

Post-Shakespeare Chronology 1900-2010
History of Shakespeare-Catholic/Protestant interpretations, with chart of
significant events in Protestant/Catholic relations (small print).

Including

American Contexts

Continental Contexts

Irish Contexts

Asian, South American Contexts

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****1900****

William Gildea, "The Religion of Shakespeare" (American Catholic Quarterly Review), cites Bowden, on grace, King John, Catholic clerics, Henry VIII, Henry V's piety.

Mrs. Humphrey Ward's Eleanor, redoing Helbeck plot, this time Puritan Lucy marries Lord Manisty (a disbeliever who argues for Catholicism, reflecting Chateaubriand), while Eleanor, Manisty's soul mate, performs the ultimate self-sacrifice, a Catholic Pauline equivalent, of surrendering her own claim (forecast James's Wings of the Dove). Chateaubriand praised for "re-creating a church, and regenerating a literature."

Gasquet, The Eve of the Reformation: Erasmus regretted Lutheranism as blocking reform within Catholic church; "part of the price paid [for the Reformation] was the destruction of a sense of corporate unity and common brotherhood, which was fostered by the religious unanimity of belief and practice in every village in the country, and which, as in the mainspring of its life and the very central point of its being, centred in the Church with its rites and ceremonies" ("if it is perilous to accept Gasquet noncritically, it is foolish utterly to neglect or despise him" -- David Knowles) ("now seems remarkably prescient," N. Tyacke 1998).

Wilfrid Ward letter to wife: "I have been reading a great deal of Dante ... I feel in him that independence of thought combined with reverence for the Church which the habits fostered by post-reformation Scholasticism have done much to destroy."

Sinn Féin (Ourselves Alone) founded by Arthur Griffiths (Catholic) (in 1905 started United Irishman newspaper), replacing Home Rule movement with Independence movement, signaling nationalist revival, i.e. with Douglas Hyde's revival of the Irish language (i.e. bypass Catholicism, invite in Anglo-Irish), "a constitutional, non-separatist association" (F. Shaw); had nothing to do with 1916 insurrection (a Fenian movement), but after 1916 looked to to lead democratic national aspirations (acc. to F. Shaw). G. Moore on Hyde: "By standing well with ... MP's, priests, farmers, shopkeepers ... Hyde has become the archetype of the Catholic Protestant, cunning, subtle, cajoling, superficial and affable" (qu. Foster, "History and the Irish Question"). Griffith's notion of the Gael was a linguistic historic construct, only incidentally Catholic, while D. P. Moran's Gael (see attack on Countess Cathleen above) was pre-eminently Catholic (Moran authored The Philosophy of Irish Ireland in 1905). 1903 Land Purchase Act, enable transfer of land to tenants. National University act in 1907. Parnellite John Redmond (Catholic, Hiberno-Norman) in parliament.

****1901****

Edward VII begins reign.

Edward VII's Coronation speech, 1901, "in a low voice and with evident embarrassment" (Fewster, "Royal Declaration," Recusant History 30 (1911): "I do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do believe in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there is not any transubstantiation ... and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous", greeted by complaints from Catholics in British empire, much to realm's nervousness;

led to change in 1610 with George V's coronation: "I do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God profess, testify and declare that I am a faithful Protestant and that I will, according to the true intent of the enactments which secure the Protestant succession to the Throne of my Realm, uphold and maintain the said enactments ..."

Yeats, "At Stratford-on-Avon": "Shakespeare ... saw ... in Richard II the defeat that awaits all, whether they be artist or saint, who find themselves where men ask of them a rough energy and have nothing to give but some contemplative virtue ... The courtly and saintly ideals of the Middle Ages were fading, and the practical ideals of the modern age had begun to threaten the unuseful dome of the sky; Merry England was fading ..." Henry V, "the reverse of all that Richard was," "is as remorseless and undistinguished as some natural force ... That boy he and Katherine were to 'compound' ... 'that' was to go 'go to Constantinople and take the Turk by the beard,' turns out a saint and loses all his father had built up at home and his own life."

John Churton Collins, "The Religion of Shakespeare," in Ephemera Critica: review of Bowden. But Shakespeare was "an uncompromising and intolerant Royalist," thus unlikely to be Catholic sympathizer. John Shakespeare listed absent for debt; Shakespeare "has no sympathy with pious recluses" etc.

George Moore, Sister Teresa (continuation of Evelyn Innes, 1898): intense meditation on conflict between call of the world and call of the cloister; near fatal depression over disbelief in Eucharist; ends broken but resigned; inspired by perhaps by the conversion of Mrs. Craigie (John Oliver Hobbes).

****1902****

Vincent McNabb, "Is Macbeth a Study of Queen Elizabeth?" (Dublin Review): execution of Queen Mary the inspiring source for the major murders in the tragedy (Julius Caesar, Desdemona, King Hamlet, Lear, Duncan); Lady Macbeth mirrors Elizabeth's final agonized moments; proto-Milward interpretation ("it was from Fr McNabb's article that I got the idea of Lady M as a proto-type of Elizabeth," Milward private communication, Oct. 25, 2001).

R. Warwick Bond, ed. Complete Works of John Lyly, vol. 3 with essay, "On the Allegory in Endimion": Lyly no longer "impersonal allegory "of moral principles as before, but now "a personal allegory ... of contemporary men and women," reflecting court personalities: thus Endimion is Leicester, Cynthia Queen Elizabeth (widely agreed), and Tellus Mary Queen of Scots; Endimion finally faithful to Cynthia, while Mary marries her gaoler. [Compare masques.] Bond acknowledges N. J. Halpin, Oberon's Vision in the Midsummer Night's Dream. Illustrated by a comparison with Lylie's Endymion (1843) for pioneering study of political allegory (Tellus is Countess of Sheffield).

William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience: on religion as contributing to mental health: "Protestantism has been too pessimistic as regards the natural man. Catholicism has been too legalistic and moralistic..." Today's "Protestantism, however superior its spiritual profundity" is less attractive than Catholicism which "offers a so much richer pasturage and aid to the fancy, has so many cells with so many different kinds of honey, is so indulgent in its multiform appeals to human nature ... To intellectual Catholics many of the antiquated beliefs are ... as childish as they are to Protestants. But they are childish in the pleasing sense of 'childlike.'—innocent and amiable, and worthy to be smiled on in consideration of the undeveloped ... dear people's intellects. To the Protestant ... they are ... idiotic falsehoods. He must stamp out their delicate and lovable redundancy, leaving the Catholic to shudder at his literalness." Earlier, "the annals of Catholic saintship ... make us rub our Protestant eyes. Ritual worship in general appears to the modern transcendentalist ... as if addressed to deity of an almost absurdly childish character ... just as on the other hand the formless spaciousness of pantheism appears quite empty to ritualistic natures, and the gaunt theism of evangelical

sects seem intolerably bald and chalky and bleak.” Late chapter, ‘Mysticism,’ includes many Catholic examples (John of the Cross, Teresa, Ignatius) along with Symonds, Whitman, Upanishads, etc.

Hilaire Belloc, The Path to Rome: pilgrimage hike to Rome from Toul, France; implicitly invites English to reconnect with their European roots, and Europe’s Rabelasian pious Catholic community. Roads through beautiful natural scenes, with churches, daily mass-goers, taverns, cakes and ale, all imitated in Belloc’s reverential and rollicking and digressive style. Hills and towns “unroll themselves all in their order till I can see Europe, and Rome shining at the end.” “There were present here and there on the spurs lonely chapels, and these in Catholic countries are a mark of the mountains and of the end of the riches of a valley ... They mark everywhere some strong emotion of supplication, thanks, or reverence, and they anchor these wild places to their own past ...” (Also experiences “a sense of the terrible” in harsh nature scenes.) “To see all the men, women, and children of a place taking Catholicism for granted was a new sight.” The geography leans down toward Rome via the valley of the Elsa, “a very manifest proof of how Rome was intended to be the end and centre of all roads ... as, indeed, it plainly is to this day, for all the world to deny at their peril, spiritual, geographical, historical, sociological, economic, and philosophical.” “It was the Hill of Venus. // There was no temple, nor no sacrifice, nor no ritual for the Divinity, save this solemn attitude of perennial silence; but under the influence which still remained and gave the place its savour, it was impossible to believe that the gods were dead ... The mind released itself and was in touch with whatever survives of conquered but immortal Spirits.” Final tale: God sees “some not doing as the rest, or attending to their business, but throwing themselves into all manner of attitudes, making the most extraordinary sounds, and clothing themselves in the meanest of garments,” i.e. worshipping Him. “‘Continuez,’ said the Padre Eterno, ‘continuez!’ // And since then all has been well with the world; at least where ils continuent.” Final poem: “Two hundred leaguers and a half / Walked I, went I, paced I, tripped I ... [for many lines] And ... Let me not conceal it ... Rode I ... Drinking when I had a mind to, / Singing when I felt inclined to ... Till I had slaked my heart at Rome.”

****1903****

Bertram Dobell, in Athenaeum, article on Alabaster.

Douai monastery moves back to England, “ending three hundred and fifty years of the education of English Catholics in exile in the little town where ... Cardinal Allen had first established a college” (Adrian Hastings, History of English Christianity).

Henry James, The Ambassadors, i.e. Strether negotiating with Mme. Vionnet, Chad’s lover. “The Catholic church, for Waymarsh—that was to say the enemy, the monster of bulging eyes and far-reaching, quivering, groping tentacles—was exactly society, exactly the multiplication of shibboleths, exactly the discrimination of types and tones, exactly the wicked old Rows of Chester, rank with feudalism; exactly in short, Europe.” Strether in Notre Dame where he will see Mme. Vionnet: “The great church had no altar for his worship, no direct voice for his soul; but it was none the less soothing even to sanctity ... she had lost herself, he could easily see as he would only have liked to do”; Strether insists Chad be faithful to Vionnet (make adultery into a sacrament of commitment), and Strether will retain his American integrity by returning. Also see Fussell 1993.

****1904****

W. S. Lilly, “What was Shakespeare’s Religion?” in Studies in Religion and Literature defends Bowden and Simpson on the reverence for the old religion in Shakespeare’s plays; answers Mahon by noting persistent custom of evening Masses, notably in Verona.

Founding of the Catholic Record Society to research Catholic sources in Reformation period. Lord Acton had earlier recommended founding of a “Lingard club.”

Henry Adams, Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres (2nd edn. 1912): “A Church which embraced, with equal sympathy, and within a hundred years, The Virgin, Saint Bernard, William of Champeaux and the School of Saint-Victor, Peter the Venerable, Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Dominic, Saint Thomas Aquinas, and Saint Bonaventure, was more liberal than any modern State can afford to be ... Such elasticity long ago vanished from human thought.” Neither love nor freedom, nor order can be at the heart of the universe, however much we want them there.

James's The Golden Bowl. Maggie represents "American good faith"; evokes her crisp pristine "New England grandmothers"; in her apartment, "she looked as is she had been carried there prepared ... like some holy image in a procession, and left, precisely, to show what wonder she could work under pressure. Her friend felt ... as the truly pious priest might feel when confronted, behind the altar, before the fiesta, with his miraculous Madonna". "She asked herself at times if he suspected how more than subtly, how perversely, she had dispensed with him [Fr. Mitchell]". Later, since "priests were really, at the worst, so to speak, such wonderful people that she believed him for an instant on the verge of saying to her, in abysmal softness:" "Go to Mrs Verver, my child—you go: you'll find that you can help her.". Union of new American Catholic with old European Catholic (see Prince on Catholic), American idealism and dark history, etc. Prince on keeping Maggie happy: "Only it's almost terrible, you know, the happiness of young, good, generous creatures. It rather frightens one. But the Blessed Virgin and all the Saints, ... have her in their keeping." Also see Fussell 1993; see other notes in my Oxf. edn.

Wilfrid Ward, Aubrey De Vere: A Memoir (L: Longmans, 1904), wonderfully insightful account of this important 19th century Catholic figure.

****1905**** *Law of Laïcité, separation of Church and State, passed in France. "Yet the upshot was that the ancient church of the French nation had by the event been brought closer to Rome than ever before in its history, its whole organization now being subject to Vatican control" (Reardon, Liberalism and Tradition, 282).*

****1906**** Mrs. Humphrey Ward begins to write story on a powerful religious experience at Assisi. Ford Madox Ford, The Fifth Queen (with two sequels 1907-8) on Henry's Catherine Howard, from Catholic Howards, trying to turn Henry toward Catholicism, framed as adulteress by Protestant party. See 1540 for the source of this view.

M. Vigny, French Minister of Education, 1906: "By our fathers, our elder brothers, ourselves, we have attached ourselves in the past to a work of anti-clericalism, to a work of irreligion. We have torn away human consciences from the belief (la croyance). When a poor wretch, fatigued with the weight of the day, bent his knee, we raised him up. We told him that behind the clouds there was nothing but chimeras. Together, and with a magnificent gesture, we have extinguished the lights in heaven, lights which none will ever be able to rekindle." Peroration hailed by "vifs applaudissements à gauche," and the Chamber decreed that the speech should be affiché in the 36,000 French communes.

****1907**** Henry Birt, The Elizabethan Religious Settlement, early statement of the revisionist view of Reformation (see 1993).

H. C. Beeching, "The Religion of Shakespeare" argues against puritan and papist interpretation of Shakespeare, for his membership in C of E.

Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams, w/ chap. "the Dynamo and the Virgin;" Middle Ages as "the point in history when man held the highest idea of himself as a unit in a unified universe;" also see 1905. Adams "was trying to get at the roots of the civilization to which he belonged ... an offshoot of ... Romanized Europe ... [when]

From the close of the eleventh century to the first third of the thirteenth, northern France and England were more or less united politically" (Curtius).

Chesterton, "On Writing Badly": "How can we discuss how we should have written Shakespeare. Shakespeare has written us. And you and I (I am sure you agree) are two of his best characters"; see Bloom 1998.

Pope Pius X issues encyclical, Pascendi Dominici Gregis, against modernism, and required oath.

Riots over Synge's Playboy of the Western World; after 1900 Yeats turned aside from Irish politics and concentrated on aristocratic archaizing nationalism (against English and against paudeen Irish peasant), mourning death of romantic John O'Leary in 1907; after Parnell, clergy regained power, reflecting resurgent Catholicism inconsistent with Protestant Celticism.

The effect closed down American theologizing: "It was as though someone had

pulled a switch and the lights had failed all across the American Catholic landscape" (Gannon in Ellis ed. *The Catholic Priest in the United States*, 1971). Catholics thence became "both 100 percent American ... and 100 percent Roman" (J. Dolan, *American Catholic Experience* 1985).

****1908****

Baron Friedrich Von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion as Studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and Her Friends* (rev. edn. 1923): "that ampler pre-Protestant, as yet neither Protestant nor anti-Protestant, but deeply positive and Catholic, world," versus Protestant which is "unjust and sectarian" and "post-Tridentine type of Catholicism, with its regimental Seminarism, its predominantly controversial spirit, its suspiciousness and timidity;" Catherine as example of those in which "Universality, Obligation, Uniformity and Objectivity, of the second stage ... take the form of a Spiritual Individuality, Liberty, Variety, and Subjectivity." See 1932, Yeats.

Newman Smyth, *Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism*: the former's "crowning achievement is the victory which it has won forever for the spiritual liberty of the individual man". But we also need authority; "the ideal of the one Church wanders among us, like an unembodied spirit, from church to church, until we almost cease really to believe in it". Modernism may help bring the two together. "Voices of peace which were hushed in the tempest of ... the Reformation ... (the voices of Melancthon, Erasmus and his friends ... of Sir Thomas More, and John von Staupitz, Luther's teacher, and Cassander, Bossuet, Spinola, Molanus, Leibnitz, and Grotius, and other irenic spirits), may be heard again in these evening hours ..."

****1909****

Henry James, "The Jolly Corner:" Spencer Brydon, returning from life in Europe, sees specter of American entrepreneur he might have been, a New York capitalist, spreading his hands, one with "lost two fingers, which were reduced to stumps, as if accidentally shot away." But Alice will say: "You came to yourself," she beautifully smiled".

****1910****

George V begins reign, decrees that "Windsor" will be name of royal household.

World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh marks beginning of 20th century ecumenical movement among Protestants.

****1910****

Charles Wallace, "New Shakespeare Discovery," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (March), records show Shakespeare living at the house of the French Huguenot, Christopher Mountjoy.

****1911****

Thurston answers Malone's doubt and cites practice of confession of faith in illness, in *The Month* ("The Spiritual Testament of John Shakespeare").

****1912****

Thurston, "The Religion of Shakespeare," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, defends John Shakespeare testament, doubts Shakespeare's loyalty to Catholicism, but agrees with Simpson, Bowden, et al about the Catholic tone of the plays; notes afternoon masses were said even in Verona (see above, 1866).

Thomas Hardy's "The Abbey Mason: Inventor of the 'Perpendicular' Style of Gothic Architecture," celebrates this anonymous medieval architect "Whose symmetries salute the sun ... While others boom a baseless claim, / And upon nothing rear a name."

Rilke, Life of the Virgin Mary, poetic sequence. Also "Every angel is terrifying" (Duino Elegy 2) (1912). (Letter 1903: "I abandoned the violent Catholic piety of childhood, made myself free of it in order to be even more, even more comfortlessly alone; but from things, from their patient bearing and enduring, a new, greater and more devout love came to me late, some kind of faith that knows no fear and no bounds." "The Angel of the Meridian," first poem in New Poems (1907), reflecting Chartres; The Book of Hours (1905) written in persona of Russian monk.)

Pound, "Portrait d'une Femme": French woman like Sargasso sea, with multiple rich disconnected treasures, "yet this is you": "one ... takes strange gain away." A 19th century Protestant writer had compared old world Catholic indolence to "the weedy, motionless Sargasso sea" (Franchot).

Henry James, "The Novel in 'The Ring and the Book'" (pub. in *Notes on Novelists* 1914): describes poem as a "gothic ... structure;" "the hand of Italy is ... with that of the great glare and of the great shadow-masses, heavy upon us, heavy with that

strange weight, that mixed pressure, which is somehow, to the imagination, at once a caress and a menace”; “my Italy of the eve of the eighteenth century—a vast painted and gilded rococo shell roofing over a scenic, an amazingly figured and furnished earth, but shutting out almost the whole of our own dearly-bought, rudely-recovered spiritual sky.” “There they are ... Florence, as sleepy to my recollection as a little English cathedral city clustered about a Close, but dreaming not so peacefully nor so innocently; there is the great fretted fabric of the Church on which they are all swarming and grovelling, yet after their fashion interesting parasites, from the high and dry old Archbishop, meanly wise or ignobly edifying, to whom Pompilia resorts ... down through the couple of Franceschini cadets .. mere minions, fairly in the verminous degree, of the overgrown order or too-rank organism; down to Count Guido himself and to Canon Caponsacchi ... who lead their lives under some strangest profanest pervertedest clerical category.” Cites the “sinister scene ... where Pompilia’s inspired little character, clear silver hardened, effectually beaten and battered, to steel, begins to shine at the blackness with a light that fairly outfaces at last the gleam of wolfish fangs.”

****1913****

Francis Cardinal Bourne’s introd. to 1914 edn. of William Allen’s A True, Sincere and Modest Defence (see 1584): “this treatise gives us an answer to the charge, still sometimes renewed, that those who gave their lives for the Catholic Faith in England in the sixteenth century were in reality men disloyal to Queen and country. More valuable still ... is the light thrown upon the recently discovered continuity that, we are told, exists between the Established Church of England and the Catholic Church in England before the Reformation. To such a groundless theory the lives and deaths of our Blessed Martyrs are the best and most conclusive reply. They knew, and they gave their lives because they knew, that a fundamental change was being wrought in the religious condition of our country.”

Robert Hugh Benson, Confessions of a Convert, on transition from Anglicanism to Catholicism, by this son of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Anglicans found the Catholic League at Corringham in Essex to promote Catholicity, and work for the re-union of all Christians with Rome.

Irish Volunteers founded in Dublin to counter the Ulster Unionists who had blocked the success of Home Rule, threatening civil war; people impressed by Gaelic league moving toward independence “at their own pace and in their own way”—shortcircuited by 1916 disaster (F. Shaw)

****1914****

S. A. Blackmore, The Riddles of Hamlet, makes case, now accepted, that “herald of the morning” speech in Hamlet echoes the Hymn of St. Ambrose, Aeterne Rerum Conditor, in Sunday Lauds liturgy.

Pierre Imbart de la Tour, L’Evangélisme: identified “the diverse spiritual and intellectual movements at work in Catholic Europe, and especially in France, in the uncertain, fluid period (1520s and 1530s) before Reformation and Counter-Reformation secured dominance in their respective territories. The subject of ‘Evangelism’ (in the special sixteenth-century sense of a search for the renewal of religion through direct contact with the scriptures, while, on the one hand, retaining a sense of Catholicity and, on the other, being sensitive to the issues of sin and grace and justification) has been of great interest to historians in the last generation” (Mansfield, Man on His Own: Interpretations of Erasmus c 1750-1920.)

Geoffrey Scott, The Architecture of Humanism: “To give the picturesque its grandest scope, and yet to subdue it to architectural law—this was the baroque experiment and it is achieved ... Like nature, it is fantastic, unexpected, varied and grotesque ... But, unlike Nature, it remains subject rigidly to the laws of scale and composition.” “They wished to communicate, through architecture, a sense of exultant vigour and overflowing strength” but “no one has yet suggested that the baroque architects lacked composition.” On the Counter-Reformation: “this brilliant effort ... transformed the face of Italy; nor has the psychological insight of the Jesuits been manifested with greater sureness than when it thus enlisted in the service of religion the most theatrical instincts of mankind ... The achievement of the Jesuits lay in converting these preferences of a still pagan humanity to Catholic uses, aggressively answering the ascetic remonstrance of the Reformation by a still further concession to mundane senses.” (Cited by Austin Warren, 1939, as foundational for baroque, along with Wölfflin Principles) (Note baroque union of natural and supernatural, science

and Holy Spirit, world and Church, fully incarnational of religious spirit.)

Yeats, "Reveries" in Autobiography: "I had ... proposed ... that whatever the great poets had affirmed in their finest moments was the nearest we could come to an authoritative religion." "I had noticed the Irish Catholics among whom had been born so many political martyrs had not the good taste, the household courtesy and decency of the Protestant Ireland I had known, yet Protestant Ireland seemed to think of nothing but getting on in the world. I had thought we might bring the halves together if we had a national literature ... freed from provincialism by an exacting criticism, a European pose."

****1915****

James J. Walsh, "Was Shakespeare A Catholic?," Catholic Mind (1915) on Catholic evidences, especially in Romeo and Juliet, King John, Henry VIII, and on biographical matters.

Ford Madox Ford, The Good Soldier: innocent Catholic Nancy goes mad when unwittingly occasioning the death of her beloved Edward Ashburnham, the likable adulterous husband caught (Graham Greene style) between her and his more Jesuitical Gothic wife, Leonora.

Wallace Stevens, "Sunday Morning."

****1916****

J. B. Wainwright in N&Q notes, without comment, that Simon Hunt "matriculated at the University of Douay when Dr. Thomas Stapleton was Rector."

Sir E.M. Thompson's Shakespeare's Handwriting in 1916 confirms Shakespeare's authorship of insurrection scene of Sir Thomas Moore (see 1871) (issue summed up by E. K. Chambers in 1930).

Wilhelm Creizenach, The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare, trans. from German: "We find, nevertheless, in him a delicate appreciation for the poetic element in some Catholic institutions which perished under the régime of the Reformation." "The arguments brought forward by Rio, Simpson, Raich, etc., in favour of Shakespeare's Catholicism can hardly need refutation to-day;" cites Harsnet, equivocator, love-sick nun in Lover's Complaint.

