

Peter Milward, S. J. (1925-): A Chronology and Checklist of his Works on Shakespeare,  
in English, Gathered in the Burns Rare Book Library, Boston College, Chestnut  
Hill MA

[\*MLA = listed in PMLA Bibliography, coverage beginning 1963; \*WSB = listed in  
World Shakespeare Bibliography, online coverage beginning 1971, previous years  
in Shakespeare Quarterly annual bibliography]

[\* after date means "significant" article or book; bolded date means a published item in  
English which cites Shakespeare. A few Japanese items are given in brackets or  
listed if they are translated in ms.]

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Boston College

Revised 19 July 2006

1925 Milward born in London.

1933-43 Wimbledon College (a Jesuit secondary school), including  
preparatory school at Donnhead Lodge (1933-36). "At school I was  
introduced to Shakespeare, like so many other English  
schoolchildren, by Charles and Mary Lamb. And then we had the  
sonnets of his Golden Treasury to learn by heart. Then from the  
age of 10 onwards, beginning with Macbeth, it was play after play  
to be read and studied in class, with the learning of the  
memorable speeches in them, till we were thoroughly indoctrinated  
with Shakespeare" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002). "Between  
the ages of 11 and 17, I was no play-goer; and the only  
Shakespeare play I ever watched during that period was The  
Tempest. . . . I remember very little of it, except for the  
opening tempest, which was very impressive and so calculated to  
appeal to small boy like me" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002,  
revised version).

- 1943-47 Entered Society of Jesus, two years noviceship at St. Beuno's College, North Wales. Then a year of juniorate at St. Beuno's College (1945-6): "Now I read King Lear for the first time" ('Shakespeare and I', 1997). Then a second year of juniorate at Manresa House, Roehampton (1946-7).
- 1947-50 Philosophy at Heythrop College, Oxon. "I was . . . happy studying the old mediaeval philosophy of Aquinas, even if considerably watered down by Suarez and our textbooks. . . . Not that I then was investigating the thought of Aquinas with a view of finding possible parallels in the thought of Shakespeare. . . . I subsequently discovered the good probability of his having read the first book of Hooker's Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity (1594), in which the influence of Aquinas is both evident and admitted by the author" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002, revised version).
- 1950-54 Classical and English Literature at Campion Hall, Oxon. "My special field was to be the classical literature of Greece and Rome, or what are simply called 'the classics'. That had been my chosen field of study even at high school in Wimbledon, and it remained so during my years of formation as a Jesuit." ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002). "But I was now destined for Japan, to teach at the Jesuit university of Sophia, or Our Lady Seat of Wisdom, and they had no need of a classical teacher. Instead, they gave me a choice between History and English; and so I chose English. Then it was that my tutor . . . set me the task of extensive reading for the examination paper--one of ten for which I had to prepare during the next seven terms--on the work of Shakespeare" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002, revised version). "And that was the heyday of the great don-producer, Nevill Coghill. It was also the heyday of C. S. Lewis . . . [who] had much of significance to say about what he called 'prolegomena' both to mediaeval and to Renaissance literature. Only, when it came to Shakespeare he was strangely dumb! All the same, of all the personal influences on my mind during my four years at Oxford, his was unquestionably the greatest" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002).

1952 Essays for his Oxford tutor, Mrs. Dorothy Bednarowska, spring-summer, 1952 (Milward, personal correspondence, 31 March 2002). "I couldn't help noticing how often the dramatist repeats himself. . . . He also echoes . . . . strangely enough, the text of The Spiritual Exercises. . . . which might have been accidental as due to the Renaissance way of thinking . . . . I wondered at the time if Shakespeare might not possibly have come upon the printed text of the Exercises, but I dismissed it as remote possibility--till evidence came my way several years later of a probably encounter between the young Shakespeare and the eminent Jesuit Edmund Campion in Lancashire of all places" (see below, 1999, "Shakespeare's Jesuit Schoolmasters"). "I have to confess that I find that period of my life a strange blank; for then I was too close up to him and his plays to see them with the needed charm of distance." ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002, revised version).

"The Theme of Kingship in Richard II-Henry V."

"Richard III--A Melodramatic Morality."

"In the mind of Shakespeare, the great catastrophe in English mediaeval history was the deposition and murder of Richard II."

"Shakespeare's Experimental Comedies."

"The exact chronological order of Shakespeare's plays has always been a matter of controversy; and yet such knowledge is indispensable if we are to trace the development of Shakespeare's mind in them." "It is possible to trace some development in their author's mind: within these what development we see must needs be largely subjective and very tentative." MND shows "the difference between the old and the new, between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance; and Shakespeare, with all his fascination at the superficial glitter of the new age, remains essentially mediaeval at heart." "The sympathy of treatment . . . makes the character of Shylock stand out from the play as thoroughly human, if at the same time vicious."

"Shakespeare's Use of Plutarch in the Roman Plays."

"What caused Shakespeare to turn from comedy to tragedy has been a subject of much conjecture. Some critics assign a psychological explanation. . . . Others explain the change by historical events, such as the rebellion and execution of Essex. Amid many varying conjectures, it may be allowed to add another," that is, the reading of Plutarch.

"Much Ado About Nothing." 2 May 1952.

"The Problem Plays." 8 May 1952.

Cites Chambers on "the danger of reading too much of the author's life in his plays. . . . 'a biography which we can never know'. The author must ever remain a cryptic figure behind his plays, anonymous in all but name." On All's Well: "a certain theological tendency in the play. . . . a kind of allegorical correspondence between her curing of the king and her winning of Bertram's affection, as between the healing of corporal and spiritual disease."

"Othello: Iago a Mere Piece of Machiavellianism."

"Shakespeare is conducting a criticism of the Machiavellian ideal."

"Imagery in Shakespeare's Tragedies."

Tutor: "In contrast to the black and hellish images--notice the heavenly and bright quality of those associated with Desdemona--the cherubim--the rose--the light--the pearl--the chrysolite--alabaster--the white ewe--snow--the more angel she, And you the blacker devil--curse his better angel from his side." Tutor: "Notice the images of nature and beauty that accompany the return of Cordelia and the reconciliation iv.111--sunshine & rain--pearls & diamonds--holy water from her heavenly eyes--- a soul in bliss--birds in the cage--the gilded butterflies."

"Treatment of Antony and Cleopatra by Shakespeare and Dryden."

There is in Shakespeare, as it were, a gigantic joy in all creation. . . . Such then was the spirit of his mind at the time of writing. . . . All this may be conjecture, but at least it is conjecture warranted by facts and by psychology."

"Last Plays of Shakespeare: Return to Romance."

Dowden, p. 406: "The dissonance must be resolved into a harmony, clear and rapturous, . . . . at the end there is a resolution of the dissonance, a reconciliation." Dowden, p. 382: "He could now so fully and fearlessly enter into Timon's mood, because he was now past all danger of Timon's malady." In these late comedies, emphasis "falls . . . on the ever more remarkable family reunions." "It is in this spirit of forgiveness and family reunion, that Shakespeare finally . . . returns to Stratford; for what can the forgiveness of the plays mean, but a forgiveness of that London public whose lack of feeling had aroused in indignation in Coriolanus and Timon. . . ."

- 1954 Arrives in Japan. 6 months teaching Spanish scholastics at Language School near Yokohama. Two years of language study at Taura near Yokosuka. "Then I had to study Japanese for two years, and theology for another four years, and another year of noviceship again, before I could at last, at the ripe old age of 37, take up my appointed task of teaching English literature to Japanese students at the Jesuit University of Sophia in Tokyo, from 1962 onwards" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002).
- 1955 "Shakespeare as Historian." Sophia 4 (Spring 1955): 65-81. In Japanese. English translation in Shakespearean Papers (1965) 39-51.  
Not about Catholic dimension.
- 1957-61 Theology at St. Mary's College, Kami-Shakujii in Tokyo.  
Ordained priest in 1960 at St. Ignatius Church in Yotsuya.

1960\* "Shakespeare no Higeiki" ("Shakespeare's Tragedies"). Seiki (Sophia University) no. 119 (April 1960): 40-50. In Japanese. English translation in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 65-73: "a review of a recent book on Shakespeare and Catholicism by H. Mutschmann and K Wentersdorf. This book deeply impressed me with its full biographical evidence for what I had long recognized (with Newman and Chesterton) as the Catholicism of Shakespeare's plays" ("Shakespeare and I" 1997).

**Cites Mutschmann, Parker, Chambrun.** "Whatever may have been his private views on religion, he could not give free expression to them . . . ." If Shakespeare was indeed (as recent scholarship seems to vindicate) a loyal Catholic and remained so till the day of his death, if as a Catholic he wishes (according to what one might call the psychology of great literature) to express his deepest religious thoughts in his plays, and if he was unable (as various hints in these plays lead us to suppose) to reveal them openly on account of the prevailing persecution, but had perforce to hide them under cover of indirect allusions and veiled allegories; if all this is true, the conclusion cannot be other than a **radical reinterpretation** of his plays as a whole, which may perhaps expose their true underlying meaning for the first time." In Hamlet, "the queen represents the English people, who were formerly espoused to Catholic religion, but are now united to a false usurping heresy, with the result that there is a deep rottenness and corruption at the heart of the nation. **Shakespeare, moreover, recognized himself in Hamlet as the true son of the Catholic religion (his royal father) and the English people (his fickle mother).** To show his fidelity to his religion, he wishes to goad the consciences of his countrymen by means of this play; but his courage is deficient, and he continually blames himself for hesitation in taking effective measures in a more open and direct manner." **"The murdered Duncan stands for the former Catholic religion."** Cites John Buchan's novel, The Blanket of the Dark, on the dissolution of the monasteries. "Because of this primary religious preoccupation, he is able to give full scope to all his gifts of nature and of grace--broad philosophical wisdom unparalleled depth of insight into the heart of man, lofty flights of poetical description--

through which these plays are numbered among the greatest works of the world's literature."

- 1962 "Shakespeare no Humanism" ("Shakespeare's Humanism"). Sophia (Sophia University) 11 (Autumn 1962): 36-57. In Japanese. English translation in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 29-38.

In 1962 Milward joins English Department at Sophia University and will teach there until 1996.

Cites Tillyard's "Respublica or England is the hero."

"Then at last I could begin to see Shakespeare with all the charm of distance. . . . And then, too, I came to develop my own distinctive approach . . . . I took that aspect which meant most to me, in virtue of my long formation as a human being and a Jesuit, and an aspect which I am sure meant most to him as well, namely the religious, the Catholic, even the recusant aspect--in spite of the certainty that I would be condemning myself to figurative exile, in the view of modern Shakespearian orthodoxy, to the lunatic, heterodox, sectarian fringe of such studies. But if it was to be so, so let it be--as Viola puts it in Twelfth Night. "No wonder Shakespeare himself had to keep his own source of inspiration hidden from such 'suborned informers' as Rosencrantz and Guildenstern" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002). "I was helped in this reading by Shakespeare and Catholicism by Heinrich Mutschmann and Karl Wentersdorf. This and two other related books, The Religion of Shakespeare by Henry Sebastian Bowden (1899) and The Shakesperes and 'The Old Faith' by John Henry de Groot (1946), provided me with much biographical and historical support" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002, revised version).

- 1962 "Shakespeare and Sophia." Eibei Bungaku Kenkyu 5 (1962): 5-9.

On universities, fools, etc. in Shakespeare.

- 1962\* "The Base Judean." Shakespeare Studies (Tokyo) 1 (1962): 7-14. Included in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 74-78. \*WSB.

"Judean", not "Indian," and thus soul as "pearl of great price" (Geneva, Authorized) lost through betrayal. "Sweetest innocent"

- evokes Christ as innocent lamb; Judas' kiss evokes "kissed thee ere I killed thee." Shakespeare uses "base" elsewhere to mean vile, not ignorant. Iago's "tribe" as Jewish. See below, "More on 'the Base Judean'" (1989).
- 1963 "Happy and Tragic Interpretations of Shakespeare's Plays." (Review of Dover Wilson's Shakespeare's Happy Comedies and C. J. Sisson's Shakespeare's Tragic Justice.) Sophia 12 (Spring 1963): 101-107. In Japanese. English translation in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 60-64.
- 1963 "Shakespeare no Arashi ni tsuite" (on Shakespeare's Tempest). Seiki 162 (1963): 74-9. English translation, 2/03, by Mayumi Tamura, ms. in BC collection: "In the opening scene, the Boatswain . . . asks Gonzalo to 'command these elements to silence and work the peace of the present'. In fact, this is what Shakespeare himself achieves in this play." "This play has the characteristic of religious allegory. . . . Prospero . . . seems to be God who leads the human history to the happy ending by his Providence." "The eulogy of Gonzalo . . . quite similar to the Exultet in the on the Eve of Easter. 'Was Milan thrust from Milan that his issue / Should become kings of Naples? O, rejoice / Beyond a common joy. . . .' Miranda "reflects the ideal image, which Shakespeare inherited from the Christian tradition of Medieval age. . . . the figure of 'Lady of Love'," like the Virgin Mary in religious poetry. On Prospero's final "baseless fabric" speech: "But the vision shows something that transcends itself as all the material things do. It indicates the thing itself which gives the everlasting meaning to them. And it is nothing but the inspiration of God's bliss. . . . who created the heaven and the earth, and who will exist forever and not perish with time, and which God gives to all that will preserve the true love after the trials till the last."
- 1963\* "Shakespeare's Mediaeval Inheritance." Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan) 2 (1963): 49-52. Reprinted in Mediaeval Dimension (1987-90). Also included in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 52-59. \*WSB.



- S. owed less to Renaissance, which he often satirized, than to **Medieval Christianity, esp. its Morality and Mystery plays** (citing Farnham and others); shows preference for old Catholic order of Dante over new Protestant order of Milton (57, 58): **"This, however, is a tremendous subject, which cannot be adequately treated [here]" 58. Sees in S. an "evolution . . . from the mediaeval ideal of courtly love and chivalry, which belongs more to the early Comedies, via the Renaissance ideal of Platonic love, which appears in the mature Comedies, to the religious ideal of the Christian Middle Ages,"** i.e. the **Virgin Mary resonance** in Helena, Desdemona, Cordelia. Cites his 2 Sophia articles, 1955 (S. as Historian), 1962 (S's Humanism).
- 1963** "The Underthought of Shakespeare in Hopkins." Studies in English Literature (Eibungaku Kenkyu) (Japan) 39 (1963): 1-9. \*MLA (in Hopkins section).  
Shakespearean underthought in Hopkins, i.e. his use of images, like Edgar's "the worse is not / So long as we can say, This is the worst," behind Hopkins's "No worst, there is none." In 1971 (continuing), Milward became president of the Hopkins Society (Japan) which was founded under his leadership.
- 1963** "Shakespeare in Japanese Translation." Studies in Japanese Culture: Tradition and Experiment. Ed. Joseph Roggendorf (Tokyo: Sophia University, 1963). 187-207. Also included in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 96-111. \*WSB.  
The attempted assassination of liberal leader, Itagaki Taisuke, in 1882 prompted the first Japanese trans.of Shakespeare, Julius Caesar. Review of Japanese translations and their struggle to balance archaic formality (used influentially by Tsubouchi Shōyō) and modern colloquialism. ["Did the Japanese political use of Shakespeare suggest to you the possibility of a political/religious interpretation?" Milward, 3/26/02: "No."]
- 1963** "Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Tomorrow. Shakespeare Interpreted in Japanese." Studies in English and American Literature (Eibei Bungaku Kenkyu) no. 6 (1963): 7-10. In Japanese. English translation in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 112-114.

1963 "F. D. Hoeniger (Ed.): Pericles 'The Arden Shakespeare.'" Shakespeare News 3 (1963): 6-7. \*WSB

"shows remarkable parallels to the miracle plays of the Middle Ages, esp. . . . the Digby play of Mary Magdalene."

1964 An Introduction to Shakespeare's Plays. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1964. Translated into Japanese: Tokyo: Chuo Shuppansha, 1972. \*WSB.

Milward's first book. "For my classes I first prepared hand-outs. . . . I put them together in the form of a little book" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002).

Based on course lectures 1962-3, English Dept, Sophia Univ.; pref. dated Nov. 1963; general overview, cites opposition of medieval chain of being with skeptical, empirical Renaissance; notes both parents "strongly attached to the old religion"; persecution by Lucy perhaps "connected with religion, as the magistrate was a Puritan and a zealous persecutor of Catholics"; cited Lancashire theory as "better substantiated"; Tillyard's "Respublica, or England, is the hero" theory of history plays; Shakespeare's heroines symbolizes ideal goodness; cites again love in Roman de la Rose pruned of courtly adultery, and also influence of neoplatonism; Shakespeare deeply indebted to Morality plays. Bibliography includes Chambrun, Shakespeare: A Portrait Restored, and Mutschmann and Wentersdorf. Trans. in Japanese, Tokyo: Chüö Shuppansha, 1972. "for my classes I first prepared hoand-outs. . . . I put them together in the form of a little book."

