Br. Cathol. Hist. (2019), *vol.* 34(4), *pp.* 532–561
doi:10.1017/bch.2019.24

Catholic refuge and the printing press: Catholic exiles from England, France and the Low Countries in the ecclesiastical province of Cambrai

Alexander Soetaert*

Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte, Alte Universitätsstrasse 19, D-55116 Mainz, Germany. Email: alexander.soetaert@kuleuven.be

The Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai may sound unfamiliar to modern readers. The bishopric of Cambrai dates to the sixth century but only became an archdiocese and, consequently, the centre of a church province in the sixteenth century. The elevation of the see resulted from the heavily contested reorganization of the diocesan map of the Low Countries by King Philip II in 1559. The new province included the medieval sees of Arras, Cambrai and Tournai, as well as the newly created bishoprics of Saint-Omer and Namur. Its borders were established to encompass the French-speaking Walloon provinces in the south of the Low Countries, territories that are now divided between France and Belgium.[1] In the early modern period, this area was already a border and transit zone between France, the Low Countries, the Holy Roman Empire and the British Isles. The province's history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was deeply marked by recurrent and devastating warfare between the kings of Spain and France, eventually resulting in the transfer of significant territory to France.[2] However, the Province of Cambrai was also the scene of frequent cross-border mobility, and a safe haven for Catholic exiles originating from the British Isles, France and other parts of the Low Countries.

The development of the French-speaking regions of the Low Countries into one of the major centres of Catholic exile is quite

* The research for this article was conducted at the University of Leuven (KU Leuven) as part of a project funded by the KU Leuven Research Council entitled 'The Making of Transregional Catholicism. Print Culture in the Archdiocese of Cambrai (1559—1659)' (OT/2013/33). I would like to thank my supervisors Violet Soen and Johan Verberckmoes for their comments on earlier versions of this article.

[1] The standard study on this reform remains Michel Dierickx, *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen in de Nederlanden onder Filips II, 1559–1570* (Antwerpen/Utrecht: Standaard, 1950).

[2] Roland Delmaire et al., eds. *Les grandes batailles du Nord de la France* (Paris: Mazarine 1984); Alain Lottin and Philippe Guignet, *Histoire des Provinces françaises du Nord. De Charles Quint à la Révolution française (1500–1789)* (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 2006).

surprising. In the middle decades of the sixteenth century, two of the region's largest trade centres, Tournai and Valenciennes, were still hotbeds of Calvinism. However, increased persecution following the iconoclastic riots of 1566 pushed many Calvinists to flee to England, Germany and what would become the Dutch Republic.[3] Moreover, by these years the region was already evolving into an early stronghold of Catholic Reform, thanks to the concerted efforts of the archbishops of Cambrai, their suffragan bishops and the reform-minded circles around the newly-opened University of Douai (1562).[4] While the Calvinists took power in Antwerp, Bruges, Brussels and Ghent in the late 1570s, attempts to gain French-speaking towns were ultimately unsuccessful.[5] The Treaty of Arras (1579) reconciled most Walloon provinces and towns with Philip II, confirming their predominantly Catholic character. The region subsequently functioned as the operating base for Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma and Philip's new governor in the Low Countries, during his reconquest of many Flemish and Brabantine towns.[6] Taken together, these elements made the Province of Cambrai an attractive refuge for Catholics facing difficulties in the surrounding territories. In the early 1560s, English theologians who had left England after Elizabeth's accession began to arrive in Douai. By the 1580s, Dutch-speaking Catholics from parts of Flanders, Brabant and Holland that had fallen into the hands of Calvinist rebels found a safe haven in Cambrai, Douai, Lille, Mons, or Saint-Omer. Finally, in the mid-1590s, leading members of the

[3] For the refugee churches in England, see: Andrew Spicer, *The French-speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567–c.1620* (London: Huguenot Society, 1997); Marcel Backhouse, *The Flemish and Walloon communities at Sandwich during the Reign of Elizabeth I (1561–1603)* (Brussels: Koninklijke academie, 1995).

[4] For instance, the Archbishop was comparatively swift in introducting the decrees of the Council of Trent and in covening a diocesan synod and a provincial council: Violet Soen and Laura Hollevoet, 'Le Borromée des anciens Pays-Bas? Maximilien de Berghes, (arch)évêque de Cambrai et l'application du Concile de Trente (1564–1567)', *Revue du Nord* no. 419 (2017): 41–65. See also: Andrew Spicer, 'Consecration and Violation: Preserving the Sacred Landscape in the (Arch)diocese of Cambrai, c. 1550–1570', in Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven, eds. *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 253–74 and Violet Soen and Aurelie Van de Meulebroucke, 'Vanguard Tridentine Reform in the Habsburg Netherlands. The Episcopacy of Robert de Croÿ, Bishop of Cambrai 1519–1556', in Violet Soen, Dries Vanysacker and Wim François, eds. *Church, Censorship and Reform in the Early Modern Habsburg Netherlands* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 125–44.

[5] Frédéric Duquenne, 'Des "républiques calvinistes" avortées? La contestation des échevinages à Douai et Arras en 1577 et 1578', in Monique Weis, ed. *Des villes en révolte: les républiques urbaines aux Pays-Bas et en France pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIe siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 53–63.

[6] Yves Junot and Violet Soen, 'La Révolte des Pays-Bas habsbourgeois. Reconsidérations à partir du cas des provinces francophones (Hainaut, Artois, Flandre wallonne, 1566–1579)', in Gregorio Salinero, Águeda García Garrido and Radu G. Paun Paun, eds. *Paradigmes rebelles: pratiques et cultures de la désobéissance à l'époque moderne* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2018), 203–34.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

defeated French Catholic League, the so-called *ligueurs de l'exil*, likewise settled in the province.

The phenomenon of early modern Catholic exile has attracted increasing historiographical attention in recent decades. However, most studies have been devoted to groups of exiles sharing the same geographical background.[7] Scholars have drawn parallels between several exile communities and even pointed to direct connections between them.[8] However, few studies simultaneously deal with Catholic exiles originating from different regions and countries.[9] The Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai offers a unique opportunity for such an approach. Scholarship has highlighted how Antwerp, Louvain and Paris attracted many English Catholics, and exiles from the Low Countries gathered in Cologne. At the same time, however, the smaller towns of the Province of Cambrai accommodated refugees from England and France, as well as other parts of the Low Countries. As such, they might be compared to Emden or Geneva, Calvinist exile centres which likewise turned into safe havens for refugees from England, the Low Countries and, in the case of Geneva, France. The hundreds of broadsheets, Bible translations and controversial treatises printed in Emden and Geneva were vital for the development of Reformed doctrine and church organization.[10] It proves more difficult to point to a Catholic exile centre that played an equally influential role. But does this mean that Catholic exiles used the printing press less frequently, less systematically or less effectively?

This article intends to shed light on the functioning of Catholic exile printing by examining the use of the printing press by three exile communities that found shelter in the Province of Cambrai. Without

[7] For helpful overviews of Catholic exile movements based on secondary literature: Bettina Braun, 'Katholische Glaubensflüchtlinge: eine Spurensuche im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 130 (2010): 505–76 and Id., 'Katholische Konfessionsmigration im Europa der Frühen Neuzeit – Stand und Perspektiven der Forschung', in Henning Jürgens and Thomas Weller, eds. *Religion und Mobilität: zum Verhältnis von raumbezogener Mobilität und religiöser Identitätsbildung im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 75–112.

[8] Geert Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), esp. 109–15; Robert Descimon and José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez, *Les ligueurs de l'exil: le refuge catholique français après 1594* (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2005), 41–2, 194–7, 208–9.

[9] A notable exception here is Benjamin Kaplan et al., eds. *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands c. 1570–1720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009). Clare Walker discusses English exile institutions and the presses in the Low Countries: 'Priests, Nuns, Presses and Prayers: The Southern Netherlands and the Contours of English Catholicism', in Kaplan et. al. eds. *Catholic Communities*, 139–55. Most notably, Paul Arblaster reveals the Dutch, English, Irish, and Scottish Catholic diaspora in the Southern Low Countries: 'The Southern Netherlands Connection: Networks of Support and Patronage', in Kaplan et al. eds. *Catholic Communities*, 123–38.

[10] Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Jean-François Gilmont, *Jean Crespin: un éditeur réformé du XVIe siècle* (Genève: Droz, 1981); Robert M. Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion in France 1555–1563* (Genève: Droz, 1956).

neglecting developments elsewhere—the exiles formed, of course, a very mobile group[11] — this article will explore how exiles in this region made use of the printed word, the languages they preferred to publish in, and the main subjects and purposes of their publications. This analysis is based on data collected in *Impressa Catholica Cameracensia*.[12] This newly compiled online database lists all religious books known to be published in the Province of Cambrai and reconstructs the networks surrounding Catholic book production in the period 1559–1659. It brings together data formerly scattered across various national reference works, complementing it with information obtained from the consultation of many of the books concerned. The first part of this article discusses publications of English Catholic theologians in sixteenth-century Douai. It will then consider exiles from elsewhere in the Low Countries and France. The final section returns to the English case, focusing on the early decades of the seventeenth century.