Easter Rising of Irish Republican Brotherhood with Padraic Pearse (Catholic, son of converted English immigrant), founder of Gaelic league (1893) to promote Irish language. Home Rule Bill had been enacted in 1914 but suspended for the war. Then IRA begins attacks, opposed by Protestant Black and Tans. Rising not popular, but executions motivated Irish independence movement, which nevertheless remained moderate (vs. Tone, Mitchel, Fenian violent tradition—though these revered as 'martyrs'). 1916 would result in partition, Irish Civil War of 1922-3 Pearse's execution seen as sacrifice Catholic style vs. mere literary resurrectionists, meant decline of the Anglo-Irish, marked rise of Sinn Féin and decline of UIL as collaborators. The Irish free state, founded in 1922 (technically ended in 1930 with new constitution) would thereafter focus on familism and Catholicism. Daniel, Corkery, effective laureate of the new state, in The Hidden Ireland claimed that Gaelic culture, had been preserved in remaining Catholic gentry and peasants (i.e. hidden, vs. dubious Swift, Berkeley, Burke) in 18th cent. Ascendancy critiqued for not having Catholic empathy, including Synge despite his feeling for the people. Corkery rebuked Davis for accepting English as a fact of life. Sean O'Faolain wd. later regret the new Irish philistinism, linking church, business men politicians, and suppressed peasants. AE would argue in 1925: "If we repudiate the Anglo-Irish tradition, if we say these are aliens, how poor does our life become" (Cairns) "The Anglo-Irish had helped to give birth to their own gravediggers, and not for the first time: Irish nationalism, after all, had been their idea in the first place" (Eagleton Heathcliff) Yeats's early response to Easter Rising: "I am very despondent about the future. At the moment I felt that all the work of years has been overturned, all the bringing together of classes, all the freeing of Irish literature and criticism from politics;" "the form of the Easter rising ensured that the price of inclusion in the people-nation ... was deracination: not Gaelization, but acceptance in one form or another, of the supremacy of Catholicism ... After 1922 the cultural forces which were dominant in the new Free State, were the values of the farmers—familism and Catholicism" (Cairns and Richards, Writing Ireland (1988).)

Thus Corkery in *The Hidden Ireland* (1924) etc., i.e. the Irish core in the few Catholic gentry houses and the peasant's hovels, vs. the English aliens, Berkeley, Swift, Burke. "Exile... either physically or intellectually, was to be the dominant response to the new orthodoxy for which Corkery was the ideologue." Thus Censorship of Film Act 1923, Divorce Act 1925, Censorship of Publications Act 1929.

"The Yeatsian ideal of a 'system of culture which will represent the whole of this country' (Cullingford ...) stalks contemporary debate" (Cairns and Richards). Connolly and Pearse "stressed the need for non-sectarian institutions in a newly independent Ireland" (Kearney, *Navigations*).

James Joyce, *Portrait of the Artist as Young Man*: "Then, said Cranly, you do not intend to become a protestant?/--I said that I had lost the faith, Stephen answered, but not that I had lost self-respect. What kind of liberation would that be to forsake an absurdity which is logical and coherent and to embrace one which is illogical and incoherent?" See "Ireland, Island of Saints and Sages" (1907): "In time perhaps there will be an awakening of the Irish conscience, and perhaps four or five centuries after the Diet of Worms, we will see an Irish monk throw away his frock, run off with some nun, and proclaim in a loud voice the end of the coherent absurdity that was Catholicism and the beginning of the incoherent absurdity that is Protestantism." In same essay: "I do not see what good it does to fulminate against the English tyranny while the Roman tyranny occupies the palace of the soul." "Poetry considers many of the idols of the market place unimportant--the succession of the ages, the spirit of the age, the mission of the race. The poet's central effort is to free himself from the unfortunate influence of these idols ..." See F. Shaw 1972, thus Joyce reflecting this localized anarchic Irish culture

Henri Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours* (11 volumes, 1915-1933; first volume *L'Humanisme dévôt*. Trans. as *A Literary History of Religious Thought in France from the Wars of Religion Down to Our Own Times*, first 3 volumes only, trans. K. L. Montgomery (London, 1928-1936): on history of Catholic devout humanism, integrating humanism and Catholic piety, à la urbanity of Francis de Sales, against Jansenism, "Our Humanists ... deduce that devotion, even perfection, ought to be easy to the natural magnanimity and the supernatural resources of the true Christian man;" embody "the best traditions of the Renaissance."

Stephen Hales, *Shakespeare's Religion*: agrees with "Mr. G. K. Chesterton, that Shakespeare was 'spiritually a Catholic.' A Catholic modified ... by two potent influences: (a) his patriotism, which induced submission to the English government rather than to that of Rome (in the same spirit that impelled good Catholics to fight against the Spanish Armada; and (b) his study of the Scriptures, which enlightened his religious thought, widened its outlook, and extended the application of it, without destroying the Catholic mould which shapes its most natural expression for himself, as in all likelihood it had shaped the piety of his Mother."

****1917**

J. B. Pollen in Month ("A Shakespeare "Discovery") traces Simon Hunt's Jesuit career, and probable conversion from Protestantism.

Paul Mestwerdt, *Die Anfänge des Erasmus: Humanismus und "Devotio Moderna"*: discusses the connections between the two movements, the universalism, historical-critical method, and ethical emphasis of the first, the deepened personal piety and inwardness, bible for edification, of the second (Mansfield, vol. 2).

Rudolf Otto, *The Idea of the Holy*, trans. into English in 1923: "In Catholicism the feeling of the numinous is to be found as a living factor of singular power. It is seen in Catholic forms of worship and sacramental symbolism, in the less authentic forms assumed by legend and miracle, in the paradoxes and mysteries of Catholic dogma, in the Platonic and neo-Platonic strands woven into the fabric of its religious conceptions, in the solemnity of churches and ceremonies, and especially in the intimate rapport of Catholic piety with mysticism ... Catholic orthodoxy has been

subjected to a strong rationalizing influence [by Aristotelian scholasticism], to which, however, actual living religious practice and feeling never conformed or corresponded.” “By the continual living activity of its non-rational elements a religion is guarded from passing into ‘rationalism.’ By being steeped in and saturated with rational elements it is guarded from sinking into fanaticism or mere mysticity.” Appendix I: “Chrysostom on the Inconceivable in God.” Appendix III: “Original Numinous Sounds,” i.e. “om”. Appendix VIII: “Silent Worship”: “Our” “communion service is emphatically not a Mass, and the Mass has grown to be a distortion of its true form.” Otto separating the religious from the art/religion identification. Otto’s formative influences were Lutheranism, Schliermacher, etc., but see his originary ‘numinous’ experience in the Moroccan synagogue which he compares to Catholic and Orthodox cathedrals (cited Poland, *Jrnl of Religion* 72.2 (1992) 196). Appendices: “But the really typical ‘moments’ of mysticism ... are ... more possible upon the basis of Luther’s ‘fides’ ... than upon the basis of the ‘*amor mysticus*.’” “We may devise an opportunity of silent dedication which will avoid the ceremonial apparatus and mythology of the doctrine of ‘Transubstantiation’, and in its simplicity and pure spirituality may be more deeply sacramental than the Mass ... We have only to follow the indications afforded by the example of the ‘Silent Worship’ of the Quakers.”

Chesterton, A Short History of England, early revisionist anti-Whig history, praised especially for tracing the oppression of the small share-holders by the oligarch capitalists. Chesterton will be celebrated by Waugh, Marshall McLuhan, Empson (for style and philology), Hugh Kenner, Anthony Burgess, John Gross, W. H. Auden, T. S. Eliot (at least on the Dickens book, “no better”); also in *After Strange Gods*, on critical tradition), V. S. Pritchett, David Lodge, Garry Wills, etc. (see G. K. Chesterton: A Half Century of Views, ed. D. J. Conlon, OUP (1987).

Maritain-Cocteau letters; see 1948.

****1918****

Strachey’s *Eminent Victorians*, lead chapter on Cardinal Manning (eminent Victorian!): compared to a redoing of Cardinal Wolsey; satire, though with some admiration, of religious intensity, assumption that Anglicanism is a hollow shell. *Eminent Victorians* is a proto-new-historicist treatment of sample figures in order to understand the “Victorian Age” (but with a satirical edge as norm), amazingly chooses Manning for the lead and longest article, more than four times as long as the article on the leading protestant figure in the book, Dr. Arnold. The central figure of Strachey’s secular Bloomsbury attempt to understand the Victorian age is this eminent Catholic convert, who is satirized, throughout a detailed and professional treatment, as a “superstitious egotist.” (57) The detail and Gibbonian satire of the report obscures the fundamental novelty of Strachey’s choice of subject, a choice which implies that the Roman alternative is somehow fundamental to the understanding of Victorian national identity. The story of Manning is early keyed by the Oxford movement when “Surprised Doctors of Divinity found themselves suddenly faced with strange questions which had never entered their heads before. Was the Church of England, or was it not a part, of the Church Catholic?” (13). Part 2 ends: “But then, those vistas, where were they leading to? Supposing—oh heavens!—supposing after all they were to lead to—!” (22) Strachey’s account ends with Manning’s funeral and the popular demonstration “as has rarely been witnessed in the streets of London ... yet, after all, the memory was more acute than lasting. The Cardinal’s memory is a dim thing today” (127-8). Strachey’s satisfaction in recording the fact signals a common a 20th century secular repression, of the way in which the Catholic theme has intersected with and troubles English national identity, and continues to do so. In describing the Oxford movement, Strachey quotes with barely contained horror Newman’s recommendation: “It would be a gain to this country were if it were vastly more superstitious, more bigoted, more gloomy, more fierce in its religion, than at present it shows itself to be.”

Baron Von Hügel, “Institutional Christianity or The Church, Its Nature and Necessity,” classic lecture, in *Essays and Addresses* (1921). Also from same volume, from “The Convictions Common to Catholicism and Protestantism” (1917), on the eight periods of the Catholic Church: “The seventh period, the eighteenth century, is, for Roman Catholicism as well as for Protestantism, largely a time of stagnation and decline; while the eighth period, in which we still live, shows a remarkable renaissance of Catholic principles also among the finest Protestant minds, often where these minds still consider themselves irreconcilably anti-Roman.” “The great Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur, the chief founders of modern historical science, always called Protestants ‘our separated brethren’.”

Weber, “Science as a Vocation” (1918-1919): “The fate of our times is characterized by

rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the 'disenchantment of the world' [quoting F. Schiller]. Precisely the ultimate and most sublime values have retreated from public life either into the transcendent realm of mystic life or into the brotherliness of direct and personal human relations."

Wilhelm Worringer, Form Problems of the Gothic (trans. 1918, orig. German 1910): while classical man is at home with nature, "The Gothic soul, however, lacks this harmony. With it the inner and the outer world are still unreconciled." Hopkins, selected edition, ed. Robert Bridges, 750 copies, slow sales next 12 years; expanded and corrected edition, in 1930, ed. Charles Williams, very influential.

Joyce begins serializing Ulysses (1918-20, pub. 1922), with pagan and European norms. Stephen's "performance in the National Library will enact the cunning revenge of a usurped Catholic... It is possible to read Ulysses as a massive debunking of Anglo-Irish culture... His investigation into Shakespeare [as "capitalist landowner"] ... is an attack on the view that high culture is immortal ... [Stephen is] an Irish artist, one who having refuted the authenticity of Anglo-Irish culture proceeds to signal his own intention to make art from the ignobility of usurpation." Eglinton in 1935 called Ulysses "a violent interruption of ... the Irish literary renaissance" and "Celtic revenge" (Platt, "Voice of Esau," JJQ 1992)

then Finnegans Wake (1939). "The Irish are the most intelligent, most spiritual and most civilised people in Europe ... If once it could assert itself, '[the Irish mind] would contribute a new force to civilisation' Joyce in Europe, qu. in Kearney Navigations Leerssen, Remembrance and Imagination (1997): "Joyce's... Ireland, like any nation, is part of the world at large, and that Irish nationality, is to be defined as part of and not in contradistinction to the world as a whole," book's last sentence. . [But much of Europe, in contrast to England, is Catholic.] Torn between Gaelic and Anglo-English, Joyce invents a new 'European' polyglot language.

****1919****

Bernard Holland, Memoir of Kenelm Henry Digby (London: Longmans); also see Holland's

Memoir of Von Hügel, in Selected Letters 1896-1924, ed. Holland (London: Dent, 1927).

Yeats, "Upon a Dying Lady" (in Wild Swans at Coole 1919): on Mabel Beardsley, elegant Catholic Renaissance woman, "Thinking of saints and of Petronius Arbiter;" "When her soul flies to the predestined dancing place / (I have no speech but symbol, the pagan speech I made / Amid the dreams of youth) let her come face to face ... with Grania's shade ... and some old cardinal / Pacing with half-closed eyelids in a sunny spot / Who had murmured of Giorgione eat his latest breath ... all / Who have lived in joy and laughed into the face of Death"

****1920****

T. S. Eliot's "Dante" in The Sacred Wood, on Dante's framework for presenting the full picture of Francesca and Brunetto; reflecting a Chesterton emphasis on the way the medieval world insisted on a larger picture.

Hilaire Belloc, Europe and the Faith: "the defection of Britain from the Faith of Europe three hundred years ago is certainly the most important historical event in the last thousand years ... its spiritual result -- an isolation of the soul; its political result -- a consequence of the spiritual -- the prodigious release of energy, the consequent advance of special knowledge, the domination of the few under a competition left unrestrained, the subjection of the man, the ruin of happiness, the final threat of chaos."

Jacques Maritain, Art and Scholasticism (trans. 1930). In post World War disillusion, Maritain argues Thomistic notion of hylomorphic form, Aristotelian principle of intelligible determination, underlying artistic work, and so influences various artists and writers including Cocteau (converts in 1925); thus reconciling tradition and modernity.

Joan of Arc canonized; adopted by both right (obedience to God and king), and left (in conflict with society, betrayed by king).

J. Thomas Looney, "Shakespeare" Identified, begins intense Lord Oxford school of Shakespeare authorship, claiming that otherwise Shakespeare's familiarity with aristocracy, his Lancastrian partiality, "of probable Catholic leanings, but touched with skepticism, cannot be explained.

****1921****

Lynn Winstanley, Hamlet and the Scottish Succession ... and the Essex

Conspiracy: Shakespeare writes in favor of Scottish succession by James, which was the imprisoned Southampton's only hope. Hamlet is a combination of James and Essex, the former, Protestant, son of murdered Catholic Darnley, faced with mother Mary and her new husband, Bothwell. Also parallels Essex whose "irresolution in his last years bordered on fitfulness of insanity." Essex's last words on scaffold: "And when my soul and body shall part, send thy blessed angels to be near unto me which may convey it to the joys of heaven." Polonius like Burghley, Essex's enemy; Burghley's son was a wayward youth to whom Burghley wrote letters full of wise maxims, remarkably similar to Polonius's.

Tucker Brooke, "Shakespeare Apart" (Yale Review): not a revolutionary or explorer or experimenter like others and yet --. "He was distinctly a traditionalist in politics and social theory. His attitude towards the state and sovereign was not Tudor, but Plantagenet; not renaissance, but feudal ... There is not good reason for believing that he was an actual recusant, a convinced disciple of the Roman faith; but the religious penumbra of his mind was certainly archaic. For poetic purposes at least religion still connoted for him friars, masses, vigils, extreme unction, and purgatory. It came natural to him to invoke angels and ministers of grace, to swear by Our Lady and Saint Patrick."

T. S. Eliot, "The Metaphysical Poets": "Jonson and Chapman ... incorporated their erudition into their sensibility; their mode of feeling was directly and freshly altered by their reading and thoughts. In Chapman especially there is a direct sensuous apprehension of thought, or a recreation of thought into feeling, which is exactly what we find in Donne ... In the seventeenth century a dissociation of sensibility set in, from which we have never recovered; and this dissociation ... was aggravated by ... Milton and Dryden." "It [i.e. "Enoch Arden"] is something which had happened to the mind of Europe between the time of Donne ... and the time of Tennyson and Browning." See Ross and Bethell below. Eliot includes Crashaw with the Metaphysical Poets like Herbert and Vaughan: "Crashaw, sometimes more profound and less sectarian than the others, has a quality which returns through the Elizabethan period to the early Italians." On dissociation: "All we can say is, that something like this did happen; that it had something to do with the Civil War ... that it is a consequence of the same cause which brought about the Civil War; that we must seek the causes in Europe, not in England alone; and for what these causes were, we may dig and dig until we get to a depth at which words and concepts fail us." On this and Eliot's idealizing of the Caroline divines building on the Elizabethan via media, F. Kermode is dubious: "The truth is that, if we look to Europe and not to England alone, we see that there was never much chance that the Church of England would be universally recognized as Catholic, and that 'something' had presumably 'happened long before to predispose people against such recognition" (The Romantic Image). Eliot reflects that odd assumption that the Reformation was a minor matter, did not make us need to differentiate Herbert and Crashaw, and was no cause of the dissociation which came later with the Restoration. A "depth" indeed!

Irish Peace Agreement creating Irish Free State (on model of Canada and other Commonwealth members), but excluding for the moment the northern counties; but opposed by the Republicans. Republican leader, De Valera, finally wins majority in 1932; gets more independence in Constitution of 1937 using the word, "Eire," but not yet entirely independent (i.e. associated with British Commonwealth foreign policy). In 1945 De Valera proclaimed that Ireland had been a "republic" since 1937, in 1949 withdrew from the Commonwealth; and British Parliament passed Ireland Act, that "Northern Ireland remains part of His Majesty's Dominion," with 2/3 Protestant and 1/3 Catholic (4th Home Rule Bill of 1920 had created Northern Ireland).

Diplomatic relations between France and Vatican resumed; World War I had eliminated prior fierce anti-clericalism.

Malines Conversations (-1926), between Catholics and Anglicans at Malines (Mechelen), Belgium, promoted by Viscount Halifax and catholic abbé Fernand Portal.

****1922****

Sidney Lee, "Shakespeare and the Inquisition: A Spanish Second Folio" (NY Times, reprinted in Elizabethan and Other Essays (1929): on the Valladolid folio, censored by Holy Office, tears out Measure for Measure, deletes Gloucester stamping cardinal's hat and exposing St. Alban miracle in HVI, King John defying Pope, and Bastard's sarcasms, praises of Cranmer in HVIII and praises of Elizabeth, deletes various ribaldry including kissing like "touch of holy bread" and "nun's lips to friar's mouth." "But he fails to apply his principles with any strict uniformity, and much that one would expect to fall under either his dogmatic or ethical ban escapes his attack." Approves of Lennox in Macbeth on "swift blessing ... return to this our suffering country." "The discovery of the Second Folio in the English College at Valladolid may best be regarded as proof of Shakespeare's early popularity among his fellow-countrymen, whatever their religious creed." See Frye and Milward below.

Eveline Feasey, "The Licensing of the Mirror for Magistrates" (Library), on its political allegory which led to its initial banning under Mary Tudor.

Mackenzie's The Altar Steps begins his trilogy The Parson's Progress (-1924) which ends with Anglican hero converting to Rome.

Thomas Hardy's "Apology" to Late Lyrics and Earlier, calls on English church, with its "sufficient dignity and footing, such strength of old association, such scope for transmutability, such architectural spell" to do what poetry might now do, form "alliance between religion, which must be retained unless the world is to perish, and complete rationality, which must come, unless the world also is to perish," a forlorn hope, especially since "the historical and once august hierarchy of Rome some generations ago lost its chance," i.e. by condemning the modernists.

T. S. Eliot, The Waste Land. Contrast to the decadent city is "a public bar in Lower Thames Street, ... Where fishmen lunge at noon: where the walls / Of Magnus Martyr hold / Inexplicable splendour of Ionian white and gold" (high Anglican church). Part 5, "What the Thunder Said," follows "The road winding above among the mountains" to where "In the faint moonlight, the grass is singing / Over the tumbled graves, about the chapel ... only the wind's home ... Then a damp gust / Bringing rain," and into the Upanishad meditation. Eliot in note cites "the approach to the Chapel Perilous (see Miss Weston's book)." In last stanza, "London Bridge is falling down ... Poi s'ascose nel foga che gli affina," quoting Dante's Purgatorio 26.148 (Arnaut hid himself in the fire that transfigures).

Yeats, "The Trembling of the Veil" in Autobiography (1936): Invokes Dante's "Unity of Being": "Had not Europe shared one mind and heart, until both mind and heart began to break into fragments a little before Shakespeare's birth." Lionel Johnson "was to be our critic, and above all our theologian, for he had been converted to Catholicism, and his orthodoxy, too learned to question, had accepted all that we did, and most of our plans. Historical Catholicism, with its counsels and its dogmas, stirred his passion like the beauty of a mistress, and the unlearned parish priests who thought good literature and criticism dangerous were in his eyes 'all heretics.' He belonged to a family that had, he told us, called itself Irish some generations back, and its English generations but enabled him to see as one single sacred tradition Irish nationality and Catholic religion."

****1923****

Herbert Thurston, in Dublin Review, "A Controverted Shakespeare Document," publishes **discovery of Cardinal Borromeo testament**, in a Spanish version, some English version probably being the template used by John Shakespeare and other English Catholics; notes that Borromeo entertained Campion and Persons and the English missionaries; answers Malone doubts; cites scholarship showing John Shakespeare was literate; notes that Joan Shakespeare (sister, second Joan) lived in house until 1646.

E. K. Chambers, discussing “small travelling companies” in Elizabethan Stage, footnotes the Shakeshafte will but only queries ambiguously: “Was then William Shakeshafte a player in 1581?”, with the slightest of implications about Shakespeare.

George Bernard Shaw, Saint Joan, starring Sybil Thorndike who said “One felt in Saint Joan that here was something Shaw wanted most passionately to say about the Christian who was a true Catholic and true Protestant in one—two opposing qualities existent at the same time, which is the balance—the hard, but the true thing in Christianity.” Shaw given Nobel Prize in 1925 because of this play.

Dreiser, A Traveller at Thirty, 1923: on St. Peter’s at Rome: “It was really so large and so tangled historically, and so complicated in the history of its architectural development, that it was useless for me to attempt to synchronize its significance in my mind. I merely stared, staggered.” Dreiser’s inherited Catholicism “places him in an uneasy relationship with the central premises of American society, for while his national culture emphasized personal freedom, his religious inheritance did not” (Giles).

****1924****

Thomas Carter, Shakespeare, Puritan and Recusant, nevertheless argues Lucy as persecuting religious antagonist.

Maura Power, Shakespeare’s Catholicism, on reverence for Catholic things in Shakespeare.

John Masefield, Shakespeare and the Spiritual Life (Romanes lecture at Oxford): “His father was a middle-class Protestant, who attended Church of England services as long as he could do so without fear of arrest for debit. His mother was a conforming Protestant with some Catholic relatives. Shakespeare was bred and remained a conforming Protestant ... Though he had little learning and less faith, he had much superstition.”

Commonweal magazine founded.

Maurice Baring, C, hero torn between Catholic Beatrice and earthy Leila.

Anglican Primate of Ireland, C. F. D’Arcy, on Malines: “My personal conviction is that if reunion succeeds in creating or restoring a universal hierarchical system dominating all spheres of human life and dictating doctrine and morals ... it will be the greatest disaster that could befall humanity ... The only kind of reunion we ought to desire is one which will assure full liberty not only to individuals but all types of organized Christian life” (Times, Jan 4., quoted by M.J. Congar, 1939).

Karl Adam, The Spirit of Catholicism (in German, trans. 1929): On Protestants: “Their churches are built not only of their own un-Catholic materials, but also of Catholic stuff from the original store of salvation. And in so far as they are genuinely Catholic in their faith and worship, it can and will and must happen that there should be, even outside the visible Church, a real growth and progress in union with Christ”, cites Mk (“not against you is for you”); thus Church upheld against the Donatists the validity of baptism by heretics. “Nor are saints and martyrs impossible, on Catholic principles, even in the Protestant churches.” “Nay, it is Catholic teaching that the grace of Christ operates, not only in the Christian communions, but also in the non-Christian world, in Jews and in Turks and in Japanese,” i.e. baptism of desire. Quotes Jesuit Cardinal de Lugo (cited from von Hügel): “God gives light, sufficient for its salvation, to every soul that attain so the use of reason in this life ... the soul that in good faith seeks God, his truth and love, concentrates its attention, under the influence of grace, upon these elements of truth, be they many or few, which are offered to it in the ... assemblies ... in which it has been brought up.”

