

A CHECKLIST OF PAMPHLETS BY
MATHIEU DE MORGUES AND HIS POLEMICAL ASSOCIATES IN THE
NEWBERRY LIBRARY

by Donald A. BAILEY
Associate Professor of History
University of Winnipeg
December 1982

A Checklist of Pamphlets by Mathieu de Morgues and
his Polemical Associates in the Newberry Library*

Four bibliographic articles were required to list the titles and publishing information, scholarly references, and library locations in Paris and Belgium of the almost one hundred pamphlets written against Cardinal Richelieu by Mathieu de Morgues and three individuals to whom I refer in this context as his polemical associates.¹ Marie de Medici, Gaston d'Orléans, and Jacques Chanteloube helped de Morgues flood France during the 1630s with an impressive series of pamphlets defending themselves and their dévot friends against the political and personal attack on them by Louis XIII's first minister. At the time, the pamphlets, telling as were their indictments and arguments, had little effect in counterbalancing the influence which Richelieu exercised in the royal council and French politics in general, but later they contributed significantly to the development of the darker aspects of Richelieu's reputation in history and in historical fiction, as well as in the popular imagination.² ~~And~~ ^{Furthermore,} I have found them useful in reconstructing the views and associations of Richelieu before his accession to power, in describing aspects of the publishing world in the Spanish Netherlands and France, and in demonstrating the value of making close comparisons among the pamphlet holdings of as many libraries as can be utilized.³ The present compilation is merely a note indicating the results of the only exhaustive search I have been able to carry out in a major American library for the same titles reported on in the longer previous articles. It does,

*The opportunity to produce this article was created by attendance at the first Summer Institute in the Archival Sciences, led by Professor Bernard Barbiche, of the Ecole Nationale des Chartes in Paris, and sponsored by the Newberry Library's Renaissance Center. I would like to thank the Renaissance Center's Director, John Tedeschi, for his thoughtful reading of this article and for his suggestions concerning it. Funding for my participation in the seminar was generously provided by the Research and Travel Committee of the University of Winnipeg. I would also like to thank the Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, for granting me admission to its facilities and amenities.

however, also announce some new discoveries in the Newberry Library's collections.

The three principal articles, which are being published by the Revue française d'histoire du livre, attempt to accomplish the following: the first enumerated the pamphlets written by Mathieu de Morgues himself or attributed to him; the second did the same for his three colleagues in propaganda; and the third examined the several editions of de Morgues's two-volume recueil which reprinted most of the pamphlets which had previously appeared.

Describing each pamphlet and its various editions, citing its various reprintings in 17th- and 18th-century anthologies, referring the reader to the principal scholarly discussions of each pamphlet, and presenting the call number for every exemplar of every pamphlet in eight libraries and one archive in Paris, the first three articles also gave the references for each pamphlet in the checklists covering French political pamphlets in principal American libraries. The fourth revealed the locations of the same pamphlets and recueils in ten Belgian libraries and archives in four cities, added a few unique variants of the pamphlets, and cited the references to scholarly Belgian discussions of the pamphlets. (All four are cited in footnote 1.)

One of the most important American libraries for early modern French history is the Newberry Library, in Chicago, Illinois. Its holdings in French political pamphlets had been ~~given~~^{described} in two Checklists by Doris Varner Welsh published in 1950 and 1955.⁴ The pamphlets she listed and those subsequently purchased were caught up in the comprehensive Catalogues produced by Robert O. Lindsay and John Neu, published in 1969 and 1972.⁵ The present examination of the Newberry Library's holdings was begun largely out of curiosity to see how

accurately I had been able to establish connections between the checklists' descriptions of pamphlets and the pamphlets personally to hand in Paris. Along these lines I did find minor typographical errors in my French articles as published⁽¹⁾ but no mistakes in the correlations attempted at such a distance. It was possible, however, to bring recent acquisitions by the Newberry Library into the list and to find in the library pamphlets unknown to its own card catalogue. Furthermore, the Library's occasionally inaccurate estimate of publication dates became understood when I saw that undated pamphlets had by previous misadventure been bound with pamphlets clearly from a different year. For example, pamphlet S.G.33d, L'Ambassadeur chimerique...., is a 1643 edition of a pamphlet of 1635/6, but the Newberry's exemplar happens to be bound as the 66th and last pamphlet of a group which otherwise properly fit the title on the volume's frontispiece: Recueil de Plusieurs Pieces Curieuses, contre le Cardinal Mazarin. Imprimées depuis l'enlevement qu'il fit de la personne du Roy, le 6. Janvier 1649. jusques à la Paix qui fut publiée le 2. jour d'Avril de la mesme année. Et autres choses remarquables arrivées durant les trois mois que ce Ministre Estranger a allumé la guerre contre le Parlement, & le Peuple de Paris, & autres bons François (N.p., 1649. Pieces separately paginated.) Therefore the Newberry's curators, and the compilers Welsh and Lindsay/Neu, have catalogued L'Ambassadeur chimerique as published in 1649.