English theologians in sixteenth-century Douai

During Edward VI's reign (1547–53), leading English Catholics settled in the Low Countries. Most of them belonged to the circle of the executed chancellor Thomas More and his family, but several Oxford and Cambridge professors, such as the theologian Richard Smyth (1500–63) and the jurist Stephen Gardiner (d. 1555), also left England and settled in the university town of Louvain.[13] A more sizeable exile movement only emerged following the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558. As a result of the new religious settlement she imposed, academics in Oxford were increasingly expected to swear an oath recognizing the Queen as supreme head of the Church of England. Many Catholic scholars were unwilling to renounce their loyalty to the pope. They followed the example set by the Edwardian exiles, leaving their chairs and choosing Louvain as the first place of refuge.[14]

[11] A similar approach is advocated by Liesbeth Corens, *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Counter-Reformation Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), esp. 7, 18.
[12] Impressa Catholica Cameracensia (hereafter ICC-ODIS) [https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/nieuwetijd/english/odis/ ICC_search. Accessed 14 May 2019]. Only the records covering 1559–1600 are currently accessible. The records for 1600-1659 will be published in 2020.
[13] Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent 1558–1795. The English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries 1558–1795* (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, 1914), xv–xvi; Chris Coppens, '"Challenge" and "Counterblast": The Book as a Weapon in the English Controversy During the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century', in Francine De Nave, Gilbert Tournoy and Dirk Imhof, eds. *Antwerp, Dissident Typographical Centre. The Role of Antwerp Printers in the Religious Conflicts in England (16th century)* (Gent: Snoeck-Decaju, 1994), 31–54, at 38–40.
[14] Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees*, 1–4; Robert Lechat, *Les réfugiés anglais dans les Pays-Bas espagnols durant le règne d'Élisabeth 1558–1603* (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, 1913), 30–3.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The University of Louvain was a vibrant centre of Catholic theology in these years. Its professors were willing to support the exiles, but it proved difficult to offer them permanent academic positions. The foundation of a university in Douai, a French-speaking town close to the French border, created more opportunities. In the course of the 1560s and early 1570s, several of the so-called *Louvainists* moved on to the new university town. In 1563, the aforementioned Richard Smyth, who had left England for the second time, was selected as the first Regius Professor of Holy Scripture in Douai.[15] Following his appointment, the theologians William Allen (1570), Thomas Stapleton (1570) and Richard Hall (1576), as well as the canonists Owen Lewis (1566) and Richard White (1572), were also granted chairs in Douai.[16] The growing English presence in the town was institutionalized by the erection of an English College in 1568. Although the initial plan of its founder, William Allen (1532–94), was to gather the English scholars in exile and preserve Oxford's intellectual traditions, his college swiftly developed into a training centre for English missionary priests.[17] As a result, by the early 1570s, Douai became the foremost intellectual centre for English Catholics on the continent and, consequently, an educational hub for the emerging English mission.[18]

Since the early days of printing, book production and trade in England and the Low Countries had been closely related. The Antwerp presses produced over one hundred Protestant texts in English between the mid-1520s and the late 1540s. These titles included

[15] J. Andreas Löwe, 'Richard Smyth and the Foundation of the University of Douai', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 79 (1999): 142–69; Id., *Richard Smyth and the Language of Orthodoxy: Re-imagining Tudor Catholic Polemicism* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 60–75.

[16] Michael E. Williams, 'Lewis, Owen (1533–1594)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 33:639–40; J.J. LaRocca, 'Hall, Richard (c.1537–1604)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 24: 650–1; Th. Bouquillon, 'Les théologiens de Douai. VI. Thomas Stapleton', *Revue des Sciences ecclésiastiques* 73 (1896): 331–49, at 337; Dennis E. Rhodes, 'Richard White of Basingstoke: the Erudite Exile', in Susan Roach, ed. *Across the Narrow Seas. Studies in History and Bibliography of Britain and the Low Countries* (London: The British Library, 1991), 23–30, at 27.

[17] Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees*, 63–8; Frédéric Fabre, 'Le collège anglais de Douai, son histoire héroïque', *Revue de Littérature comparée* 10 (1930): 201–29; John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570–1850* (London: Darton, 1976), 12–5. On this college movement, see also Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor, eds. *College Communities Abroad. Education, Migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017); Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor, eds. *Forming Catholic Communities: Irish, Scots, and English College Networks in Europe, 1568–1918* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

[18] Lechat, *Les réfugiés anglais*, 33–6; Hilde De Ridder-Symoens, 'The Place of the University of Douai in the Peregrinatio Academica Britannica', in John M. Fletcher and Hilde De Ridder-Symoens, eds. *Lines of Contact. Proceedings of the Second Conference of Belgian, British, Irish and Dutch Historians of Universities held at St. Anne's College, Oxford 15–17 September 1989* (Gent: Universiteit Gent, 1994), 21–34, at 34.

treatises by William Tyndale (1494–1536), as well as vernacular Bible translations and English-language versions of the works of Melanchton, Bullinger and Zwingli.[19] However, in the second half of the sixteenth century, printers in the Low Countries became the main suppliers of Catholic books in English. By the early 1550s, works by Stephen Gardiner and Cuthbert Tunstall (1474–1559) had already been published in Antwerp and Louvain.[20] In the years following Elizabeth's accession, Antwerp and Louvain printers produced a large number of controversial treatises responding to Protestant attacks, particularly those of John Jewel, the bishop of Salisbury (1522–71).[21] Like their earlier Protestant counterparts, English Catholics published mainly in English. More than one hundred English-language editions were printed in Antwerp and Louvain before 1600 (fig. 1).[22] However, the use of the English vernacular was not always wholeheartedly embraced. In 1565, Richard Shacklock (d. before 1588), a former member of Trinity College, Cambridge, then residing in Louvain, apologized for writing in his 'barbarous' native language, rather than in a more 'eloquent' foreign alternative.[23] Indeed, several English theologians in exile, including Richard Smyth, continued to publish controversial treatises in Latin.

In Douai, English Catholics also turned to local printers. Almost immediately following Richard Smyth's appointment, his *Refutatio locorum communiorum* was printed by Jacques Boscard in Douai. The book, one of the first ever printed in Douai, continued Smyth's series of controversial treatises refuting Calvin, Melanchthon and Jewel's viewpoints on the mass, the sacrament of the altar and infant baptism.[24] Smyth died in 1563, but his example was followed by other

[19] Coppens, '"Challenge" and "Counterblast"', 32–4; Gilbert Tournoy, 'Humanists, Rulers and Reformers: Relationships Between England and the Southern Low Countries in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century', in De Nave, Tournoy and Imhof, eds. *Antwerp, Dissident Typographical Centre*, 21–9; Guido Latré, 'William Tyndale in Antwerp: Reformer, Bible Translator, and Maker of the English Language', in De Nave, Tournoy and Imhof, eds. *Antwerp, Dissident Typographical Centre*, 55–66.

[20] Coppens, '"Challenge" and "Counterblast"', 38–40.

[21] *Ibid*., 45–8.

[22] According to Antony F. Allison and David M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation Between 1558 and 1640*, 2 vols. (London: Scolar Press, 1989–94) (hereafter *ARCR*) 72 editions came from the press in Antwerp and 36 in Louvain.

[23] Cited in Alfred C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose, 1559–1582: A Historical and Critical Account of the Books of the Catholic Refugees Printed and Published Abroad and at Secret Presses in England* (London: Sands, 1950), 112–3.

[24] Richard Smyth, *Refvtatio locorum communium theologicorvm, Philippi Melanchthonis* (Douai: Jacques Boscard, 1563). *ARCR*, I, 1115; ICC-ODIS 35914; Universal Short Title Catalogue, http://www.ustc.ac.uk, accessed 10 June 2019 (hereafter USTC), 402804. For the earlier editions in Louvain, see: Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London: Scolar Press, 1978), 22, 164; Löwe, 'Richard Smyth and the Foundation of the University of Douai', 157; Id., *Richard Smyth and the Language of Orthodoxy*, 64–5.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

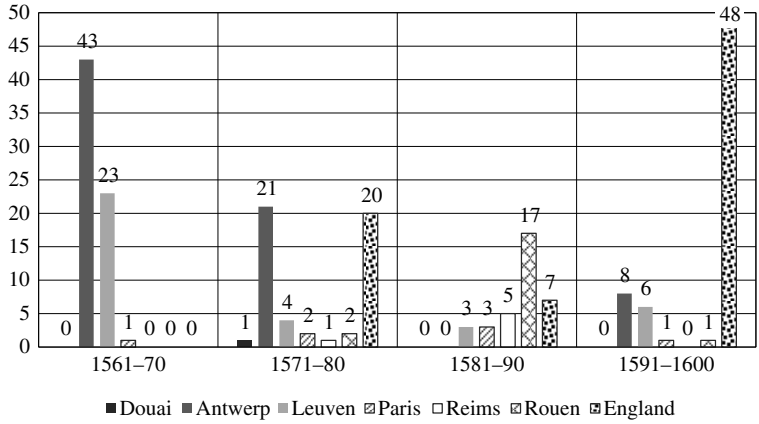

Figure 1. Catholic editions in English published between 1561 and 1600 (based on *ARCR*).

English theologians in subsequent decades. In 1580, Thomas Stapleton (1535–98), then Regius Professor of Controversy in Douai, issued a book entitled *Speculum pravitatis haereticae* in which he discussed the heresies of his time in a general way rather than specifically reacting to the situation in his native country.[25] Eight years later, his better-known *Tres Thomae* also came from the press in Douai.[26] This book narrated the lives of three martyrs—Thomas the Apostle, Thomas Becket and Thomas More—and, according to William Sheils, could be seen as a Catholic equivalent to John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, issued three decades earlier.[27] In discussing the fate of such notable countrymen as Becket and More, Stapleton instructed the Catholic faithful in England on how they should position themselves against the Protestant authorities. However, by writing in Latin, he could simultaneously contribute to the ongoing debate about the significance of martyrs within the Catholic Church and address a readership that extended beyond the borders of his native England.[28]

[25] Thomas Stapleton, *Speculum prauitatis haereticae per orationes quodlibeticas sex ad oculum demonstratae* (Douai: Jan Bogart, 1580). *ARCR*, I, 1156; ICC ODIS 35987. Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, 145–6; Wim François, 'Thomas Stapleton (1535–1598), controversetheoloog tussen Engeland en de Nederlanden', in Violet Soen and Paul Knevel, eds. *Religie, hervorming en controverse in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden* (Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, 2013), 37–63, at 48.

[26] Thomas Stapleton, *Tres Thomae. Seu De S. Thomae Apostoli rebus gestis* (Douai: Jan Bogart, 1588). *ARCR*, I, 1159; ICC-ODIS 36047; USTC 110998.

[27] William J. Sheils, 'Polemic as Piety: Thomas Stapleton's Tres Thomae and Catholic Controversy in the 1580s', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 60 (2009): 74–94, at 77.