1964\* "A Theology of Grace in The Winter's Tale." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 2 (1964): 27-50. \*WSB. Reprinted in Mediaeval Dimension (1987-90). Also included in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 79-95.

The **women are vehicles of divine grace** by which the men, like Leontes, are brought to repentance and redemption. Thus much more than the "nature" play argued by some critics.

- 1964 "A Biography of William Shakespeare." (Review of Rowse biography.) Sophia 13 (Spring, 1964): 89-94. In Japanese. English translation in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 5-8. \*WSB.  
 "In the name of sense, he [Rowse] mocks the obstinacy of the Catholics who clung to their religious principles. . . ."
- [1964 "Shakespeare in Japanese Translation." Sophia (Sophia University) 13 (Spring 1964): 37-60. In Japanese. \*WSB.]
- 1964** "Who Was Shakespeare" Eigo Seinen 110 (May 1964): 360-62. Included in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 2-4. \*WSB. Condensed, modified form in America (25 April): 566-67. \*WSB (America version).
- 1964** "Sonnet: The Heart of Shakespeare's Mystery." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 2 (1964): p. ii. Gathered in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 1.
- 1964 "Shakespeare to Catholicism" ("Shakespeare and Catholicism"). Seiki 168 (May 1964): 73-80. In Japanese. English translation in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 9-14. \*WSB.  
 Cites Simpson, Bowden, Thurston, Chambrun, De Groot, Muthschmann, Parker, Williamson. "It is significant that Jonson's conversion dates from soon after his first meeting with Shakespeare, and he remained loyal to his new-found faith throughout the period of their friendship, only to relapse after the latter's retirement from the stage." Chambrun cites many Rheims parallels. King Lear onwards begins "unbroken line of ideal heroines, who are frequently described in terms traditionally applied to the Virgin Mary." (See "Theology of Grace," 1964.)
- 1964 "St. Thomas and Shakespeare." Studies in Mediaeval Thought (Chusei Shiso Kenkyu) 6 (Oct. 1964): 117-37. In Japanese. English translation in Shakespearian Papers (1965) 15-29.

1964? "The Religious Background of Hamlet." Ms, 5 pgs. singlspaced.

On source study, cites importance of Owst's Literature and Pulpit in Mediaeval England and Blench's "more recent" Preaching in England (1964). Thus c. 1964. But Blench overlooks 2 Books of Homilies, dealt with in part by Prof. Hart; also sermons of Henry Smith ("if it be but a sleep," "we shall be worms' meat," "where is Alexander" [also in Nashe's Christ's Tears], etc.), but emphasizing Catholic elements; also Persons' Christian Directory ("where will all your vanities be. . .?) and echoes of St. Peter's Complaint: Southwell use of "common," "cut off in her youth." See below, "Homiletic Tradition" (1967).

1965 Shakespearian Papers. Unpubl ms. "English Originals" of papers "[some] originally published in Japanese reviews during the decade 1955-65," especially 1964, the Shakespeare centenary. Included in this order: "Sonnet: The Heart of Shakespeare's Mystery" (1964); "Who Was Shakespeare?" (1964); "A Biography of William Shakespeare" (1964); "Shakespeare and Catholicism" (1964); "Sir Thomas and Shakespeare" (1964); "Shakespeare's Humanism" (1962); "Shakespeare as Historian" (1955); "Shakespeare's Mediaeval Inheritance" (1963); "Happy and Tragic Interpretations of Shakespeare's Plays" (1963); "Shakespeare's Tragedies" (1960); "The Base Judean" (1962); "Theology of Grace in The Winter's Tale" (1964); "Shakespeare in Japanese Translation" (1963); "Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Tomorrow. Shakespeare Interpreted in Japanese" (1963).

This volume is companion t`o An Introduction to Shakespeare's Plays (1964), by providing a fuller treatment of its themes (Milward).

In 1965-6, Milward spent a sabbatical year as a "research fellow of the Shakespeare Institute, then at Birmingham. And that time I used for further research into that aspect of Shakespeare which drew my chief attention, an aspect which had drawn remarkably little attention, his religious background" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002).

- 1966\* "Shakespeare and Christian Doctrine." Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan) 4 (1966): 36-56. \*MLA (first Milward listing in Shakespeare section). \*WSB.

Attacks R. Frye's secularism as arbitrary; cites **Devlin** on Champion-Persons-Southwell connection; also on S's anti-Jesuit patriotic Catholicism in Macbeth. **Ross's "poor country" speech "as if wrung from the heart of a Catholic recusant."** Protestant parsons satirized. Cranmer's tribute to Henry VIII probably by Fletcher. **S. moves from narrow patriotism of History plays to international Catholic viewpoint in later, thus Cymbeline's reconciliation with Rome.** Use of pagan gods in late plays fits Catholic Baroque juxtaposition of classics and Christian themes. Cites de Groot. Fr. Sankey (in Frye) censored Measure for Measure not for theology but for sexual material. S. also interested in political allegory, i.e. **shadow of Henry VIII in Claudius, Othello and Macbeth**, treated in 1960 Japanese article, "Shakespeare's Tragedies." **S. combines individualized realistic Tudor drama with medieval structure, thus reconciles "realism and idealism, the concrete and abstract"** etc.

- 1966 "Shakespeare and Theology." Essays in Criticism: 16 (1966): 118-122. \*MLA. \*WSB.

Against Wilson Knight's Nietzschean approach. **Plays are "synthesis reconciling the Renaissance antithesis with the mediaeval thesis, rejoining what had already been broken."**

- 1966 "English Literature Studies in Japan." Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation) 112 (1966): 546-49.

"when Miss Bradbrook visited Japan on the occasion of the poet's fourth centenary, I recall how she urged us to develop a Japanese interpretation of Shakespeare . . . one that would reveal new possibilities in them against a Japanese setting."

- 1967\* "The Homiletic Tradition in Shakespeare's Plays With Special Reference to Hamlet." Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan) 5 (1967): 72-87. \*MLA. \*WSB. Reprinted in Mediaeval Dimension (1987-90).

Many **echoes of Henry Smith's** Sermons, esp. those themes with "deep roots in Catholicism"; also echoes of **Persons's Christian Directory, and Southwell's St. Peter's Complaint and The Triumphs over Death; Nash's Pierce Penniless**. Cites Belloc; see **S. as a Catholic but "transcending the lamentable division of Catholic and Protestant."** From Southwell Triumphs over death "'tis common." From St. Peter's Complaint "impostum'd sore" and "Scorns of time." From Persons "body . . . . whereupon the wind not be suffered to blow," also "Where is Alexander". From Nash Pierce Penniless "Dram of eale" idea, also sky as overhanging vault of crystal. From Homily 'On Order', on man as incomparable creature. From Smith "Sea of troubles", also "a pin is able to kill us," "worm's meat". From Nash's Christ's Tears "desperate diseases . . . desperate medicines," "'no more ground, being dead, than the beggar."

- 1967** "The Moral Viewpoint of Shakespeare." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 4 (1967): 1-24. \*WSB (misdated 1968).  
 Recurrent lamentation of "the malice of the age," etc.  
 Importance of repentance and forgiveness in S.; law of justice and mercy, love and marriage, etc.
- 1967** Christian Themes in English Literature. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, c. 1967.  
 Christian Humanism, Our Lady, sacramental symbolism, etc., in English literature, with Shakespeare as recurrent example.
- 1968** "Shakespeare and Wilson Knight." Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan) 6 (1968): 75-93. \*MLA. \*WSB.  
 Knight celebrates amoral Nietzschean Byronic individualism in S. But these are enclosed with a mediaeval framework, with insistence on repentance, etc.
- 1968** "What's in a Name? A Study in Shakespearean Nomenclature." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 5 (1968): 1-11. \*MLA. \*WSB (noted in 1971 volume).

- s as helpful go-betweens, Fr. John Frith (known for hawks) perhaps portrayed in Friar Lawrence; disguised duke in Measure reflect how Catholics went for counsel to priest; terms of Catholic devotion used for Romeo and Juliet's love.
- 1968** "Prolegomena to a Study of Shakespeare's Religious Background." Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation) 114 (1968): 673-76. \*MLA. \*WSB (noted in 1971 volume).
- Against literature as only autonomous, we must consider historical background often hard to recover. "Strange silence" about Shakespeare's background, assigned to Elizabethan myth (which in fact he critiqued). **Need to consider both Catholic and Protestant background. "So far there exists no general survey of this background as a whole in relation to the work of Shakespeare."**
- 1968** Essays on Shakespeare, by G. K. Chesterton. Ed. Peter Milward. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1968.
- Celebrates Chesterton's view, i.e. that MND "is the last glimpse of Merrie England," etc. In 1966 (and continuing) Milward became president of the Chesterton Society which was founded under his leadership. The Society has published 15 volumes of Chesterton translations.
- [1968 "Chesterton no Shakespeare Kan" ("Chesterton's View of Shakespeare"). Oberon (Tokyo) 11.1 (1968): 56-63. In Japanese. \*WSB.]
- 1968 "Thomas More and William Shakespeare." Ms, 12 pgs.
- Cites David Bevington, "Heywood's Comic Pleading for Reconciliation," Tudor Drama and Politics (1968), last ref. cited. Gloucester's "no leading need" like More's "let me shift for myself" on scaffold. More like faithful counsellors, Camillo, Gonzalo (with his utopia, admittedly from Montaigne), etc. Leontes "clearly a type of Henry VIII." See below, "Shakespeare's Merry Fooling" (1972).

**1969\*** "The Religious Implications of The Merchant of Venice." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 6 (1969): 62-80. \*MLA. \*WSB (noted in 1971 volume). Reprinted in Mediaeval Dimension (1987-90).

"Many hidden references to the religious situation." i.e. the conflict of Catholics and Puritans. Notes Stoll and Siegel on Shylock/Puritan parallel. 'Damned error . . . approve' line, from both Catholic and Anglican (vs. Puritan) sources: T. Harding, Answer to M. Jewel, on heretic error and pretence of truth, Persons Brief Discourse, on heretics using scripture. John Whitgift and anon. Defence of the Ecclesiastical Regiment (1574) fought Puritan Thomas Carwright who defended literalist interpretation of Old Testament (execute heretics, etc.). Matthew Sutcliffe compares Puritan usurers to cruel Turks etc. Bancroft notes that Puritans "will not pray with us" etc. Lancelot on Shylock as "devil incarnal," perhaps from anti-Martinist tract on Puritan Martinists as "very devils incarnat." Bars between merchants and property=like laws against Catholics Belmont like continental Catholic area. Antonio like Christ, tainted wether, his patience like that urged by Southwell; his opening sadness reflect heavy burden on priests; pound of flesh like quartering. Merchant=common disguise for priests Southampton was owner of two estates on Hampshire coasts, from which Catholics had traveled; Southampton's cousin, Thomas Pounce, Jesuit laybrother, owned estate in Hampshire called "Belmont."

**1969** The New Testament and English Literature. Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1969.

Jesus on 'no faith, no miracle' parallels Paulina "requir'd / You do awake your faith." Refs. to carrying one's cross. Theme of Christ betrayal in RII and others. Lear and Cordelia like Pieta. Resurrective joy in miracles of late plays.

[1969 "Shakespeare Our Contemporary." Sophia (Sophia University) 18.3 (Autumn 1969): 25-41 (219-35). In Japanese. \*WSB.

From ms. of English translation:



"In contrast to this ambitious ideal [Tamburlaine's "aspiring minds . . . can . . . measure every wandering planet's course"], that proposed by Shakespeare seems not forward--but backward--looking into the dark 'abysm of time'."

**1969** An Historical Survey of English Literature. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1969.

On Shakespeare passim. Brief. No ref. to religious contexts.

**1969** "Shakespeare in the Modern World." Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation) 115 (1969): 772-74. \*MLA. \*WSB.

**"Shakespeare stands aloof from the partisans of struggle, pointing out in play after play the evils of conflict and hatred." "He presents a measure of right, and a measure of wrong, on either side." Notes reunions in Pericles, Cymbeline, WTale, Tempest.**

**1969** "Some Missing Shakespeare Letters." Shakespeare Quarterly 20 (1969): 84-87. \*MLA. \*WSB.

Indirect descendants of Elizabeth Hall may have letters still to be found. (Descent includes Milward's ancestors i.e. R. Milward c. 1833, who left packet of letters to Milward's grandfather, Parkinson who took the name "Milward".)

**1969** "Shakespeare in Our Time." Lecture, Assoc. of Foreign Teachers in Japan, 19 October 1969.

"[I]ts roots demonstrably go back to Shakespeare's time, to the controversies of the Reformation and the wars of Religion. . . . Shakespeare stands aloof from the partisans of struggle" in spirit of Mercutio's "plague o' both your houses."

**1969-70\*** "The Religious Dimension of King Lear." Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan) 8 (1969-70): 48-74. \*MLA. \*WSB.

Against Elton's pagan reading; rather the play is Christian in meaning, though pagan in form. Edgar like hunted priests, in Harsnett, and Southwell's Humble Supplication, and Cecil's Execution of Justice (also "secret lurkings" in Cecil=Edgar's

"Lurk, lurk"). Note Southwell use of "readiness" and "unripe" in Triumphs over Death. Cordelia silence like Christ before judges; appeal to duty as in Nowell's Catechism. Cordelia "most rich, being poor" reflect 2 Cor 8.9: "He, being rich . . . became poor." Persons's Christian Directory, "we rob and spoil all sort of creatures . . . to cover our backs" echoes in Lear.

**1970\*** "The Shadow of Henry VIII in Shakespeare's Plays." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 7 (1970): 1-25. \*MLA. \*WSB.

"Concludes that Shakespeare seems to insist upon the ultimate reconciliation of England with the Church of Rome" (WSB summary). Hamlet's "brief chronicles" idea, thus Shakespeare's allegory to "catch the conscience of a King." The "tragic divorce"=center of HV VIII; Katharine blessed with angelic vision, pronounces blessing on Mary; last act done by inferior dramatist. HV VIII parallels Winter's Tale, state trial of Hermione, K's appeal to Pope like appeal to Delphos and its solemn service like high mass (acknowledging Simpson). Polixenes like "holy father" Pope [!], return of Perdita like accession of Mary Tudor and association with Cardinal Pole [!]. Cymbeline like HV VIII renounces tribute to Rome, through influence of evil queen; end signals reconciliation with Church of Rome. Lear, listening to wicked daughters, banishes faithful Cordelia who is like Katharine in her bearing (and, as daughter of king, like princess Mary who brought about reconciliation with Rome). Othello and his agonized regret at murdering Desdemona, like HV VIII. Macbeth's usurpation of his office like HV VIII's of church authority; killing of anointed Duncan like spoliation of monasteries. Claudius like HV VIII; Hamlet's dilemma, like Catholic one, to say nothing or associate themselves with country's guilt. "The pitiful wandering of Ophelia's mind, with her snatches of mediaeval song and prayer, may well serve as an allegory of the lamentable condition of religion in Henry's reign" **Late plays turn to thoughts of reconciliation, Lear with Cordelia, Pericles with Marina, Cymbeline with Imogen, Leontes with Hermione and Perdita. "And all these reconciliations together seem to insist on one direction in the dramatist's desire--the ultimate reconciliation of England with the Church of Rome."**

1970 "Shakespeare and the Prodigal Son." The Bible Today 51 (Dec. 1970): 172-79.  
On frequency of this image throughout Shakespeare.

1970-1\* "Theology in Shakespeare." Review of Roy Battenhouse's Shakespearean Tragedy. Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan) 9 (1970-71): 56-69. \*MLA. \*WSB.

Battenhouse sees tragic flaw of pride of self-centered will in: Lucrece infected with love of glory, in Romeo and Juliet idolizing each other (ending parodies Last Supper, cup of poison, as in Hamlet), Lear pridefully seeking demigod status in laying down crown (final scene like Pieta), Antony and Cleopatra's narcissism (become ironic Christ, Antony's side pierced and lifted up to commit his spirit to Cleopatra, Cleopatra as great harlot of Revelation), Macbeth (vs Duncan like Christ crucified bet. 2 thieves), Othello (Desdemona like Veronica wiping his brow). S's norm=not only moral but theological, in light of Bible notion of old Adam and new Adam. Thus scriptural ref.'s not just ornamental, but evoke deeper framework. "Battenhouse is often unnecessarily severe in his judgments on many of the heroes." **"One of the truly formative books that have appeared on Shakespeare in this century, and a triumphant vindication of a new approach to the plays that unfolds in them depths of meaning hitherto unsuspected"**; effect like Keats' "watcher of the skies when a new planet swim into his ken."