Thomas Mann, The Magic Mountain (trans. 1927): the nursing sister “had the look of a Protestant sister—that is to say, one working without a real vocation and burdened with restlessness and ennui.” Hans Castorp, secular hero, hears extended debates between humanist Freemason Settembrini who celebrate “Prometheus ... Satan hymned by Carducci.” Castorp: “the devout and the free-thinking... both have their good sides; what I have against Settembrini’s—the free-thinking line—is that he seems to imagine it has a corner in human

dignity. That's exaggerated, I consider, because the other has its own kind of dignity too, and makes for a tremendous lot of decorum and correct bearing and uplifting ceremony," i.e. Mann much concerned with "order" in this disintegrating pre-WW I civilization. Naphta, Jew converted into Catholic and Jesuit, stresses dilemma between individualism that becomes subordinate to state, and transcendent religion. Settembrini: "I protest against the dilemma in which you seek to place us, between Prussianism and Gothic reaction." Naphta says youth ultimately want not freedom but obedience; preaches Catholic communism brought by force. "Only out of radical scepticism, out of moral chaos, can the Absolute spring, the anointed Terror of which the time has need." "Hans Castorp chose to regard his own poor soul as the object of their dialectical rivalry." S. and N. duel, and N. shoots himself when S. refuses to fire. Both personalities momentarily eclipsed by exuberant personality of Mynheer Peeperkorn. Cipolla in Mario and the Magician (1929) enforces dilemma between fascistic 'worship me' and ordinary self. Aschenbach in Death in Venice (1911) lured by Venetian decadence perhaps into abyss of formlessness.

F. Scott Fitzgerald, The Great Gatsby: In Dreiser and Fitzgerald, note "that frantic urge for success ... coupled with the semi-conscious belief of both writers that failure and defeat are the proper stations for their characters" (Giles) "Carraway's disillusioning mind holds in check those equivalences and analogies that the other characters are intent upon fabricating" (Giles). "Dreiser, Farrell, and Fitzgerald were all writers who acquiesced in the rules of American society without ever finding themselves entirely at home there" (Giles) "Within the American Catholic tradition, capitalism is denied any aura of mystification"; "By declining to equate material and spiritual well-being ... deprives the nation's commercial culture of that spiritual ambience with it is invested by the Protestant tradition" (Giles). Thus Flannery O'Connor celebrating losers.

After Notre Dame beat Nebraska for national championship, Father John F. O'Hara, Prefect of Religion, wrote: "the world is beginning to realize the source of Notre Dame's brand of sportsmanship. The teamwork of a Notre Dame eleven is not inspired by the philosophy of Nietzsche ... it is neither cynical nor brutal; it is a red-blooded play of men full of life, full of hope, full of charity, of men who learn at the foot of the altar what it means to love one another, of men who believe that clean play can be offered as a prayer in honor of the Queen of Heaven" (qu. J. Dolan, American Catholic Experience 1985).

****1925****

Somerset Maugham, The Painted Veil: Kitty, worldly, adulterous with Charlie Townsend after marrying Walter who angrily takes her to the plague district of China; out of boredom, she goes to help the Nuns in their orphanage and hospice; impressed with Walter's service, comes to see how worthless Charlie is; reconciles with Walter who dies of cholera; goes home and says goodbye to Charlie. Impressive portrait of self-sacrificing nuns and Mother Superior: "There was in her strong, handsome and ravaged face an austerity that was passionate; and at the same time she had a solicitude and a gentleness which permitted those little children to cluster, noisy and unafraid, in the assurance of her deep affection ... She [Kitty] felt shut out the only from that poor little convent, but from some mysterious garden of the spirit after which with all her soul she hankered" Sisters deeply impressed by her pregnancy; "One day, firmly convinced that a heretic could know nothing of such matters, she [Sister St. Joseph] told Kitty of the Annunciation. // 'I can never read those lines in the Holy Writ without weeping', she said." "Sister St. Martin had said what a pity it was she was not a Catholic; but the Mother Superior had reproved her; she said that it was possible to be a good woman ... even though one was Protestant and le Bon Dieu would in some way or other arrange all that." On Mother Superior: "Though her conversation was interwoven with her religion, Kitty felt that this was natural to her and that no effort was made to influence the heretic. It seemed strange to her that the Mother Superior, with her deep sense of charity should be content to leave Kitty in a condition of what must seem to her sinful ignorance." 141 But "the faith ... left her untouched" 144, and she doesn't tell Mother Superior about Charlie because "To her what she had done would naturally seem a grievous sin." 144 Cross on Walter's coffin "looked grotesque and out of place" Mother Superior makes her leave; "She had a wild impulse

to seize the stout, good-natured nun [Sister St. Joseph] by the shoulders and shake her, crying; ‘Don’t you know that I’m a human being, unhappy and alone, and I want comfort... can’t you turn a minute away from God and give me a little compassion; not the Christian compassion that you have for all suffering things, but just human compassion for me?’ But Mother Superior kisses her to her surprise, and says “when love and duty are one, then grace is in you and you will enjoy a happiness which passes all understanding.” Kitty excited by prospect of “Freedom” as she leaves. Her making love with Charlie destroys her recent self-image as someone strong and self-possessed. Flees, entering Marseilles, sees “the olden statue of the Blessed Virgin”, thinks of the nuns praying to that statue as it receded. “She clasped her hand in supplication to what power she knew not.” Resolves to bring up her daughter “so that she’s free and can stand on her own feet” [i.e. vs. being trained to seek marriage] Remembers beautiful river scene from China, “now she dimly discerned before her, not the path that kind funny old Waddington has spoken of that led nowhither, but the path those dear nuns at the convent followed so humbly, the path that led to peace.” (last sentence) [Maugham struggling to sort out ascetic Catholic and secular humanist elements]

Movie version (2006) (screenplay by Ron Nyswaner), an improvement: Kitty seen more distantly (in novel, her view is dominant, thus we side with her more); in movie, she and Walter get drunk with Waddington and his girlfriend, and out of a kind of weakness make love—which reconciles them; and then shortly after she announces pregnancy, and confesses ambiguity which he seems to accept; her tending Walter at his deathbed is more lengthy and humanizes her more through suffering; Walter’s last words are “forgive me:” the head nun confesses her dryness and annoyance with the absent God but maintains her patience; last shot is Kitty with her son (who look like Walter) meeting Charlie Townsend on the street, he invites her, but she says: “Good-bye, Charlie.” End of movie. In novel, Walter’s death is sudden, Kitty is less anguished by guilt, less converted; she wants, a little condescendingly, to help Walter get rid of his crippling resentment at her (“She thought now not of herself ...”) a mistake by Maugham that continues to the end of the novel—as seen in her return to Hong Kong where incredibly she agrees to stay with the Townsends, in a weak moment makes love to Charley, is disgusted, goes back to England, and then asks to accompany her distant father to the Bahamas and love him properly [the desiderated duty combined with love]. Movie changes the hedonist individualist bias of the novel into a secularized Christian allegory of forgiveness and spiritual freedom. [See Shelley sonnet, “Lift not the Painted Veil”]

Chesterton, The Everlasting Man. C. S. Lewis’s reaction: “All that stuff of Frazer’s about the Dying God. Rum thing. It almost looks as if it had really happened once.”

Senator Yeats’s eloquent speech against the Irish Divorce Bill: “If you show that this country, Southern Ireland, is going to be governed by Catholic ideas and Catholic ideas alone, you will never get the North.” “Once you attempt legislation on religious grounds you open the way for every kind of intolerance and every kind of religious persecution.” “I think it is tragic that within three years of this country gaining its independence we should be discussing a measure which a minority of this nation considers to be grossly oppressive.”

Pope Pius XI institutes Feast of Christ the King, as last Sunday of Ordinary Time, against rising tide of Fascism and Nationalism.

William Carlos Williams, In the American Grain, “Père Sebastian Rasles”: Attacking the fatal blight of Puritanism and Cotton Mather’s demonizing of the natives, Williams (who had Puerto Rican mother) celebrates 17th century Jesuit missionary Rasles who south to “hybridize, crosspollenize” the land of the pilgrim fathers with influences from French Canada: part of the 1920s rebellion against Puritanism (Giles 120). (Compare Thoreau’s reading in 1850’s): “a spirit, rich, blossoming, generous, able to give and to receive, full of taste, a nose, a tongue, a laugh, enduring, self-forgetful in beneficence—a new spirit in the New World. // All that will be new in America will be anti-Puritan ... Relieved of dogmatic bitterness, the priest with a fresh mind could open eyes and heart to the New World.// Nothing shall be ignored. All shall be included. The world is parcel of the Church so that every leaf ... is that of a mysterious flower. Here is richness, here is color, here is form.” 120-1 “Williams polarizes American history into the groupings Indian-

French-Catholic and white-English Protestant, identifying freedom, gaiety, and artistic creation with the former, and Puritan dourness, repression, and prudery with the latter" (Stanley Edgar Hyman, The Armed Vision). Also poem, "The Catholic Bells": Tho' I'm no Catholic I listen hard when the bells ... ring down the leaves ... ring in the new baby of Mr. and Mrs. Krantz ... Ring, ring ... ! Catholic bells-!" (1935).

****1926****

1926 Frank Sheed and wife, Maisie War, found Sheed and Ward Press (publish Bloy, Mauriac, Claudel, Dawson, Watkin, Knox etc., and later, Küng, Balthasar, Rahner, Schillebeekx etc.)

Thought also founded.

Founding of journal, Irénikon: Bulletin mensuel des moines de l'union des églises.

Oswald Spengler, The Decline of the West, trans. C. Atkinson; orig. German 1918. "Each culture has its own new possibilities of self-expression which arise, ripen, decay, and never return." Map of "Spiritual Epochs": "Western (from 900)": Spring ("Super-personal unity") (c. 900-1300s) ("New God-feeling") (Bernard of Clairvaux, Francis of Assisi, etc.); (followed by "Mystical-Metaphysical shaping," i.e. Aquinas, Dante); Summer ("Ripening consciousness ... urban") (c. 1300-1700 ("Reformation" (Hus, Luther, Savonarola) followed by philosophical form, with idealism and realism opposed (Galileo, Leibniz), followed by mathematics (Descartes, Pascal), followed by "rationalistic-mystic impoverishment of religion" (Puritans, Jansenists, Port Royal)); Autumn (zenith of intellectual creativeness) (c. 18th-early 19th centuries), (great rationalistic systems (Locke to Hegel)); Winter ("Extinction of spiritual creative force"; irreligious ethical systems) (Materialism) (Bentham to Marx), completion of mathematics, "Degradation of abstract thinking into profession lecture-room philosophy ("Kantians"); Socialism). Thus nostalgia for older epochs, and acknowledgement of their obsolescence.

G. K. Chesterton, The Catholic Church and Conversion, in tradition of Newman's The Present Position of Catholics in England which it acknowledges ("Newman's interesting lecture on Blanco White"): on the narrow nationalism of Protestantism, versus the universal humanity of Catholicism which makes the nation an important subset ("men must have intimate and individual ties"). "The return of Catholic ideas to the separated parts of Christendom was often indeed indirect ... through the Romantic movement ... through the instinctive reaction of ... Johnson or Scott or Cobbett, wishing to save old elements that had originally been Catholic against a progress that was merely Capitalist ... from the Pre-Raphaelites or the opening of continental art and culture by Matthew Arnold and Morris and Ruskin ..."

Graham Greene: "if only Shakespeare had shared Southwell's disloyalty we could have loved him better as a man" (Letters, qu. Norman Sherry, Life vol. 1)

Chesterton, The Thing: Why I am a Catholic: "the modern world ... is living on its Catholic capital. It is using, and using up, the truths that remain to it out of the old treasury of Christendom; including, of course, many truths known to pagan antiquity but crystallized in Christendom. But it is not really starting new enthusiasms of its own. The novelty is a matter of names and labels ... It is not starting fresh things that it can really carry on far into the future. On the contrary, it is picking up old things that it cannot carry on at all. For these are the two marks of modern moral ideals. First, that they were borrowed or snatched out of ancient or mediaeval hands. Second, that they wither very quickly in modern hands." "On practically every essential count on which the Reformation actually put Rome in the dock, Rome has since been acquitted by the jury of the whole world ... the legend that Rome is wrong anyhow, is still a living thing, though all the features of the monster are now entirely altered in the caricature." "Shakespeare ... was a certain real and recognizable Renaissance type of Catholic; like Cervantes, like Ronsard." Critiques Newman's concession that English literature is Protestant: "Bunyan ... was not so much a Puritan as a Christian." "It is very difficult to find, at least after the doubtful case of Bunyan and the deadly case of Cowper [driven mad by Calvinism], anything that can be called a purely literary inspiration coming from the purely Protestant doctrines." Milton's War in Heaven "would have been much more convincing, if it had been modelled more on the profound mediaeval mysteries about the nature of angels and archangels, and less on the merely fanciful Greek myths ... I suppose nobody will dispute that the pageantry of Scott might have taken on a tenfold splendour if he could have understood the emblems of an everlasting faith as sympathetically as he did the emblems of a dead feudalism." "English literature will always have been Protestant"

[Newman]; but it might have been Catholic; without ceasing to be English literature, and perhaps succeeding in producing a deeper literature and a happier England.”

Christopher Dawson, “Why I am a Catholic”: “But the Anglo-Catholic position was weak in the very point where it claimed to be strongest. It was lacking in authority. It was not the teaching of the official Church, but of an enterprising minority which provided its own standard of orthodoxy ... I was in fact trying to live on Catholicism from outside, and I might have gone on indefinitely as many others do in this kind of spiritual eclecticism, which subsists on Catholic ideals but lacks the foundation of intellectual conviction”

Pius XI, encyclical Mortalium animos: “it would be erroneous and foolish to say that His Mystical Body could consist of divided and scattered limbs” (i.e. the Anglican theory).

****1927****

Willa Cather, Death Comes for the Archbishop; Georgic idyll where Catholic missionaries negotiate relation between eternal Roman church and the indigenous southwest, connect native and Catholic piety, desert and mystical stillness and peace. Also see My Antonia (1918) with heroine from Bohemian Catholic background; in The Professor's House (1925) Irish Catholic maid saves skeptical professor.

Sinclair Lewis, Elmer Gantry, ded. to Mencken. Standard revival rhetoric is ant-papal. Frank Shallard, the counter-heol: “He had heard in theological seminary of the ‘practice of the presence of God’ as a papist mystery. Now he encountered it. Mr. Pengilly taught him to kneel, his mind free ... his lips repeating ‘Be thou visibly present with me’ ... to feel a Something glowing and almost terrifying about him, and to experience thus, he was certain, the actual, loving, proven nearness of the Divinity. // He began to call his mentor Father Pengilly, and the old man chided him only a little ... and presently did not chide him at all.” Elmer to the Bishop: “I was led now and then into temptation, but the influence of Sister Falconer—oh, there was a sanctified soul, like a nun—only strictly Protestant, of course—they so uplifted me that now I am free of all such desires.” [Sister Falconer identified with Joan of Arc, etc.] Anglo-Catholic and Episcopal churches cited as high class possibilities attracting Elmer at times. “Father Smeesby spoke: ‘My church, gentlemen, probably has a more rigid theology than yours, but I don’t think we’re quite so alarmed in discovery the fact, which seems to astonish you, that sinners often sin. The Catholic Church may be harder to believe, but it’s easier to live with.’” On KKK: “personally Elmer admired its principles—to keep all foreigners, Jews, Catholics, and negroes in their place, which was no place at all, and let the country be led by native Protestants, like Elmer Gantry.” Next page: “‘Mr. Gantry,’ said Andree Pengilly, ‘why don’t you believe in God?’” Shallard: “I believe there could be a church free of superstition, helpful to the needy, and giving people that mystic something stronger than reason, that sense of being uplifted in common worship of an unknowable power for good.” ~~381~~ At the charity ward, with its impersonal attendants, “Frank longed for the mystery that clings to even the dourest or politest tabernacle. He fell in the way of going often to the huge St. Dominic’s Catholic Church, of which the eloquent Father de Pinna was pastor, with Father Matthew Smeesby ... He knew that to believe literally in Purgatory and the Immaculate Conception, the Real Presence and the authority of the hierarchy, was as impossible for him as to believe in Zeus. ‘But,’ he pondered, ‘isn’t it possible that the whole thing is so gorgeous a fairy tale that to criticize it would be like trying to prove that Jack did not kill the giant?’” Smeesby: “Shallard, you can’t understand the authority and reasonableness of the Church. You’re not ready to. You think too much of your puerile powers of reasoning. You haven’t enough divine humility to comprehend the ages of wisdom that gone to build up this fortress,” Shallard in notebook: “The Roman Catholic Church is superior to the militant Protestant Church. It does not compel you to give up your sense of beauty, your sense of humor, and your pleasant views. It merely requires you to give up your honesty, your reason, your heart and soul.” In sum, the novel is an increasingly withering attack on the hypocritical preacher, whereas earlier pages (like the move) is more empathetic to Elmer’s complexity, a scoundrel yes, but with seemingly fervent

faith in his alternate moods. (The movie helped convert my agnostic wife.) The savage beating of Shallard late in the novel skews the portrait into a black and white demonization. Lewis: "I have moments in which I am almost resolved to join the grand old church" in his "semi-annual fit of Catholicism" (Schorer, p. 52, 85).

T. S. Eliot baptized and confirmed in Church of England. Virginia Woolf: "I have had a most shameful and distressing interview with dear Tom Eliot, who may be called dead to us all from this day forward. He has become an Anglo-Catholic believer in God and immortality, and goes to church. I was shocked. A corpse would to me more credible than he is. I mean, there's something obscene in a living person sitting by the fire and believing in God."

****1928****

John Semple Smart, Shakespeare Truth and Tradition, debunks various myths, but forcefully argues John Shakespeare's recusancy.

Edgar Fripp, Shakespeare's Stratford, details the various Catholic inhabitants of Stratford: T. Barber, host of the "Bear," "'suspect' on account of the recusancy of his first wife, and then of his second;" Rafe Cawdrey, butcher and tenant of the "Angel" inn, who was Catholic along with wife and daughters, and his son a fugitive Jesuit priest; Alderman George Whateley, on Henley Street, two brothers fugitive priests, whom he supported. Also on Henley Street, George Badger, woollen-draper, well-connected townsman, "obstinate on the Catholic side;" also Alderman Wheeler, listed as recusant (Fripp thinks Puritan recusant like John S.). John Lane, "held to the Old Faith, was presented with the Cloptons, Reynolds' and other Romanists who paid their monthly fine for absence from church." George Badger, owner of house next to J. S., "staunch Catholic convictions. He was a rebel in his puritan environment, paid fines and went to prison for his recusancy, refused to obey orders at meeting of the Corporation and was deprived of his alderman's gown," etc. Also various dedicated Puritans, including William Wyatt, who raided Clopton House in 1605, "carrying off chalices, crucifixes, crosses, vestments, pictures, Latin prayer-books, beads, a pax, and other damning evidence of 'papisty'." On Chapel St., Hugh Reynolds, prosperous yeoman, large household of servants, "He and his wife were stout Roman Catholics ... Their eldest son ... enjoyed the friendship of Shakespeare." Sir Hugh Clopton builds New Place opposite the Chapel, to say his prayers in one, and end his days in the other; taken over by Clopton's unscrupulous agent, William Bott, who took advantage of Clopton's Catholic difficulties. Physician, Philip More, his wife "a Catholic recusant."

Hilaire Belloc, How the Reformation Happened: "To a man acquainted with the Catholic Church and the society it produces, nothing is clearer than that the plays of Shakespeare were written by a man steeped in the Catholic social tradition and for audiences in the same mood;" distinguishes the fossilization of the institutional Church from the people's Catholic piety; stresses English reformation as government movement.

****1929****

E. I. Fripp, Shakespeare's Haunts Near Stratford, notes Robert Arden's Catholic will, discovers John Cottom, Shakespeare's teacher, is elder brother of priest Thomas Cottom, and that Debdale was schoolfellow of Richard Quayney and possibly of Shakespeare; notes that John Frith, the Temple Grafton priest, was labeled "an old priest and unsound in religion" by puritan censor; that Shakespeare has an aunt, Isabella, in convent, and thus perhaps paralleling Isabella in Measure for Measure.

Hugh Kingsmill, The Return of William Shakespeare (novel): conspirators need to remodel old weepy Shakespeare: one suggestion is "to make him a Catholic

which would appeal to both Protestants and Catholics in this time of secularization.”

Lateran Treaty (or Concordat with Rome), between Pope Pius XI and Mussolini, accepts fact that Pope's temporal dominions are gone; created the State of the Vatican City.

Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch found Annales d'histoire économique et sociale, revolutionizing history in favor of social and such factors: thus helped a new consideration of Catholicism.

T. S. Eliot, “Dante”: “In reading Dante you must enter the world of thirteenth-century Catholicism: which is not the world of modern Catholicism, as his world of physics is not the world of modern physics.”

T. S. Eliot, letter: “What I should like to see is the creation of a new type of intellectual, combining the intellectual and the devotional—a new species which cannot be created hurriedly ... The coordination of thought and feeling ... seems to be what is needed” (qu. Kramer, *Rel and Lit* 1999)

T. S. Eliot, “Religion without Humanism”: “the sceptic ... is a very useful ingredient in a world which is no better than it is.” “The Roman Church has lost some organic parts of the body of modern civilization. It is a recognition of this fact which makes some persons of British extraction hesitate to embrace the Roman communion; and which makes them feel that those of their race who have embraced it have done so only the surrender of some essential part of their inheritance and by cutting themselves off from their family;” “of humanism without religion; I respect it, but believe it to be sterile. Religion without humanism produces the vulgarities and the political compromises of Roman Catholicism; the vulgarities and fanaticism of Tennessee.”

Allen Tate, letter to Ransom: “The ... source of the old Southern mind was undoubtedly Catholicism—or at least High Church-ism—in spite of the Methodist and Baptist zeal of the Old South—and perhaps something could be done toward showing that the old Southerners were historically Catholic all the time. If that could be done, we have a starting point. For, as [Charles] Maurras says, we need a ‘master idea’” (in Haddox, *Fears and Fascinations* 2005, 119-20).

****1930****

Chambers in his William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems (Oxford, 1930); accepts authenticity of John Shakespeare testament; argues John Shakespeare's recusancy was Catholic, since recusancy returns were inspired by fears of Spanish invasion; notes “what has puzzled readers most is the courtesy of Shakespeare; his easy movement in the give and take of social intercourse among Persons of good breeding.” Defends Richard Davies as a respectable witness (see 1688), and speculates that the romances show that Shakespeare converted to Catholicism.

T. S. Eliot, “Ash Wednesday”: Part 1 ends “Pray for us now and the hour of our death”; Part 2 addresses a Lady: “Because of the goodness of this Lady / And because of her loveliness, and because / She honours the Virgin in meditation, / We shine with brightness”; then “The Lady is withdrawn / In a white gown, to contemplation.” Then prayer, “Lady of Silences / Calm and distressed ...” Part 4 begins: “Who walked between the violet and the violet / Who walked between / The various ranks of varied green / Going in white and blue, in Mary's colour ... In blue of larkspur, blue of Mary's colour,” like a nun; Part 4 ends “And after this exile” from “Salve Regina.” Part 5 includes: “Will the veiled sister pray for / Those who walk in darkness” and “Will the veiled sister between the slender / Yew trees pray for those who offend her ...” Part 6 includes: “Blessèd sister, holy mother, spirit of the fountain, spirit of the garden, ... Teach us to care and not to care ... Suffer me not to be separated / And let my cry come unto Thee” (from 14th century communion prayer, “Anima Christi”).

Ransom, God Without Thunder: An Unorthodox Defense of Orthodoxy (1930): we need to refind a God of thunder by returning, within our Anglophile world, to Orthodoxy's emphasis on the Holy Ghost, which has been diluted by the Filioque clause and the subordination of the Spirit to the rationalizing humanizing Son in Catholicism [I.e. New Criticism's high church fictions coming out of the closet.]

Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (trans. by Talcott Parson, orig. 1904-5. 1920), cites de Laveleye (1875), Calvinist asceticism necessary for capitalist advance; "the pursuit of riches, which once had been feared as the enemy of religion, was now welcomed as its ally" (Tawney intro); illustrations drawn mostly from late 17th cent. English Puritans -- and then Franklin; "one thing was unquestionably new: the valuation of the fulfillment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of the individual could assume" (80); "a feeling of unprecedented inner loneliness" resulted from man now "forced to follow his path alone to meet a destiny ... which had been decreed for him from eternity;" "God requires social achievement of the Christian because He wills that social life shall be organized according to His commandments;" "This worldly Protestant asceticism ... acted powerfully against the spontaneous enjoyment of possessions; it restricted consumption, especially of luxuries. On the other hand, it had the psychological effect of freeing the acquisition of goods from the inhibitions of traditionalistic ethics." Supported "the disenchantment of the world," as did Ernst Troeltsch's Protestantism and Progress: the Significance of Protestantism for the Rise of the Modern World, trans. in 1912, and later Keith Thomas. See excellent summary of Weber (connected with Adorno in J. C. Greisman, "'Disenchantment of the world': romanticism, aesthetics and sociological theory," British Journal of Sociology 2.4 (1976).

