

# **A Catholic International or Transregional Catholicism? The Printing Press, English Catholics, and Their Hosts in the Early Modern Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai**

ALEXANDER SOETAERT AND VIOLET SOEN\*

*Using Impressa Catholica Cameracensia (ICC), a new database of early modern Catholic books printed in the Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai, a border zone in the south of the Habsburg Low Countries, this article examines encounters and exchanges between expatriate English Catholics and their francophone hosts in the continental book world. It is argued that religious book production represents an illuminating case for the study of these interactions between Catholics across, along, and beyond borders. From this perspective, the continental production process of English Catholic books rather testifies to the “transregional” character of early modern Catholicism as a whole, rather than to English Catholicism’s specific “international” orientation.*

*Keywords:* English Catholicism; transregional history; Catholic print culture; confessional mobility; Habsburg Low Countries

**I**n recent years, historians have judged the early modern English Catholic community to be far more “international” than “insular,” reassessing the impact of exile, diaspora, and cross-border networks and

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\* Prof. Dr. Violet Soen teaches Early Modern History in the Faculty of Arts of the KU Leuven / Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium. Her email address is: violet.soen@kuleuven.be. Alexander Soetaert is a research fellow in the research group for Early Modern History in the History Department, Faculty of Arts, KU Leuven/Catholic University of Leuven. His email address is: alexander.soetaert@kuleuven.be. Research for this article was part of the project “The Making of Transregional Catholicism. Print Culture in the Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai (1559–1659)” financed by the KU Leuven Research Council (OT 2013/33). The authors would like to thank Jan Machiels for his comments on an earlier draft of this article, as well as the referees of this journal and the members of audiences at paper presentations at Saint Andrews University and UC Berkeley for their questions and observations.

diplomacy.<sup>1</sup> This historiographical revision gave rise to newer interpretations of a “Catholic International” or “International Catholicism,”<sup>2</sup> and an important, if not crucial, role has been attributed to books, the printing press, and the clandestine book trade in connecting the British Isles to the wider Catholic world.<sup>3</sup> Alexandra Walsham championed this new interpretation, first demonstrating how books produced on the continent came to function as “dumb preachers” for Catholic audiences in England, and more recently, unravelling how much this distribution of continentally printed books relied upon the active processes of appropriation and negotiation within the Counter-Reformation.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, Earle Havens has connected book ownership in Elizabethan England to International Catholicism, concluding that English collectors felt themselves spiritually and materially connected with the “continental Roman Catholic Church as an international, indeed global, and vitally reformed ecclesiastical institution” through their books.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Alexandra Walsham, “In the Lord’s Vineyard: Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain,” in: *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham, 2014), 1–49, gives alternatives to the historiographical tradition focusing on related dynamics in the Reformed tradition; see Mark Greengrass, “Thinking with Calvinist Networks: From the ‘Calvinist International’ to the ‘Venice Affair’ (1608–1610),” in: *Huguenot Networks, 1560–1780: The Interactions and Impact of Protestant Minority in Europe*, ed. Vivienne M. Larmine (New York, 2018), 9–27; or publications by Ole Peter Grell, including his “The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network and its Significance for Calvinist Identity and Interaction in Early Modern Europe,” *European Review of History*, 16 (2009), 619–36.

2. Brian Lockey, *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists, and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth* (Farnham, 2015), 8. Considering the French and Spanish diplomatic and military support for the English Catholic cause, Brad Gregory has recently concluded that “English Catholicism remained politically a part of international Catholicism.” See Brad Gregory, “Situating Early Modern English Catholicism,” in: *Early Modern English Catholicism. Identity, Memory and Counter-Reformation*, eds. James E. Kelly and Susan Royal (Leiden, 2017), 17–40, here 26. For a similar understanding of “International Catholicism,” see Glyn Redworth, “Between Four Kingdoms: International Catholicism and Colonel William Semples,” in: *Irlanda y la Monarquía Hispánica: Kinsale 1601–2001. Guerra, política, exilio y religión*, eds. Enrique García Hernán et al. (Madrid, 2002), 255–64.

3. James Kelly, “England and the Catholic Reformation: The Peripheries Strike Back,” *Journal of Early Modern Christianity*, 8 (2020), (forthcoming), summarizes in the second section most of the recent historiography about the (illicit) book trade and its importance for English Catholicism.

4. Alexandra Walsham, “Dumb Preachers: Catholicism and the Culture of Print,” in: *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham, 2014), 235–82 [first published in *Past & Present*, no. 168 (2000), 72–123]; *idem*, “Religious Ventriloquism: Translation, Cultural Exchange and the English Counter-Reformation,” in: *Transregional Reformations: Crossing Borders in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Violet Soen, Alexander Soetaert, Johan Verberckmoes, and Wim François [Refo500 Academic Series, 61], (Göttingen, 2019), 123–55.

5. Earle Havens, “Lay Catholic Book Ownership and International Catholicism in Elizabethan England,” in: *Publishing Subversive Texts in Elizabethan England and the Polish-*

Rather than questioning the extent to which the publishing activities of expatriates influenced confessional developments in Britain, or analyzing the reception and readership of these books once successfully smuggled into the British Isles, this article deals with another critical aspect with regards to the English Catholic community and their books. It examines the networks behind the books produced on the continent, and the many encounters and exchanges between English Catholics and their hosts there, tracing where “it all began.” Focusing on the Spanish-Habsburg Low Countries in general, and its francophone borderlands of the Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai in particular, this examination showcases important features of the authors’ database *Impressa Catholica Cameracensia* (ICC). It includes Douai and Saint-Omer, the two towns that became the most prolific printing centers for English Catholicism after 1600. In the current endeavor, books printed in these towns appear as vectors to map encounters and exchanges between Catholics from varying regional and cultural backgrounds in and beyond borderlands, rather than solely as vehicles for English Catholic readership.<sup>6</sup>

Both English Catholic history and book history have not accounted for the specific borderland location of Cambrai and its significance as a hub for encounter and exchange. From its creation in 1559, the Ecclesiastical Province consisted of a conglomerate of primarily French-speaking (hence Walloon) territories, while it continued to function as a transit zone between the Low Countries, France, the Holy Roman Empire, and England.<sup>7</sup> Its proximity to the Channel, when combined with its reputation as an early stronghold of Tridentine Catholicism, turned the province into a welcoming and attractive site for Catholic expatriates from across the sea, as well as from France or other Habsburg provinces in the Low

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*Lithuanian Commonwealth*, eds. Teresa Bela, Clarinda Calma, and Jolanta Rzegocka, [Library of the Written Word—The Handpress World, 52], (Leiden, 2016), 217–62, here 261.

6. The database *Impressa Catholica Cameracensia* (ICC) can be consulted through the website of the Early Modern History Department at KU Leuven, and reconstructs the intellectual world through books and especially the networks and persons linking these books: [https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/nieuwetijd/english/odis/ICC\\_search](https://www.arts.kuleuven.be/nieuwetijd/english/odis/ICC_search). In the notes below, a unique record number is given for each publication listed in the database; a general evaluation of this database is offered in Alexander Soetaert, *De katholieke drukpers in de kerkprovincie Kamerijk. Contacten, mobiliteit en transfers in een grensgebied (1559–1659)*, [Verhandelingen van de KVAB. Nieuwe reeks, 34], (Leuven, 2019).

7. Yves Junot and Marie Kervyn, “Negotiating Consensual Loyalty to the Habsburg Dynasty: Francophone Border Provinces between the Low Countries and France, 1477–1659,” in: *Transregional Territories: Crossing Borders in the Early Modern Low Countries and Beyond*, eds. Bram De Ridder, Violet Soen, Werner Thomas, and Sophie Verreyken, [Habsburg Worlds, 2] (Turnhout, 2020), 73–102.

