

Jesuits and Print: the Polemical Example of John Hay

Nina Lamal

NL-Lab, Humanities Cluster, Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

Corresponding Author

Nina.lamal@huc.knaw.nl

Jan Machielsen

School of History, Archeology and Religion, Cardiff University, Cardiff, United Kingdom

Corresponding Author

Machielsenj@cardiff.ac.uk

Abstract

This introductory article employs the Scottish Jesuit John Hay as a starting point for a wider exploration of the relationship between Jesuits and print, the theme of this special issue. Hay demonstrates how important print could be to a Jesuit's self-worth and identity. In this, as contemporary catalogs of Jesuit publications attest, he was not alone, but he was a controversial outlier. Hay's superiors prevented him from continuing a vociferous polemical exchange and appeared to guide him towards a more suitable subject: translations of missionary reports. Hay's career in print points to the importance of geography and context in shaping Jesuit publications, and to the conflicts between individual authorial projects and institutional restraints. His example shows above all that the commonplace equation of Jesuits with print requires urgent historical investigation. The essays presented here seek to remedy this oversight by paying attention to Jesuits as authors, printers, and readers.

Keywords

John Hay – polemics – printing press – book history – printing natives – authorship – censorship – libraries – reading

An Introduction

Even by the standards of the Society of Jesus, the Scottish Jesuit John Hay (1546–1607) was extraordinarily well-traveled. In 1566, he left his native Aberdeenshire for Rome in the company of a cousin who had already been ordained. His novitiate in the Eternal City, alongside the saintly Stanisław Kostka (1550–68), was followed by a first posting, in 1572, to Vilnius. Such far-flung postings were not unusual for British Jesuits—Edmund Campion (1540–81), their most famous martyr, had once taught in Prague.¹ Perceiving the importance of the Society's colleges not just for learning but also as “guardian[s] for the conservation of religion,” Hay helped draw up an inventory of all of them, although another author would claim the credit.² As this 1586 inventory of Jesuit colleges suggests, Hay's mind could roam widely. In 1603, he published a lengthy report by the Jesuit visitor to China and Japan, Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), in a Latin translation of his own making.³ Another letter from Nagasaki, again translated from Italian, followed a year later.⁴ In 1605, he followed this up with a collection of Jesuit letters from across the globe.⁵

Yet, for Hay, home would always be where the family hearth stood. The title pages of his works not only advertised his membership of the Society of Jesus, they almost as frequently declared his origins from Delgaty, Scotland (“Dalgattiensi Scoto”), where his brother had rebuilt the family castle. And while triumphant missionary reports from exotic locales may have found a devout Counter-Reformation audience, this was not the genre that originally

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- 1 Gerard Kilroy, *Edmund Campion: A Scholarly Life* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017); see also Peter Paul Bajer, *Scots in the Polish—Lithuanian Commonwealth, 16th–18th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 161–64. We would like to thank the staff of the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu and the British Jesuit Archives in Rome and London for their help and hospitality. The editors owe a special debt of gratitude to all the contributors to this issue for their interest, participation, and forbearance, as well as to Kathleen Comerford and Robert Maryks for the invitation to undertake this project.
 - 2 Franciscus Catinius, *Universitatum totius orbis et Collegiorum omnium Societatis Iesu libellus* (Tournon: Thomas Bertrand, 1586), sig. A2^v. Only two copies of this rare work seem to have survived. The copy in KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library, P271.5.016 CATI, once belonged to the Jesuit college of Antwerp and possibly to Hay, who died there. The name Franciscus Catinius, possibly a pseudonym, is crossed out on the title page and at the start of the dedicatory epistle and replaced with “P. Hayus et P. Michael Quessaert.”
 - 3 Alessandro Valignano, *Litterae R.P. Alexandri Valignano visitatoris Societatis Iesu in Iapponia et China*, trans. John Hay (Antwerp: Joachim Trogniesius, 1603).
 - 4 Valentino Carvalho, *Iapponiensis imperii admirabilis commutatio*, trans. John Hay (Antwerp: Widow and heirs of Johannes Bellerus, 1604).
 - 5 John Hay, ed. and trans., *De rebus Iaponicis, Indicis, et Peruanis epistolae recentiores* (Antwerp: Martinus Nutius, 1605).