****1931****

T. W. Baldwin, William Shakespeare Adapts a Hanging, that "The Comedy of Errors" refer to the executions performed in 1588, in the "ditches" separating Holywell Abbey from the gibbets at Finsbury Fields (executions no longer confined to Tyburn in order to terrorize the population), and also near two of the theatres where Shakespeare's companies performed.

Leslie Hotson, Shakespeare Versus Shallow: Shallow and Slender based on Justice Gardiner, a papist hunting judge in Southwark (with coat of arms of a griffin mounted with three white luces (from his wife, Frances Luce or Lucy)), and his henchman Wayte.

Cumberland Clark, Shakespeare and the Supernatural: "a conforming Protestant of the Church of England, obediently following his sovereign down the middle course between Rome and Geneva;" "Shakespeare's attitude is not proof of Catholic sympathies but of the true Christian charity which was his by nature;" "There is no record that he ever came into conflict with the Church authorities ..." his chronicle plays are "fiercely anti-Catholic," because "at the time of the Armada patriotism was not consistent with Catholicism."

K. C. Macdonald, "Blessed Robert Southwell, S.J., and William Shakespeare" (The Month): Southwell's "Still finest wits are 'stilling Venus' rose" alludes to Shakespeare, and poem on St. Peter is in same metre and manner as "Venus and Adonis."

Helen White, English Devotional Literature 1600-1640, on Catholic classics of spirituality influencing the English.

T. S. Eliot, "Thoughts after Lambeth": cites "that oddest of institutions, the Church of England." Some of the educated young have "a respect for the Church springing from a recognition of the intellectual ability which during two thousand years has gone to its formation." "The Roman view ... seems ... to be that a principle must be affirmed without exception; and that hereafter exceptions can be dealt with, without modifying the principle ... the Anglican Church can admit national ... differences in theory and practice which the more formal organization of Rome cannot recognize ... The admission of inconsistencies ... of which the English mind is often accused, may be largely the admission of inconsistencies inherent in life itself." [thus the source of the New Criticism]. "I prefer to think of the Church as what I believe it is more and more coming to be, not the 'English Church,' but national as 'the Catholic Church in England';" "with all due respect, the Roman Church is in England a sect. It is easier for the Church of England to become Catholic, than for the Church of Rome in England to become English; and if the Church of England was mutilated by separation from Rome, the Church of Rome was mutilated by separation from

England. If England is ever to be in any appreciable degree converted to Christianity, it can only be through the Church of England.” “For some souls, I admit, there is no satisfaction outside of Rome; and if Anglo-Catholicism has helped a few such to find their way to where they belong, I am very glad; but ... Anglo-Catholicism ... on the other hand ... has helped many more I believe ... to remain within the Anglican Church.”

1932

John Dover Wilson (The Essential Shakespeare) speculates that Shakespeare may have “received his education ... in the service of some Catholic nobleman” (and may have been a schoolmaster at Titchfield, Southampton’s seat), and thence made the transition to actor and playwright; John Shakespeare was “almost certainly” a Catholic recusant.

Chesterton, Chaucer: “The [Renaissance] poets ... had often a torch of this lawlessness, and of something that can be worse than lawlessness; concentration ... Chaucer inherited the tradition of a Church which had condemned heresies on the right hand and the left; and always claimed to stand for the truth as whole and not concentration on a part.” On Shakespeare: “there was in the very greatest of the sixteenth-century men of genius a slight slip or failure upon the point of common sense. That is what Voltaire meant when he called Shakespeare an inspired barbarian ... the Renaissance poets had in one sense obtained a wider as well as a wilder range. But ... they had less real sense of how to balance a world.” Ariosto “deals not with Roland Dead but with Roland mad ... When all is said, there is something a little sinister in the number of mad people there are in Shakespeare.” “Nobody ... will say that Shakespeare was a pessimist; but we may, in this limited sense, say that he was a pagan; in so far that he is at his greatest in describing great spirits in chains.” “That Shakespeare was a Catholic is a thing that every Catholic feels by every sort of convergent common sense to be true. It is supported by the few external and political facts we know; it is utterly unmistakable in the general spirit and atmosphere; and in nothing more than the scepticism, which appears in some aspects to be paganism.” [Milward acknowledges this as proximate source of his use of “convergence”] “lost at the Renaissance ... a sort of reasonable repose in the common sense of Christian philosophy; especially the colossal common sense of St. Thomas Aquinas.” A man “becomes a heretic at the precise moment when he prefers his criticisms to his Catholicism. That is, at the instant of separation in which he thinks the view peculiar to himself more valuable than the creed that unites him to his fellows.” “Chaucer, of course, took for granted the whole Catholic theory about the normal vocation of Marriage and the exceptional vocation of virginity.” “Nobody can read St. Thomas’s theology without hearing all the arguments against St. Thomas’s theology. Therefore, even when that sort of faith produced what many would call ferocity, it always produced what I mean here by fairness; the almost involuntary intellectual fairness of one who cannot help knowing that the universe is a man-side thing.”

Yeats’s “Vacillation”:

Must we part, Von Hügel, though much alike, for we
Accept the miracles of the saints and honour sanctity?

I -- though heart might find relief

Did I become a Christian man and choose for my belief
What seems most welcome in the tomb -- play a pre-destined part.
Homer is my example and his unchristened heart.
The lion and the honeycomb, what has Scripture said?

So get you gone, Von Hügel, though with blessings on your head.

Christopher Dawson, The Making of Europe, Catholic insistence on supremacy of spiritual over temporal made possible medieval unity, to which we need to return.

Franklin Roosevelt, in presidential campaign, quotes Pius XI’s Quadragesimo Anno as “one of the greatest documents of modern times.”

Allen Tate, "Emily Dickinson": "Shakespeare ... appeared at the collapse of the medieval system as a rigid pattern of life, but that pattern remained in Shakespeare what Shelley called a 'fixed point of reference' for his sensibility." (See Hurd, 1762).

F. R. Leavis, New Bearings in English Poetry with chapters on Eliot, Pound, and Hopkins. "Poetry matters because of the kind of poet who is more alive than other people, more alive in his own age. He is, as it were, at the most conscious point of the race in his time. ('He is the point at which the growth of the mind shows itself,' says Mr. I. A. Richards.) The potentialities of human experience in any age are realized only by a tiny minority ..." Hopkins's language, concentrated, necessarily difficult, paradoxically closer to living speech, used "for expressing complexities of feeling, the movement of consciousness, difficult and urgent states of mind." "He is likely to prove, for our time and the future, the only influential poet of the Victorian age, and he seems to me the greatest." Also see Leavis's The Common Pursuit (1952): "Hopkins's religious interests are bound up in his poetry with the presence of a vigour of mind that puts him in another poetic world than the other Victorians. ... a vitality of thought ... a vitality of concreteness ... addiction to Duns Scotus ... [that] lays a peculiar stress on the particular and actual ... For Hopkins the truths are there, simply and irresistibly demanding allegiance ... leaves him in a certain obvious sense simple-minded ... To come back now to his isolation ... from this all-important religious context he got no social endorsement as a poet ... it is indeed matter for rejoicing, especially in times like these to be admitted to intimacy with a spirit so pure, courageous and humane."

Hart Crane, "The Broken Tower," the climax of a career that included use of Mexican Catholic culture in The Bridge (see John P. Wargacki, "The 'Logic of Metaphor' at Work: Hart Crane's Marian Metaphor in The Bridge," Religion and the Arts (2006)), and reflecting trip to Mexican churches and festivals in 1931-2. The church bells are like a Dionysian power ("Oval encyclicals in canyons heaping," "The bell-rope that gathers God at dawn" (what Crane actually experienced, when he was allowed to ring the bells—Bewley), "have broken their tower! ... I am their scattered—and their sexton slave"; he associates this experience of a "broken world" with his early entry into "the visionary company of love." Their voice was "An instant in the wind (I know not whither hurled) / but not for long to hold each desperate choice." Crane's "religion," in ordinary sense, "seems an inchoate mixture of a Christian Science background, an immersion in Ouspensky, and all but Catholic yearning" (Bloom, Agon (1982). Bewley like Bloom and others stresses Crane's heroic romantic imagination that is doomed and broken by the encroaching world; the "not for long" line indicates his "belief that he had betrayed his vision" (Bewley 333). In fact a case of the Catholic supernatural, blended with pagan energies, blasting into Crane's imagination.

****1933****

Graham Greene, "Henry James: The Religious Aspect," on James's attraction for continental Catholicism, esp. its relation to the dead. "Certainly he inherited a suspicion of organized religion, although that suspicion conflicted with his deepest instinct, his passion for Europe and tradition;" the Catholic Church is "the most impressive convention in all history;" whole essay important! Also see Greene, "François Mauriac" (1948); "with the death of James the religious sense was lost to the English novel, and with the religious sense went the sense of the importance of the human act ... Even in one of the most materialistic of our great novelists—in Trollope—we are aware of another world against which the actions of the characters are thrown into relief." Mauriac's La Parisienne "learns through hypocrisy. The hypocrite cannot live insulated for ever against the beliefs she professes."

Abbé Paul Couturier, French priest, created triduum for Christian unity, then an octave in 1939, became Week of Universal Prayer in 1939: Couturier changed emphasis from praying for Catholic conversion, to praying for increased spirituality for all, and that all may learn from each other; called Apostle of Christian Unity in Cardinal Gerlier's eulogy.

****1934****

Francis Yates, John Florio: Florio, his First Fruits, on Italian language, full of proverbs, model for Holofernes; probably one of Walsingham's spies, appointed as tutor to Southampton; perhaps also sent by Cecils as a spy in Essex's circle;

Florio's diatribe against the "comedians" may be aimed at Shakespeare. "Southampton might have had reasons for distrusting Florio whilst fearing to get rid of him."

G. B. Harrison, in Companion to Shakespeare Studies: "Shakespeare's family was apparently Catholic, and his father was thereby obliged to abandon his public offices at Stratford during the zealous efforts of Bishop Whitgift in the 1570's; it follows that Shakespeare was brought up in the old faith, though there is no evidence of his practice in manhood."

Clara de Chambrun, Essential Documents: suggests that Phoenix and Turtle are Anne Line (Lyne) and Father Mark Bosworth (see 1938). Earlier (Shakespeare Actor-Poet, 1927) she had postulated Essex.

M. J. Congar, Chrétiens Désunis: Principes d'un Oecuménisme Catholique, restates Catholic position but in view of ecumenical developments which believes "that others are Christian not in spite of their particular confession but in it and by it;" Catholicity is only imperfectly actualized so far, and Catholics have much to learn from their separated brethren.

1935

Pope Pius XI canonizes Thomas More and John Fisher.

1936

Edward VIII begins short reign, renounces throne for Mrs. Simpson. **George VI** begins reign.

Poulenc, converted after death of a friend in car accident, made pilgrimage to Sanctuary of Rocamadour in the Dordogne, "perilously situated alongside a winding road, and inspiring in those who have been privileged to visit it a feeling of unbelievable peace ... the humble chapel cut out of the rock mountainside, the courtyard surrounded by pink laurel trees and inside, the wonderful Virgin carved out of black wood ..."; began Litanies à la Vierge Noire and a series of choral religious works until his death.

Arthur Lovejoy, The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of An Idea (Harvard UP): since the Platonic notion that "the chief good for man even in this life is nothing but the contemplation of this absolute or essential Good" underpins the idea of the Chain of Being, and since that Chain disintegrated and was replaced by a modern evolving changing differentiated universe, the need for an originating God has been displaced though "one of the most grandiose enterprises of the human intellect": source of the urbane atheism of the post-war academic world.

D. H. Lawrence, Phoenix, posthumous papers: "I doubt whether the Protestant Churches, which supported the war, will even have the faith and the power of life to take the great step onwards, and preach Christ Risen. The Catholic Church might. In the countries of the Mediterranean, Easter has always been the greatest of the holy days ... The roman Catholic church may still unfold this part of the Passion fully, and make men happy again. For Resurrection is indeed the consummation of all the passion."

Faulkner, Absalom, Absalom!. Absalom: Bon's deep and complex Catholicism threatens Henry Sutpen's "puritan heritage" and seems to mock his provincial innocence, "and in this sense Faulkner's texts reflect that widespread rebellion in the early twentieth century against the cultural values of Puritanism" (Giles) Consider Haiti as hotbed of freed black men and Catholicism, a perverse image of abolitionist America, note the dangerous exoticism of the negroes in Benito Cereno (here direct parallel between their tyranny and Catholicism; see 1856).

Margaret Mitchell, Gone with the Wind: Scarlet O'Hara, Catholic, daughter of devout social climbing Ellen of Savannah, descendent of wealthy French planters who fled from Haiti; her father a staunch Irish patriot. but marginally Catholic, Scarlet a go-getter though always suffering attacks of "an active Catholic conscience." Yet her Catholicism tends to become Georgia etiquette and empty ritual; hardly notices that her mother is buried with a Church of England service.

1937

Oliver Baker proposes Lancashire and Shakeshafte theory, citing Hoghton will, in Shakespeare's Warwickshire and the Unknown Years (see 1860, 1923).

David Jones, In Parenthesis (begun 1927) evokes sixth century Welsh epic, that "connects us with a very ancient unity and mingling of races; with the Island as a corporate inheritance, with the

remembrance of Rome as a European unity;" Jones later stressed "the opposition between Wales, seen as the main repository of the ancient unifying tradition, and England, seen as the agent of a false unity based on secular material powers" (Jeremy Hooker, The Presence of the Past 1987). In Anathemata (1952), "the Lady of the Pool, a personification of London, speaks of the regeneration potential of ancient British traditions buried in the city", the return of a primal Albion to England's green and pleasant land.

John LaFarge, S.J., Interracial Justice, influential work.

Shostakovich, Fifth Symphony, following 1936 Pravda attack on his opera, "Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk," for its muddle, and his consequent withdrawal of his expressionistic Fourth Symphony, in fear of Stalinesque repression; subtitled the Fifth, "A Soviet Artist's Reply to Just Criticism," became pattern for many Soviet symphonies beginning in gloom and ending with victory parade; "probably the most frequently performed symphony of the century". Bravado ending alludes to S's recent setting for a Pushkin poem, on how a barbarous artist's scrawlings over a work of genius will eventually flake away, and the original work stand forth again. (program notes, by Calum MacDonald, on 1994 CD, of a George Solti performance.)

****1938****

Clara De Chambrun's Shakespeare Rediscovered, with a preface dated 1937 by G. B. Harrison which said: "The most important chapters, to my mind, are the earlier, in which she sets out much evidence for supposing that John Shakespeare ... was a zealous Catholic, and that William Shakespeare was brought up in the Old Faith, which he never wholly deserted;" "It is no wonder that a conspiracy of silence seems to have been woven around this most important and fascinating book, for it belongs, with scholarly discretion, to what Belloc used to call 'opposition history'" (Speaight, review Tablet, Dec. 14, 1957). De Chambrun on the John Shakespeare testament, Lucy, Southampton, Shakespeare's reputed copy of Holinshed. On Phoenix and Turtle as Anne Lyne, "with her self-imposed vows of chastity, poverty and obedience," her dead body embraced by fellow martyred priest; prosecution said a man in white, probably a priest, was seen in her house; treble dated crow is Whitgift, screech owl is Popham the 'hanging justice' or Topcliffe; royal bird is King James.

Gerard Greenewald, Shakespeare's Attitude Towards the Catholic Church in "King John," i.e. favorable.

Edgar Fripp, Shakespeare Man and Artist: John S. "beyond doubt an obstinate recusant, suddenly anxious to appear ... ready to plead 'debt'" ; Debdale at Douai with Hunt who "probably took Debdale with him," also at Rheims with Thomas Cottam.

Joseph Lortz, Die Reformation in Deutschland (-1940, trans. 1968): Luther is Catholic in insisting on justification by faith, but separated this out from the Catholic whole, and was wrong in his rejection of the "Catholic substance" safeguarded by the magisterium; a heresy necessary nevertheless to bring the Church back to true Catholicity. Criticized Erasmus, more than sincere Luther, for beginning of intellectual confusion, relativism, and individualism in the Church: "Essentially a restatement of a view first voiced by the sixteenth-century papal nuncio Aleander" (A. Dickens et al, Reformation in Historical Thought).

World War II will promote cooperation among Protestants and Catholics to protect a common heritage.

****1939****

Douglas Bush, The Renaissance and English Humanism: "these lectures will be largely occupied with some Good Things which the Renaissance inherited from the Middle Ages." On importance of Cicero and Seneca, allegorical reading of Bible (via Augustine), John of Salisbury integrating faith and classical culture, Petrarch, Ficino reconciling Plato/Plotinus with Christianity, Milton as

climax of idea of educated Christian liberty, marred by Puritanism.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Orestes A. Brownson: A Pilgrim's Progress (Little, Brown): "he belongs to all Americans, not simply to Catholics. Perhaps an age more sympathetic to men who would not compromise and would not retreat will accord him a rightful place. He is a part of the national heritage."

Austin Warren, Richard Crashaw: A Study in Baroque Sensibility. "The baroque was the Catholic counterstatement to the reformer's attacks on the wealth of the Church and her use of painting and sculpture." Incorporating elements of Greek polytheism and Platonism, shows influence of Ignatian "Application of the Senses". Encouraged flourish of metaphors, yet metaphors analogizing impalpabilities, "The effect was a strange tension between materiality and spirituality." Has benefited by revaluation of conceits and emblems since T. S. Eliot. On baroque, see Scott 1914, Sypher 1955, Wellek 1963; also see Louis Dupré, Passage to Modernity (Yale UP, 1993): "Baroque culture views creation as pervaded by a natural desire of God ... however, the Protestant lands of central and northern Europe created a Baroque culture of their own, more inwardly oriented ..." After baroque "began the definitive withdrawal of the transcendent dimension from Western culture."

M. J. Congar, Divided Christendom: A Catholic Study of the Problem of Reunion: The Catholic Church "in actual practice realizes that Catholicity only in an imperfect degree ... That of which the separation of our brethren has deprived the Church ... is a loss to the outward actualization of its own Catholic capacities;" from them the Church can receive "a particular development which reveals the Church's treasures to herself, and in a true sense enriches her;" "they are not called to give up their real and positive religious values, but only the holding of them in separation."

T. S. Eliot, The Idea of a Christian Society: "no one today can defend the idea of a National Church, without balancing it with the idea of the Universal Church ... Completely identified with a particular people, the National Church may at all times ... become no more than the voice of that people's prejudice, passion or interest" "To identify any particular form of government with Christianity is a dangerous error: for it confounds the permanent with the transitory, the absolute with the contingent." "That the Church in England should be identical with the nation—a view which Mr. Murry believes he has found in Arnold and before him in Coleridge.... is a laudable aim so long as we keep in mind that we are speaking of one aspect of the Church, but unless this is balanced by the idea of the relation of the Church in England to the universal Church, I see no safeguard for the purity or the catholicity of its doctrine."

T. S. Eliot, The Four Quartets (wr. 1935, 1940-2, pub. 1939-42). "The great achievement ... is ... in the sacramental repossession of nature and time, things and history" (Malcolm Ross, 1954).

But only in time can the moment in the rose-garden,
The moment in the arbour where the rain beat,
The moment in the draughty church at smokefall
Be remembered; involved with past and future.
Only through time time is conquered...
Lady, whose shrine stands on the promontory,
Pray for all those who are in ships ...
Repeat a prayer also on behalf of
Women who have seen their sons or husbands
Setting forth, and not returning:
Figlia del tuo figlio,
Queen of Heaven.

Also pray for those who were in ships ...
wherever cannot reach them the sound of the sea bell's
Perpetual angelus ...
For most of us, there is only the unattended
Moment, the moment in and out of time,
The distraction fit, lost in a shaft of sunlight,
The wild thyme unseen, or the winter lightning
Or the waterfall, or music ...
The hint half guessed, the gift half understood, is Incarnation ...

Where is the summer, the unimaginable
Zero summer? ...

There are other places ...
But this is the nearest, in place and time,
Now and in England ...
Water and fire shall rot
The marred foundations we forgot,
Of sanctuary and choir ...

So, while the light fails
On a winter's afternoon, in a secluded chapel
History is now and England

Saint's occupation is "to apprehend / The point of intersection of the timeless / With time ... For the rest of us ... the moment in and out of time ... The hint half guessed, the gift half understood, is Incarnation": examples of the intersection point in the poem: "the hidden laughter / Of children," "matrimonie-- / A dignified and commodious sacrament," "The moments of happiness ... the sudden illumination," "Lady, whose shrine stands on the promontory ... pray for those," "Little Gidding ... a secluded chapel."

****1940****

Graham Greene, The Power and the Glory, his version of a recusant priest.

Orwell dies in 1950, in midst of plans to write a study of Waugh, arguing against Marxist fallacy that art can only be good if it is progressive.

Theological Studies founded.

Ronald Knox, "King Henry the Sixth," sermon in Captive Flames: A Collection of Panegyrics: "In our day there is some hope that his cause will be proceeded with a fresh after a long lapse of centuries." "England did not lose her faith in King Henry until she lost her faith in the Catholic Church." "The reopening of the cause at Rome after nearly four hundred years does seem to be practical politics just now."

David Knowles, The Monastic Order in England; in 1932 had called Downside Abbey "the Athens of English Catholicism;" here he wrote his early The English Mystics. "Certainly no other English Catholic priest in this century has made a comparable contribution to ... a Catholic reinterpretation of English history" (Adrian Hastings, History of English Christianity).

****1941****

Maurice Powicke, The Reformation in England begins: "The one definite thing which can be said about the Reformation in England is that it was an act of State."

Kierkegaard, Fear and Trembling as trans. Lowrie, see 1843.

"in his 1941 book American Renaissance, F. O. Matthiessen was reconvening the energies of Emerson and Whitman to underpin his own agenda of social, political and sexual liberation, so that the Transcendentalists' nineteenth-century Utopia became realized in a continuous with the socialist, communitarian projects of the Great Depression era" (Paul Giles, Transnationalism in Practice (2011) 27) (proofs). "Jonathan Arac wrote in 1987 that the 'most extraordinary idealization' in American Renaissance is 'the diminishment of the Civil War Arac consequently accused Matthiessen of dissolving history into myth, of seeking to reconcile all contradictions within a romantic ethics of the sublime that owes something to the neoplatonist aesthetics of Shelley and ... the organicist methods of Samuel Taylor Coleridge" (Giles, 146). Matthiessen "argues that the nationalist energy associate with the style of the English literary Renaissance has found a new incarnation in mid-nineteenth-century America" (Giles, 144).

****1942****

Charles J. Sisson, "Shakespeare Quartos as Prompt-Copies with Some Account of Cholmeley's Players and a New Shakespeare Allusion" (RES), on this Catholic company which presented King Lear and Pericles at recusant houses in 1609-10.

E. M. W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture, on Shakespeare as a late medieval pre-modern writer (Hamlet's "What a piece of work is a man" speech "is in the purest medieval tradition") emphasizing order and degree.

Camus, The Stranger (trans. 1946); Merseult on death row holds off the Catholic chaplain ("none of his certainties was worth one strand of a woman's hair").

Etty Hillesum, An Interrupted Life (1942, 1981, 1983).

****1943****

E. K. Chambers argues the Shakeshafte, Hesketh, Lord Strange connection ("William Shakeshafte," printed in *Shakespearean Gleanings* (1944)). "It was with this speculation that the case for the Hoghton connection rested for forty years, until Honigsmann [1985]" (Wilson 2004)

I. J. Semper, "Shakespeare's Religion Once More" (*Catholic World*), good review of evidence for Shakespeare's crypto-Catholicism.

Pope Pius XII encyclical, "Mystici Corporis Christi," spoke of church as mystical body, "an improvement on previous juridical descriptions" (Pawley).

Pope Pius XII encyclical, "On Biblical Studies," repudiated fundamentalism in Catholic exegesis and founded Catholic biblical study; writers use contemporary expression; only a few biblical affirmations have received authoritative interpretation.

****1944****

T. W. Baldwin's *William Shakspeare's Small Latine ad Lesse Greeke*, confirms Fripp's suggestion that John Cottom is elder brother of priest Thomas Cottom, and develops Cottom's Lancashire associations (first to trace him to Preston); argues Catholic influences on Shakespeare's schooling.

