

## Catholicism, Protestantism and Secularism in Shakespeare and English/American Literary Culture

\* On “Catholic,” see 1838.

\*\* On “Protestant,” see 1529.

On “Puritan,” see 1573

Including

American Contexts

*Continental Contexts*

*Irish Contexts*

@=confirmed by 2 sources

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**\*\*40?\*\***

By tradition, Joseph of Arimathea led Christian hermits to found abbey at Glastonbury, at foot of Tor hill in Somersetshire. English Protestant historians (i.e. Camden in Remains (“The true Christian Religion was planted heere most auintly by Joseph of Arimathia ... yea by Saint Peter and Saint Paul ...”); Foxe in Acts (“All this while about the space of foure hundred yeares, Religion remayned in Britayne uncorrupt ... till about the comming of Austen and of hys companions from Rome, many of the sayd Britayne preachers were slayn by the Saxons”); Harrison in Holinshed (Description of Britaine, prefixed to Holinshed’s Chronicles): how Philip the Apostle sent Joseph of Arimathea to the Britons ... [then Augustine and his monks] drowned altogether in the pits of error digged up by Antichrist”); argued that Joseph founded a true Christianity, established as the national religion by Lucius in 177; to be corrupted by the arrival of Augustine and his monks (see 597). [but see 314 AD in answer to this myth] See Spenser, FQ 2.10.53:

... and after him good Lucius,

That first received Christianitie,

The sacred pledge of Christes Evangely;

Yet true it is, that long before that day

Hither came Joseph of Arimathy,

Who brought with him the holy grayle, (they say)

And preacht the truth, but since it greatly did decay.

**\*\*43\*\***

Conquest of England by Emperor Claudius.

**\*\*177\*\***

*Athenagoras, “Plea for the Christians,” c. 177, to Marcus Aurelius: Christians should have right to live unmolested like other philosophical dissidents.*

**\*\*200\*\***

*Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, c. 200, classical philosophy is partial revelation to Greeks of divine truth; thus faith and knowledge together give knowledge of God.*

**\*\*364\*\***

*Basil, “Against Eunomius,” c. 364, all statements about God are by analogy; Basil, Letters, c. 357-9, monastic life provides solitude where man through contemplation and deeds, can make his life worthy to God.*

**\*\*220\*\***

*Origen, “On First Principles,” c. 220-230, scripture must be interpreted allegorically; thus Augustine, Confessions 399-401*

**\*\*245\*\***

*Origen, “Contra Celsum,” c. 245-50, Christians, compatible with much classical thought, can be loyal to Roman government, but government must follow natural law.*

**\*\*313\*\***

*Edict of Milan by emperor Constantine, granting toleration to Christianity. Constantine had*

conquered his rival in 312, “in hoc signo vincis.” He convened the council of Nicaea (325) to deal with Arianism, moved the capital to Byzantium which he renamed Constantinople, outlawed paganism there, divided the empire at death, providing for his three surviving sons, and some others, with resultant wars between the three brothers.

- \*\*314\*\*** British bishops attend Council of Arles in Gaul; thus Britain fully part of the Catholic system.
- \*\*325\*\*** Eusebius, *The History of the Church from Christ to Constantine* (c. 325), celebrating the new Christendom, with its union of church and state.
- \*\*356\*\*** Antony of the desert dies at age 105.
- \*\*382\*\*** Jerome (ca. 340-420) begins correcting Latin testament. “Jerome ... was a Humanist, a philologist, and a Doctor of the Church” (Curtius), familiar with many classical writers; defends practice of quoting them.
- \*\*400\*\*** 400-700 A.D., so called “Dark Ages,” with Rome losing grip on Europe, and Germanic tribes waging war.
- \*\*410\*\*** Roman legions recalled from England.
- \*\*432\*\*** St. Patrick in Ireland. Palladius, first bishop, had been sent in 431 to combat Pelagianism in already existing body of Christians.
- \*\*434\*\*** St. Vincent of Lérin, “A Comminatory,” opinion of whole body of church is to be preferred to a dissenting part (“Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ad omnibus”); views of antiquity to be given priority over novel views.
- \*\*451\*\*** Council of Chalcedon, Christ one person in two natures, fully part of Trinity, as well as fully human. For Protestants “the last general council of the Church to make reliable decisions about doctrine in accordance with the core doctrines proclaimed in scripture” (MacCulloch).
- \*\*500\*\*** Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, “The Mystical Theology,” c. 500, *via negativa* is way of going beyond all sight and knowledge to that which is beyond all existent things.
- \*\*506\*\*** Clovis unites Frankish tribes, to become most dominant force; eventually converts to Christianity.
- \*\*520\*\*** St. Finnian founds Clonard monastery, parent of many others. In 563 St. Columba leads monks to Iona, beginning of great missionary effort.
- \*\*528\*\*** Benedict founds his monastery at Monte Cassino, c. 528-9, destroyed by Lombards in c. 568, refounded 720.
- \*\*529\*\*** Closing of The Platonic Academy in Athens (founded by Plato 387 BC, destroyed 6 BC, revived in Proclus’s home, became Neoplatonic c. 410).
- \*\*597\*\*** Pope Gregory sends Augustine of Canterbury and forty monks to England; in 602, Augustine founded the see at Canterbury. This Roman church became reconciled uneasily with earlier British or Celtic church at Synod of Whitby in 664.
- \*\*657\*\*** Caedmon’s Hymn (657-80).
- \*\*705\*\*** Aldhelm of Malmesbury, great scholar monk, *De Laude virginitatis sive de virginitate sanctorum* (c. 705).
- \*\*719\*\*** St. Boniface, from Devon, sent by Pope Gregory II on mission to Germanic lands, “had a deeper influence on the history of Europe than any other Englishman who ever lived” (Dawson, *Making of Europe*); prepared for the unification under Charlemagne. Cited as example of Britain’s early international Catholicism by E. Jones (1998).
- \*\*731\*\*** Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* (*Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*), to be trans. by King Alfred (887-92). Bede reinforced the idea of Englishness begun by Pope Gregory’s pun on Angles in 597.
- \*\*771\*\*** Charlemagne becomes king of the Franks; crowned Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Leo III in 800. Alcuin would write Charlemagne: “If many are infected by your aims, a new Athens will be created in France, nay, an Athens finer than the old, for ours, ennobled by the teachings of Christ, will surpass all the wisdom of the Academy.” Alcuin of York began great age of copying Latin manuscripts, both classical and patristic.

- \*\*795\*\*** *First record of Norse invasions, establishing first cities of Dublin, Waterford, Limerick; but Brian Boru at Clontarf in 1014 broke their power, followed by great 150 years of religion, literature, art.*
- \*\*796\*\*** *Alcuin of York; from 796 until his death, abbot of the great monastery of St. Martin of Tours monastery, center of learning, adviser to Charlemagne, inspired middle period of Carolingian renaissance. He argued, "Faith is a free act of the will, not a forced act," and influenced Charlemagne to abolish the death penalty for paganism in 797.*
- \*\*890\*\*** **King Alfred** at height of power, recognized over most of England.
- \*\*960\*\*** *Monastic Revival (960-88). In 910, the abbey of Cluny was founded, by 1050 the hub of many monasteries.*
- \*\*1000\*\*** *Leif Erikson lands (c. 1000) on what seems to be Newfoundland; given mission by King of Norway: "thither thou shalt go upon my errand to proclaim Christianity [i.e. Catholicism] there", acc. to "oldest document of American history," ca. 1310-*
- \*\*1043\*\*** **Reign of Edward the Confessor (1043-66)**; will be first Catholic canonized English saint, buried in Westminster Abbey.
- \*\*1054\*\*** *Great Schism between Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches, formalized in 1439; attempted resolutions. Less radical than the Reformation, because did not radically disrupt the conventional understanding of the Christian sacred, pace the iconoclasm controversy. OED: "'Catholic' was assumed as its descriptive epithet by the Western or Latin Church, as 'Orthodox' was by the Eastern or Greek."*
- \*\*1066\*\*** Norman invasion by **William the Conqueror**, victory at Battle of Hastings. Made England trilingual and even more Europeanized.
- \*\*1073\*\*** Gregory VII (Hildebrand) becomes pope (1073-85); reformed abuses, consolidated power of papacy against king; excommunicated and humiliated Henry IV, German king, at Canossa in 1077; outlawed clerical marriage and concubinage; imposed celibacy on clergy. Some Protestants see this as beginning of anti-Christ church; Toynbee saw beginning of tragedy of Church using force. Falstaff's "Turk Gregory never did such deeds in arms as I have done this day" may conflate the medieval power of Gregory VII, the ferocity of Gregory VIII (1572-85) against Elizabeth, and also the papal support by Pius V of the victory over the Turks at Lepanto, the year before Gregory VIII became pope.
- \*\*1095\*\*** *First Crusade (1095-99), in response to Muslims invading Jerusalem and southern Spain; Pope Urban II offers plenary indulgence, first such use. Last crusade ended 1291.*
- \*\*1127\*\*** *Bernard founds monastery at Clairvaux out of which came 68 houses. Preached Second Crusade in 1146. Author of "On the Love of God" (c. 1127), "On Grace and Free Will" (c. 1127), etc.*
- \*\*1127\*\*** *Hugh of St. Victor, "Didascalion Concerning Pursuit of Learning," c. 1127, both secular and religious learning is part of wisdom and lead to God, and human perfection; Scripture may have threefold meaning, historical (literal) allegorical (one thing mean another), and tropological (moral).*
- \*\*1130\*\*** Geoffrey of Monmouth, Historia Regum Britanniae (c. 1130-6): kings of England descended from Brutus (grandson of Aeneas), original conqueror of Albion, then infested with giants; stories of King Lear, Cymbeline, Arthur and Round Table; source of Layamon's Brut (c. 1200). Geoffrey's celebration of Britons vs. Romans used nervously (given its a-historicity) by Protestants to point to an uncorrupted early British Christianity.
- \*\*1140\*\*** *Beginnings of Gothic architecture in Île-de-France, with St. Denis (ca.1140) and Chartres Cathedral (ca.1145), built by Abbot Suger.*  
*Henry II of England supposedly (acc. to Cambrensis) receives grant of Ireland from*

- \*\*1155\*\*** Pope Adrian IV. Conquest by this (Catholic) Anglo-Norman invasion, led by Richard Strongbow, completed by 1171. Beginning of English and Irish conflict, though not yet Catholic-Protestant conflict; thus from now on the "Old English" in Ireland; beginnings of the English Pale.
- \*\*1158\*\*** University of Bologna, oldest. University of Paris (1208-9), Oxford (ca. 1200)
- \*\*1170\*\*** Thomas à Becket murdered by Henry II's men in Canterbury Cathedral.  
*Eleanor of Aquitaine establishes her cultured court at Poitiers, with courtly love, Chrétien de Troyes, and other artists; encouraged the troubadours, and the beginning of the trouveres. Mother of Richard the Lionhearted, and King John.*
- \*\*1189\*\*** Richard I on Third Crusade.
- \*\*1192\*\*** Robert Grosseteste, famous scholar and scientist, influencing Roger Bacon, begins career (c. 1192) at Oxford.
- \*\*1199\*\*** **King John assumes throne.**
- \*\*1200\*\*** *St. Francis of Assisi, c. 1200-26, nature reflects God and should be loved.*
- \*\*1215\*\*** *Fourth Lateran Council, calling for "reform," acknowledging that change in discipline may be required by "the times;" defined transubstantiation, imposed yearly Penance and Eucharist on faithful, promoted responsibility of pastors, and cura animarum, endorsed notion of Crusade against Islam.*
- \*\*1250\*\*** *St. Bonaventure, "The Three Ways," c. 1250, way to God is through purgation, illumination, perfection, by means of meditation, prayer, and contemplation, which result in peace, truth, and love: ideas expanded from Pseudo Dionysius. Bonaventure's "The Mind's Road to God," c. 1259, first step to God is contemplation of sensible world as showing forth God's power, wisdom, benevolence; we realize God's reflection in our very observation and enjoyment; we contemplate God's image in natural powers of our own mind; Bonaventure came to these ideas after meditating near Assisi.*
- \*\*1265\*\*** Roger Bacon, Opus Majus (c. 1265) sent to Pope Clement IV, major work on religious reform and scientific method.
- \*\*1291\*\*** *Fall of Acre, marking the end of the Crusades.*
- \*\*1302\*\*** Pope Boniface's bull, Unam sanctam: "we are bound to believe in one holy Church, Catholic and also Apostolic ... without which there is neither salvation nor remission of sins ... which represents one mystical body, the head of which is Christ, and the head of Christ is God": "effort on the part of the spiritual power to answer and, if possible, to overcome the challenge of the nascent self-sufficiency of the secular bodies politic. Pope Boniface was bent upon putting political entities in what he considered their proper place, and therefore stressed, and overstressed, the hierarchical view that the political bodies had a purely functional character within the world community of the corpus mysticum Christi, which was the Church" (Kantorowicz). Asserted ultimate papal authority over both spiritual and temporal realms.
- \*\*1308\*\*** Dante, Divine Comedy (c. 1308-1321). D. Sayers, intro to Penguin trans: "It was still possible to be anti-clerical without being anti-Catholic, or to denounce ecclesiastical corruption or the abuse of the Temporal Power without abating one's reverence for the Chair of Peter." Guelfs, pro papacy, and Ghibellines, pro Empire; classic conflict of church and state, where Dante saw the virtue of both sides; "the Church of Rome doth fall / Into the mire, and striving to combine / Two powers in one, fouls self and load and all" (Purg. 16.127-9).
- \*\*1309\*\*** Beginning of "Babylonian Captivity of the Popes" (1309-1377), when Pope Clement VI relocates to Avignon.
- \*\*1336\*\*** Petrarch climbs Mt. Ventoux, by some considered 'beginning' of Renaissance.
- \*\*1337\*\*** Edward III begins Hundred Year's War (first phase 1337-60), claiming French crown (i.e. related to Norman claim); captured Calais (in English hands until 1558). Second phase, 1369-

89, when Edward the Black Prince, son of Edward III, invaded France.

**\*\*1341\*\*** Petrarch crowned poet laureate in Rome; first of humanists, sonnets to Laura; see Trinkaus, 1970. Richard Rolle's The Fire of Love (ca. 1340).

**\*\*1348\*\*** Black death, plague 1348-70, decimated the clergy and crippled monastic institutions which "never fully recovered from the ... the loosening of their discipline, nor from the reduction in their numbers and in their incomes" (Knott and Fowler, ed. Piers Plowman 1952; also promoted anti-clericalism because of evident ineffectuality of clerical power against the plague. Plague "accelerated changes already occurring" (Biggar).

**\*\*1352\*\*** Boccaccio's Decameron (1349-53).

**\*\*1353\*\*** Statute of Praemunire ('to warn') under Edward III, preventing cases of the king's temporal rights to be appealed to Rome. Earlier statutes, controlling church appointments, passed 1351-1389. But these did not dispute the spiritual authority of the Pope.

**\*\*1362\*\*** Langland, Piers Plowman, A text composed; B text in 1377, C text in 1392: Langland fierce in criticism but never criticizes fundamental form of institutional church (Biggar).

**\*\*1370\*\*** Juliana of Norwich, Revelations of Divine Love.

**\*\*1375\*\*** The Cloud of Unknowing (c. 1375).

**\*\*1377\*\*** John Wycliffe, source of Lollardy, De Veritate Sacrae Scripturae, made Bible sole basis for doctrine, and should be available to laity; church defined as "community of the predestined;" in 1378 rejected primacy of Pope; in 1382 denounced monasticism and defended clerical marriage; rejected transubstantiation. (Did not argue for solifidianism.) In 1382 condemned by Blackfriars Synod.

**Richard II assumes throne.**

**\*\*1378\*\*** *Great Schism in papacy: Urban VI at Rome, Clement VII at Avignon (see 1414). Schism ended at Council of Constance in 1417.*

**\*\*1381\*\*** *Peasants' Revolt.*

**\*\*1387\*\*** Chaucer, Canterbury Tales (begun c. 1387). In Parson's tale, "Chaucer adopts a warm, personal tone of familiarity, respect, and reverence [toward 'holy church'] that is also found in Langland's treatment of the Dreamer's relation to Holy Church in Piers Plowman" (Biggar). Evidence shows that "Wyclif often gets his ideas on priests from orthodox sources, not that Chaucer, or his Parson, is Wyclifite." (Biggar).

**\*\*1393\*\*** Gower, Confessio Amantis (c. 1390, 1393): Genius, true priest, persuades aging Amans to give up love, however refined, for a higher love and wisdom.

**\*\*1395\*\*** Lollard 'Twelve Conclusions' "that exorcisms and hallowings, made in the Church, of wine, bread, and wax, water, salt and oil and incense, the stone of the altar, upon vestments, mitre, cross, and pilgrims' staves, be the very practice of necromancy, rather than of the holy theology" (Dutch "lollaerd," mumblar).

**\*\*1399\*\*** Henry IV deposes Richard II.

**\*\*1405\*\*** *Christine de Pizan, The Book of the City of Ladies; also The Treasure of the City of Ladies, contra the misogyny of Jean de Meun's Romance of the Rose; represents the French humanism of the court of Charles V of France; late in life wrote "A Hymn to Joan of Arc" (1429); in 1418, Christine had joined the convent at Poissy.*

**\*\*1409\*\*** Bishop Thomas Arundel's Constitution against Gossellers, severely repressing "vernacular theology," a "premature Counter-Reformation" as some thought a "massive act of intervention in a vibrant tradition of vernacular writing": "in the decades before 1410, theology in English was as innovative as that in any vernacular during a comparable period of the Middle Ages, boasting thinkers of the order of Rolle, Hilton, Langland, Julian, the authors of The Cloud of Unknowing and Dives and Pauper, and the Pearl poet. ... and large numbers of mostly anonymous Lollard authors" (Nicolas Watson, "Censorship and Cultural Change in Late-Medieval England: Vernacular Theology, the Oxford Translation Debate, and Arundel's Constitutions of 1409," Speculum 70 (1995). "Duffy's traditional religion ... was itself the creation of a movement of reform, a movement that was equally imposed on the English society from above, equally held in place by decades of religious repression" (but there are impositions and impositions; "from

above' can occur within an orthodox setting, or be an imposition from outside; distinguish in-house reform from overthrowing the house; for fuller analysis, see After Arundel, 2011) Also see David Aers critique of Eamon Duffy, "Altars of Power ...," Literature and History (Autumn 1994), citing Watson.

**\*\*1413\*\*** **Henry V** becomes king, has Richard II reburied with honors at Westminster Abbey.

**\*\*1414\*\*** *Council of Constance (-1418). Resolved the Western schism, with its three Popes, elected Pope Martin V, condemned Wycliffism and John Hus, asserted supremacy of the Council (thus a source of Gallicanism).*

**\*\*1415\*\*** Henry V resumes the Hundred Years War (1415-53, third and last phase), w. Agincourt, but English fortunes decline following Joan of Arc (1412-31).

*Poggio Bracciolini, papal secretary, discovers at Cluny a manuscript of Cicero's discourses, the first of many famous discoveries which would include Quintilian, Lucretius, Tacitus, Plautus, and many others.*

**\*\*1420\*\*** *Reunion of Latin Christianity when Pope Martin V, elected at Council of Constance, reentered Rome; confirmed when Pope Eugenius IV stayed on, from 1443: necessary condition for Italian Renaissance (Stinger '85).*

**\*\*1429\*\*** **Henry VI** crowned (succeeds as minor, 1422). The Book of Margery Kempe begin its genesis ca. 1433.

**\*\*1438\*\*** *Council of Florence (began in Ferrara) (1438-1445); considered reunion with the Eastern church (split since 11<sup>th</sup> century), allowing each to retain its traditional phraseology (on Trinity), an idea lost sight of in Counter-Reformation; arrival of Greeks, 2 of whom inspire Cosimo de Medici to found an Academy in Florence, soon to be directed by Ficino who integrated Christianity and Neoplatonism; later Pico della Mirandola joined the Academy (see 1510). Pico's "Oration on the Dignity of Man" ("man is the intermediary among all creatures" etc.), a source for Hamlet. Pico: "you are to establish your own nature through your free will ... You are free to be perverted into subhuman forms, but you are equally free to be reborn in higher divine forms through your own decision." Academy will influence Castiglione (see 1528). In 1480's William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre (teacher of More, Erasmus and Colet) will come to study Greek at Florence.*

**\*\*1440\*\*** *Lorenzo Valla, Declamatio on the Donation of Constantine (Constantine granting Pope Sylvester I and successors, as inheritors of St. Peter, dominion over Western Roman empire and city of Rome) exposed as medieval 8<sup>th</sup> century forgery; Valla, a major Italian humanist (see Trinkaus, 1970), opposed by Mendicant Friars. However recent scholarship suggest the Donation was a hagiographical or foundation legend, a narrative composed by a lower cleric at St. John Lateran to exalt the importance of that church (see N. Huyghebaert, 1976, 1979) and discussions in The Papacy: An Encyclopedia and Dictionary of the Middle Ages.*

**\*\*1443\*\*** *Beginning of High Catholic Renaissance (to 1527@, sack of Rome by Charles V), when Pope Eugenius IV took up permanent residence, acc. to Charles Stinger, Renaissance in Rome.*

**\*\*1448\*\*** *Gutenberg sets up printing press in Mainz. First Bible printed 1450.*

**\*\*1453\*\*** Battle of Castillon, defeat of English and death of Talbot, last battle of Hundred Year's War.

*Fall of Constantinople to the Turkish Moslems; drives Greek scholars to Western Europe and so begins renewed revival of the classics.*

*Nicholas of Cusa, De Pace Fidei (inspired by previous): "first intellectual work in Christian history to call for the unity of world religion" (Biehler and Bond edn., 1990). Archangel: "All will know that there is only one religion in the variety of rites" (religio una in rituum*

*varietate*) (its meaning much disputed). *Dramatis Personae* include a Greek, An Arab, a Jew, an Englishman, etc. etc.; traditional use of dialogue form, as in Constable and Harington to come. "Some have admired its tolerance of all religions; others, like Etienne Gilson [in *Metamorphosis of City of God* 1992], believe that Christianity pays the whole price ... Others still look at Nicholas as trying to persuade his interlocutors of the claims of Christianity to absoluteness. Henri de Lubac [in *Mirandole*] considers the author ... a utopist and reckless dreamer, without a true program of action. ... von Balthazar [in *Fragment*] sees in the work 'a rash enterprise ... about which one wonders how it is that it was never placed on the index ... G. Castanelli believes that 'The *De pace fidei* had the merit to face, perhaps for the first time, the other religions with a positive outlook, even if it has had to share ... the inevitable limitation common to all pioneering work' ... P. Gaia ... thinks that the negative assessments ... are based on the pre-Vatican II common theological opinion (exemplified by J. Daniélou) ... Vatican II as well as studies in the theology of religion ... have made a new hermeneutics of orthodox faith possible ... His theological view was [for Dupuis], perhaps, at the least likely time, an unfinished attempt at proposing a universal convergence of religions in Christ, the omega-point" (Jacques Dupuis, *Toward a Christian Theology of Religious Pluralism* (Maryknoll NY: Orbis, 1997) 107-8.)

**\*\*1455\*\***

Gutenberg Bible. War of the Roses (1455-85).

**\*\*1461\*\***

Henry VI deposed, succeeded by **Edward IV**.

**\*\*1474\*\***

Ficino, *Platonic Theology*. c. 1478 Botticelli *Primavera*. 1486 Pico's lecture, *De Dignitate Hominis* delivered.

**\*\*1484\*\***

Richard III (crowned 1483) has Henry VI's body moved from Chertsey Abbey to Windsor where pilgrimages nevertheless continued. All that's left now is inscription of "Henry VI" on the floor of St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

Pope Innocent VIII's Bull, *Summa Desiderantes*, sets off witchcraft persecution.

**\*\*1485\*\***

**Henry VII becomes king (1485-1509).**

**\*\*1492\*\***

Columbus landing in Bahamas, gives credit "to the Holy Christian faith, and to the piety and religion of our Sovereigns." On his voyage, prayed daily the *Salve Regina*.

King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella order all Jews (some 800,000) to convert or leave the country. Expulsion of Jews from England and Southern Italy in 1290, from France in 1306 and 1394, from most of Germany in 1350, from Portugal in 1497.

**\*\*1493\*\***

Pope Alexander VI rescinds charge of heresy against Pico della Mirandola.

**\*\*1494\*\***

Henry VII asks papacy to begin canonization inquiry for Henry VI.

Walter Hilton, *Scala Perfectionis*.

**\*\*1495\*\***

Leonardo Da Vinci's "Last Supper" (-1497); "Mona Lisa" in 1503-06. Da Vinci: "The divine power, which lies in the power of the painter, transforms the mind of the painter into the likeness of the divine mind, for with a free hand he can produce different beings, animals plants, fruits, landscapes, open fields, abysses, terrifying and fearful places."

Poyning's Law, putting all Irish legislative initiative into hands of English Parliament, only repealed in 1782.

**\*\*1496\*\***

John Colet's lectures on St. Paul

**\*\*1497\*\***

Savonarola preaches his "Bonfires of the Vanities" sermon, against Florentine carnival; executed in 1498.

**\*\*1499\*\***

Michelangelo sculpts *Pietà*. 1508 frescoes in Sistine Chapel. 1537-41 Last Judgment.

Erasmus describing Prince Henry's court after meeting Linacre, Grocyn, Colet and More, "made it sound like Castiglione's Urbino in its sophistication, its charm, and its learning" (Headlam Wells 2005): "I have never found such a quantity of refinement and scholarship ... When I listened to Colet it seems to me I am listening to Plato himself. Who could fail to be astonished at the universal scope of Grocyn's accomplishments? Could anything be more clever or profound or

sophisticated than Linacre's mind? Did nature ever create anything kinder, sweeter, or more harmonious than the character of Thomas More ... It is marvelous to see what an extensive and rich crop of ancient learning is springing up here in England."

**\*\*1500\*\***

Windsor Miracula in behalf of Henry VI's canonization completed about now.

Erasmus, Adagia, a collection of proverbs with detailed comments about their use in classics and Bible.

**\*\*1501\*\***

"The Recuyt of the Ladie Katherine," grand pageant put on for marriage of Katherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and Arthur, King Henry VII's oldest son; with many levels dramatized, Katherine's triumphal reception in London, search by just ruler for honor, union of England and Spain symbolised by astrological conjunction of stars, and soul's translation from earth to heaven. Arthur, however, will die in 1502.

Thomas Arden, father of Robert (Mary's father), used as trustee by the pious Throckmorton of Coughton Court.

**\*\*1502\*\***

*University of Wittenberg founded, with "Hamlet" and "Faust" among its early students.*

**\*\*1503\*\***

Erasmus, Enchiridion Militis Christiani (1504?) attacking superstition, adoration of relics, pilgrimages (i.e. 'the egg that Erasmus laid but which Luther hatched'), stressed inward spirituality, "something to appeal to pious readers who had previously devoured literature of the Devotio Moderna" (MacCulloch); often reprinted, translated in "definitive expression" of Erasmus's Catholic humanism, calling in 1518 edn. for "a commission of pious and learned men to make a simple and accurate resumé of the essentials of the faith from the purest biblical texts and according to the best interpreters." Its English translation in 1533, with many reprints, was most popular of Erasmus's works. "Monachatus non est pietas" quoted in last pages.

Thomas à Kempis, Imitation of Christ trans. W. Atkinson, reflecting the "Devotio Moderna" of northern Europe. (Louis Bouyer said that lamentations over Christ's wounds etc. led to subjectivity emphasized by Protestantism, acc. to E. Duffy, Faith of Our Fathers 2004)

**\*\*1504\*\***

Papal permission given for translation of Henry VI's body to Westminster (never carried out), in view of coming canonization, as stories of Henry miracles multiply, making people forget his incompetence.

*Michelangelo completes sculpture, David.*

**\*\*1505\*\***

*Raphael paints famous series of "Madonnas" (-1507).*

**\*\*1506\*\***

Richard Rolle, Contemplations of the Dread and Love of God. *Da Vinci's Mona Lisa.*

*Pope Julius II blesses first stone of the new St. Peter's Basilica, planned "as a Pantheon placed over the hot springs of Caracalls" (Bramante), i.e the Church reborn on the foundations of Greek and Roman civilization; also placed the recently discovered Laocoon in the Vatican, whose figure becomes Michelangelo's model for Jonah in Sistine chapel and Christ's body in the Universal Judgment (Christ's face modeled after Belvedere Apollo).*

**\*\*1507\*\***

*Pope Julius II issues indulgence for reconstruction of St. Peter's.*

**\*\*1508\*\***

*Luther, priest, studies and teaches at University of Wittenberg which thus became the cradle of the Reformation.*

*Sistine Ceiling begun by Michelangelo (-1512).*

## Reign of Henry VIII

**\*\*1509\*\***

**Henry VIII** succeeds Henry VII; marries Catherine of Aragon.

"Britain was used only as a historical term, until about the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI, when it came again into practical politics in connexion with the efforts made to unite England and Scotland; in 1604 James I was proclaimed 'King of Great Britain'; and this name was adopted for the United Kingdom, at the Union in 1707" (OED).

Erasmus, Moriae Encomium ("Praise of Folly" 1511?). Prefatory note: "this work ... is pleasing to the whole community of scholars ... bishops ... and even to the great pontiff Leo, who has read it entirely from beginning to end." Folly, in its various forms of self-deception, makes one happy: "suppose a man could look from a high tower ... To how many calamities would he see the life of



man subject!" etc.; thus folly can distract one from despair. "Self-love," the great motive. Mocks people deceived by "forged pardons for sins," mathematical deductions from purgatory, charms and prayers, praying special saint for toothache etc.; BVM given more power than her son; priests support it for money: "Suppose that some odious wise man were to ... [say], which is true: 'You will not die badly if you live well. You get quit of sins if you add to the money payment a hatred of evil-doing, add tears, watchings, prayers, fastings; and if you alter the whole basis of your life'." "Plenty ... will burn a little candle to the Virgin mother ... but how few burn with zeal to imitate her in chastity of life, temperance, love of heavenly things!" "still another man leaves his wife and children at home and sets out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Rome, or the shrine of St. James, where he has no particular business." "theologians ... are protected by a wall of scholastic definitions," quick to cry "heretic!," they define "how long the perfect Christ was in the Virgin's womb, and how accidents subsist in the Eucharist without their subject." Apostles never said "that a picture drawn with charcoal on a wall ought to be worshipped with the same worship as Christ himself;" "the apostles preach grace, and yet they never determined what the difference is between grace freely given and grace that makes one deserving ... they inculcate charity, but do not distinguish charity which is infused from that which is acquired;" "there is no doubt that the apostles consecrated the Eucharist devoutly enough, but suppose you had questioned them about ... transubstantiation ... they would have not answered with the same accuracy [as] ... the pupils of Scotus;" "monks ... bray out in church those psalms they have learned, by rote rather than by heart;" "they get hold of everyone's secrets by means of what they call confession." Our popes and bishops are more concerned with ceremonies and titles, and think "To work miracles is primitive and old-fashioned, hardly suited to our times ... to pray is otiose ... to live in poverty is sordid ... to die on the cross a disgrace;" "impious pontiffs ... by their silence allow Christ to be forgotten ... enchain Him by mercenary rules, adulterate His teaching by forced interpretations, and crucify Him afresh by their scandalous life." [sudden transition:] Christianity is allied with "some sort of folly [i.e. true wisdom] ... Observe first of all how children, old people, women, and fools find pleasure... in holy and religious things, and to that end are ever nearest the altars ... [such fools] pour out their wealth, they overlook wrongs ... shun pleasure, glut themselves with hunger ... and reproaches" On these Christian 'fools': "With regard to the Eucharist, they attach little value to its physical reception unless what it symbolizes takes place in the soul ... The common crowd, on the contrary, looks to the Mass only in terms of being close to the altar ... and seeing the ceremonies. There are many other examples of this contrast wherein he who is spiritual abandons his association with the corporeal and is attracted to what is eternal, invisible, and spiritual." "All this life of mortal men, what is it else but a certain kind of stage play? Whereas men come forth disguised, one in one array, another in another, each playing his part till at last the maker of the play or book-bearer causeth them to avoid the scaffold and yet sometime maketh one man come in two or three times with sundry parts and apparail, as who before represented a king, being clothed all in purple, having no more but shifted himself a little should shew himself again like an wobegone miser."

*Raphael, The School of Athens (1509-11)@, gracing a papal study; portrays the philosophers under the vaults of St. Peter's Basilica (under construction), and moving toward the altar with its consecrated host.*

**\*\*1510\*\*** *Everyman* (-1530). Thomas More translates the life of Pico della Mirandola into English. Pico, Ficino, Castiglione, wd. reconcile Catholicism and neoplatonism, which took more atheistic turn with Bruno.

**\*\*1512\*\*** John Colet's "Great Sermon on the Extirpation of Heresy," demanding reformation of clerical corruption; "needs to be read as part of a well-worn genre of prophetic admonition" (Peter Marshall). In 1516, Colet will say: "The name of Erasmus will never perish." Fifth Lateran Council (-1517), supposed to be great reforming council, but failed.

**\*\*1513\*\*** *Pope Leo X (1513-21), a worldly Medici, begins reign. c. 1513 Machiavelli writes Il Principe.*

**\*\*1514\*\*** Erasmus poem, "Expostulatio Jesu," on a dejected Christ to whom no one prayed any longer, a poem later cited by Zwingli.

Erasmus letter, "It is the proper function of the Roman pontiff, of the cardinals, bishops, and abbots, to settle disputes between Christian princes;" "a new view of the traditional medieval view of the pope's role as mediator" (James Tracy, *The Politics of Erasmus*, 1978).

John Blacman, Collectarium Mansuetudinum et Bonorum Morum Regis Henrici VI (pub. 1514-23, written c. 1480) (James edn. says 1510 issued by R. Coplande), portrait of Henry VI's piety and miracles, sees his impracticality as private rectitude, his trances as spiritual rapture; Henry exemplifies deep Catholic lay piety, influenced by devotio moderna of Kempis, a Job in suffering, great library of devotional literature.

**\*\*1516\*\***

*Erasmus's Novum Instrumentum, his famous edition of the New Testament in original Greek with his Latin translation. Erasmus, Institutio Principis Christiani.*

More's Utopia influenced by Platonic dialogue model; great example of pre-Reformation Catholicity, tolerant, emphasizing learning and virtue, debating but keeping debate in house, all filtered through Utopian allegory. King Utopus decrees religious toleration; "For this is one of the ancients laws among them, that no man shall be blamed for reasoning in the maintenance of his own religion;" "Utopus had heard that before his arrival the inhabitants had been continually quarreling among themselves about religion ... he ... ordained that it should be lawful for every man to follow the religion of his choice, that each might strive to bring others over to his own, provided that he quietly and modestly supported his own by reasons nor bitterly demolished all others if his persuasions were not successful nor used any violence and refrained from abuse. If a person contends too vehemently in expressing his views, he is punished with exile or enslavement." "He was uncertain whether God did not desire a varied and manifold worship and therefore did not inspire different people with different views. But he was certain in thinking it both insolence and folly to demand by violence and threats that all should think to be true what you believe to be true. Moreover, even if it should be the case that one single religion is true and all the rest are false, he readily foresaw that, provided the matter was handled reasonably and moderately, truth by its own natural force would finally emerge sooner or later and stand forth conspicuously. But if the struggle were decided by arms and riots, since the worse men are always the most unyielding, the best and holiest religion would be overwhelmed because of the conflicting false religions, like grain choked by thorns and underbrush." Their "religious principles" are "that the soul of man is immortal and by divine beneficence has been ordained for happiness." "The greatest number of the Utopians ... think there is one unknown, eternal, infinite, and unknowable deity ... By degrees all the Utopians are coming to forsake their various superstitions and to agree upon this one religion that seems to excel the others in reason." They prosecute over-hot Christian convert for causing public disorder. "They laugh at auguries and other superstitious forms of divination that are common among other nations. But they revere miracles which cannot flow from the powers of nature, looking on them as the works and witnesses of God."

Some live to serve others: "These persons are of two kinds. The first are celibates ... The other kind ... do not scorn the solace of marriage ... The Utopians consider these the wise men but the other kind the holier ones." "No greater honor is paid to an magistrate among the Utopians than to the priests." "The temples are somewhat dark inside ... by the advice of the priest, who think that in a strong light the thoughts are scattered, but in rather dim light the thoughts are collected and devotion heightened;" "they burn incense and scatter perfumes and offer wax candle, not with the thought that it profits the Divine Nature in any way ... But they say that this is a harmless sort of worship, and that men are somehow elevated by odors, lights, and ritual, and take part in divine worship with a more fervent spirit;" "they hold that the careful observation of nature and the reflection on it and the reverence that arises from this is a kind of worship very pleasing to God." The Utopians do not believe that there is happiness in all pleasure, but only in good and honest pleasures. To such, they believe, our nature is drawn as to its highest good by virtue itself ... They define virtue as living according to nature ... nature herself prescribes a life of joy (that, if pleasure) as the goal of life;" "they are inclined to believe that no kind of pleasure is forbidden, if it has no bad effects;" "the chief aim of their institutions and government, above all else, is to give all citizens as much time as public needs permit for freeing and developing their minds. In this they suppose the felicity of man's life to consist." There is much time for this, since everyone works, by contrast with other countries, where women, rich men, etc. do not work; "Because they live in full view of all, they must do their accustomed labor and spend their leisure honorably."

All wear uniformly wool-colored clothes (like monks!). Learning encouraged with public lectures before daybreak. Gold used for chamber pots. "The Utopian wonder that there is any man who delights in the faint gleam of a little gem when he can look at some star or even the sun itself;"

“they believe that the dead are present among us.”

“In Europe ... treaty agreements are sacred and inviolable. This is partly owing to the justice and goodness of princes, and partly to the reverence they feel toward the popes, who themselves observe these agreements very religiously.

Raphael Hythloday describes new lands and “reckoned up not a few things from which patterns might be taken for correcting the errors of our own cities and kingdoms.” Hythloday is reluctant “to enslave myself to any king whatsoever;” “most princes apply themselves to warlike purposes ... rather than to the useful arts of peace.” Visited England after the 1497 “uprising of the Cornishmen against the King had been suppressed with great slaughter of the poor people.” Thieves caused by aftermath of war and privilege; enclosures hurt the peasants. All beggars should be sent to monasteries or nunneries. “A king who can only rule his people by taking from them the pleasures of life shows that he does not know to govern free men.” Notes that in other countries “there is the multitude of priests and so-called religious men, as numerous as they are idle.” “When I weigh in my mind all the others states which flourish today ... I can discover nothing but a conspiracy of the rich, who pursue their own aggrandizement under the name and title of the Commonwealth.” “I cannot agree with everything ... Yet I must confess that there are many things in the Utopian Commonwealth that I wish rather than expect to see followed among our citizens.” More better known by his contemporaries for his translations of Lucian than for Utopia.

**\*\*1517\*\*** *Luther posts his 95 theses at Wittenberg, on abuse of indulgences, applauded by exploited peasantry and local officials resenting drainage of funds to Rome. At first Luther sees his role as reforming the Church from within.*

**\*\*1518\*\*** Erasmus, Encomium matrimonii (Epistle in laude and prayse of matrimony): echoed Devotio Moderna’s insistence that married couples could experience as close and loving a relationship with God as any monk. Thus Erasmus, “let us leave celibacy for bishops ... the holiest kind of life is wedlock, purely and chastely observed.”

**\*\*1519\*\*** Henry VII’s Chapel completed at Westminster Abbey, prepared to celebrate sainthood of Henry VI; never conferred because of the split with Rome.

*Luther rejects primacy of Pope. Erasmus, Colloquies.*

**\*\*1520\*\*** *Luther, Babylonian Captivity of the Church denied priesthood as mediation between man and God, and rejected sacraments except as aids to faith; rejects 4 sacraments; because of sola fide, free will “is utterly smashed to pieces.”*

*Luther, The Freedom of a Christian Man emphasizes justification by faith alone (solifidianism); “the Roman church, once the holiest of all, has become the most licentious den of thieves ... the most shameless of all brothels, the kingdom of sin, death, and hell. It is so bad that even Antichrist himself, if he should come, could think of nothing to add to its wickedness;” urges paradox: “A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. // A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all.” Good works reflect but don’t bestow grace.*

*Luther, An Appeal to the Ruling Class of the German Nationality as to the Amelioration of the State of Christendom: defines priesthood of believers, urges leadership role of princes; urges German princes to take over Church reform, urged communion in both kinds for laity, and solifidianism; “when need requires it and the Pope is acting harmfully to Christian well-being, let anyone who is a true member of the Christian community as a whole take steps as early as possible to bring about a genuinely free council. No one is so able to do this as the secular authorities.” Part 3, “Twenty-Seven Proposals for Improving the State of Christendom”: national leaders should bestow benefices and ecclesiastical offices, local bishops should consecrate new bishops, no cases should be sent to Rome; “the pope should exercise no authority over the emperor except the right to crown and anoint him.” “The pope should let temporal rulers rule land and people, while he himself preaches and prays;” no more pilgrimages to Rome; “no more mendicant houses should be built ... Would to God they were all dissolved;” “masses on anniversaries, or at celebrations, or for the dead ought to be either entirely*

*abolished, or at least reduced in number;" "all festival days should be abolished, and Sunday alone retained;" "the question of fasting ought to be a matter of free choice;" "The extra-parochial chapels and churches ... should be pulled down. I mean those which have recently become the goal of pilgrimages;" "the numerous masses, which have been endowed in benefices and cloisters, are both of very little use, and greatly incur the wrath of God;" "the number of books on theology must be reduced ... Above all, the most important and most usual teaching, in both the universities and the lower schools, ought to be concerned with the Holy Scriptures."*  
*Luther marries Catherine Von Bora.*

**\*\*1521\*\***

*Luther excommunicated. Mass abolished in Wittenberg. Luther protected by Frederick of Saxony.*

*Machiavelli, "On the Art of War."*

*Diet of Worms held by Charles V, but Luther refuses to capitulate to the Pope. This most famous Diet widened gap between Catholics and Protestants.*

Luther: "Unless I am convicted of error by the testimony of Scripture or (since I put no trust in the unsupported authority of Pope or of councils, since it is plain that they have often erred ... [unless] by manifest reasoning I stand convicted by the Scriptures, to which I have appealed, and my conscience is taken captive by God's word, I cannot and will not recant anything, for to act against our conscience is neither safe for us, nor open to us. On this I take my stand. I can do no other. God help me. Amen"

Henry VIII publishes his "A Defense of the Seven Sacraments" against Luther and is given (1522) by the Pope the title "Defender of the Faith," resembling the title given Henry VI, "Defender of the Church."

**\*\*1522\*\***

*Luther's New Testament in German vernacular, relying on Erasmus's edition. Old Testament appears in 1534.*

*Andreas von Karlstadt, "On the Abolition of Images," to justify Protestant iconoclasm at Wittenberg; "first major Protestant treatise on ... religious imagery" (C. Eire).*

*Zwingli begins his Reformation movement.*

**\*\*1523\*\***

More moves to Chelsea: "You would see there in that place Plato's academy ... for there is none therein but reads or studies the liberal science: their special care is piety and virtue" (Erasmus).

More's Responsio ad Lutherum "retreated from his humanist criticism of church and society into a reactionary stance rooted in fear of the social and political anarchy which could result from over-zealous reformism" (Margo Todd).