[28] Sheils, 'Polemic as Piety', 75–6, 82–3, 86, 89; Id., 'The Gospel, Liturgy and Controversy in the 1590s: Thomas Stapleton's Promptuaria', in James E. Kelly and Susan Royal, eds. *Early Modern English Catholicism. Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 189–205, at 190–1; François, 'Thomas Stapleton', 51.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The most-published English theologian in Douai was former Cambridge student Richard Hall (d. 1604), who was granted a lectureship at the Abbey of Marchiennes nearby Douai in 1576.[29] His earliest publication was a Latin translation of Cardinal John Fisher's *Treatise of Prayer* (1576), making this older devotional work accessible to non-English readers.[30] During the 1580s, his attention shifted to polemical books defending Catholic monastic life or diocesan authority. In his *Opuscula quaedam, his temporibus pernecessaria* (1581), Hall discussed the causes for, evolution of and possible solutions to the revolt in the Low Countries, a conflict that he had observed since his arrival in Louvain two decades earlier.[31] Hall adopted a broad Catholic perspective on the problems of his time, to an even greater extent than Stapleton had. His later work in particular was not directly linked to the English Catholic cause, but was predominantly aimed at readers beyond his own community.

Some gaps in this publishing activity should be recognised. First, it is striking that few English theologians in Douai published their books locally. For example, the edition of William Allen's writings was never entrusted to a Douai publisher. The colophon of Allen's *Libri tres* (1576) gives the name of the Douai printer Lodewijk De Winde, but the imprint on the title-page credits the Englishman John Fowler (d. 1579), then operating from Antwerp, as the actual publisher.[32] Thomas Stapleton sometimes collaborated with local printers, but during his professorship in Douai, most of his works came from Michel Sonnius's press in Paris.[33] Meanwhile, the English College's difficult financial situation probably prevented it from coordinating a larger publication programme.[34] Finally, only one English-language text came from Douai presses before 1600: Richard Bristow's (1538–81) *Demaundes to be proponed of Catholiques to the heretikes* (1576). Like Allen's *Libri tres*, this was actually published by John Fowler,

[29] La Rocca, 'Hall', 650–1. He later obtained canonries in Cambrai and Saint-Omer, and, in the 1590s, became vicar-general of the Diocese of Saint-Omer.

[30] John Fisher, *Tractatus de orando Deum, et de fructibus precum*, transl. Richard Hall (Douai: Jan Bogart, 1567 [=1576]; *ARCR*, I, 435).

[31] Richard Hall, *Opuscula quaedam his temporibus pernecessaria. De tribus primariis causis tumultuum Belgicorum* (Douai: Jan Bogart, 1581). *ARCR*, I, 627; ICC-ODIS 35999; USTC 110960. Bernard A. Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving in de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw over den Opstand* (Maastricht: Van Aelst, 1941), 126–8.

[32] Richard Bristow, *Demavndes to be proponed of Catholiqves to the heretikes* (Antwerp: John Fowler, 1576). *ARCR*, II, 69; USTC 442749. Willem Schrickx, 'John Fowler, English Printer in the Low Countries', *De Gulden Passer* 54 (1976): 1–48, at 25.

[33] François, 'Thomas Stapleton', 46–8. See also Jan Machielsen, 'How (not) to Get Published: The Plantin Press in the Early 1590s', *Dutch Crossing* 34 (2010): 99–114 on the relation between Stapleton and his printers in general.

[34] Also the financial insecurity of the college might have contributed here. See: Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees*, 68–70.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

who assigned the printing to Lodewijk De Winde.[35] By the late 1570s, hundreds of students had passed through the English College,[36] but there was still no steady stream of English Catholic texts, in English or Latin, from Douai presses. Antwerp, Louvain and Paris, where no such colleges were established, remained far more significant for English Catholic printing. Although it is sometimes assumed otherwise,[37] Douai clearly fell short of expectations in this matter.

One explanation for Douai's relatively small contribution to English Catholic publishing lies in its humble status as a typographic centre. Prior to the foundation of the university, no printer was practising in Douai, and even after its establishment, the city fathers found it difficult to attract a printer. The printers who settled in Douai — Jacques Boscard, Lodewijk De Winde and Jean Bogart — came from Antwerp or Louvain and had little or no experience in printing English-language texts. Only Bogart had produced three such texts in Louvain during the 1560s. Nor did the foundation of the English College spur an English printer or publisher to come to Douai. Instead of establishing his press in the vicinity of Allen's college, John Fowler actually moved his press from Louvain to Antwerp in 1573.[38] In short, in the 1560s and early 1570s, Douai offered far fewer facilities and less capacity and experience in issuing English-language texts than Louvain or Antwerp.

The departure of the English College in 1578 further hindered the publication of English Catholic texts. Douai was renowned for its staunchly Catholic population and its loyalty to the crown, but in early 1578, partisans of the States General and William of Orange were able to enforce an exceptional renewal of the town leadership. One of the first decisions of the newly appointed aldermen was the banishment of all English inhabitants except for university professors and children. Hence, the college, its lecturers and its students were compelled to leave. They found refuge in Reims, France, where they immediately received support from the Guise family.[39] Shortly before

[35] William Allen, *Libri tres. Id est, De sacramentis in genere [. . .] De sacramento eucharistiae [. . .] De sacrificio eucharistiae* (Antwerp: John Fowler, 1576). The colophon reads: 'Duaci, excudebat Ludovicus de Winde, cura et impensis Iohannnis Fouleri'. See also Schrickx, 'John Fowler', 25.

[36] Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees*, 79–80.

[37] Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, 30; Alexandra Walsham, 'Dumb Preachers: Catholicism and the Culture of Print', in *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2014), 235–70, at 245. This impression is probably formed because from the mid-1570s clandestine printers in England frequently included a fictitious Douai imprint on their title-pages, sometimes even naming a printer active in Douai. For these editions, see: *ARCR*, II, 877, 888, 524, 462, 613, 664.3, 612, 624, 560, 614.

[38] Schrickx, 'John Fowler', 22.

[39] Frédéric Duquenne, 'Un tout petit monde. Les notables de la ville de Douai du règne de Philippe II à la conquête française (milieu du XVIe siècle–1667). Pouvoir, réseaux et reproduction sociale', PhD Dissertation, Université Charles de Gaulle-Lille 3, 2011, 335–43; Duquenne, 'Des "républiques calvinistes" avortées?'; Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees*, 76–7.

this, Fowler had begun the process of moving his press to Douai, but was also now forced to leave the university town.[40] Considering his previous activities, it seems likely that he intended to continue English-language printing in Douai. Within a few months, however, the old order was restored in Douai. The college was invited to return, but stayed in France until 1593.[41]

During these eventful years for the Low Countries, English Catholic publishing activities increasingly shifted to France. In 1581–2, three English-language texts that defended the English colleges and reported the martyrdom of priests in England came from the press of Jean de Foigny in Reims.[42] The same printer also published the New Testament of a newly composed English Bible translation, the well-known *Douay-Rheims Bible*. The translation had been prepared by the theologians of the English College over several years and would probably have been printed in Douai if the English had been permitted to stay.[43] In these years, Rouen, the capital of Normandy and one of France's larger typographic centres, also grew in importance for the English Catholic community. Following his escape from England, the Jesuit Robert Parsons (1546–1610) established his own press in Rouen. Nine texts in English, mostly devotional works, were printed on this press between 1582 and 1585, while another printer, George L'Oyselet, produced ten texts in English (fig. 1).[44] During this period, Latin books written by English Catholics or discussing English Catholic topics mainly appeared in Paris or Lyon.[45] Due to the political turmoil in France, in the early 1590s the heart of English-language printing shifted again, to clandestine presses in England, while the larger part of Latin publishing returned to Antwerp. Strikingly, the return of the English College to Douai in 1593 did not immediately stimulate the development of an English Catholic press in the town.

[40] Schrickx, 'John Fowler', 37–9.

[41] Jean Balsamo, 'Les catholiques anglais et le refuge rémois (1578–1593)', in Chiara Lastraioli and Jean Balsamo, eds. *Chemins de l'exil, havres de paix: migrations d'hommes et d'idées au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2010), 93–107; Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees*, 83–4.

[42] See *ARCR*, II, 6, 7, 12, 514 and 623.5.

[43] On the genesis of this translation, see: Alexandra Walsham, 'Unclasping the Book? The Douai-Rheims Bible', in *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain*, 286–314.

[44] Thomas McCoog, '"Guiding Souls to Goodness and Devotion": Clandestine Publications and the English Jesuit Mission', in Teresa Bela, Clarinda Calma and Jolanta Rzegocka, eds. *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 93–109, at 97–103; Earle Havens and Elizabeth Patton, 'Underground Networks, Prisons and the Circulation of Counter-Reformation Books in Elizabethan England', in James E. Kelly and Susan Royal, eds. *Early Modern English Catholicism. Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 164–88, at 169–70, 172–3; Leona Rostenberg, *The Minority Press and the English Crown: a Study in Repression 1558–1625* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1971), 25–6.

[45] On English Catholic publications in Paris, see: Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), 74, 86–8.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Finally, the fact that only a few English-language texts came from the press at Douai was also due to the decrease in such editions that set in around 1570 (fig. 1). As the example of Richard Shacklock demonstrated, English theologians were often reluctant to publish in their own vernacular. The English College embarked upon a Bible translation project, but this was, as Alexandra Walsham has stressed, an exceptional measure in order to react to the wide circulation of Protestant vernacular Bibles in England.[46] Thomas Stapleton, who published extensively in English during the 1560s, preferred Latin after he moved to Douai.[47] He reflected wider tendencies since, as Eamon Duffy has recently highlighted, there was little interest in Catholic prayer books in English before the 1580s.[48] Thus, by the time Douai became an English Catholic stronghold, English writers increasingly shifted their efforts towards Latin publications. Given that these editions were not specifically destined for English audiences, they were often issued by printers in Antwerp or Paris who could ensure a better distribution across Europe.