G. Wilson Knight, "St. George and the Dragon" in *The Olive and the Sword*: "A personal centre [i.e. the Crown] is needed to safeguard the sanctity of personality, dramatize the greater self of each subject ... The king or hero [in Shakespeare] tries to identify himself with something that almost necessarily eludes personification ... The Crown is ... one bond of unity in an empire otherwise mainly composed of autonomous states ... is both heart and whole of the nation or empire; and therefore reflects at once its historic heritage, present soul-potentiality, and future destiny." See also "New Dimensions in Shakespearian Interpretation" (1959): "As for politics, Shakespeare's is a royal world, and his primary human symbol is the Crown, the King." Also see "Shakespeare's England" (1964): "He was a patriot; more, a Christian patriot. In the England of his time, he seems to have felt that State and Church, had, so far as was humanly possible, come together."

Jacques Maritain, *The Rights of Man and Natural Law* (trans.), one of many such arguments that Catholicism was more consistent with founding fathers, Jefferson and Madison, than modern relativist liberalism.

Maugham, *The Razor's Edge*, 1944; the hero, Larry, is poised between his elusive Quaker mother and grandfather and his baroque Catholic friend, Uncle Elliott ("notwithstanding his snobbishness and his absurd affectations Elliott was a kindly, affectionate, and honest man)." Larry early influenced by "Ruysbroek," "a Flemish mystic who lived in the fourteenth century." Fellow Polish coal-minder, Kosti, "devout Catholic", Saturday drunk, "he'd grow serious and start talking—of all unlikely subjects—of mysticism. ... Kosti talked of Plotinus and Denis the Areopagite and Jacob Boehme the shoemaker and Meister Eckhart ... of the ultimate reality of things and the blessedness of union with God ... of the Dark Night of the Soul and of the final ecstasy in which the creature becomes one with the Beloved"; Larry attracted by yogi's "saintliness." Maugham arranges for Bishop to visit Elliott with last rites (like Waugh's *Brideshead* R 1946!). Maugham gazes at an Abbé: "There was the quick fire of the South in his aspect and I asked myself what urgent faith, what burning desire had caused him to abandon the joys of life, the pleasures of his age, and the satisfaction of his senses, to devote himself to the service of God." Maugham: "I can never attend Mass without a sense of tremulous awe when the little tinkle of the servitor's bell informs me of the elevation of the Host." Larry meets "Benedictine monk," "Fr. Ensheim," "far more broadminded than I would have suspected and wonderfully tolerant," starts thinking about "God"; Ensheim sends him to monastery: "Our wise old Church ... has discovered that if you will act as if you believed belief will be granted to

you” Larry on the monks: “I was deeply impressed by their learning, their piety, and their unworldliness.” But rejects their “preoccupation with sin,” justifying evil as part of spiritual path, praising God as omnipotent, etc. Ensheim: “You are a deeply religious man who doesn’t believe in God. God will seek you out. You’ll come back. Whether here or elsewhere only God can tell.” Larry then meets Indian who speaks of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva (“A God that can be understood is no God. Who can explain the Infinite in words?”). Hears about reincarnation; rejects idea of personal God in favor of “greater insight ... that they must look for comfort and encouragement in their own souls”; on mountain top, “is ravished with the beauty of the world”, “an experience of the same order as the mystics have had all over the world ... Brahmins in India, Sufis in Persia, Catholics in Spain, Protestant in New England.” “If I was for a moment one with the Absolute or if it was an inrush from the subconscious of an affinity with the universal spirit which is latent in all of us, I wouldn’t know.” “When a man becomes pure and perfect the influence of his character spreads”. Gives up his money, plans to drive a taxi, write a book. Maugham: “I am of the earth, earthy: I can only admire the radiance of such a rare creature.”

****1945****

****1946****

Unitas approved by Vatican, center for Catholic ecumenical studies.

John Henry De Groot (Presbyterian minister), in Shakespeare and the Old Faith, cites Thurston’s 1923 discovery of Borromeo testament and argues more fully for its importance, notes Campion-Persons-Allen connection, argues for John Shakespeare’s Catholic recusancy, for the Catholicism of Shakespeare’s teachers, and the plays’s esteem for the old faith; notes how Shakespeare prunes anti-Catholicism of Troublesome Reign of King John.

Harold Gardiner, Mysteries’ End: An Investigation of the Last Days of the Medieval Religious Stage: on “the popularity of the medieval drama in England even so late in the century of the Reformation,” confirms the fact of the “dissatisfaction under Elizabeth, dissatisfaction and feelings even stronger over a considerable portion of the land.” M. O’Connell (1999): “first made the case that the cycle plays did not die a natural death but were suppressed by policy that emanated from the Elizabethan state and church,” his discovery not immediately accepted because of his sectarian polemic.

Waugh, Brideshead Revisited (Orwell on Lord Marchmain’s deathbed conversion: the “veneer is bound to crack sooner or later. One cannot really be a Catholic & grown-up”); Lord Marchmain reviews history of house, his conversion thus a conversion of England, crime of freedom of his divorce; Charles prays at bedside; miracle of the sign; chapel light, deplorable design, “something remote from builder’s intentions; old knights saw it put out, now burns again.” Sebastian joy as door to Catholicism; Julia their adultery “part of a plan,” Charles’s first prayer, with Julia at Brideshead: “God and they are against us.”

Thomas Nelan, Catholic Doctrines in Spenser’s Poetry (cited by Weatherby 1999).

Robert Lowell, Lord Weary’s Castle, “The Quaker Graveyard in Nantucket,” Part 6, “Our Lady of Walsingham”: “and the world will come to Walsingham.” Lowell had converted in 1940. Passage influenced by E. I. Watkin, Catholic Art and Culture (1942) who argued that Catholic interior spirituality will spread and save our civilization. “Our Lady of Contemplation would teach us, that the power which alone can bring the new world to birth is supernatural, the power of God, the power that is also rest and silence, the power of contemplative prayer. In that sense ... will the saying prove true that when England goes to Walsingham, England will return to the Church.”

Sister Mary Tarr, Catholicism in Gothic Fiction 1946: Gothic novel relies on fascination for Catholic materials, the allure of Catholic ceremonial; “pious terror,” “solemn, yet delightful emotion” (quotes from novels) despite rational disapproval; the sublime, melodramatic sentimentality, religious awe. Private Catholic devotion “is an act beginning in the emotions and ending in morbidity.” 107 out of 127 Gothic romances make use of Catholic things; 24 works of fiction bet. 1796 and 1828 had “monk” in the title, six had “friar,” and eleven had “nun.” In some instances monastic titles used for romances which had little Catholic material.

Hubert Jedin, Katholische Reformation oder Gegenreformation, trans. “*Catholic Reformation or Counter Reformation*,” emphasizing both, the former as self-reform beginning in 15th century, codified at Trent, continuing into 18th century, the latter as “defense” against

Protestants. From Luebke trans., 1999: "By its bold claims to reestablish the true and original Christianity, the Protestant Reformation sapped valuable energies from the Catholic Reformation in northern Europe" (35); "the outbreak of revolution within the church struck the humanist reform movement too soon, before it had outgrown the radicalism of youth and achieved maturity in Saints John Fisher and Thomas More" (41). So though both were intertwined (i.e. Ignatius, Borromeo, de Sales, classics of both), we need to distinguish between Catholic Reformation and counter-reformation: "a spontaneous movement grounded in the continuities of spiritual life versus a dialectical process that emerged from a reaction against Protestantism" (44). Popularized notion of "Catholic Reformation" vs. Ranke's "Counter-Reformation."

Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis*, trans. 1953: Christianity, as in medieval theatre, led to collapse of high and low styles, fusion of high drama and ordinary; illustrated in Shakespeare's Prince Hal. "The dissolution of medieval Christianity ... brings out a dynamic need for self-orientation, a will to trace the secret forces of life," flourishes in Shakespeare but then this exploration cut down by the "restrictive countermovements ... Protestantism and the Counter Reformation, absolutistic ordering of society and intellectual life, academic and puristic imitations of antiquity, rationalism" etc. Figural interpretation in Augustine said the figure had as much reality as the events it prophesied, vs. Philo reducing historical OT events to purely spiritual happenings.

Winston Churchill, "It [Europe] is the fountain of Christian faith and Christian ethics. It is the origin of most of the culture, the arts, philosophy and science both of ancient and modern time. If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, to the prosperity and the glory which its three or four hundred million people would enjoy."

****1947****

C. S. Lewis: "Be assured that for me too schism in the Body of Christ is both a source of grief and a matter for prayers, being a most serious stumbling block to those coming and one which makes even the faithful weaker in repelling the common foe. However, I am a layman ... and least skilled in the deeper question of sacred theology. I have tried to do the only that I think myself able to do: that is, to leave completely aside the subtler question about which the Roman Church and Protestants disagree among themselves ... and in my own books to expound, rather, those things which ... are shared by us."

Frances Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, on the academy ecumenical movement (see Veevers 1989), and their intervention in French wars of religion.

Camus, *The Plague* (trans. 1948): narrated by secular Dr. Rieu, with Jesuit priest Fr. Paneloux whose sermon "marks an important date in the history of the period": on plague as scourge of God, "works for your good" "leading us through the dark valley ... towards the holy silence;" "It is hard to say if this sermon had any effect on our townsfolk," vs. Rieu: "mightn't it be better for God if we refuse to believe in Him and struggle with all our might against death." Paneloux later stunned by death of child (like Ivan K.), preaches on this great test of faith in God, "the agony of a child was humiliating to the heart and to the mind ... and since it was God's will, we, too, should will it ... The sufferings of children were our bread of affliction, but without this bread our souls would die of spiritual hunger;" we should stay on in the plague like that last surviving monk; refuses medicine and dies looking at crucifix. At end, Rieu celebrates those "who, while unable to be saints but refusing to bow down to pestilences, strive their utmost to be healers."

Yvor Winters, *In Defense of Reason* often cites the "Catholic tradition" (158) (later quoting this phrase from T. S. Eliot (484)) (and Anglo-Catholic) (161): "Emily Dickinson was a product of the New England tradition of moral Calvinism; her dissatisfaction with her tradition led to her questioning most of its theology and discarding much of it, and led to her reinterpreting some of it, one would gather, in

the direction of a more nearly Catholic Christianity" (298). On James: "this moral sense ... was the product of generations of discipline in the ethical systems of the Roman Catholic and Anglo-Catholic Churches" (302). "when Aquinas comes to define conscience, he identifies it with reason ... the Catholic Christian, whether Thomistic or other, would be protected against error by the supervision of the Church, a supervision which Babbitt did not enjoy; and this supervision is, in theory, the supervision of the disinterested reason" (386).

Graham Greene, "British Dramatists" in The Interpretation of Literature: "Religion was better left alone for the time (and afterwards found itself left alone for good) so that Shakespeare only allowed himself occasional glancing lines (Hamlet's prayer, the papal nuncio rebuking Philip of France) which showed just the fin of the dangerous thoughts moving below the surface."

****1948****

Richard Hanson and Reginald Fuller, The Church of Rome: A Dissuasive, on RC "power-complex." "If the Churches of the Reformation have recovered new life in our day, it is precisely in so far as they have endeavoured to combine a loyalty to the true insights of the Reformation with a recovery of the heritage of their Catholic past." "By cutting itself off from its Protestant fellow-Christians, it [RC Church] has closed its ears to their challenge ... the Church of Rome has become a denomination, separated from other Christian bodies."

G.B. Harrison, "Shakespeare's Religion" (Commonweal): Chambrun's "Shakespeare Rediscovered" (1938) "did not perhaps receive the attention it deserved." On Harrison's conversion in 1947, see his "Finding a Way of Life" in Road to Damascus, ed. O'Brien (1949).

Jacques Maritain takes post at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study (-1956).

Art and Faith: Letters Between Jacques Maritain and Jean Cocteau (NY: Philosophical Library, 1948) pub. In English trans. Cocteau (1917): "I like that Villefranche sexton who chases me out of the church at six because it is closing time ... It is admirable to see the Church so sure of herself, so deeply and dialectically constructed, and so little anxious to attract souls or to hold them." Maritain: "Poetry had not made them wise, but it had unlocked their hearts; it had out in them the sense of what is pure" vs. "an impure angel ... that wants to make use of everything for self-love ... In the artist there is ... a double heart, a mummer that would fool God ... also ... an apprentice of the Creator." "The Church is visible, and she is immense ... she also carries within her, as members not yet incorporated, nevertheless invisibly united to her soul, all the unbaptized in the state of grace, in whatever error they may be in good faith"

World Council of Churches formally constituted in meeting at Amsterdam, and would adopt UN Declaration on Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion ..." Toronto Declaration, made in 1950, noted that all churches recognize Christian elements in the others.

Thomas Merton, Seven Storey Mountain, making monasticism fashionable for intellectuals; "America is discovering the contemplative life."

F. R. Leavis, The Great Tradition: George Eliot, Henry James, Joseph Conrad: "The principle of organization, and the principle of development, in her [Austen's] work is an intense moral interest of her own in life that is in the first place a preoccupation with certain problems that life compels on her as personal ones." "Mr. Winters discusses him [H. James] as a product of the New England ethos in its last phase, when a habit of moral strenuousness remained after dogmatic Puritanism had evaporated and the vestigial moral code was evaporating too. This throws a good deal of light on the elusiveness that attends James's peculiar ethical sensibility." "She [Eliot] exhibits a traditional moral sensibility expressing itself not within a frame of 'old articles of faith' (as James obviously intends the phrase), but nevertheless with perfect sureness, in judgments that involve confident positive standards, and yet affect us as simply the report of luminous intelligence;" "he [James] was in quest of an ideal society," not available in England or America. "So we find him developing into a paradoxical kind of recluse, a recluse living socially in the midst of society."

Ernst Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages (trans. 1953): *to the English trans. Curtius added an appendix, "The Medieval Bases of Western Thought": "Medieval forms of life subsist until about 1750" climaxing in Goethe. "The bases of Western thought are classical antiquity and Christianity. The function of the Middle Ages was to receive that deposit, to transmit it, and to adapt it."*

****1949****

Catholics in England (because of Irish immigrants) about 10%.

John Danby, *Shakespeare Study of Nature. A Study of King Lear*: "Henry VI is nearly blameless as a king can be. In accordance with sixteenth-century practice he is given a tragic fault (the manner of his marrying the 'she-wolf of France'), but it is merely a token -- something as academic as Romeo jilting Rosalind, and as intrinsically meaningless. He behaves throughout the play [3 Henry VI] as the pious, pitiful, Christian-hearted King. Richard is at the opposite extreme ... Henry VI is the regulating principle of traditional society. He is mercy, pity, love, human kindness, reinforced by God's ordinating fiat. It is this which Richard kills ... [Cordelia] is the norm by which the wrongness of Edmund's world and the imperfection of Lear is judged."

Paul Blanshard, *American Freedom and Catholic Power*: "the Catholic problem is still with us."

Orwell's 1984: anything pre-Revolution "was ascribed to some dim period called the Middle Ages"; the past symbolized by song, "Oranges and lemons, say the bells of St. Clement's, / You owe me three farthing, say the bells of St. Martin's ..." O'Brien critiques medieval Inquisition because it didn't force interior conversion.

T. S. Eliot, "The Unity of European Culture", appendix to *Notes toward the Definition of Culture*: on the Criterion: "It was the assumption that there existed an international fraternity of men of peers within Europe: a bond which did not replace, but was perfectly compatible with, national loyalties, religious loyalties, and differences of political philosophy" (195-6). "For the health of the culture of Europe two conditions are required: that the culture of each country should be unique, and that the different cultures should recognize their relationship to each other, so that each should be susceptible of influence for the others" (197). "It is against a background of Christianity that all our thought has significance. ... The unity of culture, in contrast to the unity of political organisation, does not require us all to have one loyalty: it means that there will be a variety of loyalties."

Evelyn Waugh: "It is possible, I conceive, for a man to grow up in parts of the United States without ever being really aware of the Church's unique position. He sees Catholics as one out of a number of admirable societies, each claiming his allegiance. That is not possible for a European. England was Catholic for nine hundred years, then Protestant for three hundred, then agnostic for a century. The Catholic structure still lies lightly buried beneath every phase of English life; history, topography, law, archaeology everywhere reveal Catholic origins. Foreign travel anywhere reveals the local, temporary character of the heresies and schisms and the universal, eternal character of the Church" ("Come Inside" from *The Road to Damascus* ed. O'Brien).

****1950****

A. C. Southern's *Elizabethan Recusant Prose*, on style of such books.

Christopher Devlin, "Robert Southwell and Contemporary Poets" (*The Month*): argues that *Rape of Lucrece* was written in response to his 'cousin' (but see Brownlow 2007) as Southwell's, denunciation of pagan *Venus and Adonis* (builds on suggestion by Herbert Thurston quoting Hales in 1894).

Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England* (1950-4) "These English Catholics ... were a great churchgoing people, and they had, above all else, a remarkable devotion to the mass." Henry's Act of Supremacy was "the act by which the mass of Englishmen cease to be what all Englishmen have been for a thousand years nearly; here is what matters most, in the whole mass of changes, namely that the English are now, by their act, outside a particular religious society, to wit, the pope-governed Church, which society, so they have all believed until now, was founded by God as the shrine and guardian and interpreter of the doctrines revealed to mankind though Christ Our

Lord” “But you could hardly call Hughes a ‘revisionist,’ since there was so little of substance to revise” (P. Collinson, Historical Research, 2004). “Hughes ... effectively exposes the practical absurdity of Henry VIII’s ‘Catholicism without the Pope’.” (Harbison, qu. by Vidmar 2005, 146). Hughes ignored because of his Imprimatur and Catholic affiliations.

Maritain, Three Reformers, hatchet job on Luther’s subjectivism. “In the social order, the modern city sacrifices the person to the individual; it gives universal suffrage, equal rights, liberty of opinion, to the individual, and delivers the person, isolated, naked, with no social framework to support and protect it, to all the devouring powers which threaten the soul’s life, ... to the infinite demands of matter to manufacture and use ... And it says to each of the poor children of men set in the midst of this turmoil: ‘You are a free individual; defend yourself, save yourself, all by yourself.’ It is a homicidal civilization.”

Theodore Adorno, The Authoritarian Personality, includes Catholics.

Pope Pius XIII encyclical Humani Generis: “Some reduce to a meaningless formula the necessity of belonging to the true Church in order to gain salvation ... These and like errors, it is clear, have crept in among certain of our sons who are deceived by imprudent zeal for souls or by false science.”

Herbert Butterfield, The Whig Interpretation of History, i.e. dividing the world into the friends and enemies of progress; fallacy of organizing history on basis of an unconscious assumption. “Instead of seeing the modern world emerge as the victory of the children of light ... it is at least better to see it emerge as the result of a clash of wills, a result which often neither party wanted or even dreamed of.” But in fighting the idea that Protestantism is the source of progress, Butterfield tends to fall into his own Whig version of secularization and growing tolerance. “I do not know who could deny that the Reformation provoked a revival of ... religious fanaticism ... and when we look at Erasmus and Machiavelli and the spirit of the Renaissance we must at least wonder whether freedom of thought and modern rationalism might not have had an easier course if Luther had never resuscitated militant religion.”“the real seat of the tragedy lay in the ideas which Lutheran and Calvin and the Pope held in common ... that society and government should be founded on the basis of the one authoritative religion.”The ideal of toleration came out of the tragic clash of Protestantism and Catholicism.

C. S. Lewis, The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe, followed by 6 more Narnia books, the final one, The Last Battle, in 1956. On Aslan, the lion, both Christ and a king, who consecrates-crowns the kids the new kings: romantic reflection of the Anglican unity of church and royalty.

Ronald Knox, Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion: “Unless we see it against this background of mysticism, unless we realize that it was the exaggeration, at every point, of an existing and perfectly orthodox tendency, our judgement of Quietism will necessarily be at fault.” “Two types of enthusiasm ... ‘mystical’ and ‘evangelical’ enthusiasm. One, taking its point of departure from the Incarnation, rather than the Atonement, by-passes the theology of grace and concentrates on the God within; not repelling, necessarily the Unitarian. The other, more acutely conscious of man’s fallen state, thinks always in terms of redemption; to know, somehow, that your sins are forgiven, that you are new creature in God’s sign, is all that matters. Call the two tendencies if you will ... Platonist and Aristotelian, Johannine and Pauline...” “But my aim is to interpret enthusiasm, not to criticize it” (yeah right). Book’s last sentences: “Men will not live without vision; that moral we do well to carry away with us from contemplating, in so many strange forms, the record of the visionaries. If we are content with the humdrum, the second-best, the hand-over-hand, it will not be forgiven us. All through the writing of this book I have been haunted by ...”L’inertie est le seul vice ... Et la seule vertu est ... L’enthousiasme.” But the damage is done.

Lionel Trilling, “The Meaning of a Literary Idea” in Liberal Imagination (1950): “Intellectual power and emotional power go together ... the aesthetic effect ... depends in large degree upon intellectual power, upon the amount and recalcitrance of the material the mind works on, and upon the mind’s success in mastering the large material ... Ideas may also be said to be generated in the opposition of ideals, and in the felt awareness of the impact of new circumstances upon old forms of feeling and estimation, in the response to the conflict between

new exigencies and old pieties ... the work will have ... cogency in the degree that the confronting emotions go deep, or in the degree that the old pieties are firmly held and the new exigencies strongly apprehended ... Carlyle says about Shakespeare that he was the product of medieval Catholicism, and implies that Catholicism at the distance at which Shakespeare stood from it had match to do with the power of Shakespeare's intellect. Allen Tate has developed in a more particular way an idea that has much in common with what Carlyle here implies. Loosely put, the idea is that religion in its decline leaves a detritus of pieties, of strong assumptions, which afford a particularly fortunate condition for certain kinds of literature; these pieties carry a strong charge of intellect, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that they tend to stimulate the mind in a powerful way" (284-90).

Allen Tate converts; published "The Angelic Imagination: Poe as God" (1951); his "Tension in Poetry" (1938) on poem as "site for an interaction of different meanings and metaphors, rather than simply ... that value 'affective state' characteristics of romantic hyperbole" (Giles). Gilson, Maritain, and Dawson, seeking corporate belief, "were the church's counterparts to the totalizing modernist imaginations of Yeats, Stevens, and Hart Crane" (Giles). Gilson's founding of Mediaeval Institute (Toronto) very influential.

David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, on the importance of autonomous inner-directed individuals ("emerged with the Renaissance and Reformation"), distinguished from "tradition-directed" ("Middle Ages") and outer-directed ("their contemporaries are the source of direction"). "The source of direction for the individual is 'inner' in the sense that it is implanted early in life by the elders" and "set for life from early childhood in pursuit of certain built-in goals" (Mailer summary). Thus guilt (inner-), shame (tradition-) or anxiety (outer-). See Maslow below.

****1951****

A. L. Rowse, The England of Elizabeth: the Structure of Society: "It is difficult for anyone without a knowledge of anthropology to appreciate fully the astonishing audacity, the profound disturbance to the unconscious levels upon which society lives its life, of such an action as the substitution of an English liturgy for the age-long Latin rite of Western Christendom in which England had been swaddled time out of mind ... nothing can detract from the revolutionary audacity of such an interference with the customary, the subconscious, the ritual element in life."

The journal, Biographical Studies, later entitled Recusant History, founded, promotes objective scholarship.

Graham Greene, introd. to John Gerard's Autobiography, trans. Caraman: "Isn't there one whole area of the Elizabethan scene that we miss even in Shakespeare ... The kings speak, the adventurers speak ... the madmen and the lovers, the soldiers and the poets, but the martyrs are quite silent."