excited the Scotsman. It was as a controversialist that he was remembered. The 1676 *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu* described him as “a man who toiled indefatigably beyond his strength (*supra vires*) in confuting the heretics, was a passionate debater, most skilled in the arts and eloquence and excellently well-versed in almost all the disciplines.”⁶ His employment in controversy even earned him an entry in the famous *Dictionnaire historique et critique* of Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), who knew a thing or two about polemic.⁷ Ironically Hay appears to have left Vilnius around the time that the Jesuits there set up the printing press, studied in Magdalena Komorowska’s contribution to this issue. (One imagines he could have made good use of it.) A period in France in the later 1570s exposed Hay to the type of militant Catholic disputation which Juan Maldonado (1533–83) had pioneered at the Jesuit Collège de Clermont in Paris. Sent to Strasbourg for medical treatment, he instantly engaged in a polemic with its two leading Reformers.⁸

When Hay was allowed to return home to Scotland in late 1578—again, ostensibly, for health reasons—the Jesuit began discussing “the mysteries of our religion” as soon as he boarded his ship at Bordeaux. When its unlucky Calvinist crew was unable to answer his arguments, “they said their ministers would help them,” a prospect Hay unsurprisingly relished a great deal.⁹ As soon as he landed in Dundee, he discovered that “the word Jesuit was in everybody’s mouth.” A rumor that not one (Hay) but twelve Jesuits had landed caused despair among the ministers of the Kirk. “The Jesuits,” Hay later reported to Rome, “were a new race of persons, far worse than the Papists [...] and so skillful in the use of controversial weapons, that wherever they go they easily lead the minds of men astray.”¹⁰ Hopes of showing off these superweapons before the young king James VI (1566–1625) were dashed, however, and Hay left the country for France when his noble relatives were no longer able to protect him.

6 Pedro de Ribadeneyra, Philippe Alegambe and Nathaniel Southwell, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu* (Rome: Jacobus Antonius de Lazzaris Varesii, 1676), 459.

7 Pierre Bayle, *The Dictionary Historical and Critical*, 2nd ed., 10 vols. (London: J. J. and P. Knapton et al., 1736), 3:332–33.

8 J.M. Prat, *Maldonat et l’université de Paris au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Julien, Lanier, etc., 1856), 447.

9 John Hay to Everard Mercurian, November 9, 1579. William Forbes-Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics under Mary Stuart and James VI* (London: Thomas Baker, 1889), 141–65, here 142. For background to the Society of Jesus in Scotland, see also vol. 7, no. 1 (2020) issue of this journal, edited by Paul Goatman, at <https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/7/1/jjs.7.issue-1.xml> (accessed February 10, 2023).

10 Leith, *Narratives of Scottish Catholics*, 145–46. Cited in part by Thomas M. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1541–1588: “Our Way of Proceeding?”* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 120.

The experience taught Hay that books in low Scots “for moral instruction and for discussing the controverted points of religion” were urgently needed. His first foray in print, in 1580, was to provide the latter. His *Certaines Demandes concerning the Christian Religion and Discipline* demonstrated, to its author’s mind at least, that the religion professed in Scotland was either “the invention of Iohne Calvin or ane rapsodie of auuld [old] condemned heresies manie huundrethe [y]eaes affoir.”¹¹ Hay had demanded a response from the “ministers of the neuu pretended kirk of Scotland.” Perhaps the virtual silence with which the work was received encouraged him, although it might as easily reflect the difficulty of circulating it within the kingdom.¹² Rightly or wrongly emboldened, Hay widened his attack on heresy and in 1583 had the work translated into French. The Jesuit presented the French version as a self-help book, playing to the brand of militant lay Catholic piety that dominated France during the 1570s and 1580s. Readers would be able to defend themselves “against the impudence of the heretics, whose mouth you will very frequently shut up using a few of the questions and demands” listed in this book.¹³ A German translation followed in 1585 after copies “fell into the hands” of the Swiss Catholics of bilingual Fribourg.¹⁴

Confident that he had now silenced still more Protestants, Hay swiftly inserted himself into a local confessional controversy between the Jesuit-run University of Tournon, where he now taught, and the Protestant Academy at Nîmes in Southern France. Both sides claimed the other had started the conflict; but the Protestant claim that a messenger, under orders of the Jesuit rector (or maybe just Hay?), fixed a set of theological and philosophical theses on the Academy’s front door has the greater ring of truth.¹⁵ Now Protestant

11 John Hay, *Certaines Demandes concerning the Christian Religion and Discipline, Proponed to the Ministers of the New Pretended Kirk of Scotland* (Paris: Thomas Brumen, 1580), 6.

12 Only two copies are extant: David G. Mullan, “Scottish Catholic Responses to Reformation Teachings after 1558,” in *A Companion to the Reformation in Scotland, c. 1525–1638*, ed. Ian Hazlett (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 188.

13 John Hay, *Demandes faictes aux ministres d’Ecosse touchant la religion chrestienne* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1583), sig. A5^{r-v}.