*Luther, Secular Authority: To What Extent It Should be Obeyed but says: "every man is responsible for his own faith, and he must see to it for himself that he believes rightly."*

*Pope Adrian VI communiqué at Reichstag at Nuremberg in 1523, that corruptions of Rome caused Reformation: "We freely acknowledge that God has allowed this chastisement to come upon His Church because of the sins of men and especially because of the sins of priests and prelates ... we will take all pains to reform, in the first place, the court of Rome, from which perhaps all these evils take their origin." Pope Clement VII, worldly nephew of Medici Leo, begins reign (1523-34).*

Erasmus, Letter to Dorp: "What impious, what foul, what pernicious stuff did Poggio write? But he is everywhere accepted as a Christian author ... With what abuse, with what imprecations did Pontano attack the clergy? But he is read as charming and amusing."

Erasmus, Letter to Carondelet: "Once faith was more of a way of life than of a profession of articles. Soon necessity inspired the imposition of articles, but these were few and apostolic in their moderation. Then the wickedness of the heretics made for a more precise examination of the sacred books, and intransigence necessitated the definition of certain matters by the authority of synods. Finally faith began to reside in the written word rather than in the soul, and there were almost as many faiths as men. Articles increased, but sincerity decreased ... The teaching of Christ ... began to depend on the support of philosophy: this was the first step of the Church on the downward path ... At length the consequence of all this was sophistical controversy and the

eruption of thousands of articles. And then it became a matter of intimidation and threats ... we force men by intimidation to believe what they do not believe, ... Compulsion is incompatible with sincerity, and nothing is pleasing to Christ unless it is voluntary."

**\*\*1524\*\***

Erasmus's "Inquisition into the Faith," in Colloquia, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, conversational dialogue between Catholic and heretic, the last to suggest a common ground discoverable in dialogue; from now on, dialogue becomes radicalized and impossible to negotiate (J. Curbet, "Lutheranism and the Limits of Humanist Dialogue," Literature and Theology 2003).

**\*\*1525\*\***

*Peasant's War (1524-5) harshly ended. [Later Luther's disagreements with Zwingli, and with Calvin, over eucharist and predestination, led to division of Lutheran Church and Reformed Churches.]*

Tyndale's trans. of the New Testament (-1534, incl. Pentateuch, etc.), relying on Erasmus's edition; coined "peacemaker, passover, long-suffering, scapegoat, flowing with milk and honey, filthy lucre;" includes marginal notes which More would answer in his Dialogue (1529), answered by Tyndale's Answer, in turn answered by Erasmus, "On the Freedom of the Will": "so great is my dislike of assertions that I prefer the view of the skeptics wherever the inviolable authority of Scripture and the decision of the Church permits."

*Capuchins founded (1525-8); like Jesuits, major Catholic reforming force.*

**\*\*1526\*\***

Erasmus, Institutio christiani matrimonii, repeating ideas of 1517 Encomium matrimonii.

**\*\*1527\*\***

Last printing of Caxton's Golden Legend, compendium of saints lives that would influence later descriptions of Catholic martyrs. (Jacobus de Voragine's Legenda aurea appeared in more than 150 editions 1470-1500.)

John Heywood, The Play of the Weather (c. 1527-28), Jupiter as peacemaker among factions, includes "Merry Report," Lear-like fool, urges king to act as umpire allowing all 'weathers;' also see Heywood's Four PP (c. 1520-22), despite anti-clericalism, upholds true palmers and friars, a "plea for the conservative reform of the Catholic humanists" (Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics (1968); "The interludes ... contributed powerfully to the secularization of Tudor drama in the thirties and forties." See The Spider and the Fly (1556). (Interludes, short usually allegorical pieces mixed with farce, played in universities, Court, noble houses, Inns of Court, successor to the Moralities.)

*Brutal sack of Rome by Charles V's German troops, considered end of "Italian" Renaissance when so many fled.*

Erasmus in letter: "I wished for a little curtailment of ceremonies and a great increase in true piety, but now ceremonies are abandoned in such a way that instead of spiritual freedom we have uncontrolled carnal license." Erasmus tells friend that he was living through a long tragedy of religious division, and foresaw a bloody century ahead.

**\*\*1528\*\***

Henry VIII's ambassadors write from Italy to Wolsey: "We have moved the Pope's holiness as towching the Canonization of K. Henry VI, who answerith that he is very well content to make schort process therein; but the matters must be examined here ...".

Tyndale, Obedience of a Christian Man, arguing for royal absolutism: "the kyng is in the worlde without lawe and may at his lust doe right or wrong and shall geue accomptes but to God onely;" celebrates King John as quasi-Protestant royal martyr, an idea later picked up by Bale in King Johan (see 1536).

William Harrington, Commendacions of Matrymony, early English humanist defence of marriage, followed by trans. of Erasmus, Encomium matrimonii (Epistle in laude and prayse of matrimony) in 1532.

Castiglione, Il Cortegiano (itself based on Ficino's 1469 Convivium, a commentary on Plato's Symposium), later translated by Sir Thomas Hoby (see 1561): "The lover ... who considereth only the beauty in the body, loseth this treasure and happiness as soon as the woman beloved with her departure leaveth the eyes without their brightness ... To avoid, therefore the torment of this absence, and to enjoy beauty without passion, the courtier by the help of reason must fully and wholly call back again the coveting of the body to beauty alone ... and frame it within his imagination sund'red from all matter, and so make it friendly and loving to his soul ... And thus shall he behold no more the particular beauty of one woman, but an universal that decketh out all bodies."

Johns Fisher's "Sermon ... concernynge certaine heretickes" (Fisher, chancellor of Cambridge, had been spiritual adviser to Lady Margaret Beaufort, Henry VII's wife.)

**\*\*1529\*\***

Thomas More, The Supplication of Souls, defending Purgatory against Simon Fish's 1529 A Supplication for the Beggars, denouncing ruinous alms etc.; Fish's book shown to Henry VIII by Anne Boleyn (acc. to Foxe) (see 1533). More helped by John Rastell's New Book of Purgatory (1530), which was answered by Fish in Disputation of Purgatory (1531).

Thomas More, new chancellor, opens "Reformation Parliament" (1529-1536) to deal with clerical abuses; Wolsey deposed; rise of Thomas Cromwell; Henry meets Cranmer.

Cranmer, Preface to A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine, ed. C. Wright, 1907, p. xxiv: "What availeth it to take away beads, pardons, pilgrimages and such other popery, so long as the two chief roots remain unpulled up ... The rest is but branch and leaves ... but the very body of the tree or rather the roots of the weeds, is the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's Flesh and Blood in the sacrament of the altar (as they call it) and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead." See Malcolm Ross, Poetry and Dogma (1954): "We are thus reminded that image-smashing, the conversion of the altar into communion table, even the desecration of church windows, originates not with Puritan partisans but with Anglican churchmen of Cranmer's cast of mind."

Diet of Speyer (Spires), reformers came to be known as "**Protestant**"\* (first usage, 1539, OED) because of their formal Protestatio to Charles V's attempt to limit spread of Lutheranism and re-affirm Diet of Worm's edict against Reformers; and so used in this sense in English for next 20 years. Then came to signify Christians repudiating the Pope (early usage, 1551, Becon: "Into how many sects is Christendome yet devided? Are not some called papists, some protestants, some Anabaptists, some sacramentaries?"); then more specifically Church of England versus Presbyterians, Quakers, and Separatists (early usage 1583 [Fulke: "We speake indifferently against Protestants, Caluinists, Bezites, and Puritans, without any curious distinction of them"], 1605, 1642). Then, "Since the Catholic Revival in the Church of England in the 19th cent., the name has been disfavoured or disowned by Anglicans who lay stress on the claim of the Church of England to be equally Catholic with the Church of Rome. [But!] It is now generally opposed to Roman Catholic, or (after common Continental and R.C. use) to Catholic." Then applied to non-conformists outside Church of England (early usage, 1862) (OED).

**\*\*1530\*\***

9,118 male religious in England.

*Augsburg confession, Lutheran creed, presented at diet of Augsburg, written by Melancthon and approved by Luther, attempt to to reconcile with moderate Catholics who might join them in reform, concluded: "Only those things have been recounted which it seemed necessary to say in order that it may be understood that nothing has been received among us, in doctrine or in ceremonies, that is contrary to Scripture or to the church catholic. For it is manifest that we have guarded diligently against the introduction into our churches of any new and ungodly doctrines."*

Threatened with praemunire (offense of procuring legal processes from pope against crown), clergy give Henry 100,000 pounds.

Tyndale, The Examinacion of the Honorable Knight Syr John Oldcastell Lorde Cobham (1530?), attacked by More in 1532.

Michelangelo's "David" (c. 1530).

**\*\*1531\*\***

Cornelius Agrippa, De Occulta Philosophia. Zwingli, Swiss reformer, killed in battle; had argued for unity of church and state (vs. Luther).

Erasmus letter: "all these turmoils in the Church will eventually turn out, as in a drama, with a happy ending, thanks to the skill of the Supreme Director whose inscutable designs controls the affairs of men." "And yet this raging continues to grow more and more violent and threatens the complete disruption of society unless some god--a deus ex machina--suddenly appears on the scene and gives this stormy tragedy an unexpected ending."

Luther, Commentary on Galations: "they are works notwithstanding, and they which do them are and remain, not Christians, but hirelings, whether they be called Jews, Mahometists, Papists, &c."

**\*\*1532\*\***

Sir Thomas Elyot, Boke named the Governour, Bk 1: "A public weal is a body living, compact or made of sundry estates and degrees of men, which is disposed by the order of equity and governed by the rule and moderation of reason ... Moreover, take away order from all things, what should then remain? Certes nothing finally, except some man would imagine eftsoons Chaos, which of some is expound a confuse mixture. Also where there is any lack of order needs must be perpetual conflict ... Hath nat He [God] set degrees and estates in all His glorious works ... Behold also the order that God hath put generally in all his creatures, beginning at the most inferior or base, and ascending upward ... Another public weal was among the Athenians, where equality was of estate among the people, and only by their whole consent their city and dominions were governed; which mought well be called a monster with many heads ... This manner of governance was called in Greek Democratia ... Wherefore undoubtedly the best and most sure governance is by one king or prince."@ "Achilles, renouncing the obedience that he with all other princes had before promised, at the battle first enterprised against the Trojans. For at that time no little murmur and sedition was moved in the host of the Greeks, which notwithstanding was wonderfully pacified, and the army unscattered by the majesty of Agamemnon."@ "Now let us return to the order of learning apt for a gentleman ... Greek and Latin authors ... Aesop's fables ... Lucian ... Homer ... Virgil ... Ovid;" (a source of Shakespeare's idea of order); influenced by Erasmus, argues that gentlemen can be learned; Elyot was fearful of Protestantism but believed support of Henry was necessary for order; admired Catherine and More). (In 1538 Elyot will dedicate his Latin-English Dictionary to Henry VIII as the "supreme head of the Church under Christ.")

More, Confutacion of Tyndales Answere (1532-33) (see 1525): will urge Erasmus to 'explain' his earlier views. More: it was once possible for Erasmus to "jest upon the abuses" of saints, images, holy relics, etc."after the manner of the dusours [jester's] part in a play ... yet hath Tyndale by erroneous books in setting forth Luther's pestilent heresies, so envenomed the hearts of lewdly disposed persons that men can not almost now speak of such things in so much as a play, but that such hearers were a great deal the worse." More: "he changeth the name grace into this word favour ... Confession he translateth into knowledge, Penance into repentance. A Contrite heart he changeth into a troubled heart."

Chaucer, Works, ed. William Thynne.

Erasmus, regretting Netherland Catholic Church's execution of two Lutheran heretics, commented that they had died "not for the articles of faith but for Luther's paradoxes; for which I should not be willing to die myself, because I do not understand them."

Henry divorces Catherine of Aragon. "Submission of the Clergy": act subjects clerical canons to government approval. Thomas More resigns.

*Macchiavelli, Il Principe.*

*Rabelais, Gargantua and Pantagruel (-1567). Gargantua builds Abbaye de Thélème for cheerful Friar John and a new order, excluding monks and nuns, and including only lay people of both sexes, but well ordered, to pursue Renaissance learning and entertainment, and Gospel in Erasmus's spirit. Rabelais much influenced by Erasmus and like him avoided Reform movement.*

**\*\*1533\*\***

Henry, divorced from Catherine, marries Anne Boleyn, "spleeny Lutheran" (Henry VIII), who will be executed in 1536. Cranmer becomes Archbishop of Canterbury. Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome (in cases of marriage); see 1353; reaffirmed royal prerogatives, and embodied principle of divine right of kings. Preambles to this Act and Ecclesiastical Appointments Act of 1534 argued that England had always been an independent empire, and its church indigenous, resisting the "foreign" papacy: these became basis of the myth of anti-Roman Englishness begun by the Reformation (see E. Jones, 1998); T. Cromwell's language would be relied on by Bale and Foxe; also eventual basis of England as elect nation.

Sir Thomas Elyot, The Knowledge that maketh a Wise Man, satirizing Gnato as Protestant and hypocrite, one who "will be in the bowells of divinitie before they know what belongeth to good humanitie;" Plato probably represents More. Elyot "was one of the few to criticize Henry VIII in the 1530s and remain alive in the 1540s" (Rude, ed., Boke, citing Lehmborg). In his 1540 Defence of good Women, his admired Queen Zenobia may be Catherine.

Erasmus, De sarcienda ecclesiase concordia, "On Mending the Peace of the Church": "in this [83<sup>rd</sup>] psalm the Holy Spirit ... urges to our attention this beautiful and holy unity within the Church. This

message ... is ... especially ... of importance, in this vicious age of sects.” “Concerning The Freedom of the Will, this is a thorny question rather than something that can be profitably debated. If it must be ironed out, however, let us leave it to competent theologians. Meanwhile we can at least agree that, of his own power, man does nothing and is wholly dependent on the grace of God.” “If you feel that the images of the saints are devoid of any sense and are not to be honored, keep your thoughts to yourself. But do not disturb those who without superstition lovingly cherish images, as for example a newlywed kisses the ring or the bracelet her absent husband has left behind or sent to her. This affection is certainly pleasing to God when it is done, not out of superstition, but rather proceeds from an abundance of love. We might say the same of those who from the same motive kiss the bones and other relics of saints ... St. Paul would allow each person to follow his own opinion in this matter;” concerning a theologian condemned as a “Lutheran,” a man in conversation who did not lift his hat to a crucifix: “Obviously he was mistaken, and I think the same applies to those who loudly attack the importance of images. I think we can say without vexing anyone that the saints are best venerated by imitating their lives.” “Those problems relating to the quality of the Mass ... ought to be laid aside until a general council ... The expressions, 'sacrifice' and 'immolation,' were accepted by the ancient Fathers.” “Only recently someone has conceived of the impious idea that there can be a sacrament without an external sign, an idea that would eliminate the sacraments altogether and make them a mere state of mind.” “How happy would we be if we could lay aside dissensions and dwell with one head and one mind in the House of the Lord.”

More's Apology. More, in letter, warmly recommends Erasmus's reformism as orthodox. *Copernicus, Catholic cleric and probably a priest, in Austria, gives synopsis of his heliocentric theory. Attacked by Protestant theologians, and much later by Catholics because of the Galileo case. De revolutionibus@ orbium coelestium (On the Revolutions of the Celestial Spheres), pub. 1543.*

RICHARD SHAKESPEARE (FATHER OF JOHN), PERHAPS FROM INTENSELY CATHOLIC ROWINGTON WITH LARGEST CONCENTRATION OF SHAKESPEARES, REFERRED TO AS “SHAKSTAFF” IN SNITTERFIELD.

**\*\*1534\*\***

Act of Supremacy: Parliament declares that “the King our Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia,” “insofar as the law of Christ allows.” “It is probable that he did not clearly know how much he was doing then; and it is very tenable that we do not know it now” (Chesterton, Short History of England).

Act requires oath to the lawfulness of Henry's second marriage.

Act of Succession establishes Henry's successors, not subject to papal interference.

Thomas More sent to Tower. At trial he said: “Howbeit (as help me God), as touching the whole oath, I never withdrew any man from it, nor never advised any to refuse it, nor never put, nor will, any scruple in any man's head, but leave every man to his own conscience.”

Clerics required to *renounce the authority of the Pope* and defend the Supremacy.

Polydore Vergil's History, commissioned by Henry VIII offers most sophisticated view of English history as ordained process of sin (the deposition and murder of RII, the last legitimate Plantagenet), expiation (the interminable warfare of 15th century culminating in RIII), and redemption (accession of Tudors and unification of Yorks and Lancasters): a pattern reflected later in Hall and Holinshed. Polydore emphasizes sanctity of Henry VI (“God shewed many miracles in his life-time”) and, to some degree, Henry VII, as hopeful models for Henry VIII.

*Ignatius and six companions take vows.*

*Paul III becomes pope (1534-49), makes Contarini cardinal, thus signaling reform.*

*Affair of the Placards, Protestant broadsheets denouncing the Mass, in Paris; turned Francis from policy of toleration. Chief spark was Antoine Marcourt's True Articles on the Horrible, Enormous, and Unbearable Abuse of the Papal Mass.*

**\*\*1535\*\***

Thomas More executed: “I hope, my Lords, in the divine goodness and mercy, that as St. Paul, and



St. Stephen whom he persecuted, are now friends in Paradise, so we, though differing in this world, shall be united in perfect charity in the other. And I pray God to protect the King, and give him good counsel." More is immediately compared to Becket in the biographies soon to appear.

John Fisher executed. Thomas Cromwell replaces him as chancellor at Cambridge, combines new learning with Protestant emphasis.

Henry now "supreme head on earth." Treason Act begins series of executions of Catholics, causing horror in Catholic Europe. Many monks executed. 6 Carthusians put to death for refusal to take Oath of Supremacy.

From the pulpits was read: "Ye shall understand that the unlawful jurisdiction, power and authority of long time usurped by the bishop of Rome in this realm, who was then called pope, is now by God's law justly, lawfully, and upon good ground, reason and causes ... extinct and ceased for ever, and of no strength, value or effect in this realm of England."

Coverdale, first complete English Bible, coined "tender mercies, lovingkindness, respect of persons, the valley of the shadow of death."

Thomas Sharkey, Exhortation to the People Instructing them to Unity and Obedience, early argument for via media, between those who "stiffly stick in old ceremonies and rite" and those who arrogantly and indiscriminately deny all customs.

Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion. Method: "true knowledge of the Creator ... is self-taught ... from the womb;" "the Second Book treats of the knowledge of God;" "Man ... finds his entire salvation out of himself." Bk 1, first sentence, "Our wisdom ... consists almost entirely of two parts: the knowledge of God and of ourselves;" "the miserable ruin [of the fall] ... compels us to turn our eyes upwards." Bk 2, chap. 5, title, "The Arguments Usually Alleged in Support of Free Will Refuted." Bk 3, title, "The Mode of Obtaining the Grace of Christ" [= i.e. the mode of His giving it to us, whether we want it or not]. 3.2: "Faith consists not in ignorance [i.e. "submitting your convictions implicitly to the Church"], but in knowledge--knowledge not of God merely, but of the divine will." [i.e. God (we) (Calvin) know God]. 3.3 "repentance is a special gift of God." 3.11: "Christ ... by some wondrous way ... transfuses its [righteousness] power into us." Concluding Aphorisms: 1. "The true wisdom of man consists in the knowledge of God." 46. Faith, therefore, is a steady and certain knowledge of the divine kindness toward us." Calvin argued elsewhere that miracles ceased after New Testament times (see All's Well 2.3; Henry V 2.3), demanded that Christians "conform to the pure doctrine of God ... if we add any of our fantasies or borrow anything from men, everything will be perverted and corrupted;" argued for certitude of grace, and absolute predestination (double predestination--heaven, hell); regarded sacraments only as signs of interior change, of grace already infallibly received.

Beza attacked the "Nicodemism" of attending papal rites "provided one's heart did not consent."

Ursulines founded, major women's religious order, for education of girls and care of needy.

Ignatius's Spiritual Exercises completed (earliest autograph, 1541): urged a profound interiorization, emphasizing imagination and subjectivity, anti-hierarchical, thus spread widely (see Anthony Raspa, The Emotive Image: Jesuit Poetics in the English Renaissance, 1983). Includes "Rules for Thinking with the Church": "obey promptly and in all things ... our Holy Mother, the hierarchical Church ... praise sacramental confession ... praise frequent hearing of Mass ... recitation of long prayers ... the whole Divine Office ... praise highly religious life, virginity, and continence; and matrimony, but not as highly as any of the foregoing ... praise the vows of religious, obedience, poverty chastity ... praise the relics of the saints by venerating them and by praying to these saints ... praise the stations, pilgrimages, indulgences, jubilees, Crusades, indulgence, and the lighting of candles in the churches ... praise the precepts concerning fasts and abstinences ... praise acts of penance ... praise the adornments and buildings of churches as well as sacred images, and ... venerate them

*according to what they represent ... Although it is true that no one can be saved unless it be predestined and unless he have faith and grace, still we must be very careful of our manner of discussing and speaking of these matters ... We should not make predestination an habitual subject of conversation. If it is sometimes mentioned we must speak in such a way that no person will fall into error, as happens on occasion when one will say, 'it has already been determined ...' As a result, they become apathetic and neglect works that are conducive to their salvation and to the spiritual growth of their souls ... We may therefore speak of faith and grace to the extent that God enables us to do so, for the greater praise of His Divine Majesty. But in these dangerous times of ours, it must not be done in such a way that good works or free will suffer any detriment or be considered worthless."*

**\*\*1536\*\***

Henry VIII, worried about popular resistance to destruction of traditional religious practices, writes letter against contentious preaching: let not clergy "indict or speak of any of the said days and feasts abolished, whereby the people might take occasion either to murmur, or to condemn the order taken therein ... but to pass over the same with such secrete silence, as they may have the like abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our authority in convocation." Ann Boleyn executed, Henry marries Jane Seymour who gives birth to Edward VI in 1537 and dies 12 days later (had reconciled Henry to his daughter, Mary).

Erasmus deplored the "unfortunate split between two spirits that, according to him, were meant to complement each other, to interpenetrate, and ultimately to be fused in the vital unity of a philosophy of Christ with unlimited possibility for development and change--the spirit of free and critical inquiry stemming from the Renaissance and the spirit of respectful, trusting adherence to dogma that formed the traditional strength and unity of the Church" (L. Febvre, Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century, 1942).

#### *Dissolution of small monasteries.*

Ten Articles, first official formulary of Church of England, approved veneration of images (as representers of virtue) and cult of saints (but denied saints' patronage for specific needs) and intercession for the dead (though Purgatory is considered undefinable). Customs, rites, exorcisms, are given only didactic and symbolic significance. Only three sacraments (Eucharist, Penance, Baptism) called essential.

*Act of Union incorporates Wales and imposes English law and language (but Welsh gravitated toward Dissent); Edward I had conquered Wales in 1284 (established Prince of Wales); grandson of Owen Tudor ascended English throne as Henry VII in 1495; patron St. David (d. 588?).*

The Pilgrimage of Grace: the largest rebellion in English history, caused by government's religious policy and suppression of monasteries: In response to the Ten Articles, the Catholics of the North responded, in the rendition of Edward Hall: "See, friends now is taken from us four of the seven sacraments, and shortly we shall lose the other three also, and thus the faith of Holy Church shall be utterly suppressed and abolished." In fact a series of uprisings in the north, the Lincolnshire Rising, the Pilgrimage of Grace, and new revolts in East Riding and north-west. Ended with truce and promised pardon March 1537, but promises broken and many executed. The name, "pilgrimage of grace," was challenge to the royal hostility to pilgrimages and saints.

Coverdale's English Bible.

English Poor Law passed, influenced by Vives's tract and the Ypres scheme (see Todd, Christian Humanism).

John Bale's Kynge Johan (c. 1536), established use of history play for (Protestant) ideological purpose, combined old Morality play with new historical form; predecessor of The Troublesome Raigne (see 1588) and Shakespeare's King John. Tyndale burnt.

Erasmus dies, without priest or confessor. In 1536, turned down reported offer of cardinal's hat from admirer, Pope Paul III.

Act *abrogates certain holydays*, wiped out a multitude of local festivals: "a potentially explosive measure, which caused very widespread discontent ... At a stroke, the act abolished or demoted most of the major regional festivals, many of which were the most important social events as well

as religious celebrations of the year” (Duffy) Cranmer referred to “the phantasy of ceremonies, pilgrimage, purgatory, saints, images, works and such like, as hath these three or four hundred years been corruptly taught.” (qu. Duffy, 2001)

Reginald Pole, *Pro Ecclesiasticae Unitatis*.

**\*\*1537\*\***

Cranmer's “Institution of a Christian Man” (in *Bishop's Book*) allows use of images, but only as concession to dullness of men's wits. All remaining monasteries dissolved by 1538, for a total of 800 monasteries in four years, 9000 religious men and women removed from their cloisters. More uprisings.

Revised enumeration of the Ten Commandments gave second place to the prohibition of graven images, separating it out from the first commandment, to worship God alone.

*Calvin's Theocracy begins at Geneva.*

*Consilium de emendanda ecclesia* by a “select commission” including Contarini, Carafa (one of founders of Theatines), Gilberti, Pole, represented the “Italian Reformation”, the “child of the Renaissance,” that preceded the Counter-Reformation (Collinson, *Reformation*, 2004). This ur-‘Catholic’ reformation inspired Ficino, Mirandola, Colet, Neri, Contarini, and new religious orders, also influenced by Savonarola.

**\*\*1538\*\***

Henry VIII eliminates the Friday fast. Royal Proclamation declaring that Thomas Becket should no longer be esteemed as a saint, ordering the erasure of his name from all liturgical books, and that his images be “put down and avoided out of all churches, chapels and other places.” Becket's Canterbury shrine is destroyed; Becket proclaimed retrospectively a traitor by the Privy Council; his saint's name ordered removed from the calendar. Becket's bones unearthed, burnt, ashes mingled with earth, and shot out of a cannon, to shock of Europe (according to one account; some say bones merely mingled with others). Pole condemned the “sacrilege,” “barbarity,” and “ungodliness” of plundering the shrine. (Eventually, the Chapel of Thomas à Becket at Holy Trinity, Stratford, will be stripped.)

**Henry VIII excommunicated.**

Cromwell's *Injunctions* eliminated pilgrimages and cult of the saints; instructed clergy to exhort people to works of charity, mercy and faith as prescribed in Scripture, “and not to repose their trust and affiance in any other works devised by men's phantasies, besides Scripture; as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to images or relics, or kissing or licking the same, saying over a number of beads, list\* ood or minded on, or in such-like superstition” (qu. Duffy, 2001).

English Bible ordered placed in every church.

Image of Our Lady of Walsingham and other images of our Lady also from Ipswich sent by cart to Chelsea and there publicly burned; occasions later ballad, sometimes attributed to Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, or to Southwell:

...  
Bitter, bitter, Oh, to behold  
The grasse to growe  
Where the walles of Walsingham  
So starly did shewe ...

Levell, levell with the ground  
The towres doe lye,  
Which with their golden glitteringe tops  
Pearsed once to the skye.

Where weare gates no gates ar now;  
The waies unknown  
Where the press of peares did passe,  
While her fame far was blowen.

Oules do srike wher the sweetest himnes  
 Lately weer songe;  
 Toades and serpents hold their dennes  
 Wher the palmers did thronge.

Weepe, weepe, O Walsingham,  
 Whose dayes are nightes;  
 Blessings turned to blasphemies,  
 Holy deedes to dispites.

Sinne is where our Ladie sate,  
 Heaven turned is to hell;  
 Sathan sittes wher our Lord did swaye;  
 Walsingham, Oh, farewell.

Henry's proclamation backtracks, saying only that clergy need to instruct laity in "true meaning of ... rites," versus "superstitious abuses," reflecting Henry's conservative religious trend in his last years. Haigh says that in November "Henry VIII stopped the Reformation dead" (English Reformations 152).

**\*\*1539\*\***

Henry VIII, nervous, warns against erroneous private reading of the Bible, and makes a point of receiving communion. Six Articles halted further reform (defended celibacy, private masses, confession, transubstantiation, etc.), called the "Whip with Six Stings;" makes heresy a Common Law felony.

The "Great Bible," as revised by Coverdale; from now on English Bibles are compilations of various translations. Mary Tudor will implicitly recognize the Geneva Bible.

*Greater abbeyes suppressed.*

After dissolution of houses of Minoresses, Elizabeth Throckmorton assembles her Clarist community at Coughton Court (lasted until her death in 1547).

**\*\*1540\*\***

*Pope Paul III approves Jesuit constitution.*

Cromwell executed. Henry marries Catherine Howard, niece of Duke of Norfolk, supported by Stephen Gardiner as part of pro-reconciliation policy; her execution for adultery in 1542 may be a cover for the victory of the Cranmer faction. For this minority view (vs. Protestant orthodox view that she was promiscuous), see Lingard (1819) ("it is difficult to resist the suspicion of a political intrigue, having for its object to effect the downfall [sic] of the dominant party"), Ainsworth (1871), Ford Madox Ford, The Fifth Queen (1906), Hughes (1950) (cites "theory that the exposure of Catherine was engineered by Crammer's allies with the hope of finally discrediting the whole anti-Protestant section of the council"), and the Columbia Encyclopedia (1950) ("Her execution was dictated more by political than by moral reasons; Henry was anxious to rid himself of the dangerous power of the Howard family").

**\*\*1541\*\***

Henry turns to Cranmer to enforce the reformation. Bishops instructed to *remove shrines*, and other objects of pilgrimage.

*Irish Parliament summoned to make Henry "King of Ireland" and "Head of the Church in Ireland," which six Gaelic chiefs approve, but all power remained with English Parliament, and Ireland sank into poverty. (But most of Ireland and many of the "old English" in Ireland remained Catholic; but many Old English liked Henry's ambition, to control all of Ireland, (as a result of which many Protestant "New English" came to Ireland to manage things) which cemented their position, and many Old English officials became Protestant). But Anglo-Irish Protestants tended to resist forceful measures of English Protestants, and preferred Erasmian persuasive approach (N. Canny, Jrnl Eccl. Hist. Oct 1979), thus helping Catholicism to survive.*

*Regensburg (Ratisbon) Colloquy, with Contarini as chief papal delegate, attempt to achieve Protestant-Catholic reconciliation, where Martin Bucer said that transubstantiation and intercession of saints could be tolerated; emphasized scriptural and patristic language, not to be identified with either papist or protestant; Reginald Pole welcomed the Ratisbon articles but they were rejected by Pope. "We now know that it was to prove impossible for*

*Christendom as a whole to recover anything like a common discourse. Yet this was altogether unclear at the time to the participants in the drama, to the apocalyptic Luther ... or the Catholic evangelical, Contarini" (see Peter Matheson, The Rhetoric of the Reformation 1998). Last chance to achieve Lutheran-Catholic reconciliation. The Regensburg Council agreed on justification, as Calvin wrote colleague: "You will marvel when you read the copy ... that our adversaries have conceded so much."*

Luther, "Wider Hans Worst": "The papists assert that they have remained in the old church as it existed since apostolic times ... it is we who have stayed with the true ancient church ... and ... you, the papists, have broken with the ancient church and established a new church ... "

**\*\*1542\*\***

*Roman Inquisition established.*

Hall's Chronicle, first version (see 1548).

**\*\*1543\*\***

The King's Book ("The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of any Christian Man"), conservative reworking of Bishop's Book, redefined a proper understanding of the various rites and customs; but denounced the *abuses of Purgatory* and *misuse of prayers for the dead*; contained none of traditional prayers to Virgin or saints to Blessed Sacrament.

Cranmer *attacked auricular confession*, and tried to remove images wherever possible.

Act "for the Advancement of True Religion" restricts Bible reading and condemns unauthorized translations.

New Succession Act of 1543 confirms Mary Tudor as legitimate heir.

Thomas More's History of Richard III published.

**\*\*1544\*\***

John Bale's Chronicle concerning Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, proclaiming him a Lollard saint.

**\*\*1545\*\***

Henry's last address to Parliament: "I hear ... and alas the while, that the special foundation of our religion, being charity between man and man is so refrigerate ... as there was never more dissension."

*Council of Trent begins, first session to 1547 (see 1551, 1562).@ .*

*Chantries confiscated.*

**\*\*1546\*\***

*Luther dies.*

*Schmalkaldic Wars (1546–47), Charles V defeated Protestant German princes, moved Lutherans toward resistance theory.*

## Reign of Edward VI

**\*\*1547\*\***

Henry VIII dies. Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset Regency (later replaced by more radical Duke of Warwick) for **Edward VI**. Fabric of medieval religion, despite prunings, was intact: rosary, Eucharist, blessings, Holy Week ceremonies, Lent, masses still sung, requiems and dirges put in wills.

Cranmer at Edward's coronation proclaimed that kings "be God's Anointed, not in respect of the oil which the bishop useth, but in consideration of their power which is ordained ... and of their persons, which are elected of God and indued with the gifts of his Spirit for the better ruling and guiding of this people. The oil, if added, is but a ceremony;" succession alone conferred kingship. (Thus Persons, Conference, 1594, wd. argue for alliance of Papal sovereignty and popular will, over hereditary succession.)

1547 cont.

Cranmer's Injunction *condemned relics*, pilgrimages, *rosary*, ordered *destruction of images even in windows*, abolished *processions* traditional before Mass, abolished *wills* that invoke pardons etc. for Purgatory. Thirty commissioners appointed to travel and enforce the Injunctions; inventories were commanded to be made of the removables of churches.

Gardiner letter to Cranmer: "If the wall of authority which I accounted established ... be once broken and new water let in at a little gap, the vehemency of novelty will flow farther than your Grace will admit." Gardiner objected to the Homilies.

Cranmer et al, Book of Homilies, first volume of 12 sermons (see 1563, 1571), became official program of the Reformation; "For Elizabeth ... a minister who did not deviate from the text of the

homilies was a minister who could not lapse into theological error” (Bond, ed. *Homilies*); Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury in 1690 “chafed under the stringent solidification of the original book.” *Homily 1*: “A Fruitefull Exhortacion to the Readyng of Holye Scripture”: “if we lacke a learned man to instruct and teache us, yet God hymself from above will geve light unto our myndes.” *Homily 2*: “Of the Misery of All Mankynde” (by John Harpesfield, chaplain to Bonner): “Let us not. therfore, be ashamed to confesse plainly our state of imperfeccion ... even in all our awne best workes;” “If wee thus humbly submit our selves in the sight of God, wee maie bee sure ... he will lifte us upon unto the kyngdome.” *Homily 3* (by Cranmer): “Of the Salvacion of All Mankynde”: “yet that faithe dooth not exclude repentaunce, hope, love, dread and the Favor of God to be joyned with faithe ... but it excludeth them from the office of justifying ... Nor that faithe also doeth not exclude the justice of oure good workes necessarily to bee doen afterward;” “we must renounce the merite of all our saied vertues of faith, hope charities, and all other vertues and good dedes.” i.e. Good works don't justify, but feel nervous if you're not doing them. *Homily 4* (by Cranmer). *Homily 5* (by Cranmer): “Of Good Woorkes”: “Let us reherse some other kyndes of papisticall superstitions and abuses, as of beades, of Lady Psalters and rosaries, of .xv. Oos,\* of Saint Bernardes Verses, of Saint Agathes letters, of purgatory, of masses satisfactory, of stacions and jubilies, of feyned reliques, of halowed beades, belles, breade, of fraternities, of pardons ... ” (\*i.e. prayers to the Blessed Virgin beginning “O,” 15 of which were said by St. Bridget and made into indulgences; St. Bernard said whole psalter in order to meet devil's claim that one psalm verse, unspecified, would save). *Homily 6*, “Of Christian Love and Charitie” (by Edward Bonner, would participate in Marian persecution of protestants, write homilies for Mary): “he that foloweth not hys awne appetite and wil, but geveth hymself earnestly to God to do his wil and commaundementes, he may be sure that he loveth God above all things.” *Homily 9*, “An Exhortacion against the Feare of Deathe”: “now let us repent in tyme, and hereafter study to correct our life, and doubt not that we shall finde hym as mercifull unto us as ... to the thefe;” “whatsoever dolorous paynes we suffre ... be nothyng els in Christen men but the rodde of our heavenly and lovyng Father, wherewith he mercifully correcteth us, either to trie and declare the faythe of hys pacient children ... or els to chastise and amende in them whatsoever offendeth hys fatherly and gracious goodnesse, lest they shoulde peryshe everlastingly.” *Homily 10*, “An Exhortacion concernyng Good Ordre and Obedience to Rulers and Magistrates”: “Some in high degre, some in lowe ... For where there is no right ordre, there reigneth all abuse, carnall libertie, enormitie, syn and babilonicall confusion.” “The high power and auctorities of kynges ... are the ordinaunces not of man, but of God.” Thus Christ to Pilate: “Thou couldest have no power ... except it were geven from above.” [!] *Homily 11*, “Against Whoredom and Adultery”: “vice is grown into such an height, that in a manner among many it is counted no sin at all, but rather a pastime, a dalliance, and but a touch of youth.” *Homily 12*, “An Homelie agaynst Contencion and Braulyng” (traditionally by Latimer): “Saint Paul could not abyde to heare emong the Corinthians these wordes of discord or dissencion, I holde of Paul, I of Cephas, and I of Apollo: What would hee then say, if hee heard these woordes of contention, whiche be nowe almost in euery mans mouth: hee is a Pharisei, he is a Gospeller, he is of the newe sort, he is of the olde faythe, he is a new broched brother, he is a good catholique father, he is a papist, he is an heretique? O how the churche is diuided? Oh how the cyties be cutte and mangled? O how the coote of Christ, that was without seame, is all to-rent and torne? O body misticall of Christe, where is that holy and happy vnitie, out of the which whosoeuer is, he is not in Christ? If one membre be pulled from another, where is the body? If the body be drawn from the head, where is the lyfe of the body? ... There is but one fayth, and howe can we then saye, he is of the olde fayth, and he is of the new faythe?”

Sternhold and Hopkins, first book of Psalms.

**\*\*1548\*\***

All *laymen excused*, if they wished, from observing existing ceremonies (using holy water, palms on Palm Sunday, etc): “under pretext of protecting the traditional ceremonies, the revised proclamation effectively abolished them.”

Chantry Act. *Chantries abolished*, “the main form of organized lay religious activity” (1547 chantries). Many date the time of schism “not from the breach with Rome in the early 1530s but from the second year of King Edward VI” when “all godly ceremonies & good uses were taken out of the Church within this Realme” (qu. Duffy).

*Preaching forbidden* without special license from Cranmer or Somerset (thus, silencing the non-official clergy).

*Feast of Corpus Christi (most popular feast for Mystery cycle) abolished, and its mystery plays discouraged.* (RIII likens himself to the “formal Vice, Iniquity.”)

Edward Hall's The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancaster and York, 2nd edn., begins: “What mischiefe hath insurged in realmes by intestine devision, what depopulacion hath ensued in countreis by civill discencion, what detestable murder hath been committed in citees by seperate faccions, and what calmaitee hath ensued in famous regions by domestical discord & unnatural controversy.” 2nd para: “... the olde devided controversie betwene the fornamed families of Lancastre and Yorke, by the union of Matrimony celebrate and consummate betwene the high and mighty Prince Kyng Henry the seventh and the lady Elizabeth his moste worthy Quene ... was suspended and appalled in the person of their most noble, puissant and mighty heire kyng Henry the eight, and by hym clerely buried and perpetually extinct.” Argued that Henry VII, Henry Tudor, was providentially provided to resolve the crime committed against Richard II; supported Henry VIII's religious reforms, opposed papal power; Henry V starts not by founding religious houses, but by encouraging preaching (a change Holinshed also made).

Erasmus's Paraphrases on the New Testament (trans. 1548-9) (orig. 1517-1524), ordered placed in parish churches alongside Bible, praised by Protestants for its reformist language (Erasmus's dislike of any threat to Christian unity and his tenacious adherence to Rome is passed over).

**\*\*1549\*\***

Book of Common Prayer (called First Prayer Book of Edward VI) (see 1552, 1559, 1662), combined elements of old Sarum rite (with saints pruned away) and new German liturgies, influenced by 1535 revised breviary of Cardinal de Quinones: new communion service (eliminates many aspects of the Mass (*elevation*, etc.)), eliminates most of the *feasts* of the year (exc. Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun, etc.); switch from Latin to English; eliminates entire *musical* repertoire; invocation of saints, etc. prohibited at Mass; but other elements kept (sermon, offertory, preface, sanctus, intercession, consecration, Lord's prayer, communion, etc.); claimed that the “uniform quiet and godly order” of this common prayer would oppose “divers forms ... and sundry rites” caused by the old religion and by new innovations. Yet kept the Sarum mass-readings, and the fundamental medieval liturgical year. “In this ecumenical age, we ... realise what an immense and honourable task was attempted by Cranmer and his associates in trying to span the Catholic and Protestant chasm with the bridge of liturgy” (Horton Davies). Retained the Erasmian Henrician humanism that was lost in the Second Prayer Book (McConica '65).

“First marriage liturgy in Christian history officially to say,” that one of the purposes of marriage is “for the mutual society, help, and comfort, that the one ought to have of the other” (MacCulloch)

Martin Bucer (d. 1551), Lutheran from Strasbourg, moves to England, tutors Edward, influences Cranmer.

Edward VI, Act for the abolishing and putting away of divers books and images: “We strongly ... command and charge you, that immediately upon the receipt hereof, you do command the dean and prebendaries of the cathedral church, the parson, vicar or curate and church wardens of every parish, within your diocese, to bring and deliver unto you or your deputy--all antiphoners, missals, grails, processionals, manuals, legends, pixes, portasses, journals, and ordinals, after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, York, or any other private use, and all other books of service, the keeping

whereof should be a let to the use of the said book of common prayer, and that you take the same books into your hands--and them so deface and abolish that they never after may serve ether to any such use, as they were provided for, or be at any time a let to that godly and unform order" (see Duffy, The Voices of Morebath, 2001).

**1549 cont.**

Uprisings. Western Rebellion in Cornwall, spread to the midlands, into Oxford, and Northamptonshire. "You must leave beads now, no more holy bread for ye, nor holy water. It is all gone from us or to go, or the gentlemen will burn your houses over your heads" (old woman testimony). The rebels' demands: "Fyrst we wyll have the general counsall and the holy decrees of our forefathers observed, kept and performed ... we will have the masse in Latten, as before ... we will have the Sacrament hange over the hyghe altuler, and there to be worshypped as it was wount to be, and they which will not thereto consent, we wyl have them dye lyke heretykes against the Holy Catholyques faith ... we wyl have palmes and assches at the tymes accustomed, Images to be set up again in every church, and all other auncient olde Ceremonyes used heretofore, by our mother the holy church ... we will not receyve the newe servyce because it is like a Christmas game, but we wyll have oure old service of Mattens, masse, Evensong, and procession in Latten not in English, as it was before." According to Gasquet, "the imposition of the book of the new service was only effected through the slaughter of many thousands of Englishmen by the English government ... The old dread days of the Pilgrimage of Grace [see 1536] were renewed, the same deceitful methods were employed with success, the same ruthless bloodshed was allowed in the punishment of the vanquished. Terror was everyday struck into the minds of the people by the sight of the executions, fixed for the market days, of priests dangling from the steeples of their parish churches, and of the heads of laymen set up in the high places of the towns;" the parish priest of St. Thomas (Exeter) was hanged on a gallows erected on his church tower in his Mass vestments, with "a holy water bucket, a sprinkler, a sacring bell, a pair of beads and such other like popish trash hanged about him."

Cheke, The Hurt of Sedition.

John Leland, Journey and Search for England's Antiquities.

**\*\*1550\*\***

Act orders *defacing images in books* of Old Service, and all images in the church. *Altars replaced* by wooden tables.

Langland, Piers Plowman, B Text, published by Puritan Robert Crowley (who helped rejuvenate Puritan Vestiarian controversy--see 1572).