1971 "William Shakespeare (1564-1616)," chapter in An Anthology of English Thinkers. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1971.  
A few passages quoted.

1972 "Shakespeare's Merry Fooling." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 9 (1972): 32-42. Trans. into Japanese, in Literature of Folly in the Renaissance. Renaissance Sōsho No. 14. Tokyo: Aratake Shuppan: 1983.  
Gonzalo is typical spokesman for Shakespeare, evokes final Exultet; embodies satiric wisdom of More, Erasmus. Milward

helped found the Thomas More Society (Japan). See below,  
"Gonzalo's Merry Fooling" (1972-3).

**1972** "The Divided Self in Shakespeare and Hopkins." Thought 47 (1972): 253-70.

\*MLA. \*WSB.

"Details Gerard Manley Hopkins' debt to Shakespeare in his 'terrible' sonnets . . . and suggests that all Shakespeare's plays revolve on the situation and the problem of the playwright himself" (WSB summary). Expansion of 1963 article.

**1972** "Hero and Saint: Shakespeare and the Graeco-Roman Tradition. By Reuben Brower." Review. Modern Language Quarterly 33 (1972): 335-37.

**1972** "Shakespeare and Fielding." Studies in English Literature (Eibungaku Kenkyu) (Japan) 48 (1972): 33-42. \*MLA. \*WSB.

**1972** Through Shakespeare's Eyes--What Is a Man? Tokyo: Asahi Shuppansha, 1972.

\*MLA. \*WSB.

Various themes lightly handled for students. Originally, prefaces to student productions.

**1973** "Shakespeare's Hamlet." In The Meaning of English Masterpieces. Ed. with notes by Hideo Okamoto and Takao Suzuki. Tokyo: Kaibunsha, 1973.

"Reveals from the outset . . . the shocking contrast between the ghost of the old order . . . and the reality of the new order . . . . In between . . . stands Hamlet, living perforce in the new, yet belonging in his heart to the old." Not a Renaissance masterpiece (Claudius's court embodies Renaissance) but a "counter-Renaissance" piece. Persons's Christian Directory or Book of Resolution echoed in "native hue of resolution is sicklied o'er. . . and enterprises of great pith."

**1973\*** Shakespeare's Religious Background. Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1973. \*MLA. \*WSB. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1973; Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1973. 2nd edn. (no changes), Chicago IL: Loyola University Press, 1985.

"In my book I was concerned not with proving that Shakespeare was a Catholic or anything else, but with examining the extent to which he received the various religious influences of his time" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002). "I explored four major trends in that background, Catholic tradition, Protestant reform, Puritan protest, and atheistic undercurrents" (Milward, "A Shakespearian Bibliography" ms. 2006); "result of further research at the Shakespeare Institute, Birmingham, 1965-6)."

Introduction: **"What is needed is a careful analysis of Shakespeare's plays and poems in precise relation to their religious background--Catholic and Protestant, Anglican and Puritan, religious and anti-religious"**--"with the intention of throwing light not so much on the personal opinions of the dramatist, as on the deeper levels of meaning in his drama." I. "Family Background." II. "Religious Formation": frequent mention of rosary beads in the plays, praying and fasting connected, Horatio's ref. to cock as "trumpet of morn" echoes Lauds hymns; Hamlet's "by Saint Patrick" evokes Patrick and Purgatory legend in Campion's History of Ireland. Plays reflect mystery plays (Judas 'All Hail" in RII and 3 HVI, not from Bible but from Chester play), morality plays, miracle plays (i.e. pound of flesh in St. Helen legend on Guild Chapel wall). Reviews John Shakespeare's recusancy, and Lancashire connection. III. "English Jesuits": many phrases of Persons echoed in S. incl. "This word never breaketh his [the damned soul's] heart"; thus Lear. Persons critique of Oldcastle in Of Three Conversions influences Falstaff. Southwell's St. Peter's Complaint ("wakeful bird, proclaimer of the day," "upbraid my inward thoughts", etc.) influences Hamlet. IV. "Catholic Clergy": reviews friars, etc. V. "The Bible"; VI. "Anglican Liturgy": influence of Homilies and Book of Common Prayer; VII. "Smith and Hooker": Smith's analogies of the players, signify nothing: like Macbeth; VIII. "Parsons and Puritans"; IX. "Henry VIII and Elizabeth": Lear's tragic outcome, reflects "that the reconciliation brought about by Mary was soon afterward broken with the accession of her

sister Elizabeth" (174); Iago is like Wolsey to Othello; **Prince Arthur in K John is parallel to Mary Q Scots**, a parallel urged by John Leslie; "execution of Mary Stuart . . . continues to re-echo through the histories and the tragedies"; thus murders of two princes in RIII, and of Duncan; Polonius comparable to Cecil, satire conveyed in Verstegan's A Declaration of the True Causes On HVIII: "there is no convincing substitute in the last act for Henry's lack of reconciliation with her or with Rome. Perhaps it was there that Shakespeare left the play; and it was completed by a lesser dramatist. . . . For himself, he was perhaps content to find the solution in his personal life: in his return home to Stratford, after having broken his staff and drowned his book. . . . in his reunion with his wife and his daughter . . . and ultimately in his death as a "papist" according to . . . Richard Davies." X. "Elizabethan Atheism." XI. "Ethical Viewpoint." XII. "Theology." "Conclusion": "Shakespeare was grieved at the 'breach in nature' brought about . . . by the Reformation. . . . His lament is 'cries countless', sent up in a rising crescendo from all his plays taken together--from the theme of mistaken identity in the comedies, through that of usurpation and civil strife in the histories, to that of sin and suffering in the tragedies." (274)

Reviews (from Milward Scrapbook, Reviews 3 SH. R. B, in Burns Library): "Chapter IX, 'Henry VIII and Elizabeth', . . . is historical allegorizing of the most irresponsible sort" (rev. RES '75); "The chapter on 'Henry VIII and Elizabeth' is frankly controversial . . . deserves further investigation" (rev. Heythrop Jrnl '74); "Much less . . . will support be readily given to . . . chapter . . . IX" (rev. Christian Scholar's Review '75); "allegorising . . . . carried to fantastic lengths" (Shakespeare Survey '75). Speaight review in Thought (1975): "Like so many others brought up in the old religion, Shakespeare was torn between two patriotisms. The Papacy--if we may judge from 'King John'--attracted him no more than the Puritans, although Fr Milward reads a desire for reconciliation into the end of 'Cymbeline.' The desire was to haunt the mind of certain Caroline divines until the Levellers and the Whigs extinguished it." Vivyan review in Catholic Herald (1973): "One could have wished for a deeper treatment of Renaissance Neo-Platonism"

- which "crossed the boundaries of Catholic-Protestant dispute and bore witness in a divided Christendom that the sovereignty of love and the sovereignty of Christ are one."
- 1973** "G. Wilson Knight: Neglected Powers. Review of Knight's 1971 book. Studies in English Literature (Eibungaku Kenkyu) (1973): 148-51. \*WSB (1971, under reviews of Knight).
- 1973** Review of R. J. C. , The Background to Shakespeare's Sonnets (1972). Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation) 119 (April 1973): 53. \*WSB (1972, under reviews of Wait).  
Praises "skilful way he places the Sonnets in their precise historical setting."
- 1974** "Shakespeare." in The Continuity of English Poetry: Christian Tradition and Individual Poets. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1974.  
"beneath the secular surface, we find many undercurrents of religious meaning. . ." Thus we see 1) biblical imagery, 2) Catholic culture from his home, 3) religious situation of the time: "In general, we find in his plays a pervading hatred of dissension, on both the personal and the political level. In their background we are continually aware of an element of feud and rivalry. . . ." "Above all, in the setting of the final plays, with their emphasis on the theme of reconciliation, there is a significant plea for reunion between England and Rome." At the same time, Shakespeare criticizes the worldliness of certain Catholic ecclesiastics, the uneducated Anglican parsons Sir Nathaniel, Sir Hugh Evans, and Sir Oliver Martext, and most harshly the Puritans. Spenser more mediaeval in imagination, but sings Virgin Queen; "Spenser followed the line of medieval romantic tradition (where the Middle Ages were least Catholic), Shakespeare followed that of mediaeval religious drama (where they were most openly Catholic."
- 1974** "Some Recent English Studies in Japan." on Shakespeare passim. Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 1 (1974): 11-14.

Includes mention of Shakespeare's Religious Background.

- 1974 "Idea of a Renaissance Institute." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 1 (1974): 1-2.

Idea of Renaissance Institute conceived 1971, to introduce Japanese scholarship on Renaissance to scholars overseas; started Renaissance Monographs and Renaissance Bulletin, both begun in 1974; also Renaissance Sôsho, a series of monographs in Japanese. The "Renaissance Institute was conceived in the C. S. Lewis sense of continuity between mediaeval and renaissance" (class, Boston College, 25 March 2002).

- 1974 "Teaching Shakespeare in Japan." Shakespeare Quarterly 25 (1974): 228-33.

\*MLA. \*WSB.

Shakespeare Society of Japan formed in 1955, year after Milward's arrival in Japan. Japanese students regularly side with Shylock against the "Christian" characters; are enthusiastic about Midsummer Night's Dream.

- 1974 Shakespeare's Tales Retold. Tokyo: Azuma Press, 1974. \*WSB.

Modern retelling (of Romeo and Juliet, Julius Caesar, Hamlet, and King Lear), post Lamb, for Japanese readers.

- 1974 More Shakespeare's Tales Retold. Tokyo: Azuma Press, 1975.

Retelling of A Midsummer Night's Dream, Merchant of Venice, Twelfth Night, and The Tempest, for Japanese readers.

- 1974 "The Elizabethan Controversies." Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation) 119 (1974): 811-14.

"the thematic issues of the controversies are imbedded in almost all the plays; and the uncovering of them will be of utmost importance to our full understanding of Shakespeare's dramatic intention--and not only of Shakespeare himself but also . . . of all Elizabethan literature."



**1974** "Shakespeare and Religion." Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation) 120.6 (1 Sept. 1974): 300.

Replies to Mr. Ebihara's negative review of Shakespeare's Religious Background: "I do not maintain that Shakespeare's plays are religious plays, no ever that they are allegories. I simply show . . . that they contain significant religious themes and ideas--which may well transform their 'secularity'."

**1974-5** "'Nature' in Hooker and King Lear." Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan) 13 (1974-75): 25-43. \*MLA. \*WSB. Reprinted in Mediaeval Dimension (1987-90).

**1974** "Ivor Morris. Shakespeare's God: The Role of Religion in the Tragedies."

Review of Morris's 1972 book. Christian Scholar's Review 4.2 (1974): 144-47. \*WSB (1972, under reviews of Morris).

"The review . . . I regard as of special importance: in him I see one of my typical adversaries, as being a follower of Roland Frye" (Milward, letter, 30 Sept. 2002).

**1975\*** "Gonzalo's 'Merry Fooling'." Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan) 11 (1972-73): 28-36. Published 1975 (title page). \*MLA. \*WSB. Reprinted in Mediaeval Dimension (1987-90).

Gonzalos's ideal commonwealth evokes More's Utopia.

**1975\*** Biblical Themes in Shakespeare: Centering on King Lear. Renaissance

Monographs 3. Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 1975. \*MLA. \*WSB.

Lectures given at Campion Hall, Oxford, Michaelmas term, 1973. On primal curse, sacrificial victim, suffering, patience, prodigal son, passion, resurrection, etc. S. emphasizes "primal eldest curse", because "everywhere around him in the England of Elizabeth was instance after instance . . . of children striving against parents, of brothers, sisters and friends against one another, not only for the sake of political or material ambition, but also for what Hamlet calls 'sweet religion.'" (30). "What is

it, then, that he laments so monotonously throughout his plays? . . . The 'great breach' is nothing but the breach with Rome, effected by Henry VIII. . . ." (105). "The theme of banishment is one that returns with strangely insistent emphasis in Shakespeare's plays--often, with no adequate 'objective correlative'" (105). "In each instance, the sympathies of the dramatist--more ambiguously perhaps in King John, but quite openly in Macbeth and King Lear--are on the side of the invaders. Whereas the **failure of the Spanish Armada** was hailed by Protestant Englishmen as a notable sign of divine favour, it might well have been **seen by English Catholics in terms of Cordelia's comment on the French defeat:** 'We are not the first / Who, with best meaning, have incurr'd the worst'" (109). For Othello, Macbeth, Lear: "In each case, the tragic hero corresponds to Respublica or England; and the heroine; or victim of his tragic passion, is the 'old faith'" (112). "The self-imposed exile of Belarius and the two princes . . . recalls again the plight of Catholics in Elizabethan England" (128-9). Invasion recalls the Spanish Armada, and its defeat "may possibly recall the patriotism of English Catholics"; but then Cymbeline's submission after all to Rome shows "the dramatist's hope for the future of his country and his religion" (129). Cordelia "redeems nature from the general curse," like Virgin Mary.

- 1975** "Figure Hunting." Responses to Richard Levin's "On Fluellen's Figures, Christ Figures, and James Figures." By J. A. Bryant Jr.; Milward, and Paul N. Siegel. Forum. PMLA 90 (1975); 90: 118-19. \*MLA. \*WSB (listed in 1974 after citation of Levin's "On Fluellen's Figures, Christ Figures, and James Figures," PMLA 89 (1974): 302-11.)  
Defending allegorical readings.

- 1976** "Renaissance Drama." In The Heart of England. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1976.  
Hamlet shows "the melancholy of an age that has realized too late its loss of a precious heritage" (34).

- 1976** "Christian Interpretations of Shakespeare—Notes on a Recent Seminar." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 3 (1976): 12-17. \*WSB (listed under International Shakespeare Congress, 1987).  
On Shakespeare Association seminar, with Lewalski, Elton, Siegel, Battenhouse, Milward, etc., debating the religious issue. Seminar began with Richard Knowles reporting survey of several hundred reviews which showed "an astonishing hostility to the general approach of applying theology to the plays," an approach widely regarded as "overly narrow and ultimately reductive" (Knowles).
- [1976] "'Nature' in King Lear. Renaissance Sōsho No. 2. Tokyo: Aratake Shuppan, 1976 (so dated in Milward's Catalogue). In Japanese. \*WSB (dated 1977). Concerning Danby.  
Milward has contributed to almost everyone of the Renaissance Sōsho series.]
- 1976** "The Horizon of Hamlet." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 13 (1976): 5-18. \*MLA. \*WSB.  
"meditation takes precedence over action . . . [and] surely is at the heart" of Hamlet's mystery" (WSB summary).
- 1976** "Shakespeare and the Religious Controversies of His Time." The Bard (London) 1, no. 2 (1976): 65-72. \*WSB.  
"Shakespeare was hardly ignorant of the currents of stress flowing about him" (WSB summary).
- 1976** "The Masks of King Lear by Marvin Rosenberg." Review. Studies in English Literature (1976): 154-56.
- 1977** "The Englishman as Shakespeare Saw Him." In The Englishman As He Is. Ed. with notes by Hideo Funato. Tokyo: Seibido, 1977.  
brief.

- 1977** Introducing English Literature. Ed. KII Nakano. Tokyo: Shinkosha, 1977.  
brief survey.
- 1977** Shakespeare and Religion. Renaissance Sôsho No. 5. Tokyo: Aratake Shuppan, 1977.  
A collection of articles originally in English (list given on p. 179). In Japanese. Includes Japanese translations of "Shakespeare and the Prodigal Son" (1970), "The Religious Implications of The Merchant of Venice" (1969), "The Horizon of Hamlet" (1976), "A Theology of Grace in The Winter's Tale" (1964), "The Religious Dimension of King Lear" (1969-70), "Gonzalo's 'Merry Fooling'" (1972-3)
- 1977\*** Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age : a Survey of Printed Sources, with a foreword by G. R. Elton. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977.  
\*MLA.  
"[at] the Huntington Library in California . . . I spent summer after summer ransacking its plentiful resources on the controversies of Shakespeare's time, busily taking notes from all the relevant volumes. . . . it was indeed a paradise for scholars. . . . The outcome of these researches of mine took the form of two rather substantial volumes on The Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age (1977), dealing with some 630 printed books in the 45 years of that reign, and The Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age (1978), dealing with 764 printed books in the 22 years of that reign" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002).  
On general background. See "Prospect," 1985.
- 1977** "Claudel on Shakespeare." L'Oiseau Noir: Revue d'études Claudeliennes 1 (1977): 26-34. \*WSB.  
Quotes Claudel: "Il n s'est pas passé beaucoup d'années depuis que l'Angleterre a répudié le pape, représentant de Celui-là en qui est toute paternité au ciel et sur la terre. Et avec lui le lien qui relie les enfants à leur père, le lien qui relie les créatures humaines entre elles a disparu." "Like Cordelia it

["the lost paradise of the Catholic faith"] had passed away, never to come back . . . . It seems to me he [C Claudel] has not sufficiently allowed for the divine force of love as presented throughout Shakespeare's plays, and especially in King Lear."