Greene, The End of the Affair (reportedly revised in later edition). Sarah, instinctively praying that her lover Maurice Bendrix survive his apparent death ("I knew for certain you were dead ... When you are hopeless enough ... you can pray for miracles. They happen, don't they, to the poor, and I was poor"), sees his restoration as a miracle and moves toward Catholicism, holding to her promise to God to give B. up. B. is furious and "hates" God, i.e. hates Sarah, i.e. hates the world where he has a driven passion for women. Passion for sex seems to transmute into passion for God, or is the chief obstacle; see J. Pearce, Literary Converts (1999) on Greene's "turbulent and torrid love affair with the Church." B "Sometimes I see myself reflected too closely in other men for comfort, and then I have an enormous wish to believe in the saints, in heroic virtue" After the breakup, B.: "it seemed to me that I could have her once more—however quickly and crudely and unsatisfactorily—I would be at peace again." "As long as I could make believe that love lasted I was happy." Has detective steal Sarah's diary that is a personal journal interaction with God ("you know everything before I can speak") with the "you" at first seeming to be Maurice. Great modern religious journal. B: "I swear that if we had been married, with her loyalty and my desire, we could

have been happy for a lifetime” (yeah right). On meeting with the prostitute, ‘Never again would I be able to enjoy a woman without love’ (but always with lust, the killer). Several miracles surprisingly taken for granted in this “modern” novel (Eden Wales): B’s resurrection, the healing of Smythe’s facial stain, the healing of the little boy’s sickness. Compare The Winter’s Tale; compare Brideshead Revisited on renunciation and conversion. Sarah’s journal: “Sometimes after a day when we have made love many times, I wonder whether it isn’t possible to come to an end of sex ... If only I could make him feel secure, then we could love peacefully, happily, not savagely, inordinately, and the desert would recede out of sight.” At the bombing, “So I said, I love him, and I’ll do anything of You’ll make him alive ... I’ll give him up forever” [lingering notion of adultery, otherwise muted in this ‘modern’ novel, as in Waugh’s?] “Why did this promise stay, like an ugly vase a friend has given, and one wait for a maid to break it, and year after year she breaks the things one values and the ugly vase remains?” (compare Golden Bowl). “We can love with our minds, but can we love only with our minds?” “And of course on the altar there was a body too, such a familiar body, more familiar than Maurice’s, that it had never struck me before as a body with all the parts of a body, even the parts the loincloth concealed.” Debate over the Catholic funeral, like Waugh; she had been baptized Catholic as an infant. Father Crompton, final debate with Maurice, as in Waugh and Flannery O’Connor: “I’m not against a bit of superstition ... It could be the beginning of wisdom”; on bogus miracles: “We try to sort them out. And isn’t it more sensible to believe that anything may happen than--.” ‘You’re a good hater.’ S’s husband, Miles: “It was a great injury I did to Sarah when I married her. I know that now,” like Lord Marchmain’s last consent. Maurice: “I hate you, God. I hate You as though You existed ... Leave me alone forever,” almost the opposite of what it says. Not yet a full conversion like Charles in Waugh (and thus Greene’s and Waugh’s difference).

Karl Adam, One and Holy trans. C. Hastings. 1947 lecture in German. With Imprimatur, Adam gives scorching portrait of medieval abuse, urges reunion but strongly defends Petrine principle: “wide tracts of Luther’s thought were simply Catholic ... rapprochement between Catholicism and Protestantism will only be possible if it takes Luther as its starting point.” With separation of Protestants, the church “lost with them all those precious constructive powers, all those souls of deep religious aspiration who have since then worked so fruitfully and creatively within the separated communions, and who might have been called to cultivate the most perfect flowers of religious life upon Catholic soil.” Indeed, the church’s “most dazzling, most brilliant mark, her world-wide Catholicity, was in danger of losing its former triumphant splendour ... With each schism the question arose like a threat ... Has she not become a sect like the others?” In controversy, theologians over-emphasize one truth, and don’t see core truth in heresy; thus Lutheran individualism caused overemphasis on Church authority, Luther emphasis on faith led to Catholic overemphasis on works. WWII impressed all Christians that the time for inter-confessional strife was over, and that Christ needed a unanimous witness. Cites Fr. J. Kopf that “reunion of the Church will not only repair the wrong of schism” but will mean “the building up of a new, more embracing, richer unity.”

****1952****

Elizabeth II begins reign.

Mutschmann and Wentersdorf, Shakespeare and Catholicism: argues for Shakespeare’s Catholic friends and associates, Catholic importance of Blackfriars, importance of Catholic themes in the plays (purgatory, ghosts, indulgences).

William John Tucker, “Shakespeare, a Catholic?” (Catholic World), good summary of evidence.

John Berryman, Berryman’s Shakespeare, written, see pub. 1999.

Wallace Stevens, “To an Old Philosopher in Rome.”

Flannery O’Connor, Wise Blood (1952): Hazel Motes founds Church without Jesus, claims to be pure: “if Jesus existed, I wouldn’t be clean” (53). Landlady on Hazel’s ascetic habits: “He might as well be one of them monks ... he might as well be in a monastery.” After his last disaster, losing his car: “what do you walk on rocks for?”. ‘To pay,’ he said ... ‘What’s that wire round you for? It’s not natural ... It’s like one of them gory stories, it’s something that people have quit doing—like boiling in oil or being a saint or walling up cats’ ... ‘I’m not clean,’ he said ... I wouldn’t be surprised if you weren’t some kind of a agent of the pope or got some connection with

something funny’.

****1953****

I. J. Semper, “The Ghost in Hamlet: Pagan or Christian?,” The Month, on the Catholicism of the Ghost.

Pope Pius XII excommunicates Father Leonard Feeney, a Boston Jesuit, for maintaining “No Salvation Outside the Catholic Church” without the proper qualifications, i.e. “God accepts even an implicit will, called by that name because it is contained in the good disposition of soul in which a man wills to conform his will to the will of God” (Holy Office decree). Feeney had been opposed by Cushing, an inclusivist like Gibbons.

Paul de Man, “Montaigne and Transcendence” (1953, in Critical Writings 9): “His conservatism is strictly a conservatism of his own age; it presupposes the existence of a solid, ripe, flexible orthodoxy adapted to the demands of subjectivity; an orthodoxy that bears within it long series of mediations and is responsive to the contradictions of the human condition. The Catholic religion of the sixteenth century had, as Montaigne so admirably puts, it, ‘suffered a long loss of years in ripening this inestimable fruit’ ... A hundred years later, can we doubt that Montaigne would have sided with Peter Bayle? If the prevailing orthodoxy hardens ... Montaigne will be the first to detest it ... Listen to him, even now, thundering against the League ... What orthodoxy, at the present time, can invoke the breadth and comprehension of postmedieval Christianity?”

Elizabeth Cole, “Seven Problems of the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book” (Proceedings of the Royal Musical Assoc.): its musicians and dedicatees a complex web of recusant relationships.

****1954****

Alan Keen and Roger Lubbock’s The Annotator; argues Lancaster connections, Arden family Catholicism, Shakespeare’s annotations, defending Catholic clergy, in connection with a copy of Hall’s Chronicle, putatively Shakespeare’s copy.

Maurice Quinlan, “Shakespeare and the Catholic Burial Services” (Shakespeare Quarterly), on allusions to the Catholic service in Hamlet and its “maimed rites.”

Louis Martz, The Poetry of Meditation, on the Ignatian and Franciscan meditative structures as an influence on English poetry: 17th century witnesses “reunion with the central tendency of continental Catholic spirituality” (a structure later applied in modified form to the “Structure and Style in the Greater Romantic Lyric” by Meyer Abrams in 1965); applies Bremond’s Salesian humanism to Herbert; notes likeness of poor Yorick speech to passage in Fray Luis de Granada.

Alfred North Whitehead, Dialogues, with Lucien Price. “Catholicism ... is successful in producing rather a fine type of woman, but is not so happy with the men. The men have a need to shake off something which the Church hangs on them, and unless they do, they are ineffective as thinkers. If they remain within the Church dogmas they are always fearful of thinking some thought that will conflict with them. The Church, I think, could safely be more venturesome with its list of permitted books than it is. Emerson would really do their people no harm” (see John Tracy Ellis, 1956). “[Anglican] is admirable for its purpose; the beautiful ritual, the music, the architecture, the good voices—it has everything except religion. It is not religious, it sociological.”

Abraham Maslow, Motivation and Personality: “self-actualizing” people are unlikely to accept “supernatural” religion and “institutional orthodoxy” (one of many such, cited by McGreevy, 1997; see Riesman The Lonely Crowd (1950) above.

Bede Griffiths, The Golden String: an Autobiography: “It is difficult to describe the fear with which the Roman Church filled me. It was, no doubt, partly the fear of the unknown. The Roman Church had always been for us as a family, as my father once expressed it; outside the pale ... Behind this family feeling there was also a deeper feeling still, the prejudice which every Englishman inherits from the racial memory. The breach with Rome is a psychic event in all our lives, something which lies deep buried in the unconscious, but is ready to erupt into consciousness whenever circumstances force us to encounter it.”

Tolkien, The Lord of the Rings, “fundamentally ... Catholic ... consciously in the revision”; shire represents recovery of a pre-Reformation world, pre-Capitalism with its rootlessness, thus rejects ring of power; thus T. did not want book associated with triumphalist British imperialism after WWII. T: “the progress of the tale ends in [something] like the establishment of an effective Holy

Roman Empire with its seat in Rome;” planting of fairy tree and protection of elf queen, is like return of England to Catholicism of Virgin Mary. But shire reflects post-Reformation England in not remembering its past and needing to recover it (N. Boyle, 2005).

Malcolm Ross (Malcolm McKenzie Ross), Poetry and Dogma: The Transfiguration of Eucharistic Symbols in Seventeenth Century English Poetry: 17th century English poetry struggled with the consequences of the loss of Catholic corporate sacramentalism, loss of union of spiritual and material, of individual and society. There is a “movement of traditional Christian symbolism from the centre to the periphery of expression and experience, a movement, in other words, from sacrament to ornament, the declension of symbol into metaphor.” Machiavellian materialism and neo-Platonic spiritualism split apart, with no sacramental grounding. Hooker transfers corporate loyalties from medieval church universal to church national (Hooker: “every Englishman is a Christian, and every Christian in England is an Englishman”). “The crown in Shakespeare’s symbolization of it remained to a degree impersonal, thereby serving as focus for deeply corporate intuitions of universal value.” For the cavalier Lovelace, the cult of Elizabeth the Virgin gives way to the cult of Charles the Christ, reduced to a “scandalous personal icon.” Thus Milton in Paradise Lost achieves an individualist heterodoxy (see Ross on Milton above). Vaughan can only nod nostalgically to lost past, Herbert’s symbols lack analogical confidence. (Martz review: “There seems to be a tendency to regard any evidence of ‘religious interiorism’ as Protestant in its implications”). So called “via media” in fact “vacillates uncontrollably between Catholic and Zwinglian extremes.” “Without a recovery of this corporate sense, I suspect that Christian art can advance no further because it will have failed to cure the disease of alienation.” Cites S. L. Bethell’s The Cultural Revolution of the Seventeenth Century (1951). Bethell wrote: “Butler’s analogy works only in one direction, from the natural to the supernatural, but the earlier analogical thinking was ... a two-way street.” “Butler coolly elaborates by abstract reason a long analogy between the (scientifically understood) natural order and the supernatural, but here is none of the rapid back-and-forth play of analogy such as we find in Elizabethan writers. Butler argues from analogy; he does not think analogically.” Both Bethell and Ross cite Eliot on “dissociation of sensibility” (1921). Wimsatt on Ross: “Ross argues that the impairment of both substantive Aristotelianism and of Eucharistic orthodoxy in the seventeenth century meant a loss of poetic power, for Protestants because of softening in dogma and for Catholics because of a dogmatic retreat from grips with social actualities. This to me is a striking conception, and I am persuaded there is some historical truth in it. Still struck too by the historical coincidence of Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope and Wordsworth coming in just the period of that Aristotelian impairment” (“Criticism Today,” Essays in Criticism 6 (1956) 1-21; but Wimsatt deletes Ross from his Literary Criticism: A Short History (1957).

John Dillenberger and Claude Welch, Protestant Christianity: “The fact of diversity in belief and practice is a striking part of the Protestant heritage ... This may be due to human creativity and human finitude; even more it may be due to prideful men who think too highly of their own outlook upon life. Protestantism accepts this ambiguity as a part of its heritage. It accepts its diversity as a sign of health and sickness ... The hoped-for reunion of many of the churches of Christ will not and ought not to bring men to one opinion, but it may provide a framework within which different nuances of life and thought may in effect be considered to strengthen rather than weaken the Christian cause.” “In fact the striking thing about Protestantism is not its diversity but its unity. Protestants claim that the vitality of their faith is nowhere more evident than in the stress upon each man’s own experience of the biblical faith which produces so many authentically similar expressions of faith.” Protestants affirm that this [Luther’s] renewed religious outlook, for all its relation to contemporary social, economic and political forces, can be finally explained only as an act of God, in which, for better or worse, the burden of a message was laid upon a human being.” For Luther emphasis on the Bible should result neither in subjectivism or relativism: “He was certain that there was a sufficiently clear and central body of material concerning Christ which would be common property to those who searched the Bible” and “would result in the emergence of God’s justifying work as the central point.” “The Roman Church refuses to allow the Reformation and its heritage, a positive place in its inner history. It is the conviction of Protestants that thereby Roman Catholicism is weakened and perverted---because the Reformation was a genuinely creative and restorative movement;” “the Roman Church precisely claims that it is infallible and irreformable ... Against every such claim to absoluteness (whether religious or

social and political) Protestantism must protest." Protestantism is essentially "self-critical." "The doctrine of salvation by grace alone is in part a confession of the inadequacy and perverseness of all human claims to righteousness before God." "The great temptation in Protestantism has not been the idolatry of particular forms, but the opposite, viz. the lack of concern for all religious forms and the consequent weakening of the sense of the sacred. A religious perspective that rejects all finite claims to ultimacy runs the risk of failing to see that the ultimate is known only through finite vehicles. This risk is taken, however, in order to maintain the freedom and spontaneity of the human encounter with God."

****1955****

M. D. H. Parker, The Slave of Life: A Study of Shakespeare, acknowledging Mutschmann and Wentersdorf (1952), in appendix reviews and urges Catholic argument, cites Lucy issue, John Shakespeare's recusancy, Southampton Catholicism, etc.

Gabriel Le Bas, Études de sociologie religieuse, (-1956) (with his 1931 manifesto), pioneering sociological study of common people Catholicism in France.

Salvador Dali, "The Sacrament of the Last Supper," one of many paintings reflecting his influence by Spanish mystical Catholicism.

Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew: "we may describe Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism as three great branches or divisions of the 'American religion'." "The fear of 'Rome' is indeed the most powerful cement of Protestant community consciousness, and it seems to loom larger today than it has for some time."

David Knowles, The Religious Orders in England (Cambridge UP), on the 14th century: "The more orthodox men were, the more violently they criticized and demanded reform ... until towards the end of the century, no one had any suspicion that there might be anything disloyal or heterodox in criticism ... One of the most disastrous and blighting effects of Wycliffism was that, for the first time in the history of this country, it associated criticism with heterodoxy, and it must have tended to make orthodox reformers think twice about what they said."

R. W. B. Lewis, The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century (UChicago, 1955), final chapter, "The Real Presence: Parker and Brownson" (also JRLowell) celebrating Catholic communalism as an answer to anarchic individualism: "The cure required a precise reversal of the Protestant achievement. It required the kind of enrichment Lowell described, by putting one's self in touch with the Real Presence through a willing involvement with the entire life of mankind, past and present. // What the cure required, in fact, was communion: a communion with human history which made possible the communion with God celebrated in the Eucharist. This was Brownson's major discovery" (p. 192).

Wylie Sypher, Four Stages of Renaissance Style ... 1400-1700, with "baroque" being the fourth and climactic stage, "created by the golden and copious vision of Counter-Reformation art." Reflected in Milton's imagery; "'poetically' the baroque image of Eve is so potent that his ethic and theology seems almost irrelevant." "Paradise Lost ... is the point at which his Counter-Reformation poetic imagination submerges his anti-Counter-Reformation ethic." "Milton ... is here so enthralled by the wealth of his haptic imagination that he does not appear to be fully awake to the contradictions between his baroque sensuousness and his Puritanism." "An historical irony is implicit in Milton and all baroque: while confidence in theological systems was being shaken during the seventeenth-century, confidence in the images of faith increased until the image seemed capable of sustaining faith;" "the psychology of the Council of Trent ... set about inflaming otherworldliness and at the same time fostering the cult of splendid images."

William Pantin, The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (Cambridge UP): "The reason for the English bishops' slowness to condemn Wyclif (for which they were rebuked by the pope) ... was probably because for a long time the attacks of Wyclif seemed to belong to the second [bitter but orthodox] rather than to the less familiar third [heretical] category of controversies."

****1956****

Allison and Rogers's Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England, 1558-1640, lists nearly a thousand books. Revised into two volumes, 1989, 1994.

Louis Bouyer, The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism, trans. of Du protestantisme à l'Eglise (1954): "Protestantism ... under no necessity to embody itself in schism and heresy [resulting "from

external and adventitious factors”] ... should have initiated in the Church itself a powerful moment of regeneration.” Protestant mistake in minimizing interior transformation out of fear of idolatry or works, provoked Catholic over-emphasis on church authority.

John Tracy Ellis, American Catholics and the Intellectual Life (Chicago IL: Heritage Foundation).
Grace Kelly marries Prince Rainier, Catholic fairy tale forecasting John Kennedy’s Camelot.

Eugene O’Neill, Long Day’s Journey into Night (1942, 1956): Edmund ...
“What you want to believe, that’s the only truth! ... Shakespeare was an Irish Catholic, for example.” Tyrone ... “So he was. The proof is in his plays.”

Ingmar Bergman, "The Seventh Seal."

Dwight Culler, ed. Newman Apologia (1956): fn. p. 61: “The terms ‘High’ and ‘Low’ Church came into use after the Revolution of 1688 and have meant different things at different periods. Generally, a High Churchman is one who gives a high place to the authority and claims of the episcopate and priesthood, to the inherent grace of the sacraments, and to matters of ecclesiastical organization (“in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries,” Intro xiii); and Low Churchman gives a low place to these things. (OED) In the 18th century the Low Churchman was a Latitudinarian, in the early 19th he was an Evangelical (the Latitudinarians being then known as the Broad Church party). The High Churchman in the 17th and 18th centuries, was a Tory, perhaps a non-juror, a representative of the primitive Anglo-Catholic tradition [“primitive Catholic faith,” Intro xiii] which Newman wished to restore; in the early 19th century (the sense used here [in Newman] he was ‘high-and-dry,’ i.e. still a Tory but less concerned with doctrine than with ecclesiastical privilege (“high, that is, when it came to privilege but dry when it came to religion” (Intro xiv); and in the late 19th century he was a product of the Oxford Movement itself.”

****1957****

Ian Watt, The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding: English novel as fundamentally Protestant form, characterized by “Puritan individualism,” also “the tendency to increase consciousness of the self as a spiritual entity, and the tendency to a kind of democratisation of the moral and social outlook. Novelistic realism developed out of rejection of medieval universals. “Economic individualism explains much of Crusoe’s character ... but it is Puritan individualism which controls his spiritual being.” Cites Troeltsch. “Two aspect of this new Protestant emphasis—the tendency to increase consciousness of the self as a spiritual entity, and the tendency to a kind of democratization of the moral and social outlook—are particularly important ... to ... the ... novel.” “This ‘internalization of conscience’ is everywhere manifested in Calvinism ... In later generations the introspective habit remained even where religious convictions weakened.” Given individualism, God signals his intentions for the person “in the events of his daily life ... Every item in his personal experience ... potentially rich in moral and spiritual meaning.” “We can say of him [Defoe], as of later novelists in the same tradition, such as Samuel Richardson, George Eliot or D. H. Lawrence, that they have inherited of Puritanism everything except its religious faith;” “all have an intensely active conception of life as a continuous moral and social struggle ... they all seek by introspection and observation to build their own personal sense of moral certainty; and in different ways they all manifest the self-righteous and somewhat angular individualism of the earlier Puritan character.” Defoe reflects “the Puritan insistence on the need of the individual to overcome the world in his own soul, to achieve a spiritual solitude without recourse to monasticism ... the Puritan insistence on possessing one’s soul intact from a sinful world is couched in terms which suggest a more absolute, personal and secular alienation from society.” Defoe’s “inconclusive endings” show his devotion to “the disorderliness of life.” Watt later revised by Michael McKeon’s The Origins of the English Novel, 1600-1740 (1987) which argues, among other things, that the novel was influenced by “the anti-individualist and idealizing tradition of romance.”

Raymond Williams, Culture and Society: “Burke was perhaps the last serious thinker who could find the ‘organic’ in an existing society. As the new industrial society established itself, critics like Carlyle and Ruskin could find the ‘organic’ image only in a backward look: this is the basis of their ‘medievalism’, and as that of others. It was not, in this tradition, until Morris that this image acquired a distinctively future reference—the image of socialism.”

Erich Kahler, The Tower and the Abyss: An Inquiry into the Individual: Luther’s insistence on

faith and of absolute obedience to earthly authorities “created a glaring disparity between inner values and behavior,” resulting in German proneness to authoritarianism (from J. Frank introd). Hoxie Neale Fairchild, Religious Trends in English Poetry. Vol. 4, Christianity and Romanticism in the Victorian Era. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957. @ On Protestant subjectivity as a source for romanticism, and the resistance now of a Catholicism “highly resistant to subjectivizing influences@” (301@). Influences K. Morris below.

Wimsatt’s “Epilogue” in Literary Criticism: A Short History.

Alice B. Toklas converts to Catholicism.

****1958****

Christopher Hill, Puritanism and Revolution: “The Reformation in England was an act of state.” (but see Powicke earlier).

John Betjeman, Collected Poems, introd. Lord Birkenhead (1958), made him famous. Early inspired by somewhat more urbanized version of the Wordsworthian Church of England: “The muse inspired my pen: / The sunset tipped with gold St. Michael’s Church, / Shouts of boys bathing ... The elms that hid the houses of the great / Rustled with mystery, and dirt-grey sheep / Grazed in the foreground; but the lines of verse / Came out like parodies of A and M” (i.e. Hymns Ancient and Modern), from Summoned by Bells (1960) This touch of satire leads soon to celebration of the Church of England but as a social tattered reality in a dingy landscape, buttressed with recently imported Anglo-Catholic elements, conducive to melancholy and the dissolutions of faith, a faith fearful (or Betjeman fearful) for its legitimacy but holding on for old time’s sake, and because it is the vehicle of Christianity that he most knows. But is it the real thing or only real for the “symbolic cohesion it provided the English.” B. said to E. Waugh that “upbringing, habit environment, connections ... make me love the C of E”, but these would not matter “if I knew, in the Pauline sense, that Our Lord was not present at an Anglican Mass.” “Calvinistic Evensong” (1937 coll.) ends; “wet fields reek like some long empty church. “Before the Anesthetic” (1945 coll): “Intolerably sad, profound / St Giles’s bells are ringing round ... I, kneeling, thought the Lord was there. / Now, lying in the gathering mist / I know that Lord did not exist ... Come, real, Lord, come quick to me ... ‘But still you go from here alone’ / Say all the bells about the Throne.” “On a Portrait of a Deaf Man” (1940 coll.): “You ask me to believe You and / I only see decay.” “Remorse” (1954 coll.): “Protestant claims and Catholic, the wrong and the right of them, [theme suddenly introduced] / Unimportant they seem in the face of death”, and in comparison with his “neglect and unkindness.” “Felixstowe, or The Last of Her Order” (1954 coll.): “In eighteen ninety four ... How full of hope we were ... ‘the Little Sisters of the Hanging Pyx’ ... Now only I am left to keep the rule” (different feeling in the closing of an Anglican, vs. Catholic, convent.) “In Willesden Churchyard” (1966 coll.): “My flesh, to dissolution nearer now ... Frightens me, though the Blessed Sacrament / Not ten yards off in Willesden parish church / Glows with the present immanence of God” (Wordsworthian immanence, nor real presence?). “A Lincolnshire Church”: “Restored with a vengeance ... About eighteen-eighty-eight ... And there on the South aisle altar / Is the tabernacle of God ... the Presence the angels hail” etc. (formulaic, insistent). Restoration, like redundancy, a threat to the C of E. “Church of England Thoughts occasioned by hearing the bells of Magdalen Tower from the Botanic Garden, Oxford” (1954 coll.): “A Church of England sound, it tells / Of ‘moderate’ worship, God and State, / Where matins congregations go / Conservative and good and slow / To elevations of the plate ... Before the spell begins to fail, / Before the bells have lost their power, / Before the grassy kingdom fade / And Oxford traffic roar invade, / I thank the bells of Magdalen Tower.” “Septuagesima”: “They say the C. of E.’s in ‘schism’. / There may be those who much resent / Priest, Liturgy, and Sacrament ... Well, let them be so, but for me / There’s refuge in the C. of E.” Preferences for high or low perplex the Church. “Bristol and Clifton” (1940 coll.): dialogue with church warden, “‘we do not kneel: / We leave that to the Roman Catholics’ ... ‘aren’t we talking rather loud? / I think I see a woman praying there.’ / ‘Praying? The service is all over now ... She cannot / Be Loyal Church of England. Well, goodbye ...” “The Planster’s Vision” (1945 coll.): “Cut down that timber! Bells, too many and strong ... From moon-white church-towers down the windy air / Have pealed the centuries out with Evensong ... I have a Vision of The Future, chum ... ‘No Right! No Wrong! All’s perfect, evermore’” (degradation of the landscape means disintegration of the Church of England.) Contrasted with the imperious certainties of the Orthodox Church (“Greek Orthodox”: “What did I see when first I went to Greece? ... Here, where to light a candle is to pray ... eyes / Of local saints who view with no

surprise / Their martyrdoms depicted upon walls ... Thus vigorously does the old tree grow ... Its living roots deep in pre-Christian mud, / It needs no bureaucratic protection ... With one sail missing—that's the Pope's in Rome ... From the domed church ... look down / the Pantocrator's searching eyes ... With one serene all-comprehending stare / On farmer, fishermen and millionaire") ; also contrasted with Roman Catholic Church ("An Ecumenical Invitation": dramatic monologue by Catholic woman: "Now, won't you give our churches back to us? / Then you'll be Catholics too! ... It does seem such a pity ... Those fine cathedrals crumbling to decay / Half empty, while our own, though brash and cheap, / Are always, always crowded to the doors." Invites Betjeman to give an ecumenical speech, "the Holy Father's said / That all the Christians in the world, the rank / Outsiders, I mean those outside our ranks, / As well as Catholics, must play their part, / And that was why I thought of asking you / To give this year's annual address. / It's quite informal, only half an hour" (rueful satire of triumphalist Catholic). "The Empty Pew" (wr. 1948) after his wife's Catholic conversion: "Above the steaming thatch how silver-grey / Our chiming church tower, calling 'Come to me // My Sunday-sleeping villagers!' And she, / Still half my life, kneels now with those who say ... 'Never cease to pray / God's grace will break him of his heresy.' // I, present with our Church of England few / At the dear words of Consecration see / The chalice lifted ... and glance across to that deserted pew ... The pain ...", last poem in Gardner's collection, *Faith and Doubt of John Betjeman* (2005). See Arnold "Our religion has materialized itself in the fact" (1880).