Calvinist republics, Catholic exiles, and Douai presses

The sudden expulsion of the English College did not end Douai's role as a refuge for Catholic exiles. In 1578, exiles from other parts of the Low Countries arrived in Douai. After the Pacification of Ghent (1576), the Calvinist party had strengthened its position in the Low Countries. Calvinist rebels overturned the incumbent town governments and founded Calvinist republics in many Dutch-speaking towns in Brabant and Flanders. The new rulers did not expel the Catholic clergy collectively but did expect them to show or swear loyalty. Catholics were increasingly hindered in the open profession of their faith. At a rough estimate, several thousand left their homes and sought refuge in nearby Cologne, or in French-speaking towns such as Cambrai, Douai, Lille, Mons, and Saint-Omer.[49] In these latter

[46] Walsham, 'Unclasping the book?', 299–300.
[47] François, 'Thomas Stapleton', 44; Sheils, 'Polemic as Piety', 75; Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles*, 87; Lucy E. C. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 12–3.
[48] Eamon Duffy, 'Praying the Counter-Reformation', in James E. Kelly and Susan S. Royal, eds. *Early Modern English Catholicism. Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 206–25; Alexandra Walsham, 'Luis de Granada's Mission to Protestant England: Translating the Devotional Literature of the Spanish Counter Reformation', in Bela, Calma and Rzegocka, eds. *Publishing Subversive Texts*, 129–54. For the history of the English-language *manual*, a prayer book for lay Catholics, published first in Rouen in 1583, see: Joannes M. Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, PhD Dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1979 (Meppel: Krips Repro, 1979), 112–36, also published as Joannes M. Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, Publications of the Catholic Record Society, Monograph Series, 3 (London, Catholic Record Society, 1982).
[49] Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile*, 45–6, 62, 64–5; Antoon Viaene, 'Vlaamse vluchtelingen te Douai: hun verweer tegen Marnix' Biënkorf, 1578–1584', *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis te Brugge* 93 (1956): 5–37.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

towns, the situation was also tense. As mentioned above, the Douai town government was overturned by partisans of William of Orange, but the foundation of Calvinist republics was avoided. As early as May 1579, the Treaty of Arras reconciled most Walloon provinces and towns with King Philip.[50] The successive victories of the Duke of Parma then enabled most exiles to return home. In contrast to the English Catholics, these Dutch-speaking exiles did not establish their own institutions or start up a missionary enterprise. This was possibly due to their shorter period of exile but also because most of these exiles found refuge within the borders of their home country and integrated into local circles. However, like the English, they turned to the Douai printer, Bogart, for the printing of their works.

Following the change of power in Ghent, the Dominican Father Petrus Bacherius (1517–1601) was offered shelter by a friend in Cambrai. From the early 1560s, Bacherius published polemical and devotional texts in Latin as well as Dutch. In line with these previous activities, a Latin prayer book, compiled from the works of over 120 authors, was printed by Bogart in 1579.[51] A work more clearly linked to the presence of the exiles in Douai was the *Institutio necessaria de exitu Aegypti et fuga Babylonis*, published by Bogart in 1580. In it, Johannes Costerius, a priest from Oudenaarde in the County of Flanders, argued that exile was not cowardly or reprehensible. To avoid being forced to swear loyalty to the new regime or to participate in Reformed services, leaving was a legitimate choice for Catholics.[52] Costerius underpinned his reasoning by pointing to biblical precedents such as the Babylonian exile. However, in the third chapter, he also referred to the English example, listing numerous English Catholics who had renounced their titles, duties and positions for their Roman Catholic faith.[53] Geert Janssen argues that Costerius testified to the existence of a new discourse of flight emerging among Catholics in the Low Countries.[54] Nonetheless, the *Institutio necessaria* was notable for explicitly addressing and defending exile and for drawing clear parallels with the English Catholic cause.

[50] Violet Soen, *Vredehandel. Adellijke en Habsburgse verzoeningspogingen tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand (1564–1581)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 132–5.

[51] P. Bacherius, *Tabvla sacrorvm carminvm, piarvmqve precvm enchiridion* (Douai: Jan Bogart, 1579). ICC-ODIS 35981; USTC 11051. On Bacherius, see: Auguste Vander Meersch, 'De Backere (Pierre) ou Bacherius', in *Biographie nationale*, 44 vols. (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1866–1986), 4:741–4 and L. Charlier, 'Backer (Pierre de)', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 31 vols. (Paris: Letouzay, 1912–), 6:75–6.

[52] Johannes Costerius, *Institvtio necessaria de exitv Ægypti et fvga Babylonis* (Douai: Jan Bogart, 1580). ICC-ODIS 35989; USTC 110956.

[53] Costerius, *Institvtio necessaria*, 18v–19r.

[54] Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile*, 48–50.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Two years earlier, a Dutch-language treatise entitled *Die verclaringhe ende verworpinghe van het valsch verstant* (*The explanation and refutation of the wrong understanding*) had come from Bogart's press.[55] In contrast to the *Institutio necessaria*, which was eighty pages in length, this was over three hundred pages long. It was originally written in French by Matthieu de Launoy (1537–1608) and Henri Pennetier and was published in Paris in early October 1577. A reprint issued by Bogart in 1578 seems to have spurred the Dutch translation. Since this edition only provided the translator's initials, their identity remains unclear. However, the fact that Douai printers scarcely printed Dutch-language editions suggests that it was initiated by the exiles or that Bogart had this audience in mind.[56] Despite the book's French origins, it fitted the cause of the exiles remarkably well. The first part defended the most essential points of Catholic doctrine, the second refuted the false Calvinist interpretation of Scripture, and the third urged Calvinists to return to the old faith. The book thus had the potential to simultaneously reaffirm the Catholic doctrine of the exiles and to question the religious convictions of their adversaries, and in doing so, undermine the legitimacy of the Calvinist regimes in their home towns. At least in Antwerp, Catholics appear to have used the book to this effect, prompting the publication of an extensive Calvinist rebuttal in 1583. The preface of this last piece deplored that *Die verclaringhe* had been raised as a 'sign of triumph' against the Reformed ministers. A reaction against such a 'strong poison' was deemed to be urgently needed, even five years after its initial publication.[57]

Earlier research also assumed the involvement of the exiles in a French-language piece issued in 1581, the *Brève réponse à un livre d'un Huguenot*.[58] Its title-page credits the French polemist Gentian Hervet (1499–1584) with its authorship, but this is highly unlikely. At the time of the pamphlet's publication, Hervet was 82. He had not published anything in the previous eight years, and there is no explanation for the text's appearance in Douai instead of France. In fact, it was conceived as a response to a comment on a letter by Hervet written by the Calvinist controversialist Philips of Marnix,

[55] Matthieu de Launoy and Henri Pennetier, *Die verclaringhe ende verworpinghe van het valsch verstant en[de] tquaet mis bruycke[n] van sommige sententie[n] der heyliger schrifture[n]* (Douai: Jan Bogart, 1578). ICC-ODIS 35973; USTC 442750.

[56] The ecclesiastical approbation on the reverse of the title-page mentions the initials of the translator: F.I.V.S.T.D. On Dutch-language editions in the region, see: Albert Labarre, 'Impressions en flamand à Arras, Douai, Lille et Saint-Omer XVIe–XVIIIe siècle', *Les Pays-Bas français* 4 (1979): 30–42.

[57] [Lambert Daneau], *Christelycke antvvoorde op den eersten Boeck der lasteringhen van twee Apostaten Mattheeus de Launoy [. . .] ende Hendrick Pennetier* (Antwerpen: Niclaes Soolmans, 1583). USTC 401984, *2r.

[58] *Briefve response de Gentian Hervet [. . .] à vn livre d'vn Huguenot, asseuré menteur & hipocrite, contrefaisant le catholique* (Douai: Jan Bogart, 1581). USTC 16258.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Lord of Saint Aldegonde (1538–98). The exiles felt the need to refute his work: a manuscript reply to his *Bijenkorf* (*Beehive*) received the approbation of two members of the exile community, Cornelius Vrancx (1529–1615), a Benedictine monk and later abbot of the Abbey of Saint Peter in Ghent, and Jacob Eeckius (d. 1588), vicar-general of the diocese of Bruges. The use of the French language in the *Brève réponse* was possibly an attempt to make the attribution to the authoritative French polemist more plausible.[59]

Many other texts published in Douai around 1580 expressed views that would have been approved of by the exiles. However, except for Bacherius' prayer book and Costerius' *Institutio necessaria*, none can be linked to the exile community with absolute certainty. The number of titles openly published by the exiles thus remains remarkably small.[60] The abovementioned Cornelius Vrancx published several Dutch-language texts on the mass, confession and the Virgin Mary in the years prior to his exile.[61] Around 1580, he wrote some polemical and satirical poems, preserved in manuscript, but he seems not to have continued his previous publication efforts.[62] Only from the mid-1590s, long after his return home, did Vrancx again focus on devotional work in Dutch. It is possible that given the hostile climate in Flanders and Brabant, authors such as Vrancx preferred to contribute anonymously to certain texts, hoping this would ease their distribution. Other projects only materialized with significant delay. During his time in Douai, the Bruges canon and future bishop Mathias Lambrecht (d. 1602) initiated a Dutch-language compilation of saints' lives, which would only be published in 1590. It is perhaps no coincidence that this work was produced in Louvain by Jan Bogart, who had returned to his home town, leaving his printing office at Douai in the hands of his son of the same name.[63]

The exile community in Cologne appears to have been more prolific. From 1579 onwards, exiles produced theological treatises with the local printer Maternus Cholinus. These editions were all in Latin, and, as Geert Janssen indicates, were 'intended for an educated

[59] Viaene, 'Vlaamse vluchtelingen', 30–2; Violet Soen 'Exile Encounters and Cross-Border Mobility in Early Modern Borderlands. The Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai as a Transregional Node (1559–1600)', *Belgeo* 2 (2015):http://belgeo.revues.org/16437. Accessed 23 May 2019.

[60] Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving*, 123–8.

[61] Cornelius Vrancx, *Den sleutel der missen* (Gent: Ghileyn Manilius, 1571). USTC 411683. Id., *Den sleutel des hemels schriftbewijs vande biechte* (Gent: Adriana Teypins, 1574). USTC 408186. Id., *Die gheestelijcke Maria* (Gent: Pieter de Clerck, 1576). USTC 412573.

[62] Willem J. C. Buitendijk, *Het calvinisme in de spiegel van de Zuidnederlandse literatuur der Contra-Reformatie* (Groningen/Batavia: J.B. Wolters, 1942), 121–31.