**1977-8** "Characterization by Soliloquy: The Cases of Edmund and Edgar." Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan) 16 (1977-8): 19-28. \*MLA. \*WSB.

**1978\*** Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age; a Survey of Printed Sources.

Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978. \*MLA.

On general background. See "Prospect," 1985.

**1978** "Women in Shakespeare." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 14 (1978): 1-12. \*MLA. \*WSB. Japanese trans., "Shakespeare no Joseitachi," in Bungaku Hyoron (Literature and Criticism) 15 (Dec. 1980): 1-11. "While he tends to idealize his heroines, . . . he also presents them . . . as realists," full of wit, and also full of grace.

**1978** "Shakespeare and the Religious Controversies of His Time." Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation) 124 (1978): 102-05, 156-57. \*MLA. \*WSB. (Different from the 1976 article.)

Mercutio's words, "plague o' both your houses," "**have been applied by modern critics** to the religious controversies of the sixteenth century." Measure for Measure written in context of Puritan millenary petition, and defenses of Puritanism in Josias Nichol's Plea of the Innocent (1602) and William Bradshaw "English Puritanisme" (1605). Francis Hastings's A Watchword to all religious, and true-hearted English-men (defending "heartie willingness to shew the loyall love of our hearts to her Maiestie, by yeelding our lands, goods, and lives, to be sold, spend, and hazarded for her defence" (qu. 22)), may have suggested opening watch in Hamlet and been model for Rosencrantz/Guildenstern patriotism. Shakespeare despite porter in Macbeth **defends equivocation** in All's Well 4.2.75-6 and Measure 3.2.303

**1978** Shakespeare's View of English History. Tokyo: Shinkosha, 1978. \*WSB.

Lectures given at Sophia University, 1978, as guidance to students. On the two tetralogies. "Theme uppermost in the dramatist's mind . . . was division among the English themselves. . . . In his own age where was there a corresponding division among his fellow-countrymen, if not in the religious situation between Catholics and Protestants? It is true, he never openly alludes to this division of religious allegiance. But this very fact of his silence is all the more impressive in view of the depth of the division during the years of his dramatic career" (12). **HVIII: "he may have intended it as a final expression of the grief he attached to the whole course of English history** from the reign of Richard II to that of Richard III. In the outcome of Bosworth Field in 1485 Henry Tudor may have seemed for a time the saviour of his country. But in the long run it was the dynasty he founded which brought a greater ruin on that country than all the wars of the Middle Ages combined---the ruin that Shakespeare laments in his sonnets and his great tragedies. For him the last representative of the mediaeval glory of England was Queen Katharine, with her daughter, the princess Mary. . . . As Katharine went out, so too went out not only the dramatic genius of Shakespeare, but also the happiness of the English people, now left--in Malcolm's words--to weep and sink beneath the cruel yoke of the Tudors, Henry and Elizabeth" (91)

**1979** "Shakespeare's Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 15 (1979): 33-49. \*MLA. \*WSB.

Again praises John Vivyan's books, especially Shakespeare and the Rose of Love, a seminal book for Milward. Phrasal echoes of the Sermon on the Mount.

**1979** Golden Words. With notes by Shigeru Watanabe. Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1979.  
On selected quotations.

**1979** Shakespeare's Soliloquies. Tokyo: Shinkosha, 1979.  
Lectures at Sophia University, 1979.

- 1979** "A Dionysian Macbeth." Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation) 124 (1979): 644-45. Review of Marvin Rosenberg's The Masks of Macbeth (1978). \*WSB.  
"He apparently forgets that Shakespeare was a Christian dramatist writing for a Christian audience, even if his plays may not have been religious."
- 1979** Review of Leslie Hotson, Shakespeare by Hilliard (1977). Sophia 28 (Spring 1979): 88-92. \*WSB.
- [1979 "Futatsu no Shakespeare Den." Review of Samuel Schoenbaum, William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life, rev. edn. Sophia 28 (Spring 1979): 88-92. In Japanese.]
- 1980** "Shakespeare and the Socio-Religious Unrest of His Time." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 16 (1980): 87-100. \*MLA. \*WSB.  
Reprinted in Mediaeval Dimension (1987-90).  
"Finds that although Shakespeare's plays represent "a kind of dream world far from Elizabethan England," they reflect social and religious unrest of his time "in unexpected forms." For example, Shakespeare makes passing references to the ruined condition of the monasteries, echoes the "complaints of the shepherds and farmers in the Elizabethan age," and portrays the contemporary practice of usury of the "Puritanical city merchants'" (WSB summary). Lear on social injustice: "in his [Shakespeare's] day the grossest abuses occurred when innocent men were discriminated against solely for their religion, and were punished for being true to their conscience" (94).  
"Religion" (in Shakespeare Concordance) "invariably used in a good sense" (98).
- 1980** The Mystery of Words. Ed. with notes by Toshio Gunshi. Tokyo: Nan'un-do, 1980.  
Brief, on Shakespeare's words.

- 1980** "Shakespeare." In My Twelve Basic Books. Ed. with notes by Masazumi Toraiwa and Itsuki Yasuyoshi. Tokyo: Tsurumi, Shoten, 1980.  
Brief.
- 1980** Seasonal Poems of England. Ed. Peter Milward with notes by Toshihiko Kawasaki. Tokyo: Nan'un-do, 1980.  
Brief discussion of two sonnets, 18 and 73.
- 1980** "Theatre at Stratford--through Shakespeare's Eyes." In English Poets and Places: A Literary Pilgrimage round England. Annotations by Denschichi Takahashi. Tokyo: Kinseido, 1980.  
Tour with Japanese students.
- 1980 "Shakespeare in Kimono." PHP (Peace, Health, Prosperity) 11.6 (1980): 48, 49.  
In Japanese. Included in Shakespeare and the Japanese (1997), English version in Was Shakespeare Japanese? (1997).  
On Japanese dramatic adaptations.
- 1980** "Poets and Places: England in 1980." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 7 (1980): 13-18.  
Tour with Japanese students. "Only since coming to Japan have I become convinced of the importance of background knowledge, both spatial and temporal, for a due appreciation of English poetry" (13).
- 1980\*** "Shakespeare and Elizabethan Exorcism." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 17 (1981): 33-45. \*MLA. \*WSB. Reprinted in Mediaeval Dimension (1987-90). Also published in Jadavpur University Essays and Studies 3 (1980): 128-34. \*WSB.  
"Examines Shakespeare's treatment of exorcism and possession in Comedy of Errors, Twelfth Night, and King Lear, recapitulates what scholars have found out about the topical background in each case, and shows how Shakespeare left the disputed question of miracles in their negative sense (exorcism) and turned to them in



their positive sense (healing the sick), especially in All's Well That Ends Well" (WSB summary). Pinch in Comedy of Errors may parallel R. Phinch's 1590 The Knowledge or Appearance of the Church, critiquing "false miracles" of the Papists (noted by Baldwin): "Shakespeare's contemporary target of ridicule was not the Catholic exorcists, but their Protestant critic" (38). After King Lear, Shakespeare "seems to have taken more serious account of miracles in their positive sense of 'healing the sick', i.e. **All's Well reflecting perhaps Low Countries 1604-5 controversy over miracles of Virgin Mary at Montaigu and Halle**, described by Philip Numan, eventually trans. into English in 1606 by Robert Chambers; also described by Catholic humanist Justus Lipsius, attacked by Anglicans George Thomason in 1606 and William Crashaw in 1610. Note miracles then associated with heroines, "Helena, Cordelia, Marina, Imogen, Hermione and Perdita, Miranda and Queen Katharine are all surrounded by a kind of halo and associated with miraculous occurrences" (43) (cites R. G. Hunter, Shakespeare and the Comedy of Forgiveness on influence of Miracle Plays of the Virgin). Thus argues for 1604-5 date for All's Well.

**1981** "Our First General Meeting." (of the Renaissance Institute). Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 8 (1981): 5-12.

First meeting after founding ten years previous (see 1974, "Idea of a Renaissance Institute"). Shakespeare cited passim.

[1981 "Shakespeare to Shukyoronso" ("Shakespeare and Religious Controversy"). In Shakespeare and His Age. Renaissance Sōsho No. 11. Tokyo: Aratake Shuppan: 1981. 3-25. In Japanese.]

**1981** "On Translating Shakespeare into Japanese." In Shakespeare Translation. Ed. T. Oyama. Annual Publication on Shakespeare Translation 8 (Tokyo: Yūshōdo Shoten, 1981): 17-24. \*WSB.  
Need the original.

- 1982** The Western Ideal of Women. Ed. with notes by Noriko Kamei and Chiaki Tsukano. Tokyo: Tsurumi Shoten, 1982.  
Brief allusions.
- 1982** "Shakespeare in The Waste Land." In Poetry and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare--Essays in Honour of Professor Shonosuke Ishii's Seventieth Birthday. Renaissance Monographs 9. Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 1982. 218-26. \*MLA. \*WSB.  
On Eliot's use of Shakespeare.
- 1982** "King Lear Revisited." Ariel: Lear Society Newsletter 2 (Dec. 1982): 1.
- 1982** Memorable Speeches from Shakespeare. With commentary by Peter Milward and notes by Tetsuo Anzai. Tokyo: Nan'un-do, 1982. \*WSB. (Japanese version: Famous Speeches from Shakespeare. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1986.)  
Excerpts explicated, for Japanese students.
- 1982** "Edmund Ironside." Letter to the editor, in response to Eric Sams, "Edmund Ironside: A Reappraisal," TLS (13 August 1982): 879. ["Sams supplements E. B. Everitt's claims (in Six Early Plays Related to the Shakespeare Canon . . . for Shakespeare's authorship of Edmund Ironside on grounds of manuscript provenance, stylistic parallels, legal knowledge, and the hand of the manuscript of Sir Thomas More" (WSB abstract). Milward's letter, TLS (19 November 1982): 1273; rpt. in Bulletin of the New York Shakespeare Society 1.10 [1983]: 12.
- 1983** "Idea of a Renaissance Centre." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 10 (1983): 1-6.  
On Shakespeare passim. Renaissance Institute acquires study centre space at Sophia University; includes complete collection of facsimile reprints of English Recusant Literature (about 400 volumes), plus Milward's own books (about 165 volumes at this time).

Japanese students "taught by European interpreters such as Jakob Burghardt" to see Renaissance as secular triumph: "Such is still, I regret to say, the prevailing view of the Renaissance in Japan. . . . It is therefore an important aim of the Renaissance Centre . . . to promote in Japan a truer, more objective and balanced understanding of the Renaissance . . . it is necessary to show the Renaissance . . . not only as the dawn of a new culture . . . but also as the setting of an older culture, which we call 'mediaeval.' . . . After all , most of the people . . . during the sixteenth century, and even those endowed (like Shakespeare) with exceptional genius, felt themselves living not at the dawn of a new era, but rather in the decline of an older more human era. They felt caught in between the old and the new; and to understand their way of thinking, we have to be able to sympathize with both poles of thought at once, with the old no less than the new" (6).

**1983** The Bible as Literature. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1983.

On Shakespeare passim. "On the one hand, in the Middle Ages when England was Catholic, there was no special need for poets like Chaucer to conceal their meaning or to write in parables. Nor, on the other hand, in England after the Reformation, was there any need for poets who accepted the religious changes, such as Spenser and Milton, to disguise their meaning. For such a poet as Shakespeare, who lived and wrote in Elizabethan England, while belonging in spirit to the mediaeval past, his only way of expression was that of allegory and parable. . . . Here perhaps is the very heart of Shakespeare's mystery,--akin, in our own day, to that of Poles living in Soviet-controlled Poland, whose only means of expression is that of indirection" " (65-6).

**1983** The Story of Hamlet. Tokyo: Shohakusha, 1983.

See Shakespeare's Tales Retold (1974). But this for high school level.

**1983** Shakespeare's View of Life. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1983. \*MLA. \*WSB.  
(Japanese trans.: Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1985.)

"chapters on the world as a stage, death, heaven, the nature of humankind, grace in women, human and divine justice, and mercy" (WSB summary). "A personal interpretation" ("Admissions," 1988)

**1983** "'Discovery' in Shakespeare's Comedies." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 20 (1983) 7-18. \*MLA. \*WSB.

"In the movement from ignorance to knowledge in Midsummer Night's Dream, As You Like It, Twelfth Night, and Tempest Shakespeare goes beyond mere anagnorisis to offer a beatific vision" (WSB summary).

**1983-4** "The Function of the Chorus in Henry V." Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan) 22 (1983-1984): 1-9. \*MLA. \*WSB.

"a succession of contrasts between the idealism voiced by the Chorus at the beginning of each act and the ensuing episodes in which we see the defective reality of Henry, particularly in his political ruthlessness" (WSB summary). "Was he [Shakespeare] necessarily as partial and as patriotic as the members of his audience?"

**1984** "Two Champions of Tradition . . . More . . . Shakespeare." Understanding the West--Through English Eyes. Notes by Akio Sawada. Tokyo: Nan'un-do, 1984. Brief.

**1984** "Shakespeare Tour, 1984." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 11 (1984): 1-12. \*WSB.

"Describes the tour, led by Milward, centering on the four plays produced at Stratford-upon-Avon during the summer of 1984 (Henry V, Richard III, Merchant of Venice, Midsummer Night's Dream) and on the various locales, houses, castles, and towns associated with Shakespeare's life and writings" (WSB summary).

**1984** "Wise Fools in Shakespeare." Christianity and Literature 33:2 (1984 Winter): 21-27. \*MLA. \*WSB.

"Divides fools in Shakespeare's comedies into groups: the comic servant as in Comedy of Errors, Two Gentlemen of Verona, and Merchant of Venice; the natural buffon as in Midsummer Night's Dream and Much Ado about Nothing; and the professional court jester as in As You Like It and Twelfth Night. Demonstrates the fools' significance as wise men by paralleling their speeches to St. Paul's letters to the Corinthians and to the Ephesians" (WSB summary).

- 1984 "The Universal Medievalism of C. S. Lewis." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 21 (1984): 95-107. \*MLA.

Lewis emphasized Mediaeval-Renaissance continuity, then great chasm bet. then and modern post-Enlightenment, though Austen and Scott, like Milton, included in earlier era. Lewis trying to argue this, in work after work, to "what he calls 'post-Christian' men and women." Milward was Lewis's student. Milward disagrees with Lewis only in following way "when it comes to the Reformation, which involved a much more serious break with the past than any of the movements he mentions, he is strangely silent," perhaps because of his Protestantism and 'mere Christianity.' "On any view of the history of the West, however, it surely the Protestant Reformation that constitutes the chief watershed between mediaeval and modern, between the religious past and the secular present." Milward helped found the C. S. Lewis Society (Japan).

- 1984 The Seven Ages of Fantasy. Ed. with notes by Kimie Imura. Tokyo: Tsurumi Shoten, 1984.

On spirits and faeries in Shakespeare. Brief.

- 1985 "The Prospect of a Bibliotheca Shakespeariana." The Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 12 (1985): 1-8. \*MLA.

Many "scholars . . . seem to be ignorant of the fact that Shakespeare was writing at time when religious controversy . . . was at its most intense." "When I set out on my study of Shakespeare's religious background . . . some twenty years ago, I soon found that, while the questions of his personal religion and

his indebtedness to the Bible had to some extent been investigated, no one had ever studied the plays in relation to the religious controversies of the time. Not only that, but no one, not even from a purely religious or historical point of view, had set out to give a comprehensive account of these controversies, as they succeeded one another from decade to decade and even from year to year, during the crucial period of Shakespeare's dramatic career. It was this discovery that led me, . . . to undertake Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age and of the Jacobean Age (see above, 1977-8). "When I at last published my books, . . . I half expected them to produce an academic stampede of students in search of new fields for doctoral study; but so far I have observed not a sign of any such stampede. Evidently, the academic prejudice against research in this one field is too deeply ingrained!"

- 1985** "Fairies in Shakespeare's Later Plays." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 22 (1985): 9-20. \*MLA. \*WSB. Reprinted in Mediaeval Dimension (1987-90).

Pagan settings in late plays "may well be interpreted . . . with reference to the contemporary ideas of Italian Neo-Platonism, which had become fashionable in Elizabethan and Jacobean England." In Ficino and Pico, classical gods are seen as allegories of Christian truth: Olympus as Christian heaven, Zeus as God, Apollo as Christ the Word; Diana as Virgin Mary. Tempest draws on "odd theories of Paracelsus in the early sixteenth century." We need to distinguish the preternatural used "without any special theory," indistinct pointers to some other world, from "the true 'supernatural'," i.e. in his heroines as symbols of divine grace.