Isak Dinesen, "Babette's Feast" from Anecdotes of Destiny.

Giuseppe di Lampedusa, The Leopard, trans. 1960, portrait of Sicilian Count Don Fabrizio, Prince of Salina, a stoic urbane post-Renaissance (time of Garibaldi) Catholic nobleman, 1963 movie with Burt Lancaster dubbed in Italian; nostalgia for pre-modern Sicily: "We were the Leopards, the Lions; those who'll take our place will be little jackals, hyenas; and the whole lot of us Leopards, jackals, and sheep, we'll all go on thinking ourselves the salt of the earth." Death scene with priest (compare Brideshead) ("He wanted to confess. Things should be done properly or not at all"). Model (sans criminality) for Godfather, Tony Soprano, etc.

Robert Stevenson, *Shakespeare's Religious Frontier*; argues Lancaster connection via Stratford schoolmaster and Hoghton will; repeats Chambers's Shakeshafte theory, argues Cottom connection.

****1959****

The Sonnets of William Alabaster, ed. G. M. Story and Helen Gardner.

Frances Yates, *The Valois Tapestries*, on these 1582 artistic renderings of royal games aimed at celebrating reconciliation of Dutch Catholics and Protestants, "a pathetic monument to his [William of Orange's] hopes of finding a solution to the problem of the Netherlands by putting his trust in the House of Valois" (see 1582, 1583).

Teilhard de Chardin, *The Phenomenon of Man* (orig. 1955 in French): applying evolutionary theory to man as culminating consciousness which will expand; a teleological quasi-Lamarckian theory, but integrating vast knowledge into Catholic humanism; admired by Flannery O'Connor for its integration of body and mind: "From a theological point of view Teilhard de Chardin's work can be defined as an effort to shed light on the natural conditions and preparations leading to a supernatural consummation" (qu Feeley).m

Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Riddle of Roman Catholicism*: from chap. 4 entitled "The Tragic Necessity of the Reformation": "The tragedy of the Reformation consists in the loss by both sides of some of the very things each claimed to be defending against the other; its final outcome was not what either Rome or the reformers had wanted." "Where there is word without sacraments, the result is the barren rationalism that so easily besets Protestants; where there are sacraments without word, the result is the magic that so easily besets Roman Catholics ... The tragedy of the Reformation ... is painfully evident here. Preaching and the sacraments need each other." 127 (In 1998, Pelikan went from Lutheranism to Orthodoxy).

Return of Charles De Gaulle, fervent Catholic and Republican, tends to heal animosity of French church and state, a tolerance institutionalized in the Fifth Republic.

Norman Mailer, *Advertisements for Myself*, places "Catholic" (for its mind-body

unity) under “Hip” (wild, romantic, inductive, spontaneous, perverse, free will, sex, the present, etc.) versus “Square” (practical, logic, white, orderly, pious, authoritarian, Protestant, religion (vs. sex), mind (vs. body))

****1960****

Secretariat for the Promotion of Unity among Christians established by Pope, with Cardinal Bea as president.

William Lynch, Christ and Apollo: The Dimensions of the Literary Imagination, often cited as an example of the Catholic incarnational approach. “I take ... the symbol of Apollo as a kind of infinite dream over against which was Christ's definiteness and actuality ... rejected by every gnostic system since.” . Cites Allen Tate's essays on the Angelic and Symbolic Imagination (Tate admired Lynch's book.)

Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England, visits Pope John XXIII, first such meeting since 1397. “Pope read to the archbishop ... a passage which referred to ‘the time when our separated brethren should return to the Mother Church’ ... Fisher interrupted: “Your Holiness, not return.’ ... Pope ... asked, ‘Not return? Why not?’ to which Fisher replied: “None of us can go backwards. We are each now running on parallel courses; we are looking forward until ... our two courses approximate and meet.’ The Pope paused to think about this and then said, ‘You are right.” (Adrian Hastings, History of English Christianity 523).

John Kennedy, presidential campaign: “I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute.” Able “to convince many Protestants that he represented a new Catholic attitude on separation of church and state and on religious liberty” (Bianchi, John XXIII and American Protestants, 1968). “What is truly remarkable is the convergence of a John Kennedy and a John XXIII in the same moment of history” (Bianchi). Kennedy's election made possible by earlier McCarthyism which made anti-communist Catholics seem super-patriotic (acc. to Conor Cruise O'Brien, God Land: Reflections on Religion and Nationalism).

Joseph Lecler, S.J., Toleration and the Reformation, trans. T. L. Westlow (orig. 1955): acknowledges W. K. Jordan (“rare and valuable”)

Peter Milward, “The Tragedy of Shakespeare” in Japanese; on political allegory, i.e. shadow of Henry VIII in Claudius, Othello and Macbeth.

John Courtney Murray, We Hold These Truths. Influenced John Kennedy and Vatican II on Religious Liberty. Robert McAfee Brown approvingly quotes summary of Murray in An American Dialogue (1960): “There is no anti-clerical or anti-religious motivation behind the American constitutional provision for Church-State relations ... The Church in American, has ... enjoyed greater freedom ... than it is has in the Catholic states of the traditional type ... It is important to emphasize the rights of the state in its own sphere, the freedom of the Church from state control, and the influence of Catholic citizens on the state ... Error does not have the same rights as truth but persons in error, consciences in error, do have rights which should be respected by the Church and the state. The Church should not demand that the state as the secular arm enforce the Church's own decision in regard to heresy. It does more harm than good to the Church for the state to use its power against non-Catholics.” “It must be agreed that this has a very different tone from what we have heard thus far” (Brown).

Gustave Weigel, S.J., “The Protestant Stance,” in An American Dialogue (with Robert McAfee Brown). The Protestant principle is experiential, critical, and oriented to the Bible. [add: national, local, familial; Catholicism may be communal and familial, but it is detached by its loyalty to Rome, to the priests, to celibacy, to Latin, thus is somewhat alienated from nation; a different kind of intense love for country, for the U.S.] “The readiness to adapt to the spirit of the times is undoubtedly an advantage for the Protestantism.” “Where Protestant modernity makes its most significant gains is in the area of communication.” Tillich sees “the Protestant principle,” “as a constant protest, not necessarily against the Catholic Church alone but against any idolatry.” “As far as I can grasp his thought, he thinks that the true Christian would be a Protestant Catholic. This is not an easy concept to assimilate.” “Any Protestant knows that the experience is what he is looking for.” “The primacy of the God-encounter gives Protestant freedom ... the liberty to interpret conceptually the initial encounter.” “There is a vague limit and that is the biblical text.”

1961

"If I am not wrong, the Protestant principle and the Catholic contradict each other totally. They cannot coexist in the same man or in the same religious fellowship." [except that they do]

H. A. Shield, "A Stratford Schoolmaster," in The Month argues John Cottom's connection to Lancashire.

Christianity Divided, ed. Daniel J. Callahan et al. (Sheed and Ward), admired by Flannery O'Connor, with Max Thurian's "The Real Presence" influencing "Parker's Back", and Barth's "The Concept of the Church": "to take each other seriously means: mutually to bear the whole burden of our opposition, both as a burden and as the burden of our being opposed to each other ... It means to see the other over there ... in his whole, horrifyingly different faith, in his uncanny turning away from that which for us is the most central and unshakeable Christian truth; while at the same time we make clear to ourselves that he, on his part, is just as horrified about us Each side sees first and foremost the same reality so very differently," but it is the same reality.

Harold Bloom The Visionary Company (Doubleday, 1961): "We strive to admire, yet this [i. e. Blake's "the imagination, which liveth forever"] is remote from us; we want to know what Blake means. Similarly, we are moved by Shelley's statement that "the great instrument of moral good is the imagination," but we scarcely believe that "a man to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively ... What separates us from the Romantics is our loss of their faithless faith, which few among them could sustain even in their own lives and poems" (xiii).

Hans Küng, The Council, Reform and Reunion (trans. C. Hastings): "*It is a hopeful omen for reunion that the latest presentation of Church history from both sides, on the subject of the Reformation and its causes, bear a strong resemblance to each other. Both sides nowadays see the good in the other and the evil in their own ... Protestants see the positive values in the Church of that age, and Catholics recognize the Church's share in the guilt of schism;*" "*we see much of the Catholic reform of that time displaying itself as reaction, in the sense of a restoration aimed at maintaining what was established and restoring according to the pattern of a superior past, with the consequent danger of stunting and fossilizing the fullness of Catholicism ... It is impossible to overlook a dangerous hardening in all this from the time of Paul IV...*" See Flannery O'Connor below: "I thought it wonderful."

H. A. Anno van Gelder, The Two Reformations in the 16th Century, on the major religious revolution (as distinct from the minor revolution, Protestantism), influenced by humanism, stressing human freedom, earth as permeated by God, man as crowning creation, capable of approaching divinity, Christ not as sacrificial victim, but personified humanitas, typified in Erasmus, Colet as bridge figure, Spenser more Erasmian than Calvinist in notions of grace and faith; this major revolution illustrated in **Shakespeare** (349) and Montaigne. See summary; calls this a revolutionary new emphasis, different both from orthodox Catholicism and Protestant radicalism. "Although the traditional terms continued to be used, and the Humanists consequently had the feeling of not deviating in any way from the accepted doctrine ... they only conform outwardly to the religious credos," great distance from church emphasis on death, devil, otherworldly salvation. [Helpful, though exaggerating the inconsistency with orthodox Catholicism, despite disclaimers of Erasmus, Montaigne, etc., in order to claim a middle way]

Robert McAfee Brown, The Spirit of Protestantism, mature analysis from Protestant point of view; "It is harder for the Roman Catholic to acknowledge that Roman Catholicism 'needs' Protestantism." "If there is any sure proof of the patience of God, it is in the fact that he has endured the varieties of Protestantism for four centuries ... If there is any sure sign of the power of God, it is in the fact that through the Protestant churches Jesus Christ has become a reality in countless lives."

Jean Leclercq, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, classic portrayal of the rich spirituality, learning, and Christian humanism of the monks.

Raymond Biggar, Langland's and Chaucer's Treatment of Monks, Friars and Priests (diss. U. of Wisconsin): though Gower's views criticizing church corruption were "essentially the same as those of Wyclif, and considering also his strong views about the corruption of the Church ... it is curious to find how strongly he denounces 'lollardie' in his later writings" (G. C. Macaulay, ed. Works of Gower): not unusual, says Biggar, "when strong criticism was common among the orthodox ... but Wyclif and the Lollard movement called for a commitment of one's loyalty for or

against the established church ... [Gower's] was a much more subdued voice in the nineties than it was in the eighties. In the interim, one age, an age of free criticism, had come to an end and another, of conservative reaction, had begun."

Franny and Zoe (in New Yorker, 1953, 1957): Franny ("I'm just sick of ego") keeps saying Jesus Prayer from The Way of a Pilgrim. Mrs. Glass thinks of calling their brother, a Catholic priest, and says: "If it was something strictly Catholic, or like that, I might be able to help her myself. I haven't forgotten everything. But none of you children were up as Catholics, and I really don't see—" Zoe: "This thing with Franny is strictly non-sectarian". Mrs. Glass recommends a psychoanalyst: "he happens to be a very devout Catholic psychoanalyst" whom Zoe then describes as a "poor little impotent sweaty guy past forty who's been sleeping for years with a rosary and a copy of Variety under his pillow." Toward end, Franny: "I want to talk to Seymour" (oldest brother dead by suicide); earlier Zoe said Franny had been saying those prayers "to lay up some kind of treasure?" Zoe said he had once thought of saying the prayer, (had ginger ale with Jesus in kitchen at 8 years old), rebukes Franny: "The Jesus prayer has one aim ... to endow the person who says it with Christ-consciousness. Not to set up some little cozy, holier than thou, trysting place ..." Says she should appreciate the "consecrated chicken soup" her mother brings, says they should perform for the "fat lady" who is "Christ himself, buddy."

Jean Guitton, The Church and the Gospel, tr. E. Craufurd: "the essence of Protestantism lies in its purity ... a religion of separation and transcendence ... the desire never to resign itself to alloys or compromises ... Catholicism, on the other hand ... accepts a provisional combination of the pure and impure. It is afraid of disturbing the indwelling presence of the good by detaching it too soon from the less good, and even the evil, which are bound up with."

****1962****

Second Vatican Council begins, embodying principle of 'aggiornamento' or accommodation to the "needs of the times," reflecting Pope John XXIII's vision of integration: aims to end church's cultural isolation, initiate new freedom of expression, affirm dignity of laity, heal religious divisions, defend freedom of conscience, promote acculturation, affirm historical scholarship, take on responsibility for future of the world (John O'Malley's list); approve church-state separation; Protestants are members of body of Christ. (Pope John had studied pastoral endeavors of counter-Reformation Italian bishops, esp. Charles Borromeo.) Document on religious freedom, Dignitatis Humanae: "the right to religious freedom has its foundation in the very dignity of the human person;" "wrong is done when government imposes upon its people, by force or fear or other means, the profession or repudiation of any religion." "Dignitatis humane ... was discontinuous not only with the long 'Constantinian era' but particularly with the condemnation of separation of church and state by the popes of the 19th and 20th centuries" (John O'Malley, Theological Studies 2006); "the age-old insistence of the Church on the obligation of Christian states to enforce and promote the Catholic religion was overturned" (Duffy, Faith of our Fathers). Gaudium et Spes recognized the legitimacy of the modern saeculum, and scrutinize the "signs of the time." The Council included over forty Protestant observers; "things were said differently in the council's documents because the Observers had preferred it so" (Adrian Hastings, History of Christianity 524). Landmark moment at the Council when Cardinals Frings of Cologne and Lienart of Lille propose that Council fathers select men for the commissions, thus bypassing the Curia, a proposal accepted by Pope John XXIII. Rev. S. Dessain (1976): "At the Second Vatican Council ... the things Newman stood for were brought forward—freedom, the supremacy of conscience, the Church as communion, the return to Scripture and the fathers, the rightful place of the laity, work for unity, and all the efforts to meet the needs of the age, and for the Church to take its place in the modern world."

Pope John XXIII, intro. to Vatican Council, 1962: "We feel that We must disagree with these prophet. ... Present indications are that the human family is on the threshold of a new era It is absolutely vi

Church shall never for an instant lose sight of that sacred patrimony of truth inherited from the Fathers equally necessary for her to keep up to date with the changing conditions of this modern world ... for she opened up entirely new avenues for the Catholic apostolate ... The Church has never been stinting in her admiration for the results of man's inventive genius and scientific progress ... Whilst keeping a watchful eye on these things, she has intently exhorted men to look beyond such visible phenomena ... What is needed at the present time is a new enthusiasm, a new joy and serenity of mind ... What is needed is that this certain immutable doctrine ... be studied afresh and reformulated in contemporary terms ... She believes that the needs are best served by explaining more fully the purport of her doctrines, than by publishing condemnations. But all such error is so manifestly contrary to rightness and goodness, and produces such fatal results, that contemporaries show every inclination to condemn it of their own accord ... the aim of the Second Vatican Council ... [is] to have the message of salvation more readily welcomed by men For with the opening of the new day is dawning on Church, bathing her in radiant splendor."

Thomas Kuhn, The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, with chapters "The Nature and Necessity of Scientific Revolutions," "Revolutions as Changes of World View," "Progress Through Revolutions" (includes progress in filling out the paradigm). New paradigms develop as a result of anomalies afflicting the old paradigms. "Other creative fields display progress of the same sort." Reinforces idea of the obsolescence of old world views.

Marshall McLuhan, The Gutenberg Galaxy, "concerned to show why alphabetic man was disposed to sacralize his mode of being." 69

Tillich, "The Permanent Significance of the Catholic Church for Protestants" Dialog 1 (Spring, 1962). Catholicism needs Protestant prophetic strain in order not to absolutize the human and historical; Protestantism needs Catholic sacramental strain to keep prophecy from cultural activism and moral utopianism; also the authority that God is sacramentally present; and Catholic mystical symbolism, to avoid intellectualism and moralism. Article made Protestants receptive to significance of upcoming Vatican 2 (Bianchi). Catholicism needs Protestant prophetic strain in order not to absolutize the human and historical.

J. F. (James Farl) Powers, Morte d'Urban, Power's mature novel (parallel Waugh, Brideshead Revisited), development from the perhaps black satire of The Prince of Darkness and Other Stories (1947), about Fr. Urban, worldly, manipulating and ambitious ("still he found the time and energy to make friends, as enjoined by Scripture, with the mammon of iniquity") but quietly maintains his religion, experiences one disappointment after another (reduced to manual labor at shabby retreat house, thrown in lake by rich benefactor, abandoned on island by would-be seductress, ends as Provincial but that's a crucifixion); "he reminded himself to spend more time before the Blessed Sacrament;" "reading his office." On becoming Protestant to get ahead: "Apostasy, though, without going into the matter of eternal damnation at all, just wasn't worth it there." Gives impressive sermon on God's mercy and toward end "stared out over the heads of the congregation and saw what nobody else in the old church could see so well, the clock on the choir loft, which said eight-forty" (contrast T Hardy satire of preacher). Sermonizes: "bit by bit we are deprived our most precious possessions, so we think, our childhood, our youth, all our days," as indeed Urban himself will be deprived. Carries out his duties. On Christ's parable of corrupt bookkeeper, "It had even entered Father Urban's mind that Our Lord, who, after all, knew what people were like, may have been a little tired on the day he spoke this parable." To Mrs Thwaites: "You might say that St Peter himself was out of the Church for a time, ma'am." Seeing his benefactor's pride, he realizes that "more had to be done for Billy in a spiritual way than Father Urban had been doing." Admires Lanfranc who had worked with William the Conqueror, and got abbeys built. Book nears end with Bernard of Clairvaux words at Provincial ceremony: "What are the three corners of truth? ... Reason ... Love ... Purity." Hiding his headaches by turning his head to his breviary—"thus, without wishing to, he gained a reputation of piety ... which, however, was not entirely unwarranted now."

Katherine Anne Porter, Ship of Fools: "fairly simplistic" binary opposition between

Catholic community and the rigid individualism and will to power of the German crew (Giles).

Hugh Ross Williamson, The Day Shakespeare Died: reviews John Shakespeare's persecution by Lucy; on John Robinson's continued tenancy at Blackfriars thus keeping it in recusant hands; Hermione's defense echoes Campion's defense; and description of Wolsey echoes Campion's History of Ireland; exposed by John Speed (see 1611), and so Shakespeare retired to Stratford.

****1963****

Fr. Christopher Devlin's Hamlet's Divinity and Other Essays: reviews previous evidence; cites parallel of Lear language to the Christian Directory; discusses Lord Strange's Catholic connections; speculates meeting with Persons and Campion.

Roland Frye, Shakespeare and Christian Doctrine: attacking generalized Christian interpretation, Frye argued: "We are repeatedly faced with assertions as to what sixteenth-century Christians would have thought of particular characters, actions, and speeches, but rarely -- indeed, almost never -- do we find evidence cited from the sixteenth century to buttress the assertions." Appendix discussing Catholic priest's censorship of Shakespeare plays at Valladolid, denying Jesuit appropriation of Shakespeare (and religious interpretation generally), but: "At two points in Macbeth, however, lines have been drawn vertically down the margin by words which must have held special poignancy for the exiled priests" (3.5.48ff, 4.3.39ff); priest censors sexual, also anti-papal rhetoric, all of Measure for Measure, also Henry VIII's joyful confidence in Elizabeth (5.564-69).

Helen C. White, Tudor Books of Saints and Martyrs, on the influence of saints' legends, as in Caxton's Golden Legend, on descriptions of Catholic martyrs.

J. Hillis Miller, The Disappearance of God: Five Nineteenth-Century Writers (Harvard UP): the older world, characterized by "the miracle of the Incarnation"; "The daily re-enactment of the Incarnation on all the altars of Christendom was the manifestation and guarantee of communion ... The words of the sacrament brought about the transubstantiation of the natural elements into the body and blood of Christ ... The Eucharist was the archetype of the divine analogy whereby created things participated in the supernatural reality they signified." "The Reformation, if not immediately, certainly in its ultimate effects, means a weakening of belief in the sacrament of communion." ("Baroque poetry represents a violent effort by the human imagination to keep open the avenue of communication between man and God," but doesn't call his writers "baroque". Climactic chapter on Hopkins and his incarnational "rhyming, "Naural things ... charged with the grandeur of God"; but last paragraph points way to brave new world: "Browning alone seems to have glimpsed the fact that the sad alternatives of nihilism and escape beyond the world could be evaded if man would only reject twenty-five hundred years of belief in the dualism of heaven and hearth." (note "evaded").

Pope Paul VI addresses Vatican Council: "If we are in any way to blame for that separation, we humbly beg God's forgiveness and ask pardon too of our brethren who feel themselves to have been injured by us."

René Wellek, "The Concept of Baroque in Literary Scholarship" (orig. 1946) pub. with "Postscript 1962" in Concepts of Criticism (1963); denying the necessary association of Catholicism and baroque in the earlier essay, Wellek nevertheless lists many more such connections in the "Postscript" (without taking back his judgement). Baroque seems to be a counter-Reformation or generally Catholic wave washing back across Protestant territory; Crashaw being an obviously English example, but so also perhaps Milton (see Wylie Sypher, Four Stages of Renaissance Style).

Pope John XXIII, Pacem in Terris, using modern discourse of rights, to be embodied in Vatican II's Declaration on Religious Freedom (Dignitatis Humane).

US Supreme Court bans prayer in the public schools.

****1964****

J. Crehan, "Shakespeare and the Sarum Ritual," The Month: Oberon's blessing like a paraphrase of the Benedictio Thalami in Catholic Church's old Sarum rite.

G. K. Hunter, "Six Notes on Measure for Measure" (Shakespeare Quarterly): portrait of Isabella reflects Shakespeare's detailed knowledge of the rule of the Poor Clare sisters.

Hugh Hanley, "Shakespeare's Family in Stratford Records," (TLS 21 May); Stratford ecclesiastical records show Susanna was charged, with the Sadlers, for not receiving the sacrament, later dismissed; courts acted because of Gunpowder Plot six months previous.

Etienne Delaruelle, L'église au temps du Grand Schisme, and later books, emphasizing medieval "piety" crossing class lines, rejecting notion of a bi-level culture, helped bring ordinary people into mainstream of historical study.