Countries. Here, encounters and exchanges were not so much happening at an “international” level, but at an intermediate level between Tridentine Catholicism’s global outreach and local business at the Franco-Habsburg frontier, along, across, and beyond multiple borders at once. Hence, the authors of this article argue that forms of interaction between English expatriates and Walloon printers and patrons within the Cambrai book world, and the cultural and textual transfers that resulted from them, testify more to the “transregional” character (meaning: across regions and borders) of early modern Catholicism as a whole, rather than to the specific “international” orientation of English Catholicism (in between nations or beyond their boundaries).

The argument of this study will unfold in four steps. The first section, treating the production of one particular English-language translation printed in Douai, provides an introduction to these “transregional” dimensions behind book production at the frontier and to the cooperation between English Catholics and the local book world. The second section unravels more general patterns of joint ventures between English expatriates and their francophone hosts. The third section stresses the broader hub function of Cambrai for the transfer and translation of early modern Catholic books, including those from France and Spain, while the last section dissects the vital role of go-betweens, acting as amphibious actors straddling worlds of exiles, settlers, and natives alike. In this way, the alternative concept of “transregional Catholicism” can highlight the extent to which contacts and mobility across multiple borders—including not only the experience of exile and confessional mobility, academic peregrination and pilgrimage, migration and relocation, but also that of cultural transfer and translation in frontier regions—informed early modern Catholicism.<sup>8</sup>

### A. “The Printers Being Walloons”

In 1630, a printing house in Douai, a town twenty miles north of the French frontier, produced a book entitled *The reply of the most illustrious*

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8. As Liesbeth Corens has demonstrated, mobility within the English Catholic community was not restricted to episodes of flight and exile, since long- and short-time pilgrimages and educational opportunities could also spark cross-border movements; see her *Confessional Mobility and English Catholics in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 2018), 2–3, 79–104. English Catholic students, for instance, quintessentially embodied this concept of mobility; see Violet Soen, “Containing Students and Scholars Within Borders? The Foundation of Universities in Reims and Douai and Transregional Transfers in Early Modern Catholicism,” in: *Transregional Reformations*, 267–294.

*Cardinal of Perron, to the answeare of the most excellent King of Great Britain.*<sup>9</sup> Written in France, translated in England and produced in the Habsburg Low Countries, this book was the result of complicated itineraries and a back-and-forth repositioning along borders and boundaries, rather than a simple bilateral transfer or translation between England and France. The hub of the Douai printer mattered. It was not so much the publication of an English-language Catholic text on Spanish Habsburg territory that was novel. During the later decades of the sixteenth century, English, Welsh, and Scottish Catholics had found refuge there, founded convents and colleges,<sup>10</sup> and often sought printers in major typographic centers such as Antwerp and Paris. After 1600, the francophone university town of Douai, in particular, swiftly emerged as one of the most prolific centers for English Catholic publishing on the continent, later to be joined by Saint-Omer.<sup>11</sup> By the mid-seventeenth century, printers in Douai and Saint-Omer produced nearly 500 English-language editions and over 180 editions written by English Catholic authors or dealing with the English Catholic cause in both Latin and various vernaculars.<sup>12</sup> Even so, the aforementioned 1630 Douai edition does represent a significant accomplishment: it stemmed from a joint venture between translators and printers on both sides of the

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9. Jacques Davy Du Perron, *The reply . . . to the answeare of the most excellent King of Great Britaine* (Douai, 1630). Antony F. Allison and David M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation Between 1558 and 1640*, 2 vols. (London, 1989–94) [hereafter: *ARCR*], vol. 2, no. 127, ICC 36349.

10. Recent studies of these institutions include: Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe. English Convents in France and the Low Countries* (Basingstoke/New York, 2003); Caroline Bowden and James E. Kelly, eds., *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800: Communities, Culture, and Identity* (Farnham, 2013); Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor, eds., *College communities abroad. Education, Migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester, 2017); Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor, eds., *Forming Catholic Communities: Irish, Scots, and English College Networks in Europe, 1568–1918* (Leiden, 2017); and Laurence Lux-Sterrit, *English Benedictine Nuns in Exile in the Seventeenth Century. Living Spirituality* (Manchester, 2017). See also the ongoing “Monks in Motion” project on English and Welsh Benedictines, directed by James Kelly at Durham University (<https://www.dur.ac.uk/mim/>), and his publications referenced elsewhere in the notes.

11. For recent reappraisals of the francophone book world in the Habsburg Low Countries, see Alexander Soetaert, “Printing at the Frontier. The Emergence of a Transregional Book Production in the Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai (ca. 1560–1659),” *De Gulden Passer: Journal for Book History*, 94 (2016), 137–63; and Sébastien Afonso, “Imprimeurs, société et réseaux dans les villes de langue romane des Pays-Bas méridionaux (1580–ca. 1677)” (unpublished PhD dissertation, Université libre de Bruxelles, 2016).

12. These figures are based on a combined evaluation of *ARCR* and *ICC*. See also Alexander Soetaert, “Catholic Refuge and the Printing Press: Catholic Exiles from England, France and the Low Countries in the Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai,” *British Catholic History*, 34 (2019), 532–61.

Channel and the collaboration of Catholics from different regional backgrounds, both on the spot and from a distance, in the book world of a frontier town.

The interplay between title page and paratext unravels how the actors involved in the production of this particular edition seized upon the possibilities created by multiple border crossings and the resulting transfers. The original author of the book was the long-deceased French Cardinal Jacques Davy Du Perron (1556–1618). Born into a Huguenot family, Du Perron fled Paris during the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. By the late 1570s, however, he had converted to Catholicism and embarked on a remarkable ecclesiastical career, first as bishop of Évreux, then as cardinal, and finally as archbishop of Sens and Great Chaplain of France.<sup>13</sup> Du Perron sustained a strong interest in both English affairs and religious controversy throughout his life. The text published at Douai fits within the context of the 1611 controversy between him and Isaac Casaubon, who wrote on behalf of King James VI of Scotland and I of England.<sup>14</sup> In 1620, the cardinal's brother oversaw the posthumous printing, by the Parisian printer Antoine Estienne, of a voluminous treatise that rehashed this debate.<sup>15</sup> Although not very innovative, the treatise's reissue in 1622 editions, and its translation into English in Douai in 1630, demonstrate its continued resonance within the intellectual community along the Paris-Douai-London axis, or what John Bossy once coined to be the "French route."<sup>16</sup>

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13. For a good biographical introduction, see Remi Snoeks, "Du Perron (Jacques-Davy)," in: *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* (Paris, 1912–), vol. 14 (1960), cols. 1130–33.

14. A letter dated July 15, 1611, sent by Du Perron to Casaubon, was printed in 1612 in Paris (USTC 60225710, 6009601, 6011410 6803920), Bordeaux (USTC 6800230), Caen (USTC 600951), and Rouen (USTC 6815039, 6813012). The Jesuit Thomas Owen swiftly translated the letter into English and printed it at the English Jesuit College in Saint-Omer (*ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 580). Du Perron's letter provoked a reply in Latin by Casaubon, printed in London in 1612 (ESTC S95999 and S95600), which was later translated into French (USTC 6016513) and Dutch (STCN 860330079). For more on this correspondence, see Pierre Féret, *Le Cardinal du Perron, orateur controversiste, écrivain; étude historique et critique* (Paris, 1877), 264–67; and John Considine, "Casaubon, Isaac," in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online Edition* [hereafter: *ODNB*]. Consulted April 30, 2019, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4851>. For more on Casaubon, see also Anthony Grafton and Joanna Weinberg, *"I have always loved the Holy Tongue": Isaac Casaubon, the Jews, and a Forgotten Chapter in Renaissance Scholarship* (New Haven, 2011).