- 1985** "William Shakespeare." Chapter in English History in Clerihews, ed. Kazuyoshi Enozawa. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1985.  
Light.
- 1985** "Shakespeare's Resurrection." The First Hour 1.4 (1985): 3-5.  
Resurrection scenes in romances.

**1985\*** Biblical Influences in the Great Tragedies. Renaissance Monographs 11. Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 1985. \*MLA. \*WSB. Republished as Biblical Influences in Shakespeare's Great Tragedies. Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1987.

Detailed parallels to biblical phrasing in Hamlet, Othello, Macbeth, King Lear. Shakespeare draws most from Genesis, especially Adam and Cain, Wisdom Books, especially Job and Psalms, Sermon on Mount, Parables, Passion, St. Paul on sin and grace. Distinguishes Geveva from Rheims and other borrowings.

**1986** "Notes on the Religious Dimension of King Lear." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 23 (1986): 5-27. \*MLA. \*WSB.

Cordelia's "nothing"=Pauline kenosis. Her "most lov'd, despis'd" evokes 2 Cor 8.9 ("through his poverty . . . made rich"). Lear is prodigal son. Note use of "miracle" in the play. Words "proclamation" and "intelligence" connote Cecil's spy system; "priests . . . more in word" adapts 'Plowman's Tale,' also quoted by Verstegan, Declaration of the True Causes, referring to Elizabethan clergy.

**1986** "First International Conference on Literature and Religion." (Shakespeare cited.) Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 13 (1986): 1-13.

In Taiwan, 1986. Milward gave paper on topic, "Religion and Poetry in English Literature," with special reference to Shakespeare. Martyrs are not silent in Shakespeare (as Greene claimed): see Cordelia, Edgar, etc. "All through the plays, and above all in King Lear, if only we keep our eyes and ears open, we will find signs and echoes not only of martyrs such as Campion and Southwell, but also of the many anonymous English Catholics."

**1986** "Marxist Interpretation of Shakespeare." Review of Terry Eagleton's William Shakespeare (Blackwell, 1986). The Month n.s. 19.4 (April 1986): 143-4.

Eagleton sees Hamlet as "a radically transitional figure, strung out between a traditional social order to which he is marginal,

and a future epoch of achieved bourgeois individualism"  
(Eagleton).

- 1987** "Shakespeare and Seisho [Scripture]." In Talking of English, ed. Moriyoshi Moriyama. Tokyo: Takumi Press, 1988.  
For students.
- 1987** "Death in Shakespearian Tragedy." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 24 (1987): 41-54. \*MLA. \*WSB. Reprinted in Mediaeval Dimension (1987-90).
- 1987\*** Shakespeare's Other Dimension. Ed. Peter Milward. Renaissance Monographs 15. Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 1987. \*MLA. \*WSB. Republished as The Mediaeval Dimension in Shakespeare's Plays. Lewiston/Queenston ME: E. Mellen Press, 1990.  
Reprints poem, "The Heart of Shakespeare's Mystery" (1964), and various articles in this order: "Shakespeare's Mediaeval Inheritance." (1963); "Shakespeare and the Socio-Religious Unrest of His Time (1980); "The Religious Implications of The Merchant of Venice (1969); "Shakespeare and Elizabethan Exorcism" (1980); "The Homiletic Tradition in . . . Hamlet" (1967); "Death in Shakespearian Tragedy (1987); "'Nature' in Hooker and King Lear"; (1974-5); "A Theology of Grace in The Winter's Tale" (1964); "Fairies in Shakespeare's Later Plays (1985); "Gonzalo's 'Merry Fooling'" (1972-3).  
"I dedicated the American edition of the book to my friend Roy Battenhouse, who had been my kind go-between with the Indiana University Press. . . . and so, when he came to publish his anthology of Christian commentary on Shakespeare's plays, he gave it the echoing title of Shakespeare's Christian Dimension (1994)" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002).
- 1987** "A Philosophy of Nature in King Lear?" \*MLA. \*WSB. In Poetry and Faith in the English Renaissance--Essays in Honour of Professor Toyohiko Tatsumi's



- Seventieth Birthday. Renaissance Monographs 13. Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 1987. 111-120.
- 1987** "Soseki and Shakespeare." In The World of Natsuke Soseki, ed. T. Iijima et al. Tokyo: Kinseido, 1987. 307-21.  
 "In the case of Meiji Japan, it was the restoration of imperial rule and the opening of the country to Western trade and influence that similarly cut off Japanese in the present from their feudal past." Compares Elizabethan England.
- 1988** "Shakespeare and the Frog." In Teaching in Japan. Memories of an Absent-Minded Professor. Annotated by Yukinobu Nomura and Hisa Normura. New Current Essays 22. Tokyo: New Currents International Co., Ltd., 1988.  
 Reminiscence (includes haiku on a frog). Milward at Oxford changes degree from Classics to English; "my tutor suggested I might well begin my new studies with the play of Shakespeare." **"I found in his plays a perfect harmony of poetry and drama with the religious and literary tradition of the West. He was the one author, it seemed to me, in whom the various cultural elements of Christian Europe came together and achieved a perfect, dramatic harmony."** See above, 1952.
- 1988** "Admissions of an Absent-Minded Author." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 15 (1988): 1-46.  
 "[B]efore the year is out, I hope to celebrate the publication of my 250th book." First book, An Introduction to Shakespeare's Plays, on Shakespeare was 1964, the Centenary. "I aimed not at a scholarly presentation of Shakespeare criticism, but at a more personal analysis." Sabbatical leave at Shakespeare Institute, Birmingham, resulted in Shakespeare's Religious Background (1973).
- 1988** "Hooker and Bacon." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 25 (1988): 3-17. \*MLA.

Many parallels between Hooker's first book and Shakespeare's plays from Hamlet on. Hooker speaks of "custom inuring the mind," etc.

**1988** Words in English Culture: A Miscellany of Memories. (On Shakespeare passim.)

Notes by Toshio Gunshi, Tokyo: Kirihara Shoten, 1988.

**1988** "Shakespeare as Theologian." Dharma World 15 (1988): 32-4.

Lear, etc.

**1988** "Nothing Brings me All Things." Dharma World 15 (Sept 1988): 24-4.

Cordelia's "nothing" and Buddhist "mu." Like St. Paul, "having nothing, yet possessing all things."

**1989** "Shakespeare and the Japanese." Shakespeare Worldwide 12 (1989): 148-57.

\*WSB.

"Explores reasons for Shakespeare's popularity in Japan. . . . fantasy, love, and depiction of character are attractive factors, while Hamlet with its theme of revenge offers yet another. Yet one quality, Shakespeare's poetry, cannot be adequately translated" (WSB summary). On Romeo and Juliet: "like a tragic fate driving the lovers to a double suicide. This is just the sort of story that fascinated the Japanese dramatist Chikamatsu."

**1989** "The Spirituality of Shakespeare." Studies in Formative Spirituality 10 (1989):

363-71. \*WSB.

"Concentrates on "distinctively Shakesperian" speeches--Duke Senior's "Sweet are the uses of adversity," Bassanio's comments on appearance before he picks the lead casket, Portia's "Quality of mercy" speech, several speeches by Hamlet, several passages in King Lear--that are marked by a heightened poetic element and Biblical echoes and that offer insight into Shakespeare's spiritual nature" (WSB summary).

**1989\*** "More on 'the Base Judean'," Notes and Queries 234 (1989): 329-331. \*MLA.  
\*WSB.

"Argues for "Judean" over "Indian" in the famous crux at Othello, 5.2.356, as the culmination of a series of allusions throughout Othello to Judas's betrayal of Christ and of the Satanic symbolism associated with Iago. The allusions echo both the Bible and The Betraying of Christ (1593), a sermon by Henry Smith" (WSB summary). Iago and purse echo Rheims "Judas had the purse," Iago's sign . . . of love" like "sign" of Judas's kiss (Rheims). Othello "keep up your . . . swords," like "Put up thy sword" in Matt (Geneva), Othello's "Avaunt, be gone" echoes Jesus' "Avant, Satan" (Rheims), Desdemona's skin "smooth as . . . alabaster" like "alabaster box of precious ointment" in Matt (Rheims, Bishop). (See above, "The Base Judean," 1962.)

**1989** "Dante and Shakespeare". In Makers of the West: An Introduction to the Western Culture. Ed. with notes by Shigeru Kobayashi and Masayuki Kido. Tokyo: Tsurumi Shoten, 1989.

"Strange nostalgia" in Shakespeare not only for Stratford, but also for "romantic splendour of such Italian cities as Verona and Milan, Mantua and Padua, Venice and Florence, and above all Rome."

**1989** "Play, Death, and Heroism in Shakespeare." Review of book by Kirby Farrell (1989). Modern Philology 88 (1990-91): 436-38. \*WSB.

**1990** "Shakespeare and the Martyrs." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 27 (1990): 5-13. \*WSB.

"Detects numerous references to Catholic martyrs in Shakespeare's plays" (WSB summary).

Contra Greene. Shakespeare avoids his contemporaries in his plays. Many mentions, jokes, of racks, quartering, etc. "would have a shocking implication for Catholic [audience] . . . as pointing to a level of meaning in the plays unsuspected by the other, Protestant members." Montague, may reflect Catholic Viscount Montague, Southampton's grandfather.

- 1990 "Thomas More and William Shakespeare" ("Three Essays on Shakespeare and Religion"). The Shakespeare Yearbook 1 (1990 Spring): 117-124. \*MLA. \*WSB.

"with some attention to Shakespeare's use of More as source for Richard III, and to verbal echoes in Shakespeare's plays (such as Taming of the Shrew, King Lear, Tempest) of William Roper's biography of More" (WSB summary). Wise old counsellors in late plays may reflect More. "It may be said that the tragedies of Shakespeare, and in fact all his plays, constitute a crescendo of allegorical lament over the departure of Catholic 'merry' England which is unique (for this reason) in all literature. **Yet it is a lament which is not without comfort in the ideal of a 'paradise within,' as in the last plays the dramatist looks to an ideal reconciliation and reunion not to be found in contemporary history, an ideal that is impressively symbolized in the end of Cymbeline.**"

- 1990 "Synthesis in Shakespeare's Plays" ("Three Essays on Shakespeare and Religion"). The Shakespeare Yearbook 1 (1990 Spring): 125-132. \*MLA. \*WSB.

The plays constitute **"a synthesis in relation to the religious and political background of his time, as the outcome of a long-drawn-out conflict between the thesis of tradition and the antithesis of reform."** Many views of Shakespeare's beliefs; "As for myself, I find that, beginning with the hypothesis that Shakespeare remained a Catholic at least in sympathy . . . many things in his plays take on a new and deeper meaning." "The remarkable unity in the plays" is "what T. S. Eliot has called 'the pattern of in Shakespeare's carpet' (essay on Dante, 1929).

- 1990\* "The Morean Counsellor in Shakespeare's Last Plays." Moreana 27.103 (1990 Sept): 25-32. \*MLA. \*WSB.

"Argues that the wise counselors Camillo (Winter's Tale) and Gonzalo (Tempest)--and to a lesser extent Helicanus (Pericles) and Belarius (Cymbeline)--are modelled on Thomas More" (WSB

- summary). HVIII remarkable for lack of reference to "the religious changes that attended 'the king's great matter'." "The dramatist felt freer to express his private feelings about Henry under the indirect guise of Leontes, whose name is reminiscent of More's famous description of Henry as the 'lion' who might well prove dangerous." Gonzalo and his ideal commonwealth evoking Utopia as well as Montaigne. In the late plays, "the dramas may be seen as turning from a tragic visions . . . to a visionary ideal . . . following . . . the guidance of Utopia; even as More in his book was looking from the harsh social condition of England . . . to an ideal island."
- 1990** "Shakespeare and Catholicism" ("Three Essays on Shakespeare and Religion"). The Shakespeare Yearbook 1 (1990 Spring): 133-140. \*MLA. \*WSB.  
Lecture given 1988. Late plays "hinges on the relationship of father and daughter, as if reflecting Shakespeare own relationship with his elder daughter Susanna, whose name occurred in the recusancy returns." "King Lear and Pericles, which both deal with the theme of reunion between father and daughter, were both being performed . . . . by Catholic players in recusant houses."
- 1990 "Shakespeare and Chikamatsu." In Kyoen [Symposium], ed. S. Ishii. Tokyo: Dolphin Press. 255-66. In Japanese. Included in Shakespeare and the Japanese (1997), English version in Was Shakespeare Japanese? (1997).  
On this Japanese playwright's use of Shakespeare. Contrasts Chikamatsu's "oriental resignation" in his play about lovers's suicide, to Shakespeare's "occidental resistance to the power of fate, for all its seeming futility."
- 1990\* The Mediaeval Dimension in Shakespeare's Plays. See above, Shakespeare's Other Dimension.
- 1991** "Ann Hathaway's Cottage." In Pilgrim's Sketchbook. Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1991.  
Tour.

- 1991** "On the Frontiers of Criticism: Lear's Sermon." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 28 (1991): 3-15. \*WSB.  
 "Reads King Lear as a sermon on patience and redemption" (WSB summary).
- 1991** "Tragic Ado About Nothing." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 18 (1991): 5-10. \*WSB.  
 Connect with Buddhist and Genesis ideas of 'nothing.'
- 1991** "The Biblical Language of King Lear." Shakespeare Yearbook 2 (1991): 212-15. \*WSB.  
 Traces "broken heart" images in Psalms, Zechariah, etc. "By using Biblical language without seeming to do so, and without directing our attention to the Bible or to Christ himself, the dramatist is being most faithful to the deep meaning of the Bible and of Christ himself, in looking from the Bible to the heart of man, broken. . . ."
- 1991** "Two Biblical Soliloquies." Notes and Queries 236 (1991): 486-489. \*MLA. \*WSB.  
 'To be' and 'Tomorrow' soliloquies echo sapiential Biblical literature; Job's afflicted "with dreams," 'light of wicked shall be quenched . . . candle put out'. Also Psalm 9, "tale that is told", etc.
- 1991** "Forum: 'Shakespeare and Religion from a Japanese Viewpoint, with Reference to the Four Great Tragedies.'" English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 18 (1991): 1-3.  
 Title of forum at Fifth World Shakespeare Congress, Tokyo, 1991. Milward related "nothing" to Buddhist "mu."
- 1991** "'All the World's a Stage'--from Ignatius to Shakespeare." In Ignatius: Shihō kara ne Ibuki (Inspiration from the West). Tokyo: 1991.

- 1991** "Shakespeare and Politics: Reflections on the 1990 Conference at Stratford-upon-Avon," Shakespeare Yearbook 2 (1991): 208-11. Report of the Twenty-Fourth International Shakespeare Conference 1990, Shakespeare Institute, University of Birmingham, Stratford-upon-Avon, 19-24 August 1990.
- 1991** "The End of Kinship: 'Measure for Measure,' Incest, and the Ideal of Universal Siblinghood." Review of Mark Shell's 1988 book. Clio 21 (1991): 92-98. \*WSB (1988, under reviews of Shell).
- 1992** "Shakespeare's 'Fatal Cleopatra.'" Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan): 30 (1992): 57-63. \*MLA. \*WSB.  
I.e. Shakespeare's attraction for puns.
- 1992** Approach to Ecology. Annotated by Terutada Okada. (On Shakespeare passim.) Tokyo: Eihōsha, 1992.  
On Shakespeare and nature, passim.
- 1992** An Introduction to English Poesy. Notes by Kii Nakano. Tokyo: Kiri-hara Shoten, 1992.  
On Shakespeare passim.
- 1992** "The Golden World of As You Like It." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 19 (1992): 3-10. \*WSB.  
"Finds in the numerous religious references in As You Like It a nostalgic longing for pre-Reformation England" (WSB summary). Parallel to Catholic exiles, i.e. Charles Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, who took refuge with recusants in Louvain after 1569 Rising of Earls; also William Allen at Douai 1568, joined in 1575 by Simon Hunt and Robert Debdale. Duke's lines echo Kempis's Imitation of Christ; he looks back to time of religious freedom (church bells etc.). Sermons in stone, and brooks in the books, evoke spoliation of monasteries [!].

- 1992** "Shakespeare and Psalm 46." Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation) 137 (1992): 592-93.

Notes that the first to record the Shakespeare code (46 words from beginning and end=Shake spear) was Richmond Noble in Shakespeare's Biblical Knowledge, which credited Gerald Balfour who in turn credited 'some industrious student.'

- 1993** "New Worlds in Chaucer, More and Shakespeare." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 30 (1993): 3-29. \*WSB (dated 1994, date on back inside page, presumably pub. date; WSB lists version pub. as Renaissance Pamphlets 3 (Renaissance Institute) 1994.