14 John Hay, *Fragstück des Christlichen Glaubens an die neuwe Sectische Predigkanden*, trans. Sebastian Verro (Fribourg: Abraham Gemperlin, 1585). Verro explained (sig. (:):iiv) that the French copy fell into the hand of several Fribourg citizens and that he dressed the work, as a traveler in foreign lands, “in German clothing.”

15 *Academiae Nemausensis brevis et modesta responsio ad Professorum Turnoniorum societatis, ut aiunt, Iesu assertiones, quas Theologicas et Philosophicas appellant* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1584 [original ed. Nîmes: Sébastien Jacqy, 1582]), sig. A2^r; John Hay, *Disputationum libri duo, in quibus calumniae et captiones Ministri anonymi Nemausensis, contra assertiones theologicas et philosophicas in Academia Turnonia, anno MMDLXXXII propositas, discutiuntur* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1584); for the claim that the theses were

responses to Hay's *Demandes* were coming hard and fast. The Huguenot pastor Jean de Serres (1540–98) launched no fewer than four clearly numbered—first, second, third, and fourth—“anti-Jesuites” against the “Goliath” Hay between 1584 and 1586.¹⁶ Another Nîmes minister, Jacques Pineton de Chambrun (1515–1601), published a further coordinated attack.¹⁷ But it was the publication of the German translation that prompted the most famous response. Hay's was possibly the first anti-Protestant polemic to appear in Switzerland.¹⁸ It was certainly the earliest work to roll off the first printing press in Catholic Fribourg, instigated by none other than Peter Canisius (1527–86), whose own afterlife in print is explored by Markus Friedrich in this issue.¹⁹ Ludwig Lavater (1521–97)

fixed to the Academy's door, see Jean de Serres, *Pro vera ecclesiae Catholicae autoritate defensio adversus Ioannis Hayi Iesuitae disputationes* (Geneva: Jacobus Stoeer, 1594), 1.

- 16 Jean de Serres, *Le Premier Antilesuite de Ian de Serres, ou, La Responce de l'Academie de Nismes aux assertions des Iesuites de l'Université* (Nîmes: s.n., 1584), the second “Antijesuite” starts on p. 295; Serres, *Defence de la Verité Catholique et troisieme Antilesuite de Ian de Serres contre les calomnies et vanités de Ian Hay Moyne-Jesuite* (Nîmes: Sébastien Jaquy, 1586); Serres, “Quartus Anti-Jesuita, sive, Pro verbo Dei scripto et vere Catholica Ecclesia, adversus Ioannis Hayi Monachi Iesuitae commenta et convitia responsionis pars prior;” in *Doctrinae Iesuiticae praecipua capita tomus quartus* (La Rochelle [Geneva]: Théophile le Roi [Eustache Vignon]). On the identity of the printer, see Theodore G. Van Raalte, “Noster Theophilus: The Fictitious ‘Printer’ whose Anti-Jesuit Volumes Issued from Various Presses in Geneva between 1580 and 1589,” *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 74, no. 3 (2012): 569–91, here 590. For the comparison to Goliath, see Serres, *Defence*, 469; Charles Dardier, “Jean de Serres, historiographe du roi: Sa vie et ses écrits d'après des documents inédits 1540–1598,” *Revue historique* 22, no. 2 (1883): 291–328, here 315, notes only that two local synods and the Nîmes consistory thanked the minister for undertaking the task of refuting Hay.
- 17 Jacques Pineton de Chambrun, *L'Esprit et conscience jésuitique* (Nîmes: s.n., 1584). The preface (fol. 4^r) describes the work as only “la plus petite partie” of the “toute la piece” that Serres had already dedicated to Henry of Navarre. The suggestion that Serres was the true author is probably based on a misunderstanding of the wider print history: Hippolyte Aubert, ed., *Correspondance de Théodore de Bèze*, vol. 26 (1585) (Geneva: Droz, 2004), 2115. Serres did later out himself as the author of the Academy's response (“non [...] meo sed Academiae nomine”) to the Tournon Jesuits: Serres, *Pro vera ecclesiae Catholicae autoritate defensio*, 1.
- 18 For this claim, see Aubert, ed., *Correspondance*, xi.
- 19 Augustin de Backer et al., *Bibliothèque des écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols. (Liège: Imprimerie de L. Grandmont-Donders, 1853–61), 2:66, claims that it was the first work ever printed in (Catholic) Fribourg, a claim which the Universal Short Title Catalogue appears to vindicate. The printer, Abraham Gemperlin, was hired by the city council at the instigation of Peter Canisius: Mariano Delgado, “Peter Canisius als Seelsorger in Freiburg—Oder: Drei Modernisierungsschübe Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte* 104 (2010): 290–93, and for Gemperlin, see Christoph Reske, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* (Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden, 2007), 283.