15. Jacques Davy Du Perron, *Réplique a la réponse du Serenissime Roy de la Grand [sic] Bretagne* (Paris, 1620), USTC 6024647. A second edition was published in 1622 (USTC 6024955). See Féret, *Le Cardinal du Perron*, 274–88 for a summary of this treatise.

16. John Bossy, "Rome and the Elizabethan Catholics: A Question of Geography," *The Historical Journal*, 7 (1964), 135–42.

The translator, whose name—unlike that of Du Perron—did not appear on the title page, was Elisabeth Cary (1585–1639), *née* Tanfield, better known as the first female English playwright. She was born into a recently ennobled Anglican family from Oxfordshire, learned French, Italian, and Latin at a young age, and devoted her time to writing and translating. After marrying Sir Henry Cary, Viscount Falkland, she continued her literary endeavors while raising eleven children in Ireland, where her husband served as lord deputy. In 1625, Cary returned alone to England, converted to Catholicism, and developed a keen interest in theological controversy. Following her husband's death in 1633, she sent four of her daughters to the English Benedictine convent in Cambrai, fifteen miles southwest of Douai. Recently, James Kelly has shown how much these female convents on the continent, despite enclosure, were networked, and were hubs of networking between the British Isles and the local Walloon communities.<sup>17</sup> In 1636, Cary failed in an attempt to also send two of her sons to convent schools on the continent.<sup>18</sup> The translation of Du Perron's treatise and its edition in Habsburg Douai further demonstrates her connections with the expatriate community in the Low Countries, even though she never visited the region, neither taking refuge nor exile there.

In a preface to the reader, Cary stressed that she did not see translating as a virtuous female pastime, but that she was primarily “moved [. . .] by her beleefe” and that it was her intention to “make those English that understand not French, whereof there are manie, even in our universities, reade Perron,” subtly taking pride in her own linguistic skills.<sup>19</sup> She contextualized her motivations with an assertive position within contemporary theological controversies. As a myriad of publications over the last few decades have unraveled, English Catholic women, both religious and lay, not only collected and patronized books, but also participated in shaping scribal, textual, and translation communities, betraying contemporary literary tastes and religious sensibilities. They sometimes did so to keep their dispersed family together, sending books, letters, and poems to their expatriate family members, but, just like Cary, often also authored and trans-

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17. Regarding the geography, James Kelley shows how these female convents “acted first and foremost, as Catholic institutions” and should be recognized as “part of the Catholic Reformation boom in female convents.” James E. Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c. 1600–1800* (Cambridge, 2020), 188, 191.

18. Stephanie Hodgson-Wright, “Cary [née Tanfield], Elizabeth, Viscountess Falkland,” in: *ODNB*. Consulted April 30, 2019, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4835>.

19. Du Perron, *The reply of the Cardinal of Perron*. . . (Douai, 1630), sig. a2 v°. The most recent study of her translation activities as a pre-teen is found in Elisabeth Tanfield Cary, *The Mirror of the Worlde: A Translation*, ed. Lesley Peterson (Montréal, 2012).

lated with very specific religious goals in mind, holding an otherwise linguistically divided Catholicism together.<sup>20</sup>

As was the case for most English-language translations from French texts, Cary's translation was neither printed in France nor on clandestine presses in England, but on Martin Bogart's press in Douai in the Habsburg Low Countries. As the title page also informs, Bogart worked "under the sign of Paris," an allusion to the intense interest that Douai booksellers and customers took in the trade with the French capital. A son to one of the first and most prominent printers in Douai, Martin Bogart had opened his own printshop only the year before. Trying to secure the survival of his new business, he started reprinting editions previously issued in France, but also turned to printing books for the English Catholic community.<sup>21</sup> The Cary translations were the first of a series of seven editions in English, that mostly consisted of works by Franciscan writers.<sup>22</sup>

To a greater extent than the title page and the impressum, the preliminaries of the edition provide some interesting details about the contacts between English and Walloon behind the publication process. An "Admonition to the Reader," commenting upon the changes made during the translation process, also includes a curious remark about the production process and the countless typographical errors committed by Bogart's workshop. Ironically, in this passage the typesetter made an additional error, not captured by the corrector:

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20. Ulrike Tancke, *'Bethinke Thy Selfe' in Early Modern England. Writing Women's Identities*, [Costerus New Series, 180], (Amsterdam, 2010), 39; Helen Hackett, "Women and Catholic Manuscript Networks in Seventeenth-Century England: New Research on Constance Aston Fowler's Miscellany of Sacred and Secular Verse," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 65 (2012), 1094–1124. See also Caroline Bowden, "Patronage and Practice: Assessing the Significance of the English Convents as Cultural Centres in Flanders in the Seventeenth Century," *English Studies*, 92 (2011), 483–95; *idem*, "Building Libraries in Exile: The English Convents and Their Book Collections in the Seventeenth Century," *British Catholic History*, 32 (2015), 343–82; Jaime Goodrich, "Early Modern Englishwomen as Translators of Religious and Political Literature, 1500–1641" (PhD dissertation, Boston College, 2008); Jaime Goodrich, "Ensigne-Bearers of Saint Clare: Elizabeth Evelinge's Early Translations and the Restoration of English Franciscanism," in: *English Women, Religion, and Textual Production, 1500–1625*, ed. Micheline White (Farnham, 2011), 83–100; and Jaime Goodrich, "Translating Lady Mary Percy: Authorship and Authority Among the Brussels Benedictines," in: *The English Convents in Exile, 1600–1800: Communities, Culture, and Identity*, eds. Caroline Bowden and James E. Kelly (Farnham, 2013), 109–22.

21. Soetaert, *De katholieke drukpers in de kerkprovincie Kamerijk*, 370, 410, 427, 429.

22. Antony F. Allison, "Franciscan Books in English, 1559–1640," *Biographical Studies* (subsequently *Recusant History*), 3 (1955), 16–65.



The printers being Walloons, and our English strange unto them it was incredible to see how may [*sic* instead of “many”] faults they committed in setting; so that in overlooking the proofes for the print, the margin had not roome enough to hold our corrections: and do what we could, yet the number of our corrections being so many, a great many of them remained uncorrected by the fastidious fantasy of our workman. Yet we iudge there is no fault that may hinder, or change the sence, but is amended; and for the rest we desire thee to pardon vs, considering how hard it is to make a stranger here to expresse our orthography.<sup>23</sup>

This “Admonition” was signed F.L.D.S.M., an acronym for the Welsh Benedictine John Jones (1575–1636), better known by his religious name Leander a Sancto Martino. Another convert, like Cary and Du Perron, Leander studied in Spain, where he entered the newly-founded English Benedictine congregation, before holding the royal chair of Hebrew at the University of Douai for twenty-five years.<sup>24</sup> In that capacity, the English scholar also provided the ecclesiastical approbation for the book, which was printed just beneath his comment on the errata and signed by his full name and titles. For more than a decade, Leander extensively published with several Douai printers.<sup>25</sup> It is likely that he not only acted as a broker between translator Elisabeth Cary and printer Martin Bogart, but also as a link to the female Benedictine community in Cambrai, where, as mentioned above, Cary sent four of her daughters in 1633.

While Alison Shell has used Leander’s quote to point to the logistical difficulties English Catholics faced on the continent,<sup>26</sup> these and similar complaints that can be found in at least an additional thirteen English language-editions from Douai and Saint-Omer,<sup>27</sup> also reflect the necessary

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23. Du Perron, *The reply*, sig. e v°.