Only five items were identified which had not been listed in Welsh or Lindsay and Neu, though twice duplicate holdings, not noted in these checklists, were unearthed, and two hidden items were found to be uncatalogued. But the most important new discoveries were the two recueils which the Newberry Library possesses, because no other exemplars of the recueils, at least as reflected in Lindsay and Neu, are in the United States. It could also be confirmed

that the Newberry exemplar of G.O.14a, Articles de la paix..., is the only one published in Lyon that I have handled or seen listed. Finally, the Library's exemplar of P.C.4, Lettre du Pere Chantelouve..., is the only one with its date of writing printed on its last page, though the catalogue to the Collection Clairambault in Paris's Bibliothèque Nationale refers to such an edition, their exemplar of which has disappeared.

As I had already discovered in Paris and Belgium, every library has something uniquely valuable and is therefore worth an apparently redundant search. It is for this reason, and because American scholarly librarians may appreciate having the French and Belgian series signaled to them, that I have taken the trouble to prepare this fifth, brief article for North American publication. American libraries holding early modern French political pamphlets will be able to check their catalogues against my bibliographies of de Morgues and his associates' pamphlets. They may in the process augment their expertise in handling other pamphlets as well. To that end this Newberry-Library bibliography is directed.

Explanation of Abbreviations:

- S.G. = Mathieu de Morgues, Sieur de Saint-Germain (thus recognizing a title which he appropriated, while distinguishing his pamphlets from those of Marie de Medici). The French bibliography used only numbers, no letters, to enumerate each of de Morgues's pamphlets, but I inserted "S.G." for the Belgian bibliography and reproduce the format here.
- D. = Miscellaneous ("Divers"), that is, pamphlets sometimes attributed to de Morgues which are probably not his.
- M.d.M. = Marie de Medici
- G.O. = Gaston d'Orléans
- P.C. = Jacques d'Apchon, Père de Chanteloube (also, formerly, sieur de).
- R. = Collected Works ("Recueils")
- L. & N. Lindsay and Neu.

Note: In the Checklist which follows the original three articles are collectively referred to as "the French bibliography," since it is apparent from the context whether reference is specifically to the first, second, or third. The fourth article, which like this Checklist stands upon the other three, will be referred to as "the Belgian bibliography."

Footnotes

1. The four articles are:

"Les Pamphlets de Mathieu de Morgues (1582-1670): Bibliographie des ouvrages disponibles dans les bibliothèques parisiennes et certaines bibliothèques des Etats-Unis," Revue française d'histoire du livre (no. 18, n.s., Janv.-Mars 1978), pp. 41-86.

"Les Pamphlets des Associés polémistes de Mathieu de Morgues: Marie de Médicis, Gaston d'Orléans et Jacques Chanteloube - Une Bibliographie des fonds des bibliothèques de Paris et des Etats-Unis," ibid. (No. 27, n.s., Avril-Juin 1980), pp. 229-70.

"Les Recueils de Mathieu de Morgues: Une Bibliographie des collections aux bibliothèques de Paris," ibid. (No. 33, n.s., Oct.-Dec. 1980), pp. 553-92.

"The Pamphlets of Mathieu de Morgues, Marie de Médicis, Gaston d'Orléans and Jacques Chanteloube: A Bibliography of Holdings in Selected Belgian Libraries," Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique/Archief en Bibliotheekwezen in België, T. LII, No. 1 (December 1980), pp. 1-33.

2. Gustav Fagniez, "Mathieu de Morgues et le procès de Richelieu," Revue des Deux Mondes, vol. 162 (1 Decembre 1900), pp. 584-86.

3. The introductory essays to each of my three French and one Belgian bibliography detail these points. But one will find the fullest exposition in my doctoral dissertation, Writers against the Cardinal: A Study of the Pamphlets which Attacked the Person and Policies of Cardinal Richelieu during the Decade 1630-1640 (University of Minnesota, March 1973; 625 p. in 2 vols.).