and Abraham Musculus (1534–91) wrote from Zurich and Bern with some alarm about the development to Theodore Beza (1519–1605) in Geneva. Both were delighted that French Protestants had not proven to be mute after all, and even more that Calvin's successor was also preparing to enter the fray against Hay.²⁰

The *Responce aux cinque premieres et principales demandes* (1586) written against “the Jesuit monk” (*moine Jésuite*) and the Society's other “Antichrists” and “Satanic windbags” appeared anonymously but Hay easily divined its august authorship.²¹ Hay also had no problem replying. He had already “stolen several hours from his more important studies” to respond to Pineton de Chambrun (a work several of his students translated from Latin into French).²² At this time Hay had the ready support of the *ligueur* printer Jean Pillehotte (c.1540–1612), whose publications, as Lorenzo Mancini's contribution shows, Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) would find sub-par many years later.²³ The title of his *Antimoine* (1588) against Beza was a clever double pun; it was both anti-“monk” (because, despite Beza's allegations, Hay as a Jesuit was not one) and antimony, a common drug against “dangerous and pestilential maladies” that Hay now prescribed to cure heresy.²⁴ He promised to provide his most verbose rival, Jean de Serres, with hellebore, the standard cure for madness.²⁵

Problematically for Hay, the “Hellebore” would never appear, even after Serres published another stirring refutation in 1594.²⁶ The Scotsman, who had moved to the Southern Netherlands, was able to arrange a reprint of his original *Demandes* in Brussels the following year. This version appears unaltered

20 Aubert, ed., *Correspondance*, 167–70, here 168 (Lavater to Beza, September 5, 1585); Musculus's concern can be deduced from the response: Aubert, ed., *Correspondance*, 210–12, here 211 (November 18, 1585). Lavater also expressed the wish for a German refutation.

21 [Theodore Beza], *Response aux cinq premieres et principales demandes de F. Jean Hay* ([Geneva]: Jean Le Preux, 1586), 28, 29. For Beza's contribution to the polemic, see Scott M. Manetsch, *Theodore Beza and the Quest for Peace in France, 1572–1598* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 129–32; Jeffrey Mallinson, *Faith, Reason, and Revelation in Theodore Beza (1519–1605)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 89–92. On Beza's authorship, see Manetsch, *Theodore Beza*, 130n53.

22 John Hay, *La defense des demandes proposees aux ministres de Calvin touchant ses blasphemés* (Lyon: Jean Pillehotte, 1586), sig. *3^v.

23 Aimé Vingtrinier, *Jean Pillehotte et sa famille* (Lyon: Henri Georg, 1885).

24 John Hay, *L'Antimoine* (Tournon: Claude Michel, 1588), sig. *6^r. Paracelsians used antimony as a purgative: Allen G. Debus, *The Chemical Philosophy* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2002), 148.

25 Hay, *L'Antimoine*, sig. *6^v–*7^r.

26 Jean de Serres, *Pro vera ecclesiae catholicae autoritate defensio* ([Geneva]: Jacobus Stoer, 1594).

except for the inclusion of a prefatory poem, which celebrated that no Scottish ministers “knew how to respond to it / nor any of the French ministers”:

Although one Jean de Serres is trying his best / And a certain Calvinist
Chambrun as well / Let them give it their all / They will still get nowhere.²⁷

Still, Hay owed Serres his hellebore. The final manuscript was a mammoth 1,086 pages, although size was possibly deceiving—the Jesuit had written the surviving copy in “in large letters so that it may be more easily read by the printers.”²⁸ Yet Hay quickly discovered that the Habsburg Netherlands was not France and that especially the later 1590s were not quite the apocalyptic 1580s. His fellow Scotsmen opposed a wished-for return home because Hay was “unable to keep silent on hearing heresy.”²⁹ Both the British and Netherlandish Jesuits who reviewed his manuscript argued against publication. The English Jesuit Simon Swinburne (1562–1638) likened it unfavorably to Bellarmine’s famous *De controversiis* (1588–93) and considered Hay’s replies “frequently exceedingly only *ad hominem* [...] and in too jocular a manner,” though it was also “exceedingly verbose and even tedious,” because Hay had not bothered with headings of any sort.³⁰ Two Netherlandish Jesuits maintained that “no utility can flow out of reading [Hay’s] book.” Every topic had been treated better elsewhere, while Hay’s style seemed to one “similar to the actions of the two harlots in front of [King] Solomon.”³¹ Publishing the book would only be splitting the baby.