24. David Daniel Rees, “Jones, John [name in religion Leander a Sancto Martino],” in: *ODNB*. Consulted April 30, 2019, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15025>. See also David Lunn, *The English Benedictines 1540–1688: From Reformation to Revolution* (London, 1980), 29–30 and *passim*.

25. *ARCR*, vol. 1, nos. 693–700.

26. Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge, 1999), 44 (n. 33).

27. Robert Persons, *An answer to the fifth part of reportes* (Saint-Omer, 1606), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 608. ICC 36418, sig. 3Cv; Humphrey Leech, *A triumph of truth* (Douai, 1609), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 497. ICC 36282, sig. I4v; James Wadsworth, *The contrition of a Protestant preacher* (Saint-Omer, 1615), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 774. ICC 37922, sig. P4r; Anthony Champney, *A treatise of the vocation of bishops* (Douai, 1616), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 134. ICC 36314, sig. TT2r; Matthew Kellison, *The right and iurisdiction of the prelate, and the prince* (Douai, 1617), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 470. ICC 36318, sig. V8r; François de Sales, *A treatise of the loue of God* (Douai, 1630), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 647. ICC 36351, sig. \*\*r; Edmund Lechmere, *A disputation*

joint ventures between English Catholics and French-speaking craftsmen, printers, and publishers in Douai. Collaboration could be frustrating at times, but was imperative for the publication of English-language books. Scholars of English Catholic print culture rarely notice the contacts between English Catholics and their continental host societies, as historians of the phenomenon generally question the extent to which the output of continental presses sustained the missionary endeavors of English Catholics and contributed to the survival of the Catholic faith across the Channel.<sup>28</sup> Although print was only one of the many means by which early modern religious confessions shaped their beliefs, it offers a good proxy of interactions, not only between the laity and clerics, but also between expatriates and their hosts, and it can serve to illuminate the regional impact of developments.<sup>29</sup> In fact, as will appear here, from their initial production, books represented the main agent by which Catholics established their faith across both linguistic and territorial borders,<sup>30</sup> even though title pages

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*of the Church* (Douai, 1629 [=1631]), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 490. ICC 36343, sig. †8r; *idem*, *A disputation of the Church* (Douai, 1632), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 491. ICC 36366, sig. SS3v; Andrés de Soto, *The ransom of time being captive* (Douai, 1634), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 398. ICC 36370, sig. N4r; Pietro Aretino, *A paraphrase vpon the seauen penitentiall psalmes* (Douai, 1635), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 397. ICC 36377, †6v; Edmund Lechmere, *A disputation of the Church* (Douai, 1640), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 492. ICC 36393, sig. SS4r; Henry Turberville, *An abridgment of Christian doctrine* (Douai, 1648), Clancy, no. 974. ICC 36395, sig. P6v; Richard Mason, *A manuell of the arch-confraternitie of the cord of the passion* (Douai, 1654), Clancy, no. 651. ICC 36398, sig. L6r.

28. Among the few exceptions are Allison, “John Heigham of S. Omer,” *Biographical Studies*, 4 (1958), 226–42; Allison, “Franciscan Books”; and Joannes M. Blom, “The Post-Tridentine English Primer” (PhD dissertation, Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1979; reissued in 1982 as vol. 3 in the Monograph Series of the Catholic Record Society).

29. Alexandra Walsham, “In the Lord’s Vineyard,” 49; here Walsham stresses that British Catholics “were conscious . . . of their membership of an international Church which transcended national boundaries” and that “they saw their own struggles as part of a wider spiritual revival within Europe.” Brian Lockey observes that, amongst English Catholics, there was a form of “Catholic cosmopolitanism . . . rooted in the transnational imperium of the Roman curia,” demonstrating how late-sixteenth-century English Catholic exiles and missionaries like Robert Persons and Edmund Campion “sought to reintegrate the English realm into the transnational Christian commonwealth,” in his *Early Modern Catholics, Royalists, and Cosmopolitans: English Transnationalism and the Christian Commonwealth* (Farnham, 2015), 8.

30. Also Geert Janssen, studying a to some extent parallel Catholic exile during the Revolt in the Netherlands, advocates that the confluence of exiles in border towns such as Cologne and Douai contributed to the formation of an International Catholicism or Catholic International. He states that the printing presses in Douai and Cologne fostered a more militant and international brand of Catholicism, just as the presses in Emden could do to the Reformed churches. Geert Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge, 2014), esp. 8, 109–11. Janssen uses both “Catholic International” (e.g., 8) and “International Catholicism” (e.g., 111) to describe the same phenomenon. For the use of the

or other discursive strategies silenced the connections and collaborations between migrants and hosts. By mapping the different spatial dimensions of Du Perron's posthumously published English translation, a triangular relationship emerges among France, England, and the Habsburg Low Countries, in which the Cambrai borderlands function as a crucial node.

## B. Joint Ventures

The highly complex spatiality behind Cary's English translation of a long-dead French theologian published in Habsburg Douai offers a window to wider patterns which can now be better traced through the online database *Impressa Catholica Cameracensia* (ICC). Traditional research questions have frequently reduced Cambrai to a backwater, a mere stop-over between London, Paris, and Rome.<sup>31</sup> French and Belgian historiography on early modern printing has similarly viewed the province as marginal and peripheral when compared to large neighboring typographic centers such as Antwerp, Paris, and Cologne.<sup>32</sup> In the past few decades, English Catholic book production in continental Europe has already been subject to cutting-edge bibliographical research, most notably by Antony Allison and David Rogers.<sup>33</sup> These pioneering bibliographical overviews consider the continental output as a sign of the vitality of English Catholic

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term "Catholic International" in relation to the religious conflicts in the Low Countries, see also Judith Pollmann, "How to Flatter the Laity? Rethinking Catholic Responses to the Reformation," *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review*, 126 (2011), 97–106, here 104–05.

31. However, Catholicism in and beyond Cambrai has been subject to an ongoing reappraisal: Andrew Spicer, "After Iconoclasm: Reconciliation and Resacralization in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1566–85," *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 44 (2013), 411–33; Andrew Spicer, "Consecration and Violation: Preserving the Sacred Landscape in the (Arch)diocese of Cambrai, c. 1550–1570," in: *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven (Leiden, 2012), 253–74, and his forthcoming Brill monograph; 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: *Church, Censorship and Reform in the Early Modern Habsburg Netherlands*, eds. Violet Soen, Dries Vanysacker, and Wim François [Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 101], (Turnhout, 2017), 125–44; 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*, 99 (2017), 41–65.

32. For some recent reappraisals, see Nicole Bingen and Renaud Adam, *Lectures italiennes dans les pays wallons à la première modernité (1500–1630)* (Turnhout, 2015); Afonso, "Imprimeurs," passim; and Soetaert, *De katholieke drukpers*, passim.

33. Antony F. Allison and David M. Rogers, *The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640*, 2 vols. (London, 1989–94). For later periods, see Thomas Clancy, *English Catholic Books 1640–1700. A Bibliography* (Aldershot, 1996) and Frans Blom *et al.* eds., *English Catholic Books 1701–1800. A Bibliography* (Aldershot, 1996).

print culture despite dislocation, but do not question how publishing these books also created encounters between English Catholics and their hosts. Therefore, ICC sets out to systematically map these encounters. In addition to book titles and names of authors, translators, publishers, and printers—information that is usually provided by bibliographical inventories—the database also records dedicatees, eulogists, ecclesiastical approbators, and illustrators, and thus brings to the fore brokers such as the above-mentioned Welsh censor John Jones. ICC thus links the networks behind English Catholic book production with those involved in the Cambrai book world, publishing for local and remote audiences alike.