"Argues that the new world of Tempest is not the Americas but the 'new world of the spirit'; the symbolic tempest is enacted in Prospero's spirit 'to bring about the happy ending of forgiveness and restoration of grace'" (WSB summary).

- 1993** "Shakespeare's Voyages to the Little World of Man." In Portuguese Voyages to Asia and Japan in the Renaissance Period. Renaissance Monographs 20.

Proceedings of the International Conference at Sophia University Sept 24-26, 1993. Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 1994. 93-103. \*WSB. Also pub. by Tokyo: Embassy of Portugal in Japan, 1994. 134-45.

"Reflects generally on Shakespeare's treatment of the voyage and little-world-of-man themes" (WSB summary).

- 1993** Poems of Either Shore. Ed. with notes by Shōichi Yamauchi. Tokyo: Tsurumi Shoten, 1993.

Explication of four Shakespeare lyrics.

- 1993** "Providential Discovery in Shakespeare's Plays." In The Mutual Encounter of East and West, 1492-1992. 1992 Proceedings. Renaissance Monographs 19.

Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 1993. 125-136. \*WSB.

"Considers the seeming lack of influence of voyages of discovery on Shakespeare, who instead was more concerned with the



'discovery of a new world of the spirit in his last plays'" (WSB summary). On providential miracles and reunions in late plays.

**1993\*** "The Papist and His Poet'—The Jesuit Background to Shakespeare's Plays."

Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 20 (1993): 1-33. \*WSB.

Reviews many Shakespeare connections with Jesuits: Campion etc. controversy with Burghley, Persons's Christian Directory and Conference About the Next Succession, Weston and the exorcisms, Southwell's "Saint Peter's Complaint," Garnet and Gunpowder Trial. "When we take these allusions **on their face value**, we find Persons ridiculed as a traitor, with his 'colourable colours', and his fellow Jesuits as 'fools of time', who, whatever goodness may have appeared in their endurance of death for the sake of religion, have 'lived for crime'. Then both Southwell and Garnet (especially the latter) are seemingly scorned as 'equivocators', who may quibble before men on earth but can hardly get away with their quibbling before the judgement seat of God. As for the exorcisms practiced by Weston, they seem to be parodied in the case of Pinch and even depicted as diabolic in the case of Edgar. The fact that Edgar's language is so liberally borrowed from Harsnett is interpreted as a sign that the dramatist shared his viewpoint; and an anti-Jesuit significance has even been detected in the name of Edgar's persecuting brother Edmund, as echoing both the Christian name of Campion and the alias of Weston, Edmonds." But S's jests about equivocation "may well be dismissed as "gimmicks for groundlings, to elicit an easy laugh from a Protestant audience and perhaps to distract their attention from the more serious meaning of the dramatist." In at least two of his plays the dramatist implies his sympathy with a less subtle form of equivocation. . . ." (Helena and Duke). Shylock like Puritan. "Nowadays, the very suggestion of such a meaning is dismissed as form of 'allegorizing', if not 'theologizing'. . . ." Duke Frederick's banishment of Rosaline uses language of Burghley from Execution of Justice. Hamlet's "deeply felt need to hold his tongue though his heart should break (1.2) is precisely parallel to that felt by Catholic recusants of the time, not by Puritans who were ever ready to speak out" (22). "To be, or not to be" soliloquy

reflects "the difficult choice of either living and enduring the constant persecution or doing something desperate to end the existing order, even though they should die in the attempt. The second alternative was, in fact, the choice made by those Catholic gentlemen who had attached themselves to the cause of Essex in his ill-fated rebellion of 1601. . . ." "Hamlet himself is even compared in his melancholy to the Earl." Macduff on the "sacrilegious murder": "The **conventional topical application** of these words is to the design of the plotters to blow up the House of Parliament, with everyone in them; only, theirs was a deed that remained undone, as it was prevented by a timely 'discovery.' On the other hand, one may recall another deed of destruction that was not only done, less than seventy years before, but was also sacrilegious in the full sense of the word, breaking open as it did . . . many anointed temples." "From the late Victorian age onwards there has not been wanting a succession of Shakespeare scholars to claim the hidden recusancy of William Shakespeare as a matter of biography. Only, they have hardly entered into the deeper meaning of the plays. . . ."

- 1993** "‘Double Nature's Single Name’: A Response to Christiane Gillham.” Connotations 3.1 (1993): 60-63. \*MLA. \*WSB (listed in 1992 after citation of Gillham’s "‘Single natures double name’: Some Comments on The Phoenix and the Turtle," Connotations 2 (1992): 126-36).  
Relates "The Phoenix and the Turtle" to the Song of Songs, exp. Cant. 2:1 ("most commentators see that dove as rather the bride than the bridegroom"), 2:16 ("My beloved is mine", shortly after mention of "turtle: in 12 and "dove" in 14).
- 1993** "Notations on Connotations 3.1." Connotations 3.2 (1993): 129-32. \*MLA.  
\*WSB (listed after citation of the various articles).  
Response to various articles in Connotations 3.1.
- 1994** "Tudor Drama and the Reformation," Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 21 (1994): 17-27. \*WSB.

- "how Shakespeare's plays reflect the religious controversies of his age" (WSB summary.)
- 1994** "Was Shakespeare a Papist?" Review of Ian Wilson, Shakespeare: The Evidence. Fidelity 13.7 (1994): 37-8.
- 1994** "The Religious Dimension of King Lear." In Shakespeare's Christian Dimension, ed. Roy Battenhouse. Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press, 1994. \*WSB (listed under Shakespeare's Christian Dimension).  
Radical abbreviation of 1969-70 article.
- 1994** Letter to the editor, in response to Brians Vickers, Appropriating Shakespeare: Contemporary Critical Quarrels (1993). Shakespeare Newsletter 44 (1994): 62.
- 1995** Connotation in Plants and Animals. Annotated by Osamu Nakayama. Tokyo: Hokuseido, 1995.  
Shakespeare expressions cited. For students.
- 1995** "Requiescat in Pace: Professor Roy Battenhouse." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 22 (1995): 1-4. \*WSB (listed in 1993 after citation of Robert G. Collmer's "In Memoriam: Roy Wesley Battenhouse, 9 April 1912-17 February 1995," Christianity and Literature 43 (1993-94): 115-16).  
"our common aim . . . was to combat this secularism, as twin heretics to the prevailing Shakespearean 'orthodoxy'."  
Battenhouse introduced Shakespeare's Religious Background to Indiana University Press. "We found ourselves increasingly in the minority, with our emphasis on the Christian meaning or rather undercurrent in the plays of Shakespeare. . . . **we had to keep our ideas on this central subject increasingly to ourselves**-as Shakespeare had to do in his own time."
- 1995** Shakespeare's Tragic Heroines. Tokyo: Yumi Press, 1996.  
Originally lectures of 1986. On Juliet, Ophelia, Desdemona, Lady Macbeth, Cordelia.

**1995** A Challenge to C. S. Lewis. With a chapter on Shakespeare. Madison-Teaneck NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press; Cranbury NJ : Associated University Presses, 1995. \*MLA.

Exposes Protestant bias of English Literature in the Sixteenth Century, which cites Powicke that the "general acquiescence" to the Reformation was "one of the most mysterious things in our history"; Lewis scants Harding ("one of the greatest, if most neglected, prose writers in the English language"--Milward); ignores Persons; says little that is satisfactory about Shakespeare.

**1995** "Shakespeare and I." English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku) 32 (1995): 3-12.

"For [Sophia] . . . I wrote an article on Shakespeare's history plays, and for [Seiki] . . . a review of . . . Shakespeare and Catholicism, by H. Mutschmann and K. Wentersdorf [see 1955, 1960]. "I am afraid that, however strongly I propose my case--not that Shakespeare was a Catholic, whatever that may mean, but that his plays are deeply inspired by his Catholic vision and lament for England--the academic world is not disposed to accept it. . . . Shakespeare is nowadays regarded as almost exclusively a 'man of the theatre', and any secret meaning, which he may have kept for himself, is dismissed as having no validity for the stage." Milward helped found the Newman Society (Japan).

**1995** "A Skilfully Selected Anthology." Review of Roy Battenhouse, ed., Shakespeare's Christian Dimension: An Anthology of Commentary. Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation) 141.4 (1995): 195-6. \*WSB (listed in 1995 after with reviews of Battenhouse book)

**1995-6** "Towards an Understanding of Christianity in Shakespeare: In Memory of Roy Battenhouse." Connotations 5:1 (1995-1996): 76-82. \*MLA.

"If we are looking for 'the official Christianity of Elizabeth England' [Cecile Cary], Hooker comes a little late in the day to

be accepted as its authorized exponent, considering that his books of Laws were only published in the mid-1590s and they only came to prevail as the theology of Anglicanism in the following century."

1996 Milward begins teaching at Tokyo Junshin Women's College (until 2002).

1996\* Love and Marriage in Shakespeare's Plays. Tokyo: Yumi Press, 1996. Japanese version in WSB\*.

"Isabella's decision is widely criticized by scholars today, who attach less value (if any value) to chastity than to what they term charity. . . . It is rather because chastity is so highly regarded as having a mystic value of its own, that the choice is so agonizing for Isabella. . . . we find in effect that the decision of Isabella, however hard and unfeeling it may seem to sentimental critics, is justified by the event. . . . it is Isabella's firmness that may be said to save both her own chastity and her brother's life." On the puzzle of the final silence: "in her we may find a fulfillment of the Messianic Psalm 85: 'Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other.' . . . And so we may see in her envisaged marriage with the Duke rather a mystical than a naturalistic meaning" (26-8). In "As You Like It," the old religious men may stand for the old Catholic priests from Queen Mary's reign. . . .

1997 "The Film and the Play." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 24 (1997): 41-46. WSB\* (listed in 1996 after citation of Branagh's Hamlet.)  
On films, Branagh's Hamlet and San Mendez's Othello).

1997 "Masks of Shakespeare (review)." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 24 (1997): 47-52. \*WSB (listed after citation of Rosenberg's book).  
Review of Marvin Rosenberg's The Adventures of a Shakespeare Scholar (U. of Delaware, 1997), Rosenberg as pioneer in emphasizing the playwriting dimension (but ignores religious background).

- 1997 Issues of the English Reformation. Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1994.  
Applied to Shakespeare. Notes strife "between the Catholic Montagues in Sussex and the Protestant Capels in Hampshire."
- 1997 Shakespeare and the Japanese. (Shakespeare to Nihonjin.) Tokyo: Kodansha, 1997. In Japanese. A translation by O. Nakayama of English articles assembled in an unpublished collection of ms. entitled Was Shakespeare Japanese? (Shakespeare Wa Kakure-Nihonjin Datta?) which includes the following:
- "Preface": "I am speaking about a Japanese mind as part of the 'myriad-mindedness' of Shakespeare."
- "Shakespeare's Japanese Dimension": emphasizes Buddhist "nothing."
- "More about 'Nothing'."
- "The Appeal of Shakespeare to the Japanese."
- "Shakespeare in Kimono" (see above 1980).
- "Popular Plays of Shakespeare in Japan."
- "Two Japanese Interpretations of Shakespeare."
- "Shakespeare and Chikamatsu": see above, 1990.
- "Shakespeare and Sen Rikyū": compares Elizabethan England to "the Japan of Shakespeare's time"; the Christians, since St. Francis Xavier in 1549 had grown in number and won patronage of shōgun, Nobunaga. But successor, Hideyoshi, eventually turned against them in 1587, leading to 26 Christian martyrs of Nagasaki in 1597. After an interval, his policy was enforced more systematically by successor, Ieyasu. "The only way the Christians could survive was in a hidden manner, more or less as the English Catholics. . . ." "In this connection, I find a fascinating parallel between the drama of Shakespeare and the tea ceremony as developed by Hideyoshi's tea-master Sen Rikyū. . . . Many of Rikyū's friends and disciples were leading Japanese Christians." "As for the word kakure [in Japanese title], it implies a comparison between Shakespeare as a presumed Catholic in England and the hidden Christians in Japan, of whom Rikyū may have been an early example."

"The Hidden Parallel": more on the parallel between the tea ceremony and the Mass. 'In the time of Ieyasu, the insinuations of [against?] the monks were supported by the recent arrival of an English Protestant seaman, William Adams, who had made his way to the shōgun's court.' "Such is the context in which one may understand the reason for secrecy surrounding Rikyū's interest in Christianity and his incorporation of the ritual of the Mass in his reform of the old tea ceremony. It helps to explain why this remains unrecorded in any historical document of the time, even in the history of the Japanese mission later written by the Jesuit 'interpreter' Joam Rodrigues.

"Hamlet and Kokoro": compares Natsume Soseki's novel.

"The Simplicity of Shakespeare."

"The Heroines of Shakespeare": "Shakespeare's attitude was basically influenced by the mediaeval ideal of chivalry, centred on the veneration of the Virgin Mary." In this wit and wisdom, they are on easy terms with the fools. [matured version of "Women in Shakespeare" (1978)]

"Shakespeare's Japanese Philosophy."

"Shakespeare and I": "Nowadays Shakespeare has generally come to be regarded as almost exclusively a 'man of the theatre.' . . . So in terms of this Shakespearian 'orthodoxy,' I may well be regarded as a dangerous 'heretic'! // From this point of view, therefore, I have to admit that my years of research on Shakespeare have ended in failure."

**1997\*** The Catholicism of Shakespeare's Plays. Renaissance Monographs 23. Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 1997; jointly pub. with Saint Austin Press (1997). \*WSB (records 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., St. Austin Press, 2000, with new appendix, "The 'Lancastrian Shakespeare' Conference, University of Lancaster, 1999.") Trans. in Japanese: Tokyo: Shunjusha, 1997.

“Reads Merchant of Venice, As You Like It, Hamlet, Measure for Measure, Macbeth, King Lear, and Winter's Tale as plays that reflect the religious controversies between Protestant and Catholics in Renaissance England” (WSB summary).

Seeing Shylock as Puritan relieves Shakespeare from the charge of anti-semitism. "In such snatches [of Ophelia] . . . one may find the further implication of lament for the passing of Catholic England, with its pious customs of pilgrimage to the shrines of saints and of prayer for the faithful departed in Purgatory" (43). Friar Lodowick (Duke) in prison visiting "the afflicted spirits here in the prison": "[priests] often found they could perform their spiritual tasks more freely in prison than when they were free" (50). Lucio calls him "the fantastical duke of dark corners," recalling Burghley on "secret lurkings" of Jesuits in Execution of Justice. Fool's "priests are more in word" adapts "Chaucer's Prophecy" ("When faith faileth in priests's saws" etc.) in Verstegan's Declaration of the True Causes (1582), i.e. the spurious "Plowman's Tale" (not in Canterbury Tales). "If then there is anything in the attribution of Edmund's name to Campion, it may be explained as a 'blind' to distract the attention of possible spies in Shakespeare's audience" (87). Camillo, like More, called "priest-like," "clerk-like experienced," etc, refuses to poison Polixenes but flees like recusant exile. Polixenes, like papal figure, described by Leontes: "You have a holy father, / A graceful gentleman, / Against whose person, / So sacred as it is, I have done sin." R. G. Hunter in Shakespeare and the Comedy of Forgiveness has shown influence of miracle plays: play of St. Mary Magdalen in Pericles, and two miracle plays of the Virgin Mary on Winter's Tale. Miracles from Comedy of Errors culminate "in the supreme miracle of Hermione's resurrection--however much the dramatist may furnish it with a far-fetched 'natural' explanation. From the Catholic viewpoint, it may point to the conclusion not such that 'the Catholic cause is lost as that 'the Catholic cause can now be saved only by a miracle?" (101). Includes as Appendix, "'The Papist and His Poet'--The Jesuit Background to Shakespeare's Plays" (1993).

- 1997** "The Comedy of Errors in Japan." In The Comedy of Errors: Critical Essays. Ed. Robert Miola. New York: Garland, 1997. 489-96. \*WSB.  
On stage history.