27 Hay, *Demandes* (Brussels: Rutger Velpius, 1595), sig. A1^v. This was the first edition of the text since 1584.

28 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu [ARSI], *Opp. NM*. 300. The letter in question is enclosed in an envelope attached to the inside of the cover of the manuscript: “descripsi magno caractere quo facilius a typographis legeretur.”

29 William Crichton to George Duras, August 2, 1598, cited in Alasdair Roberts, “Hay, John (1547–1607), Jesuit,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (online ed., 2004). <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12724> (accessed February 10, 2023). We have not been able to locate this letter in the British Jesuit Archives. See Thomas M. McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1598–1606: Lest our Lamp be Entirely Extinguished* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 62. Ultimately, Hay would make a brief visit in late 1600/ early 1601.

30 Simon Swinburne to George Duras, August 26, 1598. London, British Jesuit Archives, 46.24.27, Folder 1598 (2): “Nimis etiam frequenter respondet tantum ad hominem [...] nimis iocose”; “prolixus nimis, et etiam taediosus.” The letter is a copy from ARSI, but the original shelf mark is out of date.

31 ARSI, *Germ.* 178, fols. 203^{r-v}. Johannes Goudanus and Johannes Oranus to Olivier Manare, August 18, 1598: “nulla utilitas ex eius libri lectione permanere posse videatur”; “qui mihi similis esse videtur modo agendi illarum duarum meretricum, coram Salomone.”

Hay had held high hopes for his *Apologia* against Serres. He had dedicated it, on January 1, 1598, to King James VI of Scotland who, Hay was confident, would easily perceive from it that “the doctrine of the Calvinists was the most hideous monster in large part created out of the most pernicious heretics of the ancient heretics.”³² Although Hay’s local brethren refused to share their criticisms with him—Hay claimed the censors “denied that they had found anything in my book that would delay its printing”—they certainly had passed their concerns on to Rome.³³ On March 26, 1600, finding the route to publication blocked in the Low Countries, a desperate Hay sent a copy to Claudio Acquaviva (1543–1615) in Rome, beseeching the superior general to print it:

My book could have been printed here [in Antwerp] without any cost to the Society. There is no doubt that the King of Scotland [James VI] and the Lords of that kingdom know that I have composed a reply. If it is not printed, I will be forced to ask Your Reverence to allow me to go away to unknown lands, where I may hide as if completely knocked over by a heretic.³⁴

Acquaviva’s copy of the *Apologia*—the one Hay had written in large letters to aid the printer—has survived in Rome and has barely been looked at over the centuries. Its existence in the Jesuit archives, under the alternate title *Helleborum Ioanni Serrano Calviniano*, was flagged in the 1676 *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, but only a single nineteenth-century author appears to have quoted it, and then only from the dedication.³⁵ Hay had not quite given up. On April 25, 1601, he confessed to Acquaviva that his ardor for disputation had weakened (no doubt to the general’s relief) “because of the

32 ARSI, *Opp. NN.* 300, unpaginated folio: “Calvinistarum doctrinam esse foedissimum monstrum ex antiquorum haeticorum perniciosissimis erroribus magna ex parte conflatum, sis facile percepturus.” John Hay does not appear in Thomas McCoog’s study of Jesuit attempts to convert the Scottish king, although some of his relatives do: Thomas M. McCoog, “Converting a King: The Jesuit William Crichton and King James VI and I,” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 7, no. 1 (2020): 11–33, at https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/7/1/article-p11_11.xml (accessed February 10, 2023).

33 ARSI, *Opp. NN.* 300: “negant se quidquam in libro meo reperisse quod ipsius impressionem retardaret.”

34 ARSI, *Opp. NN.* 300: “Non dubium est quin Rex Scotiae et magnates illius Regni sciant me respensionem composuisse, quae si non edatur, cogar a R.P.Va. petere ut mihi liceat ad incognitas abire terras, ubi, tanquam ab haeretico plane prostratus, delitescam.”

35 Ribadeneyra et al., *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Iesu*, 459; Alphons Bellesheim, *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, trans. Oswald Hunter Blair, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1887–90), 3:369; McCoog, *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England 1598–1606*, 259 cites the letter indirectly from Bellesheim.

work I undertook in vain on the *Hellebore* [against Serres] that I sent to your Reverence.” But he still urged its publication: “The ministers of Calvin are not overcome by silence.”³⁶