[63] Jozef-M. Desmet, 'Onuitgegeven brieven van Mathias Lambrecht, Bisschop van Brugge (1596–1602) aan de Kardinalen Cam. Borghese, Hier. Mathei en Caes. Baronius', *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge à Rome*, 21 (1941): 51–69 at 58–9, 65.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

audience of hard-line Catholics', rather than their Calvinist adversaries.[64] Bernard Vermaseren observes that even during the ongoing peace negotiations in the city in 1579, exiles did not initiate a significant printing campaign. Except for Cunerus Petri (d. 1580), bishop of Leeuwarden, they remained surprisingly silent on the situation in the Low Countries.[65] Willem Lindanus (1525–88), the bishop of Roermond, had frequently collaborated with Cholinus since the late 1550s, but during his exile in Cologne, Lindanus issued only one controversial treatise.[66] Meanwhile, the Amersfoort priest Michael ab Isselt (d. 1597) composed Latin translations of the devotional writings of Luis de Granada, thus contributing to the already wide reach of the Spanish Dominican's books.[67] The only exile who addressed the situation in his home country more directly was the Benedictine scholar Petrus a S. Audomaro, who, in a treatise of over 300 pages, commented on the causes of and possible solutions to the conflict in the Low Countries.[68]

As Geert Janssen observes, the print cultures of the English exiles and their counterparts from the Low Countries were not separate worlds.[69] In Douai, they all collaborated with the same printer, Jan Bogart. Costerius's *Institutio* was even given ecclesiastical approbation by Thomas Stapleton in his capacity as professor of theology.[70] In addition, the treatise published by Petrus a S. Audomaro in Cologne is reminiscent of Richard Hall's *Opuscula quaedam*, which appeared a year earlier in Douai. However, the exiles from the Low Countries did not copy the strategies deployed by English Catholics immediately after their arrival on the continent. During the 1560s, the English issued large numbers of vernacular controversial treatises. The exiles from the Low Countries, by contrast, showed little interest in attacking their adversaries in Dutch, with *Die verclaringhe ende verworpinghe* as the sole exception. Instead, they preferred to publish Latin texts not specifically aimed at readers at home. Catholic writers from both England and the Low Countries thus sought alliances with audiences outside their own communities.

[64] Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile*, 112, 116.
[65] Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving*, 40–6. On the peace negotiations in Cologne, see: Soen, *Vredehandel*, 139–43.
[66] Wilhelmus Lindanus, *De fvgiendis nostri secvli idolis* (Köln: Maternus Cholinus, 1580). Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereichs erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhundert, http://www.vd16.de, accessed 10 June 2019 (hereafter VD16), L 1933.
[67] Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving*, 27–36. According to this author 'he is the only exile [...] that aimed to deepen Catholicism by publishing an extensive oeuvre' (at 36; my translation).
[68] Petrus a S. Audomaro, *Declaratio cavssarvm, ob qvas Belgivm gravissimis praemitur calamitatibus, cum demonstratione remedij aduersus easdem efficacissimi* (Köln: Maternus Cholinus, 1582). VD16 P 1926.
[69] Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile*, 114–5.
[70] Costerius, *Institvtio necessaria*, 40v.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

However, Catholic writers from the Low Countries were not forced to publish all or most of their works abroad. In contrast to England, the production of openly Catholic texts did not completely cease in Brabantine towns around 1580. In Louvain, for instance, the university theologians Johannes Lensaeus (1541–93) and Michael Baius (1513–89) continued to collaborate with local printers. Baius even launched a response to Marnix's views upon the sacrament of the altar.[71] After the Catholic party regained control of 's-Hertogenbosch, several sharply anti-Calvinist pamphlets came from the press there during 1580.[72] In Antwerp, Hendrik Wouters continued to print controversial treatises in Dutch whilst under the Calvinist regime, without using fictitious imprints.[73] In 1578, for instance, he reprinted the aforementioned translation of the book of Launoy and Pennetier.[74] In later years, he also issued a couple of texts by the prominent Catholic author Martinus Duncanus (1505–90) dealing with the veneration of saints and images and attacking Menno Simons's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, while a pamphlet by the Augustinian theologian Jacob van de Velde (d. 1583) defended the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist.[75] Wouters's output thus contrasts with the interest in Latin editions that emerged from the texts published in Cologne. The production of the Louvain and Antwerp presses was more similar to that of Douai. Both Douai and Louvain imprints reacted against Marnix, and the book of Launoy and Pennetier was printed in Douai as well as in Antwerp. Moreover, Louvain theologians were still able to print their treatises within the university town. This further explains why the number of works published by exiles in Douai and Cologne remained relatively low compared to those of the English Catholics during the 1560s.

League pamphlets in the border region

The third group of exiles reached the Province of Cambrai in the mid-1590s. After the coronation of Henry of Bourbon in February 1594, his troops took Paris, bringing down the Catholic League that had

[71] Vermaseren, *De katholieke Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving*, 46, 129.
[72] Buitendijk, *Het calvinisme*, 142–144.
[73] Anne Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), 250.
[74] Matthieu de Launoy and Henri Pennetier, *Die verclaringhe ende verworpinghe* (Antwerpen: Hendrik Wouters, 1578). USTC 414962/414963.
[75] Martinus Duncanus, *Een cort onderscheyt tusschen godlijcke ende afgoddische beelden* (Antwerpen: Hendrik Wouters, 1579). USTC 407820. Id., *Het tvveede boeck van het nievwe sacrificivm des Christendoms, dwelck is onse Paeschlam* (Antwerpen: Hendrik Wouters, 1580). USTC 401826. Id., *Vant rechte evangelische avontmael Christi Jesu* (Antwerpen: Hendrik Wouters, 1583). USTC 407880. Jacob van de Velde, *Een cort betooch der warachticheyt des lichaems Jesu Christi int sacrament des outaers* (Antwerpen: Hendrik Wouters, 1580). USTC 414322.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

controlled the French capital in the preceding years. The royal victory did not involve the banishment of all those who had supported the League. However, the League's leadership left Paris to avoid persecution. Others left intending to continue the fight against the king.[76] Initially, most of the exiled leaguers (*ligueurs de l'exil*) gathered in Amiens, which was still controlled by radical Catholics. For a short time, the Picard capital functioned as a 'leaguer Paris in miniature',[77] but in early August, it also fell into royal hands. The only remaining alternative for the leaguers was to cross the border and seek refuge in the territories of Philip II, who was continuing to support them.[78] Following Jean Châtel's failed attempt to assassinate the King of France in December 1594, the members of the Society of Jesus, who were thought to be accessories to the plot, were expelled from France. Several Jesuits also moved north and settled at Jesuit colleges in French-speaking towns such as Douai and Lille.[79]

From the mid-1580s, the League engaged in a massive propaganda campaign, which, in addition to public sermons and processions, involved the publication of almost nine hundred texts propagating and defending the League's political position. Most of these were first printed in Paris and distributed or reprinted across the kingdom. Although the League originated from the theological faculty of the Sorbonne in Paris and several of its leaders were professors, League printing did not particularly focus on theological treatises in Latin. Those who wrote for the League preferred to issue short pamphlets relating current events and instrumentalising these for the radical Catholic cause.[80] As Denis Pallier has argued, these were primarily aimed at an urban middle-class readership that the League hoped to win over to its anti-royalist ideology.[81] Following Henry's entry into Paris, it became impossible to print such texts. Since the printers that had worked for the League simply continued their businesses, the leaguers that had left the capital could no longer count on their services.[82]

[76] Descimon and Ruiz Ibáñez, *Les ligueurs de l'exil*, 91–4, 105.
[77] *Ibid*., 98.
[78] Aline Goosens, 'Les Pays-Bas méridionaux, refuge politique et religieux à l'époque du traité de Vervins', in Jean François Labourdette, Jean-Pierre Poussou and Marie-Catherine Vignal, eds. *Le traité de Vervins* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000), 203–33, at 209–12; Descimon and Ruiz Ibáñez, *Les ligueurs de l'exil*, 98–100.
[79] Hugues Beylard, 'Douai. Le Collège d'Anchin (1568–1764)', in Pierre Delattre, ed. *Les établissements des Jésuites en France depuis quatre siècles: répertoire topo-bibliographique*, 5 vols. (Enghien: Institut supérieur de théologie, 1940), 2:173–262, at 188; Pierre Delattre, 'Lille. Le Collège (1592–1764)', in Delattre, ed. *Les établissements des Jésuites en France*, 2:1175–1300, at 1184, 1210, 1212.
[80] Denis Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris pendant la Ligue (1585–1594)* (Genève: Droz, 1975), esp. 75, 131, 155.
[81] *Ibid*., 75, 155, 186–7.
[82] *Ibid*., 142, 144. Only Guillaume Bichon went into exile. He worked in Nantes for some years, before returning to Paris in 1599.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Moreover, there was no printer operating in Amiens in these years. Attempting to communicate with the French people, the *ligueurs de l'exil* were driven to work with printers from the border towns of the Low Countries, who, in previous years, had frequently reprinted Parisian League pamphlets.[83]

On 29 April 1594, approximately a month after Henry's entry in Paris, eleven theologians of the Sorbonne met in Amiens at the request of Claude de Guise, Duke of Aumale (1551–1631), and one of the League's military leaders. They were asked to address the question of whether it was permissible for Catholics to recognize and obey the king. They concluded that nobody should do so, especially since Henry had been excommunicated. They also reiterated that all those who submitted to the king's authority likewise risked excommunication. In previous years, the deliberations of meetings such as these had often been printed in Paris.[84] Now, two reports were issued in Arras, the first by Guillaume de La Rivière and the second, in an augmented edition, by Gilles Bauduyn.[85] The message of these editions was, quite obviously, not intended for the public in the Low Countries, although many Catholics there may have approved it. The *ligueurs de l'exil* were instead trying to reach their former supporters in France, hoping to revive the revolt against the Bourbon king. They thus attempted to continue their propaganda campaign from their respective places of exile.