- 1997** "The philosophy of Hamlet and Lear" in "Two Essays on Shakespeare and Philosophy," Budhi 1.2 (1997): 113-20.  
 "In her [Cordelia]. . . he has at last found himself. . . . In her Lear at last finds the true answer to his original question, 'Who is it that can tell me who I am ?' . . . So in this climax . . . he declares: 'As I am a man, I think this lady to be my child Cordelia.' And she simply replies, 'And so I am, I am'--as it were echoing . . . Moses." Albany's "O, see, see" like Jeremiah echoed in Holy week liturgy, "Behold and see, if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow", and Zerchariah applied by John to Jesus: "They shall look upon me whom they have pierced."
- 1997** "Philosophy of Nature in King Lear" in "Two Essays on Shakespeare and Philosophy," Budhi 1.2 (1997): 120-27.  
 The play is about "pre-Christian Britain, and also (as S. L. Bethel long ago pointed out) about human nature before the coming of Christ."
- 1997** "'I am not what I am': Cryptic Catholicism in Shakespeare." Canadian Catholic Review 15.4 (1997): 6-11.  
 Disguises in Two Gentlemen, Merchant, As You Like It, Twelfth Night, All's Well, Cymbeline--"all indications . . . of a meaning that is hidden in the plays."
- 1998** The Simplicity of the West. Renaissance Monographs 24. Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 1998. \*WSB.  
 "Devotes a chapter to Shakespeare's treatment of the distinction between appearance and reality, especially in As You Like It, Merchant of Venice, Hamlet, and King Lear" (WSB summary).
- 1998** "Shakespeare's New World." Renaissance Bulletin 25 (Renaissance Institute, Japan) (1998) 5-14. \*WSB.  
 "Points out that Shakespeare differs from his contemporaries in that the New World interests him less than the "inner world of the spirit of man" (especially in Richard II, As You Like It, King

- Lear, and Tempest" (WSB summary). **On Shakespeare's contemplation of a new world, material, utopian, spiritual.**
- 1998** "Another Life of Shakespeare!" Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 25 (1998): 35-38 (15-24? Milward). \*WSB (listed after citation of book). Review of Park Honan's Shakespeare: A Life (OUP, 1998).
- 1999** "The Catholicism of Shakespeare's Romances." Review of Thomas Rist's book. Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 26 (1999): 28-30. \*WSB (under reviews of Rist).  
Review of Thomas Rist: Rist sees Tempest as Shakespeare's "sceptical masterpiece", while Prospero's cell suggests the "ascetic life." Echoes Montaigne who "was at once a sceptic and a Catholic."
- 1999** "Catholicism and English Literature, 1558-1660." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 26 (1999): 25-27. Also in Renaissance Forum 5.2 (Winter 2001) (web).  
Review of Alison Shell: "But with the progressive subversion of the English literary canon undertaken by squadrons of deconstructionists, feminists, neo-historicists and cultural relativists, **a gleam of hope is appearing for the oppressed minority of Catholic authors in English literature** from the Elizabethan age onwards. The very fact that they are now at last perceived to have been persecuted, exiled and dispossessed by the proud Protestant victors at home has come to elicit the sympathy, if not ideological agreement, of the new critics."
- 1999** "Memories of Forty Years' Teaching Shakespeare in Japan." Shakespeare in Japan, ed. T. Anzai, et al. Shakespeare Yearbook (NY 9 (1999): 227-43. \*WSB.  
"States that Shakespeare's "concepts of folly, humanity, and nothing" extend beyond Renaissance England to all cultures of all times, especially Japan's. Suggests that Shakespeare's emphasis on nothingness finds affinities in both Christianity and Zen Buddhism" (WSB summary). On Shakespeare's Catholic background,

Milward now cites most recently I. Wilson, Shakespeare: the Evidence (1993). Elizabethan period strangely paralleled in Japan where shogun Hideyoshi ordered expulsion of Christians and their execution in 1597; meanwhile tea ceremony was developed by Hideyoshi's grand tea-master, Sen Rikyū (who had many Catholic friends); tea ceremony may be analogous to the Mass; thus Rikyū might have been hidden Catholic, like Shakespeare.

- 1999** "Holden's Shakespeare." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 26 (1999): 15-22. \*WSB (listed after citation of book).

Review of Anthony Holden's William Shakespeare: The Man behind the Genius. 1990s were "golden age of Shakespearian biography." There is now "general acceptance" that Shakespeare is the Stratford Shakespeare. And there is "**growing consensus of opinion among those scholars** that William Shakespeare came from a strongly Catholic, even 'recusant', background, both at his home in Lancashire and in the 'country' of Lancashire . . . in the household of . . . Hoghton."

- 1999** "Was Shakespeare a Catholic?" Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 26 (1999): 8-14. \*WSB. Also in The Chesterton Review 27 (2001): 408-413.

"Up till a few years ago it was even considered impolite . . . to raise the question of the Bard's religion. . . . **Now, however, this question has at last come out of the closet in the form of an academic conference entitled 'Lancastrian Shakespeare'**" (21-24 July, 1999). "A seminal article on 'Shakespeare and the Jesuits' by Richard Wilson [TLS, Dec. 19, 1997] . . . first showed me the possible meeting-place of Campion and Shakespeare in Lancashire."

- 1999** Review of Shakespeare's Romances and the Politics of Counter-Reformation by Thomas Ris (Renaissance Studies 3) (1999). Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 26 (1999): 28-30. \*WSB.

- 2000** "Shakespeare in Lancashire." Renaissance Pamphlets (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 1 April 2000: 1-11. Also in The Month (April, 2000): 141-46. \*WSB. Acknowledges an alternative Simon Hunt in Stratford area. Reviews Lancaster and Campion thesis. Claims many echoes of Spiritual Exercises in Shakespeare's plays. But Shakespeare's "way of working for the kingdom of Christ in England was to be not that of a seminarian, culminating in . . . execution . . . but that of **a crypto-Catholic dramatist working on a variety of plays containing a hidden message to his fellow country-men both Catholic and Protestant--an appeal to mercy as well as justice. . . .**"
- 2000\*** "Shakespeare and Religion at Stratford, 2000" Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 27 (2000): 1-6.
- 29<sup>th</sup> International Shakespeare Conference, finally testing the pro-Catholic thesis: **"a growing tension."** David Daniell argued Tyndale's Bible influence on S.; Robert Miola, "Shakespeare and Ancient Religions," vindicated S's Catholic mind. Tom McAlindon argued that S. was on Bale and Foxe's side in the portrayal of Falstaff. Wilson gave his "Venus and Adonis" paper [see Religion and the Arts, 2001]: "some even walked out on him in protest." Robin Headlam Wells gave paper on King James's irenic ecumenicalism, culminating in Charles/Henrietta match. Milward's paper considered the three approaches, secular (in outer appearance), Protestant (in reliance on Bible, Homilies, and Book of Common Prayer), and Catholic (deeper level of topical reference): **"I found myself agreeing to a greater or lesser extent with all the tendencies."**
- 2000** "Shakespeare and the Reformation" Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 27 (2000): 7-14.
- "The extraordinary thing about Shakespeare's use of the Bible . . . is . . . how naturally and spontaneously, if not unconsciously, it comes into his mind and pours into his plays."

**2000** Shakespeare's Apocalypse. Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University

2000. Also, London: Saint Austin Press, 2000. \*WSB.

Based in part on lectures at Sophia University, 1999. On the four last things in Shakespeare. Friar Lawrence on "opposed foes . . . In man as well as herbs," reflects the "two standards" in Spiritual Exercises. In the four great tragedies, "the good suffer and die but there is after all something redeeming in their deaths, though in what that something actually consists the dramatist himself is unable to say. After all, in terms of the religious background to all the plays, the penal laws under which the English Catholics are suffering are still in force and not yet mitigated" (15). Hamlet's "By Saint Patrick" alludes to famous cave in Ireland known as "Saint Patrick's Purgatory." Horatio's reference to "bloody question" evokes contemporary "bloody question" imposed on recusants. Iago moves from Judas to Satan, Othello from Jesus to Judas. Othello's kiss at end evokes Judas's kiss. Othello begins series of ideal heroines recalling Katharine of Aragon; "done quickly" evokes Jesus "do quickly" to Judas; "gouts of blood" evokes Latin vulgate "guttae sanguinis" for Christ's agony in garden; "very stones" in Othello evokes "stones cry out" in Luke 19:40; "wash this blood clean" evokes Pilate. Lennox's "lamentings heard" evokes Matt 24.7, and Matt 27:51, earthquakes. Henry Smith's sermon, "The Betraying of Christ," keeps mentioning "horror." "Night's black agents" evoke garden betrayals. Lear's Pieta imagery supported by "side-piercing sight", thus pierced side of Jesus, and Mary's 'pierce thy soul.'

**2001** "Sonnets from Shakespeare." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 28 (2001): 85-103.

Sonnets done in Shakespearean style, "for the benefit of my Japanese students." "I have noticed how easily the little drama implicit in these sonnets has a deeply religious relevance. . . . I might even apply . . . the words of Ben Jonson concerning John Donne's Anniversaries . . . that it was 'too profane and full of blasphemies' though 'if it had been written of the Virgin Mary it had been something'." So Milward looks "from the hypothetical figure of his Young Man" to Jesus. [skillfully done sonnets]

**2001\*** "Religion in Arden." Shakespeare Survey 54 (2001): 115-121. \*WSB.

Shakespeare "deliberately has left the matter vague," as to whether the forest is Arden or Ardennes. John Shakespeare's forbears came from forest of Arden area, which included ruined nunnery, Wroxhall Abbey, source of two of Shakespeare's names, including prioress Isabella. To the east of Arden were the great house of upstart Dudleys, Kenilworth held by Leicester, and Warwick held by his brother, both assisted by Puritan magistrate Lucy. Their envy of the old nobility of the Ardens found vent in prosecution of Edward Arden of Park Hall in Sommerville Plot, parallel to exiled duke; duke also parallel to W. Allen who fled to Douai in French Ardennes where "many young gentlemen flock to him", i.e. Hunt, Debdale, Edward Throckmorton (from Coughton Court), all from forest of Arden. Uncle's words to Rosalind, from Burghley's Execution of Justice, to which Allen responded with his "Defence of English Catholics" The Marian priest, Frith, is like Rosalind's old religious uncle. [elegantly expressed article]

**2001** "On Chesterton on Shakespeare." G. K. Chesterton Quarterly 21 (Winter, 2001): 5-8.

"In the tragedies we find him turning from joy to sorrow, in the thought of Christ's passion as experienced by so many of his fellow-Catholics, notably by Cordelia, Kent, and Edgar, and the two old men Lear and Gloucester." Editor's comment:

**"Nonetheless, this is still very controversial stuff. . . ."**

**2001\*** "Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human." "Review of Bloom on Chesterton on Shakespeare" (Milward's original title). The Chesterton Review. No. 21 (Winter, 2001): 157-63..

Chesterton "is a wonderful literary critic" says Bloom who cites him fifteen times. Bloom influenced by Chesterton's comment, "Shakespeare has written us." "That Shakespeare was a Catholic dramatist" seems to Bloom "quite unlikely": "I do not know, and Chesterton does not know either." Chesterton had said: "That Shakespeare was a Catholic is a thing that every Catholic feels

- by every sort of convergent common sense to be true." Bloom says Shakespeare was "always wary of a state power that had murdered Marlowe and tortured Kyd" but seems unaware of the larger destruction of Catholicism.
- 2001** "Shakespeare and the Metaphysics of Tradition." Sacred Web 8 (Dec. 2001): 99-104.
- Shakespeare continually "expresses his preference for 'old fashions' over 'odd inventions'." Cordelia's "And so I am, I am" evokes Biblical phrase. In Hamlet, "the very form of the ghost may be compared to a large, disembodied question-mark that hovers over the whole play. . . ."
- 2001** "Shakespeare's Secular Bible: A Modern Commentary." Logos 4.3 (2001): 108-114. \*WSB.
- Review of Bloom's Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human. Bloom: "I am baffled when critics argue as to whether Shakespeare was Protestant or Catholic, since the plays are neither."
- 2001** "The Religious Dimension of Shakespeare's Illyria." In "Shakespeare's Illyrias," ed. Martin Procházka. Literaria Pragense: 12.23 (2002): 59-65; also pub. in Shakespeare and the Mediterranean, ed. T. Clayton et al (Newark 2004), 380-87: this last reported by Milward.
- Cites Hotson on Elizabeth/Don Orsino meeting. A "frequency of Protestant allusions" characterize Olivia. Malvolio's "bible-babble" echoes exorcist John Darrell's apologia, A True Narration (1600). Sir Toby reflects Protestant "give me faith, say I." Thus Olivia's house is a place "where various forms of Protestantism--Lutheranism, moderate Puritanism and even the more extreme Brownism--come together." "A marvel how daringly . . . the dramatist contrived to present it all under the very nose and eyes of the queen, and to put her in a good humour withal! Thus he may be hailed as the quintessential subverter of the English Protestant establishment. . . . the play is 'the thing' by which the dramatist hopes to 'catch the conscience' of the queen . . .

. It may be seen as a way of appealing to her inner mind and heart on the occasion of this visit of an Italian duke close to the Pope at Rome. This duke, as Hotson points out, in visiting this Protestant queen was in serious danger of incurring the wrath both of Pope Clement VIII and of King Philip III of Spain-- which may have been the reason . . . why he received such a warm welcome from the queen. Yet in this meeting Shakespeare may have seen an opportunity of 'dialogue' between the two opposing sides in the religious conflict, Catholic and Protestant. . . . Unfortunately, this hope of Shakespeare's (if such it was) remained unfulfilled partly owing to the failure of the Essex rebellion barely three weeks after 'the first night of Twelfth Night'." :Shakespeare is never averse . . . to the use of what has been called \*by Alice Lyle Scoufos) 'topological satire'." Malvolio may point to Sir William Knollys. (some of these comments from original paper.)

- 2001** "The Rise of Puritanism." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 68 (2001): 19-33.

Merchant of Venice reflects Whitgift's attacks on Cartwright's Puritanism: Cartwright's position "smelleth of Judaism"; "These men separate themselves from our congregation, and will not communicate with us neither in prayers, hearing the word, or sacraments."

- 2001\*** "The Purgatory of Hamlet." Review of Greenblatt's Hamlet in Purgatory. Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 28 (2001): 35-42. \*WSB.

Also due in Saint Austin Review 2.5 (May 2002): 34-37.

Greenblatt ignores **contemporary controversy on Purgatory**, i.e. by Bellarmine as attacked by Andrew Willet, Synopsis Papismi (1590). Willet quotes, in English trans., Bellarmine on purgatory: "a certain infernal place in the earth, called Purgatory, in the which, as in a prison-house, the souls which were not fully purged in this life, are there cleansed and purged by fire, before they can be received into heaven."



- 2001** "A Survey of Shakespeare and Religions." Review of Shakespeare Survey 54 (2001). Renaissance Bulletin 28 (2001): 43-49.

"This latest issue of the prestigious Shakespeare Survey (No. 54, edited by Peter Holland for the Cambridge University Press in 2001) is unique among all preceding volumes in being devoted to the long 'taboo' subject of Shakespeare and Religion. It is as if **the Shakespeare 'establishment', for so long committed to the ideal of a 'secular Shakespeare', has at last come round**, if with reluctance to the recognition that the Bard was after all not uninfluenced by the Christian religion of his contemporaries and in particular by the religious controversies that were swirling around him during his dramatic career." (See above, "Shakespeare and Religion at Stratford, 2000.") David Daniel argued Shakespeare's Protestantism ("he could hardly have been other"); Donna Hamilton cites Peter Lake and prudential reasons for Catholics to keep quiet. Miola argues a "cultural Catholicity," Gary Taylor argues that if "Shakespeare 'dyed a papist'," he also 'wrote like one,' and argues Catholic referent for Jupiter in Cymbeline and Diana in Pericles. Merriam argues that anonymous old lady, invented by Shakespeare, and her cynical remarks on Anne Boleyn's hypocrisy, casts suspicion over HVIII as a whole. He also notes R. Foakes's remark in Arden edn. "on similarity between the trial of Hermione and Katharine, who defend themselves in similar terms, and both finally appeal to an external religious authority, Hermione to Apollo, Katherine to the Pope."

- 2001** "The Political Philosophy of Shakespeare." (Review of Shakespeare as Political Thinker, ed. Alvis and West.) Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 28 (2001): 51-59. \*WSB.

- 2002** "Fifty Years of Shakespeare, 1952-2002." Lecture, Revised Version. Boston College, March 25, 2002. Original version sent earlier.

- 2002** "Catholic Shakespeare." Saint Austin Review (StAR) 2.4 (April 2002): 27-29.