It was around this time that Hay’s publishing career changed course. When, in 1603, he published the first of his translated missionary reports, he told its dedicatee that he was now living a life of quiet contemplation: “I live a quiet life, praise be to God, free from all contention. Calvin’s ministers no longer cause me trouble; indeed they lack the strength, although not the desire for praise and honor.”³⁷ Even on the way out, he clearly had not quite let go of his polemical days: “It is a good thing that the unbridled desire of wretched men to harm our Society has so taken away all parts of their mind that they are not afraid to fill their little books with great impudent lies.”³⁸ But Hay thought his dedicatee would be more pleased with a Latin translation of a letter from Japan. With his translations Hay spread word about the spiritual fruit yielded by the Society’s mission in Japan, the print history of which are discussed by Hitomi Omata Rappo’s contribution. Perhaps it was his superiors who nudged the Scotsman onto this less controversial, more edifying path of preaching to the already converted. A later, more global compendium of letters appeared at the request of Carolus Scribani (1561–1629), the rector of the Antwerp college where he then resided.³⁹ After his death in 1607, the Jesuits would remember not only his “primitive fervor” and “apostolic zeal” but also his “infantine docility.”⁴⁰



Hay’s example shows how important print could be to Jesuit self-worth. And he was by no means alone. Jesuits and print simply appear to go together—as

36 ARSI, Anglia 42, fol. 139: “Hoc caeterum ingenue fateor, quod debilitata sit mea in disputando alacritas, nam frustra laborem suscepi in elleboro, quod ad R.P.V. misi. Oro et obsecro ut lucem videat. Ministri Calvini non vincuntur silentio.”

37 Valignano, *Litterae*, trans. Hay, sig. A2^r.

38 Valignano, *Litterae*, trans. Hay, sig. A2^r.

39 Hay, ed. and trans., *De rebus Iaponicis, Indicis, et Peruanis epistolae*, sig. Aa2^v. As Scribani himself was a skilled, though often anonymous controversialist, it is likely that it really was the quality of Hay’s work and open authorship rather than the project itself that caused most opposition in the Low Countries. For more on Scribani consult Louis Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani S.J. 1561–1629: Een groot man van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden* (Antwerp: Ruusbroec Genootschap, 1961). Claudio Acquaviva labored, often in vain, to restrain Netherlandish Jesuits from publishing polemics of their own.

40 J. F. S. [James Frederick Skinner] Gordon, ed., *The Catholic Church in Scotland from the Suppression of the Hierarchy till the Present Time being Memorabilia of the Bishops, Missioners and Scotch Jesuits* (Glasgow: John Tweed, 1869), 564.

closely connected as paper and ink. The first catalog of Jesuit authors was printed in Antwerp as early as 1608, compiled by no less a figure than Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1527–1611). The biographer of Ignatius of Loyola (c.1491–1556) saw in the outpouring of publications from the young Society nothing less than the hand of God at work.⁴¹ In the *Imago primi saeculi Societatis Iesu*, printed in Antwerp in 1640, to commemorate the Society's centenary, Netherlandish Jesuits were perhaps more modest, listing writing and publishing as only one of their twelve core activities, although the lavishly illustrated celebratory volume might make it seem the first of these.⁴² Historians have rightly described the Jesuits as “the apostles of the printing press” and even as “printing natives.”⁴³

These descriptions are surprising in two ways. First, the connection between Jesuits and print has seemed so self-evident as to warrant no analysis or study at all. To our knowledge, there are no books or edited collections devoted exclusively to Jesuits and printing.⁴⁴ Second, the connection conflicts with another historiographical commonplace: the general view that the Reformation marked the triumph of Protestant printing over Catholic preaching and censorship (Hay would certainly have had thoughts about this chestnut!).⁴⁵ Within the wider field of Jesuit studies—which has explored the Society's contributions to art, architecture, military fortifications, science, and so on—there is an urgent need to address the Society's rich and varied engagement with the medium of print. This special issue seeks to fill that substantial

41 Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Illustrium scriptorum religionis Societatis Iesu catalogus* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1608), sig. A2^r–v.

42 *Afbeeldinghe van d'eerste eeuw der societeyt Jesu voor ooghen ghestelt* (Antwerp: Moretus, 1640), 588.

43 See for instance Jos Andriessen, “L'Apostolat de la plume: Les Activités intellectuelles et artistiques,” in *Les Jésuites dans les Pays-Bas et la principauté de Liège (1542–1773)*, ed. Eddy Put (Brussels: State Archives, 1991), 61–71; Paul Begheyn, “The Jesuits in the Low Countries 1540–1773: Apostles of the Printing Press,” in *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identity and Impact (1540–1773)*, ed. Rob Faesen and Leo Kenis (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 129–38. For “printing natives,” see Markus Friedrich's contribution to this volume.