Most strikingly, the data stored in *Impressa Catholica Cameracensia* demonstrate how English Catholic expatriates continued to collaborate with local francophone printers in Douai and Saint-Omer, even after they established their own presses in both towns in the early 1600s. In 1603, the English printer Laurence Kellam, best known for his edition of the Old Testament of the *Douay-Rheims Bible* (1609–10), opened a printshop in Douai, which his Walloon widow Marguerite Lanseart and (grand)sons continued after their parents' death.<sup>34</sup> Five years later, the so-called English College Press started operating on the premises of the English Jesuit College in Saint-Omer.<sup>35</sup> Notwithstanding these two remarkable initiatives, the ICC database shows that forty-four percent of the English-language editions printed in Douai and Saint-Omer between 1603 and 1659 still came from the presses of Walloon printers. This share almost equaled that of the extremely prolific College Press (forty-six percent) and greatly outnumbered that of the Kellam press (ten percent).

In the years immediately following his arrival in Douai, Kellam printed most of the town's English-language editions, but the Wyon and Auroy families quickly increased their output in the same segment. In the first sixty years of the seventeenth century, more than two thirds of the English-language editions issued in Douai came from the presses of these local craftsmen in the printing business. In Saint-Omer, this share was

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34. 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); Alexandra Walsham, "Unclasping the Book? The Douai-Rheims Bible," in: *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham, 2014), 286–314 (first published in *Journal of British Studies*, 42 (2003), 141–66).

35. Michael J. Walsh, "The Publishing Policy of the English College Press at Saint-Omer, 1608–1759," in: *Religion and Humanism: Papers Read at the Eighteenth Summer Meeting and the Nineteenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Keith Robins (Oxford, 1981), 239–50.

TABLE 1. English-Language Editions in Douai and Saint-Omer, 1601–1659

Period	Douai						Saint-Omer						Total
	Kellam	Taylor	Heigham	Boscard	Auroy	Wyon	Others	College Press	Heigham	Bellet	Boscard	Seutin	
1601–10	20	0	4	5	8	0	2	17	0	8	0	0	64
1611–20	9	0	19	0	4	0	2	72	8	0	4	0	118
1621–30	8	2	3	0	4	3	9	74	38	0	11	7	159
1631–40	7	0	1	0	0	18	14	50	6	0	15	4	115
1641–50	3	0	0	0	0	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	10
1651–59	1	0	0	0	0	1	5	3	0	0	0	0	10
s.d.	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Total	48	2	27	9	16	24	32	221	52	8	30	11	480

only half as high, mainly due to the large number of editions produced by the College Press, which, however, were almost exclusively written by Jesuit authors. Nevertheless, English-language texts dominated the output of Charles Boscard and his widow Jeanne Burée, who first practiced in Douai, but settled in Saint-Omer in 1610. Georges Seutin, a printer who had previously worked for the Jesuit press, almost entirely focused on English-language texts or books written by English writers after he started printing under his own name.<sup>36</sup>

Cooperation between English Catholics and continental printers was more the rule than the exception during the early seventeenth century, as the presence of English printers and presses was unique to Douai and Saint-Omer.<sup>37</sup> The more limited number of English-language books manufactured in Antwerp, Leuven, Paris, and Rouen all came from local presses.<sup>38</sup> For Latin books written by English Catholics, aimed at readers beyond their own linguistic community, the facilities offered by the continental book world were even more important. Continental booksellers even played an increasingly vital role in distributing books across Europe, participating in events such as the Frankfurt book fair.<sup>39</sup> The recurrent complaints voiced by authors, translators, and editors in the preliminaries of English-language books certainly point to real difficulties, but they likewise demonstrate the increasingly close ties between English Catholics and the continental book world. Indeed, more frequent cooperation with printers who had no prior experience in printing in English significantly contributed to the growing

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36. Georges Lepreux, *Gallia typographica ou Répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la Révolution*. 1. Flandre—Artois—Picardie (Paris, 1909), 130–31.

37. Between 1611 and 1623, the expatriate printer Henri Jaye also issued some twenty English-language editions in Mechelen, but his descendants did not continue this publishing program. See David M. Rogers, "Henry Jaye (15?–1643)," *Biographical Studies* 1 (1951), 86–11 and Diederik Lanoye, "Mechelse drukkers en Mechelse drukken tijdens het Ancien Régime," in: *Gedrukte stad: drukken in en voor Mechelen (1581–1800)*, eds. Diederik Lanoye, Goran Proot, and Willy Van de Vijver (Mechelen, 2010).

38. For the seventeenth century only, the contribution of Rouen printers has received some attention: Jean-Dominique Mellot, *L'édition rouennaise et ses marchés (vers 1600–vers 1730): dynamisme provincial et centralisme parisien* (Paris, 1998), 77, 100–101, 158–59, 204; Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, 52–54, 63–64, 130–33. On sixteenth-century English-language printing in Paris and Antwerp, see Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in Late Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Woodbridge, 2011), 74, 86–88 and 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, 1994).

39. The catalogue for the 1604 spring fair, for example, advertised works by William Allen and Alan Cope recently issued by Balthazar Bellère in Douai: *Catalogus universalis pro nundinis Francofurtensibus vernalibus de anno 1604* (Frankfurt, 1604), sig. A4r.

number of English Catholic books issued in the early seventeenth century. The intense collaboration between natives and expatriates adds nuance to the biased perception of segregated networks that seemed to have existed around the English, Irish, and Scottish colleges and convents within continental Europe, and which James Kelly set out to counter.<sup>40</sup>

Locally crafted illustrations included in some English-language editions represent another striking example of the ties between English Catholics and their hosts in Cambrai. Members of the English community unsurprisingly turned to Martin Baes to illustrate some of their editions, as he was the only engraver based in the ecclesiastical province.<sup>41</sup> Generally solicited to engrave title-pages or author portraits, Baes twice received a larger assignment for English-language books. In 1614, he delivered an engraved title-page and eleven full-page plates for the *The life and death of Mr. Edmund Geninges*, which was the biography of a priest martyred in England in 1591<sup>42</sup> (see figure 1). An even more sizeable assignment followed in the mid-1630s, consisting of sixteen portraits of English, Scottish, and Irish saints for Jerome Porter's *Flowers of the lives of the most renowned saints of the three kingdoms England, Scotland and Ireland*.<sup>43</sup> The portraits in Porter's book promoted personal devotion to local saints in England, Scotland, and Ireland, much like the prints of saints that widely circulated in the Low Countries and on the greater European mainland.<sup>44</sup> Although more research into the iconographic meaning of these images would be valuable, their purpose was no doubt to reinforce the emotional and devotional effect of texts upon readers.<sup>45</sup>

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40. James Kelly, *English Convents*, passim. For a more mitigated view on language barriers and the way to cope with these, see Emilie K.M. Murphy, "Exile and Linguistic Encounter: Early Modern English Convents in the Low Countries and France," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 73 (2020), 132–64.

41. On Baes, see Albert Labarre, "L' œuvre d'illustrateur de Martin Baes à Douai," *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 57 (1982), 270–76. A more complete list of his engravings can be found in the ICC database.

42. [J.J. = John Jeninges], *The life and death of Mr. Edmund Geninges* (Saint-Omer, 1614), ARCR, vol. 2, no. 338. ICC 36467.

43. Jerome Porter, *The flowers of the lives of the most renowned saints of the three kingdoms England Scotland and Ireland* (Douai, 1632), ARCR, vol. 2, no. 653. ICC 36364.