4. Doris Varner Welsh, A Checklist of French Political Pamphlets, 1560-1644, in the Newberry Library (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1950), and A Second Checklist of French Political Pamphlets, 1560-1653 in The Newberry Library (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1955).

5. Robert L. Lindsay and John Neu, French Political Pamphlets, 1547-1648: A Catalogue of Major Collections in American Libraries (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), and Mazarinades: A Checklist of Copies in Major Collections in the United States (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1972).

THE CHECKLIST

THE PAMPHLETS OF MATHIEU DE MORGUES

- S.G.2. ANTIPPOIIION; ou Contrepoids aux jesuites, et aux Ministres de la Religion, pretenduë Reformee. N.p., 1617. In-8^e, 24p.

N. L.: Case F 39 .326 1617mo

Welsh I, 732; L. & N., 3952 (also Buffalo & Folger).

- S.G.4a La Restauration de l'Etat. Au Roy. N.p., 1618. In-8^o, 15p.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1618mo²

Welsh II, *624; L. & N., 4095 (also Michigan State). The French bibliography has a typographical error which confused the date and pagination of this reference 4095 with those for the L. & N. reference 3953 (for Syracuse); the two descriptions of publishing data should simply be exchanged.

- S.G.4b. Le Restablissement de l'Etat. En France: chez le bon François, à l'Enseigne de l'Escharpe blanche, 1618. In-8^o, 32p.

Similar to 4a, with only a few textual changes in certain paragraphs.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1818mo

Welsh II, *623; L. & N., 4094.

- S.G.6b. Veritez Chrestiennes, au roy tres chrestien, Ensemble le vray Manifeste de la Royne mere, envoye au Roy. N.p., 1620. In-8^o, 32p.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1620morg and Case F 39 .326 1615cof (6th piece)

Although, except for pp. 31/32 these two exemplars are set down page for page with the same wording, a close examination of the type reveals subtle differences in impression, while on page 11 of the second exemplar the printing-sheet number Bij is found, which is absent from the first exemplar. The same distinctions may be made within the pair held by the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.

Welsh II, *709 & *710, respectively; L. & N., 4426 (the French bibliography misprints this as 4425), (also at Michigan State, U. Mich. & Yale). L. & N. make no mention that the Newberry has two exemplars.

- S.G.8b La Ligue necessaire. Contre les Perturbateurs du repos de l'Estat.
N.p.n.d. In-8^o, 15p.
N. L.: Case F 39 .326 1626Lig
Welsh II, *936; L. & N., 5493 (also in Syracuse & U. Michigan, but not mentioning the Newberry which is incorrectly cited under 5492 as having the earlier edition 8a).
- S.G.9 La France au desespoir. N.p.n.d. In-8^o, 30p.
N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1626ft.
Welsh II, *933; L. & N., 5478 (also Syracuse).
- S.G.10a Advis d'un Theologien sans passion. Sur plusieurs Libelles imprimez depuis peu en Allemagne. N.p., 1626. In-8^o, 69p.
N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1626mo
Welsh I, 966; L. & N., 5502 (also Syracuse).
- S.G.17. Discours sur le livre de Balzac, intitulé le Prince. Et sur deux Lettres suivantes. En Decembre 1631. N.p.n.d. In-8^o, 62p.
This is the second edition listed in the French bibliography.
N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1631mo
Welsh II, *1004; L. & N., 5944 (number 5945 refers to yet another edition, held by the Folger).
- S.G.20 Response a la seconde lettre imprimee avec Le Prince de Balsac et remplie de calomnies contre la royne mere du roy tres-chrestien.
N.p., 1632. In-4^o, 59p.
N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1632mo
Welsh II, *1012 (Welsh's misprint of 69p. has been pen corrected by Newberry staff); L. & N., 6024 (also Buffalo & Princeton).
- S.G.33d L'Ambassadeur chimerique ou le chercheur de duppes du Cardinal de Richelieu. Revuë & augmentée par l'Autheur. N.p.n.d. In-4^o, 40p.
N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1649rec (66th piece, i.e. the last; bound by misadventure with sixty-five Mazarinades which boast a collective frontispiece—see introductory remarks)
Welsh II, *1226 (offers 1649 with a question mark, no doubt evoked by the company which this pamphlet is keeping in the Newberry's binding); L. & N., 6550 (also U. North Carolina, but with the Newberry not cited).

- S.G.39a. Abbrégé de la Vie du Cardinal de Richelieu. (No frontispiece, extracted from the 1637 recueil in -8^o, number R.lb.) 8p.