More substantive attacks against the King of France came from the presses later in 1594. In Arras, Jean Bourgeois printed a new edition of *Le banquet et après-dîner du comte d'Arète*, Louis Dorléans' 350-page denunciation of Henry's many 'simulations' and the 'bad morals' of his followers.[86] It was first printed in Paris in late February or early March and, according to the title page of the Arras edition, had since been corrected and augmented by the author. The book received a formal approbation by Guillaume Gazet (1554–1612), parish priest of the church of Saint Mary Magdalen in Arras and ecclesiastical historian, who was convinced that it would help to 'uncover the ruses and deceit of the politiques

[83] Alexander Soetaert, 'Katholieke literatuur en transregionale uitwisseling in de kerkprovincie Kamerijk (1559–1659)', PhD Dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2017, 93–7.
[84] Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris*, 77.
[85] *La resolvtion d'onze doctevrs de la Sorbonne de Paris, assemblez en la ville d'Amiens le 29. iour d'Auril 1594* (Arras: Guillaume de La Rivière, 1594). USTC 20464. *La resolvtion d'onze doctevrs de la Sorbonne [. . .] Seconde edition* (Arras: Gilles Bauduyn, 1594). USTC 20465.
[86] Louis Dorléans, *Le banqvet et apresdinee dv conte d'Arete, ov il se traicte de la dissimvlation du Roy de Nauarre, & des moeurs de ses partisans* (Arras: Jean Bourgeois, 1594). USTC 8703; Pallier, *Recherches sur l'imprimerie à Paris*, no. 864.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and heretics'.[87] In nearby Douai, Jan Bogart printed a book of almost 400 leaves with sermons discussing Henry's 'feigned conversion' to Catholicism. The sermons were preached in Paris during the summer of 1593 by arch-leaguer Jean Boucher (d. 1646), doctor of the Sorbonne and parish priest of Saint-Benoît, but had remained unpublished until March 1594. Since many copies of the book were burned soon afterward, Boucher most likely initiated this new edition following his arrival in the Low Countries.[88]

Fearing that Philip II was preparing a military intervention in France, Henry IV declared war on Spain in early 1595. In the following three years, the borderlands between France and the Low Countries were once again a theatre of war. Presses in Arras, Douai, and Lille continued to issue pamphlets permeated by League reasoning. Jean Bourgeois, for example, printed a pamphlet narrating the story of a French prisoner who deplored his own previous support of Henri. The text also urged the French to open their eyes, reemphasising that the papacy had not lifted the king's excommunication.[89] Other works offered accounts of the siege and capture of French towns by the Spanish in 1595, 1596 and 1597. The League perspective was unmistakable. The *Discours sur la bataille, siège et prise de Doullens* (1595), for example, opened with a verse addressed to the French king, accusing him of taking advice from a 'heretical rabble' and dragging France into a new war. It was again stressed that his kingship was illegitimate.[90] Another pamphlet, expressing hope that French Catholics would no longer be blinded by a hypocritical king, also explicitly urged them to resume the League's earlier struggles.[91]

It is unclear who exactly wrote these pamphlets, but it is likely that exiled leaguers residing in the Low Countries were involved. Indeed, the character of these publications resembled those printed in Paris during the late 1580s and early 1590s. They related current events, such as victories of the Catholic side or deliberations of the Sorbonne

[87] Dorléans, *Le banqvet*, 263. On Gazet, see: Roger Aubert, 'Gazet (Guillaume)', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 31 vols. (Paris: Letouzay, 1912–), 20:186–7.

[88] Jeff Persels, 'Boucher et le premier *Sermon de la simulée conversion* (1594)', in Bruce Hayes and Paul Scott, eds. *Jean Boucher (1548–1646?): prêtre, prédicateur, polémiste,* theme issue of *Œuvres et critiques*, 18 (2013): 71–81.

[89] *Lamentation et complaint qve faict la France a la noblesse nouuellement exposee par vn gentilhomme Françhois prisonnier en la Ville d'Arras se repentant dauoir [sic] suiuy la partie du prince de Bierne* (Arras: Jean Bourgeois, 1595). USTC 20536.

[90] *Discovrs de la bataille, siege et prise des ville et chasteav de Dovrlens, emportez par assault le dernier iour de Iuillet 1595* (Douai: Jan Bogart, 1595) A1v: 'Tu fus mal auisé, empesté Nauarrois / Lors que prestant l'oreille à l'hérétique engea[n]ce / Tu ramends la guerre au giron de la France, / N'y esta[n]t Roy qu'e[n] songe, & sans force & sans loix'. USTC 20508.

[91] *Poeme svr la bataille donnee av siege de Dovrlens* (Arras: Robert Maudhuy, [1595]), vi: 'Esueillez vous François, & qu'vn Roy hypocryte / Ne vous aveugle plus, Que la foy vous incite / A laisser le limon de ce lac Geneuois / Et reprendre la Ligue & le Chrestien pauois.' USTC 20545.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

theologians, were written in French rather than Latin, and addressed a Catholic audience in France. Without their former printers, the exiled leaguers could not equal the output of the Parisian presses, but they continued to use their earlier communication strategies. Theologians such as Boucher underpinned their writings with theological arguments, but his publications were primarily still intended to prevent the final victory of a formerly Calvinist king, rather than to meticulously attack Calvinist doctrine. Therefore, instead of following the other exile communities in publishing controversial treatises in Latin, the *ligueurs de l'exil* continued a vernacular tradition in French Catholic printing that stretched back to the early days of the Wars of Religion.[92] Nevertheless, these continued efforts proved to be in vain. The French did not rise up against their king, and Philip II finally acknowledged Henry's kingship with the Peace of Vervins (1598), after which almost all exiles returned to France.[93]

Douai, Saint-Omer and the apogée of English Catholic publishing

The previous sections demonstrated that during the late sixteenth century, several exile communities sought refuge in the Province of Cambrai and that they turned to local printers, albeit to a limited extent. However, to gain full insight into English Catholic print culture, it is essential to extend the analysis into the early seventeenth century. Unlike the exiles from the Low Countries or the *ligueurs de l'exil*, English Catholics remained dependent on the Province of Cambrai and the European continent more generally to educate their youth, to train missionary priests, to organize monastic life and, indeed, to produce books until well into the eighteenth century. As Liesbeth Corens stresses, 'all these activities were focused more on sustaining Catholicism in England, than on English life abroad', and 'were in support of a future return'.[94] Training priests, educating a Catholic laity and printing books abroad all fitted within a long-term missionary undertaking rather than within a context of exile.[95] The particular development of English Catholic printing during the early seventeenth century can only fully be understood against this background.

[92] Luc Racaut, *Hatred in Print: Catholic Propaganda and Protestant Identity During the French Wars of Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), esp. ch. 3.

[93] Notable exceptions here are Charles de Lorraine, Duke of Aumale (1555–1631) and former military commander of the League, and Jean Boucher. Boucher finally obtained a canonry in Tournai, where he published several books during the early decades of the seventeenth century. Bruce Hayes and Paul Scott, eds. *Jean Boucher (1548–1646?): prêtre, prédicateur, polémiste*, theme issue of *Œuvres et critiques*, 18 (2013).

[94] Corens, *Confessional Mobility*, 30, 47.

[95] *Ibid*., 85: 'the English mission was one common project which consisted of a broad spectrum of actions to sustain and strengthen the English Catholic community, including producing priests, publications and lay education'. Corens focuses on the period 1660–1720, and does not fully explore the organisation of English Catholic printing on the continent.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

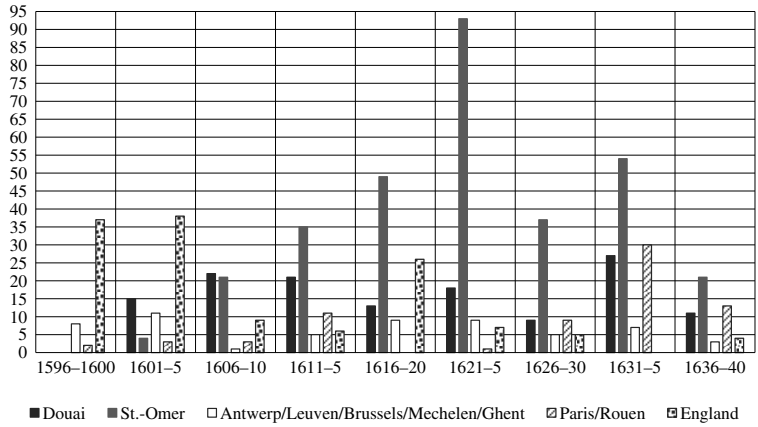

Figure 2. Catholic editions in English published between 1596 and 1640 (based on *ARCR*).

Around 1600 English Catholic publishing changed on at least two levels. Firstly, the overall number of English Catholic texts rose significantly, increasing from less than fifty between 1596 and 1600 to almost ninety in the following five years. This increase would continue until the mid-1620s (fig. 2). There was a renewed interest in English-language texts, whose number almost tripled in the first five years of the new century. English Catholic writers apparently no longer preferred Latin above their vernacular. In the period 1610–40, the number of English-language editions regarding English Catholicism almost equalled that produced in all other languages. Continental presses still poured out a multitude of polemical treatises, both in Latin and in English, but the number of English-language books on devotion, spirituality, catechesis, hagiography, monastic rules or church history also grew significantly. English Catholic publishing thus not only reached its all-time apogée in the early decades of the seventeenth century, it also became more diverse than it had been since Elizabeth's accession.

Secondly, geographically the centre of English Catholic publishing shifted around 1600, towards Douai and Saint-Omer. As seen above, the English scholars residing in Douai since the 1560s often preferred their books to be published elsewhere. Only one English-language text came from the university town's presses before 1600. This changed drastically, and quite unexpectedly, during the early years of the seventeenth century. The importance of clandestine presses in England declined, and only a minor number of works were still printed elsewhere in the Low Countries or in France (fig. 2). In total, presses in Douai and Saint-Omer produced over 450 Catholic texts in English in the period 1601–40, covering nearly eighty percent of the total production

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

in these years. In the same period, the Douai and Saint-Omer printers issued more than 150 works in languages other than English (predominantly in Latin) written by English Catholic authors or related to English Catholic matters. Douai now developed into the second most important centre for such editions. This output was far greater than that of Antwerp, Cologne or Rome, and was only exceeded by that of Paris.