Vasari, Life of Painters (-1578).

John Knox: "O Papists! Where shall you hide from the presence of the Lord? You have perverted the law; you have taken away his ordinances; you have placed up your own statues instead of his. Woe and damnation abide you!" ("A Vindication of the Doctrine that the Sacrifice of the Mass is Idolatry"). Somewhere Knox says: "the only sure way to banish the rooks is to pull down their nests" (qu. Walsham, Landscape, 93): compare "bare ruined choirs"

**\*\*1551\*\***

Council of Trent's second session to 1552.

**\*\*1552\*\***

42 Articles of Church of England pub. by Cranmer. 2nd Act of Uniformity.

5th edn. of Edward Hall's The Union of ... Lancaster and York, major source for Shakespeare.

Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (see 1549), second edn. of Book of Common Prayer; eliminates *exorcism* prayer at Baptism, all *anointings* in Baptism, ordination. *Prayers over the Sacred Host* eliminated, *vestments* eliminated, *left-over communion bread* and wine to be taken home for domestic consumption; *no prayers for the dead*; but kept sermon, offertory, preface, sanctus, consecration, communion, Lord's Prayer, etc. Holy Communion no longer called Mass, penitential emphasis strengthened, 10 commandments added, emphasis not on transformation of bread but on communicants. "The difference between the first and the second Prayer Books could be said simply to be the difference between Lutheranism and Calvinism" (Vidmar, 2005). "Black rubric" (eliminated in 1559 and later editons) attacked transubstantiation.

The Ordinal of 1552, new Protestant rite for appointment of bishops, on which the Holy See based its definitive decree of 1896. [In 1559, Archbishop Parker of Canterbury appointed by Elizabeth, would be consecrated by Barlow (ambiguously a bishop) using the Protestant ordinal. (In 1662, language was added to the Anglican rite, stating "for the office of a bishop.")]



Attendance at Sunday service made compulsory, but subject only to church censure, not civil penalty. Term “recusautes” (recusants) used in one of Edward's Acts. (Term used exclusively for Catholics until 1777 (OED).)

JOHN SHAKESPEARE FINED FOR UNAUTHORIZED DUNGHILL IN STRATFORD.

## Reign of Queen Mary

**\*\*1553\*\***

Edward VI died, Jane Grey proclaimed Queen, but Mary prevails because of respect for hereditary legitimism. **Queen Mary** reigns 1553-1558. Protestant years had created a politically active Catholic core. Catholic bishops restored. Bishop Gardiner made chief minister. Cranmer imprisoned. More, Dialogue of Comfort pub.

*Servetus burned at Geneva by Calvinists for denying the Trinity.*

**\*\*1554\*\***

Marriage of Mary and Philip of Spain. England reconciled to Rome. Flight of Marian exiles to Germany and Switzerland. Some two hundred English Protestant divines flee England and come in close contact with radical continental ideas of Calvin and Zwingli. Reginald Pole arrives as Papal Legate: “I come to reconcile, not to condemn. I come not to compel but to call again. I am not come to call anything in question already done, but my commission is of grace and clemency to such as well receive it.” Church lands not restored. Parliament refuses to revive heresy laws. Mary still “supreme head.” Elizabeth committed to Tower, but later removed to Woodstock. Parliament denies Mary the right to alter the succession. Pole, influenced by Neoplatonic academy tradition, emphasizes church reform and compromise with Protestants (Yates, French Academies). Pole's ideas influenced Council of Trent.

“Marian England became the first country to introduce a new piece of church furniture to reserve consecrated Eucharistic bread: a container or tabernacle placed at the center of a church's main altar” (MacCulloch).

Anthony Browne (conservative courtier under Henry VIII), made Viscount Montague on occasion of Mary's marriage to Philip II; led delegation to present reconciled country to Pope. Elizabeth herself later used Montague, who wd. retain Queen's favor as patriotic Catholic, on embassy to Spain in 1561. Married Catholic, Magdalen Dacre, in 1556, would have 8 children; used as ambassador by Elizabeth in 1560 to Philip of Spain, and in 1565-6 to Netherlands; daughter Mary marries 2<sup>nd</sup> Earle of Southhampton in 1566. (On Montague and Catholic networks, see Questier, Catholicism and Community 2006).

Pole in letter praised Gardiner as example of those who “though they fell into the first grave error” of separation from the Church nevertheless maintained “constancy and fortitude in defending the true and holy doctrine against heretics” (qu. Shagan, ed. Catholics and the ‘Protestant’ Nation).

Gardiner, Advent Sermon: “Now ... it is time we awake out of our sleep, who have slept or rather dreamed these twenty years past. For as men intending to sleep do separate themselves from company, and desire to be alone, even so we have separated ourselves from the See of Rome, and have been alone, no realm in Christendom like us; as in sleep men dream of killing, maiming, burning, and such beastliness as I dare not name, so among us one brother has destroyed another ... as in sleep all senses are stopped, so the ceremonies of the Church, which were instituted to move our senses, were taken away; as the candle is put out when a man would sleep.”

A plaine and godlye treatise, anon., included with later Marian primers, on Protestant times: “Amitie and frendshyp was fled the realme, truth exiled, the very norysh of chastity in maydens cast off cleane, so that what eche man lyke and lusted that he thoughte lawful.”

A notable Oration made by John Venaues a Parisien, trans. Bullingham: “Hereby it cometh to passe, that all things are foule disordred, nothing quiete and peasable; that charitie is exiled and banished every where, that true and faithful hartes with the loving concord of Turtle doves can not be founde amonge men ... hereby chrystiane bloude is shedde unmeasurablye: hereby also be at variance and discorde (I will not saye prince with prince, the Commons with the magistrates, the servant with the mayster) but even under one roufe and in one house (O miserable and pitifull case) the father dissenteth from the sonne, the mother from the daughter: so christes church that in old time before us knew nothing but unities and concord, that embraced peace, and hereby did flourishe, nowe is altogethe confounded.”

*Castellio, De Haereticis an Sint Persequendi, follower of Erasmus, argued toleration based on*

*'imitatio Christi' and human reason; influenced Locke and Bayle.*

**\*\*1555\*\***

(Roman) Catholicism officially reestablished.

Iphigeneia at Aulis (1555?), first extant Englishing of Greek tragedy (in ms), by Jane Lumley, Catholic noblewoman.

Wayland Primer, lacks indulgence rubrics, and miracle legends of the past; many prayers taken from the Henrician primer; veneration for saints etc. subordinated to centrality of Passion of Christ. Thus, Reformation was influencing Catholics. English Bible still permitted, and Bible reading encouraged by some Catholic ministers.

Bishop Edmund Bonner begins vigilance to ensure that every parishioner confessed and received the Eucharist. Bonner's catechism, Profitable and Necessary Doctrine, with attached homilies, preface: "Whereas in the tyme of the late outrageous and pestiferous scisme ... all godlynes & godnes was dyspyssed, and in maner banyshed, and the Catholique trade and doctryne of the churche (with a new envyouse and odious terme) called and named papistrye, like also as devoute religion and honest behavioure of men was accounted and taken for superstition and hypocrisie."

Bonner's 13 homilies closely follow pattern of 1547 homilies.

1555 cont.

Burning of Protestants: Latimer, Ridley, many others. "England had never experienced the hounding down of so many religious deviants over so wide an area in so short a time." Eventually 273 Protestants burnt (while, between 1570-1681, over 500 Catholic martyrs or deaths in prison) (219 priests and 93 lay martyrs between 1535-1680). Pole opposed the persecution, Gardiner supported it. "The persecution [along with Mary's marriage to Philip, and later the excommunication] "caused articulate Protestants to see the Roman Church as antichristian and foreign, and no Church for Englishmen" (Claire Cross, Church and People: England 1450-1660, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999@), p. 107).

*Peace of Augsburg, temporary settlement of religious wars within Holy Roman Empire; each prince would determine predominant religion ("cujus regio, illius religio," [formula adopted at Peace of Westphalia 1648?]), Catholicism or Lutheranism, thus accepting the fact of religious division, and making secular control the religious.*

*Pope Paul IV (1555-50), first of Counter-Reformation Popes.*

William Roper, The Life of Sir Thomas More in ms. (c. 1555), "probably the most perfect little biography in the English language" (R. W. Chambers), in ms for seventy years (see 1626). "Now I would to our Lord God, Sonne Roper, that three things were well established ... First, that where the most parte of Christian Princes are now at mortal warres, I would they were al at an universall peace. The second is, that where the Church is at this present, sore afflicted with Errors & Heresydes, that it were setled in perfect uniformity of Religion. The third is, that where the Kings matter of his marriage is now coming into question, wish it were, to the glory of God, and quietnes of all parties, brought to a good conclusion." "I pray God, that some of us (as high as we seeme to sit upon the Mountaynes, treading Heretiques under our feete like Ants) live not to see the day, when we gladly would wish to be in league and composition with those whome you call Heretiques, & so to let them have their Churches quietly to themselves, upon condition, that they woulde be content to let us have ours, quietly to our selves."

ANNE HATHAWAY BORN (1555/1556); HER NEIGHBOURS WOULD INCLUDE ROBERT DEBDALE AND PERHAPS FULK GYLLOM (GILLOM, GILLAM) .

**\*\*1556\*\***

Cranmer and others burned. Conspirators (incl. Dudley) aiming to dethrone Mary are executed.

Puritan and Marian exile, Bishop John Ponet (like Persons later), argues, in Short Treatise of Politic Power, that RII was rightfully deposed, and that kings are subject to laws; advocates tyrannicide against Mary Tudor.

Jesuit college founded in Prague (in Braunsberg 1565; in Vilnius 1569). John Foxe's Christus Triumphans.

John Heywood, The Spider and the Fly, Catholic (or Henrician?) flies, Edwardian Protestant spiders, maid at end with cleansing broom is Queen Mary; Erasmian satire of clericalism, but the Protestant "murmuring mutt'ring" crushed by the maid in behalf of a new dispensation: "The spiders and flies are the creatures of God / And all his creatures in their creation good ... I love all, as behoveth maidenly mood ... Be they spiders, be they flies, whatever they be-- / But I can use all, as stand'th with charity ... This ancient order ... Is all that I ax in you to be used; / In lack whereof

in all sorrow you are dreven, / In use thereof in solace you included, Misorder bringing you thus confused, / Let order by your leaving of misorder / Quietness on your sides and all sides ... keep order, wherein you obeying me, / We may love all, each in his degree ... Each in his degree, I say: mark that point well. / Your lack of living, so ye see, marr'd you all, / Chiefly you spiders, usurping to excel / In governaunce out of your place natural." Spiders and flies "thankfully" receive maid's advice, and "joyfully depart" to live in amity.

ROBERT ARDEN, MARY'S FATHER, SIGNS CATHOLIC WILL AND DIES, BEQUEATHS HIS SOUL "TO ALLMIGHTYE GOD AND TO OUR BLESSED LADYE SENT MARYE"; FAVORED MARY ARDEN BY MAKING HER EXECUTOR AND GIVING HER MOST VALUABLE PROPERTY. ROBERT SON OF THOMAS, SECOND SON OF WALTER ARDEN OF PARK HALL. JOHN SHAKESPEARE ELECTED BOROUGH ALE-TASTER.

**\*\*1557\*\***

War with France--French defeated.

Workes of Thomas More (London, 1557).

Geneva Bible (New Testament) published (OT in 1560), to be used (along with Bishop's Bible) by Shakespeare (first to divide text into verses, is influenced by Calvin, Beza, and the French, coined "vanity of vanities," "except a man be born again," etc.)

*Michelangelo designs St. Peter's Basilica dome (-1561).*

JOHN SHAKESPEARE MARRIES (1556-8) MARY ARDEN FROM PROMINENT WARWICKSHIRE CATHOLIC FAMILY (HEAD OF CLAN, EDWARD ARDEN, HER SECOND COUSIN, KEPT A PRIEST (Ardens of Park Hall entertained Robert Persons). "Arden and he [Shakespeare] shared a great-great-grandfather, and the Shakespeares' later submission to the College of Arms reveals that William and his parents were proud of the connection" (M. Wood, *In Search of Shakespeare*, 95). JOHN SHAKESPEARE LISTED AS ONE OF FOUR STRATFORD CONSTABLES; thus his career begins in Marian time.

## Reign of Queen Elizabeth

**\*\*1558\*\***

Last 2 Protestants burned.

John Knox, The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women, against Mary Tudor. Oops, see following.

Death of Queen Mary.

[Period of "Half-Hearted non-resistance" 1558-68; willing to acknowledge Elizabeth's temporal supremacy] (Holmes categories).

Accession of **Queen Elizabeth** (1558-1603); gradually restores Protestantism. Pageant, "The uniting of the two houses of Lancastre and Yorke," presented at the Coronation. Sir William Cecil (d. 1598), made Elizabeth's sole secretary, made Baron Burghley in 1571. Calais finally surrendered to French, after 211 years of occupation, the last remnant of English continental empire.

Elizabeth's Coronation Day, Nov. 17, becomes major national holiday esp. after Northern Rebellion of 1569.

Elizabeth walks out of Christmas mass before the Consecration.

Mary Queen of Scots marries Dauphin (Francis II), promises to convert Scotland to Catholicism.

*Marguerite of Navarre, Heptameron.*

*Teresa of Avila begins Carmelite reform, joined by John of the Cross in 1568; Teresa will publish The Way of Perfection (1583), The Interior Castle (1588), etc.*

*Charles V, holy Roman emperor (1519-58) and king of Spain, dies; tried to turn back Protestantism; expanded Spanish empire (married Philip to Mary Tudor); in 1554 began a series of abdications; made over Naples, Netherlands, Spain to son, Philip; practically surrendered the empire to Ferdinand and in 1558 formally abdicated; retired to monastery of Yuste (had done so earlier in response to his wife, Isabella's, death), though kept a hand in politics. "If we may credit his son's account, his repentance commenced the very day of his resignation" (Hume, Dialogues)*

JOHN SHAKESPEARE'S FIRST CHILD, JOAN (d. pre-1569), CHRISTENED BY CATHOLIC PRIEST, JOHN DYOS. ADDITIONAL CHILDREN: MARGARET 1562-1563; WILLIAM, 1564-1613; GILBERT, 1566-1612; JOAN, 1569- 1646; ANNA, 1571-1579; RICHARD, 1574-1613; EDMUND, 1580- 1607.

**\*\*1559\*\***

Act of Uniformity (shilling *fine of twelve pence for non-attendance* at church on Sunday and Holydays) and Act of Supremacy (Elizabeth "to be the only supreme governor [not "Supreme Head"] of this realm ... as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as in temporal;" imposed oath on all clergy); *abolishes the Mass* and substitutes modified second Prayer Book of Edward VI; it omits litany against papal tyranny, as well as the Black rubric denying any form of real presence; the new primer is close to Henrician primer, reintroduces prayers for the dead. People not sure which direction Elizabeth will go. She inserts favorable Ornaments Rubric into Uniformity bill--leading to the long "Vestiarian Controversy" with the Puritans, her left flank. Replacement of Marian bishops refusing to take oath (all refused except one; but nearly all inferior clergy accepted). Defending Papal authority is made punishable by loss of all goods for first offense, second by life imprisonment, third by traitor's death. These penalties not consistently applied, used at discretion of Queen and ministers in part, or in full. Catholics tended to attend Morning and Evening prayer, until Pius IV (1559-1565) pronounced attendance unlawful. Uniformity Act will not be repealed until 1791. "There was now a sharper sense of the religious issues and of the starkness of the choice between the old and the new religions. ..." (Duffy, Saints, 228).

Royal Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth reinstated Edwardian injunctions; now *hidden images were to be hunted out* (the Marian years showed they were hidden). Clergy enjoined to "take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables and candlesticks, trundles or rolls of ware, pictures, paintings and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glasses, windows or elsewhere within their churches or houses."

Return of Protestant reformers from continent. John Knox begins Reformation in Scotland. Mary takes title "Queen of England and Scotland."

1559 cont.

Popular iconoclasm and looting of churches.

Elizabeth avoids marriage with Philip II of Spain and keeps him waiting (dashing reunion hopes? Her successive suitors periodically arouse hopes).

John Jewel preaches "Challenge Sermon," challenging Catholics to justify their belief in Purgatory, papal primacy, veneration of saints, the Mass, as being in the early church; argued that primitive church only lasted first 600 years; answered by Harding (1564).

Book of Common Prayer, revised: "Of Ceremonies, Why Some Be Abolished and Some Retained": "For as those be taken away which were most abused and did burden men's consciences without any cause, so that others that remain are retained for discipline and order, which upon just causes may be altered and changed, and hereafter are not to be esteemed equal with God's law." "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion": "it is your duty to receive the communion together in the remembrance of his death, as he himself commanded ... for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, then we dwell in Christ and Christ in us ... Jesus Christ ... made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; and did institute, and in his holy gospel command us to continue, a perpetual memory of that his precious death, until his coming again." "And to take away the superstition, which any person hath or might have in the bread and wine, it shall suffice that the bread be such as is usual to be

eaten at the table with other meats, but the best and purest wheat bread that conveniently may be gotten. And if any of the bread or wine remain, the curate shall have it to his own use ... every parishioner shall communicate at the least three time in the year."

"The 24 of June the Book of Common Prayer was established, and the Mass clean suppressed in all Churches.// In August following al ancient Church relics and new made Images in Queen Mary's reign, were beaten down and burned in the open streets" (John Stow).

Royal Proclamation to ban dramas dealing explicitly with religious or political matters, May 16, forbidding plays, "Wherein either matters of religion or of the governance of the estate of the commonweal shall be handled or treated, being no meet maters to be written or treated upon, nor to be handled before any audience, but of grave and discrete persons" (thus, allowed some plays in upper class settings).

*Pope Pius IV (1559-65) continues the Counter Reformation; issues first Index of Prohibited Books; declares all of Erasmus's works anathema; often cited as "end" of Catholic humanism (i.e. Todd, 1987, p. 209).*

A Mirror for Magistrates, orig. version unpub. 1554, then "suppressed by the lord chancellor himself as (presumably) a threat to the precarious status quo of Mary's reign"; probably because of poems on Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, protector during minority of HVI, seen as parallel to duke of Somerset, protector for young Edward VI; on Elinour Cobham, Gloucester's wife, all by George Ferrers (ally of Seymour) all deleted for this edn; proud Cardinal Beaufort made parallel to Gardiner; tale of Collinbourne complains: "The Muses freedom, graunted them of elde, / Is barde, slye reasons treasons hye are held," like plays thereafter protesting political application (Feasey, 1922); Lily Campbell sees Elinor Cobham as parallel to young Elizabeth; source of Richard III, possible source of 3 Henry VI, RII, 1 Henry IV.

JOHN SHAKESPEARE RECORDED AS ASSESSOR OF FINES AT STRATFORD COURT; VOTES TO OUST THE CATHOLIC CURATE OF TRINITY, JOHN DYOS, who had christened his first child.

**\*\*1560\*\***

Presbyterianism established in Scotland.

Statute against destruction of church monuments.

Vicar of Stratford ejected for popery; successor does nothing at first about removing Catholic images; next successor in 1564, William Butcher, will be Catholic (but see Bearman, 2005). Throughout country, *sacred objects were profaned*, pyxes used for spice containers, Mass bells hung on cows, etc. Notice the Becket chapel in Trinity Church, later despoiled.

Catholics arrested at French embassy in London for attending Mass.

JOHN SHAKESPEARE ELECTED ONE OF FOURTEEN CAPITAL BURGESSES.

**\*\*1561\*\***

Mary Queen of Scots returns to Scotland as its Queen, after death of husband Francis II, clashes with Knox, but accepts Presbyterian establishment.

Spanish ambassadors play matchmakers between Elizabeth and Leicester, under notion that if Spain supported this, England would return to Catholicism (see Eliot's The Waste Land). Leicester listed among the nobles "well affected to Catholics" in 1567 by Papal Nuncio, but in 1580's Leicester's hostility to Catholics began. Cecil's reluctant support for the Dudley plan represents "the high water-mark of effort for reunion with Rome during Elizabeth's reign" (C. G. Bayne, Anglo-Roman Relations 1558-1565 (Oxford, 1913) p. 92; but plan died partly because Cecil was hostile, Protestantism strong, and even Catholics were reluctant about the Dudley marriage.

Chaucer, Works, ed. Stow, with "The Knight's Tale" (source for Two Noble Kinsmen and MND), "Legend of Good Women," "Troilus and Criseyde" (TCressida).

Hoby trans. The Book of the Courtier by Castiglione, source for Much Ado.

Calvin, Institution of Christian Religion, now trans. Thomas Norton (who wrote first three acts of

Gorboduc, 1561; Norton became notorious rackmaster (i.e. of Campion) and persecutor of Catholics).

Gorboduc by Norton and Thomas Sackville (Sackville authored Mirror for Magistrate's Buckingham tale): story from Geoffrey of Monmouth, King Gorboduc divides kingdom between 2 sons who quarrel, with much Senecan horror.

*George Cassander (1513-66), Flemish theologian, De Officiis pii ac publicae tranquillitatis vere amantis viri in hoc dissidio religionis (Basle) (1561) steering between Protestantism and Catholicism; then Consultatio de Articulis Fidei inter Catholicos et Protestantos Controversis (1565), putting Catholic interpretation on Protestant formularies; attacked both by Protestants and Catholics. In this year, he said: "All Gaul is divided in to three factions," i.e. "Papists," "Huguenots," "the third party", i.e. the moderates, Catherine de Medici, l'Hospital, king of Navarre. Under their leadership, and with an opening speech by Beza, occurred the Colloquy of Poissy; "the last great colloquy of the sixteenth century" (D. Nugent, Ecumenism in the Age of the Reformation 1974). Montaigne on Beza in "On Vanity": "When I was a youth I saw a fine gentleman offering to the public, with one hand, poetry excelling in beauty and eroticism both, and with the other, at the same instant, the most cantankerous reformation of theology that the world has had for breakfast for many a long year" (Screech trans.).*

St. Paul's steeple struck by lightning on 4 June; Catholics said punishment, but Protestant Bishop Pilkington hastily blamed the sins of current parishioners. John Morwen, An Addicion with an Apologie to the causes of brinnyng of Paules Church, answering Pilkington "yet there be worse abuses, as blaspheming God in lying Sermons, polluting the Temple with Schismatical service, destroying and pullying downe holye aulters, that were set up by good blessed men ... Yet where the alter stode of the holy Ghost, the new Bishops have made a place to set their tales upon, and there sit in the judgment of such as be Catholycke and live in the feare of God. Some they deprive from livinges, some they commit to prison, except they will forsake the Catholicke faith and embrace a faith and religion that has no foundation layde by generall Counsell, nor blessed fathers in times past but invented by Heretikes that do not agree one with another nor themselves." Morwen defended Middle ages against Pilkington's charge of superstition: "God was served devoutly night and day, the people lived in fear of God, every one in his vocation, without reasoning and contention of matters of religion, but referred all such things to learned men in general councils and universities ... then was the commandments of God and virtue expressed in living, now all is talk ... then was prayer, now is prating ... then was the building up of churches ... now is pulling down and destroying ... then was plenty of all things, now is scarceness of all things."

Bishop Pilkington in commentary on Haggeus attacked the complaints he heard in church: "'What shall I do at Church? I may not have my beades; the church is like a waste barn; there is no images nor saints to worship and make curtsey to: little God in the box is gone: there is nothing but a little reading or preaching, that I cannot tell what it means: I had as lief keep me at home:' This is a woeful saying."

JOHN SHAKESPEARE ELECTED CHAMBERLAIN OF STRATFORD CORPORATION (-1565).

**\*\*1562\*\***

French civil wars, Catholics vs. Huguenots aided by Elizabeth.

Lord Montague gives House of Lords speech arguing against the anti-papist legislation: "What man is there so without courage and stomach, or void of all honour, that can consent ... to receive an opinion and new religion by force and compulsion?": "regarded as a model of moderate and principled not just non-resistance but actual fidelity to the new regime." Also Sir Nicholas Bacon gave moderating speech, bidding his audience banish "all contentious, contumelious, or opprobrious words, as heretic, schismatic, Papist, and such like names and nurses of sedition, factions, and sects."

Jewel, Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae (trans. in 1564), appeals to primitive Christian ages, versus

medieval perversions; mocks those who in ceremonial matters sought “a golden, or as it seems to me, a leaden mediocrity;” said general reformation had been necessary, that local churches had right to legislate for their own needs through provincial synods (trans. in 1562-3 as “Church of England”); answered by Harding (1565). Jewel: “I aske here of this Roman clergie, where was this church of theirs which now is, in the ancient time of the primitive church of Rome, with this pomp and pride, with this riches and superfluity, with this gloria mundi, and name of cardinals; with this prancing dissoluteness, and whoring of the courtesans; with this extortion, bribing, buying and selling of spiritual dignities; these annates, reformations, procurations, exactions and other practices for money; this avarice insatiable, ambition intolerable, fleshly filthiness most detestable, barbarousness and negligence in preaching, promise-breaking faithlessness poisoning and supplanting one another.”

Latimer, XXVII Sermons.

John Wigand: “men compt it a light trifling matter, nay marry, they reckon it a singular witty part, that they can craftily cloak and dissemble religion, and handle themselves in all outward affairs after such sort, as if a man were familiarly linked to both parts [Catholic and Protestant].”

Sternhold and Hopkins, Whole Book of Psalms (metrical), 270 edns. to 1640.

*Council of Trent, third session begins (to 1563); Charles Borromeo plays leading role. “Borromeo ... popularized a new item of furniture for churches, the confessional—a wooden double sentry box divided by a latticed partition, in which a kneeling penitent could be distanced from the invisible confessor yet still experience an intense one-to-one relationship during the course of confession.” (MacCulloch)*

*Re. Trent on Erasmus. “The atmosphere in the first days was benign but before the end of the Council a more rigorous spirit had appeared, expressing itself in Erasmus’s appearance upon the Index and in the harsh judgment by Loyola of his Enchiridion ... However, a more sympathetic tradition lived on among Catholics and notably in the Gallican church. Thus Bossuet’s judgment is, on the whole, approving” (Mansfield, Jrnl of Politics and History (1962)).*

**\*\*1563\*\***

Adoption by Church of England of the 39 Articles (replacing Cranmer's 42), to which all clergy must subscribe:

VI. Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man ...

XI. Of the Justification of Man. We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by Faith, and not for our own works or deservings.

XII. Of Good Works. Albeit that Good Works, which are the fruits of Faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins ... yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively Faith ...

XVII. Of Predestination and Election. Predestination to Life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby ... he hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen ... As the godly consideration of Predestination, and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons ... So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's Predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into ... most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

XXII. Of Purgatory. The Romish Doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Relics, and also Invocation of Saints, is a fond thing ...

XXIV. Of Speaking in the Congregation in such a Tongue as the people understandeth.

XXV ... There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

XXVIII. Of the Lord's Supper ... Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath

given occasion to many superstitions.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the means whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is Faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

XXX. Of both Kinds. The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-people ...

XXXI. Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross. The Offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction ... Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.

XXXII. Of the Marriage of Priests ... it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

XXXVII. Of the Power of the Civil Magistrates. The King's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of England, and other his Dominions ... whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil ... The Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of England.

Penal Bill against Catholics. *Fine increased for non-attendance* at church on Sunday and Holydays; refusing *Oath of Supremacy* results in confiscation of property and life imprisonment for first offense, traitor's death for second offense. Robert Atkinson, Catholic sympathizer in the Commons, attacked the bill, and preached reconciliation: "Since you have the sword in your hand to strike, be well ware whom you strike. For some shall you strike that are your near friends, some your kinsmen, but all your countrymen, and even Christian."

1563 cont.

Elizabeth keeps the succession vague, so as not to alienate Scotland, while the Protestant Parliament pushes to establish the Protestant succession, and disallow Mary.

Montague speaks against 1563 Act toughening up administration of Act of Supremacy.

Thomas Sackville meets Pope in Rome to discuss possible reconciliation of England and Catholicism.

Second Book of Homilies (see 1547), with twenty sermons, attacked Roman tenets, in particular "the three chief principal points, which they called the three essential (or three chief foundations) of religion, that is to say, obedience, chastity and wilful poverty." Discussed images, matrimony, sacraments

Plague in London.

First notice of Lord Strange's players.

John Foxe's Acts and Monuments of these latter and perilous days, touching matters of the Church, wherein are comprehended and described the great persecutions and horrible troubles, that have been brought and practised by the Romish prelates, specially in this Realm of England and Scotland, from the year of our Lord a thousand, unto the time now present, also known as Foxe's Book of Martyrs, new edns. in Foxe's lifetime in 1570, 1576, 1583 (Title Page of 1583 edn. revised "Martyrs" to "True Martyrs"), making effective use of Marian martyrs, established influential thesis that England was elected by God to restore the Church, claimed Protestantism also had medieval pedigree in Lollard martyrs, etc.; argued that rulers should have more power than hierarchy over church. "For although the right Church of old be not so invisible in the world, that none can see it; yet neither is it so visible agayne that every worldly eye may perceave it. For like as the nature of truth: so is the proper condition of the true Church, that commonly none seeth it, but such onely as be the members and partakers therof." (1579 edn.) Ordered placed in each cathedral church in 1571: source for "miracle of St. Alban's" in 2 Henry VI, Cranmer's trial in Henry VIII, probably for Sir Thomas More, possible source for King John.

## Shakespeare Chronology 1564-1599

on Shakespeare and his religious, especially Catholic, contexts



**\*\*1564\*\***

Thomas Harding, An Answer to Master Jewel's Challenge (see 1559), first Catholic salvo in response to Jewel's challenge in "the great controversy" of the 1560s (Southern): because of government spies, "the evil lies in the universal distrust, for a father dares not trust his own son."

John Rastell, A confutation of a sermon: "by breaking of ceremonies ... by overturning of monasteries ... by false liberties of conscience ... they have so crossed the wayes, and broken down so many hedgis, and troden downe so much good corn, & so many faire pastures of all pietie and devotion: that, except they com back to the beginning againe, they can never com to good end."

Committee of Council of Trent and Holy Office declares that English Catholics might not attend Church of England services, a decision repeated by Pius V in 1566.

Thomas Dorman, Proof of Certain Articles against Jewel, speaks of "my poor countrymen," "the most miserable face of this our age" and "the miserable face of our native country."

John Martial, A Treatise of the Cross: "because they [images] quicken the memory which in many is fickle, help ignoraunce, which in some is lurd, stirre up love which waxen cold, helpe hope which is almost dead, move devotion which in al men decayes, revive faith which almost fayleth, they might right wel be suffred amongst Christen men, without any dishonour to god, or hinderaunce to Christen religion": fifteen editions eventually, and over 20,000 smuggled into England; dedicated to Elizabeth who, Martial emphasizes, kept cross in her royal chapel.

IMAGES IN STRATFORD'S GUILD CHAPEL (whitewash over medieval paintings [though not mutilated], of St Helena and Finding of Cross, St. George and the Dragon, Murder of Becket, Day of Judgement) DEFACED BY TOWN COUNCIL, PROBABLY BECAUSE OF VISITATION OF BISHOP OF WORCESTER (IN OTHER PLACES, THE DESTRUCTION WAS CARRIED OUT IN 1560; THUS SOME DELAY IN STRATFORD). Also, Rood loft pulled down with its Cross, altar broken and replaced by TABLE. CATHOLIC CLOPTON FAMILY LEAVES TOWN. BUT WILLIAM BUTCHER, A CATHOLIC SYMPATHIZER, MADE CURATE OF HOLY TRINITY (SEE 1569).

JOHN SHAKESPEARE LISTED AMONG STRATFORD CAPITAL BURGESSES, GIVES MONEY FOR RELIEF OF PLAGUE VICTIMS.

**Shakespeare born; christened April 26 by Protestant curate, John Bretchgirdle (curate, 1561-64); carefully nurtured by mother in midst of plague conditions (1 in 15 dying in Stratford).**

**\*\*1565\*\***

Mary Queen of Scots marries Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, joins Catholic Alliance. Will Elizabeth, under great pressure to marry, marry Charles, Grand Duke of Austria?

William Allen's Defence ... of ... Purgatory and Prayers for the Souls Departed (Allen will continue to hope for English reconciliation with Rome.) Allen now in Lancashire, staying with Thomas Hoghton.

Thomas Stapleton, trans. of Bede's Ecclesiastic History; preface urged Elizabeth to extirpate heresy just as Henry V had rejected Oldcastle; argues against anti-Roman theories of British Christianity based on Joseph of Arimathea (see Camden, Foxe, Harrison); shows "in how many and weighty points the pretended reformers of the Church in Your Grave's dominions have departed from the pattern of that sound and Cathoic faith planted first among Englishmen by holy St Augustine, our apostle"; argument expanded into A fortresse of the faith first planted amonge us englishmen, and continued hitherto in the universall church of Christ. The faith of which time Protestants call, papistry (1565).

Thomas Harding's A Confutation of ... [Jewel's] Apologie of the Church of England: "Your gospel invadeth Christes heavenly kingdome the church, it murdereth soules brought with a most dere price, it causeth a hellish garboile in mennes consciences, in the end it bringeth to everlasting weping and gnashing of teeth"; "Are not many matters huddled up in corners? examined in chambres? and determined without ordinary processes of the law" etc.N. Sanders (Sander), The Supper of Our Lord: "Did they not ... overthrow monasteries, Churches, altars, images of Saintes, and mine owne image and crosse? Did they not denie the sacrifice of the Masse, praying of the dead, and such like auncient usages ..."

Ronsard's Elegies, Mascarades et Bergereie "had a great influence on the subsequent development

of the English masque.” It included warring families of shepherds (Navarin versus Guisin), it laments the desecration of churches and the decay of religion, bemoans the exiled fauns, Pans and other faery creatures, and prophesies that in the days of Charles IX, “men will see the gods return to the land” (Yates French Academies).

Spanish Catholics settle in St. Augustine Fla., the beginning of the American “South.”

John Stow, Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles, described Katherine of Aragon as “a blysyd lady and a good,” also positive image of Mary’s restoration of the old religion, for which he was questioned; later dropped these references: “In this tyme the people shewed themselves so ready to receive their old religion, that in many places of the realme, understanding the queens plesure, before any law was made for the same, they erected agayne theyr aultars ...”

JOHN SHAKESPEARE APPOINTED AN ALDERMAN AND FROM NOW ON ADDRESSED AS “MASTER SHAKESPEARE.”

**\*\*1566\*\***

Rizzio, Mary’s secretary, murdered by Darnley; James born; Elizabeth does nothing about the succession.

John Rastell, A Treatise intituled, Beware of M. Iewel: “What is that among Christians which hath brought them unto the Faith, and Staied, and Governed them in it? Is not the Authority of the Church ... By Fathers, By Councils, By Custome and Tradition ... Emong all which if no one, may safely be leaned unto, what remaineth in all the world worthy of credite? And except there be an Authority and Order, which we may and must follow, what Faith can we have at all?”

A Notable Discourse, plainly and truely discussing, who are the right Ministers of the Catholike Church, trans. of a work by John de Albine, with a preface by Anon.; from the preface: “I have hearde, read and seene, manye thinges, yet can I not reade, here, or see any worlde more contaminate and prone to all kind of vices then this our age is. And how be it afore our dayes have been in all times and ages men and women very vitious and monstous in their living, yet then vertue was vertue, and vice was vice: But nowe in our corrupt time, we have lost the true names and use of all thinges ... If any be vertuous, & folowers of the Catholike, which be true religion, they be called Phariseys & Papists” etc..

1566 cont.

John Martial, A Reply to M. Calfhills blasphemous answer: contrasted rebelliousness of Protestants under Mary and even under Elizabeth with Catholic loyalty: “There is no blast blown against the monstous regiment of women; there is no libel set forth for order of succession; there is no word uttered against due obedience to the sovereign” (on James Calfhills 1565 attack on Martial’s 1564 Treatise of the Cross.)

Anthony Gilby and William Turner, The Hunting of the Romish Wolf.

Campion at Oxford (-1570): “There existed then in his stricken mind a bitter civil war ... while different opinions about either concealing or professing the Catholic religion fought it out” (Persons), writes Sancta salutiferi nascentia semina verbi ('on the birth of the church'), dedicated to Montague, transcription sponsored by Sir John Harington [changed phrasing in 1602 from “Religion thear was treason to the Queene” to “Religion now is treason to the Queen”—Kilroy 2005] and father., using Virgilian epic story to talk about grand struggle of the two Romes. “Campion transforms Virgil into a politically subversive and theologically prophetic poem” (Kilroy, TLS 3/8/02): “O my country, O piety, O Britons ('Britanni' used to evoke noble past), hearts once so praised: if your sacred rites had stood firm like that, if you had prayed and fasted like that (would that you had done so) your sacred rites too would now have stood firm.”

*Roman Catechism*, trans. 1829(!), published, uner direction of Charles Borromeo.

*Pope Pius V (1566-72), saintly Pope.*

*The Catechism of the Council of Trent, or the Roman Catechism, or the Catechism of Pius V:* “it is the duty of the pastor to seek the holiness ... of the faithful ... in ... accordance with ... the Apostle when writing to the Corinthians: I would that all men were even as myself, that is, that all should embrace the virtue of continence ... But as, according to the same Apostle, every one hath his proper gift from God ... and as marriage is gifted with great and divine blessings, so much so as truly and properly to hold a place among the other Sacraments of the Catholic Church, and as its celebration was honoured by the presence of our Lord Himself ... we find

*that St. Paul and the Prince of the Apostles have in many places minutely described to us not only the dignity but also the duties of the married state ... [and] well understood the numerous and important advantages which must flow to Christian society from a knowledge, and an inviolable observance by the faithful of the sanctity of marriage ... nature itself by an instinct implanted in both sexes impels them to such companionship." "Images are prohibited only inasmuch as they are used as deities to receive adoration, and so to injure the true worship of God ... who can be so ignorant as to believe that such forms are representation of the Deity?--forms ... which only express some attribute or action ascribed to God."*

*Trent also decreed: 1) "If anyone says that man can be justified before God by his own works, whether done by his own natural powers or through the teaching of the law, without divine grace through Jesus Christ, let him be anathema." 2) "If anyone says that the sinner is justified by faith alone, meaning that nothing else is required in order to obtain the grace of justification, and that it is not in any way necessary that he be prepared and disposed by the action of his own will, let him be anathema." Vs. Luther's notion "that the struggle to muster individual contrition so as to make Penance efficacious ... was a kind of psychological 'good work'" (Mullett ).*

*Trent also decreed: Re: "Those who may administer Baptism": "This office extends in case of necessity, even to Jews, infidels and heretics, provided, however, they intend to do what the Catholic Church does in that act of her ministry. These things were established by many decrees of the ancient Fathers and Councils; and the holy Council of Trent denounces anathema against those who dare to say, that Baptism, even when administered by heretics, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, with the intention of doing what the Church does, is not true Baptism."*

**\*\*1567\*\***

Darnley murdered. Mary marries Bothwell, one of murderers, and is forced to abdicate; son James VI, 13 months old, crowned king in Scotland.

Laurence Vaux's A Catechisme or Christian Doctrine (eight editions through 1605) (with The Use and Meaning of the Holy Ceremonies of Gods Church in English edns.), first post-Reformation catechism in English, the manual for Louvain exiles, record of full Catholic ritual, now banned in England. Vaux is (with Allen) one of leading Lancashire Catholics who insist on duty of recusancy. Catechisme, Chap. 1 begins: "What is Man? Man is a reasonable creature of God which God hath made marveilouslie of a body and a soule. As concerning the body, hee is mortall like unto beastes; But as concerning the soule, he is immortally like unto Angels, made after the likeness and image of God, that is to say, with power of knowledge and love, apt to receave felicity, and true blessedness, which consisteth in the cleare knowledge & fruition of God. Whom doe ye call a Christian Catholike man? Him that hath received the Sacrement of Baptisme, whereby he is made a member of the Catholicke Church, and doth professe in hart, word, and deed, the holesome Doctrine of Iesus Christ, and of the Catholicke church, and doth not consent, nor agree to any strang sects or opinions, that the Catholicke church dost disallow or condemne." ... "By what entrance must wee come unto God? First we must come unto God by faith, for without faith it is impossible to please God ... Why is the Church called one? ... Christ his church is called one, being gathered together in one spirit of Iesu Christ. In this church is confessed and worshipped one God, one faith is confessed and taught, one Baptisme, and one uniforme order of Sacramentes are ministered without Schisme or devision, having one Head in earth, Gods Vicar in the Apostolicke See, successor to S. Peter."

Nicholas Sanders, The Rocke of the Church: "what have they which we lack? have they a faith iustifying? so have we, but not iustifying alone, but iustifying with charity ... Have they two Sacraments? We have seven. Have they an inwarde priesthood whereby Christ is offered in their harts? we have an inward, and an outward ..." Argued against Foxe and against imperialist theory of rights of emperors in councils of the church; Catholics now saw "Protestantism, not as a separate church vying for control, but as a selection of doctrines imperfectly cast and only partially understood" (Wooding).

Nicholas Sanders, A Treatise of Images: "We albeit we sett not up Images principally to be

worshipped nor to be worshipped at all for their owne sakes, yet seeing a certaine worship maie lauffully be geuen to them for the truthes sake whiche they signified, we iudge it much better, to let them be worshipped (teaching the people what worshippe is due to them) then wholly to abolishe the great profit which cometh by Images.”

William Allen, In Defense of the Lawful Power of the Priesthood to Remit Sins.

*Sanctae Inquisitionis hispanicae artes detectae* (anon.), *on horrors of Inquisition, pub. in Heidelberg, best-seller became key to formation of the “Black Legend” of the Spanish Inquisition*.

Jewel's Defense (see 1562), followed by Harding's Rejoindre to M. Jewels Replie against the sacrifice of the Masse: “Ye have examined us, ye have deprived us, ye have condemned us, some to prisons, some to certaine places, ye have debarred us of libertie to see our deare frendes, to enioye our swete Countrie, ye have taken from us great summes of money, ye have thirsted our bloude, ye have oftentimes called for the Princes sword to be drawen against us, ye have geuen the cause of the loss of many of our lives. This and much more have ye done touching our parte.// But as touching Gods parte, what iniurie, what dishonour, what pillages, what robberies, what Sacrileges, what spoiles, what prophane and Turkish saggess of Churches, what contempt, what despite, what villainies, ye and your breathers, have done in sundry places of Christendome, what needeth it any man to speak, the secretes of hartes do speake, the sighing of Gods people speaketh, the Earth, the Heaven, God him self by his brute and dumme Creatures speaketh.”

**\*\*1568\*\***

Mary Queen of Scots flees to England and raises hope for eventual Catholic succession, but she is imprisoned by Elizabeth.

Bishop's Bible published (basis of James's 1611 version), also to be used by Shakespeare; in preface, Archbishop Parker claimed Christian origins in early England, i.e. the conversion of England under its second century king, Lucius.

Catholic English College at Douai founded by William Allen (-1578 when moved to Rheims), for training of seminary priests, “to drawe into this College the best wittes out of England, that were either Catholically bent or desirous of more exact education then is these daies in either of the Universities” (Allen, Apologie, 1581); seminary will return to Douai in 1593, presided over by Allen until his death in 1594; will begin sending priests to England in 1574: “we feared that if the schism should last much longer, owing to the death of the few who, at its beginning, had been cast out of the English universities for the faith, no seed would be left hereafter for the restoration of religion, and that heresy wold thus obtain a perpetual and peaceful possession of the realm, there being no one to make reclamation, though an opportunity should offer at the death of the queen or otherwise.” Allen promoted at the college a new rigorous spirituality, and use of the Jesuit exercises. See founding of English College at Rome 1576 for English missionaries; also Valladolid 1589 and Seville 1592.