This is the last variant listed in the French bibliography.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1643m

Welsh I, 1181; L. & N., 6548 (number 6549 refers to two other editions, held by the Folger).

- S.G.39c. A Synopsis, or contract View of the Life of John Armand, Cardinal of Richelieu, great Favourite and Minister of State to Lewis the Thirteenth, King of France. To be engraven on his Tomb. First written in Latin, and now, verbatim, rendered English... Printed in the Year 1643. Published in The Haleian Miscellany: A Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts, as well in Manuscript as in Print, ... vol. IV (London: White and Co., 1809), pp. 389-92.

N.L.: F 45 .388 vol. 4

Naturally not listed in Welsh or L. & N., but no doubt held by most extensive libraries in the United States.

- D.1. Manifeste, ou raisons de la royne, mere du roi. N.p., 1620. in-8^o, 13p.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1620mor

Welsh II, *708; not listed in L. & N.

- D.2 Le Seconde Savoisiene, Traduite de l'Italien de F.R.A.R.V.(U?). Par un bon & vray François. N.p., 1630. In-8^o, ii + 323p.

N.L.: F 4 .046.

Neither in Welsh nor in L. & N.

- D.4. L'Hellebore pour nos Mal-Contens, Cueilly Au Jardin d'un Anti-Machiavel, Et mis en lumiere. A Paris, sur la coppie envoyée de Bruxelles, 1632. In-8^o, 48p.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1632he

Welsh I, 1065; L. & N., 6007 (another type has omitted this L. & N. number in the French bibliography, while correctly giving the number 6006 which refers to another edition, held by Princeton).

M.d.M.7b(ii). Responce de la Main du Roy à la lettre de la Royne sa mere, du 10 Mars 1619. Paris: Pierre Fromet, 1619. In-8^o, 8p.

This letter of the King's, dated the 17 March 1619, is the one republished in 1632 as if a current letter, but in the earlier exchange it had responded to a different letter of Marie's from that of the 23 February cited above.

N.L.: Case 39 .326 1619Lor and Case F 39 .326 1619mof (4th piece out of 7)

Welsh I, 769; L. & N., 4205 (for the first Newberry exemplar; the second is listed in neither Welsh nor L. & N.).

THE PAMPHLETS OF GASTON D'ORLEANS

G.O.3b Relation de ce qui s'est passé pendant le séjour du Roy à Dijon, & depuis du'il en est party, jusqu'au 8 Avril 1631. N.p., 1631. In-8^o, 32p.

The author of this narrative of events is held to be Richelieu. The narrative includes a letter of Gaston's, dated at Besançon (1 April 1631), which is the second of his letters printed in the pamphlet which the French bibliography numbered G.O.3a; hence its inclusion here.

N.L.: Case 39 .326 1631ri

Welsh II, *1005; L. & N., 5953 (also Folger, Michigan State, Univ. of Mich., & Wisc.).

G.O.5b Copie d'une Requete envoyee a Messieurs du Parlement. N.p., 1631. In-8^o, 12p.

Gaston's letter/request is undated but may be of the 11 April 1631. It was listed in the French bibliography as G.O.5a. This pamphlet is a royalist-cardinalist reprinting of it with hostile observations in the margins.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1631ma (6th piece of 7)

Neither catalogued at the Newberry nor listed in Welsh and L. & N.

An edition in 8^o, 8p, dated 1632 (an exemplar of which is also at the Bibliothèque Mazarine in Paris).

N. L.: Case 39 .326 1632g

Welsh I, 1062; L. & N., 6000-1.

- G.O.7b. Lettre escrite au Roy par Monsieur, et par luy envoyee à Messieurs du Parlement, pour la presenter à sa Majeste. Avec la response du Roy, à ladite lettre de Monsieur. Paris: Antoine Vitray, 1631. In-8^o, 64p. (with the King's response beginning on p. 59).

This is the octavo edition of the famous "Manifeste de Gaston," of which Vitray had also published a quarto edition, of 72p., in the same year; in the French bibliography, the quarto edition was listed first, but no American library appears to hold a copy of it.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1631g

Welsh I, 1049; L. & N., 5932 (also Folger, Michigan State, Syracuse, Univ. of Mich., Wisc., & Yale).

- G.O.14a. Articles de la paix accordée par le Roy à Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans, Frere unique de sa Majesté. Lyon: Claude Larjot & Jean Jullieron, 1632. In-8^o, 13p.