"I, too, am astonished that so many academic scholars of Shakespearian drama, so many academic historians of the Elizabethan age, can remain calm and unmoved at the outrageous sufferings inflicted on innocent Catholics by that most wicked queen Elizabeth and her Machiavellian ministers. . . . "

- 2002** "Shakespeare's Inspissation." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 29 (2002): 11-18.  
Inspissation (Eliot's term) due to need to hide clear Catholic reference.
- 2002** "Shakespeare's Sermon." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 29 (2002): 29-34.  
Lear's preaching etc.
- 2002** "Shakespeare's 'Miracles' in the Context of Religious Controversy." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 29 (2002): 35-44.  
Miracles considered a "note" of the Catholic Church, as argued by Richard Bristow, Allen, etc. Thus All's Well, etc, along with Virgin Mary images in the late plays.
- 2002** "Shakespeare's Sacred Fools." Renaissance Bulletin (Renaissance Institute, Japan) 29 (2002): 19-28.  
On the tradition of wise folly reaching back to Erasmus, More, Socrates, and St. Paul. Bottom's use of Paul 2 Cor. 12 ("caught up to the third heaven"): "Bottom . . . is also interpreting the words of St. Paul in a realistic manner that takes account of their implicit ambiguity, in that St. Paul is himself unsure of his wisdom in revealing his mystical experience."
- 2002** "The Orthodoxy of Hamlet" G. K. Chesterton Quarterly 24 (Autumn 2002): 3-4.  
Chesterton does not see Lutheran "Wittenberg" side of Hamlet in his pessimism about human life. "'To be, or not to be' . . . was the dilemma not of some long-haired existentialist student facing the Angst of daily life, but of the typical Catholic recusant,

who was caught between the Scylla of continuing 'to suffer / The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune' . . . and the Charybdis of deciding "to take arms against a sea of troubles', literally to have resorts to arms against that government."

From paper delivered at Chesterton Society, July 18, 2002, Kensington, England:

On Chesterton's 1907 essay. "For Chesterton . . . . Hamlet is . . . holding both the optimism and pessimism in a creative, rational, paradoxical tension." The Catholic part of Hamlet believes the ghost, the Lutheran part disbelieves. Even Chesterton didn't see that Shakespeare was dramatizing "the lamentable situation of his dear country," i.e. the persecution of Catholics.

**2002** "Shakespeare and Globalization."

Paper to be given at International Conference on "An Inter-faith Perspective on Globalisation", Plater College, Oxford, August 1, 2002.

Shakespeare never writes play about his own contemporary nation, but "he is always speaking of England, however far away he may roam." Cordelia, in French, "Coeur de Lear," heart of Lear.

**2002** "Shakespeare and Globalization." Dharma World 29 (2002): 18-20.

"The problem he [Henry VIII] then created as 'supreme head of the Church in England' remained essentially unsolved until it was pitifully described by William Cobbett in 1824, in his History of the Protestant 'Reformation' and echoed with indignation by Karl Marx in one of the later chapters of Das Kapital. Such was the economic situation of England inherited by Shakespeare in his Elizabethan age, when he looks with sadness at the 'bare ruin'd choirs. . . .'"

**2002** "'The Thing' in Shakespeare."

Contribution to Commonweal, declined.

I.e. the "Catholic thing," in Chesterton's sense.

**2002** "What kind of a Christian Was Shakespeare?" Faith and Culture, forthcoming, Oct., 2002.

"A meaning that is not just secular or generally religious in a Biblical sense, but also allegorical or topological with reference to the religious situation of the age."

- 2002 "Liturgical Hymns in Shakespeare's Plays." Saint Austin Review (acceptance pending).

Where did Shakespeare experience all these echoes of the Gregorian liturgy, which would have been severely truncated at Hoghton House or Titchfield House; was he abroad at a seminary?

- 2002 "New Readings of Hamlet." Lectures offered at the Renaissance Institute, Japan, summer 2002. (not seen.)

- 2002** The Plays and the Exercises--A Hidden Source of Shakespeare's Inspiration? Renaissance Monographs 29. Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 2002.

Detailed parallels between Ignatius's and Shakespeare's themes.

- 2002** "Father Thomas Conlan." Letters and Notices 96.422 (Autumn 2002): 68-73. Conlan (1912-2002) took strong interest in Shakespeare's recusant contexts.

- 2002** Bibliography ("of almost 1000 articles, essays and reviews") compiled by Milward's assistant, Mayumi Tamura. Covering Shakespeare and all other subjects.

Lists an additional 47 articles in Japanese on Shakespeare, not cited in this checklist. Corrections to the English items have been made in this checklist.

- 2002** "The Fourth Centenary of Hamlet," Shakespeare Newsletter (52.3): 62, 70, "Here, too, is a form of 'meta-drama,' as the play looks out onto the real world of Shakespeare's time, which includes the religious no less than the political problem. . . , "

**2003** Shakespeare's Meta-Drama: Hamlet and Macbeth. Renaissance Monographs 30. Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 2003.

Hamlet "uncomfortably caught between an old order represented by his father, now but a ghost of his former self, and the new order introduced by Claudius. . . ." (22) . "Hamlet strikes me as thoroughly muddle-headed both because of his university studies and because of the political situation he finds in Denmark" (98). Hamlet and Laertes both reflect Robert Catesby, Hamlet avoiding this extremism, Laertes embracing it (101). The play could be seen as warning Catholics "against having to resort to desperate measures" (102).

"so as to make one large volume of 'meta-dramatic' interpretation of the great tragedies. . . . This is to be (for the time being) my opus magnum" (personal correspondence, 17 June 2002).

**2003** Shakespeare's Meta-Drama: Othello and King Lear. Renaissance Monographs 31. Tokyo: Renaissance Institute, Sophia University, 2003.

Desdemona's final "Commend me to my kind lord" evokes Christ's "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do." Othello holds Desdemona in "a pieta-like embrace." Macbeth's "equivocation of the fiend" "not the Jesuit equivocation used for the necessary protection of the innocent under torture, but the Macchiavellian, Cromwellian, Cecilian equivocation for the ruin or the innocent." "From Desdemona onwards I see another parallel line of long-suffering heroines, in Cordelia, Imogen, Hermione, and Katharine herself." Iago may reflect Robert Cecil, steering James I to persecute the Catholics. The "Chaucer's Plowman" prophecy used by Feste ("priests more in word...") was quoted by 2 anon. Catholic authors in A Declaration of the True Causes (1592), and A Letter of a Spanish Gentlemen (1589) (161). Sees Cordelia as "coeur de Lear."

2003 "Shakespeare's Jesuit Schoolmasters." In Theatre and Religion, Lancastrian Shakespeare, ed. Richard Dutton et al (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003. 58-71.

- 2003 "Shakespeare and Religion—Two New Books." Renaissance Bulletin 30 (2003): 42-52.  
Review of Taylor and Beauregard, and of Richard Wilson ed. Lancastrian Shakespeare. Reported by Milward
- 2003 "Shakespeare and the Old Religion." Catholic Herald (London). Sept. 5, 2003
- 2003 "The Six Wives of Henry VIII", Renaissance Bulletin 30 (2003): 13-30.  
Praises Lingard as forerunner of revisionists; and their relation to Shakespeare, especially Henry VIII.
- 2003 "Shakespeare and Religion--Two New Books", Renaissance Bulletin 30 (2003): 41-52.  
On Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare, ed. Dutton, Findlay, Wilson, and Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity, ed. Taylor and Beauregard.
- 2003 "Shakespeare: What Kind of Christian Was He?", Second Spring 4 (2003): 23-7.  
Reported by Milward.
- 2004 "Shakespeare's Jesuit Schoolmasters." In Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare, ed. Richard Dutton, Alison Gail Findlay, Richard Wilson (Manchester University Press).  
"they [the links] have never, to my knowledge been presented all together."
- 2004 "The Presence of Thomas More in Shakespeare's Romances", Renaissance Bulletin 31 (2004): 27-35.
- 2004 "Shakespeare's Religious Background Revisited", Religion and the Arts 8.2 (2004): 260-71.  
Review of Taylor and Beauregard, eds., Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity.

- 2004** "The Search for Shakespeare", Religion and the Arts 8.2 (2004): 106-17.  
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- 2004** "A Decade of Decadence", Renaissance Bulletin 31 (2004): 63-73.  
The anti-Catholic line continues in recent scholarship on Shakespeare and the Reformation: on Walsham (Church Papists), Wilson (Secret Shakespeare).
- 2004 A Poetic Approach to Ecology, drawing on the poetry of Hopkins and Shakespeare. Sapientia Press [reported by Milward]
- 2005** "Shakespeare's Metaphysical Heritage", Renaissance Bulletin 32 (2005): 21-28.  
Reported by Milward.
- 2005** "The History of William Shakeshafte," Renaissance Bulletin 32 (2005): 49-56.  
Reported by Milward.
- 2005** "What is the Secret of Shakespeare?", Religion and the Arts 9.1 (2005): 135-40.  
Review of Wilson, Secret Shakespeare.
- 2005\*** Shakespeare the Papist. (Sapientia Press, Ave Maria University)
- "In it I at last fulfil (as best I can) my promise of "a larger endeavor" [see Shakespeare's Religious Background 1973), by going through all the plays in chronological order one by one and considering to what extent each of them in turn, some more, some less, yet all somehow, admit of a papist interpretation. . . . what I offer is . . . a way of understanding his plays, a way that looks from 'outward shows' to 'that within which passeth show.' . . . And that mystery is, in short, if I may dare to sum it up in a few words, the dramatist's lament at the passing of Catholic England. And that lament is (in the words of Wordsworth) the undercurrent in all his plays of 'the still, sad music of humanity," arising from the hearts of all his fellow-Catholics over their 'poor country.' 'Alas! poor country, almost afraid to know itself'. . . . Alas how few of my fellow-scholars

in the field of Shakespeare studies are even aware of this 'other face' of England, the Catholic England that still survived into Shakespeare's boyhood in such pockets of resistance as the Forest of Arden and Lancashire. . . . For me it is all part of the tradition in which I have been brought up; and for me Persons and Campion and Southwell and Garnet are as familiar as if I had met them" ("Fifty Years of Shakespeare," 2002).

"I still have to face the response of 'Not proven' ... So all I can do in this book is to go through the plays in a way no Shakespeare scholar (to the best of my knowledge) has ever done, and to show how far the hypothesis that Shakespeare was a Catholic (at least at heart) [parenthesis added to ms.] may be substantiated **from the text of play after play**" (p. 3). Joan of Arc in 1HVI, written by Protestant writer, or so given Protestant audience. In RIII, "Henry Tudor's victory at Bosworth is celebrated in unmistakably Catholic terms" with mention of "good angels" and "prayers of holy saints." Taming of Shrew reflects More, via Erasmus's account in "The Properties of Shrewd Wives and Honest Wives," trying Carthusian vocation, deciding on marriage, chooses elder daughter out of pity, she seemed submissive, but second wife was a shrew, sometimes compared to Xantippe. 'More's "field is won" echoed by Katharina "the field is won" (p. 57). Lucentio wooing Bianca in disguise, like seminary priests; death "to come to Padua"; "old priest at St. Luke's church" performs ceremony. Friar Laurence, "nought so vile that on the earth . . . but . . . some special good," reflects Kempis "no creature so small and vile but shows the goodness of God" (p. 74). Nurse's "God rest all Christian souls!" and "God be with his soul!" looks "back to the old days of good Queen Mary." Richard Corbett, "The Fairies farewell", later associates passing of fairies with spoliation of "old abbeys." (81): connect with MND. Faeries blessing house "with fairy grace" and sprinkling it "with this field-dew consecrate" recalls old benedictio thalami, or blessing of the marriage bed, in Sarum Missal. In Twelfth Night, Queen parallels Olivia, Catholic duke of Bracciano, Don Virginio Orsino parallels Orsino: **"on a deeper level of meaning, we may interpret all this as a hint at rapprochement between the opposing religions represented by the queen and her ducal visitor"** (125). In Henry V, "the king



himself hath a heavy reckoning . . . when all those legs and arms and heads. . . chopped off . . . at the latter day . . . some swearing, some crying . . ." parallels Spiritual Exercises, imagining Trinity looking on earth and seeing variety of men "some in peace and others in war, some weeping and others laughing . . . and so they all go to hell" (140). 2 prelates in opening scene of Henry V look like corrupt mediaeval prelates as in Foxe, but their "miracles are ceas'd" statement is more typically Anglican. **Falstaff in Merry Wives has papist associations:** being hunted and bundled in a basket and dumped in water in escape, pursued by soldiers, saved only by resourceful housemaid, etc. Sir Hugh Evans: "the contrast between the way he . . . peppers his speech with religious language and the lack of any religious propriety in his actions point to the typical behaviour of not a few Anglican ministers as seen and judged by their own contemporaries. Thus the Puritan Thomas Cartwright, responding to . . . Whitgift, complains of such as give 'but one leap our of the shop into the church' and are suddenly changed 'out of a serving man's coat into a minister's cloak'" (148). Hamlet: "What makes him such an interesting character, and what makes his interest transcend the limits of his age and nation, is the strange juxtaposition in his character between Lutheran and Catholic" (162). "Under the influence of his father's ghost . . . we may see Hamlet moving away from this brief period of Lutheran indoctrination at Wittenberg back to his earlier Catholic formation" (163). In Ophelia "we may note a change from the distinctively **Puritan family portrayed in the third scene** -- in which they all, brother to sister and sister to brother, then father to both son and daughter, address words of moral advice and exhortation to one another -- to a reversion in the girl's mind to memories of a Catholic childhood" (168). "If it be not now" reflects St. Augustine's Commentary on Psalm 95 (170): "He will come, whether we like it or not. The fact that he has come yet is no reason to think that he will not come. He will come, but when it will be you do not know. If he finds you ready, it is not disadvantage that you do not know" (170). Horatio's last prayer echoes dying prayer of Essex: "Send thy blessed angels which may receive my soul and convey it to thy joys in heaven" (171). On Measure: "Before, in the 1590s, the dramatist had to

be more cautious in presenting his plea for mercy (on the persecuted Catholics), and then the Puritan prosecutor had to appear in the guise of a Jew . . . But now, in the first years of James's reign ... the dramatist may have felt free to dispense with disguise and to offer a play that has been described as the most Catholic of them all" (177). Angelo's strict interpretation recalls Thomas Cartwright's insistence vs. Whitgift on applying Mosaic law on adultery in full force: "If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost" (Second Reply 1575) (180). "What her unfriendly critics fail to realize is that, from her point of view, which is presumably that of the Catholic dramatist, she is being asked by her brother for the exchange of her eternal life for his temporal life ... No wonder if Isabella, as an innocent girl on finding herself betrayed in such a matter by her own brother, loses her temper and abuses him with such vehement words. But to equate such a loss of temper with the cold, calculating solicitation of her by Angelo . . . reveals a strange lack of moral sense or sense of proportion" (185). The "garden circumur'd" etc. of Mariana "is not unlike ["is seen by local historians of Warwickshire as identical with" in ms.] the moated manor of Baddesley Clinton, a noted stronghold of Catholic recusants in the Forest of Arden not far from Wroxhall Abbey, and a common resort of Jesuits as mentioned in ... John Gerard" (187). "On the surface of the play, as we expect a romantic comedy however problematic to have a happy ending in marriage, we may prefer Isabella, who hasn't yet entered the cloister or taken the religious vow of chastity, to accept the duke's offer with grace. . . . we may recognize . . . a symbolic marriage of Justice (in Duke Vincentio) and Mercy (in Isabella)" (188). Bertram in All's Well like Southampton, "in ward" to king, who gave up earlier Catholicism, "I am commanded with 'Too young'" etc. like Southampton complaining that Queen did not allow him to accompany Essex to Spain; Southampton also made by Essex in Ireland expedition "general of our horse" (3.3.1). Cassio's words to Desdemona, "Hail to the, lady! And the grace of heaven, / Before, behind thee, and on every hand, / Enwheel thee round!" "almost uncannily echo . . . Rheims which translates . . . "gratia plena" as "full of grace"; then she is described "of most blessed condition", "so blessed a

disposition." Iago's pelagianism ("'Tis in ourselves. . .") vs. Cassio's Calvinism ("and there be souls must not be saved"); but Cassio then turns to Catholic belief in intercession, i.e. by Desdemona. Reverses Dante progression from "grace of heaven" seen in Desdemona, to "purgatory" mentioned by Emilia, to "gate of hell" and Othello "damned." "When he professes horror, with Macbeth, at 'the equivocation of the fiend / that lies like truth' (V v.42-43), he can hardly be thinking of the Jesuits, whom he must have known to be innocent victims, but rather of the practice of their persecutors in those 'cunning times.'" Macduff's lines on "sacrilegious murder" etc. "have a more concrete relevance than the mere possibility of the Parliament building being blown up by the hare-brained schemes of the conspirators" (206). Lady Macbeth on Duncan resembling her father--like Elizabeth and Mary Queen of Scots. Macbeth's "devilish...trains" to entrap Malcolm like those of Walsingham on Mary Stuart. Albany's "O see! see!" underscores Pieta parallel, echoes antiphon from Jeremiah's Lamentations: "O vos omnes . . . attendite et videti si est dolor sicut dolor meus." Cleopatra: compare Allen in 1588 Admonition on Elizabeth, "an incestuous bastard, begotten and born in sin. . . the very shame of her sex and princely name, the chief spectacle of sin and abomination in this our age." Antony like Essex.

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