Queen's Players play at Stratford (or 1569) also 1587; also Worcester's Men (or 1569) also 1575, 1576, 1581, 1582, 1584.

JOHN SHAKESPEARE ELECTED BAILIFF OF STRATFORD, ITS HIGHEST OFFICE; SERVES UNTIL 1569. Normally required to swear oath of supremacy, but enforcing sheriff of Warwickshire, Robert Middlemore, was a Catholic.

**\*\*1569\*\***

[Resistance and Return to Non-Resistance 1569-1579: political pamphlets against the government, 1569-73, then drew back because Allen wanted to send missionaries] (Holmes); resistance coincides with arrival and imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots.]

Northern Rebellion by Northern Earls (including Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Northumberland) in favor of Mary (occasioned by her arrival) fails; Duke of Alba never came to their aid. 800 rebels executed. Northumberland at his trial: “our first object ... was the reformation of religion and the preservation of the person of the Queen of Scots, as next heir, failing issue of Her Majesty, which causes I believed were greatly favoured by most of the noblemen of the realm.” Many parallels to York rebellion in 1 and 2 Henry IV. Norfolk pardoned. See Georgiana Fullerton, Constance Sherwood: An Autobiography of the Sixteenth Century (1875): “since this rising in the north, to be a Catholic and a traitor is one and the same in their eyes who have to judge us” (31). Robert Hugh Benson, By What Authority? (1904): “In spite of the Holy Sacrifice and the piteous banner and the call to fight for the faith, the Catholics hung back and hesitated, and the catastrophe was complete”

(21).

Thomas Hoghton, recusant, having rebuilt Hoghton Tower, goes into exile; his son, Thomas, dies a priest; his brother, Alexander "of Lea Hall" succeeded Thomas Sr. as head of family (see 1580). Also into exile goes Alexander's half-brother Richard, of Park Hall. Thomas write nostalgic poem, "The Blessed Conscience:

At Hoghton hygh, which is a bower  
Of sports and lordly pleasure,  
I wept, and lefte that loftie tower  
Wich was my chieftest treasure.  
To save my soul and lose ye rest  
Yt was my trew pretence;  
Lyke frighted bird, I lefte my neste  
To kepe my conscyence ... (last line repeated as refrain)

(Honigmann, 1985, gives different form, says it is by Robertson Anderton, Thomas's butler)

John Leslie, bishop of Ross, and Mary's ambassador, A Defence of the honour of the right highe, mightye and noble Princesse Marie Queene of Scotlande ... with a declaration as well of her riht, title & intereste to the succession of the crowne of Englande, defending Mary's succession (against Knox's First Blast (1558)), defends her against charge of murder, argues she was unlawfully deposed from Scotland. Says Elizabeth coming to Mary's help will be like "our noble Cordell, that sett up agayne in the Royall throne of our Britannie, her father driven from thence by hys two other unkinded and unnaturall dowghters. Some Princes of our realme have in theyre greate calamitie, & amonge other, kinge Henrie the sixte fownde muche comforte, frendshippe, succour and relief, at the kinges handes of Scotlande. This Ladie & Quene deserveth nowe to taste the like at our Quenes handes ... And yt were not altogether from the purpose here to consider and weighte, with what and howe greavouse plagues this realme hath bene ofte afflicted and scowrged by reason of wrongfull and usurped titles." Thus, "the pitifull reigne of the saide John who doth not lamente with the lamentable loss of Normandie ... Wherof the crowne of Englande was robbed and spoiled by the unlawful usurping of him against his nephewe Arthur." "He that remembrethe the tragicall procedinges of the last by name, and not by right kinge Richarde, neadeth not gretely to dowbte, but that, as he coule finde in his harte to bastarde his eldeste brother, and lawfull kinge, and to diffame his owne natural mother as an harlott, even so nowe there will some be fownded that will easilie be induced for the avancinge and settinge forthe of their supposed right and title to the crowne ... Which unhappie daye if yt should once chance (as God forrebid) then may we crye owte and singe a wofull and dolefull songe: Then may we, not with owte cause, loke for the botomlesse Ocean sea of infinite troubles, miseries and myscheiffes to overwhelme the realme, the Which my mynde and harte abhorreth to thincke upon, and my penne in my hande trembleth to write therof."

Reginald Pole, A Treatise of Justification (Louvain): "it is truly sayd in the Scripture, a man is iustified by faith without woorkes, and it is truly said, a man is iustified by workes." "Leet no man goe to farre on the left hande, and saie that there is no free wil: Let no man turne to farre on the right hande, and thinke that free will without grace may suffise him to live well. Manicheus toke of the left hand, Pelagius on the right."

Sir Ralph Sadler of Lancaster, to Cecil: "There be not in all this country of the North x. gentilmen, that do favour and allowe of her majesties proceedings in the cause of religion, and the common people be ignorant, full of superstition, and altogether blynded with tholde popish doctryne."

Stratford Council pays nine shilling to Queen's players and 1 shilling to all of Worcester's players.

**\*\*1570\*\***

Elizabeth excommunicated and 'deposed' by Pope Pius V's Bull of Excommunication, Regnans in Excelsis in belated support of Northumberland's doomed rebellion: major moment made it seem that loyal Catholic could not be loyal Englishman; ("a political mistake, but it sent a signal that English Catholics were not to be left to the fate of slow absorption into a Protestant Church" (Collinson 2003)). Thus the beginning of "recusancy," whereas before papists mixed in with Church of England attendees; "first step in recalling catholics from ... half-hearted opposition ... to the rejection of all compromise;" "both sides at this time were content to let sleeping dogs lie; the government because they were not anxious to publicize such a vigorous indictment, and the Catholics because it soon became evident for the time being that the Bull was a dead letter ... The

Bull only became a subject of acute controversy after the arrival in England in 1580 of the first ... missionaries" (Clancy 1961). "Pius's action was so generally recognized as a political blunder that it was even remembered in the 1930s when the papacy considered how to react to Adolf Hitler's regime: Discrete voices in the Vatican privately recalled the bad precedent" MacCulloch) Resulted in polarization, that may have led John Shakespeare to become recusant. But see Meyer (1916): "English catholics once more began to feel they were the sons of the universal church" (131).

"it was so far from raising all the Papists in the Nation against her ... that it was contemned and slighted by most, and instead of alienating their duty and their affections from the queen, it did alienate them both from him, who was so ill advised, as by such hasty, unreasonable and ridiculous provocations, to bring the severity of Laws and Trouble upon them, who had hitherto been suffered quietly to enjoy in private the exercise of their Religion" (Edmund Gee, intro. to *Persons' Memorial*) (see 1596). Robert Hugh Benson, *By What Authority?* (1904): "From every point of view the Bull was unfortunate, though it may have been a necessity, for it marked the declaration of war between England and the Catholic Church" (47).

Elisabeth's "Declaration of the Queen's Proceedings" assured subjects that while they remained law abiding and went to church, they would not be molested by "inquisition of their opinions for their consciences in matters of their faith."

"An homilie against disobedience and willful rebellion" added to *Book of Homilies* (see 1563), because of Northern Rebellion (influences *Troilus* etc.): "with the breach of obedience, and breaking in of rebellion, al vices and miseries did withall breake in, and ouerwhelme the world." "A rebel is worse then the worst prince." Thus blessed Virgin obeyed Augustus decree to go to Bethlehem: "The obedience of this most noble and vertuous ladie to a forraigne and pagan prince doth well teache us, who in comparison to her are most base and vile, what redie obedience we do owe to our naturall and gracious Soveraigne." Jesus "openly dyd teache the Jewes to pay tribute unto the Romane Emperour, "obeyed paciently" Pilate's sentence. On the "mischiefe and wickednes when the subjectes unnaturally do rebell against their prince ... countrey men to disturbe the publique peace and quietnesse of their countrey, for defence of whose quietnesse they should spende their lives; the brother to seeke and often to worke the death of his brother, the sonne of the father; the fathers to seeke to procure the death of his sonnes, being at mans age, and by their faultes to disherite their innocent children and kinsmen their heyres for ever, for whom they might purchase livinges and landes ..." On King John: "Nowe, had Englishmen at that tyme knowen their dutie to their prince set foorth in Gods Worde, would a grreat manye of the nobles and other Englishmen ... upon so sclender or no grounde at all, have rebelled against their soveraigne lorde, the Kyng? ... Would they have sent for and receaved the dophlin of Fraunce ... Would they have driven their naturall soveraigne lorde, the King of Englande, to such extremities, that he was inforced to submit him selfe unto that forraigne false usurper, the Byshop of Rome? ... "[much vitriol on this subject]

Gooze, *Popish Kingdom, or Reign of Antichrist*.

*Papal Bull makes Roman Missal obligatory for entire Catholic Church, thus "excluded the development which is natural in the life of the Catholic church"* (Horton Davies).

1570 cont.

William Lambarde's *Perambulations of Kent*, a Protestant's conflicted response to the terrible ruins at Canterbury: "The Gods each one, by whose good ayde this empire stoode upright / Are flowne: their entries and their altars eke, abandoned quight"

Elizabeth's marriage with Duc d'Alençon (until 1576, then d'Anjou) proposed by his mother, Catherine de' Medici, to unite French Catholics and English Protestants against Spain, then dropped; suit revived in 1572-76, then dropped for a while; see below.

Roger Ascham, *The Schoolmaster, Or plain and perfect way of reaching children, to understand, write, and speak the Latin tongue, but specially purposed for the private bringing-up of youth in gentlemen's and noblemen's house ...*: "when the busy and open papists abroad could not by their contentious books turn men in

England fast enough from truth and right and judgment in doctrine, then the subtle and secret papists at home procured bawdy books to be translated out of the Italian tongue, whereby overmany young wills and wits, allured to wantonness, do now boldly condemn all severe books that sound to honesty and godliness. In our forefathers' time, when papistry as a standing pool covered and overflowed all England, few books were read in our tongue, saving certain books of chivalry ... which, as some say, were made in monasteries by idle monks or wanton canons." Such "Italianated" persons "have in more reverence the Triumphs of Petrarch than the Genesis of Moses; they make more account of Tully's Offices than St. Paul's Epistles, of a tale in Boccaccio than a story of the Bible;" "most vigorous and memorable expression of a prejudice ... shared by many Elizabethans" (intro by L. Ryan ); sees Malory as Italianate.

*First French academy founded@ by Jean Antoine de Baïf, member of "La Pléiade," encouraged by Catherine de' Medici: Charles IX's 1570 Académie de Poésie et Musique "in which Protestants and Catholic musicians collaborated in the effort to the recover the music of the ancients and its effects upon the souls of men" (Yates, Valois 63); eventually became Palace Academy under Henry III, also a model for Henri de Navarre's Huguenot academy (with both Catholic and Protestant members), promoted by Philippe du Plessis-Mornay (see 1581) and Pierre de la Primaudaye, whose book L'Académie Francaise (1577, see 1586), given popular translation in England, was source for Shakespeare. Both Italian and French academies evolved in religious direction; Henri of Navarre, under Borromeo's influence, pledged to do penance for his people (Yates, French Academies). Influenced by the academy, Ronsard (d. 1585, leader in the Pléiade 1549-) saw himself as a poet reviving Christian mysticism against the Protestant challenge. (Ronsard's Amours, 1552.)*

William Butcher, Stratford Catholic vicar (1564-70), sacked (c. 1569-70) along with schoolmaster for sympathy with the Northern Rebellion; replaced by Protestant Henry Heycroft at Trinity in Stratford.

**\*\*1571\*\***

Treasons Act (inspired by Northern rebellion of 1569 and papal Bull): made treason to call Elizabeth a heretic, infidel, usurper, etc.; made it treason to absolve anyone or reconcile them to Rome; to import Catholic objects caused praemunire.

First parliament to take the oath of Supremacy, thus the first with no avowed Catholics.

John Leslie's preface to new edition of his 1569 Defense of ... Marie: "If manifest injustice should so far prevail (which God of His infinite mercy forbid) as that her just and rightful title be suffered any way to be touched or defaced by colour or pretence of any law or authority, then undoubtedly, as the same unjust law must be accounted by all wise and good men, non lex ... even so will the horrible and irrecoverable confusion, desolation and utter subversion of the whole realm necessarily and certainly ensue thereupon by continual terrible wars, and many bloody battles, with fire and sword to be most cruelly pursued, the end whereof Almighty God only knoweth, and few or none now alive are ever like to see."

1571 cont.

Ridolfi (London Italian banker) plot, including Duke of Norfolk, to depose Elizabeth and crown Mary (see 1572) (largely engineered by Cecil, and also with his success with Babington Plot (1586), assured his supremacy on Royal Council).

Elizabeth vetoes bill to require reception of Communion.

Nicholas Sanders, magnum opus, De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae, responding to Jewel, defense of papal authority, first attempt to chronicle the sufferings of English Catholics; seventh chapter is first to gather stories of Catholic martyrs; first to give a theoretical justification for resistance, and for the Bull of Excommunication; thus became basis for the "bloody questions."

*Battle of Lepanto, first Christian victory, by Catholic forces under Don John of Austria, over the Turks, stopped Ottoman supremacy in the Mediterranean: much rejoicing in London. In 1573 Pius V will institute Oct 7 as a special Feast of the Rosary to commemorate the victory;*

he will also insert "Our Lady, Help of Christians" in the Litany of Loretto.

**Shakespeare taught by Catholic schoolmaster, Simon Hunt (taught 1571-1575)** (but see Bearman 2005 for alternative Hunt) perhaps remembered in schoolroom scene of Merry Wives IV.

JOHN SHAKESPEARE NOW CHIEF ALDERMAN. **Shakespeare aetat 7.**

**\*\*1572\*\***

Leicester's men play at Stratford, also 1576, and 1586 or 1587.

Duke of Norfolk, England's premier peer, executed; thus end of great Ridolfi plot to restore Catholicism. (Norfolks remain staunch Catholic nobility, one of few remaining noble Catholic families in following centuries).

John Leslie (or Northern nobles according to Bossy), A Treatise of Treasons against Queen Elizabeth and the crow of England, out of Louvain, graphic details of Catholic suffering, blames Cecil, now Lord Burghley, emphasizes Queen's mercy (compare later Merchant of Venice speech addressed to government): if Mary were excluded, "no man should look for an end thereof, when it were come to that, nor expect any less, but that when these two first families shall be weeded out for that third, that also shall be weeded out for another, and so that fourth for a fifth, till none be left of the blood royal, but the realm come to be governed, either by a foreigner, or by a popular state;" incited Somerville acc. to Burghley (see Martin 2000); heresy will ultimately cause overthrow of English civilization. Considered by Thomas Clancy the first political statement to come from English Catholics, it argued that heresy would lead to disorder and to overthrow of English civilization.

*Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85).*

Massacre of Saint Bartholomew, slaughter of Protestants (beginning with Henri of Navarre's wedding guests in Paris) throughout France, led to renewed religious war; fanned anti-Catholic persecution in England; Henri's marriage to Margaret of Valois, daughter of Catherine de Medici, was supposed to signal apparent union of Catholic and Protestant parties; thus the massacre was a terrible betrayal; and a blow to Catherine de' Medici's (the Queen Mother) attempts to promote religious reconciliation.

Vestibarian controversy continues, rejuvenated by Admonition Controversy sparked by [Thomas Wilcox](#) and [John Field](#)'s Admonition to Parliament, the first public manifestation of English Presbyterianism.

"**Puritan\***", the term first cited now by OED: (can be given positive or negative connotations): "Originally the name applied chiefly to those within the Church of England who sought further reform, especially in the direction of Presbyterianism ... Subsequently (and especially after the Restoration of 1660) it was applied to those who separated from the established episcopal Church as Presbyterians, Independents (Congregationalists), or Baptists, including many who were prominent in the colonization of the North American seaboard (especially New England)."

R. H., trans. of Lavater, Of Ghosts and Spirits (influence Hamlet?).

Campion to Bishop of Gloucester: "Once more consult your own heart, my poor old friend; give me back your old beauty, and those excellent gifts which have been hitherto smothered in the mud of dishonesty. Give yourself to your mother [Church], who begot you to Christ, nourished you, consecrated you; acknowledge how cruel and undutiful you have been; let confession be the salve of your sin. You have one foot in the grave, you must die, perhaps directly, certainly in very short time, and stand before that tribunal, where you will hear, Give an account of thy stewardship; and unless while you are on the way you make it up quickly and exactly with the adversary of all sin, it shall be required to the last farthing, and you shall be driven miserably from the land of the living by Him whom you will never be able to pay. Then those hands which have conferred spurious orders on so many wretched youths shall for very pain scratch and tear your sulphurous body; that impure mouth, defiled with falsehood and schism, shall be filled with fire and worms and the breath of tempests," etc..

**Shakespeare aetat 8.**

**\*\*1573\*\***

Leicester's men, led by James Burbage, perform in Stratford (or 1572?).

Walter Travers, finest statement of Puritan position, Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae et Anglicanae ("A Clear ... Exposition from the Word of God ... and the Anglican Church's Deviation Therefrom").



*Poland grants religious liberty to all non-Catholics, in the year following the death of ecumenical Catholic, Sigismund II; "one major exception in the later sixteenth century to Catholicism's general intolerance" (Zagorin, 2003).*

Francis Walsingham, horrified at St. Bartholemew's massacre year before, appointed Secretary of State (until death in 1590). **Shakespeare aetat 9.**

**\*\*1574\*\***

First Douai missionaries arrive in England; by the end of Elizabeth's reign, new seminaries had been founded in Rome, Lisbon, Madrid, Seville, San Lucar near Seville (for a time), and Valladolid.

Catholics undergo major persecution.

Earl of Warwick's men play at Stratford (or 1575).

Richard Bristow's [Motives to the Catholike Faith] A Briefe Treatise of diverse plaine and sure wayes to finde out the truthe in this doubtful and dangerous time of Heresie: pulls back from resistance a little, first attempt to reconcile Catholic loyalty with the deposing bull, a balancing act widely followed thereafter; Bristow's 1575 edn. published without the offending political passages. "Between 1574 and 1579 twenty-two other English Catholic books were published; all studiously non-political" (Holmes). Bristow gloried in the name "Catholic," one of his "motives." He celebrated Catholic martyrs, against Foxe's, like Fisher and More, but also the Northern Rebellion.

1574 cont.

Sir Geoffrey Fenton, A Form of Christian Policy (early attack on theatres).

In Padua (where Protestant could discuss canon law "in a more relaxed world"), "Philip Sidney, the white hope of militant internationalist English Protestantism, was among those witnessing the doctoral examination in law of the self-exiled English Catholic John Hart" (MacCulloch).

Lord Burghley to Sir Thomas Copley: "And now, Mr. Copley, wherein make you the difference so great in matters of religion ... that you will for that lose the sweet benefit of your native soil, your friends, your kindred, yea, incur the infamy that wilful exile doth bring, to be accounted, if not a traitor, yet a companion of traitors and conspirators, a man subject to the curses and imprecations of zealous good subjects, your native countrymen, yea, subject to lack of living by your own and thereby compelled to follow strangers for maintenance of livelihood and food? The cause must needs be of great force to induce you thereto." Copley's reply: "Your Lordship, being so wise and learned, cannot be ignorant of the grounds that we Catholics stand on for our faith, to wit, antiquity, universality, unity; the confirmation by miracles and the blood of most holy and approved martyrs; the continual assistance of the Holy Ghost usque ad consummationem saeculi; the conquest in time of all other sects and heresies that have sprung up in any age; apostolical succession of our pastors, not by intrusion but by ordinary vocation; assuredness by the promises of Our Saviour that hell-gates shall not prevail against it, and divers other such-like marks and evidence which no sect can with any reason or truth show for itself."

*Henri III becomes king of France, agrees to Protestant-Catholic cooperation; but this is opposed by formation of the Holy League led by the Duc de Guise.*

Richard Shakespeare, brother, born (d. 1613).

**Shakespeare aetat 10, about now passes to advanced curriculum of upper school.**

**\*\*1575\*\***

Queen on progress to Midlands, stays 2 weeks as guest of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle, Warwickshire, with festivities.

First seminary priests come to midlands about this time.

**Simon Hunt, Shakespeare's first schoolmaster, takes student Robert Debdale and leaves post for Douai (where he leaves Debdale (Dibdale) and then on to Rome to become a Jesuit priest.**

**Thomas Jenkins, Protestant, fellow with Campion at St. John's College, becomes schoolmaster; to be succeeded by John Cottam (Cottom) in 1579. Jenkins probably told anecdotes of Campion's story at Oxford and his defection to Rome. Shakespeare aetat 11.**

JOHN SHAKESPEARE BUYS TWO HOUSES.

**\*\*1576\*\***

Earl of Worcester's men perform at Stratford; Leicester's men play at Stratford.

236 Englishmen estimated at Douai.

James Burbage erects The Theatre at Shoreditch in Liberty of Holywell, first London regular playhouse, beginning of playhouses in "the margins ... where the contradictions of the community ... were ... dramatically set on stage" (Mullaney); outside the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor, stages associated with taverns, brothels, lazar houses, and onetime monasteries.

*Pacification of Ghent, treaty creating concord between Protestants and Catholics in Netherlands, against Spain, engineered by William of Orange, aided by Duc d'Anjou, both now associated with Catholic/Protestant reconciliation, d'Anjou with "politique" Catholicism, contra the conservative pro-Spanish Guises.*

*English College founded in Rome by Pope Gregory XIII, eventually administered by Jesuits. (Additional seminaries to be founded at Valladolid in 1589 and Seville in 1592.)*

JOHN SHAKESPEARE APPLIED TO COLLEGE OF HERALDS FOR COAT OF ARMS, BUT NONE ISSUED (or 1575) (reasons unknown, perhaps shelved and forgotten) (claims some vague ancestor honored by Henry VII) (see 1596, when his son renews application).

JOHN SHAKESPEARE DROPS OUT OF MAYORAL OFFICE, STOPS ATTENDING COUNCIL MEETINGS THROUGH 1586. **Shakespeare aetat 12.**

**\*\*1577\*\***

Cuthbert Mayne *first secular priest to suffer death*, hung, drawn and quartered for having copy of a Papal bull. Beginning of increased surveillance by government. Between now and 1603, 183 Catholics put to death, including 123 priests (out of perhaps 400 priests). (Francis Tregian had harbored Mayne and was imprisoned for 24 years.)

In interrogation of priests, the "bloody question" was posed: "if the Pope invaded England, would you take his part?" Thus in 1581 Campion will refer to the "bloody questions" (i.e. could Pope excommunicate the Queen?) pressed on Catholics. See Patrick McGrath, "The Bloody Questions Reconsidered," Recusant History (1991): "In their full form, they consisted of the following six questions? 1. Whether the bull of Pius the Fifth against the Queen's majesty be a lawful sentence and ought to be obeyed by the subjects of England?" etc.

Sidney visits Campion in Prague who describes him as eager to hear Catholic talk (see 1991): "Tell this to Dr. Nicholas Sanders, because if any one of his labourers sent into the vineyard from the Douai seminary has an opportunity of watering this plant, he may watch the occasion for help a poor wavering souls. If this young man, so wonderfully beloved and admired by his countrymen, chances to be converted, he will astonish ... all the young courtiers, and Cecil himself." Earlier (1574) Sidney had socialized with Catholics to such an extent that he was warned in 1575 by his tutor: "I see that your friends have begun to suspect you on the score of religion." After Prague, despite his support of Protestant causes against the Spaniards etc., Sidney "made no advance in his public career for several years" (Simpson, Edmund Campion). "His religious allusions and banter savour of Catholic, not of Protestant, sentiment; he refers to Saints, Sacraments, and Purgatory, not like a man who hates them and spurns them, but like one who believes in them, yet without trembling" (Simpson). At Prague (for 5 years), Campion composed and directed Latin drama; thus might have talked to young Shakespeare at Lapworth (or more likely, Ashby St. Leger), about drama, and then recommended him to the Hoghtons.

John Leslie, De Origine, Moribus et Res Gestis Scotorum, gives genealogical tree of 8 Stuart rulers, to support Mary's claim to throne (thus Macbeth).

"In no other European country did Catholic clergy have such zeal. Heroism was the offspring of persecution ... eagerness for martyr's crown" (Lutheran testimony).

George Buchanan, Baptistes: Buchanan had defended his play to the Inquisition in Lisbon: "I used to disagree with the English [i.e. on Pope's authority, free will, purgatory, etc.] ... Accordingly as soon as possible when I escaped thence, I recorded my opinion of the English in that tragedy which deals with John the Baptist, wherein, so far as the likeness of the material would permit, I represented the death and accusation of Thomas More and set before the eye an image of the

tyranny of that time.”

1577 cont. Holinshed's Chronicles, first and last volumes, attempts to create sense of Englishness over and above religious/political divisions; emphasizes holiness of Henry VI and Henry V. Holinshed on Turkish threat: “It is therefore to be wished of all those that tender the suretie of the christian commonwealth, that princes would permit their subjects to live in libertie of conscience, concerning matters of faith; and that subjects againe would be readie in dutifull wise, to obeie their princes in matters of civill government.”

Sir Francis Drake's voyage round the world in the Pelican (-1580) which he renamed “The Golden Hind.”

John Northbrooke, A Treatise Wherin Dicing, Dauncing, Vaine Playes or Enterluds With Other Idle Pastimes etc. Commonly Used on the Sabboth Day, Are Reproved: playgoers “shame not to say and affirm openly, that Plays are also good as Sermons, and that they learn as much or more at a Play, than they do at God's word preached.”

John Whitgift appointed bishop of Worcester diocese, visits Stratford with Queen's instructions to certify names of recusants, with the value of their properties.

JOHN SHAKESPEARE'S FORTUNES BEGIN DECLINE, CITED FOR VARIOUS DEBTS.

**Shakespeare aetat 13; removed from school.**

**\*\*1578\*\***

Lord (Ferdinand) Strange's men, and Lord Essex's men play at Stratford. Performances now once a year at Stratford.

Systematic tracts against conformity date from now: being a martyr “was now the foremost duty of every layperson,” i.e. Persons, Brief Discourse (below).

“The return of Sir Francis Walsingham to England from his embassy to the Netherlands in October, 1578, was signalized by a series of unprecedentedly strenuous efforts to seek out and punish recusants. For the next five years this able and strongly Protestant minister ... [directed] an extensive spy-system seldom equaled and never surpassed for efficiency in England” (Merriman, AHR, 1908).

Gregory Martin, A Treatise of Schisme, Shewing, that al Catholikes ought in any wise to abstaine altogether from heretical Conventicles, to witt, their prayers, sermons, &c: “As long as we remaine in this bodye mistical, in this vine, as true members, as true branches, so have we life, grace, & giftes proportionable unto the part, that we occupie in the mistical body. If we cutt off our selves by heresie, by schisme, by going into the Church, where it is, or where any part of the schismatical service therof is said or preached, we have no more the life, graces, and giftes of the holy Ghost, to merite life everlasting, then hath the leg or arme, cut off from the body, the life of the soul, which onely remaineth in the body ... What haltering, what hanging, what hewing downe of christians, what murdering, what quartering, what martyring of Catholikes hath there bene, since the partie Protestant began “ (Preface).

English College moves from Douai to Rheims (1578-1593) under protection of Duke of Guise. Allen still hopes for conversion of England by peaceful methods, and looks to the seminary as the sole hope (Meyer). At Douai, a new English translation of the Bible begins to “counter the corruptions whereby the heretics have so long lamentably seduced almost the whole of our countrymen.”

1578 cont. *Discovery of St Priscilla's catacombs in Rome, encouraged recusants.*

Martin, The Loue of the Soule: “Deare Sisters ... how many are there thinke yo of secrete catholickes? ... all the prisons not only of London, but of England are full of them, because they will not yeeld to these new proceedings, nor contaminate their soules with this newe service, and leave the olde true and Catholicke fayth: besides a number of sundrye degrees, which are deade in prison ... I omit Doctors, Deanes, Archdeacons, Knights, Squires, partlie in prison, partly departed the Realme and forsaking all, rather than they will forsake God, and his moste true and vndoubted religion.”

The meeting of Henry of Navarre and Marguerite de Valois at Nerac, with grand masques and games, to negotiate their reunion, which itself symbolized the attempt to reconcile warring religious

factions of France, a union portrayed in one of the Valois tapestries. One result was Treaty of Nerac, forerunner of 1598 Edict of Nantes.

JOHN SHAKESPEARE STARTS SELLING PROPERTY, CONVEYS PROPERTY (REVERTIBLE HOWEVER) IN WILMCOTE AND NEXT YEAR IN SNITTERFIELD TO WIFE'S BROTHER IN LAW, "PRESUMABLY IN EXCHANGE FOR CASH." CANNOT PAY OFF LOAN.

### **Shakespeare aetat 14.**

**\*\*1579\*\***

Priests, from Rheims, start coming to England, 216 priests between now and 1585.

*Papal force lands in Ireland to stir up revolt, led by James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald whose earlier revolts in 1569 had been stamped out by Philip Sidney and Humphrey Gilbert; revolt quashed and Ireland became the spoils of the English; the "New English" become powerful, over against Old English (many Protestantized) and Gaelic Irish.*

Jesuits say English Catholics are not bound by the Pope's deposition of Elizabeth to be followed "but only when public execution of the said bull shall be possible."

Thomas Hide, A Consolatorie Epistle to the afflicted Catholiques: "What haltering, what hanging, what hewing down of christians, what murdering, what quartering, what martyring of Catholiques hath there bene, since the partie Protestant began his newe no gospel ... What lamentable tragedies have they made, that nowe shake so mightily the whole frame of Christes faith? And yet notwithstanding all their possible oppressions, al their pernicious plots, faith endureth, the Church standeth, the Catholike encreaseth ... As there be many in many quarters of our countrie that suffer for the catholike cause: so be there many that be brought by their suffering to know the catholike name, to enquire of the catholike Churche, and to learne to confesse the catholike faith ... Indeed it is rather miraculous then marvelous there should be any, considering there hath not bin for some number of yeres any outward face, any open exercise of the catholik faith, considering there is no place where Catholiques be not pried for, apprehended and imprisoned, no prison so vile where they be not harbored, yea those places which were ordained for theeves, murtherers, bankroutes, heretikes, and traytors, be made the lodgings of holy fathers, of reverend Bishops, of Priestes, of Gentlemen, and Gentlewoman ... Christe hath but one shippe, that is, one Churche, one in unitie of fayth, one in unitie of profession, one in unitie of Sacramentes, one in unitie of head ... It is no lesse glory to suffer martyrdome for the conservation of unity, then it is not to offer to idols, yea rather it is a greater martyrdome, for in the one each man suffereth for him selfe, in the other ech man suffereth for the whole church ... Though they pray, though they fast, though they give almes, though they live continent, though they keep virginie, al doth not helpe, al doth not profite, because they breake unitie ... The Lutheran, the Calvinian, and Puritane faithe, is a newe no faith, a new no religion, founded upon manes fancy, without Goddess word of authority."

Sidney in Letter ... to Queen Elizabeth notes, by the way, the Papists as "men whose spirits are full of anguish; some being forced to oaths they account damnable; some having their ambition stopped, because they are not in the way of advancement; some in prison and disgrace; some whose best friends are banished practisers ... all burdened with the wealth of their consciences ..."

Catholic casuist manual, Douai ms., discussed what answers a Catholic should make to a heretic judge.

1579 cont.

Gosson, The School of Abuse, answered by Lodge. Lodge became Catholic probably at least by 1580, under influence of Trinity College Oxford; has also been an intimate retainer of the Stanley-Derby family (see Tenney).

Spenser, The Shepheards Calendar, defending Protestantism; May and September attack Roman clergy; E.K. in Glosses on April and June expresses Protestant detestation of medieval or 'Gothic' mythology, feigned by "bald Friars ... which sought to nousel the comen people in ignorounce," etc., though such was "Spenser's delight" (C.S. Lewis).

*Union of Utrecht unites northern provinces of Holland.*

Elizabeth engaged, sort of, to Duc d'Anjou, promoted by Catherine de Medici, with her proto-devout Catholic humanism; in July 1581, Elizabeth will write him Dear John letter; but then suit renewed, until d'Anjou's death in 1584.

Last performance of the Coventry Corpus Christi cycle; *medieval plays* associated with Catholic ritual and holidays were eliminated; "the padgins were layd downe" (Coventry annals).

John Cottom (Cottam), from Dilworth and neighbor of Thomas Hoghton, begins to teach at Stratford (1579-81); leaves in 1581, a month after his brother's arraignment (his brother Thomas Cottom, initially a Jesuit, then a seminary priest, then readmitted as Jesuit, executed in 1582). Thomas had been found with letter home by Robert Debdale. Other Lancashire teachers at Stratford: Walter Roche 1569-71 (from Lancaster), Simon Hunt 1571-5 (from Lancaster), Thomas Jenkins 1575-9 (from St. John's College, Oxford), Cottom (1579-81) from Tarnacre near Hoghton, Alexander Aspinall 1582-1624 (from Lancaster near Hoghton).

JOHN SHAKESPEARE SELLS OFF MORE PROPERTY, THE SNITTERFIELD PROPERTY TO NEPHEW.

**Shakespeare works for father and helps with his various trades. John Cottam may have directed Shakespeare to Hoghton Tower at this time. Shakespeare aetat 15, just finishing Stratford school. Sister, Anna, dies.**

**Shakespeare may have been at Hoghton's place from 1579-1581.**

**\*\*1580\*\***

[Enthusiastic non-resistance 1580-83, esp. as proclaimed by Persons and Campion] (Holmes)

First Jesuit missionaries, incl. Campion and Persons, arrive, in a group of 12 (3 Jesuits, 5 English seminary priests, 4 chaplains). Synod of Southwark by prominent Catholics to discuss strategies: they decide to concentrate on Lancashire and the north, Wales, and East Anglia. Also the Synod ruled: "So public an act as is going to the church, where profession is made to impugn the truth and to deface, alienate and bring into hatred Christ's Catholic Church, is the highest iniquity that can be committed." Persons spelled "Parsons" by enemies to imply he was bastard son of a parson. Persons comes disguised as "a captain returned from the Low Countries," "with air of braggadocio and bluster."

1580 cont.

Persons begins putting together thoughts toward his Memorial for the reformation of Englande (see 1596).

Persons' Confessio Fidei: "And that obedience which they [Christians] owe to their sovereign we inculcate not less but truly much more than does any of the Protestants. For we preach that princes should be obeyed not merely for fear of punishment ... but for conscience's sake as well." Campion and Persons stop in Milan to visit Cardinal Borromeo; they set up Jesuit mission in England. (They were dismayed to hear of Irish expedition as they arrived.) Campion put up by Sir William Catesby (father of Robert, the Gunpowder-plotter) at Lapworth Hall, 12 miles north of Stratford; Persons later said he stayed with the Ardens of Park Hall, Mary Arden's relatives. At Lapworth, Campion might have given John Shakespeare the Borromeo will, and even have given William the Spiritual Exercises. "The harvest is great"--Campion. Campion's Decem Rationes, giving his "Ten Reasons" against Protestantism (printed at Stonor Park in 1581): "Lest I might be arrested before I had got a hearing from any one, I at once put my purpose in writing ..." Campion composes his "Challenge" or "Brag" (see 1581) "The expense is reckoned, the enterprise is begun; it is of God, it cannot be withstood. So the faith was planted, so it must be restored." "My assignment is to preach the gospel free of charge, to administer the sacraments, to instruct the unlearned, to reform sinners, to refute errors—in short to sound a spiritual alarm against the foul vice and proud ignorance wherewith many of my dear countrymen are abused," "I never had in mind and am strictly forbidden by our Father [General] who sent me to deal in any respect with matters of state or policy of this realm since these things do not pertain to my vocation, and from them I gladly restrain and withdraw my thoughts." They bring Papal Bull (Gregory XIII's Mitigation) allowing political obedience, for now, by Catholics--confirming Protestant belief in Catholic duplicity but offering a way of being loyal to Catholics. Pope agrees that "in all matters pertaining to the secular State they should regard her as lawful queen ... until such time as the Apostolic See should make a further decision in this matter." Campion and Persons told to explain that "the bull always binds Elizabeth and the heretics, but, while things remain as they are [rebus sic stantibus], in no way binds the

Catholics, except when public execution of the the Bull shall become possible.”

Campion: “our enemies are determined to make an end, if possible, of all Catholics ... the Catholics are equally determined, when the occasion presents itself, to suffer any extremity rather than deny their faith.” “Everywhere ... men, women and even children are being dragged to prison. They are bound in iron chains, stripped of their possessions, deprived even of light, and in proclamations, harangues and sermons their reputations are destroyed ... as traitors and rebels.”

Persons' Brief Discourse contayning certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church:

“Catholiques ... by goinge to Protestante Churches, must neede bee brought ... to flat atheisme, that is, to leave of all conscience, and to care for no relygion at all ... or else to live in continual torment of mind;” appealed to Elizabeth to grant Catholics “more favour ... or at least leastwise equal toleration,” a landmark appeal for toleration since Atkinson (see 1563); argued that Lutheranism had led to disorder and Peasants war in Germany. Even Turks allowed their subjects to follow their own religion; while Catholic Church punished heretics, “it was the Protestants who had rejected Church unity, not the Catholics, and so the latter could not reasonably be persecuted.” “The adversaries are very mad that by no cruelty can they move a single Catholic from his resolution, no, not even a little girl” (Persons). Answered by Alban Langdale, Montague’s chaplain, who urged accommodating moderation, defended Catholic conformity against Jesuit radicalism; argued that martyrdom was supererogation for laity.

Drake in triumph for looting Spanish shipping.

Kempis Imitation of Christ trans. J. Roger.

1580 cont.

Montaigne (d. 1592), Essais, bks. 1 and 2@, including “Apology for Raymond Sebond” written probably for Margaret of Valois. Bk 3 pub. in 1588, M. died 1592. “Apology” first para. describes a sort of academy at Montaigne, “open to men of understanding,” received and entertained as “holy persons” (Henri of Navarre visited in 1584). Montaigne says that Peter Bunel made gift of Sebond’s treatise: “It was even at what time the new fangles of Luther began to creepe in favour, and in many places to shake the foundation of our ancient beleefe.” Bunel foresaw that “this budding disease would easily turne to an execrable Atheisme: For the vulgar ... if once it be possessed with the boldnesse to despise, and malapertnesse to impugne the opinions which tofore it held in awfull reverence ... they wil soone and easily admit an equall uncertainty in all parts of their beleefe ... and immediately reject (as a tyrannical yoke) all impressions they had in former times received by the authoritie of Lawes, or reverence of ancient custome.” Montaigne’s father asked him to translate Sebonde. Montaigne: “Had we a divine foundation, then should not humane and worldly occasions have the power so to shake and totter us, as they have. Our hold would not then yeeld to so weake a batterie: The love of noveltie; the constraint of Princes; the good successe of one partie; the rash and casuall changing of our opinions ... we should withstand these boistrouse billowes with an inflexible and immoveable constancie.” “This solemne proposition; Whether it be lawful for a subject, for the defence of religion, to rebell and take armes against his Prince: Call but to minde, in what mouthes but a twelve-moneth ago [1579, when Henri III was assassinated] the affirmative of the same was the chiefe pillar of the one part; the negative was the maine-underprop of the other.” “Presumption is our naturall and original infirmitie. Of all creatures man is the most miserable and fraile, and therewithall the proudest and disdainfulest. Who perceiveth and seeth himselfe placed here, amidst their filth and mire of the world, fast tied and nailed to the worst, most senseless, and drooping part of the world, in the vilest corner of the house, and farthest from heavens coape ... and yet dareth imaginarily place himselfe above the circle of the Moone, and reduce heaven under his feet. It is thorough the vanity of the same imagination, that he dare equall himselfe to God, that he ascribeth divine conditions unto himselfe ... “what ever is under the coape of heaven ... runneth one law, and followeth one fortune ... “All things enfolded are, / In fatall bonds as fits their share.” [Lucretius] “Our faith hath not been purchased by us: it is a gift proceeding from the liberality of others. It is not by our discourse

or understanding, that we have received our religion, it is by a *forreine* authority, and commandement." "How many weighty strifes, and important quarrels, hath the doubt of this one sillable, *hoc*, brought forth in the world." "How could that ancient God [Apollo] more evidently accuse ... the ignorance of divine essence, and teach men that their religion was but a peece of their owne invention ... then in declaring ... that the true worshipping of God, was that, which he found to be observed by the custome of the place, where he lived? Oh God, what bond, or duetie is it, that we owe not to our Sovereigne Creators benignities, in that he hath been pleased to cleare and enfranchise our beliefe from those vagabonding and arbitrary devolution, and fixt it upon the eternall Base of his holy word? What will Philosophy then say to us in this necessity? that we follow the lawes of our country, that is to say, this wavering sea of a peoples or of a Princes opinions, which shall paint me forth justice with as many colours, and reforme the same into as many visages as there are changes and alterations of passions in them. I cannot have my judgement so flexible." Called "Catholic Pyrrhonism" by R. Popkin, *The History of Scepticism* (1979). See E. Dowden on M's Catholicism. Influenced by devout humanism's "skeptical generosity," was read by De Sales; see Friedrich's *Montaigne* (1949).

Essay "Of three Good Women," all about suicides.

Montaigne not put on Index until 1676, in the midst of philosophical skeptical controversies.

Letter from Cardinal of Como to nuncio Sega pronouncing Pope's "santa benedizione" for Sega's opinion of the right "to take up arms against the Queen with impunity."

1580 cont.

Stow's *Annales, or, a Generall Chronicle of England* (c. 1580), source for RIII and HIV.

John Dowland converts to Catholicism (see 1595 for his deconversion).

A discourse, containing many wonderful examples of God's indignation, poured forth upon divers people for their intolerable sins, &c.: "On Easter Wednesday, being the 6<sup>th</sup> of April, 1580, somewhat before six o'clock in the afternoon, happened this earthquake ... this earthquake was not natural, but of God's own determinate purpose; to make the very foundation and pillars of the earth to shake, the mountains to melt like wax, the seas to dry up ... to shew the greatness of his glorious power, in uttering his heavy displeasure against sinners" (Strype, *Annals*, new edn. II.ii.25, p. 402). See MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 538.

Spain takes over Portugal, as Philip II asserts claim to the Portugese throne, thus new cause of concern to Elizabeth: in 1588 Armada will sail from Lisbon.

Lord Berkeley's men at Stratford; earl of Derby's men, and Worcester's (-1581).

JOHN SHAKESPEARE FINED £20 FOR NOT OBEYING ORDER TO APPEAR IN COURT, FOR NOT KEEPING QUEEN'S PEACE (often the charge for not attending church--see Smart, 1928); WHEN FRIEND, JOHN AUDELEY ALSO FAILED TO APPEAR, JOHN FINED ADDITIONAL £20 INVOLVED IN DISPUTE ABOUT NOT PAYING TITHES ON CROPS. "We can only guess what he had done to incur so severe a penalty. It may have been his continued attendance at forbidden Catholic services," thus put on recusancy list (Campbell and Quinn, *Reader's Encyclopedia*: see 1966.) "Was it because of his wool brogging, or some drunken quarrel ... or a suspicion that he held the wrong religious beliefs?" (Greenblatt, *Will in the World* 63)

Robert Debdale, Shakespeare's older schoolfellow, now a seminary priest, who had returned to England as a missionary, is arrested.