44 The articles in the thematic issue “Jesuits and Their Books: Libraries and Printing around the World” in this journal vol 2, no. 2 (2015), edited by Kathleen M. Comerford (https://brill.com/view/journals/jjs/2/2/article-p179_1.xml [accessed February 10, 2023]), focus for the early modern period primarily on Jesuit libraries. She identifies the history of the book as the largest lacunae in her *Jesuit Libraries* (Leiden: Brill, 2022), 57.

45 On the “utterly unshakable” connection between print and Protestantism, see Andrew Pettegree, “Catholic Pamphleteering,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, ed. Alex Bamji et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 109–26. For studies of Catholicism and the book market, see Natalia Maillard Álvarez, ed., *Books in the Catholic World during the Early Modern Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

lacuna and suggest lines for future inquiry. Connecting this subject to more recent developments in the field of book history, however, also has implications that go well beyond Jesuit studies. The story of Jesuits' engagement with printing was never a simple story of unspoiled, enthusiastic engagement with a new medium. As Mancini's contribution to this volume already makes clear, where print was concerned, Jesuits enjoyed the innocence of paradise but briefly and rapidly experienced the fall. This special issue complicates our current understanding of the relationship between the Jesuits and printing from three angles—Jesuits as authors, printers, and readers—and place it within three larger contexts—the Society's institutional structure, its wider mission, and geography.

As authors, Jesuits had to overcome several difficulties. They needed, first of all, to have a printer (preferably close) at hand. Komorowska demonstrates how their absence delayed publishing initiatives in Poland. Jesuits outside of Europe, as Omata Rappo's contribution shows, relied on colleagues in Europe to see their work into print.⁴⁶ The closest printing press for Jesuits serving on the remote missions of Northern Mexico, studied by César Manrique, was in Mexico City.⁴⁷ Authorship also meant engaging in the commercial realities of the publishing market. Bellarmine's experience as an author (studied by Mancini) shows that even the Society's most famous authors struggled to get their works published in the (error-free) manner that they would have liked. As Jesuits, authors also had to submit their publications to their superiors. Luís Ribeiro's study of Jesuit astrology reveals the inevitable consequences of institutional and self-censorship. Incorporating manuscript culture into our understanding of Jesuits' engagement with the printing presses, as Ribeiro makes clear, gives us a clearer sense of the variety of attitudes within the Society, whether towards heliocentrism and planetary motion or the stars' possible impact on those living on earth. But, as this special issue shows, the relation between Jesuit manuscripts and print is more complex than a simple private *versus* public dichotomy: both were all too often the product of teaching, and as result, it would be a mistake to see manuscripts as expressing "real" but hidden views. Moreover, censorship was not just a question of dogma. As Friedrich shows in his contribution, the Society's hierarchy also attempted—often with

46 For another example, from the Philippines, see Jan Machielsen, "Mary, Liturgy and Missions: Francisco Enzinas' Correspondence with Robert Bellarmine (1605–1607)," in *An Anthology of European Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. Gesine Manuwald et al. (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 193–208.

47 For an overview of printing in Spanish America consult Hortensia Calvo, "The Politics of Print: The Historiography of the Book in Early Spanish America," *Book History* 6 (2003): 277–305.

little success—to control its public image and the representation of its holiest members. Geography here, really mattered. Friedrich’s study of rival hagiographies of Canisius shows that the Society of Jesus was without a doubt a global order, but also that initiatives were often driven by local circumstances.

Equally important here are issues of genre and medium, because different projects faced different forms and kinds of pressure. This special issue cannot do justice to the great variety of Jesuit scholarly interests and publications, but many (if not at all) were meant to have an impact on the Society’s varied mission, spreading the faith and teaching the young. The Society’s educational mission drove individual Jesuits to edit classical texts, push the boundaries of science, and pursue other works of secular scholarship that ostensibly had little to do with religion. As Mancini suggests, Bellarmine’s concerns about textual accuracy likely also reflected the doctrinal nature of his publications. Other genres of writing—as Friedrich and Ribeiro show—faced different sorts of pressures. By contrast, Omata Rappo’s study demonstrates that different media (the engravings and poems of the 1640 *Imago*) allowed Jesuits to articulate a case for the exceptional sanctity of some of the Society’s Japanese martyrs that skirted official rules about such representations.

As for Jesuits as printers, most scholarship has focused on the global missionary experience. In the second half of the sixteenth century, the Society established presses in Goa and Japan which they operated themselves.⁴⁸ Yet the missionary experiences in Asia cannot straightforwardly be applied to the European context, where experiences with the printing press were quite different. As Mancini shows in his article, the Society’s earliest experiments operating their own printing presses in Rome were not successful. Instead of becoming printers themselves, Jesuit authors were encouraged to rely on secular and commercial printers.⁴⁹ Apart from a few high-profile cases—the correspondence of Jesuit missionaries in China with the famous Plantin firm in Antwerp, Athanasius Kircher (1602–80)’s letters to the Blaeu printing firm in Amsterdam—the contacts between Jesuits and printers have received less attention.⁵⁰ Jesuit contacts

48 M. Antoni J. Üçerler, “Missionary Printing,” in *The Book: A Global History*, ed. Michael F. Suarez and H. R. [Henry Ruxton] Wooldhuysen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 107–15.