44. For more on the meaning of these saints' images, see Corens, *Confessional Mobility*, 28, 37–40, 139; Alfons K. L. Thijs, *Antwerpen, internationaal uitgevercentrum van devotieprenten 17de–18de eeuw*, [Miscellanea Neerlandica, 7], (Leuven, 1993); Evelyne M. F. Verheggen, *Beelden voor passie en hartstocht: bid- en devotieprenten in de Noordelijke Nederlanden, 17de en 18de eeuw* (Zutphen, 2006).

45. The images accompanying Gennings' life emphasized the cruelty of the torments that he was put through by the authorities. Interestingly, earlier research has dealt with



FIGURE 1. A scene from the prosecution of the English priest Edmund Gennings, as engraved by Martin Baes. From John Geninges, *The life and death of Mr. Edmund Gennings priest* (Saint-Omer, 1614), 82. © Washington, DC, Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 11728 copy 1 (CC BY-SA 4.0).

Baes' contribution to English-language editions must have rested on close collaboration with his English commissioners. In addition to the larger projects mentioned above, for one smaller edition, they also asked him to produce an engraving of Holywell in Northern Wales, the focal point of Saint Winifred's cult.<sup>46</sup> In all likelihood, the engraver never visited

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images of English martyrs directed towards continental audiences. See Anne Dillon, *Constructing Martyrdom in the English Catholic Community, 1582–1602* (Manchester, 2005), and *idem*, *Michelangelo and the English Martyrs* (Farnham, 2012). Chapters 3 and 4 of the first book mainly deal with the engravings in Richard Verstegan's *Theatrum crudelitatum*.

46. *The admirable life of Sainte Wenefride*, trans. Robert of Shrewsbury (Saint-Omer, 1635), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 268. ICC 36686. On this cult, see Alexandra Walsham, "Holywell and the Welsh Catholic Revival," in: *Catholic Reformation in Protestant Britain* (Farnham, 2014), 178–205.



this distant pilgrimage site, but the expatriate Catholics managing the edition likely provided him with accurate sketches of the well. Similarly, he must have received precise instructions on the iconography of the English, Scottish, and Irish saints, which were similarly beyond his usual repertoire. Baes, however, seems to have retained some freedom regarding the precise execution of the plates. The land, cityscapes, and interiors, for example, likely derive from his imagination. This gave him a unique opportunity to shape the mind of Catholics across the Channel. It was through Baes' images that they visualized the martyrdom of Edmund Gennings, the cruelty of English authorities, and their native saints. As a result, the continental engraver not only helped to produce, but also to contribute to the contents and the effect of English-language editions.

### C. Transfer and Translation

Beyond an English readership “back home,” English Catholics residing in Cambrai saw their texts and books, especially those written in Latin, as an ideal way to strengthen their bonds with local ecclesiastical elites and, as such, as a way to introduce their hosts to the cause of English Catholicism. By the late sixteenth century, Richard Hall (ca. 1537–1604), a theologian and former student at Cambridge, approached wealthy patrons in the areas surrounding Douai, having obtained a lectureship at the nearby Marchiennes Abbey.<sup>47</sup> His first publication, a Latin translation of John Fisher's *Treatise of prayer* (1576), acquainted local audiences with an older English devotional text. He dedicated it to Thomas de Parenty, abbot of the Benedictines of Saint-Vaast in nearby Arras.<sup>48</sup> Five years later, his *Opuscula quaedam his temporibus pernecessaria*, discussing causes and solutions for the ongoing Dutch Revolt, includes dedicatory letters to Louis de Berlaymont, archbishop of Cambrai, and the Benedictine Abbots Arnould de La Cambe of Marchiennes and Jacques Froye of Hasnon.<sup>49</sup> Seeking patrons among local dignitaries not only added luster to his writings, but, since patrons often remunerated authors for such an honor, they also helped finance his publications.<sup>50</sup> Hall's dedication strategies might also have boosted his

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47. John J. LaRocca, “Hall, Richard,” in: *ODNB*. Consulted May 3, 2019, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11979>.

48. John Fisher, *Tractatus de orando Deum, et de fructibus precum*, trans. Richard Hall (Douai, 1567 [=1576]), *ARCR*, vol. 1, no. 435. ICC 35924.

49. Richard Hall, *Opuscula quaedam his temporibus pernecessaria* (Douai, 1581), *ARCR*, vol. 1, no. 627. ICC 35999.

50. On similar financial arrangements for a book by Thomas Stapleton dedicated to the abbot of Saint-Vaast, see Jan Machielsen, “How (Not) to Get Published? The Plantin Press in the Early 1590s,” *Dutch Crossing*, 34 (2010), 99–114, here 102.

ecclesiastical career, since he obtained canonries in both Cambrai and Saint-Omer and became the diocesan official in the latter town.

Similar practices blending transfer and translation with local patronage emerge from the portfolio of the English Jesuit Richard Gibbons (1547/53–1632), who settled at the Collège d'Anchin, Douai's Jesuit college, in 1605.<sup>51</sup> During the succeeding two decades, hardly a year passed in which Gibbons did not either author or edit a publication. Similar to Hall, he took advantage of dedicating his work to local patrons, most often those who served high-ranking ecclesiastical functions. With the *Life of the Blessed Goswin*, abbot of Anchin in the early twelfth century, Gibbons remembered Goswin's contemporary successor, Jean de Meere.<sup>52</sup> For the collected works of the twelfth-century Cistercian Abbot Aelred of Rievaulx, Gibbons found a suitable patron in Martin Tirant, abbot of Clairmarais, an abbey of the same order.<sup>53</sup> In 1622, Gibbons dedicated the posthumously published English church history by Nicholas Harpsfield to François Vander Burch, archbishop of Cambrai.<sup>54</sup> The generous support that usually went together with such dedicatory letters would have been indispensable for covering the printing costs of Gibbons' extensive folio and quarto volumes. This patronage by local abbots and bishops enabled English writers to sell books by the martyred bishop John Fisher, the works of the medieval English Abbot Aelred, and Harpsfield's history of the English Church to continental readers, making Walloon and wider audiences familiar with the cause of English Catholicism.

Beyond this transfer between Catholics in England and the francophone Low Countries, Cambrai served as a crucial hub for reprinting and later translating texts imported from France. At the end of the sixteenth century, book publishers in the Province of Cambrai discovered that operating in a French-speaking region bordering France, while not being subject to its printing privileges, placed them in a very advantageous commercial position to publish reprints. Over the next few decades, they counterfeited over 250 titles previously issued in Paris, Lyon, Rouen, or

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51. Thomson Cooper (revised by Thomas H. Clancy), "Gibbons, Richard," in: *ODNB*. Consulted May 3, 2019, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10599>; Thomas McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits, 1555–1650* (London, 1994–95), 190–91.

52. Richard Gibbons, *Beati Gosvini vita* (Douai, 1620), *ARCR*, vol. 1, no. 1428. ICC 38036.

53. Aelred of Rievaulx, *Opera*, ed. Richard Gibbons (Douai, 1616), *ARCR*, vol. 1, nos. 531–32. ICC 38912.

54. Nicholas Harpsfield, *Historia anglicana ecclesiastica* (Douai, 1612), *ARCR*, vol. 1, no. 639. ICC 38182.

elsewhere in France, and played a prominent role in the early dissemination of innovative currents in French religious literature.<sup>55</sup>

Included in this was the *Introduction à la vie dévote* by François de Sales, bishop of Geneva and one of France's most acclaimed authors. In the three years following the publication of the first edition in Lyon in 1609, the book went through four print runs in the border towns of Arras, Cambrai, and Douai. While translations in other European languages did not appear until after 1615, an English-language translation received two typographically different editions in Douai as early as 1613. This *Introduction to a deuoute life* was prepared by John Yakesley, an English priest with few known biographical details, but he seems not to have been the driving force behind this edition. Instead, it was John Heigham, an expatriate publisher and resident of Douai and Saint-Omer who had collaborated with local printers for nearly a decade, that first noticed this very promising book and the impact that it made within the local book world.