Hoghton gravestone in Liège (later moved to Douai): "Over against this spot lies buried the illustrious man Mr. Thomas Houghton, Englishman, who after ten years of voluntary exile, despoiled by the sectaries of his patrimony and all his goods for his confession of the Catholic faith, died June 2, 1580, aged 63." Alexander Houghton is now head of the family (after his brother Thomas was declared a Catholic outlaw; see 1569), and would need to hire a Catholic school-master, either

for Lea Hall or Hoghton Tower. **Shakespeare “was in his younger years a schoolmaster in the country”** (Aubrey, later; but Aubrey mistaken about John Shakespeare as butcher). Lancashire was an important point of Catholic resistance to the government. Two theatrical companies, Earl of Derby’s men and Lord Strange’s men (Ferdinando, son of Earl), active in the area, the latter company very active in court performances in early 1590’s.

### **Shakespeare aetat 16.**

**\*\*1581\*\***

Act, “To Retain the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due Obedience,” heavily raised recusancy fines; *attending mass* earned year in prison and fine of 100 marks; *failure to attend Common Prayer service* would be £20 per month. Made treason to be reconciled with Catholic Church (because of failed Irish expedition, a failure which diminished work of Campion et al). Proclamation against Catholics studying abroad, and against retaining of Jesuits and “massing Priests” (Stow). “The act ... was now rigorously applied with no need, after the departure of the French mission, to observe even perfunctory moderation in the persecution of the Catholics.” “No man could enjoy security in the privacy of his own house, where he was liable at all hours, but generally in the night, to be visited by a magistrate at the head of an armed mob” (Lingard).

Privy Council instructs Bishop of Chester to endorse recusancy laws to reduce people to conformity “and terrifie the rest.”

Pamphleteer cites “the hotter sort of protestants called puritans.” Campion stays with Richard Hoghton, Alexander's half-brother, at Park Hall at Charnock (where his books were) or perhaps Hoghton Tower. Campion arrested 17 July at Lyford Grange. In this context and at this time, Alexander Hoghton made his will and died shortly after. Did “Shakeshafte” return to Stratford?

Campion and 2 other priests executed. Execution of Catholics every year now until 1603. Campion: “In condemning us you condemn all your own ancestors--all the ancient priests, bishops and kings--all that was once the glory of England, the island of saints, and the most devoted child of the See of Peter;” “they were bloody questions and very pharisaical, undermining of my life.” Campion seems to have given up some names of recusant houses (though perhaps retrieved from other sources), but not confessional secrets: “I never discovered any secretes there declared, and that I will not come Rack come Rope.” G. M. Hopkins: “Then what a genius was Campion himself! was he not a poet? perhaps a great one, if he had chosen. His History of Ireland, written in hiding and hurrying from place to place, Mr. Simpson in his Life says ... shewd an eloquence like Shakespere’s; and in fact Shakespere made use of the book. He had all and more than all the rhetoric of that golden age and was probably the most vigorous mind and eloquent tongue engaged in theological strife then in England, perhaps in Europe. It seems in time he might have done anything. But his eloquence died on the air, his genius was quenched in his blood after one year’s employment in his country” (letter to Dixon, 1 Dec. 1888).

Queen’s Council at Campion trial: Catholic priests mission is “to dissuade the people from their Allegiance to their prince, to reconcile them to the pope, to plant the Romish Religion, to supplant both prince and province—by what means? By saying of Mass, by administering the Sacraments, by hearing Confessions” (qu. Dailey 2006).

Meredith Hanmer, The Great Bragge and Challenge of M. Champion a Jesuite, refutation reprinted Campion's Brag in its entirety. Hanmer reproaches a Pope who “hath set the mother against her own son, the son to take armor against his own father, the subject against the prince, and the princes together at mortal wars.” (Matthew 10:35-38, “I have come to set a man against his father,” etc. also well known.) Allen said the declarations of Campion and Persons “pass from hand to hand everywhere among people in England and are a source of strength to many.”

Secret recusant press established in Essex.

French Ambassador: “The Queen said to me, I knew quite well her favorable attitude towards Catholics who did not place their conscience in antagonism to the state.” on Elizabeth’s reputation of toleration.)

1581 cont.

William Allen, rector of English College at Rheims, France, writes that Father Persons “wants three or four thousand or more of the Testaments, for many persons desire to have them” (i.e. Borromeo template will).



Persons, *De persecutione Anglicana Epistola*, trans. as *An epistle of the persecution of Catholiques in Englande* (1582), giving priests's letters from Tower describing torture, first work to develop idea of English persecution and martyrdom (but also see Sanders 1571), followed by other books, that made England "a show-piece of the Counter-Reformation" (Holmes), a dreadful warning to other countries, and a great fund-raising success for the seminaries. Beginning of Catholic martyrologies. On Protestant martyrs, Persons writes: "They were punished by an aucient generall lawe, for brynginge in of new opinions, never heard of in England before, and condemned by the highe Consistorie and parliament of Christiandome ... We are persecuted by new nationall statutes, for holdinge the auncient faith of Christianitie, and onelie religion of our forefathers in England."

1581 cont.

Allen's *Apologie of and True Declaration of the Institution and endeavours of the two English Colleges, the one in Rome, the other now resident in Rhemes*; attacked Elizabeth's supremacy, but praised her humanity; indeed, apart from the religious disaster, he would describe her reign as "glorious, renowned to the world" and "secure and happy at home": "being by rigor of penal statutes, diligent enquiry of temporal Officers, watchfulness of Ministers, spies, and promoters, continually restrained, and by them often chased from their houses, spoiled of their goods, disgraced and discouraged in al their affaires, many thousands yea the farre greater part of her Ma.ties subiectes languish away in sorrow and sadness irremediable ... very lamentable it is to thinke upon al the distressed consciences that through out the Realme repine with inconsolable sighes and grones against their receiving, hearing, and using of the pretended Sacraments, Service, Sermons, and other actions, whereunto they be involuntarily and against their wil drawn." "the othe of the Queenes soveraintie in spiritual regiment ... is nothing els, but wittingly to drive men to pitiful torment of mind, remorse, and utter desperation." We should be loyal to the Pope "whose predecessors gave us our first faith in the time of the Britannes, restored it afterward in the daies of the English." Priests from the Colleges "(beside other virtuous and lerned Priests) have duly and happily done [priestly duty], to the benefite and unspeakable solace of infinite persons, great alteration of mindes throughout the whole Realme, and wondeful encrase of courage in al sortes, not onely to thinke wel in hart, but openly ... boldly to professe their faith. Which was thought a hard thing to the worldly at the beginning, but now they would not be in their former case for al the goods the Realme yeldeth: acknowledging it to be an extreme miserie, that the greatest part of the Countrie should be Catholikes in their hartes, and in their mouths and actions, Protestants. And this they have done onely by the power of Priesthood ... by travails, watchings, fastings, perils at the portes, perils in the sea, perils on the land, perils of open enemies, perils of false brethren, fears of the lawes, feares of hurting their frendes, feares for scandalizing the weake; by contumelies, disgraces, poverties, prisonments, fetters, dungeons, rackes, deaths." "And it is the turpitude of our Nation through the whole world, whereat we blush before strangers ... that in one mans memorie and since this strange mutation began, we have had to our Prince, a man, who abolished the Popes authoritie by his lawes, and yet in other pointes kept the faith of his fathers: we have had a child, who by the like lawes abolished together with the Papacie, the whole ancient religion: we had a woman, who restored both againe, and sharply punished Protestants: and lastly her Ma.tie that now is, who by the like lawes hath long since abolished both againe, and now seuerely punisheth Catholikes, as the other did Protestants: and al these strange differences within the compasse of about 30 yeres ... Neverthesse, if by Gods suffering, for causes hidden unto us, any shrink (which Christ forbid) for feare of death, torments, or tribulations, from the felowship of your happy confession and crowne prepared for the same, as in the time of S. Cyprian ... be not scandalized or troubled thereat, but Vse such with all lenitie, taking compassion of their infirmities, considering that your selues also, or any of Vs all, may be tempted and ouerthrownd with Peter, and by Gods grace afterward repent and rise with him againe." "What hath Masse, Matins, Confessions, Absolution, beades, Agnusdeies, and other consecrated tokens of our communion with al the Churches of Christ through al ages, what affinities have they in nature with treason?" "Because they can not so easily determine, whether we be Heretikes, or our Adversaries, who have been dubbed with that name so long by the lawes both spiritual and temporal of al Christian countries ... therefore they thought it a nearer way to make us traitours, then Heretikes, and to punish us for pretended sedition and conspiracies, then for error in doctrine, or heresie." "You are prisoned in dungeons among theeves, and some of your chast virgins (as of old the blessed Marturs S. Agnes and S. Lucie) thrust into infamous places: the lodgings sometime of murderers and malefactors, are now filled with men of God." "There is no comfort left in the world ... nothing could you heare, but

... (as S. Basil speaketh) the pulpits opened to every blasphemous tongue; which caused all sortes of people of right judgment (as he also writeth in the same place) to flee from Oratories and the houses of prayer, as schooles of impiety; and rather to make their prayers with teares, out of the Church doores, and in wildernesses." "The prejudice and partialities of the present condition and sway of time, which by authoritie, force, and feare of lawes, favour the Prince, domestical education, plausible preaching and persuasion of profite, peace, and pleasure, doth sometimes alter and infect the very judgement and reason of the inward man, and much oftener doth byas and pervert the external actions of many worldlings even against their owne natural inclination, knowledge, and conscience" ;" "The universal lacke then of the soueraine Sacrifice and Sacraments catholically ministred, without which the soule of man dieth, as the body doth without corporal foode: this constrained to the contrarie seruices, whereby men perish euerlastingly: this intolerable othe repugnant to God, the Church, her Maties honour, and al mens consciences; the daily danger, disgraces, vexations, feares, imprisonments, empouerishments, despites, which they must suffer: and the railings and blasphemies against Gods Sacraments, Saints, Ministers, and al holies, which they are forced to heare in our Countrey: are the onely causes ... why so many of vs are departed out of our natural Countrey, and do absent our selves so long from that place where we had our being, birth, and bringing vp through God."

"There are thought to be 20,000 Catholics more this year than the last ..." (Allen)

1581 cont.

Persons says that now father is bound to accuse son, etc.

Mendoza, Spanish ambassador, to king of Spain: "the leading Catholics of the country, unless they would forget God, and profess the errors which are here established ... will not only lose lands, liberty, and perhaps life, but through these laws now passed through Parliament, they may leave tainted names to their children ... the heretics ... have made her believe that the Catholics will not be contented with liberty of worship, but desire a change of sovereigns. They have pretended that her life is in danger, the independence of the country threatened, with other lies and fictions."

Persons' A Briefe Censure upon Two Bookes written in Answere to M. Edmonde Campions Offer of Disputation.

Nathaniel Woodes, The Conflict of Conscience ... of Francis Spera (-1582) (or as early as 1572). (See Bunyan, Grace Abounding)

*Tasso, Gerusalemme Liberata@: Inspired by angel Gabriel and Peter the Hermit, Godfrey aided by knights Tancred and Rinaldo, leads first crusade to rescue Jerusalem from Saracens; note Tancred's fatal love for Clorinda.*

*Du Plessis-Mornay, De la Verité de la Religion Chrestienne, arguing religious tolerance; a Huguenot, adviser to Henri of Navarre, sought reconciliation of Catholics and Protestants; widely known in England as supposed author of Vindiciae contra Tyrannos (1579), under pseudonym "Junius Brutus," which argued view of kingship as a contract, and that evil kings should be deposed.*

1581 cont.

Master of Revels given authority to "reform, authorize" any play.

Seneca's plays, ed. Thomas Newton, pub., Shakespeare's probable source.

Southampton (1573-1624), on his father's death, moved from mother's house and put in Burghley's care; became a student at St. John's, Cambridge, at age 12, and graduated in 1589, returning to his mother's house at Cowdray.

Thomas Throckmorton succeeds father at Coughton Court, is noted recusant. (Brother Francis will be executed as Gunpowder plotter.)

Richard Hathaway, Anne's father, makes will citing his "neighbour" and chief creditor, the Catholic brother in law of Robert Debdale; also cites a trustee whose wife was defiant Catholic twice cited for non-attendance.

Worcester's and Berkeley's men at Stratford (-1582).

Sir Thomas Lucy, as justice of peace, prosecutes Edward Arden, personally searched Arden's house, and had his servants take him as prisoner to London.

JOHN SHAKESPEARE MAKES WILL ABOUT THIS TIME, using Borrromeo template: "I

do in no wise presume to merit heaven by such good works alone, but through the merits and blood of my Lord and Savior, Jesus, shed upon the cross for me most miserable sinner;” also resolves to receive “the most Holy Viaticum,” have “the last sacrament of Extreme Unction,” invokes Blessed Mother, and his patron, Saint Winefride, asks prayers for release from purgatory.

Alexander Hoghton dies, leaves will: “It is my mind & will that the said Thomas Hoghton of 'brynescoules' my brother shall have all my instruments belonging to musics, and & all manner of play clothes if he be minded to keep & do keep players. And if he will not keep & maintain players, then it is my mind & will that Sir Thomas Hesketh knight shall have the same instruments & play clothes. And I most heartily require the said Sir Thomas to be friendly unto Fulk Gillom and William Shakeshafte now dwelling with me & either to take them unto his service or else to help them to some good master, as my trust is he will.”

So Shakespeare may then have returned to Hesketh's Rufford Hall (after shotgun marriage with Anne Hathaway); and become associated with Lord Strange. For this reason perhaps Shakespeare later chose Thomas Savage, from Rufford and friend of Hesketh, as trustee for Globe Theatre. Sir Thomas Hesketh arrested in 1581 for not suppressing Catholicism in his hall. Sir Thomas kept players and was friendly with neighbor Lord Strange, son of Earl of Derby; Sir Thomas and his players were frequent visitors to Derby's houses at Knowsley and Lathom.

When Campion was arrested in 1581, he revealed the places he stayed, including the Hoghtons; this and the death of Alexander Hoghton, with the arrest of Thomas Hesketh, might have occasioned Shakespeare moving back home.

### **Shakespeare aetat 17.**

**\*\*1582\*\***

Plague in London.

Leicester, state papers: “Her Majesty is slow to believe that the great increase of Papists is of danger to the realm.”

Hakluyt, Diverse Voyages touching the Discovery of America, to be expanded into Principall Navigations (1589).

George Peckham, Catholic like his 2 brothers, kinsman of Southampton, signs articles with T. Gerard and Sir H. Gilbert to found Catholic colony in Americas, probably supported by Walsingham to rid realm of Catholics; Walsingham probably the author of a letter praising their “good enclynacion to the westerne discoveries.” Spanish ambassador reports on this plan to settle Catholics in “Florida” as a sort of final solution. Informer told Walsingham: “I have heard it said among the papistes that they hope it wyll prove the best journeye for England that was maide these fortie yeares.” Gilbert devises utopian scheme, election of councilors, etc. Gilbert's expedition is supported by Southampton. But Gilbert's expedition ends in disaster in 1583 (Peckham and Gerard remained in England); but Peckham wrote pamphlet supporting idea. Idea will be re-argued in 1604 by a Mr. Winslade, but dissuaded by Persons. Other such plans proposed, but only in 1634 did Lord Baltimore found such a colony. The sinking of Gilbert's expedition in 1583 was followed by “a succession of maritime enterprises which resulted finally in establishing a colonial empire for Great Britain” (Hughes, Hist. of Soc. of Jesus); though the Virginia settlement (1606-) had a strict Church of England policy.

Sidney supported the Peckham plan, and purchased a right to settle 3 million acres not yet discovered by Gilbert, perhaps attracted to new land and freedom of religion (Duncan-Jones, 1991).

1582 cont.

Catholic Rheims Bible, New Testament, at behest of William Allen, published with notes to counteract the various Protestant versions, trans. by Gregory Martin; preface: “We presume not in hard places to mollifie the speches or phrases, but religiously kepe them word for word and point for point, for fear of missing or restraining the sense of the holy Ghost to our phantasie;” coined “death hath no more dominion.” (Old Testament at Douai 1609-10) Protestants complained Papists “took good care to make their translation unintelligible”(C. S. Lewis), and replied to the notes. Old

Testament also completed but not pub. until 1609-10. This translation “never considered to be anything than an exceptional and emergency measure” (Walsham (2003), 152).

Gregory Martin, A Discovery of the Manifold Corruptions of the Holy Scriptures by the Heretikes of our daies, specially the English Sectaries, and of their foule dealing herein, by partial & false translations to the advantage of their heresies, in their English Bibles used and authorised since the time of Schisme. Answered by William Fulke, A Defense of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holie Scriptures (1583)

Allen, A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdome of xii Reverend Priests, executed within these twelve monethes for confession and defence of the Catholike Faith Father Edmund Campion and his Companions, cornerstone of subsequent Catholic martyr literature. Includes accounts of Campion, Thomas Cottam, Cuthbert Mayne, etc., with engravings of martyrdom scenes, “the earliest representations of the sufferings of the English martyrs” (“A Note on the Illustrations”) and thus very influential. Campion’s last speech: “I am a Catholike man and a Priest; in that faith have I livede hitherto, and in that faith I do entend to dye; and if you esteeme my religion treason, then of force I must grant unto you. As for any other treason, I never committed any; God is my Judge.” Includes verses, “Upon the Death of M. Edmund Campion” (see Alfield below); also verses, “A Dialogue betwene a Catholike and Consolation;” also other verses in Alfield.

Describes Cottam (“M. Cottam soon after his arrival at Rhemes, being a Deacon ... was made Priest, and hearing of company that were ready to goe into England, made great hast to goe with them”), his death and speeches.

In a 1582 book, Allen said that the papal bull “hath lain dead, and so might for us Catholics have been dead with Pius Quintus the author and publisher thereof for ever.”

Robert Persons, [Book of Resolution] The First Book of Christian Exercise ... Wherein are layed downe the causes & reasons that should move a man to resolve hym selfe to the service of God; several revised edns. thereafter. Robert Greene attributed his death-bed conversion to it and wrote Repentance (1592); also see Thomas Nashe's Christ's Teares over Ierusalem (1593). Persons's preface: “Wherfore (gentle reader) if thou be of an other religion than I am, I beseeche the most hartelye, that layenge aside all hatred, malice and wrathfull contention, let us joyne together in amendment of our lyves ... And to Catholiques I must saye further ... that all their faith will profit them nothings, except they have charitie also;” “Consideration is the keye whiche openeth the doore to the close of our harte, where all our bookes of accompte doe lye;” powerful spiritual rhetoric.

Quickly plagiarized for Protestant version by Edmund Bunny (see 1584), which ironically went through more Protestant impressions (24) than Catholic ones (4); “the most popular work of devotion in English of its day” (Houlston, 2007). In response, Persons reissued it as revised A Christian Directorie, “purged from M. Bunnyes corruption[s].”

1582 cont.

Persons' A Defence of the Censure, gyven upon Two Bookes ... wrote against M. Edmond Campion” etc.

Searches of papist houses (1580-82): in the house of Sir William Tresham: “Here they found and took away a painted crucifix on a table, hanging by the lady’s bed side: the Jesuits’ Testament in English: Offic. Beatae Mariae, ii: a Manual of Prayers, dedicated to the gentlemen of inns of court: Vaux’s Catechism; the first book of the Christian Exercise: a book of prayers and meditations: a painted crucifix upon orange-coloured satin: a picture of Christ upon canvass” (Stype Annals new edn. II.ii.21, p. 346).

Persons's An Epistle of the Persecution of Catholickes in Englande, trans. from French version: translator's preface said: “if your honours shoulde upon terour bringe any fraile man to conforme him selfe against his conscience, in such externall actes, as you require: yet your wisdomes can not but consider, that he is never the nearer gotten for this, but rather in his harte muche farther then before, havinge wounded his sowle and conscience upon compulsion, whiche, lyinge grevouse and festering with in his breast, must needes often put him in mynde of the injurie receaved, and so more detest the thyng done, then before ... But if after al this fierce halinge, and pitifull pulling of men in pieces, nothings hath bene founde at all, no one act, no worde ... but onely innocencie and zeale of religion in the tormented: then is our case much more hard at home, in our owne countrye, under our owne Soveraigne, than it could be anywhere else under the extremest adversaries of our religion in the worlde.” “Alas (my Lordes) what impelleth your wisdomes ... to exercise such extremitie upon poore people for that cause, whereof your owne fathers were as guyltie as we are,

that is, for our conscience in the auncient religion?" "For whoe would not esteeme it more greevous than all other incommodities, yea than death it selfe, to be wrested in conscience, to be forbidden all exercise in religion, to be enforced to sweare & make profession of newe straunge opinons, which his hart doth reiect, detest, and abhorre: and yf by chance he should be taken servinge god accordinge to his owne manner, and the manner of his fathers and auncestors, & of the most parte of Christianities besides, (albeit it were alone, albeit it were previlye, and in most secrete wise): yet to be plucked owt, as an offender of the supreme maiestie of the prince, as an enymie of the commonwealthe, as a wicked and flagitiously caitife, unworthie of life, or the companie of men?" "at this daye in England the father is bownde to accuse hys sonne, the husband hys wyfe, the brother his brother, the penitent his ghostlie father, the servant hys master." "These are the braynsick phantasies onlie of oure dayes, the variable innovacions of particular places, the flexible willfullnesse of mans mynde, the moste vaine cogitations of fleshe and bloode, whereby men doe attempt to exchaunge the unmutable truthe of Christe for their owne phantasies to serve their own turnes in respect of their owne commodities." "it can not be doubtful (I think) to anie, how manye men, and what maner of men, have bene put to most paynfull deathe, as strangled, bowelled, cut in sunder, boyled, and dispersed by peece meal in the ayre, and all for religion." "Yf they take a priest at masse: a man wold marveyle, how impioulye & how despitefully they behave them selves. First, for the ... consecrated hoste, they take it away with vilence, treade it under foote, thrust it through with knyves and daggers, fasten it to a poste ... Now as to the priest ... they bring hym forth abroad, and in the selfe same attyre wherein they fownde him standinge at the altar, they haile and chafe him aboute, through stretes and villages, where all folke gaze and stare upon him, the whole multitude skorne him, yea & some spitt in his face, but the moste part scolde, and raile against him ... In what barbarous Scythia was this as muche as hearde of by anye report at any time, that freeborne men, of honest state & condition, lerned, of good education, well instructed and trayned upp in gentlemanlye maner, dedicated and vowed to the sacred function of priesthoode, should be for the testimonie onlie of an auncient religion, of long continuance left unto them by their ancestours, staled upp in cages to be racked on a payne banke ... and with dire and horrible paines, greeves, & afflictions wrested and writhen owte of their ioynts, unlesse they will appeache, & treacherously deliver up to the torture theyre owne companions in faith ... The point is "whether the private spirit of eche particular persone, or the common spirit of the universall church, ought to iudge of the sense of holie scripture." "wheres ever yow wolde sett your feete ... yow may see lamentable sights: this man to flye awaye: that man to lye hydden in a corner: an other to convey hym selfe privilye in disguised apparell: some apprehended and led to the Iustice: others to be sought for & not taken: many to abyde among busshes and woods: a great nombre to haunte the fields in the daye tyme, and never to repaire home but at midnight;" "how have they plucked us down? no nation in the worlde adourned with civil maners: no countries indued with the holie lighte of Christs Gospell: no people instructed with Christian lawes & customes, was ever eyther better framed to courtesie and humanities, more disposed to beneficence and fryndelie behavioure, more inclined to the love of equitie, more bent to pitie and mercie, than this English people and nation was, before suche time as this unlucky, detestable and pestiferous heresie had hardend the hart, and intrayles of love." "And yf a woorde, yea a peece of a woorde slipp forth of a mans mouthe at unwares, or that he happen to geve but a wink with his eie, or a nod with his heade, whereby anie suspicions may arise, that he favoureth our cause: ther is then matter enough, wherupon eyther to accuse hym, or cast hym in prison." Catholics "see the number of right belieuying Catholiques to be so marvailouslye encreased, syns the rigour of the persecutors haith bene doubled and redoubled upon them." Toleration should also proceed "from a mercifull disposition towards the afflicted;" also Catholic would give implicit obedience to Crown in all temporal matters. Persons here "came close to enunciating a doctrine of general toleration ... pleaded against his will for the cause of conscience and ... the futility of persecution." (Jordan). On torments of persecution: "Now, what puissance and vawle of mynd think yow might suffice? What noblenesse of courage were ull? what strong and steadfast constancie do yew judge requisite to make me able to bear and endure these vexations ... ? Those contumelies (I mean), and those despites? Those beukes and dishonors? Those prisons, bolts, and shakles? Those deformities and disorder? ... loothsome sights ... stinking savours ... putrifactions" (see Hamilton, 1999).

1582 cont.

Thomas Alfield, A True Reporte of the Death and Martyrdome of M. Campion Jesuite and Preiste, and M. Sherwin, and M. Bryan Preistes, at Tiborne the First of December 1581 ... Wheruuto is

annexid certayne verses made by sundrie persons: answers Munday (see below). On scaffold, “notwithstanding he forgave, as he would be forgeuen, desiring all them to forgeue him whome he had confessed upon the racke.” “they ... pressed him to declare his opinion of Pius quintus Bull concerning the excommunication ... To which demaunde he gave no aunswere. But being asked whether he renounced the Pope, said he was a Catholike.” “Here I can not omit a practise of some of our yong masters, slaunderously geuen out aginst M. Sherwin ... that he dyed a protestant, because he disclaiming the wretchedness of his owne mortalities, and nature, reposed himselfe wholly upon Christ and his passion ... These minions ... do labour to perswade the people, that the Catholike religion doth evacuate ... the shedding of Christes moste pretious blood in which we do acknowledge all our suffitiency, and in which only as the sole foundation spring and cause of all merit, the merite of all our wel doing, so iniuriouslie to Christe his passon abolished by protestants, is, hath, and shall be by us maintained ... What web soeuer some sottish weaver or such like shall weave in the meane time.” Includes verses (also in Allen above), “An Epitaph of the Life and Death of the most famous Clerk and virtuous Priest, Edmund Campion” [perhaps by Henry Walpole], to be transcribed by Sir John Harington (Arundel Harington Ms.), not lineated:

Whie do y use my papire yncke and penne?  
 or call my witts to counseil what to saie? ...  
 I speake of saynts, whose names can not decay ...  
 Campian excedeas the cumpass of my skylle ...  
 hys native flowres were myxte with hearbe of grace.  
 hs mylde behaveour tempered well wyth skylle.  
 A lowlye mynde possest a learned place.  
 A sugred speache, a rare and vertuose wyll.  
 A saynt lyke man was sett in earth belowe  
 the seede of trewth yn hearyng harts to sowe ...  
 Religion there was treason to the Quene,  
 preaching of penance, warre against the lande,  
 prests were such dangerous men as have not bin  
 prayers & beads were fight and force of hande,  
 cases of conscience bane unto the state:  
 so blind is error, so false witness hate ...  
 can humble soules departing now to Christ,  
 protest untrue? Avant foule fend thou lyst ...”

Also includes verses (also in Allen), “Another upon the same”:

“... The skowling skies did storme and puff apace,  
 they could not bear ye wrongs yt malice wrought,  
 the sunne drew in his shining purple face,  
 the moistened clouds shed brinish tears for thought  
 the river Thames a while astonied stodee,  
 to count the drops of Campion’s sacred blood.  
 Nature with teares bewaild her heavy lesse,  
 honesty feard her selfe should shortly dye...”

Also includes verses (also in Allen above), “A Dialogue between Catholike, and Consolation”:

“ ... Such men no doubt are very hard to finde,  
 for dainty things are seldome sifted out,  
 the Phoenix hath no partner of her kinde,  
 a man perhaps may seeke the world about,  
 ere he may find one Campion againe,  
 wherfore his lesse makes me the more complaine ...  
 His quarters hong on every gate do showe,  
 his doctrine sound through countries far & neare,  
 his head set up so high doth call for moe

to fight the fight which he endured here,  
the faith thus planted, thus restored must be,  
take up thy crosse, saith Christ and follow me."

Alfield said his motive was to counter the slanders against Campion with "a lively image of resolute martyrs, constantly professing their faith and belief, resolutely disclaiming from all treasons and treacheries falsely intended against them: and loyally behaving themselves towards our queen and country who as they were in their lives lanterns of piety and virtue so in their deaths made themselves patterns and examples for all good Christian subjects to follow."

Byrd composed madrigal on a non-subversive stanza of this poem, "Why do I use my paper, ink, and pen?" (no. 22 in *Psalmes, sonets, & songs*) (a response to Campion's death) and published it in 1588. Byrd's "Deus venerunt gentes" (Ps. 78), in 1591 motet-book, thought to be response to Campion's death. *Jesuit mission to China begins*.

George Gifford, *A Dialogue between a Papist and a Protestant*, attacked nostalgia for a golden medieval Catholic world, a "merry world when there was less preaching ..."

Munday, *A Discoverie of Edmund Campion*: "The people must be first reconciled from their religion, to embrace the lawes & decrees of y Pope, then, they must be perswaded to forsake their duty and allegiance to her Maiesty." "With such threatnings, lyes of myracles of theyr Church, and styncking Reliques they shewe: they make our Englishe men betwched unto them ... Then with them they bring Agnus deis, hallowed Grana, and beades, sanctified Images, holy Gyrdles come from S. Peters Chayre, Crosses and Medalles, and a number of such paltryes." But Munday at least quotes Campion's eloquence ("I am here brought as a Spectacle" etc, "You and I, we are not of one Religion," "come Racke, come Rope"). "There was a lyttle book in Latine, which they themselves brought over ... how they should behave ... if they were demaunded of any thing ... If they be examined, as concerning theyr alleageaunce to her Maiestie: they wyll make theyr aunswere after this manner. She is our lawfull Sovereigne Lady and Quene, and we doo obey her. But then object unto them: wil you obeye her, notwithstanding the Popes excommunication, or any thing that he commaundeth to the contrarie. then they will answer: we desire you not to charge our consciences, and that you would not enter so deep into our consciences, we trust the Pope will not commaund us anything against her: and hundred such sleevesse answers they make ..."

Rich, *True Report of a Late Practice Enterprised by a Papist*.

*Pope Gregory XIII introduces new Gregorian calendar, ten days ahead of old Julian calendar (adopted in England in 1582).*

*Duc d'Anjou enters Netherlands as new ruler of Brabant and Flanders, reconciling Protestants and Catholics, a union promoted by William of Orange, and celebrated in the Valois tapestries (see 1582).*

Berkeley's Men, and Lord Chandos's men, perform in Stratford.

JOHN SHAKESPEARE CRAVES "SURETIES OF THE PEACE ... FOR FEAR OF DEATH AND MUTILATION" AGAINST RALPH CAWDREY, THE BAILIFF, AND OTHERS.

Thomas Cottom, John's brother, executed as a priest along with six other priests; John Cottom now replaced at Stratford Grammar School.

1582 cont.

**Shakespeare aetat 18. Marriage to Anne Hathaway at Temple Grafton.**

**Wedding license, Nov 27, in Bishop of Worcester's diocesan court, requiring only one banns, granted to "Willelmum Shaxpere et Anam Whateley de Temple Grafton," whose vicar is the Catholic priest, John Frith: "Unsound in doctrine, he can neither preach nor read well, his chiefest trade is to cure hawks that are hurt or diseased, for which purpose many do repair to him" (Puritan Survey of the Ministry), often compared to Friar Lawrence.**

**\*\*1583\*\***

George Gilbert, lay escort of Campion and Persons: "These men [Church papists] have no other recourse but a number of feeble excuses, namely that God sees their good intentions," etc.

John Gibbons, S.J., and Rev. John Fenn, *Concertatio Ecclesiae Catholicae in Anglia* (-1588, enlarged edn. by John Bridgewater, secular priest), on suffering of Catholics, "fullest Catholic response to Foxe" (Monta 2005).

William Hart, secular priest, letter to his mother: “perhaps you will say: I weepe not so much for your death, as I do for that yow are hanged, drawne, and quartered. My sweet mother it is the honourablest and happiest death that ever could have chanced to me. I dy not for knavery, but for vertue. I dy not for treason, but for religioun. I dy not for any ill demeanour or offence committed, but onley for my faith, for my conscience, for my Preisthood, for my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ ... How glad then may he bee to see mee a martyr, a Saint, a most glorious and bright starre in heaven ... I wish that I were neer to comfort you, but because that can not be I beseech you even for Christ Jesus sake to comfort yourself ... If I had lived I would have holpen yow in your age, as you have holpen mee in my youth. But now I must desire God to helpe yow and my brethren, for I can not. Good mother blesse mee. And now in your old daies serve God after the old Catholike manner ... one daie wee shall meet I heaven by Gods grace.” (Compare Sullivan Ballou letter in American Civil War.)

1583 cont.

James VI appears to join Elizabeth and Protestant cause.

Mary Queen of Scots gets report of Sidney’s sympathetic attitude to her and Catholicism, probably from Bruno (Bossy 1991); Bruno met Florio and Dee at this time.

Whitgift, anti-Puritan, made Archbishop. Has been arguing against the Puritans, esp. Thomas Cartwright. (The whole English church was Calvinist but the Puritan extreme pushed for greater laicization, egalitarianism, and local control.)

Throckmorton plot (Francis and Thomas) in favor of Mary; plot includes Spanish ambassador who is expelled; threat of war; break of relations with Spain.

Somerville and Arden plot: Edward Arden's son-in-law, John Somerville, gets deranged because of Catholic persecution, sets out from house north of Stratford, saying “I will go up to the Court and shoot the Queen through with a pistol;” result is that Edward Arden (Mary's cousin), prosecuted by Lucy, is hanged, drawn, quartered. Edward's wife was Mary Throckmorton of Coughton Court (near Stratford) where the tower room was now a secret chapel. Hamlet like antic-madness of Somerville, in this time of Arden persecution (see Simpson 1858).

Then did prudent Warwickshiremen “clear ... their houses of all show of suspicion.” 1583 act called for arrest of those “as shall be in any way kin” to all touched, and to search their houses (qu. Pearce 2008): thus Lucy searching Arden, may have caused Shakespeare to flee to London.

Lord Burghley's Execution of Justice, reacting to Persons and Gibbons, a defense of the government's treatment of Catholics, distinguished between the executed disloyal priests and “many subjects known in the realm that differ in some opinions of religion from the Church of England ... yet in that they do also profess loyalty and obedience to her majesty ... none of these sort are for the contrary opinions in religion prosecuted;” describes priests as wandering “up and down in corners, in disguised sort, changing their titles, names and manner of apparel ... vagrant, disguised, unarmed spies.” Defended Somerville execution, said he was incited by Leslie (above 1572). Answered by Allen, 1584. Duc d'Alençon and d'Anjou participates in failed violent coup against Antwerp, thus ruining his reputation as peaceful reconciler of Catholics and Protestants, destroying his appeal to Elizabeth, and ruining William of Orange's strategy of reconciliation. Thus the Valois tapestries would record a tragically lost opportunity.

Essex's men play at Stratford. Queen’s Men formed (1582-3), drawn from various companies, including perhaps Earl of Derby’s, set up by Sir Francis Walsingham to spread Protestant message.

WAS THIS WHEN JOHN SHAKESPEARE HID THE WILL IN THE RAFTERS?

**Shakespeare aetat 19. Shakespeare's daughter Susanna christened in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford** (d. 1649) (later a recusant Catholic). See Jeremy Smith, 2010.

\*\*1584\*\*

[Development of Ideas of Resistance 1584-1596 beginning with Allen's Modest Defence] (Holmes)

Act enacted, all native-born priests still in country after 40 days were treasonous; all persons



entertaining such priests subject to fines and imprisonment. (Lingard )

*Seven Jesuits executed. Lucy appropriates estate of a Catholic exile.*

War with Spain considered inevitable. Spain has William of Orange (advocate of religious toleration) murdered which renews fears that Elizabeth will be murdered.

James VI tries to enlist Pope's aid against Elizabeth.

Francis Throckmorton executed for part in the Throckmorton plot; Thomas escapes to continent.

Charles Arundell et al, Leicester's Commonwealth (so titled 1641, orig. Copie of a leter, wryten by a master of arte of Cambridge, to his friend in London ...), accused Leicester of turning England into "Leycestrensam rempublicam, a Leycestrian common wealth," using Puritan reform to feather his nest, control realm and ensure his brother in law would become Elizabeth's successor; "being himself of no religion, feedeth notwithstanding upon our differences in religion, to the fattening of himself and ruin of the realm." Compared Leicester to Richard III; Leicester as bear; argued for religious toleration and Mary's succession, especially because, during her brief reign in Scotland, she permitted "all liberty of conscience and free exercise of religion to those of the contrary profession and opinion, without restraint;" shows intimate knowledge of court matters, and tries to build conservative consensus against Leicester. Toleration will unite all faiths "be they Papists, Puritanes, Famillans, or of whatsoever difference or section besides": "this view was perhaps the finest and broadest of the Catholic statements in favour of religious toleration during the century" (Jordan); influenced by the French politiques (Arundell is friend of Bodin and others); blamed Leicester for Somerville case. Uses device of two mild Protestants and moderate Papist in dialogue [like Constable and Harington]. (Charles Arundell part of group that included Earl of Oxford, Henry Howard Earl of Northampton)

"These two books [i.e. and Allen's Modest Defence] still show elements of the old ideology of loyalism and non-resistance ... Within a few years Allen and Persons ... displayed no such ambiguity and unashamedly expressed a belief in the right of resistance" (Holmes).

1584 cont.

Sir Walter Mildmay opens Parliament of 1584-5 with speech attacking Persons' De Persecutione Anglicana (see 1581); claimed Persons' book contained "a number of false and impudent lies, as though we lived here in England under Nero, Domitian, Caligula, and such other tyrants, and not under a most gracious and merciful Queen; forgetting in the meanwhile the great favour and clemency showed to all Papists, even to those that be most obstinate, and forgetting also the cruel persecutions used in the days of Queen Mary."

Henri III of France recognizes Henri of Navarre as heir, leading to religious wars provoked by the Catholic League (reestablished in 1585) which called for conversion or exile of Protestants, and exclusion of Henri of Navarre: thus Shakespeare will describe "France ... arm'd and reverted, making war against her heir" (Comedy of Errors 3.2.122-3).

Puritan document said "three parts at least of the people are wedded to their old superstition still." Reginald Scot, Discoverie of Witchcraft, from which Harsnett would liberally borrow. Scot argues that miracles, and prophecies, and oracles "are ceased." "The grace of healing (saith he [Calvine]) spoken of by S. James, is vanished awaie, as also the other miracles, which the Lord would have shewed onelie for a time." "such thinges ... as seemed miraculous, are cheeflie done by deceit, legerdemaine, or confederacies ..."; attacks papistical charms, enchantments, frauds. "Scot's ambivalent skepticism about devils is manifest in his concluding 'Discourse upon divels and spirits' ... which is omitted from most modern editions" (Cox, The Devil and the Sacred, 2000). Witch of Endor was a fraud, called Pythonissa in scripture, after Apollo (Pytho), who was but a "poetical fable"; "the priests that attended thereon at Delphos were couseners, and called Pythonists of Pytho, as papists of Papa; and afterwards all women that that used that trade, were named Pythonissae", precedes Scot's discussion of "scripture touching the ceasing of miracles, prophesies and oracles." Bk 12, ch. 8: "Poetrie and poperie compared in inchantments, popish witchmongers have more advantage herein than protestants" i.e. poets also write about such miracles and wonders "whether in earnest or in jest I know not," and are often cited as proof by superstitious papists, but "poets are not altogether so impudent as papists herein, neither seeme they so ignorant, prophane, or impious." Bk. 11, ch. 3: "Of the Astral Spirits of men departed ... And what Witchcraft may be wrought by them": "Such persons as are secretly murdered, and such as secretly murthure

themselves, do most frequently appear again.” “Great is the vilany of Necromancers, and wicked Magicians, in dealing with the spirits of men departed; whom they invoke ... compelling the Ghost to present it self before them.” “I have heard many wonderful Relations from Lunaticks or such as are almost natural fools, who have asserted, That being for many daies together conversant amongst Faeries in Woods, Mountains, and Caverns of the Earth, they have feasted with them, and and been magnificently Entertaing with variety of dainties, where they have seen several of their Neighbours or Familiar acquaintance in the habit they were wont to weare, notwithstanding they were known to have been dead some years before.” As with Harsnett, fury at fraudulent pretense and also fascination with ghosts; are conjurors wicked because they are frauds, or because they deal in genuine black arts? Bk. 15, ch. 22 entitled “A comparison beweeen popish exorcists and other conjurors.” Shell 2007 p. 76 says heading to chapter 4 is “What miraculous actions are imputed to witches by witchmongers, papists, and poets.” Greenblatt: “On his accession to the English throne, James ordered all copies of Scot’s book to be burned” (*Will in the World*, 353).

1584 cont.