The French bibliography listed a Paris edition of 12p. published by Estiene, Mettayer & Prevost, a copy of which is held by Wisconsin (L. & N., 5963). But the Newberry's exemplar is the only Lyon edition I have found in Paris, Belgium or the United States.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1632a

Welsh I, 1057; L. & N., 5964.

- G.O.15. Lettre de Monsieur le Duc d'Orléans, envoyée au Roy. Paris: Antoine Estiene, P. Mettayer & C. Provost, 1632. In-8^o, 14p.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1632ga

Welsh I, 1063; L. & N., 6002 (also Buffalo, Univ. of Mich., & Wisc.).

THE PAMPHLETS OF JACQUES CHANTELOUBE

P.C.1. La Sibille françoise parlant au Roy. N.P., 1620. In-8^o, 15p.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1620ch

Welsh I, 785; L. & N., 4300 (also Folger, Michigan State, & Wisc.).

P.C.2. Le Comtadin Provençal. N.p., 1620. In-8^o, 32p.

In spite of the dating just given, this Newberry exemplar, along with two cited as the first edition in the French bibliography, has an inversion of its Roman numerals which actually yields the date 1420! (M.CD.XX. instead of M.DC.XX.)

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1620c

Welsh I, 784; L. & N., 4299 (it cannot be inferred whether the additional listing of Buffalo, Univ. of Mich., Wisc., & Yale be to errorless 1620 editions or to this peculiar "1420" edition).

A 1622 edition, also in-8^o, 32p., similar to those of the Bibliothèque Mazarine and Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, which have no omissions, rather than to those of the Bibliothèques Nationale and de l'Arsenal, which omit the equivalent of 4½ lines of text in moving from p. 22 to p. 23.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1622ch

Welsh II, *663; omitted in L. & N.

P.C.4. Lettre du Pere Chanteloube de l'Oratoire, au Cardinal de Richelieu. Nancy: H. Vilior, 1631. In-8^o, 8p.

This Newberry exemplar is a highly interesting, unique edition. No printed edition found in Paris gives a specific date for the letter at all, but I had found "Nancy, le 28 avril 1631" on a manuscript copy at the Bibliothèque Mazarine, and had so indicated in the French bibliography. However, I had also noted that the catalogue for the Collection Clairambault, in the Salle des Manuscrits of the Bibliothèque Nationale, had given the 20 May for its exemplar; but in the re-binding of vols. 513-514 of the Coll. Clair. the pamphlet was lost. This Newberry exemplar, on its last page, likewise dates the letter "De Nancy, ce 20. May, 1631", but the date is part of the original printing.

N.L.: Case F 39 .326 1631c

Welsh I, 1042; L. & N., 5903.

THE RECUEILS

R.2a. Pieces Curieuses en suite de celles du Sieur de S. Germain. Contenant plusieurs pieces pour la deffence de la Reyne Mere du Roy Tres-Chrestien Louys XIII. & autres traitez d'Etat sur les affaires du temps depuis l'an 1630 jusques à l'an 1643. Par divers autheurs. Sur la coppie Imprimee à Anvers. M.DC.XXXXIIII. In-4^o, discontinuous pagination.

The first volume, of de Morgues's pamphlets only, had first appeared in 1637 and in various formats over the intervening years. This is a free-standing edition of the second volume, which also included pamphlets by Marie, Gaston, and Chanteloube.

N.L.: Case F 3923 .595 vol. 2 (though it has no strict vol. 1)

Not listed in Welsh nor in L. & N., even though a still inserted letter from bookseller Leona Rostenberg indicates that the Newberry Library purchased this work in 1949.

R.3a. Two volumes with two frontispieces but frequently, as here, bound as one.

Diverses pieces pour la defense de la Reyne Mere du Roy tres-Chrestien Louys XIII. faites et reveues par Messire Mathieu de Morgues, Sr de St. Germain, conseiller & Predicateur ordinaire du Roy Tres-Chrestien & Conseiller, Predicateur & premier Aumonier de la Royne Mere de sa Majeste. N.p.n.d. In-fol.

Pieces curieuses en suite de celles du Sieur de S. Germain contenant plusieurs pieces pour la deffence de la Reyne Mere du Roy Tres-Chrestien Louys XIII et autres traitez d'Etat sur les affaires du temps, depuis l'an 1630 jusques à l'an 1643. Par divers autheurs. Tome II. Sur la coppie Imprimée à Anvers, M.DC.XXXXIIII. In-fol.

N.L.: *F 4 .046

Not mentioned in Welsh nor in L. & N.

The only other exemplar of this edition that I know of in North America is owned by me personally.