Likewise, Cambrai served as a privileged gateway for translating texts from Mediterranean Catholicism. A complete English-language translation of the Spanish Jesuit Luis de la Puente's *Meditations* appeared in Douai in 1619.<sup>56</sup> A French-language translation of this prayer book remained in print in Douai for a decade.<sup>57</sup> Around 1610, the aforementioned Jesuit Richard Gibbons, residing in Douai, translated the first two parts of the book into English, but the final four parts still awaited their translator.<sup>58</sup> The immense popularity of La Puente's book must have inspired Heigham to finish the English-language translation. Heigham not only introduced a bestselling continental book into England, but he also took the opportunity to explain the Catholic faith's virtues in a lengthy "Preface to all deceived Protestants." Heigham amply illustrated the blossoming of Catholic religion in his expatriate environment by offering a survey of convents in Saint-Omer and stating that he would put himself "through a million of martyrdoms, to see these virtues in publicque practice

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55. Soetaert, "Printing at the Frontier," 148–52.

56. Luis de la Puente, *Meditations vpon the mysteries of our holie faith*, 2 vols., trans. John Heigham (Saint-Omer, 1619), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 424. ICC 36505; Soetaert, "Transferring Catholic Literature to the British Isles," 164–66.

57. Luis de La Puente, *Meditations des mysteres de nostre saincte foy*, 2 vols., trans. Antoine de Balinghem (Douai, 1609), ICC 38200.

58. Luis de la Puente, *Meditations vpon the mysteries of our holy faith. . . . The first part*, trans. Richard Gibbons (Douai, 1610), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 351 and *idem*, *Meditations vpon the mysteries of our holie faith. . . . The second part*, trans. Richard Gibbons (, 1610), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 352. ICC 36286.

in my countrie of England.”<sup>59</sup> These translations not only uncover the intermediary role that the Province of Cambrai played in the exchange of religious texts between France and England, as already suggested in the aforementioned case of Cardinal Du Perron’s treatise, but also between continental Europe and the larger Mediterranean.

#### D. Brokers and Go-Betweens

Hence, French and Spanish books did not travel to England along bilateral and straightforward processes of exchange; often brokers and go-betweens in Cambrai borderlands played a crucial role in these transfers and translation.<sup>60</sup> While a broader examination of the role of these brokers should still be undertaken, this article will focus here only on the role of John Heigham, who is responsible for the origin of the just mentioned translations of François de Sales and Louis de la Puente. Heigham presents a compelling case, being an English layman, marrying a Walloon bride, and turning refuge into settlement, while seizing the opportunities of the cross-Channel Catholic book trade and translation. Operating under the alias of Roger until 1610, he primarily worked with the urban merchant elites outside of the university and religious institutions. The records of the Brussels Privy Council, concerned with granting printing privileges, describe him not as a printer or a bookseller, but as a “marchand Anglois demeurant présentement à St Omer,” equating him with his fellow countrymen engaged in cross-Channel trade.<sup>61</sup> In at least one work he writes about the theological discussions he held with other tradesmen in the French harbor town of Calais.<sup>62</sup>

Heigham’s early life in England remains largely undocumented, although he later testified about his Protestant past. Other evidence hints

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59. De la Puente, *Meditations* (1619), vol. 1, sig. A2r.

60. François de Sales, *An introduction to a deuoute life* (Douai, 1613), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 870. ICC 36295; *idem*, *An introduction to a deuoute life. . . . The 2. edition* (Douai, 1613), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 871. ICC 36296. On this translation, see also Alexander Soetaert, “Transferring Catholic Literature to the British Isles: The Publication of English Translations in the Ecclesiastical Province of Cambrai (c. 1600–50),” in: *Transregional Reformations*, 157–85, here 169–71; and Soetaert, “Printing at the Frontier,” 151–2. On François de Sales’ reception in England, see Mary Hardy, “The seventeenth-century English and Scottish reception of Francis de Sales’ *An Introduction to a Devout Life*,” *British Catholic History*, 33 (2016), 228–58; and Nigel W. Bawcutt, “A Crisis of Laudian Censorship: Nicholas and John Okes and the Publication of Sales’ *An Introduction to a Devout Life* in 1637,” *The Library*, 7th series, 1 (2000), 403–38.

61. Cited in Allison, “John Heigham of S. Omer,” 238.

62. *Ibid.*, 236.

that he assisted the London bookbinder and clandestine printer William Wrench during the final years of the sixteenth century. Imprisonment may have inspired Heigham to relocate to Douai around 1603. From this safe haven, he developed a wide-ranging interest in writing, editing, translating, publishing, and trading.<sup>63</sup> He not only wrote and translated books into his native English, but also published over eighty editions and shipped these across the Channel, averting the Antwerp-based publisher and polemicist Richard Verstegan, who organized this transport during the 1590s.<sup>64</sup> According to William Udall, an English historian, spy, and informer, Heigham visited England in 1608 and was responsible for sending “into England all the seditious bokes which come from Doway and other parts.”<sup>65</sup> A year later, he was recognized in Calais, where he received a shipment of books from Paris that he would later send to England. This indicates that he did not limit his illicit import activities to the books that he edited and published himself. His role in smuggling books across the Channel may explain why, in 1613, he eventually relocated from Douai to Saint-Omer, a town located within thirty miles of four Channel ports (Dunkirk, Gravelines, Calais, and Boulogne).<sup>66</sup> Heigham’s activities in Saint-Omer reinforced the town’s significance for English Catholic publishing, that had begun with the establishment of the college press five years earlier.

Turning refuge into settlement, Heigham soon got closer to his host society. He married Marie Boniface, a native from Arras, with whom he had at least seven children, all born in Douai and Saint-Omer.<sup>67</sup> His continuous contact with the local society is most evident from his long-term ventures with local printshops. Surprisingly, the imprints from many of his editions only specify that they were printed *for*, rather than *by*, John Heigham. Indeed, typographical evidence reveals that printers in Douai and Saint-Omer printed many of his editions.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, Heigham never collaborated with the Kellam family, and only one of his editions came from the College Press—thus collaboration with the much-maligned Walloon printers accounted for almost the entirety of his output.<sup>69</sup> In Douai, he primarily commissioned his editions from Pierre Auroy, a novice printer

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63. *Ibid.*, 227–29. On Heigham, see also Paul Arblaster, “Heigham, John,” in: *ODNB*. Consulted May 14, 2019, at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12868>; and Blom, *The Post-Tridentine English Primer*, 59–60, 127.

64. Paul Arblaster, *Antwerp and the World: Richard Verstegan and the International Culture of Catholic Reformation* [Avisos de Flandes, 9] (Leuven, 2004), 48–53.

65. Cited in Allison, “John Heigham,” 231.

66. *Ibid.*, 230–32.

67. *Ibid.*, 232–33.

68. *Ibid.*, 230–31. Heigham’s editions are identified in *ARCR*.

who undoubtedly welcomed all assignments. Through these contacts with Douai printers, Heigham likely met the aforementioned Martin Baes, who in 1612 received his first assignments for English-language editions from him.<sup>70</sup> Following his relocation to Saint-Omer, Heigham produced no fewer than fifty editions together with Charles Boscard (who had already printed a few editions for him before 1610 in Douai) and, later, with Jeanne Burée, Boscard's widow. The advantages of such a joint venture were reciprocal: while Heigham could develop a sizeable publication and book export program, the Boscard family gained an additional income since their English partner likely financed the venture.