William Allen, answer to Burghley, A True, Sincere, and Modest Defence of English Catholiques that suffer for their faith ... Wherein is declared, how uniuertlie the Protestants doe charge Catholiques with treason ... : “The question is ... whether a Prince lauffullie invested and annoited, may be for anie cause, namelie for matter of Religion, resisted by his subjects? We say that the Protestants of al sectes doe both holde and practize it ... if we respect the furious attempts and rebellions of Scotland, Flaunders, Fraunce, and Germanie ... And upon thes examples you shold look (my Masters of England) when you make so much adoe fo one poore commotion, made in defence of the Catholiques, in twentie six yeares space of the greatest persecution and tribulation that ever was since the Gothes and Vandals times. Wher if the Q. had holden her Ancestours faith, and had ruled over so manie protestants but a quarter of the time ... her Maiesty should have seene other maner of attemptes against her state and quietnes, then have fallen by Catholiques”; “both Catholiques and Protestants agreeing, that Princes may for some causes, and especially for their defection in Faith and Religion, be resisted and forsaken: though in the maner of executing the sentence and other needful circumstances, Protestants folowe faction and popular mutinie; we reduce all, to lawe, order, and judgement ... For like causes ... for that he was vehementlie suspected of the murther of the blessed Bishop S. Thomas of Canterburie, was Henrie the second driven ... to order and penance. A number of the like examples moe we might recite wherby not onelie the practise of the Church in al ages may be seene; but also Catholique men warranted that they be no traitors, nor hould assertions treaonsable, false, or undutiful; in answering or beleaving, that for Heresie or such like notorious wickedness, a Prince (otherwise laufful and annoited) may be excommunicated, desposed, forsaken, or resisted by the warrant of holie Churches judgement and Censure ... All just and Catholique Kinges are so far from doubting or misliking Gods ordinance and the practise of the sea Apostolique herein; that they perceive it most necessarie for the stabilitie of their kingdomes.” “It is not only the slaughter of many, and them specially the priests of God, which is most proper to heretical persecution, but the other infinite spoil of Catholic men's goods, honors, and liberty ... by which a number of ancient gentlemen fall to extremity, either of conscience, if for fear they obey, or of their undoing in the world if they refuse; the taking of their dear children from them by force and placing them for their seduction with heretics ... the burning of our priests in the ears; the whipping and cutting of the ears of others; carrying some in their sacred vestments through the streets; putting our chaster virgins into infamous places appointed for strumpets; and other unspeakable villainies ...”; “so many noble and valiant earls, barons, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, that have either suffered prison, or, as their conscience led them, stood in arms for defense of their faith;” Campion et al assured their penitents that they could be loyal to the Queen; and Gregory the Thirteenth “suffered the sentence after a sort to die;” gives example of John Nelson poignantly maintaining his Catholicism and loyalty to the Queen under torture; “we demand ... whether the kings of Christendom ... stand not in far greater hazard of their dominions and persons by the brutish and seditious people, armed always with fury, and often also (as at this present) with heresy ... ? “we shal find ... that the whole [land] being devided into three partes, two of them are inclined to Catholique religion in their hartes, and consequentlie are discontented with the present condition of thinges. Of which Catholiques, so manie as folowe the world, and dissemble their religion for feare of lawes; as they be (notwithstanding their dissimulation) manie waies knowen and discovered, mistrusted, doubted and hated of the protestantes; and generallie kept under, iniuried, disauthorised, and watchfullie overlooked; and therbie in continual miserie and

discontentment: so also in respect of their owne consciences (being forced to sweare to such Articles of this new faith, & her Maiesties ecclesiastical Regalities, as they assuredly believe to be most wicked, untrue & impossible: as also to receive such falsified Sacramentes, as they in their hartes condemne to the pit of hel, and knowe to be poison to their owne soules, and to their frendes who for companies sake doe receave with them; and finallie being constrained to heare & hire such ministers, as daylie read, speaker, and preach, nothing but blasphemie against Christes vicar, Church, Sacramentes, Saintes & al Holies) they are Inforced to live, and (alas) often also to dye, in infinite distresse of mind and tormentes of Conscience, passing al other humane miseries ... live in perpetual anguish, wishing sometimes (which we have seene and heard) with many a sigh and grone, that her Maiesty would be content with half their goodes, so that she would graunt them libertie but in secret sort, to have the use but of the holie Sacramentes; and sometimes lamenting their manifold infirmities, and impediments of wife and children; for whos only needful releese, they continue in that damnable state of Scisme ... If our fellows in the Catholic faith through Christendom should conceive that in heart which these confessor do indeed feel and we often with our eyes behold ... If they might see all the prisons, dungeons, fetters, stocks, racks, that are through the realm occupied and filled with Catholics; if they might behold the manner of their arraignment, even among the vilest sort of malefactors; how many have been by famine, ordeure, and pestiferous airs pined away; ... how many gentlemen and other persons of wealth are wholy undone ... how many of the most substantial, profitablest, and persons of greatest hospitality in divers provinces are chased out of their own houses by spials, promoters, and catchpoles; how many wander in places where they are not known, driven into woods, yea, surely, into waters, to save themselves from the heretic's cruelty; how many godly and honest married couples most dear to one another, by the imprisonment, banishment, flight, of either party are pitifully sundered; how many families thereby dissolved; into what poverty, misery, and mishap their children are driven; what number thereby run over sea into most desperate wars and fortunes ... These then and a thousand more which we need not to rehearse, bring the miseries of the better sort and bigger number of the Realme; and they falling upon them for their fathers Faith, and no other crime in the world, committed ether against Prince or Countrie ... these calamities (we say) being common to our whole state of the Realme, and to the greatest part of the rest; shal we say the State is blessed? this regiment fortunate? al is peaceable and plentiful in England? Where indeed onelie a few newlie raised by other mens fal, are made happie by other mens infelicitie: and where a verie small number, in comparison, have devided the wealth, honors, offices, and pleasures of the whole land among them selves: and doe menage the Countries by their favorits, to the discontentment, disgrace, and destruction of the iustest gentlemen in the same.” “Henrie the eight ... was in such torment of conscience, and such perplexitie for his revolte and other sacrileges: that sometimes he went about to ioyne with protestant Princes in religion; sometimes (thrise at least after his fal) to reconcile him self to the Pope againe; which then our Lord, for his greater punishment, suffred him not to bring to good effect; but to die in passing anguishe of mind for the former offences, and al the strange sacrileges committed, by forcing into the world wel neer a hundred thousand professed persons; and by the destruction of ten thousand religious houses & Churches in one yeare.” “the Libeller so often, by shameful flatterie, and odious (we dare say) to the Q. Maiesty her self, telleth us she is A MAYDEN QUEENE; seing that with the Protestants it is no great merite nor praise to be a virgin ... And with us Catholiques, in this case of the Realmes extreame danger, even sacred and professed virgins, have bene iustlie taken out of their better life, and by dispensation married.” “But all are signs of God's ire toward our poor country; the evil luck whereof ... is ... that, this noble line and royal issue now failing [i.e. Elizabeth's childlessness], they will not suffer us to go to the next of the same royal blood [Mary Queen of Scots] descending from the renowned prince, Henry the Seventh ... by whose victorious entry, happy marriage, and issue all diversity of former claims of the crown and most cruel civil wars were ended and the conjunction of the two royal houses of Lancaster and York fortunately achieved,” but Puritans and others would now “bring all to scrambling ... that so ... our country should at once fall into two extreme miseries, both by forsaking God and the Catholic religion on the one side, as also by refusing and too-too shamefully abusing the only next true and lawful heir, and consequently the whole blood of King Henry the Seventh, on the other side.” “And it is a great signe of our Priestes and Catholiques innocencie and of our adversaries ignorance and malice: that, seeking to appeach a Christian man or Priest of treason; they have no more to lay against him, then that he sheweth not him self openlie, but dealeth

secretlie; and weareth an other habite then is belonging to his degree.// The holie King and Prophet David, in place of danger did not onelie otherwise cover his person often and fled from his enemies; but feined him self a plaine mad man before Achis king of Geth in al his behaviour, to escape peril. How often doe we reade in the Evangelistes that our Saviour fled, that he did hide him self, that he walked not openlie, that he went up to Hierusalem on the feast day not openlie, but in covert? Who can be ignorant that it was no offence for Nicodemus that he came to Jesus in the night for feare of the Jewes? Who knoweth not that the Apostles, as wel before as after the comming of the holie Ghost, kept them selves often secret in private parlors and chambers; as the first holie Bishops of Rome (for feare of their persecutors) kept their meetings, misteries and counsels, in caves and grots under the ground?" Chapter 9, Conclusion: "And now though in the deep conceiving of this our country's incomparable offense our hearts be wholly oppressed with fear and heaviness, yet either the force of our peculiar affection toward our flesh and blood driving us to hope for better than is deserved, or the largeness of God's immeasurable mercies yeilding, contrary to man's demerits, pardon upon repentance, do cause us oftentimes to expect grace and mercy rather than extreme rigor and judgement;" "sure we are that the first best for our English nation ... were ... to restore the state again ... the happy fellowship of all their forefathers and other faithful people and princes now living. The **next best** were ... to desist from persecution their Catholic subjects and brethren and to grant some liberty for exercise of their consciences, divine offices, and holy devotions ... If to none of these conditions they can be brought ... the just arbiter of all things ... discern our cause ... we confidently tell them, and humbly even in Christ's blood pray them, to consider of it, that by no human force or wisdom they shall ever extinguish the Catholic party, overcome the Holy Church, or prevail against God ... Let them seek with all desperation to diminish, bridle, spoil, impoverish, disgrace and extinguish the whole generation of Catholics at home and in banishment ... Yet the Catholics (that is, the seed of God) will increase in number, power, and zeal ... We are no better than our forefathers. We less fear death and less set by our lives than ever before. Our counts are cast ..." Also, "Whereby let all princes and people Christian bear witness of our miseries and unjust afflictions, who are enforced to suffer death for our only cogitations and inward opinions, unduly sought out by force and fear;" see how the range of answers given to the Bloody Question by Catholics shows their extreme anguish; "we complain justly of persecution, for that our cause for which we suffer is the faith of all our forefathers, the faith of our persecutors' own ancestors, the faith into which our country was converted and by which we are called Christian; the faith of the Catholic Churches and Kingdoms round about us." Allen said Catholic would willingly accept a minority position--thus more accomodating than Persons. Attacked Burghley for Somerville execution.

1584 cont.

*Lipsius, De Constantia in publicis malis, defense of Christian neoclassicism in face of religious division.*

Burghley: "The greatest number of papists is of very young men," and Campion and Southwell exemplified the noble dashing courtly nature of these chivalric Catholic missionaries.

Wallace MacCaffrey, Queen Elizabeth and the Making of Policy, 1572-88 (1981, Princeton UP) on "the unwillingness of both sides to address the most urgent questions of principle": "The politique Cecil could not bring himself to deal with the problem of the state's doctrinal authority; he was content to live with a faceless Erastianism which asserted, without explaining, the overriding power of the Crown in matters spiritual. Allen, on the other hand, was still unready to deal with the thorny question of deposition, to look fully at the irreconcilable claims of Pope and Queen." Good Statement.

About now, Persons wrote to Mary Queen of Scots that he and Allen were abandoning the military option, "uppon consideration of ... the small successe ovr former labors had browght forth wee had resolved ... to follow only ovr spiritual cowrse wheruppon all dependeth thogh in longer time."

Edmund Bunny, A Book of Christian Exercise, version of Persons's (see 1582): English Romanism hard nut to crack because "no man ... can be of that profession, unlesse hee bee under that governement too. Could their Church and court [or Rome] be sundred; could their religion and regiment be parted ... then I think that (with many) much might be done; but when as they go so close together, than no man can professe the one, but that he must be under the other, that goeth ... somewhat hard with many, that otherwise would find no scruple at all;" Bunny's edn. corrects Persons's reliance on works, penance, quantifiable devotions, monasticism, etc.

*J. B. de Cavaliere, Ecclesiae Anglicane Trophaea Sive Sanctorum Maturuum, and Ecclesiae Militantis Triumphus Sive Deo amabilem Martyrum gloriosa with vivid illustrations of Catholic martyrdoms (see Verstegan, 1587).*

Munday, A Watch-woord to Englande to beware of traytours: “when God revealeth their wicked spirites, and bringeth them into the lyght that they may be example to other: then they crie out, I am a Catholique, I will dye in the Catholique cause, and thus under shewe of Religion, they would deceive the world with their horrible treasons. It is now hie time therefore ... to followe the appaunces of suspitions and likelyhoods, tyll it appeare plainlie what light made the shaddowe, or what fire made the smoke;” “everie Papist, that is to saye, everie one that believeth all the Popes doctrine, to be true: is an enimie and traytour ... everie such English Papist is a traitour to the Quene of England, and hateth her life, wisheth the alteration of her government, and liveth in hope of an other world: which even by an ordinarie by-word, it is said themselves doo call their Golden day .... no clemencie, gentlenesse, benefits, or loving dealing, can win a Papist, while he continueth a Papist, to love her Maestie, how much so ever he dissemble ... all advises to great personages, to perswade neutralitie, or an entertaining of contrarie sides in Religion, with uncertainty of countenance and favour: is the waie to supplant assured safetie, to make sure enimies and unsure frendes, to lye open to parasites and traitours, to be unknowne to other, and to be unable to discern what other be to them.” “Yet count I not everie such a one wholie ... a traitorous Papist, but such a one as holdeth all the Popes doctrine to be true, that the Romane Church erreth not, that it hath rightfully such superioritie and primacie in others kingdomes ...”

Failure of Sir Walter Raleigh's Virginia colony.

Giordano Bruno, De l'infinito etc.; also De gli eroici furori, dedicated to Sidney, with its supernaturalized Petrarchan neo-platonic love poems; praises Elizabeth as divine governess. (See neoplatonism, 1510.) Bruno in England at this time, 1583-5, also publishes Spaccio della bestia trionfante, dedicated to Sidney, on hermeticism, praising Henri III (“Blessed are the peacemakers,” i.e. like Henri (who perhaps sent Bruno to promote middle ground between Protestantism and Spanish Catholicism--acc. to F. Yates, but denied by Bossy 1991), attacked Roman corruption but did not defend the Reformation.

**William Parry plot to assassinate Elizabeth. Sir Thomas Lucy energetic in promoting Bill against Jesuits and seminary priests, impeached Dr. Parry, and petitioned for his execution.**

**“The fate of Francis Throckmorton [executed as traitor] must have been common talk in Stratford-upon-Avon during that year, and following upon the death of Edward Arden, must have deeply impressed the youthful mind of Shakespeare” (Stopes, Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries).**

**Shakespeare aetat 20.**

**\*\*1585\*\***

“Act against Jesuits,” Statute 27 Elizabeth, said priests who did not depart were treasonous, and sheltering them was a capital offense. All priests returning would be treated ipso facto as traitors.

James VI allies himself to Elizabeth and is cursed by Mary. Major Drake victories plundering Spanish possessions.

Large scale exorcisms conducted by priests, at Denham (-1586). Weston conducted exorcisms (the only Jesuit to conduct exorcisms) in 1585-6 with Shakespeare's schoolboy companion, Robert Debdale, and eventually became subject of Harsnett's Declaration of ... Imposture (see 1603).

Nicholas Sanders and Edward Rishton, De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani (“Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism”), most popular book on England for 16th century Europe (Rishton adds fourth book on Elizabethan years) (not translated until 1877; its French translation in 1676 inspired Burnet's History of the Reformation, see 1679), portraying suffering of Catholic lay nobility, frequently brought up (along with his De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae and Bristow's Motives to the Catholike Faith) in interrogations of Catholic priests. Sanders: “Besides these miseries already mentioned, and the manifold extortions and molestations which they are forced to endure ... the lay nobility are in this more unhappy state than the priests: they cannot run away for conscience sake, nor sell their estates, nor give up their goods to their wives and children, nor take

them with them for their support ... nothing more slavish and miserable can be imagined or described.” Sanders reported scandalous rumour among Catholic exiles, that Anne Boleyn was also Henry VIII's daughter by his mistress, a point discussed at length in 1877 edn by David Lewis. Sanders also associated pope's excommunication of Elizabeth with crusades against the Turk.

Hooker's sermon, “Of Justification,” says some papists can be saved.

“Petition of Loyal Catholic Subjects to the Queen” by Thomas Tresham, Lord Vaux, and other Catholic nobles to the Queen: on intolerable dilemma (if priest comes to door, be a traitor to state or to religion), tries to work out compromise. Petition of Catholics to the Queen: “We do protest before the living God that all and every Priest and Priests, who have at any time conversed with us, have recognized your Majesty their undoubted and lawful Queen *Tam de jure quam de facto*. They speak reverently of you, they daily pray for you, they zealously exhort your subjects to obey you, they religiously instruct us to suffer patiently what authority shall impose on us, yea they precisely admonish us, that it is an heresy condemned by general council for any subject to lift up his hand against his anointed;” “We for our partes utterlye denye that either Pope or Cardynall hath power or authorities to commaunde ... mortall Synne. Muche lesse ... That a native borne subject may seeke the effusion of the sacred blood of his annoynted Sovereigne.” “Lett not us your Catholique natyve Englishe and obedient Subjects stand in more perill for frequentinge the Blessed Sacramentes and exercysinge the catholique religion (and that most secretlye) than doe the Catholique subjectes to the Turke publiclye, than doe the perverse and blasphemous Jewes, hauntinge their Sinagoge under sundrye Christian Kinges openlye, and than doe the protestantes enjoying their publique Assemblies under diverse Catholique Kinges and Pryncies quietlye.”

1585 cont.

Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, having been converted in 1584@ (“by what he saw and heard then [of Campion's trial and execution], he easily perceived on which side the truth and true religion was”), reconciled by Weston, is arrested and sent to Tower; will be condemned to death in 1589@, will die in Tower, perhaps poisoned, in 1595@, never seeing wife or children again; beatified in 1929.

*Pope Sixtus V (1585-90).*

Sidney, considered tolerant, hires Robert Poley thought to be papist (Nicholls, *Reckoning* 144).

Richard Barton, puritan, installed as vicar in Stratford, followed by zealous John Bramhall in 1591, both enforcing Protestant conformity.

**Shakespeare children, the twins, Hamnet (d. 1596) and Judith (d. 1662), christened, named after friends, Hamnet and Judith Sadler, later shown to be papists.** Judith and Susanna (b. 1584) named after Apocrypha discredited by Protestants: both anti-establishment women.

**Shakespeare may have become associated with Lord Strange's men (ca. 1585-94),** later Derby's men, a company that “encouraged controversy and sensation more willingly than any other company of the 1580s and 1590s” (McMillan, *Elizabethan Theatre*); Shakespeare will accentuate Strange family's role in crowning Henry VII in *Richard III*. (Strange became Earl of Derby in 1593.) Strange's men were dispersed among Lord Chamberlain's men by 1594; perhaps company was closed down by censors, because of *Sir Thomas Moore* and others (Merriam 2000).)

**Sometime between now and 1592, Shakespeare departs for London, perhaps as result of enmity with Sir Thomas Lucy,** notorious Protestant persecutor of Ardens (tutored by John Foxe at Charlecote), dispute supposedly over deer poaching. Deer poaching often employed as act of retributive justice or revenge.

**1585-1592 called the “lost years” of “hidden years” of Shakespeare (between birth of the twins, and Greene's attack in 1592).**

## Shakespeare aetat 21.

**\*\*1586\*\***

Southwell, Garnet, met by Weston (who came 1584), come to England; Byrd (see 1588) is guest in house where they are hosted. Babington plot to rescue Mary Queen of Scots and (forged by Walsingham) assassinate Elizabeth revealed. London bells ring in joy at the discovery (Stow). Southwell called it (in 1587) "that wicked and ill-fated conspiracy, which has struck such a blow at the Catholic cause that even our enemies, had they had their choice, could never have devised anything more ruinous to us or agreeable to themselves."

Fr. Weston advises Babington on his coming torture by Walsingham: "I cannot tell you in what manner you can escape out of his snares: if you yield, you give up your religion; if you renounce him and decline his offers, you surrender yourself inevitably to the peril of death; if you doubt and waver between the two, you will even then risk the loss of your life, and you will soon among catholics lose the reputation of being a Catholic."

Walsingham: "The execution of them, as experience showeth, in respect of their constancy, or rather obstinacy, moveth men to compassion and draweth some to affect their religion, upon conceit that such an extraordinary contempt of death cannot but proceed from above, whereby many have fallen away."

Southwell: "I see the beginning of a religious life set on foot in England, of which we now sow the seeds with tears, that others hereafter may with joy carry in the sheaves to the heavenly granaries."

More than 300 Jesuits arrived in the next forty years, about 11 of whom were martyred under Elizabeth (the rest secular priests).

Jesuit, William Weston arrested and placed in the Clink, moved to Wisbech in 1588, then to the Tower in 1598, released 1603. Prisons became centers of Catholic ministry and propaganda. Persons said of Weston: "While in this prison he did more good than when he was free ... the most esteemed and consulted man in England ... A great number of Catholics came for the sacraments, and heretics consulted him;"

1586 cont.

Mary condemned to death and moved to Fotheringay Castle. Pope offers Spain million crowns to invade England.

Sidney killed at Zutphen, had been revising *Arcadia* into more serious prose epic and enlarging implications: see 1590. Mendoza is reported to have said "he could not but lament to see Christendom deprived of so rare a light in these cloudy times, and bewail poor widow England ... that having been many years in breeding one eminent spirit, was in a moment bereaved of him by the hands of a villain" (a Spaniard!). (qu. Howell 264).

Star Chamber requires church approval for all publications.

*Robert Bellarmine's Latin Disputationes contra Haereticos* ("Lectures Concerning the Controversies of the Christian Faith Against the Heretics of This Time") (-1593), with new edition every year for next decade, often attacked by Protestants.

William Camden, *Brittania*: defended monasteries as "seed-gardens from whence Christian religion, and good learning were propagated over this isle, howbeit in corrupt ages some weeds grew out over [them] rankly".

Anon., *The Famous Victories of Henry V.*

Chidioc Tichborne's prison lament, "My prime of youth is but a frost of cares," pub. in Protestant *Verses of Praise and Joy*.

Pierre de la Primaudaye's *The French Academy* (1577), now trans. by Thomas Bowes, many editions; took form of discussion among four noblemen of Anjou, centering on Greek ideal of self-knowledge; source for *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Margaret Clitherow pressed to death. Narrative of her life by John Mush (d. 1617), abridged version pub. 1619, full version 1849, included in Morris, ed. *Troubles*, 1877, vol. 3). Her strong views on non-conformity pre-dates the arrival of the Jesuits. Protestants arresting her may have wanted to aggravate disagreement between recusants and church papists (Lake and Questier, 2004).

WRIT ISSUED AGAINST JOHN SHAKESPEARE.

Robert Debdale, Shakespeare's older schoolfellow, executed as a seminary priest.

## Shakespeare aetat 22.

**\*\*1587\*\***

Mary Queen of Scots beheaded at Fotheringay Castle; precipitates preparation for Spanish invasion. Her executioners plead the precedents of Edward II and Richard II. On scaffold Mary

said: "You know I am cousin to your Queen, and descended from the blood of Henry the Seventh, a married Queen of France and the anointed Queen of Scotland." Elizabeth overwhelmed by a sense of the sacrilege of the execution; scapegoats her secretary of state as responsible, and gave out story that murder was against her will. Someone wrote above Mary's tomb a Latin epitaph, to the effect: "know that the Majesty of all kings and princes lieth here, violated and prostrate." Pope announces religious crusade against England. 6 days after Mary's execution (14 Feb. 1587), Queen Elizabeth to King James VI: "I would you knew though not felt the extreme dolour that overwhelms my mind for that miserable accident, which far contrary to my meaning hath befallen." Parliamentary act makes effective the anti-recusant legislation of 1581 (penalty for non-payment of fines now forfeiture of goods and 2/3 land).

"The funeral of the great Protestant warrior poet, the earl of Leicester's nephew Sir Philip Sidney, who died heroically on November 5, 1586, in the Netherlands fighting the Spaniards, may have been deliberately delayed until February 1587 in order to provide a ceremonial counterpoint to Mary's death „, eight days after her execution" (MacCulloch, Reformation, 375).

Robert Southwell, An Epistle of Comfort, To the reverend Priestes & To the Honorable, Worshipful, & other of the Laye sort restrayned in Durance for the Catholique Fayth, dedicated to Earl of Arundel, written 1587, probably for Lady Anne Dacres, the Earl's wife who had converted in 1582@, whom Southwell in 1586 began to serve as chaplain (and spiritual adviser for her imprisoned husband), based on letter Southwell wrote Arundel who was pining for his family. Arundel house was his headquarters in London. Against forced attendance, "I sit not required as a signe of renouncinge the true Churche, and approvinge this newe forme of service, sacraments, and religion;" "Go on you good Magistrates, racke us, torture us, condemne us, yea grind us: your iniquity is prooffe of our faith;" "just when the Catholics appeared doomed, after Mary's execution, this book came out to reaffirm the purely spiritual and indestructible nature of their resistance. Southwell's literary apostolate was launched." (Devlin) "It is honourable in God's quarrel to be abridged of our bodily liberty for maintaining the true liberty and freedom of our soul ... In this let us ... imitate [the birds] in another property, which is that in the cage they not only sing their natural note both sweeter and oftener than abroad but learn also diverse other songs more pleasant and delightsome. And so we both keep, and oftener practise, our wonted devotion, and besides, learn new exercises of virtue": influences Lear's "We two alone will sing like birds i' th' cage" etc. (see Brownlow 1987).

Southwell letter: "there is weeping almost unto death among wives who have no husbands and families with no support, where religion has no champion and chapels no loving hands to tend them."

1587 cont.

Verstegan's Theatrum Crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis, inspired by death of Mary Queen of Scots, the most richly illustrated of the early martyr books, includes death of Margaret Clitheroe. "If it were only possible for us to approach the dying, there is hardly a man that would not die a Catholic: for it suits them all to live as heretics, but to die Catholics" (Garnet).

Marlowe's Tamburlaine "gloried in the reputation of a murderous blasphemer" (Riggs on Marlowe)

Allen's The Copy of a Letter ... Concerning the Yielding Up of the City of Daventry defended Sir William Stanley (cousin of Lord Strange) whose Catholic convictions led him to surrender Deventer (which had held out against both Leicester and the States) (Stanley cleverly took over, but then full of indecision holds Pope's power to depose princes; revolt against a heretic is justified. "The treachery also of Sir William Stanley, as it was greatly prejudicial to us, that were Catholics, at home, so was the defence of that disloyalty, (made by a worthy man, by the persuasion, as we think, of Parsons)"--Watson, Important Considerations, Allen: "They must marke, what an infinite miserie it is, for a noble, and courageous hart, (as lightly those men of best service be), that with their swoorde, and armes, the wicked only should be protected, and the innocent destroyed,



Churches despoiled, Gods Priests & servants murdered, the blessed Sacramentes profaned, yea even the dread soveraigne holies of Christ's owne bodie & bloud. What death should not a true Catholike Knight suffer, rather then for to see, such horrible wickedness committed? or to be in such base servitude of Haeresie, & her dishonorable defenders, as with their owne handes, to be ministers of such sacrilegious impietie, and which is yet more pitiful, that one Catholike man should be brought, to destroy an other, that in fine everie one may be the instrument of his owne destruction? In their civil governement at home, they cause the Catholike iudge, to geve sentence of death, against the Priests whose innocencie they knowe, and whose Religion in hart, they believe to be true. They make one Catholike neighbour, to accuse an other, and one nobleman to condemn an other. In their warres, they serve themselves of Catholikes: & by English Catholikes, they destroy Catholikes abroad: that forcing Catholikes being overthrown, they may more easely, ouerthrowe their owne at home. Alas for my deare bretheren: alas for our desolate cuntry; which no noble hart can now serve, either in Politike, or Martial matters, but upon such detestable conditions, of assured damnation, and in fine to their owne utter ruine also in this life. // Of al men in the world, the souldiar should most specially attend to his conscience: and stand upon good & sure groundes, for the iustice of the quarel, he hath in hand, being howlerly more subject to death, and daunger then any other kinde of men; and being assured that if he dye, in any knowen evel cause, and namely in this fight against God, and defence of Haeritikes, he is doubtles to be damned for ever. As contrariwise, to dye in lawful warres, for defence of tryue Religion, & Gods honour, in most cases, plaine martyrdome." "And I praye you, Gentlemen ... what disgrace, or shame was it, for all the chiefe Lordes of our cuntry, to revolt from King John, in his dayes? & absolutely to denie him ayde, & assistance, even in his lawful warres, until he returned againe to the obedience of the Sea Apostolike ... or for the English nobilities, & specially for the renowned Stanley, one of this Sir William his house, and name, to revolt from King Richard the Tyrant, and to yeeld him selfe, and his charge to Henrie the seventh?" "When our Princes did Praeliari praelia Domini, Fight the fightes of our Lord, (as holie writte saith of David, being in armes against King Saul then deprived,) and their subiectes, & souldiars served, & feared God, reverenced his Priests, had their confessours with them in campe, dayly heard Masse devoutly, adored the Blessed Sacrament, called on Christ, & his holie Angels, and Saintes, and the special Patrones of their persons, or cuntry, for their defence, lived in martial discipline, order, & obedience, religiously ... abstayning from rape, and violence, towards the innocent, combating only for their faith, or their countries right: then, both amongst the Infidelles, & Heathen, & also among their Christian neighbours, their fightes were famous, their conquests glorious, and the English armes redoubted in al places." "It is now some yeares agoe, sith a Gentleman, & Capitaine, of my name ... conferred earnestly with me about it, that as we had certaine Seminaries, and Colleges for praeservation, or restitution of the Cleargie, when the time should come, to serve God, in our cuntry: so that there were some companies of English souldairs also, to be trained up in Catholike, and old godley militare discipline, for the helpe of our saide cuntry, in that kind likewise ... So good a thing it is, for the Priest & souldiar to concurre, in the service of God, and their cuntry together."

Knox, History of the Reformation in Scotland.

Kyd's Spanish Tragedy (c. 1582-92). Hieronimo, in utrumque paratus, "whether to follow Christian orthodoxy and leave revenge to God, or to take matters into his own hands" (decides on private revenge) Altman, Tudor Play of Mind (UC, 1978). Privy Council: "it was reported [by Cambridge authorities] that Christopher Morley [i.e. Marlowe] was determined to have gone beyond the seas to Reames [Rheims]"; but Privy Council said M. "had no such intent, but... he had done Her Majesty good service, & deserved to be rewarded for his faithful dealing ." (David Riggs, The World of Christopher Marlowe (2004): "Perhaps the playwright really did intend to join the enemy, or go 'to Rome.'")

Mirror for Magistrates new edn., ed. Higgins, a source for Hamlet, Lear, Cymbeline.

Holinshed Chronicle reissued with politically offensive passages pruned, including his account of Campion's execution, and execution of two priests for what look like religious reasons; also censored was vivid description: "Now when these venomous vipers were thus hewne in peeces, their tigers hearts burned in the fire,

and the sentence of law satisfied” etc.

Queen's men play at Stratford, include Richard Tarlton and young Will Kemp.

JOHN SHAKESPEARE EJECTED BY STRATFORD CORPORATION FROM ALDERMAN OFFICE FOR FAILING TO ATTEND MEETINGS. **Shakespeare aetat 23. Did Shakespeare leave Stratford in this year?**

**\*\*1588\*\***

Spanish Armada, supported by the papacy, undertaken to avenge the execution of Mary and rescue the persecuted Catholics; commander Sidonia addressed the fleet: “The principal reason which has moved his Majesty to undertake this enterprise is his desire to serve God, and to convert to His Church many peoples and souls who are now oppressed by the heretical enemies of our holy Catholic faith;” destroyed by Drake and weather.

“At this critical juncture the English Catholics, forgetting the cruelty with which they had been treated, remained true to their queen and their country. With the memory of all they had endured and were still enduring, with the rack and the gibbet to reward their patriotism, they read the bull of deposition which had been published against their sovereign, they saw the shores of their country surrounded by an armament commissioned to enforce it; they felt that the moment had arrived when a breath might turn the balance in their own favour, and they generously flung aside the recollection of the past and the resentment of the present, and flew to the assistance of their country in her hour of danger” (Dodd, *Church Hist.*, ed. Tierney).

“With the Spanish Armada disappeared all hope of the restoration of Roman Catholicism in England, and from the very sense of relief sprang, in a generous and easy-going people, a less antagonistic attitude towards the Old Faith” (Fripp, *Shakespeare Man and Artist*, 226).

Provokes “Massacre of 1588,” the executions at Mile End, and Clerkenwell (no longer just at Tyburn) in order to terrorize the people, also at Finsbury Fields in Shoreditch (include Fr. William Hartley, Southwell's colleague who had helped publish Campion's *Decem Rationes*) at the ditch behind the Abbey and near the New Theater where formerly had stood the Benedictine Nuns' Priory of Holywell (alluded to in *Comedy of Errors*). Typical priest executed because he would not pronounce “all” in statement “that he should acknowledge the queen to be supreme head in all causes without restriction.”

Now the “bloody question” (see Campion above) was: whose side are you on if Pope invades?

English students at Rome Theological college cheer aloud at news of defeat of Armada.

Fr. John Gerard, comes bringing influential Ignatian Exercises.

Allen's *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England*, supporting the Spanish enterprise and the Papal excommunication, and denouncing Elizabeth as “incestuous bastard ...” Also his *A declaration of the sentence and deposition of Elizabeth, the usurper and pretended quene of Englande*: urged Catholics to unite with the armies of Spain.

Burghley, *The Copy of a Letter sent out of England to Don Bernardino de Mendoza* (Spanish ambassador in France), arguing that Catholics had been loyal during Armada, and Pope need only grant dispensation to them to attend Established Church occasionally, and they could avoid persecution”: “an ingenious piece of propaganda designed to drive a wedge between the Jesuit missionaries and the main body of English Catholics” (Hurstfield).

Thomas Stapleton, “The Life and Illustrious Martyrdom of Thomas More, Sometime Lord Chancellor of England,” in his *Tres Thomae*.

1588 cont.

Thomas Lodge, *The Wounds of Civil War*.

Marprelate controversy (-1590). First of notorious Marprelate tracts, *An Epistle to the terrible Priests*, by “the reverend and worthy Martin Marprelate, gentleman,” pseudonym (tracts continuing until 1590), i.e. Puritan attacks on the Anglican bishops (“great prose satirist of the Elizabethan period”), provoking counter-attacks by the bishops.

Death of Leicester; Essex becomes Queen's favorite. Leicester's men may have joined Lord Strange's men.

*Assassination of Duc de Guise, ordered by Henri III.*

Lingard estimates Catholics are still 50% of population.

Archbishop Bancroft gives sermon on divine origin of episcopate, begins powerful assault on Presbyterianism.

Southwell letter on the tortures: "Since, therefore, there was no question of the Faith at stake, and since the priests' answers might turn to the ruin of the whole body, it had been judged best to use expressions which were the exact truth and yet not offensive to the magistrates. So the priests replied that they were clerks in orders to whom warfare was forbidden, but that they would pray God to favour that side on which his justice stood. The laymen, for their part, pledged themselves to fight for Queen and country against all unjust aggressors whomever they might be. But these answer were of no avail; for the death penalty had already been decided on ... Meanwhile, I would like you, my Father [Aquaviva], to think of the tenacity of our Catholics as something close to the heart of this people which still hungers after goodness; and to judge the frenzied cruelty of the multitude, not as a stigma on the whole nation, but as an infection of this heresy which does violence not only to religion but to the very laws of nature. Thus you will see the good deeds of some Englishmen in so lovely a light that the ignorance of the others will deserve a deeper pity." "Through your prayers, my Father [Aquaviva], we hope that ... springtime will soon be at hand, with the lowers appearing and vineyards spreading their fragrance. We strive for this as much as we can, in this stony and desert land ..."

1588 cont.

H. B., A Consolatory Letter to all the afflicted Catholikes in England (1587-8). Preface cites "the example of invincible Martirs" and urges extraordinary virtue on all Catholics, to be faithful "usque as sanguinem," condemns "the base minded multitude who hardlye be perswaded in hope of felicitie in the life to come to live here with patience in penury or willingly to endure a paynfull death ... they stagger and are ready to fall at the terror & the blast of every new Statute that commeth forth." Body of letter: "First of all the Church is a city or commonwealth, having a participation or felowship of spirituall benefits with-in itselfe: and therfore whosoever doth communicat in spirituall things with any other congregation, must needs be divided from the fellowshipe of the Church." St. Augustine "determineth that dissimulation in no wise to be used" (i.e. against attending Protestant church); Ecclesiastes "admonisheth ... not to make a shew against a mans inward conscience." "the cause wherefor I refrayne ... from wicked company of heretiks in their churches, is the love and zeale which I beare to the beauty of Gods Church, the merveyulous disposition of her service, the reverend maiesty of her Sacraments, & decent order of her Cæremonies, wherof I find no resemblance in the newe deformed congregation." "And this maye be another important reason of your most iust, and advised refusal: I mean the very judgment and example of al Infidels touching participation with those of a nother religion, the Lewes doe not enter into the churches of Christians. The Turkes hold it ... the Lutherans and Calvinistes ... [and] Fox in his booke ... " "Now Let us considder what losse thou shal sustayne for this refusall. You shall lose, so manye of you as shall not be able to discharge and aunswere this heauye summes, your whole substance of move-able goods ... A very hard case undoubtedly, but yet not so harde but that by Gods grace it may be easilye digested." Not to worry, "the having of worldlye pelfe is matter of care, how it maye be kepte, how it may be imployed, and how it may be increased. it is occasion of feare: for the rich man feareth those that be richer than him-selfe, and such as be poorer: he feareth theeves, he feareth change of weather," etc. Know well, citing Job, "that none of these things coulde have hapned without God his permysion and special provydence: which may teache you in all losses that may fal out, to considder God his ordinance, and so to reste contented accepting his holy wil and disposition ... Consider I praye you how bare, how needy and destitute of all helpe, you were fist borne." "O deare Catholikes, lifte up your eyes, and looke upon this general day of waking from the sleepe of death ... O happy poverty that is not forced to make friendes in court, to retayn counsailers for the barr, to wayte upon attorneys" etc. "Yet there be certain giftes which God bestoweth upon al that truly serve him ... I meane his grace wherby they are made in a sorte pertakers of the devine nature, wherby their soules are bewtifified and made amyable in Gods sight ... " "Among al the temporal benefits that god hath bestowed upon us, ther is none more dearly esteemed, not more carefully defended then is our lyfe: although it be short & unsure to continue subject to many change annoyed with sundry wantes & distresses, inwrapped on everye side with infinite miseryes, and rather to be called a death then a life. If then we make such accompt of this lyfe ... How greatly should we desyre to enioye a perpetual lyfe."

Young Fitzherbert, needing money, informed Topcliffe of family's papism, leading to their condemnation: example of children betraying parents.

Whitgift's influence now grows, compromising Puritan drift of Parliament.

1588 cont. Anon., The Troublesome Reign of John (-1590).

Marlowe's Dr. Faustus: "Faustus ... Faustus vows never to look to heaven, / Never to name God, or to pray to him, / To burn his Scriptures, slay his ministers, / And make my spirits pull his churches down. Lucifer: So shalt thou show thyself an obedience servant ..." Devil enables Faustus in Rome: "Be cunning in thine art to cross the Pope, / Or dash the pride of his solemnity; / To make his monks and abbots stand like apes, / And point like antics at his triple crown: / To beat the beads about the friars' pates, / Or clap huge horns upon the Cardinals' heads; / Or any villainy thou canst devise." [mocking the proud or the holy?] Faustus to Mephistopheles: "Follow the Cardinals to the Consistory; / And as they turn their superstitious books, / Strike them with sloth, and drowsy idleness; / And make them sleep ..." Pope Adrian disputes emperor's power, "In token of our sevenfold power from Heaven, / To bind or loose ..." Faustus disguised as Cardinal gets Pope to condemn Bruno as heretic. "Faustus: Fall to, the devil choke you an you spare. Pope: How now? Who's that which spake ... Friar: Here's nobody ..." [like Macbeth]. Archbishop tells Pope "I think it be / Some ghost crept out of Purgatory"; Pope tries prayer, but Faustus strikes him, and beats the friars who chant with bell, book, and candle. In Act 5, "Enter an Old Man ... O gentle Faustus, leave this damned art, / This magic, that will charm thy soul to hell, / And quite bereave thee of salvation" [thus As You Like It, except that there the old religious man is associated with Rosalind's white magic.] Faustus wants him tortured, and Mephistopheles says: "His faith is great; I cannot touch his soul; / But what I may afflict his body with / I will attempt." Good Angel to Faustus: "Hadst thou kept that way, Faustus, behold / In what resplendent glory thou hadst sit / In yonder throne, like those bright shining saints." Faustus on way to hell: "See, see, where Christ's blood streams in the firmament!" Faustus began his fatal studies in Wittenberg; Faustus in his study: "Couldst thou make men to live eternally, / Or, being dead, raise them to life again, / Then this profession were to be esteem'd." Wagner: "I will set my countenance lie a precision" Mephistopheles disguised like "an old Franciscan friar" Faustus goes to entertain Charles V with his magic. Faustus's damned oath frightened audience who had also signed away their souls (Asquith, BC lecture, Oct 2007).

William Byrd (1540-1623) publishes Psalms, Sonets, & songs of sadnes & pietie. In 1589 he will publish Songs of sundrie natures, and two further Cantiones Sacrae (1589 and 1591). "William Byrd's greatest music was a lament for the tragedy overwhelming England ... When we hear the lamentations of Jeremiah over the desolation of Jerusalem, we ... hear a Catholic Englishman's nostalgia for the glories of the devastated shrines of his own nation" (D. I. Edwards); from 1580 his name appeared on many lists of Recusants, but apparently protected by Elizabeth; his works dedicated to Papist peers. Tallis and John Bull were other Catholic musicians tolerated by the regime.

*Jean Bodin, pioneer political economist (argued against divine right of kings), who acted as secretary to duc d'Anjou on his 1581 courting journey to Elizabeth, writes Colloquium (1588-93) (in Latin, not pub. until 1841) about a Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Jew, Muslim, natural philosopher and skeptic discussing religion, and agreeing for need for all religions to exist in harmony, set in Venice as free city; they end singing psalm "how good and pleasing it is for brothers to live in unity," but book ends: "However, afterward they held no other conversation about religions, although each one defended his own with the supreme sanctity of his life." Earlier Bodin wrote Six Books of the Republic (1576) arguing for monarchy but also that state can tolerate more than one religion, on grounds of public policy. One of the Catholic "Politiques," after St. Bartholomew massacre, arguing for religious diversity as possible within political unity. It was said of Bodin: "il mourut comme un chien, sine ullo sensu pietatis, n'étant ni juif, ni chrétien, ni turc." . See Gary Remer, in Difference and Dissent 1996; on Bodin's pioneering pluralism, because religious truth is complex—an advance over politiques practicality: "The purpose of religious conversation, in Colloquium, is no longer for the interlocutors, collectively, to discover the truth but for each participant to confirm himself further in the truth of his own beliefs" (Remer Bodin remained Catholic though*

*occasionally suspected of being Protestant heretic.*

### **Shakespeare aetat 24.**

**\*\*1589\*\***

Civil War in France (Henri III, who had de Guise killed year before, now murdered; the last of the Valois dynasty). Henri of Navarre becomes Henri IV of France, still opposed by Catholic League who however split over question of Spanish interference (like English Catholics over loyalty to Elizabeth versus papal aggression). Henry will be supported by Essex in the conflict with the Spanish in the Netherlands.

Elizabeth attacks Marprelate tracts, as tending "to dissolve the estate of the prelacy, being one of the three ancient estates of this realm."

Elizabeth orders further excision of Holinshed, of the account of Campion who "died not for treason but for Religion."

Southwell, "An Epistle ... unto His Father, Exhorting Him to the Perfect Forsaking of the World": "Remember, I pray you, that your spring is spent and your summer overpassed. You are now arrived to the fall of leaf, yea, and winter colors have already stained your hoary head." "I have expressed not only my own, but the earnest desire of your other children ... For it is a general grief that filleth all our hearts, whom it hath pleased God to shroud under His merciful wing, to see our dearest Father ... dismembered from the body to which we are united, to be in hazard of a farther and more grievous separation."

Arundel sentenced to death. Garnet, letter on Arundel: "I have come to London ... On my arrival I found people of every class in a state of alarming affliction and disquiet by reason of the condemnation of a certain noble Earl ... who has spent four entire years in prison, cut off from his family, with no comfort save that of his own good conscience. He ambitioned nothing else than to be a good Catholic and escape to a country where he might live as such. Now at last he has been arraigned partly on false charges, partly because of his steadfastness to his Catholic faith and practice; he was condemned to death on 14 April to the great sorrow of the heretics themselves ... When the people, against all expectation saw the Earl coming out of [Westminster] Hall with the axe-edge turned in towards him--in the trials of nobles this is the sign that the prisoner has been condemned--suddenly there was a great uproar that was carried miles along the river. Some people in the crowd asked what had become of the Queen's clemency that such a true and gallant gentleman should suffer condemnation. Others were passionately indignant that a man whose only offence was that he had prayed to God should be condemned for that alone." Weston biog.: "The indignation of the crowds on this day probably explains why the sentence was never carried out."

Lyly, Nashe, and Greene, 'university wits', urged by Bancroft, start satirizing the Marprelate pamphlets.

Greene in The Spanish Masquerado praises Elizabeth for seeing Pole as antichrist, and Catholicism as Babylonian fornicatress in Apocalypse; Greene, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay.

Hakluyt's Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or over land to the most remote and further distant quarters of the earth, at any time within the compass of these 1500 years (see 1582, 1598).

1589 cont.

Kyd's Hamlet, not extant.

"Mr. Henry Conestables [Constable's] sonets to the Lady Ritche. 1589," ms. collected by Sir John Harington and his father.

Francis Trigge, An apologie of Defence of our dayes against the vaine murmurings and complaints of many, i.e. "many do lament the pulling downe of the abbayes, they say it was never merrie world since: they highly commend their liberalitie to the poore, their curtesie to their tenants, their commodities to the commonwealth;" in fact monasteries had been full of "pride, idleness, fullnesse of breade and unmercifulnesse," etc.

Marlowe, Jew of Malta: source for Merchant of Venice.

Master of Revels given formal authority to censor and license all plays.

Henry Constable dedicates sonnets to Penelope Rich; publishes Examen Pacifique de la Doctrine des Hugenots (later trans. as The Catholic Moderator or a Moderate Examination of the Doctrine of the Protestants (1623), plea for toleration for the Huguenots in France, pleads for a conference in which each side should "establish a Peace in the Church of God" ); sent by Essex to confer with King James.