49 It certainly explains the minor role played by Jesuit presses in book ownership of European Jesuit colleges and houses: Comerford, *Jesuit libraries*, 19.

50 Paul Beghyn, *Jesuit Books in the Dutch Republic and its Generality Lands 1567–1773: A Bibliography* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 424–37 and Noël Golvers, “The XVIIth-century Jesuit mission in China and its ‘Antwerp connections’: I. The Moretus family (1660–1700),” *De Gulden Passer* 74 (1996): 157–88 and his *Libraries of Western Learning for China: Circulation of Western Books between Europe and China in Jesuit Mission (ca. 1650– ca. 1750)* (Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Institute, 2012–15).

with different (less high profile) printers as well as the many (local, state, or ecclesiastical) authorities that license, oversee or sponsor printing still await in-depth investigation. Such an approach would fit within a broader trend in book history to study the ties between authorities and printers, as a crucial way to understand the complexities of the early modern book market.⁵¹ Indeed, such official patronage mattered perhaps even more than commercial success. As Komorowska shows, the first Jesuit editions in Poland–Lithuania were financially supported by high-ranking members within the Catholic Church or powerful magnates. Through these collaborations, the Jesuits in Poland–Lithuania were able to shape the local book markets to a substantial extent. Some printers maintained a privileged relationship with the Jesuits; for instance, the Parisian printer Sébastien Cramoisy (1585–1669) corresponded directly with Superior General Mutio Vitelleschi (1563–1645) and his successors.⁵² In other cases, such as the duchy of Brabant, Jesuits were free to choose their own printers: this explains why Hay’s missionary reports on Japan appeared with different Antwerp printers.⁵³ Few scholars have explored how these contacts came into existence and worked in practice, or measured the impact of the Jesuits’ arrival on local book production. Both Mancini and Komorowska’s contributions show how rewarding this avenue of research can be.

Finally, exploring the relationships between commercial printers and Jesuits provides crucial clues for Jesuits as readers. The Parisian printer Cramoisy had a mutually beneficial relationship with the Jesuits. He published their yearly letters (also known as *relations*) from New France from 1632 onwards, and at the same time, he also supplied their college library in Quebec with new publications.⁵⁴ Jesuit printing was aimed at multiple audiences. The intended audience of Jesuit publications were all too often *other* Jesuits, especially where hagiographical *vitae* or *relationes* were concerned. Another inevitable audience was their students. As Komorowska notes, Jesuit colleges were conspicuous consumers of books, keeping local publishers afloat with their purchases. Textbooks, such as grammars, for their pupils were a steady supply of work for

51 See introduction and the contributions in Nina Lamal et al., eds, *Print and Power in Early Modern Europe (1500–1800)* (Leiden: Brill, 2021).

52 See Brown McShea, *Apostles of Empire: The Jesuits and New France* (Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2019), 21.

53 See the privileges listed by Micheline Soenen, *Inventaire analytique des documents relatifs à l'impression et au commerce des livres (1546–1702)* (Brussels: Archives Général du Royaume, 1983), 33–46.

54 For publication of the relations, McShea, *Apostles of Empire*, 20–40. On this library, see André Beaulieu, “Introduction,” in *La première bibliothèque canadienne: La bibliothèque des Jésuites de la Nouvelle-France, 1632–1800/ The First Canadian Library: The Library of the Jesuit College of New France, 1632–1800* (Ottawa: National Library of Canada, 1972), 14–18.

any press in the period. In addition, reconstructing Jesuit library collections, using the many post-suppression catalogs, shows us the many reasons behind Jesuit reading and reveals the educational and intellectual life of colleges in their particular local contexts. Manrique demonstrates that by the end of the eighteenth century, Jesuits in rural areas of Northern Mexico, had small collections containing a wide variety of books from European printing centers. Some of these books were doubtlessly helpful arsenals, useful for teaching and preaching, but Jesuits did not only “study for action.”⁵⁵ These remote mission libraries were also partly an effort to recreate a European space that offered intellectual spiritual nourishment. These libraries were a home away from home.

55 The standard study of the subject, of course, is Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, “Studied for Action’: How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy,” *Past & Present* 129 (1990): 30–78.