To a considerable extent, this growth was the result of a renewed interest in controversy. Many English Catholics hoped to benefit from the accession of James VI, King of Scots to the English throne in 1603. However, these hopes vanished with the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot (1605) and the imposition of a more strictly formulated Oath of Allegiance. In a mass of controversial texts, English Catholic theologians substantiated their opposition to the Oath and to the king's theological positions, responded to the incessant attacks of the Church of England, applauded the conversion of several high-profile figures from the English Church and pleaded for a greater degree of toleration in their country.[96] Although figures as notable as Cardinal Bellarmine contributed to these controversies, most treatises were written by English Catholics residing in the Low Countries.[97] In particular, the presidents, professors and students of Douai's English College reinforced their efforts.[98] In Saint-Omer, where the English Jesuits had opened a college in 1593, Robert Parsons and several of his fellow Jesuits likewise started a prolific publication campaign that continued until the end of James's reign in the mid-1620s.[99]

Simultaneously, presses in Douai and Saint-Omer also produced a growing number of vernacular editions instructing the faithful in their daily prayers, stimulating devotion to the Virgin Mary or the saints and explaining the significance of the Catholic sacraments. English theologians at first showed great scepticism towards devotional work in their own language, but, as Alexandra Walsham argues, from around 1580, they gradually realized that such books were a lifeline for the Catholic faith in England. Books were powerful tools to remedy irregular access to pastoral care, since books could go where missionary priests could not.[100] Indeed, several English-language prayer books as well as English translations of the work of Luis de Granada and Peter Canisius appeared in the late sixteenth century, mainly in Rouen.[101] Yet it was only around the turn of the century that

[96] For an excellent overview of these controversies, see Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age: A Survey of Printed Sources* (London: The Scolar Press, 1978), esp. chs. 3–4.
[97] *Ibid*., esp. 89–109.
[98] *Ibid*., 137, 147–8, 178, 222.
[99] *Ibid*., 76–82, 145, 162–3, 174, 178, 206.
[100] Walsham, 'Dumb Preachers', 264, 282.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

English Catholics started to compose and translate devotional works on a larger scale.[102] In 1599, Richard Verstegan, then based at Antwerp, edited the first post-Tridentine English-language *primer*, a book destined for private devotion containing the Office of the Virgin Mary and a number of psalms, hymns and litanies.[103] The realisation that James' succession brought no improvement resulted in a renewed interest in controversy but also apparently accelerated the publication of devotional texts. In 1604, three English-language prayer books were printed, two on the secret press of Father Garnet in England and the other on Laurence Kellam's press in Douai.[104] So, despite the long-term awareness that devotional literature in the vernacular was needed, it took several decades to build such a corpus.

The growing importance of Douai and Saint-Omer clearly fitted within more general tendencies. But why did the output of these smaller, previously almost insignificant typographic centres now outnumber those of Antwerp, Louvain, Paris and Rouen, the leading centres until that point? First, it should be noted that in the early 1590s, Douai regained its previous role as an educational and missionary hub for English Catholics. Following Henry of Navarre's successes over the Catholic League, the English College decided to return to Douai from Reims in early 1593.[105] In the same year, the English Jesuits opened a college in Saint-Omer, which would become one of the main centres of the English mission.[106] In subsequent decades, the English Benedictines and Franciscans founded no fewer than six convents in Douai, Aire-sur-la-Lys, Gravelines and Cambrai.[107] Similar institutions opened elsewhere on the continent, but their concentration nowhere approached that of the Province of Cambrai.[108] English Catholic writers increasingly gathered around these institutions,

[101] Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, 125–7, 130–1; Walsham, 'Luis de Granada's Mission'; Id., 'Wholesome Milk and Strong Meat: Peter Canisius's Catechisms and the Conversion of Protestant Britain', *British Catholic History* 32 (2015): 293–314.
[102] For a brief account of the circulation of devotional texts of continental origin among English Catholic readers, see: Walker, 'Priests, Nuns, Presses and Prayers', in Kaplan et al., eds. *Catholic Communities in Protestant States*, 148–52.
[103] For a systematic overview of the *primer* editions and their contents until 1800, see: Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, esp. chs. 1 and 2.
[104] Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, 131. These editions are the so-called *manuals*, another type of prayer books aimed at the laity.
[105] Archives communales de Douai, BB 13, *Régistre aux mémoires 1575–1605*, fol. 205r–v: transcription of a letter from the English College dated 14 January 1593; Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees*, 83–4.
[106] Leo Hicks, 'The Foundation of the College of St Omers', *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu* 19 (1950): 146–80; Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst: a History of Two Centuries* (London: Burns and Oates, 1961), esp. ch. 1.
[107] For a recent account, see: Caroline Bowden and James E. Kelly, eds. *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800: Communities, Culture, and Identity* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
[108] Corens, *Confessional Mobility*, 5 also points to the particularly dense networks in this region.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

or regularly passed through them on their way to or from England. This process of institutionalisation corresponds chronologically with the rise of English Catholic publishing in Douai and Saint-Omer. From the early 1600s, the strongholds of the English mission and English Catholic education also became the heart of English Catholic publishing. Douai and Saint-Omer now provided both missionaries and books to the Catholic faithful in England, performing a role comparable to that of Geneva for the French Calvinist community during the 1550s and 1560s.[109]

Other explanations might be found in questions of geography and logistics. Although some texts printed in Douai and Saint-Omer were used by the religious and students of the continental convents and colleges, most were destined for Catholics across the Channel in need of pastoral guidance. A great number of books found their way to readers in England, but transport across the Channel was a perilous undertaking. There was always a risk that English authorities would seize and destroy the cargos upon arrival on English soil.[110] Yet, printing in the vicinity of the Channel coast certainly facilitated transport. Already in the mid-1580s, a Catholic spy credited Rouen as 'a most convenient city on account of its nearness to the sea [for the] preparation and introduction into the country of books written in English'.[111] Saint-Omer also offered excellent opportunities in this regard, since no less than four Channel ports — Dunkirk, Gravelines, Calais, and Boulogne — were located within thirty miles.[112] English Catholic missionaries and students who travelled back and forth between England, the Low Countries, Germany or even Italy would pass through Douai and Saint-Omer, where they could buy books in their own language or look for a printer willing to publish their own writings.[113] In addition, it is perhaps no coincidence that the rise of Douai and Saint-Omer began only after the Peace of London (1604), ending the Anglo-Spanish conflict and significantly easing transport across the Channel. The increased trade between England and the Habsburg Low Countries also created new opportunities to ship Catholic books into England.

During the 1590s, the Antwerp-based publisher and polemicist Richard Verstegan had been the main agent for shipping Catholic

[109] Kingdon, *Geneva and the Coming of the Wars of Religion*, esp. ch. 4.
[110] Rostenberg, *The Minority Press*, 31–9, 118–20.
[111] Cited in *Ibid.*, 34.
[112] Justin Deschamps de Pas, 'La ville de Saint-Omer et le port de Gravelines', *Mémoires de la Société des antiquaires de la Morinie* 35 (1931): 139–52. Its proximity to the coast also influenced the choice of Saint-Omer for the English Jesuit College in 1593: Hicks, 'The Foundation of the College of St Omers', 159. On the role of Calais and Dunkirk in shipping Catholic books into England, see: Rostenberg, *The Minority Press*, 36, 112, 120, 128–9.
[113] John Bossy, 'Rome and the Elizabethan Catholics: A Question of Geography', *The Historical Journal* 7 (1964): 135–42, esp. 139–40; Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, 37; Rostenberg, *The Minority Press*, 32.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

books into England, but in 1603 or 1604 he suddenly stopped publishing and distributing books for the English market.[114] His previous activities were now continued by his fellow-countryman John Heigham, who arrived in Douai around the same time. Around 1613, Heigham moved to Saint-Omer, possibly to be nearer to the coast, where he 'became the most important figure in the English Catholic book trade'.[115] According to informer William Udall he visited England in 1608 and was responsible for sending 'into England all the seditious bokes which come from Doway and other parts'.[116] The following year, he was seen in Calais, receiving a shipment of books from Paris that he would later send to England.[117] His import activities were thus not limited to the books he published himself with the help of local printers in Douai and Saint-Omer. Also in 1609, he sent his wife Marie Boniface, a daughter of a citizen from Arras, to England to disperse a cargo of Catholic books. Despite the fact that she travelled in the 'habite of a Dutchwoman', she was arrested and held 'xvi days in the pursuivants keeping'.[118] Nevertheless, Heigham continued his risky smuggling activities for another two decades. In 1624, for instance, he was again noticed in London.[119] The presence of lay intermediaries such as John Heigham contributed significantly to the growing importance of Douai and Saint-Omer for English Catholic printing.

The printing facilities and capacity in Douai and Saint-Omer were also significantly enhanced by the arrival of an English printer and the installation of a specifically English press. In 1603, Laurence Kellam moved from Valenciennes to Douai, establishing his business just two blocks away from the English College.[120] He immediately started to print books in his native language. One of his first editions was *A survey of the new religion* by Matthew Kellison (1561–1642), professor at the University of Reims and future president of Douai.[121] In later years, he also printed writings of the current president, Thomas

[114] Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004), 49–54; Blom, *The Post Tridentine English Primer*, 37–8; Rostenberg, *The Minority Press*, 36.
[115] Antony F. Allison, 'John Heigham of S. Omer (c.1568–c.1632)', *Biographical Studies* 4 (1958): 226–42, at 232. On Heigham, see also: Paul Arblaster, 'Heigham, John (b. c. 1568, d. in or after 1634)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 60 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) 26:242-3.
[116] Cited in Allison, 'John Heigham', 231.
[117] Rostenberg, *The Minority Press*, 128. On his relations there, see also: Allison, 'John Heigham', 236.
[118] Allison, 'John Heigham', 231.
[119] Rostenberg, *The Minority Press*, 129.
[120] On Kellam, see: Rostenberg, *The Minority Press*, 123–31; Anna E.C. Simoni, 'The Hidden Trade-Mark of Laurence Kellam, Printer at Douai', *Ons geestelijk erf* 64 (1990): 130–43 and Alexander Soetaert and Heleen Wyffels, 'Beyond the Douai-Reims Bible: The Changing Publishing Strategies of the Kellam family in Seventeenth-Century Douai', *The Library* (forthcoming).
[121] Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age*, 137.