William Fulke's The Text of the New Testament ... by the Papists made the Rheims Old Testament widely available because he printed it and its annotations in parallel with the Bishop's Bible.

Richard Field, from Stratford (his father an associate of John Shakespeare), now established in London as a printer, would publish North's Plutarch.

Lyly's Midas critiquing Philip of Spain as Midas, but proposing forgiveness and reconciliation (see Bevington 1992); minor source of Comedy of Errors and Two Gentlemen. **Shakespeare aetat 25.**

**\*\*1590\*\***

Henry Constable converts to Catholicism about now (1589-1591).

Death of Walsingham. *ants*

Beginning of Scottish witchcraft trials, under James VI.

R. Phinch's The Knowledge or Appearance of the Church, critiquing "false miracles" of the Papists, perhaps parallel Pinch in Comedy of Errors.

Inquiries about a Jesuit "Father Robert" conferring with Lord Montague's son at Cowdray about a marriage; Southampton (17 years old), Montague's grandson, and pressured to marry 15 year old Lady Vere, Burghley's granddaughter, with Montague as mediator, was at Cowdray at that time .

Garnet letter: "No youth could enter a university unless he was, or pretended to be, a heretic, and this exterior dissimulation was not even thought to be wrong, provided interiorly a man's faith was sound ... expectant mothers travel to remote parts for the birth of their infants in order that may not be asked questions later about the christening of their offspring. When they marry, they ride to some distant place for the ceremony and their return home, to avoid questioning on the celebration of their marriage ... There is not sufficient agreement among us whether a priest sins mortally if he denies he is a priest when he is asked the question publicly or by a magistrate." See Shakespeare's marriage, 1582.

Michael Sherbrook's Fall of the Religious Houses under Henry the Eighth (c. 1561-1590) bemoans the ruination.

Spenser, "Prosopopoia, or Mother Hubbard's Tale;" probably political allegory, with courtier as Sidney, lion as Elizabeth, usurping fox as Burghley, opposed by Mercury as Leicester. Ape is satire of Burghley, acc. to C. S. Lewis; compare Polonius.

Lodge's Rosalynde, source for As You Like It.

Spenser, Faerie Queene 1-3 (Bk II: source for Much Ado and King Lear): Spenser celebrates the Virgin Queen, i.e. who resisted corrupting marriage alliance with France or Spain; portrays Mary Queen of Scots as Duessa (James VI protested this treatment). Redcrosse knight (England separated from Una, the true church) must recognize his sainthood as a St. George, and realize that Una, not Duessa, is the true enduring church. Redcrosse early adopted by plowman (allusion to Langland). "Copley [see below] and Spenser acknowledge that finding truth in an era of competing martyr-saints, necessitates a lengthy, often painful quest" (Monta 2005); Spenser needs to re-forge the image of St. George from its Golden Legend wonders into a Reformation saint.

*Reconciliation of Belgian scholar and irenist, Justus Lipsius, to Catholicism rouses comment.*

1590 cont.

Anon, The True Chronicle History of King Leir, Protestant play.

Sidney, Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (with Books 1, 2, part of 3); revised and augmented 1593 (adding Books 3-5); revised and augmented 1598; 5<sup>th</sup> edition in 1621 revised and augmented by Sir William Alexander. Source for Gloucester subplot in King Lear. "Old Arcadia," original version written 1577-80, pub. in 1912: romance of 2 disguised princes cast ashore in Arcadia where they fall in

love, nearly executed in trial, but restored at end. “There are at least six ways in which the Arcadia manifests, in effect, a critique of absolutist tendencies ... ” (Sinfield, Faultlines 85). In “Old Arcadia”, Philisides, Sidney’s alter ego, dreams he is in Samothea (Britain) (see Duncan-Jones), where Diana and Venus debate their grievances, and long for reconciliation. Diana:

I know full well you know, what discord long hath reign'd  
Betwixt us two; how much that discord foule hath stain'd  
Both our estates, while each the other did deprave,  
Prooffe speakes too much to us that feeling triall have.  
Our names are quite forgot, our temples are defac'd:  
Our offrings spoil'd, our priest from priesthood are displac'd  
Is this the fruite of strife? those thousand churches hie,  
Those thousand altars faire now in the dust to lie? ...  
But let us wiser be; and what foule discorde brake,  
So much more strong againe let fastest concorde make.

They are accompanied by Diana’s waiting maid, Mira (i.e. Sidney’s sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke) (“To onely thee thou seest we graunt this speciall grace / Us to attend”). They ask Philisides to judge, and he awards palm to Mira:

How ill both you can rule, well hath your discord taught:  
Ne yet for ought I see, your beauties merite ought.  
To yonder Nymph therefore (to Mira I did point)  
The crowne above you both for ever I appoint.

[i.e. plague on both your houses] Philisides thereafter pursues Mira but without success. (See Clare Asquith’s interpretation, Shadowplay, p. 308, note 9.)

**c. 1590 Shakespeare comes under patronage of Southampton** whose father was papist defender of Mary Queen of Scots and was implicated in Northern Rebellion; but Southampton brought up under guardianship of Burghley--but his friendship with Essex and his family history made him regarded as a potential (only potential) champion of the Catholic party.

**Two Gentlemen of Verona** perhaps written now (-1591).

**Shakespeare aetat 26.**

**\*\*1591\*\***

Proclamation (probably by Cecil) against recusants, and those who gave harbor to priests: a response to renewed Spanish attempt at invasion: “[priests] do come into the [realm] by secret creeks and landing places, disguised both in their names and persons, some in apparel as soldiers, mariners or merchants, pretending that they have been heretofore taken prisoner and put into gallies and delivered, some come in as gentlemen with contrary names, in comely apparel, as though they had travelled into foreign countries for knowledge; and ... and many as gallants, yea in all colours, and with features and such like disguising themselves.”

County commissions formed to examine belief and church attendance.

86 martyrs executed 1586-91, highest ratio.

Letter, probably by Persons, referring to his “cousin” who is “well-inclined” to support the papists, intercepted and decoded as “Lord Strange” by Lord Burghley’s agents.

*Essex expedition to Ireland, accompanied by Henry Constable.*

Essex leads expedition to France in aid of Henry IV.

Henry Constable described as “politique papist” who seeks to make “a Reconciliation betwixt the ii Religions.”

James VI's poem, Lepanto, reprinted in 1603 on his accession to the throne; apologizes for praising a 'foreign popish batard', but "gestures to an ecumenical hope for a reunified respublica Christian" (K. Sharpe, 1993). "I sing a wondrous worke of God ... a cruell martiall warre ... which fought was in LEPANTOES gulfe / Betwixt the baptiz'd race, / And circumcised Turbaned Turks" (l. 11!). Celebrates valor and grace of the Venetians, joined by Spanish, Italians, etc. The final "Chorus Angelorum", added on, that if God helped these antichrists, then how much more will he help Protestants; "since he doth such favour shew / To them that fondlie pray / to other Mediators then / Can helpe them any way: / O how then will he favour them, Who praiera do direct / Unto the Lambe, whome only he / Ordaind for that effect? / And since he doth revenge their cause / That worship God of bread ... Then how will he revenge their cause / That onelie fear and serve, / His dearest Sonne ... And since that so he pities them / That beare upon their brow, / That mark of Antichrist the whoore / That great abuser now, " etc.

1591 cont.

Swithin Wells, one-time tutor in Southampton household (Countess of Southampton's records show him there 1586-7), executed as papist. John Florio (and perhaps Burghley's agent--Yates, on LLL) will become tutor for Southampton c. 1594.

Southwell, An Humble Supplication to Her Maiestie (ms. 1591, pub. 1600), replying to Proclamation above, refutes the imputation of disloyalty due to the Spanish Armada: we only want to save souls, not meddle in politics, but "confirme them in the auntient Catholique Faith in which their Foregathers lived and died these 1400 years, and out of which we undoubtedly believe it is impossible that any soule should be saved;" refers to that "dreadful moment whereupon dependeth a whole eternity." Confronts Elizabeth with image of all Kings and Statesmen of England rising from their graves and subject to her same penalties of felony for the Cathedrals they had built; yet Southwell aware of a new national state politics within which absolute values lost their nature and became instruments of policy: thus Claudius's court. Most horrible to Southwell "was the multitude of plain folk, husbandmen, farmers, and simple squires, who were not cut out for martyrdom, and were not given the chance of it. Burghley's policy of tearing these people from the millenary roots of their religion by a relentless pressure of lawless brutality and humiliation was more horrible to his mind's eye than the butcheries at Tyburn." Southwell praised Elizabeth as her "most mighty and most merciful, most feared and best beloved mistress," vowed that "we" would remain loyal in event of invasion--thus kept to earlier non-resistance line, and did not follow Allen and Persons' recent turn to resistance.

Bald, ed.: "In affairs of state, on the other hand, he was prepared to concede the utmost to the royal power; the distinction between the two was sharp and clear in his mind, and his words bear a sense of his pride in being a loyal Englishman." Bald sees major conflict between Southwell's nationalist Catholicism, and the uncompromising position of Allen and Persons. Supplication reprinted in 1600 to embarrass the Jesuits. "The concept of Catholic 'soul rights' sharing textual space with a recognition of the legitimate authority of an excommunicated Queen created tensions that seemingly few sixteenth-century imaginations could fathom" (Pilarz 2004).

"If we live at home as Catholiques, professing our owne, and refusing to professe a Contrary Religion, we can neither keepe our places in the University, nor follow our studies in the Innes of Court, but we are imprisoned for Recusancy, impoverished, troubled and defamed. And yet if we leave all, and seeke free use of our Conscience, and departe the Realme, taking such helpes as the Charity of other Cuntryes affordeth us, we are straight reckoned for unnatural Subjects."

Also, on the hunted papists: "They are at the bottom of a helpless misery, whom both a condemned estate maketh common objects of abuse, and an unpitied oppression barred from discovering their griefs to those that only are able to afford them remedy ... We, like God's Almighty fools (as some scornfully call us), lay our shoulders under ever load, and are contented to make patience the only salve for all sores ... So heavy is the hand of ours superiors against us, that we generally are accounted men whom it is a credit to pursue, a disgrace to protect, a commodity to spoil, a gain to torture, and a glory to kill."

But at same time Southwell wrote tract, "General heads of the persecution in England," where he says more aggressively that all Englishmen hated the chief persecutors of the Catholics: "Never less neighbourhood among the people, never less agreement in the peers; everyone draweth a sundry way, and standeth in fear of his nearest friends. The whole realm is so full of makebates and



factions, that when they begin to work, there can be no invasion of equal misery to the civil mutinies that are likely to ensue.”

“we doe assure your Maiestie that what Army soever should come against you, we will rather yeald our breasts to be broached by our Cunttrie swords, then use our swords to th’effusion of our Cuntries blood” (short of saying he would fight—Bald).

Defending his disguises and low apparel, “David upon just cause feigned himself madd; but his madness was an effect of perfect wisdom ... Judith ... disguised herself in such ornaments as were fitter to allure lascivious eyes.”

“And if it should please god to allott the day of generall Resurrection in your Maiesties tyme ... what would so many Millions of Prelates, Pastores, and Religious people thinke ... Much would they be amazed to see their Reliques burned, their Memories defaced, and all Monasteries, dedicated once to Chastity, prayer, and piety, now either buried in their own ruynes, or profaned by unfitting uses.” etc.

Southwell's Marie Magdalens Funeral Teares; its preface notes: “in fables are often figured moral truths, and that covertly uttered to a common good which without mask would not find so free a passage” (two of the fables describe the rape of a beautiful lady, but the theme is repentance).

Southwell's The Triumphs over Death, written to comfort Earl of Arundel on death at age 21 of his Catholic half-sister lady Margaret Howard, daughter in law of Thomas Sackville. (See 1595)

Tract, “The Copy of an answer unto a Protestant's Letter,” argued that Catholics were falsely accused of treason, but that it was good if the Spanish defeated the English.

1591 cont.

Sidney, Astrophel and Stella, started craze for sonnet sequences 1592-95, first of which were Daniel's Delia and Constable's Diana (1592), followed by scores of collections, including Spenser's Amoretti in 1595, leveling off by 1597; Stella was Penelope, lady Lady Rich, divorced Lord Rich, married Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy; took Catholic instruction from Gerard but was not received into the Church, sister of Essex.

Orlando Furioso (orig. by Ariosto 1516@, 1532) trans. by Sir John Harington (knighted by Essex in Ireland, had to deny charges of Catholicism). Orlando loves and pursues Angelica who has eloped with Medoro, a wounded Moor; Orlando leaves Charlemagne's army, goes mad out of betrayed love, runs naked in the forest, fights with wild beast and is only eventually restored; epic ends with siege of Paris by the Moors under Agramant, followed by a great Christian victory when Rogero, a Christianized Moor fights and kills Rodomont, the Moorish champion. To be made a play by Robert Greene. (See Chesterton, Chaucer 1932)

John Lyly's Endymion, proposes reconciliation of Cynthia (Elizabeth) and Endymion (Oxford, reputed Catholic) who had been suspected of dallying with Tellus (Mary Queen of Scots); Lyly urging Elizabeth to believe in loyalty of many English Catholics like Oxford, and urging tolerance to Catholics (even Tellus is pardoned) (see Bevington 1992)); Lyly would influence the development of the masque; influence on Love's Labour's Lost and Merry Wives of Windsor..

Elizabeth makes progress to Cowdray for extended stay, and is entertained by Lord Montague; and then to Titchfield, Southampton's house. Was this the moment that Shakespeare came into contact with Southampton? (see Acheson, Shakespeare's Lost Years). Shakespeare's **2+3 Henry VI** (1590-1, produced by Lord Strange's men). 2 Henry VI will be published in 1594 as quarto, The First Part of the Contention of the Two Famous Houses of York and Lancaster; 3 Henry VI published in 1595 as octavo The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York and the Good King Henry the Sixth. **3 Henry VI** parodied by Greene (“Tygers Hart”) in 1592. **Shakespeare aetat 27.**

\*\*1592\*\*

Southwell arrested. In prison, Southwell expounded to Burghley the theory of 'equivocation', which became the government's main attack against him.

Greene's A quip for an upstart Courtier ... Wherein is plainly set downe the disorders in all Estates

and Trades attacks Richard and Gabriel Harvey who responds with Four Letters also attacking Nashe who had just published Peirce Penniless Supplication to the Devil (source for Hamlet): Various replies and counter-replies include Nashe's Christe's Teares ... (1593), much of this concerning the Marprelate controversy.

Greene's Repentance recounts his death-bed penitence, prompted by Person's Book of Resolution (see 1592).

Montague speech, dissociating himself from hard-line Jesuits: "I confess before youe all that I am a Catholyque in my religeon which I keepe to my selff; I seeke to drawe no man to that religeon, neither chylde nor servant, but let them doo theyr conscyences therein as god shall putt in theyre myndes ... yf the Pope or the Kinge or Spayne or anye other forreyne Potentate shoulde offer to invade this realme, for any cawse whatsoever, I woulde be one of the first that shoulde beare armes agenst him or them for my prynce & cowntrye, to the uttermost of my power ... And yf I shoule knowe that anye of youe my bretheren or childeren shoulde concent unto anye suche thinge, as to ioine with Pope or forreyne potentate, I woulde be he that should fyrst present youe or anye of youe to the Quene & her Councell."

Montague dies, 1592; buried in monument imitating that at Titchfield, "a testament to the closeness between Montagu and Southampton" (DNB); his heir is his grandson, Anthony Maria Browne, second Viscount Montagu (1574–1629).

1592 cont.

Daniel, Delia.

Henry Constable, Diana, Or, The excellent conceitful Sonnets of H. C. (enlarged 1594), an influence on Shakespeare: "My verse still lives, to witness thee divine;" "To him I flye for grace that rules above / That by my Grace I may live in delight / Or by his grace I never more may love;" lady wounds him, "So with five wounds at once I wounded lye ... Saynt Francis had the like yet felt no smart ... So many for devotion thee would kisse / And I thy glove kisse as a thinge devine / Thy arrows quiver and thy reliques shrine." Much mixture of religious and erotic imagery. Grundy, ed. Poems, lists four Shakespeare parallels in Constable's sonnets.

Verstegan, A Declaration of the True Causes of the Great Troubles, Presupposed to be Intended against the Realme of England. Wherein the Indifferent Reader shall manifestly perceave, by whome, and by what meanes, the realme is broughte into these pretented perills: preface begins "The present estate ... of England ... and the sundry adversities sustayned ... are such. and so many, as the lamentable and generall cries and complaintes of the oppressed multitude, can declare them to exceed all those of all ages past, in the memorie of man." The "fewe poore priests and Jesuytes ... " seek only "the consolation of ... afflicted Catholikes ... or ... the conversion of such well mynded prrotestants, as will obstinately refuse to understand their owne errors" (the word "error" carried by printer's convention from bottom of one page to top of next). "The Queene now being broughte, to condescend unto the chaunge of the old religion, he [Burghley] broughte also the election of the new, to lie in his owne choice ... but prescribed a composition of his owne invention ... making that to be new Treasons, which is nothing els but old faith and religion ... There was never Scythian, nor savage Tartar, that could use more inhumane cruelty then to rip up the bodies of innocent men, being perfectly alive, to teare out their entrailes, to be consumed with fyre. There was never Turk, nor Barbarian, that imposed upon Christians so great and continually a tribute, as twenty poundes, for every eight-and-twentie dayes absence, from their Moskeyes." "What should I speake of the generall abuses of the realme, since they are so great, and so infynite.// There were never so many sutes in lawe, nor there was never lesse redresse of wronges. // The law is exempt from Iustice, and all causes are governed by bribes and partialities. // Conscience is least accompted of, and coosinage is in summo gradu." "For it is he [Burghley], that neither of conscyence, nor an other causes, but meerly for his owne ambition, hathe wrought the mutation and changes of religion, whereof such wonderfull inconveniences have followed.// It is he, that hathe procured the enmytie, which England hathe at this present with so many Christian Princes and states ... It is he, that for the prosecuting of his impious intentions, hathe sent foorth so many thousands of the naturall people of the realm to be consumed in forreyne countries.// It is he that hathe caused so many great and generall exactions, and that hathe exhausted the treasure of the Queene & realme for the maintenance of rebells, and purchasing of enemyes to his naturall country. It is he that hathe bene the occasion, that the Queene (contrary to her honor, and the well lyking of her other counsellers which she most affected) hathe made so many offers of marriage to forreyne princes: and

yet notwithstanding hathe ever utterly perswaded her from marriage, thereby to bury her posteritie in her owne body. // It is he, that was one of the most principall contrivers of the devysed plott, for the trecherous slaughter of the Scottish Queene, which will redownde unto the eternall infamy of England, and dothe threaten a continuall revenge. " etc.

1592 cont.

Verstegan calls above book "a commentary upon Chaucer's prophecy" (prophecy also quoted in anon. A Letter by a Spanish Gentleman (1589)). Thus fool in King Lear.

*Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605) (after 3 short pontificates).*

Persons, Philopater in Latin, mocking Cecil, as an actor, a comedian, a rhetorician, puny against Spain; if he could have been Elizabeth's confessor, he might have saved her: "Without any of this sacrament's benefit, without any examination of conscience, without remorse or remedy, piling one sin upon another, offence upon offence;" cites Gaveston parallel.

Verstegan, An Advertisement written to a secretarie of my L. Treasurer of Ingland ... accusing ministers of instigating Elizabeth to harsh measures: argued that England's greatest weakness lay in absence of unity, "the greates, and irreconcilable differences and warres in religion, not onely with the Catholiques, but especially betweene the Protestants, and Puritanes them selves;" mocks Cecil's descent from innkeeper and attempt to inflate number of lions in his coat of arms; mocks Cecil: "yf a foole ... upon a stage shoulde avouch such stuffe in a comedy, he would be hissed out."

Letter from Verstegan correspondent: "In one parish in Warwickshire, there were found 7 score recusants; but in the provinces afore named, great numbers have bene by the commissioners constreyned by force to go to heare sermons, where at was hard such weeping, lamentation and sighes as was most wonderful."

Allen's letter to English priests: "As the excessive troubles and pains and perils that you suffer daily and hourly in that extreme heat of persecution give me continual sorrow of mind ... [and] the daily intelligence ... of your notable patience, constancy, and fruitful labours in the harvest ... I would have you use great compassion and mercifulness toward the laity esp. as from mere fear, or for saving their family, wife, and children from ruin ... come sometimes to their churches ... And therefore be not hard ... in absolving them."

Thomas Stapleton, Apologia pro rege Catholico Phillippo II, vivid portrayal of Catholic suffering plus defense of their loyalty; warns Cecil: "Think of the Spencers, the Gavestons, the Empstons, the Dudleys and the Cromwells, who in their day enjoyed the favour of their princes ... consider what will be the case with you."

John Stow, The Annales of England, revision of earlier Chronicles, describing the list of priests and citizens executed by Henry VIII, and the stripping of the monasteries: "It was ... a pitifull thing to heare the lamentation that the people in the countrie made;" calls Oldcastle "most perverse enimie to the state of the church at that time," thus returning to 15<sup>th</sup> cent. tradition of portraying Oldcastle as traitor. "But the nexus between religious conservatism and antiquarianism should not be overstated" (Walsham, Reformation of the Landscape, 293)

Bacon, Certain Observations Made Upon a Libel, replies to Declaration of the true causes of the great troubles, portrays Elizabeth as "not liking ... to make windows into men's harts and secrete thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts and affirmations."

See Robert Hugh Benson, By What Authority? (1904): Sir Nicholas Maxwell: "Have they so far forgotten the Old Faith as to think it can be held in a man's private conscience without appearing in his life, like their miserable, new-fangled justification by faith without works? Or that a man can believe in the blessed Sacrament of the altar and yet not desire to receive it? Or in penance and yet not be absolved? Or in Peter and yet not say so, or be reconciled?" (51).

1592 cont.

Marlowe's Edward II. Edward to Bishop of Coventry: "Throw off his golden mitre, rend his stole, / And in the channel christen him anew." Lancaster: "What! will they tyrannize upon the church?" Archbishop of Canterbury: "God himself is up in arms, / When violence is offered to the church." Edward: "Why should a king be subject to a priest? Proud Rome! that hatchest such imperial grooms, / For these thy superstitious taper-lights, / Wherewith thy antichristian churches blaze, / I'll fire the crazed buildings, and enforce / The papal tower to kiss the lowly ground! / With slaughtered priest make Tiber's channel swell ..." Edward's panoply described by Young Mortimer: "in the field with banner spread ... and then thy soldiers marched like players, / With garish robes, nor armour; and thyself, / Bedaubed with gold, rode laughing at the rest, / Nodding

and shaking of thy spangled crest, / Where women's favours hung like labels down" [Edward's decadence like Richard II's] while his Queen Isabel continues lamenting. Abbot receives fleeing Edward: "As silent and as careful we will be, / To keep your royal person safe with us". Edward: "Father, this life contemplative is Heaven. / O that I might this life in quiet lead!" Abbot later: "My heart with pity [y]earns to see this sight, / A king to hear these words and proud commands." Edward: "But say awhile, le me be king till night, / That I may gaze upon this glittering crown ... They ... seek to make a new-elected king; / Which fills my mind with strange despairing thoughts, / Which thoughts are martyred with endless torments... I feel the crown upon my head." Young Mortimer reads letter from assassin, "Edwardum occidere nolite timere, bonus est" ... But read it thus, and that's another sense .... , timere bonus est" [Thus equivocation in Macbeth]. Gaveston a "coded version" of Burghley (Breight's thesis, in Surveillance, Militarism etc., acc. to Houliston, 2007).

JOHN SHAKESPEARE CITED IN MARCH BY COMMISSIONERS (INCLUDING SIR THOMAS LUCY) IN RECUSANCY ROLLS FOR NOT ATTENDING MONTHLY CHURCH SERVICES AND GIVES EXCUSE THAT HE HID OUT FOR ECONOMIC REASONS; ("CLEARLY CATHOLICS ALONE, AND NOT PURITANS, WERE IN DANGER"--CHAMBERS); STILL HAD NOT CONFORMED IN SEPTEMBER, ACCORDING TO REPORT PREPARED BY SIR THOMAS LUCY AND OTHER JUSTICES. IN THIS SAME YEAR, JOHN ASKED TO MAKE INVENTORIES OF DECEASED NEIGHBORS, SO STILL HIGHLY REGARDED. Of those on the recusancy list, "it was said that these last nine come not to churh for fear of process for debt."

Recusant list also included well-known Catholic names, Arden, Catesby, Throckmorton (Arden cousins), and also "Bardolph" and "Fluellen," 2 names used by Shakespeare in Henry V.

Lord Strange's men, probably including Shakespeare, appear at Court and at the Rose. "A reasonable list would include The Massacre at Paris, The Spanish Tragedy, 1 Henry VI, and The Jew of Malta, all performed by Strange's men at the Rose during the seven months from June 1592 into January 1593" (McMillan, Elizabethan Theatre).

Greene (a university man resenting a successful nobody) attacks Shakespeare in Groats-worth of Witte ("there is an upstart Crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his Tygers hart wrapt in a Players Hyde supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and being an absolute Johannes fac totum, is in his owne conceit the onley Shake-scene in a countrey ... it is pittie men of such rare wits, should be subject to the pleasure of such rude groomes"), alluding to 3 Henry VI, earliest printed allusion to Shakespeare: Nashe, Pierce Penniless His Supplication to the Devil, dedicated to Lord Strange: "How it would have joyed brave Talbot, the terror of the French, to think that after he had been dead two hundred years in his tomb he should triumph again on the stage ...," apparently referring to 1 Henry VI; praises eloquence of Henry Smith's sermons; eulogistic epilogue to Amyntas, probably Ferdinando Stanley, Earl of Derby. Pierce Penniless includes "Tale of the Beare and the Foxe," influenced by Leicester's Commonwealth, bear as Leicester (who patronizes fox, Puritan Thomas Cartwright), horse as Catholic Duke of Norfolk executed in 1572, partly due to Leicester; Bear poisons the Deer, i.e. earl of Essex in 1576 to marry his widow (Charles Nichols explication). Pierce attacked by Puritan Councillor Robert Beale for serving Catholic interests.

1592 cont. Henry Chettle, publisher of Groats-worth, issues epistle of apology later in year for

Greene's attack, "because my selfe have seene his [Shakespeare's] demeanor no lesse civill than he is excelent in the qualitie he professes: Besides, divers of worship have reported, his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writting, that aprooves his Art." (See Jonson, 1641)

**Sir Thomas Moore** (1592-3), designed for Lord Strange's men, later revised by Shakespeare (see 1603). Shakespeare may have hand in the play (orig.1590-, revised 1592-4 or 1600-4) (play avoids story of More's martyrdom, emphasizes More's part in quelling riot against Lombard and French aliens in London); Shakespeare's hand detected in two scenes. Munday may have orchestrated the play to search out papist leanings in fellow playwrights (see Merriam 2000).

Shakespeare's **1 Henry VI**, (1591-2) probable collaboration, 1592 performance noted in Henslowe's records, but not necessarily the same version as in 1623 Folio (Evans/Tobin say 1589-90, rev. 1594-5). **I Henry VI** cited by Nashe, **Pierce Penniless**, above.

**Richard III** (1592-3); **Venus and Adonis** (-1593), pub. 1593; **Comedy of Errors** (-1594), performed at Gray's Inn in 1594.). **The Taming of the Shrew** perhaps written now, because possible source of another play, **The Taming of a Shrew**, performed 1594. **Shakespeare aetat 28.**

**\*\*1593\*\***

*Church attendance ordained on pain of banishment*; but more severe bill toned down. "The fines for refusal to attend the parish church became a fearsome deterrent: £20 a month ... although in practice its imposition was selective and spasmodic" (D. I Edwards). Act against Popish Recusants confined all over age 16 to five mile radius of their home; nevertheless Parliament of 1593 is not as ferociously Puritan as earlier ones; 3 Brownist leaders executed. Raleigh argues against harsh religious conformity bill: "And the law is hard, that taketh life and sendeth into banishment, where men's intentions shall be judged by a jury." At some point, Raleigh writes lyric, "As you went to Walsingham, / To that holy lande, / Met you not with my true love / By the way as you went," with the lost and doomed old shrine road the setting for the tragic love, and beloved turns out to be Queen Elizabeth; a Protestantization of popular song "As I went to Walsingham" unless this was Catholicizing of Raleigh.

*Henri IV of Navarre converts to Catholicism ("Paris is well worth a mass") to gain national reconciliation.*

Jesuit school, begun at Eu in 1582, sets up permanent location at St Omers College, later to be famous for its schoolboy drama, and eventually moved to Stonyhurst.

**London plague closes theaters, for three months in 1592, all of 1593, first half of 1594.** After this, Lord Admiral's Men and Lord Chamberlain's Men are dominant acting companies.

Thomas Bell, ex-priest, regrets that "the common people for the greater part" insist on calling Protestantism "the new religion."

1593 cont.

Nashe's **Christ Tears over Jerusalem**: "Ministers and Pastors ... tis you that have brought downe the price of Religion ... you preach nothing but covetous doctrine: your followers seeing you give no almes, take example;" "London, looke to thy selfe, for the woes that were pronounced to Jerusalem, are pronounced to thee;" "Of Atheists this age affordeth two sorts, the inwarde and the outward; The inwarde Atheist is he, that devoures widowes houses under pretence of long prayers, that (like the Panther) hideth his face in a hood of Religion ... The outward Atheist ... establissheth reason as his God ... University men that are called to preache ... Arm yourselves against nothing but Atheisme, meddle not so much with Sects & forraine opinions, but let Atheisme be the onlely string you beate on: for there is no Sect now in England so scattered as Atheisme ... The Romish Seminaries, have not allured unto them so many good wits as Atheisme;" "I wis it was not so in the Primitive church, but in our Church every man will be a primate, every man will be Lord & King over the flock that he feedes;" "Our Divines in these ... argue ... whether it bee better to weare a white Surplesse, or a black gowne ... Which is like the conflict in Rome, betwixt the Augustine

Fryers and the the vulgar Chanons, whether Augustine did weare a black Weede uppon a white Coate, or a white Weede uppon a blacke Coate;" "London, beware of Contention, thou are counted the nursling-mother of Contention. No sect or Scisme but thou affordeth Disciples to."

Harvey's Pierces Supererogation, one source of obscure "pierce-one" joke in LLL; says "Harding and Jewel were our Aeschines and Demosthenes; and scarcely any language in the Christian world hath afforded a pair of adversaries equivalent to Harding and Jewel, two thundering and lightning orators in divinity."

Richard Baines, "A note containing the opinion of one Christopher Marly [i.e. Marlowe], concerning his damnable judgment of religion," for privy council, i.e. "that if there be any God or any good religion, then it is to be found in the Papists, because the service of God is performed with more ceremonies, as elevation of the Mass, organs, singing men, shaven crowns, &c;" "all Protestants are hypocritical asses." In 1592, Baines had accused M. of counterfeiting and intending "to goe to the Ennemy [Spain] or to Rome." "Baines, a seasoned double agent who was in a position to know, decided that Marlowe could no longer be trusted. Perhaps the playwright really did intend to join the enemy, or go 'to Rome'" (Riggs, The World of Christopher Marlowe 2004). Marlowe's The Massacre at Paris, emphasizing papal and Jesuit conspiracy; but also portrays Protestant Henry of Navarre as cynical pragmatist; poses "ironic relation between the massacre of the Huguenots and the murder of the Guise brothers" (Briggs RES 1983). "Marlowe was evolving away from the stage and towards more direct confrontation with the history of his own times" (Riggs, 2004).

Marlowe stabbed to death by Ingram Frazer, in company of Nicholas Skeres and Robert Poley, Catholic counter-spies.

Dr. Richard Barrett of Rheims: "The number of Catholics daily increases in a wonderful manner. Our brethren are animated with such zeal amidst those dangers that it is difficult to restrain them ..."; cites imprisonment and racking of "two Throgmortons ... and another named Arden", the latter a fellow-prisoner of Gerard and with him on his escape from the Tower.

Henry Garnet (superior of English Jesuits), An Apology against the Defence of schisme: "We are incorporate into [Christ's] body as truly as the legs, arms and head are by sinews organically joined to the life of the soul. So truly are they that have put on Christ in baptism united unto the mystical body of Christ, which is the Catholic Church ... If we cut ourselves off by heresy, by schism, by going into the church where it is ... we have no more the life, graces and fits of the Holy Ghost to merit life everlasting than hath the leg or arm cut off from the body."

Also Garnet, A Treatise of Christian Renunciation ... Whereunto is added a short discourse against going to Hereticall Churches with a Protestation.

Also Garnet, The Societie of the Rosary.

1593 cont.

Richard Hesketh gives Lord Strange a letter inviting him "to become figurehead candidate for the Catholics overseas as Elizabeth's successor"; suspecting a trap, Strange took the letter straight to Elizabeth. Strange was potential claimant for throne, his father's great-uncle was Henry VII.

Donne's younger brother, arrested for harboring a Jesuit, dies in prison.

Anon. (perhaps William Claxton, antiquary not recusant), The Description of ... The Rites of Durham bemoans destruction of medieval Durham; lovingly reconstructs all the details.

General Congregation of the Jesuits (1593-4, only such in 16<sup>th</sup> century), under Claudio Aquaviva, Canon 12: "So that as far as possible every appearance of evil may be avoided and so that complaints arising from false suspicions may be refuted, all our men are commanded to avoid involvement for any reason in any public or secular activities of princes which (as is said) pertain to reasons of state."

Sidney, Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, revised and augmented with Books 3-5 (see 1590). Fifth book beginning "The dangerous division of men's minds, the ruinous renting of all estates, had now brought Arcadia to feel the pangs of uttermost peril," with its darker mood, may reflect the papist persecutions and trials.

Southampton, having refused (having consulted with Southwell) Burghley's order to marry Lady Vere, which would have cleared him of papist taint; faced £5000 fine on turning 21 in 1594. Soon Southampton will begin relation with Elizabeth Vernon, Essex's cousin.

**Sonnets** (-1603, 1609, publ. 1609), some influenced by Henry Constable among many others; **Rape of Lucrece** (-94), pub. 1594, dedicated to Southampton (or 1594); **Titus Andronicus** (-94); **Taming of Shrew** (-94, 1592?). **Venus and Adonis** now dedicated to Southampton. **Edward III**, (1591-95, registered 1595): the 'Countess scenes' (1.1, 2.1, 2, 4.4). **Shakespeare aetat 29.**

**\*\*1594\*\***

Dr. Lopez, Jewish, executed for attempted assassination of Elizabeth (Burghley thought him innocent, but Essex pushed the charge).

Son, Henry, born to James VI.

Yorke's plot to assassinate Elizabeth.

James writes to Philip, offering alliance against Elizabeth, to insure his succession; "[James] seems to have pursued uniformly the same policy, distrusting equally the English queen and the Catholic powers, and seeking equally to propitiate them both" (Lingard).

Richard Hooker, graduate of most Erasmian college at Oxford, Corpus Christi, refutes Puritans and defends Anglican policy in *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie* (first four books, fifth in 1597, last three posthumously); "the true beginning of Anglicanism ... in this work Anglicanism first achieved a relatively coherent theological form" (Aidan Nichols); proposed that Church of Rome might be a true, if defective, part of the whole Church of Christ; urges both sides to "build upon the weak grounds we have in conformity" (Preface i.3); "Notwithstanding so far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold fellowship with them. For even as the Apostle doth say of Israel that they are in one respect enemies but in another beloved of God; in like sort with Rome we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations, yet touching those main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoined so far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be his will) so yield to frame and reform themselves..."; argues for continued sanctity of the old medieval buildings; "whereas before they [words like Altar, Priest, Sacrifice, in Mosaic law] had a literal, they now have a metaphorical use;" "there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth ... as in a figure triangular ... one and the selfsame line is both a base and also a side;" "Whosoever doe professe any Civil power soveraigne over Kings, whether directly or indirectly, are to be accompted seditious: But all popish priests doe professe a double prerogative over all Kings: Democraticall, and Monarchicall; namely both of people, and Pope ..." "Such an unequivocal rejection of Catholic teaching [Catholic sacramentals] by one of the most conservative theologians of Elizabeth's Church seems to indicate that, despite the ambivalence of its pronouncements, her Church held to an unquestionably Protestant understanding of the sacramental 'signs'" (Weatherby); Hooker: "Then we are happy ... when fully we enjoy God, as an object wherein the powers of our souls are satisfied;" theological virtues bring about real transformation in the soul; must not divorce extrinsic justification from intrinsic sanctification; downplays role of minister as preacher, but emphasizes role as pastor, and secondarily as administrator of sacraments; most appropriate form for visible Church is a National Church; unity of Church and State fulfilled in King; "Without order there is no living in public society." Hooker: "we gladly acknowledge them [papists] to be of the family of Jesus Christ, and our hearty prayer unto God almighty is, that they may at length (if it be His will) so yield to frame and reform themselves that no distraction remain in anything, but that we all may with one heart and one mouth glorify God, the Father of our Lord and Saviour, whose church we are" (iii.1.100); "His [Hooker's] real influence came in the seventeenth century" (D. I. Edwards). "it was not until after the collapse of Laudianism in the 1640s and particularly after 1660, that Hooker came into his own as the patron saint of 'anglicanism' ... it was in the period after the restoration that Hooker acquired his reputation as the archetypal 'anglican' divine and the whole Hooker myth was created, in large part by Izaak Walton" (P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans?*). Pope Clement VIII on the first book when shown him: "his books will get reverence by age, for there is in them such seeds of eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last fire shall consume all learning." "Hooker's vision is so satisfying for the moderate nationalist, his tone so judicious, his style so elegant that even into the twentieth century it has been hard for Anglicans to recognize that it was a misleading vision, neither theoretically nor factually well grounded" [i.e. too Erastian] (Adrian Hastings, *Church and*

State: The English Experience 1991).

Persons (or group of exiles; but Houlston, 2007, argues Persons as final author) ("R. Doleman"), A conference about the next succession to the crown of England. Table of Contents summarizes book, thus preface: "That succession to government by neerness of bloode is not by Law of nature, or divine, but only by humane & politique lawes of every particuler commonwealth, and consequently, may upon juste causes be altered by the same;" chapter 6: "by succession we do remedy the inconveniences and dangers before mentioned of bare election, to wit of strife, banding, ambition, and the like: and by this other meanes of adding also election consent and approbation of the realme to succession, we remedy the inconveniences of bare succession alone, which inconveniences are principaly, that some un-apt impotent or evel prince may be offered some times to enter by priority of blood, whereof the realme may deliver it selfe;" chapter 9: "for any man to give his helpe, consent or assistance towards the making of a king, whom he judgeth or beleveth to be faultie in religion, & consequently would advance either no religion, or the wrong ... is a most grevous and damnable sinner to him that doth it, of what side soever the truth be." "arguably the best political work written by an Englishman between More's Utopia and Hobbes's Leviathan" (Holmes), written to open discussion of the succession, and argue right of people to replace an unsuitable monarch (cites deposition of Richard II, that religion should be taken into consideration; argues primacy of Spanish claim (the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia) by way of John of Gaunt and Lancaster descent, and so privileges peaceful Lancastrians over bloody Yorks, argued thus that RII was legally deposed, that HVIII was bloody York; attacks divine right absolutisms, etc., must not let anti-Catholic heir inherit throne: must choose between damning soul and losing all goods; and dedicates it to Lord Essex (to his embarrassment): thus influence on Shakespeare's Richard II.\* "Not until Parson's argued that the Spanish Infanta's succession to the crown of England was legitimate because Parliament deposed Richard II did Parliament's powers become incorporated into oppositional discourse" (Clegg). Argues for multiple claimants in supposedly disinterested manner. "foremost example of a republican theory of government used by an English Catholic to justify either deposing a king or preventing the accession of a legitimate heir. The concept of monarch as a contract ... " Because of furor, Persons tried to disclaim the work and "dropped the theory of popular sovereignty like a hot potato" (John Parish, 1966); "king Henry the sixt put downe by the house of Yorke, was a good and holy king, and had reigned peaceably 40 yeares, and never committed any act, worthy of deposition." The Conference would be pirated by Cromwellian Puritan, Henry Walker, in 1648.

1594 cont.

Allen dies, the chief support of unity among English Catholics, leaving the field to more radical Persons. Growing division of Jesuits versus secular clergy, and recusants versus those who became appellants.

The State of Christendom in ms. 1594-5 (pub. 1657), by a Protestant member of Essex circle, using guise of an exiled Catholic narrator, to recommend toleration of Catholics (useful for Essex's spy network) and rights of people against tyrants, condemns Elizabeth for executing Mary Queen of Scots. (see A. Gajda article, Historical Research 81.213 (2008)).

John Gerard: "I am a loyal Catholic and I am a loyal subject to the Queen."

*Henri IV crowned king of France.*

An Order for Prayer and Thanksgiving for the Queen notes the "idolatrous priests and Jesuits, the creatures of the Beast, the very loathsome locusts that crawl out of the bottomless pit."

Du Bartas, The Triumph of Faith, trans. in Sylvester's Monodia.

Constable, Diana Augmented.

Nashe, The Unfortunate Traveller, ded. to Southampton; praises Surrey, executed 1547, Surrey accused of having "rigidly adhered to the old religion," father of Duke of Norfolk (excuted 1572), pattern of Catholic nobility. Also Nashe, The Terrors of the Night or a Discourse of Apparitions, both influencing several plays.

Thomas Campion, Proteus and the Adamantine Rock, important early masque, influences mask of Muscovites in Love's Labour's Lost.

Gesta Grayorum (-1595), by Bacon, T. Campion et al, first surviving formal masque.



Hamlet, the Ur-Hamlet, performed. Theater resumes at the Rose, after 2 years suspension. Lord Strange dies, having recently become Earl of Derby, perhaps of poisoning. Lord Strange's men disband this year, and the actors (including Kempe, Heminges, etc.) come under patronage of Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain; and for rest of Elizabeth's reign, known as Chamberlain's men (Shakespeare listed this year as one of its shareholders) (became King's Men in 1603), one of only two professional companies still prospering at end of century. Chamberlain's men perform at the Theatre from 1594-6, ca. 1588 move to the Swan, in 1599 construct the Globe, south of the river for an audience "whose tastes were less conservative [than that for the Admiral's Men in city], more open to political debate, less committed to the Tudor Settlement" (Peter Thomson 1992).

1594 Quarto of Titus Andronicus says: "played by the Right Honourable Earl of Derby, Earl of Pembroke and Earl of Sussex, their Servants," i.e. Lord Strange's men, and Pembroke's men.

Pembroke's Men sell off dramas for publication in 1594-5, including Edward II, quarto of 3 Henry VI, and perhaps quarto of 2 Henry VI. Thus Shakespeare may have belonged to Pembroke's Men before joining Chamberlain's Men.

Love's Labour's Lost (-95); King John (-96). **Shakespeare aetat 30.**

**\*\*1595\*\***

Southwell executed, after two years of intermittent torture and solitary confinement. At his trial, Southwell "declared upon his soul, as he hoped shortly to answer before God, that he had been tortured more than ten times by Topcliffe and that the memory of these tortures was worse than ten deaths." To Topcliffe's taunt, Southwell: "Let a woman show her throes."

Rumors of another Spanish Armada; small Spanish contingent lands in Cornwall and burns several towns.

But some let up in Catholic persecution (1595-8) because of England's alliance with France against Spain.

Fr. William Holt estimates that 600 priests (including about 16 Jesuits since 1580) had been sent into England in 38 years.

Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel dies in Tower (see above, 1585); only son, Thomas Howard, second earl of Arundel (1586-1646), will succeed.

*Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone (from Henry's VIII's original grant to old Gaelic lord Conn Barach O'Neill), rebels in Ireland, great victory in 1598; Tyrone's men will identify themselves as loyal Catholics fighting for freedom of conscience.*

1595 cont.

Daniel, Civil Wars between Houses of Lancaster and York, about RII and Henrys IV-VI. Source for Richard II and Henry IV and Henry V. Argument of Book 1: "I sing the civil wars, tumultuous boils, / And bloody factions of a mighty land, / Whose people haughty, proud with forain spoils, / Upon themselves turn back their conquering hand; / Whilst kin their kin, brother the brother foils, / Like ensigns all against like ensigns band, / Bows against bows, the crown against the crown, / Whilst all, pretending right, all right thrown down." Bk 2: "And yet, O Lancaster, I would thy cause / Had had as lawful and as sure a ground / As had thy virtue and thy glorious worth, / For empire born, for government brought forth ... Then had not, O, that sad succeeding age / Her fields engrain'd with blood ... ;" if we had avoided civil war, Elizabeth would now have great imperium, and would have begun "to march against th' earth's terror, Ottoman ... Where thou, O worthy Essex ... Should'st have conducted armies ... That all the states of the redeemed earth / Might thee admire and glorify thy birth." Dedication of 1601 edn. to Queen: "Bring here this worke of Warre, whereby was gain'd / This blessed union which these wounds redrest, / That sacred Concord which prepar'd the way / Of glory for thee only to enjoy." In dedication of 1609 edn. to Countess of Pembroke, his sister, he said he plans "to shew the deformities of Civile Dissension, and the miserable events of Rebellions, Conspiracies, and bloody Revengements, which followed (as in a circle) upon that breach of the due course of Succession, by the usurpation of Hen.4; and thereby to make the blessings of Peace, and the happinesse of an established Government (in a direct Line) the better to appeare: I trust I shall doo a grateful worke to my Countrie, to continue the same, unto the

glorious Union of Hen.7: from whence is descended our present Happinesse.”

Spenser, Amoretti, Epithalamion (“recyue this Saynt ... This day is holy ... That we may raise a large posterity ... And for the guerdon of their glorious merit / May heavenly tabernacles there inherit, / Of blessed saints for to increase the count.”)

Sidney, Defence of Poesie, source for Menenius's fable in Coriolanus. Sidney: “what Philosophers counsell can so redily direct a Prince, as the fayned Cyprus in Xenophon? ... or a whole Common-wealth, as the way of Sir Thomas Moores Eutopia? I say the way, because where Sir Thomas Moore erred, it was the fault of the man and not of the Poet, for that way of patterning a Common-wealth was most absolute ...”

1595 cont.

Henry Constable puts his hopes in Essex for restoration of Catholicism.

Nicholas Breton, Mary Magdalen's Love. “His praise of the Virgin and his references to Mary Magdalene have suggested that he was a Catholic, but his prose writings abundantly prove that he was an ardent Protestant” (Wikipedia)

John Dowland, pleads with Cecil that he now rejects Catholicism and vows loyalty to the Queen; that he had long suffered reverses because of his reputation as an “obstinate papist,” due to his conversion in France in 1580.

Southwell's poems pub. immediately following his death, presumably with approval of Archbishop of Canterbury. Southwell, Moeoniae, or Certain Poems; includes Triumphs over Death (see 1591) (“that fear of speedy passage might keep us in readiness, and hope of longer continuance cut off unripe cares”).

Southwell, preface to St. Peters Complaint, calls for a new sacred poetry in place of the profane poetry (a common Protestant/Catholic theme--see Lily Campbell). St. Peter's Complaint published (probably written 1591, reprinted thirteen times by 1638, “probable source for Rape of Lucrece” (Evans/Tobin), and brings meditative practice to poetry (see Martz 1954).

Preface,”The Author to His Loving Cousin”: “Poets, by abusing their talents, and making the follies and feignings of love the customary subject of their base endeavours, have so discredited this faculty, that a poet, a love, and liar, are by many reckoned but three words of one signification ... the devil ... hath ... possessed also most Poets with his idle fancies. For in lieu of solemn and devout matters, to which in duty they owe their abilities, they now busy themselves in expressing such passions as serve only for testimonies to what unworthy affections they have wedded their wills. And because, the best course to let them see the error of their works is to weave a new web in their own loom, I have here laid a few coarse threads together to invites some skillfuller wits to go forward in the same, or to begin some finer piece, wherein may be seen how well verse and virtue suit together.” “The Author to the Reader”: “Still finest wits are 'stilling Venus's rose; / In paynim toys the sweetest veins are spent; / To Christian works few have their talents lent ... You heavenly sparks of wit shew native light, / Cloud not with misty loves your orient clear ... Favour my wish, well-wishing works no ill; / I move the suit, the grant rests in your will” (pun!).

“Saint Peter's Complaint ... must have probed deeply into the heart of Englishmen who with the changes of religion in the reigns of Henry VIII and his children, whether Catholic or Protestant, had been called upon to deny the religion by which they had lived” (Lily Campbell), like Peter denying Christ. Southwell's third dedication was “to my worthy good cosen maister W. S.” in two continental editions of 1616 and 1620 (Pearce 2008 thinks this the original dedication, deleted

in intermediate editions).

Saint Peter's Complaint: "Ah! whither was forgotten love exiled; / Where did the truth of pledged promise sleep?" Brownlow on Southwell, 1996: "can be read as a private, inward rite of reconciliation for an alienated soul deprived of the ministrations of a priest"; thus Peter can represent the Catholic apostate needing forgiveness (85-6).

**Shakespeare living in St. Helen's Parish, Bishopsgate**; receives payment as member of Chamberlain's company. Did Southampton give him "a thousand pounds" now, to help purchase share in Chamberlain's men? (yet see shareholder above).

**Richard II** (note 1608 below); **Romeo and Juliet** (-96); **Midsummer Night's Dream** (-96), perhaps performed at court wedding of Earl of Derby and Lady Eliz. Vere.

**\*\*1596\*\***

Spanish fleet at Cadiz destroyed by Essex and Howard: "Never before had the Spanish monarch received so severe a blow ... Even those who wished well to Spain allotted the praise of moderation and humanity to the English commanders, who had suffered no blood to be wantonly spilt, no woman to be defiled," etc. (Lingard); thus see Henry V, below. John Donne accompanies Essex on this expedition.

Treaty of England and France against Spain, thus first time Elizabeth was ally of a Catholic power, and persecution diminished (but hard-line Catholics under Persons did not like this compromising with Elizabeth). James's ambassador in Spain said James wanted to revenge himself against Elizabeth, that he would embrace Catholicism, etc., provided Spain acknowledged his right of succession.

Spenser, Prothalamion; Faerie Queene, bks 4-6: in Book 6 Spenser portrays Blatant Beast despoiling Churches and fouling altars, reflects Spenser's conflicted response to Stripping of the Altars ("the text seems to endorse destruction of Catholic 'idolatry' at the same time that it attacks the excesses of Protestant iconoclasm", against both monastic corruption and its destruction (John King, "Spenser's Religion", *Camb Comp.* 2001); also Kirkrapine earlier (i.3) as Puritan church-robber; see C.S. Lewis on Spenser as a synthesizer of Protestant and Catholic elements. Spenser's "Hymn of Heavenly Love" climaxes neoplatonic tradition (Ficino-Castiglione). In *Mutability cantos*, Spenser describes Cynthia:

Then is she mortall borne, how-so ye crake;  
Besides, her face and countenance every day  
We changed see, and sundry forms partake,  
Now hornd, now round, not bright, now brown and gray:  
So that as Changeful as the Moone men use to say. (VII.vii.50)

Spenser A View of the Present State of Ireland

C. G., A Watchword for War, said papists would join English against Spanish.

Sir John Harington, New Discourse of a Stale Subject, called the Metamorphosis of Ajax, discussion of new privy, Ajax pronounced like Shakespeare's "Jacques" and thus possible influence (along with Orlando in *AYLI*) (Harington in turn influenced by pun on Ajax and a jakes in *LLL* 5.2.578)); result of convivial gathering at the Arundell's Wardour Castle with Southampton; makes derogatory remark about Leicester, promoted toleration for Catholics like Ralph Sheldon and uncle Thomas Markham; (Harington will be knighted by Essex in 1599 after joining him on Irish expedition). Ajax included emblems by Thomas Combe who had published A Theatre of Fine Devices, emblems, in 1593, which influenced Shakespeare's *AYLI*, *All's Well*, and *Richard II*.

Anthony Copley, A Fig for Fortune, ded. to grandson of Montague and thus anti-Jesuit, plea through allegory for Catholic toleration in next years of Elizabeth; revision of Spenser's Protestant epic by depicting a Catholic New Jerusalem. "Sion is the Catholic Church, Elizium and Eliza are

England and its queen, and Doblessa, Copley's answer to Spenser's Duessa, is Protestantism in all its iconoclastic fury" (Brownlow on Southwell, 1996). Written, Copley said, "in attestation to the world of my Catholike soul to God and his Church, and of my resolution against ... Jesuitical obloquie" (Shell 137). An Elizian "out-cast of Fortune" tempted by spirits of **despair** (Cato's ghost: "rather would I die magnanimous / Then live to see a Caesar over us" [thus Brutus]: "One stab will send thee to eternity ... Out with thy candle, let it burne no more ... Champion-like confound calamitie" but when ghost fades with sulphur stench, "therewithal my sword fell to the ground / And I misdoubted some illusion") and **revenge** ("I rear'd Corelian from his exile state / To triumph over Romes ingratitude ... What manhood is it still to feed on Chickins / Like infant nurse-boys in nice Fortunes kitchens ... We cannot say that man is overcome / That still beares up his arme against his foe ... Lowe, I thy Advocate unto the Haggas / Will still importune thy Prosperitie ... Lay but thy hand upon thy conscience ... But say thou winne not prison glorie by it ... What greater glorie can betide the vale / Then force the Mountain-top adowne to fall ... So maist thou close Camelion-like conceale / Thye tragicke shape of Horror and Revenge, / Whey they misdoubting not thy false reveale / Are caught unwares like Woodcocks in a spreng ... Use Friend and Foe, and Neuter all alike, / Onlie as instrumentall implements / To thy designe ... Give me the man that with wittes pollices / Can Saint a Devill with another Devil ... And suddenly she vanisht out of sight / Because not in the East it dawn'd day-light ... Oh what it is to be a mortall man / Subiect to all the guiles and sleights of Satan") ... is helped by hermit **Catechrysus** to reach Mount-Sion. "a reverend Sophie ... Before him was a Deaths-head full of wormes, / The picture of a Grave, and an Hower-glasse ... This aged man and I will both together / Complaine in common our calmytie." Catechrysus says: "Now is all but the action of the Mind, / That rectifi'd ... the rest is all but wind ... The Tyrants steele, the Hang-mans Axel tree, / His strangles, mangles, and his fierie doomes / Cannot confound true magnanimitie"; then Catechrysus bows down "unto his Crucifixe ... Say, art not thou the image of our Lord / The true Character of his sufferance?" Then speaker helped by an angel, who also worships the Crucifixe "So said: a silver bell from high resounded / Summoning the Region round about to sacring." Catechrysus kisses "the Crucifix I had in hand." Catechrysus then praises the reputation of Elizabeth, but switches to describing Sion: "The Temple-porter was a reverend man / And was t'admit no Elizian." Hero sees "The High Sacrificator at the Altar / Victimizing with holie rites his makar ... There is ... imposition / Of hands; and grace abundantly imparted, / Chrisme, and autentique Sanctification / And Exorcisme ... All Babell-Biblers they did dead dislike... How manie Sionits of choise esteeme / Brave men of wonders have beene sent from thence / To teach Doblessa (Errors dreary Queene) / Their Temples sanctimonie and innocence ... Yea, had this hag not been so timely bred / The world had all ere this been Sioned ... On no authority she did depend ... She had no Altar, nor no Sacrament / No ceremonie, nor Oblation, / Her schoole was Cavill, & truthlesse battlement ... [God] wept for joy that an Elizian / Would come to be of his Metropolitan ... And for I was an English-Ilander / He prickt me downe under Saint Georges banner ... [Catechrysus said] Oh, that Eliza were / A Sionite to day to see this geere ... Meane while the high Sacrificator ... changed Hymnes, and Laudes, and Letanies, / And in Pontificall Procession / He and his Clergie made their intercession ... Meanwhile Doblessa "with Magicke-spels and sorcerie / Faire Virgin-like to falsifie her figure, / Therby to seeme as gracious as she could / To Sions eie". Exposes but "Nor was the holie Temple thus acquitted / For ever after from her hostill trouble / But still as Hydra-like she had renued / One head upon the others stump and stubble". Then appears "a Virgin in bright maiestie ... And still I call'd upon Elizas name / Thinking those Roses her, that figure hers, / Untill such time as Catechrysus came ... He told me No; she was an Esterne Dame" Then hero is filled "an especiall importune / Of home-ward zeale, and of Elizas name, / Where to I bend, and say; God blesse the same"

Shell (1999) interprets: critiques angry despairing recusant ghost; Doblessa portrayed as Protestantism; 'answering' Spenser's anti-papism of Duessa; Eliza misled by Doblessa's "deceptive use of ceremony"; melancholy typifies Catholic melancholy, a melancholy answered by grace and sacraments. Shell quotes Copley letter: "I give in that Poeme her Majestie some praise and honour as for temporall state, which a Jesuit cannot endure ... *Basto non placuit Jesuitis nor Puritanes.*" (See Copley entries below.) Southwell, *Short Rule of Good Life* (1596-7), on recusant parents telling bedtime stories to children: "I must tell them often of the abbeis and the vertew of the olde Munkes & Friers, & other Priestes & religious men & women, & of the truth and honesty of the olde time, & the iniquity of ours;" also "the points of faith, specially those that heretickes deny."

Lodge, having converted to Catholicism about 1591 (under influence of Southwell), publishes Prosopopeia: The Teares of the Holy, Blessed, and Sanctified Marie, the Mother of God; alludes to Southwell's works. Also the Devil Conjured, a defense of the ascetic life; also Wit's Misery, "possibly Lodge's best work" (C. S. Lewis). Lodge marries Mrs. Alfred, a Catholic lady who used to slander Arundel, until she was gained over by the "sweet gentleness" of the countess (Janelle). *Spenser, A View of the Present State of Ireland, defending Protestant English conquest, needed to civilize savage Irish (who had contaminated Old English); proposes uprooting Irish and amalgamating them in with civilized English (i.e. a cultural genocide; thus a model for the intra-England Reformation); influential work for next two centuries. New English will think of themselves as carrying out God's Calvinist providence in Ireland.*

Rev. Josias Nichols, puritan minister: "I am ashamed to think so many Christians in name, and baptised, should be so ignorant and brutish ... For I take it that faith making the being of a Christian, and these who have no knowledge cannot have faith, which will then appear when Christ shall come in flaming fire to render vengeance to them that do not know God."

1596 cont.

Persons' A Memorial for the reformation of Englande Conteyning Certaine notes ... proposed in the first Parliament and National Concell of our country after God of his mercie shall restore it to the Catholique faith for the better establishment and preservation of the said religion (unpublished ms.) (see 1690): resolves to avoid errors of Queen Mary's time (2), though influenced by Cardinal Pole's approach (see 1558). Because of persecution, "We are not like to find ... either backward Bishops and dissolute Priests, or Licentious Religious Men or Women to oppose themselves against ... this our Reformation" (4) (thus integrates Protestant critique): "I may compare it to the State of a Garden which being over-grown with Weeds and Thistles, the Owner thereof putteth fire to the whole, and when all is consumed, then beginneth he to plant chosen and sweet Herbs at his pleasure" (12); "the Reformation of England, after this long persecution, ought to be very perfect, full and compleat, not respecting so much what some cold Catholicks use to do in other Countries, where Spirit is decay'd, and Corruption crept in, as what may be done or ought to be done in England." England provides perfect space for thorough ecclesiastical reform, unlike other countires which must qualify with existing conditions. Too much compromise in Queen Mary's time, "so as the matter went as a Stage-Play, where Men do change their Persons and Parts, without changing their Minds or Affection" (21). "After Union and good Disposition of Mind in all, and a hearty Reconciliation of Almighty God, will be necessary, a sweet, pious, and prudent manner of dealing, and proceeding, as well with Catholicks as Schismatics, Protestants and Persecutors" (29). "Perchance it would be good ... not to press any man's Conscience at the beginning for matters of Religion, for some few Years" (32), provided heretics keep quiet; "many good effects would follow of this Toleration: For first there would be taken away that slander wherewith the Enemies are wont ordinarily to charge the Catholick Church, though perversely and falsly, that she persecuteth before she instructeth" (34). At the beginning, there would be "full, free, equal, and liberal Disputation" (36). Catholic truth would triumph, and eventually "Books of Devotion, and vertuous Life should enter ... and the memory die of the other Wranglings. And the like course also may be taken by Preachers in their Sermons, which by little and little were to be freed from all mention of Heresies, to the end the People of God might come again to their old peace of Mind, and attention only of good Works, and Christian Vertues" (40). But the state will have to deal with malicious and obstinate heretics. Gee comments: "They may see here what was the sole design of that grinning Toleration (45);" but Gee doesn't dispute the ideals of the chapter. Public Lectors should be founded at the Universities. Proposes a "Council of Reformation" which will supervise the country's conversion, with religious toleration granted to Protestants for a period; which will restore lands, etc.: Gee comments: "he had great reason to avoid giving it the name of the Holy Council of Inquisition, ... But this would have been very slender comort to us in England, since it seems we were to have the Thing without the Name" (80). "Publick and private Libraries must be searched and Examined ... not only heretical Books and Pamphlets, but also prophane, vain, lascivious, and other such hurtful and dangerous Poysons, are utterly to be removed, burnt, suppressed, and severe order and punishment appointed for such as shall conceal these kind of Writings" (94-5). In same paragraph, proposes poor Man's bank to provide low interest loans. Proposes "that the exceeding great multitude of Oaths, which are wont to be given to them that take degree of School in our Universities, be moderated, or taken away, for the easing of Men's consciences, and that some few

principles and substantial Points only be given by Oath" (152-3). Gee notes hypocrisy of Jesuits's attacking anti-Catholic legislation, and then proposing anti-Protestant legislation. Bemoans "the multitude of Thieves that rob and steal upon the High-ways in England, more than likely in any other Country of the World; they being ... Gentlemen, or wealthy Men's Sons, moved thereunto not so much of poverty and necessity, as of light estimation of the fault and hope of Pardon from the Prince. One solution, is "that the Prince would hardly or never dispense or give pardon in that offence, but upon great, rare and extraordinary occasion" (210-211). "yet were it to be wished that the rigour of our Temporal Laws, for putting Men to death, for theft of so small quantity ... were much moderated, and some lesser bodily punishments invented for that purpose" (212-230). "Lords and Masters ... [should] have care to provide for their Servants ... not only for the time of the present service, ... to the end ... they fall not afterwards into misery, and being forced to seek their living by unlawful and dishonest means" (225). All children should be able to inherit from their parents "whereby many younger Brethren of good birth are driven oftentimes to great extremities, and undecent thrifts for their maintenance, to no small inconvenience to the whole Commonwealth" (227-8). Dowries should be protected for married women's protection. Servants should be cared for, "according to the ancient Love and Charity of English Land-Lords toward Vassals, Subjects, and Tenants; which Love and tender care having been greatly broken and diminished, in these later years, by the impiety, avarice, riotousness, and other disorders brought in by Heresie, to be restored again by Catholick Religion" (232). Increase number of Dukes and Marquises, to lessen power of single individuals. Rents should be reasonable and secure. The poor should be provided with good legal counsel. Promotes "the old exercise of England for Parishes to meet together upon Holy-days ... and there to disport themselves honestly ... that meeting and entertainment of mirth worketh diverse good effects ... for it holdeth the People in Contentment, and maketh friendship of one Man with another, and of one Parish with another" (238). Increase the Grammar schools; "no Village lightly should pass without a Master" (260); heretics must give up confiscated church lands, converts could rent the monastic lands they once owned, rent going to national funds to support schools, hospitals, religious houses, etc.; education must be reformed into grades system; new ecclesiastical calendar would prune holy days; "One of the most influential unread books ever written" (Scarisbrick 1974); "a pattern of true Christianity to the rest of the World;" "the last work of the period of Elizabethan Catholic political resistance" (Holmes), not pub. because that time was past; "Memorial" is ... almost a pipe-dream" (Holmes); "very different from ... More ... for its overriding feature is clerical domination" (Margo Todd); later published in 1690 by Protestant Dr. Edward Gee to show the tyrannical intentions of the Catholic rebels (also see 1685). "The Memorial, which shows the influence of Sir Thomas More, deserves a place in the history of utopian literature" (Parish, Robert Persons).

Preface: "it is no more than seventeen or eighteen Years past [i.e. 1578-80] that the Gatherer began first to put some of them [thoughts] in writing." (p. A2-A3)

Lambeth Articles approved by Whitgift and ecclesiastical commissioners: 1. God from eternity has predestined some men to life, and reprobated some to death. 2. The moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not the foreseeing of faith ... but only the will of the good pleasure of God. 3 There is a determined and certain number of predestined ... 9. It is not in the will or the power of each and every man to be saved.

SHAKESPEARE RENEWS APPEAL FOR COAT OF ARMS, A PATENT OF GENTILITY, FOR HIS FATHER BACK IN STRATFORD; CONFIRMED IN 1599. Sir William Dethick, Garter King-of-Arms, noted on draft of grant, that John's ancestor allegedly did "faithful and valiant service" for King Henry VII, that John "married the daughter and one of the heirs of Robert Arden of Wilmcote," that John had held offices in Stratford and had "lads and tenements of good wealth and substance" worth 500 lbs.

**Shakespeare with others prosecuted for assaulting a William Wayte;** the others included Anne Lee, wife of recusant Roger Lee whose house hid many proscribed priests; Anne denounced for attending Mass in 1595 where she enabled Father Gerard to hide himself. Wayte was a blackmailer extortionist agent of Justice William Gardiner who made a fortune raiding recusant homes, and who had put

Lucy's three white pikes on his heraldic griffin: Slender made the attendant of Justice Shallow in Merry Wives of Windsor (evokes Wayte).

**Hamnet dies.**

**The Merchant of Venice (-97); I Henry IV (-97).**

**\*\*1597\*\***

2nd Spanish Armada scattered by bad weather.

Henry Constable defends loyalty of English Catholics to the Queen and makes a plea for their recognition; "hence will come the union of religion, now only hindred by want of due inquiry and too much party passion." Constable writes Essex--they seem to have held friendly understanding since 1595 (Guiney).

Garnet writes Persons: "We have lately heard for certain that the Earl of Essex praised his [Gerard's] constancy, declaring that he could not help honouring and admiring the man" (Gerard, 238).

Nashe's Isle of Dogs, prosecuted, with collaborator and actor, Ben Jonson who is imprisoned in Marshalsea; its explosive political satire caused the temporary closing of all the theaters

William Alabaster, Essex's chaplain in Flemish campaign, converts to Catholicism, and trains at English College, Rome; Thomas Wright, ex-Jesuit, accused of converting him; c. 1598, Alabaster publishes Seven Reasons; will later return to Church of England. Gerard shelters Alabaster at Ann Line's house.

Alabaster writes Roxana, against the C of E, to be highly praised by Dr. Johnson in his discussion of English Latin verse.

Gregory Martin, Love of the Soul: "How many are there ... of secrete Catholikes, that wish for the Old Religion againe with all their heart, and follow the new only for fear."

1597 cont.

William Perkins, A reformed Catholike: or, A declaration shewing how neere we may come to the present Church of Rome in sundrie points of religion and wherein we must for ever depart from them. Argues, for example, that Anglicans and Romans agreed about Christ's presence in Eucharist, but only differed on manner of the presence.

Hooker, book 5 of Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie (see 1594), on Calvinist Election: "the safest axioms for charity to rest itself upon are these: he which believeth already is, and he which believeth not as yet may be, the child of God."

King James publishes Daemonology, believing hundreds of witches were involved in a 1590 conspiracy to kill him by storms at sea; and so began witch hunts in Scotland in 1590s: "such assaultes of Sathan are most certainly practized, & ... the instrumentes thereof, merits most severly to be punished" (Preface). "Witchcraft, and Witches have bene, and are, the former part is clearelie proved by Scriptures, and the last by dailie experience and confessions." "They can rayse stormes and tempests in the aire, either upon Sea or land ..." "it is first to be doubted if the Papistes or anie not professing the onelie true Religion, can relieve anie ... by experience we finde that few, who are possessed indeede, are fullie cured by them." "As Christ him selfe teacheth us of the power that false Prophets have to caste out Devils. It is no wonder then ... that it may be possible to the Papistes, though erring in sundrie points of Religion to accomplish this, if they use the right forme prescribed by Christ."

Deposition scene of Richard II cut from First Quarto, restored in Folio.

Shakespeare listed for failure to pay taxes and assessments (and 1598), and referred eventually to Bishop of Winchester for collection (tax apparently paid by 1600).

**At St. Helen's, Shakespeare surrounded by émigré families** with whom he seemed comfortable (like the group of mixed outsiders associated with Essex).

**Shakespeare purchases New Place** (and is subject to a fine) from William Underhill, recusant under financial persecution.

**Merry Wives of Windsor (revised 1600-1).**

**\*\*1598\*\***

George Blackwell, seminary priest and friend of the Jesuits, appointed Archpriest over all English Catholic clergy; disliked by appellant priests at Wisbech. Appellant priests appeal to Rome against appointment: thus "Appellant controversy" dividing Catholics who wants to conform outwardly and Jesuits who recommended martyrdom.

*Edict of Nantes, by Henri IV, ends civil wars, grants French Protestants limited toleration and right to hold office, establishing toleration of Huguenots in France: establishes full liberty of conscience and private worship, public worship where previously granted, and extension to many other localities, full civil rights for Protestants, and Protestant control of 200 cites including the fortified La Rochelle. "The rest of his reign he spent in healing the wounds which had been inflicted on the country by religious fanaticism and and private ambition" (Lingard).*

Essex, slapped by Queen, grasps sword, quarrel, uneasy reconciliation.

Essex: "when the vilest of all indignities are done unto me, doth religion enforce me to sue? or doth God require it? Is it impiety not to do it? What, cannot princes err? cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power or authority infinite?"

Henry Constable journeys to Scotland to try to convert James VI and gain toleration for Catholics. Persons may send Alabaster to counter-act Constable's influence (i.e. favoring the French).

Francis Meres translates Granada's Guia de Pecadores and Granados Devotion

Burghley dies, succeeded by son, Robert Cecil.

1598 cont.

When Henri makes peace with Spain, leaving England to fight alone, Elizabeth resumes intensity of Catholic persecutions.

"Anglican," first recorded usage, by King James, OED, new edn.

James VI publishes, anonymously, The True Law of Free Monarchies, on divine right of kings, answering Doleman; "in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign, political theology ... began moving in the direction of divine-right absolutism" (Shuger, 199).

John Bishop, a Catholic, A Courteous Conference with the English Catholics Roman, probably written in 1584 against Allen's Modest Defence, argues for 'Gallican' settlement, subordinating spiritual to temporal (vs. Persons), for a national Catholic church.

John Stow, A Survey of London (and 1603), carefully laments the destruction done to the social dimensions of the old religion; "the most extended treatment of the Merry England refrain in all English literature" (P. Collinson, 2001), in account of old festivities, almshouses.

Breton, Solemn Passion of the Soul's Love; Rowlands, Betraying of Christ.

Barnfield, Complaint of Poetry for Death of Liberality.

Hakluyt's Principal Navigations ... of these 1550 years, 3 vols. (1598-1600) (see 1589).

William Blundell (b. 1560), author of recusant poems c. 1598, including "Past and Present":

The tyme hath been wee hadd one faith,  
And strode aright one ancient path,  
The tyme is now that each man may  
See newe Religions coynd each day ...

The tyme hath been preestes did accord,  
In exposition of God's word,  
The tyme is now, like shipmann's hose,  
Its tornd by each fonde preacher's glose ...  
[many stanzas ending:]

The tyme hath been, wth in this land,  
One's woord as good as was his band  
The tyme is now, all men may see,  
New faithes have kild olde honestie.  
Sweet Jesu, wth thy mother mylde,  
Sweet Virgine mother, wth thy chylde,  
Angells and Saints of all degree,  
Redresse our contrees miserie.

(Crosby records; A Chapter of Lancashire Recusancy, ed. Thomas Gibson@  
(Manchester, Chetham Society, 1887@) p. 28-30.

Nashe, Lenten Stuffe (pub. 1599), influences Shakespeare (Tobin, NQ).

A booke of the seven planets, or, seven wandering motives of W. Alabasters wit, attacking



Alabaster's pamphlet (lost) on seven motives for his Catholic conversion.

Meres, Palladis Tamia, Wit's Treasury: cites Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugred Sonnets ... for Comedy, witnes his Gentlemen of Verona, his Errors, his Love labors lost, his Love labours wonne, his Midsummers night dreame, & his Merchant of Venice: for Tragedy his Richard the 2. Richard the 3. Henry the 4. King John, Titus Andronicus and his Romeo and Juliet." First mention of his "sugred sonnets" circulating "among his private friends."

Jonson converted in prison by visiting priest. (will return to Protestantism in 1610, acc. to Drummond) prison ("Then took he his religion by trust of a priest who visited him in prison. Thereafter he was twelve years a Papist"--Drummond, "Informations"). Jonson, imprisoned for killing a man in a duel (1594?), avoids gallows by benefit of clergy, converts in, the priest being the ex-Jesuit, Thomas Wright who had circulated loyalist Catholic tract; Jonson released and married Catholic woman, and had girl (baptized with Shakespeare as sponsor) and boy; Jonson hired by Lord Chamberlain's company, revives Every Man in his Humour, in which Shakespeare acts, and begins friendship. **Shakespeare possible sponsor for baptism of Jonson's child.** Jonson stayed Catholic probably until 1610. Wright became part of Essex's circle. **Jonson lists Shakespeare as chief comedian** in Every Man In His Humor, which is performed now and establishes his reputation.

Queen Anne's "Catholic conversion took place at almost precisely the same time as that of Jonson" (Murray, on Jonson, SEL 2007).

**2 Henry IV; Much Ado About Nothing (-1599).**

**\*\*1599\*\***

*Essex begins mission to Ireland to "beat Tyrone in the field," appoints Southampton command of the cavalry against the Queen's wishes and she orders him removed; accompanied by Sir John Harington. Essex and the Irish leader Tyrone conclude an armistice, which insures that the Catholic worship would be tolerated; the armistice ruined Essex's reputation (will create suspicions of his wanting a more integrated British world); he returns without permission, and is placed under house arrest. According to Winwoode Memorials, Tyrone proposed to Essex the following propositions. "1. That the Catholic religion be openly preached. 2. That the churches be governed by the Pope. 3. That the churches be restored," etc. Irish soon defeated by Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, in 1603; but Hugh will be pardoned by James 1. Problem now of how to have Protestant government in Catholic nation. (In 1591 Elizabeth founded new Protestant University at Dublin, but Trinity is avoided by Catholics.)*

Council order against publication of satires; Harvey's and Nashe's works banned. Threat of a 3rd Spanish Armada.

Henry Constable works for conversion of Scotland and thus England, is in contact with Essex.

Queen Elizabeth asks for punishment for Hayward's Henry IV, "For her Majestie being mightily incensed with that booke which was dedicated to my Lord of Essex, beinge a storie of the first yeare of king Henry the fourth, thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the peoples head boldnesses and faction, said she had good opinion there was treason in it." Sir John Hayward argues confusedly that Richard II deserved to be deposed, but then laments the illegality of that deposition.

1599 cont.

Samuel Harsnett, Discovery of the Fraudulent Practices of John Darrell, attacking this Protestant exorcizer (See 1603): influences Twelfth Night.

Persons' A Temperate Ward-word, to the Turbulent and Seditious Wach-word of Sir Francis Hastings ... who indevoreth to slaunder the whole Catholique cause. "There was in England before the alteration, one God worshipped and adored after one and the self same manner, not onely throughout this little Iland of England, and Scotland, but also of the whole body of Christendom,

one fayth, one beleefe, one forme of service, one number of sacraments, one tonge in celebration, one sacryfice, one head of the Church, one obedience, one iudgement in all; with other lyke poyntes and circumstances of union and unitie, which made a generall uniformitie also in the peace of mens myndes;" "the first blessing, which Sir Francis in particuler thinketh to have receyved by this change of his religion, is in effect, that, wheras before, when he beleeved the Catholique and universal fayth of Christendome, delivered unto him by the universal church ... his beleef was properly fayth and founded upon a rocke, that could not fayl; now, having left that fortresse, and cast himself into the waves of new opinions, he hath nothing certayne at all, but do much as he list to chuse of himself, or of other mens opinions." "Whereas before we had a direct rule, square and pole-starre to follow, which was the universal church; now, everyman being set at libertie, holdeth, beleeveth, and teacheth what he listeth." Critiques Sir Thomas for praising the "Mayden Queen": "Truly, England had had her Maiestie at this day by all likelihood of a joyfull mother of many fayre and princely children, for that the principall cause of her graces not marrying is to be presumed to have proceeded of the different Religion of forrayne Princes, who desire the same on the one side: and on the other, the inequalities of blood in her own subiectes, for such advauncement. For to attribute this great resolution of her Maiestie, to the onlie love of sole lyfe and maydenhead, I doubt how it can be justifiable, seeing that among Catholiques where such profession is more praised and practised, they use sometimes do draw out even vowed Nunnes from their Cloisters to mariage, for so weightie a cause, as is the saving of succession in so great crown as England is known to be. And among protestants virginie is not of that necessities or merit, for it to incur so great inconvenience." Describes "the disgrace and abasing of so many noble houses, with overthrow of others, wherof let Norfolk, Arundel, Northumberland, Oxford, Westmerland and Dacres give testimonie." "Most certain it is, that no man or woman, was ever forbidden to read any parte of the holy Scriptures in any of the three learned languages ... And secondly, the restraint that was made of vulgar translations ... was only that no such translation, should be admitted or used, except it were first examined by learned men by order of the Bishop;" "we hold, that devotion is founded and proceedeth of knowledge, wherof Catholiques have bin ever and in all ages, more studious and greater enimes to ignorance ... who have left more monuments of science or knowledge to the Christian worlde ... who have builded our schooles and universities in Englande ... ?"

On the Pope's excommunication of Elizabeth: "in it self it was an act of iurisdiction between two superiours, the one Ecclesiastical, the other temporal, wherein the subjects sentence or consent was never asked nor admitted ... Secondly, it was no new thing, for that we see and read that the like hath happened often and upon many occasions, between the Bishops of Rome and divers other great princes ... And yet the subject is neither afflicted nor accused for it, nor inforced to change their old receaved beleef about the Popes authoritie in such matters, though in that particular fact for reverence of their naturall Prince, and dew respect in lyke manner to the other, they will not medle, nor yet discuss the question whether the Pope had just reason or sufficient information wherupon to proceed, but with dutiful love and honour to the one, and to the other, they chuse rather to commend the matter to almightie God which is the only thing that resteth for a pious and dutiful subject to perform in such cases, when two superiours shall disagree, untill God by his goodnes shall determine the controversy and bring all to some happie end, as he hath donn of late in France." "In a great and noble house, where there are many children of the selfsame parentes, if those parentes do come to breach and to fall out between themselves, what can the children but be sorowful and silent, and sigh at such contentions, without taking willingly any parte, for that they love, fear, and reverence both the parties that are fallen at debate for which respect also they dare not so much as to interpose ther iudgmentes and censures in the controversie except they be forced, and especially the yonge sorte of children, who be fitter to weepe and morne such contentions, then to determine them with their verdict: yet it is not altogether so with the elder brethren, that being come to mannes estate, learned and wise, & seeing the breach to grow greater dalie between their sayd parentes and superiours, have authorities and right to speak more freely then the rest. And not only to intreat for peace, but to interpose also their iudgments (though ever with due reverence to both partes) as wel in the question *de iure* as *de facto*; that is to saie, not only to judge and discern where the greater authoritie or higher preeminence of commanding lyeth ... but also in the particular fact about which they fell out, to wit, who had more reason than the other, of who was most in fault: which second point is much more hard & hatefull, & subject to offence, then the first, & yet may discreet & loving children say their opinion also in that behalf, when need requireth, without

breach of dew respect & dutie.// Even so then standeth the case in this our controversie. Her Maiestie being our Queene is therby also a mother, and norisheth us her subjectes as a careful parent: the Bishop of Rome to al Catholique men of the world is their spiritual father, that hath principal care of their soules by Gods commission, and for such hath he ever byn taken, and is at this day in all the catholique states ... that hold the ancient belieef of Christendome ... But now our sayd two parentes are fallen at debate, for which all their Catholique subiectes, who are children to them both, are hartily sorie, and do lament the case: all sortes of people commonly both lay men & preestes within England do hold their peace and sobbe at the matter as younger children, and do only attend to praie to God for their good attonement.” “Yet one kynde of sedition I do easily discover in very truth to be in Iesuities ... to wit, in separating fathers from children daughters from mothers, kindred from kindred’ (Sir Thomas) ... of which holy sedition Christ himself professeth ... to be the author,” i.e. Luke 12. “talking against these recusant Catholiques, he [Sir Thomas] maketh mention so often of deceyt and dissimulation; seeing that of all other people of the realme, these men dissemble leaste, but rather do publish themselves, even to the face and vewe of the magistrate;” “it is a manifest truthe, that a mannes conscience is to be folowed, though it did erre, and much more when it erreth not ... it is impietie to inforce any Christian to do an acte agaynst his conscience and beleef, for that is to inforce him to his damnation, as Saynt Paul before hath taught us” (Romans 14). “In which poynt of refusal also the Puritanes were wont to concurre with Catholiques ... but it may be they have thought it best now to alter that course ... and that it standeth with their comoditie ... to follow those whome Christ sayth, temporales sunt, & in tempore tentationis recedunt, they are according as the tyme serveth, & do retyre in tyme of tryal or persecution.” Sir Thomas: “where there is only the bare sense of a true English hart, these popish recusantes cannot bewitche or deceyve with their hypocritical holinesse.” Persons replies: “To bring into contempt the persuasion of their good life ... you require the sense only of a true bare English hart to resist this witchcraft of perswading by good woorkes, and what you mean by a bare english hart to serve you in this conflict, I know not, except it be some hard heathenish hart, as strong as flint, to resist the knockes of all Gods motions ... we do measure the matter by an other ballance, then by the sense of so bare an English hart.” Discusses the political “atonement” (121) needed between England, France, Spain, and Rome. “But if for our sinnes this [atonement] cannot be ... then their humble petition will be that at least they may have the same liberties and favour in England for their consciences, as Protestantes have in France and in other states of the Empire at this day under catholique kinges.” Recommends that Elizabeth imitate the gentle reasonableness of Augustus’s last years: “And ... divers nobles, kings also of her Maiesties progenitors have indeavored to imitate [Augustus’s proceeding] by special designement, & namely the two famous Henryes the fourth and seventh, and Edward also the fourth, who albeit they entered by dint of sword ... yet all three so disposed themselves to clemencie toward their later dayes, as they were most dear even to them that had bin their enemies.” Conclusion: “what a comfort it might be to her Maiestie, now in her elder age ... to see once all sortes of people merry, contented, loving and confident within the realme; al to laugh and sing together; all to pray to God most hartily for her Maiesty’s health, wealth, and prosperous long continuance; al to be united in defence of the realme; all made frends and familiar together, as in Germanie and other places men be, notwithstanding the differences of religion.” “Your Lordships have had many yeares experience now of the present maner of proceeding by affliction of Catholiques, where one part of the land hath wept, whyle the other hath laughed ... let some proof be made of the other way also, wherby contentment is geven to all, let it be tried once in her Maiesties dayes how matters will go when all emnitie and hostilities is taken out of the bowels of our commonwealth, when the catholique man and woman in England may dealle with ther neighbour in love and confidence ...” [on a new non-resistance (versus 1594 Conference): “Unto our temporal prince and head of our earthly commonwealth whereof we are citizens, we owe all temporal obedience in matters according to the law of God, nature and nations, and according to the particular ordinances of the country wherein we dwell”]

1599 cont.

Pope defends Archpriest Blackwell, and division temporarily stops; but then Fr. William Watson denounces Jesuits to the government.

James VI, Basilikon Doron (partly replying to Persons’s 1594 Conference); practical manual on kingship for son, Henry; defends divine right of kings. Also wrote more abstractly on same subject, in The Trew Law of Free Monarchies (1599).

Spenser dies.

Verstegan pubs. first English post-tridentine translation of roman-breviary primer, Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis, one of most popular Catholic devotionals for next 2 centuries.

Juan Mariana S. J., "On a King and the Education of a King" (Toledo 1599), on reasons against and for tyrannicide (even of legitimate kings), seen as argument for the latter (to warn the future Philip III), condemned by Aquaviva, thought to influence the attitudes which led demented student from a Jesuit college, François Ravallac, to assassinate Henri IV in 1610.

Edwin Sandys, Europae Speculum (trans. in 1605 (1603?) as A Relation of the State of Religion...); seeks "project of union" based on tolerance; acknowledges Rome's appeal to the multitude, and its "well-nigh infinite" ways "to ravish all the affections," utilizing whatever "miracles with the credulous, what visions with the fantastical; what gorgeousness of shews with the vulgar and simple, what multitude of Ceremonies with the superstitious and ignorant." "First comprehensive justification for peaceful coe-existence in Reformation Europe" (DNB). "A kind of men there is whom a man shall meet with all in all Countryes, not many in number but sundry of them of singular learning and pieties; whose godly longings to see Christendome reunited in the love of the Author of thyr name above all things, and next in brotherly correspondence and amitie ... that by the travaile and mediation of some calmer minds than at this day doe usually write or deale on eyther side, these flames of controversies might be extinguished or asslaked, and some godly or tolerable peace re-established in the Church againe."

Drayton, Munday, et al, True and Honorable History of ... Sir John Oldcastle, answer to Shakespeare.

Lewkenor, trans. of Contarini's Commonwealth . . . of Venice, source for Othello. Contarini's 1593 anti-tyrannical book described Venetian republican system, created interest bec. of growing interest in alternative forms of government in late Elizabethan reign, and in Venice's anti-papalism (though remaining Catholic). Lewkenor was connected with the Essex circle (also with Spenser).

Richard Hakluyt, Edward Wright and John Davis print first English map based on Mercator's projection, showing North America (Indies) larger than earlier maps. Thomas Platter, Swiss visitor to London: "the English pass their time, learning at the play what is happening abroad."

COLLEGE OF ARMS CONFIRMS GRANT OF COAT OF ARMS TO JOHN SHAKESPEARE AND PERMISSION GRANTED FOR ARDEN ARMS TO BE IMPALED ON HIS (see 1596) (but Park Hall Arden arms scratched out in application, older Arden arms used; showing uncertainty of Park Hall connection?).

John Weever, poor relation of Hoghtons, from same parish as Cottoms, in Epigrammes, dedicated to Sir Richard Hoghton, publishes "Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare," in form of Shakespearean sonnet (had Weever seen the sonnets?).

Shakespeare about now living in the Clink on the Surrey Bankside. New Globe opened, partially built from timbers from the "Theatre" in Shoreditch.

**Henry V**: includes Prologue tribute to Essex, "the general of our gracious empress ... from Ireland coming, / Bringing rebellion broached on his sword;" **Julius Caesar**; **As You Like It**; **The Passionate Pilgrim**, unauthorised edn. of poems claimed to be Shakespeare's (includes a few sonnets, also poems from Love's Labour's Lost). Shakespeare may have played "Adam," and indeed played many kings, old men, churchmen, and commentators like chorus in Henry V.