299 [‘on the other side of this city’s bridge’]; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 409, 18-25 Mar. 1658, 1639-40.

²⁵ *These are to signifie* (emphasis added). For the *Mercure Anglois*, see: Raymond, *Invention*, 37.

²⁶ Sharpe and Zwicker, eds, *Reading*; Sharpe, *Reading Revolutions*; Lyons, *History of Reading*; Cambers, *Godly Reading*; Baker, *Reading and Politics*.

²⁷ Peacey, *Print and Public Politics*, ch. 3.

²⁸ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 19, 7-14 Nov. 1650, 74 [‘men of debauched and bad lives’]; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 20, 14-21 Nov. 1650, 77-8; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 240, 4-11 Jan. 1644, 955-6; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 246, 15-22 Feb. 1655, 982; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 248, 1-8 Mar. 1655, 988 [‘pillars of this frantic sect’]; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 315, 5-12 June

1656, 1259, 1261; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 338, 13-20 Nov. 1656, 1353; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 342, 11-18 Dec. 1656, 1369-70; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 343, 18-25 Dec. 1656, 1373-4; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 344, 25 Dec. 1656-1 Jan. 1657, 1378; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 353, 26 Feb.-5 Mar. 1657, 1414; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 363, 7-14 May 1657, 1453; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 287, 29 Nov.-6 Dec. 1655, 1145-6; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 308, 17-24 Apr. 1656, 1233-4; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 309, 24 Apr.-1 May 1656, 1237-8.

²⁹ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 278, 27 Sept.-4 Oct. 1655, 1107.

³⁰ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 67, 9-16 Oct. 1651, 266; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 307, 10-17 Apr. 1656, 1227-30; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 308, 17-24 Apr. 1656, 1232.

³¹ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 198, Apr. 1654, 773-6; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 305, 27 Mar.-3 Apr. 1656, 1219 (quoted: ‘very serious and aged gentleman, and very famous’); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 306, 3-10 Apr. 1656, 1223; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 308, 17-24 Apr. 1656, 1231.

³² *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 151, 12-19 May 1653, 601; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 181, 8-15 Dec. 1653, 704; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 182, 15-22 Dec. 1653, 708.

³³ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 384, 24 Sept.-1 Oct. 1657, 1541 [‘acclamations and cries of joy’; ‘long live his highness and long live his government’].

³⁴ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 113, 26 Aug.-2 Sept. 1652, 449 (quoted); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 285, 15-22 Nov. 1655, 1135-6; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 302, 6-13 Mar. 1656, 1209-10.

³⁵ For example: *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 433, 2/12-9/19 Sept. 1658, 1736-8; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 434, 9/19-16/26 Sept. 1658, 1741. I am grateful to Dr Edward Vallance for discussion on this point.

³⁶ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 16, 17-24 Oct. 1650, 64; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 26, 26 Dec. 1650-2 Jan. 1651, 102; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 76, 11-18 Dec. 1651, 304; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 194, 2/12-9/19 Mar. 1654, 757-8; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 288, Nov. 1655, 1147-54.

³⁷ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 300, 21-28 Feb. 1656, 1199; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 305, 27 Mar.-3 Apr. 1656, 1219-20 (quoted: ‘their ancient disposition for rebellion’ and ‘by the just hand of God’).

³⁸ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 300, 21-28 Feb. 1656, 1199 (‘continual and mortal quarrelling’); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 103, 17-24 June 1652, 412 (‘the extreme hatred of the people of Paris towards the pretended king of Scotland’).

³⁹ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 48, 29 May-5 June 1651, 190 (quoted); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 298, 7-14 Feb. 1656, 1194; Bastide, “Les gazettes Francaises”, 150. The quote reads: ‘the response made by Mr Milton to the injurious book by Mr Saumaise is generally acclaimed as very apt and learned, not only by friends of our republic, but even by the greatest of enemies, and the queen of Sweden (who had been paying Mr Saumaise a pension since the publication of his book) since the appearance of Mr Milton’s response had not only given it her approval in public but also declared that she could no longer tolerate Mr Saumaise, and had sent to Holland to get many copies of the response’.

⁴⁰ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 23, 5-12 Dec. 1650, 92; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 113, 26 Aug.-2 Sept. 1652, 451 (quoted).

⁴¹ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 153, 26 May-2 June 1653, 609-10; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 157, 23-30 June 1653, 628; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 163, 4-11 Aug. 1653, 650 (quoted: ‘little hope of success’).

⁴² *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 227, 5-12 Oct. 1654, 903; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 346, 8-15 Jan. 1657, 1385 (quoted: ‘the great imaginary quarrels and tumults they would persuade the world to be happening in London’).

⁴³ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 334, 16-23 Oct. 1656, 1337 (quoted: ‘of desperate fortunes’); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 321, 17-24 Aug. 1656, 1283.

⁴⁴ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 302, 6-13 Mar. 1656, 1210 (‘had confirmed at his death the opinion always had of him and various others of his kind, that they were papists’).

⁴⁵ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 205, 4-11 May 1654, 806 ‘had fallen into great quarrels’); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 306, 3-10 Apr. 1656, 1224-5; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 361, 23-30 Apr. 1657, 1443-4 (‘about how he had the whole world at his command’).

⁴⁶ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 148, 21-28 Apr. 1653, 592 (‘Christian princes for his restoration’ and ‘to permit the Catholic religion across England, Scotland and Ireland’).

⁴⁷ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 233, 16-23 Nov. 1654, 930; *Nouvelles Ordinaires*, 282, 25 Oct.-1 Nov. 1655, 1125; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 299, 14-21 Feb. 1656, 1198 (‘for the purity and truth of the Christian religion against the heretics’); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 307, 10-17 Apr. 1656, 1228; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 310, 1-8 May 1656, 1240-1 (‘the Catholic faith’); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 313, 22-29 May 1656, 1253.

⁴⁸ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 135, 27 Jan.-3 Feb. 1653, 540 (‘to amuse the people’); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 175, 27 Oct.-3 Nov. 1653, 677 (‘false rumours’); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 424, 1-8 July 1658, 1700 (‘malicious calumny’).

⁴⁹ Bastide, “Les gazettes Francaises,” 152-3.

⁵⁰ *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 90, 18-25 Mar. 1652, 357; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 94, 15-22 Apr. 1652, 375 (quoted: ‘a good intelligence with the English republic’); *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 95, 22-29 Apr. 1652, 377; *Nouvelles Ordinaires* 97, 6-13 May 1652, 388.

⁵¹ *Nouvelles Ordinaires*, 279, 4-11 Oct. 1655, 1111. For Dugard and the regulation of the press, see: Rostenberg, “William Dugard”, 179-204; Peacey, *Politicians and Pamphleteers*, 160-1 and chapters 7-8.

⁵² Vaughan, *Protectorate*, i. 441.

⁵³ Vaughan, *Protectorate*, ii. 285-7, 333.

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