Worthington, as well as the works of several lecturers and former students of the college, including Edward Maihew (1568–1625), Richard Smith (1567–1655) and Philip Woodward (d. *c.*1610). In total, Kellam, his son of the same name and his widow printed close to fifty English-language texts before the early 1660s. Kellam's arrival also created a new opportunity to complete the publication of the *Douay-Rheims Bible*. Until then only the New Testament had been produced. In 1609–10, the Old Testament finally came from Kellam's press. The edition encompassed two quarto volumes of some 2250 pages together, three times as many as the New Testament. For a project of such dimensions, the opportunity to collaborate with a printer whose first language was English, worked near the college and fully realized the edition's importance for the English Catholic community, was a luxury indeed.

In 1608, the English Jesuits decided to establish a press within their college buildings in Saint-Omer.[122] The college press produced over 200 English-language editions in the subsequent three decades. After 1640, the press operated only sporadically, producing fewer than ten editions in the next twenty years. In a letter from 1615, Guido Bentivoglio (1577–1644), the papal nuncio of the Low Countries, rightly noted that this was a private press.[123] With a few exceptions, the press was used to print texts written, edited or translated by members of the Society of Jesus.[124] It was not so much a commercial undertaking as a part of the English mission, with the Jesuits themselves responsible for financing the editions.[125] In this respect,

[122] Michael J. Walsh, 'The Publishing Policy of the English College Press at Saint-Omer, 1608–1759', in Keith Robbins, ed. *Religion and Humanism: Papers Read at the Eighteenth Summer Meeting and the Nineteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), 239–50; Charles A. Newdigate, 'Notes on the Seventeenth-Century Printing Press of the English College at Saint Omer', *The Library* 10 (1919): 179–90, 223–42. The press is also discussed in Antony F. Allison, 'An Early-Seventeenth Century Translator: Thomas Everard, S.J. A Study of the Bibliographical Evidence', *Biographical Studies* 2 (1953): 188–215, and Id., 'New Light on the Early History of the Breve Compendio. The Background to the English Translation of 1612', *Recusant History* 4 (1957): 4–17, esp. 7 and 15.

[123] Antony F. Allison, 'Leonardus Lessius of Louvain and his English Translator', in Susan Roach, ed. *Across the Narrow Seas. Studies in History and Bibliography of Britain and the Low Countries* (London: The British Library, 1991), 89–98, at 92. The letter has been fully transcribed in Raffaele Belvederi, *Guido Bentivoglio: diplomatico*, 2 vols. (Rovigo: Centro di cultura Aldo Masieri, 1947), 2:344–5.

[124] Among these exceptions are five pro-Spanish political tracts written by Richard Verstegan as a reaction to the end of the Twelve Years' Truce in the Low Countries, the Battle of the White Mountain and the negotiations on the Spanish Match. See: Antony F. Allison, 'A Group of Political Tracts, 1621–1623, by Richard Verstegan', *Recusant History* 18 (1986): 128–42.

[125] Walsh, 'The Publishing Policy', 242–3; Antony F. Allison, 'The Later Life and Writings of Joseph Creswell', *Recusant History* 15 (1978): 79–144, esp. 124–125. For one of the first books printed on the press in 1608, written by James Anderton under the pseudonym John Brereley, it has been argued that the author himself may have financed the edition: Antony F. Allison, 'Who Was John Brereley? The Identity of a Seventeenth-Century Controversialist', *Recusant History* 16 (1982): 17–41, at 30.

the college press was a successor to the clandestine presses in England,[126] whose production sharply decreased from these years on, and the press that had operated under the direction of Robert Persons (1546–1610) in Rouen in the 1580s.

Finally, it should be stressed that the remarkable apogée of English Catholic publishing would have been difficult without the help of continental printers. While only a few printers were active in the Province of Cambrai in the late sixteenth century, an increasing number of new printing offices were opened from 1600. This greatly enhanced the printing facilities in the region's towns, offering more possibilities for English Catholics seeking to publish their works locally. For example, prior to the establishment of their college press, the Jesuits of Saint-Omer cooperated with François Bellet, the town's only printer. In the early 1600s, he printed a series of Persons' controversial treatises. Bellet later moved to Ypres, probably thinking that the new college press would make his business less viable.[127] However, the English Catholics just further intensified their collaboration with local typographers. The press of the Kellam family and the English Jesuits produced no more than sixty percent of all English-language editions in Douai and Saint-Omer; the remaining share came from the presses of 'local' houses of, amongst others, the Boscard, Auroy and Wyon families.

The many typographic errors committed by these French-speaking printers certainly frustrated the English authors, but did not stop the authors from making use of their services.[128] In Antwerp, Louvain, Paris and Rouen, where a more limited number of texts in English was printed in this period, there was not even an English printer or press active. Even in the Province of Cambrai, the aforementioned John Heigham — who did not operate a press himself but issued 85 editions in the period 1604–34, mainly in English — consistently worked with local printers rather than with the Kellam family, who were fellow countrymen.[129] In addition, the Jesuits in Saint-Omer did not welcome works written by authors from the Franciscan or Benedictine orders or by members of the secular clergy. For the printers themselves, printing in English must have been very profitable, since this was a kind of jobbing printing. The editions were not initiated by the printers themselves but commissioned by the English, who also assured payment of the printing costs and the distribution of most, if not all, of the print run. This reduced financial risks and possibly also helped to provide the necessary resources for the publication of

[126] Chadwick, *St Omers to Stonyhurst*, 140.
[127] Dirk Imhof, 'François Bellet en Jan I Moretus: een verhaal van vertrouwen en mistrouwen', *De Gulden Passer* 88 (2010): 71–91, at 80, 84–8.
[128] For a list of these complaints, see: Soetaert, 'Katholieke literatuur', 145–8.
[129] Allison, 'John Heigham', 230–1.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

editions in other languages that were destined for continental markets. Yet, only a more systematic typographical analysis of larger parts of the Douai and Saint-Omer output, including books in English, as well as in French and Latin, will provide more insight into the relationship between English Catholics and the local book world.

Starting from the mid-1620s, the printing of English-language texts in Douai and Saint-Omer rapidly declined. While 111 such works had come from the presses there in the period 1621–5, only 46 would be printed in the following five years. There was a brief revival in the early 1630s, in Douai and Saint-Omer as well as in Rouen, but after 1635, an even sharper decline set in.[130] In the 1640s, presses in Douai and Saint-Omer produced no more than seven texts in English. Both the press of the Kellam family and that of the English Jesuits came close to total inactivity.[131] To a considerable extent, this was the result of a period of renewed warfare in the Province of Cambrai, which paralysed printing during most of the late 1630s and 1640s. The college press probably also suffered from the financial problems that the English Jesuit College faced.[132] However, the outbreak of civil war in England had a particularly significant impact. In these turbulent years, it became easier to print Catholic texts in England again.[133] Until well into the eighteenth century, English-language works would be printed in Douai and Saint-Omer, but the high output of the first decades of the seventeenth century were never reached again.[134]

Conclusions

The preceding survey shows that there was no specifically Catholic model or pattern of exile print culture. Certainly, the English Catholics, the exiles from other regions of the Low Countries and the *ligueurs de l'exil* all turned to local presses, but they did so to varying extents and for diverse reasons. They all felt the need to defend their doctrinal and political viewpoints, yet their editorial choices and strategy varied and sometimes evolved over time. English theologians initially responded to the Protestant attacks in their own vernacular, but during their stay abroad, the interest in Latin treatises increased, since these guaranteed circulation beyond their native

[130] On the edition of prayer books in Rouen in the 1630s, see: Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, 63–4, 133.
[131] Walsh, 'The Publishing Policy', 245.
[132] Chadwick, *St Omer to Stonyhurst*, 145.
[133] Thomas H. Clancy, 'A Content Analysis of English Catholic Books, 1615–1714', *The Catholic Historical Review* 86 (2000): 258–72, at 259; Id., *English Catholic Books 1641–1700, A Bibliography* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996).
[134] Editions published after 1640 are listed in Clancy, *English Catholic Books 1641–1700* and Frans Blom et al., *English Catholic Books 1701–1800. A Bibliography* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996).

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

England. The exiles from the Low Countries publishing in Cologne also focused on Latin treatises. However, if editions in Douai, Antwerp and Louvain are considered too, it appears that there remained a parallel interest in controversial or devotional vernacular editions. Rather than publishing large treatises covering several hundred pages, the *ligueurs de l'exil* continued the French tradition of publishing vernacular pamphlets. Although a certain reticence about vernacular publications cannot totally be denied, the final choice of language was much more influenced by already existing strategies, the intended audience, and current developments at home and abroad.

English Catholics developed the most prolific printing programme by far during their stay in the Province of Cambrai. They were the only community forced to extend its stay over a longer period. Although there were some clandestine presses in England, publishing large quantities of Catholic books there remained impossible. In the late sixteenth century, English Catholic printing was dispersed over the Low Countries, France and England and its centre regularly shifted. However, shortly after 1600, printing activity was increasingly concentrated in Douai and Saint-Omer. The proximity of the Channel coast, the foundation of new English colleges and convents, the presence of English tradesmen, publishers and printers, the establishment of an English Jesuit press and an intensive cooperation with local printing houses all contributed to the publication of hundreds of editions, in both English and Latin, in less than two decades. The education and organisational centres of the English mission now finally became also the main centres for English Catholic printing. As such, the evolutions in English Catholic printing strongly support Liesbeth Corens' argument that the continental activities of English Catholics should not be understood in terms of exile, but rather be seen as a part of a missionary undertaking whose aim was the survival of Catholicism in England.[135]

Nonetheless, the role that Douai and Saint-Omer played within the English Catholic community has a lot in common with the significance of Emden for the Calvinist community in the Low Countries between the 1550s and 1580s.[136] Presses in all three towns produced hundreds of editions, many of which were in the vernacular and most of which were destined for distribution either across the border in the Low Countries or across the Channel in England. Printing in all three towns was part of a missionary enterprise. While Emden editions supported the growth of the Calvinist movement in the Low Countries, those in Douai and Saint-Omer guaranteed the survival of Catholicism in England and prepared a future restoration of the old faith. In this

[135] See n. 94 and 95.
[136] Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, esp. ch. 4.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press

regard, a profound difference between Catholic and Calvinist communities is difficult to maintain. Instead, each expatriate community developed its own relationship with the printing press, depending on the different challenges it faced, the facilities available abroad and the political and religious objectives it was determined to achieve.

https://doi.org/10.1017/bch.2019.24 Published online by Cambridge University Press