Heigham's long-standing partnership with the host book world not only facilitated the production of dozens of editions, but also fostered the transfer of continental Catholic texts. One of Heigham's first editions in Douai was *The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Jerusalem* (1604 or 1605), a book conceived as a one-year pilgrimage to Jerusalem, that offered meditations for each day of the year.<sup>71</sup> A companion for daily spiritual practice, it encouraged the kind of personal devotion perfectly suited to Heigham's home country, which lacked regular spiritual care.<sup>72</sup> The edition does not mention an author, but it is clearly a translation of a Dutch-language book by Jan Van Passchen, originally issued in Dutch by the Leuven printer Hieronymus Welle in 1563.<sup>73</sup> In 1566, Jean Bogart, another Leuven printer, published a French translation, which he reissued twice in Douai (1576 and 1584) after he opened a branch store in the town.<sup>74</sup> Valuing this older book for its spiritual instructions, Heigham maintained its general structure.<sup>75</sup>

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69. Luis de Granada, *A memoriall of a Christian life*, trans. Richard Hopkins (Saint-Omer, 1625), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 442. ICC 36605. According to *ARCR*, George Seutin, or someone using the English College Press, might have printed the book.

70. *ARCR*, vol. 2, nos. 441, 445, 870, 871.

71. Jan van Passchen, *The spiritual pilgrimage to Hierusalem*, trans. John Heigham (Douai, 1604 or 1605), *ARCR*, vol. 2, no. 423. ICC 36279. The book has no imprint, but a preface to the reader is signed R. H. (for Roger Heigham).

72. On the significance of these virtual or spiritual pilgrimages for English Catholics, see Corens, *Confessional Mobility*, 118.

73. Jan van Passchen, *Een deuote maniere om gheestelyck pelgrimage te trecken tot den heylighen landen als te Jherusalem/ Bethleem/ ter Jordanen/ etc.* (Leuven, 1563), USTC 409466. BT 3938.

74. Jan van Passchen, *La peregrination spirituelle vers la terre sainte*, trans. Nicolas de Leuze (Leuven, 1566), USTC 13548. BT 3941; *idem*, *La peregrination spirituelle vers la terre sainte*, trans. Nicolas de Leuze (Douai, 1576), ICC 35956; *idem*, *La peregrination spirituelle vers la terre sainte*, trans. Nicolas de Leuze (Douai, 1584), ICC 36022.

75. Unfortunately, Heigham remained rather vague about the book's origins, stating that he had "found this little Treatise of a *Spiritual Pilgrime*, assuringe my selfe that it would

However, while the Dutch- and French-language versions began the pilgrimage route in Leuven, Heigham's edition started in London "or the like place," making it more appropriate for English readers.<sup>76</sup>

Fifteen years later, Heigham again proved crucial in providing an English translation of a Walloon book. In 1622, Heigham's profound knowledge of local book production provoked the swift translation of a book composed by the local Jesuit Father Philippe d'Outreman and printed by Charles Boscard in the same year.<sup>77</sup> The English publisher must have been informed about the book at an early stage, possibly by his partner Boscard, as work on a translation might have started before the original appeared on the market. Although *The true christian catholique* mainly intended to provide catechism teachers (usually parish priests) with suitable *exempla*, the English publisher appears to have also recognized its value for a wider readership among the laity.<sup>78</sup> On the continent, this potential was not discovered before the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>79</sup>

Heigham or fellow Englishmen, many of whom belonged to the Society of Jesus or were alumni and lecturers of Douai's English College, wrote most of the books that he published. Continental authors, however, still accounted for about twenty different titles, or over one third of his total output. In addition to the aforementioned books by François de Sales, Luis de la Puente, Jan van Passchen, and Philippe d'Outreman, Heigham also published the writings of many other contemporary continental authors, including Italian Jesuits such as Ignazio Balsamo, Luca Pinelli, and Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino, and Spanish and Portuguese friars like Diego de Estella, Andrés de Capilla, Marcos da Silva, and Luis de Granada. Together with the directors of the English College Press, he turned Douai and Saint-Omer into a crucial hub for the transfer of continental religious texts across the Channel. The expatriates never lost sight of the faithful's needs at home, selecting those books that best stirred piety among readers lacking regular priestly assistance and adapting these for English readers by

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be athinge very agreeable to al maner of devout and pious persons. . . ." Van Passchen, *The spiritual pilgrimage*, sig. +4r.

76. Van Passchen, *The spiritual pilgrimage*, 11. Accordingly, the pilgrimage ended "at thy lodging in London, or from vvhence thou departest" (173).

77. Philippe d'Outreman, *Le vray chrestien catholique: ov la maniere de viure Chrestienement* (Saint-Omer, 1622), ICC 37843; *idem*, *The true Christian catholique or The maner how to liue Christianly* (Saint-Omer, 1622), ARCR, vol. 2, 422. ICC 36553.

78. Soetaert, "Transferring Catholic Literature to the British Isles," 175–76.

79. Philippe Martin, *Une religion des livres (1640–1850)* (Paris, 2003), 15, 19–20.

applying small, but significant, changes.<sup>80</sup> Yet, the end product was neither wholly English, Netherlandish, or even “Continental,” but rather a unique—“transregional”—creation that resulted from collaborations between expatriates, local craftsmen, and networks of knowledge exchange at frontier hubs.

## E. Conclusions

Concepts such as “International Catholicism” and the “Catholic International” have proven beneficial in countering the strongly held assumption that exile and transnational networks remained a distinct feature of Calvinist communities, as was seizing the borderland presses for reaching out to those who had remained in the “motherland.”<sup>81</sup> Through this research, it became clear that English expatriate printers and brokers replicated what Calvinist craftsmen and merchants had done during their diaspora and, like them, they married into local families, diversifying their networks and publication strategies during their time abroad. But exile or expatriate life was never a firm prerequisite for the transfer or translation of Catholic texts, and the book trade’s infrastructure significantly contributed to the making of bestsellers across borders. While the broker John Heigham indeed translated the Walloon author Philippe d’Outreman’s aforementioned book into English, others created editions of that same text in Latin, Dutch, German, and even Bisaya, an indigenous language in the Philippines.

Rather than taking the supposedly bilateral or international connections between Spain, France, England, and its respective capitals for granted, or dividing Europe’s book world into clear-cut centers and peripheries, the transregional perspective urges one to look at the past through differentiated spatialities and to consider the crucial role of border regions and frontier zones. Towns such as Douai and Saint-Omer did not figure among Europe’s most prolific typographic centers, but their location at the frontier gave them a prominent place within the production and distribution for the English Catholic community, as well as within transfer and translation processes between France, the Low Countries and England, as well as the Mediterranean. The examination of collaboration of

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80. One can find more examples of this process in Walsham, “Religious Ventriloquism.”

81. Cf. Ole Peter Grell, “Merchants and Ministers: The Foundations of International Calvinism,” in: *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620*, ed. Andrew Pettegree (Cambridge, 1996), 254–73.



English expatriates and Walloon printers and patrons shows that editions printed on the continent not only catered to the demands of the English Catholic community specifically, but also to those of local patrons and audiences in the Cambrai book world. English Catholics adapted and appropriated the output of local Walloon presses, which in their own turn were significantly informed by French and also Spanish and Italian influences. As a result, the Cambrai portfolio of religious book production helps us to unravel transregional dimensions within early modern Catholicism.

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