A. G. Dickens's The English Reformation argued that as early as the 1530s "English Catholicism, despite its gilded decorations, was an old, unseaworthy, and ill-commanded galleon," and Protestantism greeted with enthusiasm; argued against earlier simple 'act of state' interpretations and emphasized local archival resources. "The 'anti-Froudian, neo-Tractarian reaction which swept across English Reformation studies between 1890 and 1940' was over" (Haigh, Historical Research 2004). Dickens: "the vast majority of Elizabethan Englishmen who cared deeply about religion were either Roman Catholics or Anglican Puritans. Until 1600 or later that spirituality within the Anglican Church which could reasonably be described as non-Puritan remained rather exiguous." See A. Mason, in Oxford Companion to Christian Thought: "the Elizabethan settlement was a middle way, not between Geneva and Rome, but between Geneva and Wittenberg."

John Courtney Murray, "The Problem of Religious Freedom," Theological Quarterly: quoting Pope John XXIII saying "in these days men are becoming more and more conscious of their dignity," Murray: "The common consciousness of men today considers the demand for a personal, social, and political freedom to be an exigency that rises from the depths of the human person."

Pope Paul VI (7 May), at Sistine Chapel, celebrates the world of art and its complementary relation to the Church: "We need your collaboration in order to carry out our ministry ... And if we were deprived of your assistance, our ministry would become faltering and uncertain, and a special effort would be needed, one might say, to make it artistic, even prophetic. In order to scale the heights of lyrical expression of intuitive beauty, priesthood would have to coincide with art."

Hans Küng, Justification: The Doctrine of Karl Barth and a Catholic Reflection (trans. from 1957 German original). Prefatory letter from Barth: "If what you have presented ... is actually the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church, then I must certainly admit that my view of justification agrees with the Roman Catholic view." Küng's intro. describes 16th century division as "a rupture which Christians regard as a punishment and non-Christians a scandal, down to this very day."

Slant founded (-1970), radical leftist Catholic journal, including Terry Eagleton.

Vatican Council's "Decree on Ecumenism": "men of both sides were to blame" for the separation of communities from the Catholic Church. "We can say that in some real way they are joined with us in the Holy Spirit, for to them also he gives his gifts and graces, and is thereby operative among them with his sanctifying power." "All those justified by faith through baptism are incorporated into Christ. They therefore have a right to be honoured by the title of Christian, and are properly regarded as brothers and sisters in the Lord by the sons and daughters of the Catholic Church." "Nevertheless, our separated brethren ... are not blessed with that unity which Jesus Christ wished to bestow on all those whom He has regenerated." "Furthermore, the Church herself finds it more difficult to express in actual life her full catholicity in all of its aspects;" "present divisions ... are a 'ruga et macula' ... The

Church of Rome is thus doctrinally committed to seek unity." 'It is hardly surprising if sometimes one tradition has come nearer than the other to an apt appreciation of certain aspects of the revealed mystery or has expressed them in clearer manner. As a result, these varying theological formulations are often to be considered as complementary rather than as conflicting.'

Pope Paul meets with Patriarch Athenagoras, to promote Catholic-Orthodox reconciliation.

****1965****

Peter Milward, "Shakespeare and Christian Doctrine." Shakespeare Studies (Shakespeare Society of Japan) (1965-6), expansion of 1960 article.

Robert Hunter, Shakespeare and the Comedy of Forgiveness (Columbia UP): Shakespeare comedies are in tradition of "those early plays of forgiveness ... commonly found among the type known as the Miracles de Notre Dame;" but in Shakespeare the relation of man and God is secularized into human relations.

James McConica, English Humanists and Reformation Politics Under Henry VIII and Edward VI, on the Catholic humanism of Erasmus, and indigenous English Catholic humanism after 1500; its persistence in reign of Henry VIII, influence on Catherine Parr, and early Cranmer; but radical Protestantism under Edward VI diverged from Erasmianism, a radicalism increased by Protestant Marian exiles like Bale and Foxe who criticized Henry's lukewarm Protestantism; recusant exiles under Mary in turn separated More from Erasmus. Still this Erasmian tradition continued underground into Jewel (!) and Andrewes, and "recalls those secret streams of learning and evangelism which flowed beneath the more obvious landmarks of Reformation debate, which drew their vigour from the writings of Erasmus and his friends, and which coursed through England as through the rest of western Europe in the years of common effort before the disintegration of Christian unity in the west" (book's concluding sentence).

Harvey Cox, The Secular City 1965, rev. edn. 1966: "There are three pivotal elements in biblical faith which have each given rise to one aspect of secularization: the disenchantment of nature begins with the Creation, the desacralization of politics with the Exodus, and the deconsecration of values with the Sinai Covenant, especially with its prohibition of idols." "Hellenistic man bears far less responsibility than biblical man in the creative work of God." "The world is becoming more and more 'mere world.' It is being divested of its sacral and religious character," a good thing

Wimsatt, "Horse of Wrath: Recent Critical Lessons" in Hateful Contraries (U. of Kentucky Press, 1965): "the religious mind would seem, in the end, to be more hospitable to the tensional and metaphysical view of poetry than the naturalistic mind is able to be. And this is borne out in recent history. The metaphysical criticism which was 'new' in the 1940's (working by the norms of wit, irony, metaphor, drama, tension) had had some of its strongest champions among poets and critics of the Anglican school and has enjoyed for the most part at least a friendly reception in Roman Catholic schools and journals. The same school of criticism has met with strong disapproval from Marxist and other socially oriented thought ..." (p. 48).

Catholic altars turned around to face the people.

Mutual anathemas (excommunications) of 1054, over Great Schism, revoked by Pope and Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople.

****1966****

Peter Milward, "The Homiletic Tradition in Shakespeare's Plays" (Shakespeare Studies, Japan), on echoes of Persons's Christian Directory, Southwell, Nashe Teares, Catholic bits from sermons of Henry Smith.

Oscar Campbell and Edward Quinn, The Reader's Encyclopedia of Shakespeare: "most authorities reject this idea" "that John Shakespeare's recusancy was a result of his Puritan, not Catholic, sympathies." "It is generally conceded that Shakespeare's father was a Catholic ... and it has recently been discovered that the poet's daughter was listed with a group of recusants in 1607. Stratford itself, in the 16th century, was fairly well divided in the matter of religious preferences."

Pope Paul VI and Archbishop Michael Ramsey of Canterbury issue common

declaration grateful for new dialogue, set up Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission (ARCIC) (1966-1981). Their "Common Declaration": "in this city of Rome, from which Saint Augustine was sent by Saint Gregory to England and there founded the cathedral see of Canterbury ... they wish to leave ... all that in the past has been opposed to this precept of charity." They announced their goal of "restoration of complete communion in faith and sacramental life." In St. Paul's Basilica, they said the Our Father together.

1966 Leonard Cohen, "Suzanne": Montreal setting, including little chapel near harbour, Notre-Dame-de-Bon-Secours (Our Lady of Good Help), facing the rising sun in the morning: "And the sun pours down like honey / On our lady of the harbour / And she shows you where to look / Among the garbage and the flowers"

****1967****

English version of the Borromeo template-testament found, printed in 1638, which closely follows Malone's text. See John McManaway, "John Shakespeare's 'Spiritual Testament'," Shakespeare Quarterly; cites Malone-Chambers, Thurston's 1923 discovery, Mutschmann, Parker (1955), De Groot. Finds more Spanish edns. of the Borromeo testament; argues that Catholic missionaries brought testament into England. Also announces discovery of the Folger Library English version.

Helen Gardner, King Lear, compares last scene to Pieta (but Mack, 1965, gives slight hint.)

Frances Yates, Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition, on Bruno's hermetic Neoplatonism, and its role in imagining religious reconciliation.

Robert Deming, "Robert Herrick's Classical Ceremony" (ELH), on the mixture of classical and Anglican/Roman Catholic ceremonies and their spiritual importance in which Herrick believed.

Patrick Collinson, The Elizabethan Puritan Movement (UCal Press): "The ideological differences which arose between English Puritanism and what we are almost forced, in spite of the anachronism, to call Anglicanism ... were differences of degree, of theological temperature so to speak, rather than of fundamental principle. 'The hotter sort of protestants are called puritans', explains a Elizabethan pamphleteer" (26-27).

Hugh Trevor-Roper's "The Religious Origins of the Enlightenment," in his Religion, the Reformation and Social Change (London: Macmillan, 1967): source of Enlightenment and modern capitalism not in Weber's Whiggish Puritanism but in Erasmianism that continues through (Arminian and Socinian) groups related to, even nurtured in, but dissident from, Calvinism and Catholicism; thus Montaigne, Grotius, Laud, Tew Circle, de Thou, Sarpi, even Jesuits and Jacobites, etc. See John Robertson, "Hugh Trevor-Roper, Intellectual History and 'The Religious Origins of the Enlightenment'" EHR 124 (2009). Also see later Trevor-Roper, Catholics, Anglicans and Puritans (Chicago, 1987), From Counter-Reformation to Glorious Revolution (Chicago, 1992).

Catholic charismatic renewal begins at Duquesne University, quickly spreads to Michigan State and Notre Dame.

Group of Catholic educators, led by Theodore Hesburgh, meet at Land O'Lakes, Wisconsin, and issue Land O'Lakes document saying that "institutional autonomy and academic freedom are essential conditions of life and growth and indeed of survival for Catholic universities as for all universities."

Rosemary Haughton, The Transformation of Man.

****1968****

David Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics: "Shakespeare's anticlericalism in no way contradicts his generous attitude toward the old religion." Includes chapter on John Heywood's reconciliatory drama (see 1527) and pages on Lyly.

The Malta Report, joint Anglican-Catholic recommending International Commission to oversee relations, a common declaration of faith, annual joint meetings, etc.

H. Outram Evennett, The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation (Cambridge UP), emphasizing

spiritual reform in Catholic 'reformation' as well; notes "the systematization of the meditative form of mental prayer, which was much cultivated in the fifteenth century, in the first instance as a way toward the reform of monastic and clerical life. Thence it was adapted progressively to the requirements of the devout layman, to become eventually, through the agency of the great spiritual masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries -- Ignatius, Scupoli, François de Sales, Bérulle, Vincent de Paul -- one of the cornerstones of the new and reinvigorated spirituality that was gradually diffused, by means of all the new apostolic techniques of the Counter-Reformation, through the whole Catholic Church". In earlier The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent (Cambridge UP, 1930), Evennett distinguished positive and negative elements, i.e. expansion and development, and yet defence of medievalism and counter-attack against revolution in the church (see Jedin, 1946).

D. M. Rogers ed., English Recusant Literature (Scolar Press), 394 facsimile volumes (pub. 1968-79)

Cultural revolution of 1968, launched Age of Aquarius (sic).

****1969****

David Lake, N&Q, discovers that Shakespeare collaborated with Catholic George Wilkins on Pericles.

Peter Milward, "The Religious Dimension of King Lear" (Shakespeare Studies, Japan) (1969-70), comparing Edgar to Southwell's description of hunted priests (see Cecil 1584, Southwell 1591).

Milward, "The Religious Implications of The Merchant of Venice" (English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku)), on the play as a Puritan / Catholic allegory.

Robert Fitch, Shakespeare: The Perspective of Value: not Catholicism, but "Catholic Anglicanism."

Roy Battenhouse, Shakespearean Tragedy: Its Art and Its Christian Premises, praised by Milward for re-introducing Christian ideas into Shakespeare discussion.

Lilian Ruff and Arnold Wilson, "The Madrigal, the Lute Song and Elizabethan Politics," Past and Present 44 (Aug 1969): Byrd's madrigals and Dowland's lute songs (and others) flourished to accompany Essex's triumph, and downfall, respectively.

Roger B. Manning, Religion and Society in Elizabethan Sussex, early modern study on the local "slow Reformation"

David DeLaura, Hebrew and Hellene in Victorian England: Newman, Arnold, and Pater, on how the Newman tradition continues in the cultural ideas of Arnold and Pater; exemplifying how Catholicism spills into a later secular culture. "No other figure in Arnold's development—not Goethe, not Wordsworth—is so frequently found at the center of Arnold's total humanistic vision." Describes how "the substance of dogmatic Christianity was transformed, within one or two generations, into the fabric of aestheticism." "Arnold and Paper had derived the rationality and the tonality for their ideal of full consciousness ... from the older Oxford, and above all from the works of Newman's as the Idea of a University and the Apologia" (fr. review, p. 343 of DeL?). Arnold said the influence of Newman was "so profound, and so mixed up with all that is most essential to what I do and say, that I can never cease to be conscious of it." (Svagic notes that Arnold also got his view of disinterestedness from T. Arnold, Sand, Sainte-Beuve; Allott notes Goethe). Arnold's veneration for Newman "is only comparable to Arnold's almost Hamlet-like affection for his dead father."

Kenneth Clark, Civilization: A Personal View, also public TV series; on how institutional Catholic church supported great art. "The wars of religion evoked a figure new to European civilisation, although familiar in the great ages of China: the intellectual recluse. Petrarch and Erasmus had used their brains at the highest level of politics. They had been the advisors of princes. Their successor, the greatest humanist of the mid-sixteenth century, retreated into his tower ... This was Michel de Montaigne."

Paul McCartney's "Mother Mary Comes to me speaking words of wisdom: let it be, let it be" (his mother's name Mary), music by M. and John Lennon; Beatles's last single, released 1970, and last

number as a group (on the album, before the song Lennon is heard mocking, mimicking Gracie Fields, 'now we'd like to do "Hark The Angels Come"' (Contrast Lennon's "Imagine (there's no heaven)" (1971):

When I find myself in times of trouble
Mother Mary comes to me
Speaking words of wisdom, let it be

And in my hour of darkness
She is standing right in front of me
Speaking words of wisdom, let it be ...

And when the brokenhearted people
Living in the world agree
There will be an answer, let it be

For though they may be parted
There is still a chance that they will see
There will be an answer, let it be ...

And when the night is cloudy
There is still a light that shines on me
Shine on until tomorrow, let it be ...

I wake up to the sound of music
Mother Mary comes to me
Speaking words of wisdom, let it be ...

My Night at Maud's (Ma nuit chez Maud), movie by Éric Rohmer, practicing Catholic; dialogue between Catholic, Marxist and freethinker; principled Catholic chooses conventional (in his eyes) Catholic bride over the sensuous inviting Maud, suggesting that his principles interfere with full human sharing--resulting in life of unshared secrets with his wife. Like but unlike Mauriac from whom the issues are within Catholicism?

Flannery O'Connor, Mystery and Manners: Occasional Prose pub. "In the past, Catholic imagination in this country has been devoted almost exclusively to practical affairs ... now that our existence is no longer in doubt, we are beginning to realize that an impoverishment of the imagination means an impoverishment of the religious life as well." "For the Catholic, one result of the Counter-Reformation was a practical overemphasis on the legal and logical and a consequent neglect of the Church's broader tradition. The need for this emphasis has now diminished, and the Church is busy encouraging those biblical and liturgical revivals which should restore Catholic life to its proper fullness. Nevertheless the scars of this legalistic approach are still upon us." "The opportunities for the potential Catholic writer in the South are so great as to be intimidating ... He lives in the Bible Belt, where belief can be made believable. He has also here a good view of the modern world. A half-hour's ride in this region will take him from places where the life has a distinctively Old Testament flavor to places where the life might be considered post-Christian."

****1970****

Henry Kelly, Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories, that Tillyard's Providential Tudor theme does not work in Shakespeare.

Peter Milward, "The Shadow of Henry VIII in Shakespeare's Plays" (English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku)): basis of chapter 9 in 1973 book.

Douglas Hamer attacks Shakeshafte theory (RES), too many Shakeshaftes, bequest unlikely, etc.

Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives*, cites 1923 Thurston article and says the Spanish text "confirmed the authenticity" of the template for the original John Shakespeare testament, but "other John Shakespeares lived in Warwickshire ... all conjecture uncertain;" sees Hamer article as "effectively" rebutting the Lancaster theory (but see 1987 below, also 1975, 1977, 1985).

D. Douglas Water, *Duessa as Theological Satire*, i.e. in the "Mistress Missa" tradition connected mass with whore of Babylon; parallels knight's physical and spiritual lust (for idols); Cranmer had warned: "Listen not to the false incantations, sweet whisperings, and crafty juggling of the subtle papists, wherewith they have ... bewitched the world."

Pope Paul VI canonizes 40 of the 136 beatified English and Welsh martyrs, a controversial act; prays that the blood of the martyrs would heal the old division. The Pope proclaimed: "on the day when—God willing—the unity of faith and of Christian life is restored, no offense will be inflicted on the honor and sovereignty of a great country such as England. There will be no seeking to lessen the legitimate prestige and the worthy patrimony of the piety and usage proper to the Anglican Church ..." canonized included Mayne, Campion, Walpole, Clitherow, Southwell, Owen, not Garnet.

Terry Eagleton, *The Body as Language: Outline of a 'new left' theology*. Note *Literary Theory* (1983): "The liberal humanist response ... is not weak because it believes that literature can be transformative. It is weak because it usually grossly overestimates this transformative power, considers it in isolation from any determining social contexts" (from "Conclusion: Political Criticism").

Charles Trinkaus, *In Our Image and Likeness. Humanity and Divinity in Italian Humanist Thought*, 2 vols.: how Petrarch, Valla, Poggio et al attempted integrations of classical and Christian thought, rooted in Augustine, with emphasis on rhetoric and will; contra Burckhardt's split of secular and religious. Major document in the revenge of the medievalists. On "what is possibly the most affirmative view of human nature in the history of thought and expression" (1.xiv), found precedent in the Church Fathers's attempted reconciliation of classical and Christian. "The assertion of an energetic, individualist drive for fulfillment as a major motif of Renaissance culture by Burckhardt thus found its theoretical statement and justification ... in a plea for a renewal of a theology of grace as the acceptance that divine force alone [that] was capable of restricting the naturally egotistical motivations of mankind" (1.xx). Also rely on Augustine's reconciliation of the personal and the Christian structure; "the Epicurean value of pleasure is transfigured into the Christian value of beatitude and fruition and love – all identical in Valla's view. The Stoic value of virtuous abstention becomes truly virtuous ... the product of the divinely infused love of God and neighbour that turns the soul away from inferior pleasure" (1.136). Salutati achieved "a revival of Augustinian theology—a theology of will, and subjectivity and spirituality" (1.147). For "Valla, "Christianity enkindled the fire of charity in man which was pleasure sublimated into love—love of God, neighbour and self" (1.149). "This recovery of personal energy, of virtù, in the Renaissance, is rightfully Valla's, although his reconciliation of the all-powerful human will and of charity as the highest form of personal fulfillment and social realization was anticipated by Salutati" (168). Valla's precedents lay "in the humanism of Petrarch and Salutati, in the eroding of the metaphysical and hieratic theology of the thirteenth-century scholastics by their nominalist successors, in the passionate life and theology of St. Augustine" (169). "Among intellectual movements, it seems to me, the humanists first grasped and were stunned by the mightiness of the human forces that surrounded them; and of those which they experienced within themselves" (169). "men ... might take pride ... in

their high god-like dignity ... and might find joy in those activities ... fittingly consummated in their ultimate heavenly fruition of their Creator-God in whose image they so insistently repeated they themselves were created" (283). [cites John O'Malley on Viterbo, but not other "Catholic Reformation" classics nor does Wooding, etc. cite Trinkaus]. Geerken's review mentions Pastor in passing. John Geerken review, *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 12 (1974) calls it a "strained synthesis"; for the humanists that followed, the "heroic option" tended to pull away from the Christian and toward the "secular and Promethean." "In the final analysis ... we must recognize the ontological difference between *arête* or *virtù* on the one hand whose emphasis is on pride and pride-like values, and Christian virtue on the other, whose emphasis is on humility and the theological virtues" [Trinkaus may think that this religious humanism was an elitist movement that eventually was cancelled out by counter-Reformation Catholicism; he does not seem interested in the topic of "Catholic" vs. "Counter reformation."] See Stinger, 1985.

Jesus Christ Superstar, rock musical by Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice, appears first as album, then on Broadway in 1971.

****1971****

Keith Thomas, Religion and the Decline of Magic: on folk connection of magic with Catholic ritual, promoted reexamination of this theme in Europe, parallels to undeveloped world.

ARCIC issues first agreed statement, "Eucharistic Doctrine" (see 1966): "Communion with Christ in the eucharist presupposes his true presence ... We believe that we have reached substantial agreement ..."

John Berryman, "Eleven Addresses to the Lord" in Love and Fame (1971), "Opus Dei" with "Lauds," "Matins," etc. in Delusions (1972).

Craig R. Thompson, "Erasmus and Tudor England" (Actes du Congres Erasme): "In polemics between Anglicans and Roman Catholics during the reign, Erasmus occupied a curious position. The Jesuits would not quite let him go, but to some Anglicans he seemed virtually one of themselves ... We do not yet have the synthesis the subject deserves."

Flannery O'Connor, The Complete Stories (1971). Key stories (previously pub.): "A Good Man is Hard to Find" (1953), "The River" (1953), "The Displaced Person" (1954), "A Temple of the Holy Ghost" (1954), "The Artificial Nigger" (1955), "The Enduring Chill" (1958), "Everything That Rises Must Converge" (1961), "Revelation" (1964), "Parker's Back" (1965). "For O'Connor, as for Percy, there is no self-evident social context with which Christian 'truth' can intermesh, and this creates a sense of incongruity highlighted further by the especially anomalous juxtaposition of American Catholicism with the Bible Belt of the Deep South" (Giles).

Godspell, musical by Stephen Schwartz and John-Michael Tebelak, off-broadway.

Methodist-Catholic dialogues begin in Denver, 1971, and continue through Seoul 2006, with many agreements. (See Geoffrey Wainwright, "Catholic/Methodist Dialogue" Prism 18 (Winter 2007)). Colin Stephenson (Anglican priest), Merrily on High (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1972): Attending St. Bartholomew's Church in Brighton in the 1920's, "I had stumbled upon Anglo-Catholicism at the height of its power as a movement." "Religion was such fun at St. Paul's [Oxford] with very dressed up-processions in May and October ... and the Host enthroned ... at Corpus Christi. Everything was lightened by Roger's [Wodehouse] sense of fun ... Roger had a gift of harnessing sentiment to the objectivity of the Catholic religion." "St. Mary Magdalen [Oxford] represented the sort of church of which I had always dreamed." In the Navy, "I was able to establish my own version of the Church of England wherever I went." The blow of Vatican 2: "Anglo-Catholics ... had always taken our stand on the fact that we were part of the Western Church and, as we thought the Church of Rome would never change, we ought to bring ourselves as in line with it as we could." "I understand why the young react against ecclesiasticism and some of the man-made structures of the Church as very unlovely things, and ye I don't think they realize what fun we had while it lasted." "I do not know or believe there was ever any hope of converting the church of England as a whole to baroque Catholicism, but I am glad to have lived at time when for a moment it seemed a dizzying possibility." Earlier on St. Bartholomew church: "For all its triumphalism it held within it the seeds of its own dissolution ... It had become

Congregationalist and cut off from the main stream of the Church of England and rejoiced to have it so. It had thrown in its lot devotionally with the baroque Catholicism of the continent just when that movement was about to be discredited in the church of its origin.” [Anglo-Catholicism as a chosen structure, “fun,” “a dream,” a “version,” like a poetic structure (thus a good setting for the valuing of the literary, and the new criticism); thus Milton’s invented Christianity in fact consistent with this dimension of construct in Anglicanism (see Malcolm Ross on Paradise Regained, 1667).]

****1972****

E.R.C Brinkworth, in Shakespeare and the Bawdy Court of Stratford, church records show that Susanna, and Hamnet and Judith Sadler were probably church papists.

G. R. Elton, Policy and Police: The Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell: “The tasks of enforcement, from clarifying the new truths to dealing with irreconcilables ... were pressing, constant and pervasive;” discusses Cromwell’s brilliant coordination of “propaganda and enforcement,” including “a System of espionage, the most effective England had ever seen;” “depended in the last resort on the willingness, prejudices and private ends of men;” classic work on fast Reformation, imposed from above (Haigh), as in his later Reform and Reformation (1977); “contributed most to my own perception of the contested character of the Tudor Reformation” (Duffy, 2006).

Francis Shaw S. J., “*The Canon of Irish History: A Challenge*,” Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review 61.242 (Summer, 1972): “The business of revolution was usually an Anglo-Irish affair.” Pearse’s extremist violent republican separatism (vs. his earlier moderate nationalism); a disaster for Ireland which had historically not made such clear-cut anti-English divisions; wrecked the Gaelic league (“Yet, today, the people would do well to examine again the comprehensive cultural and national ideal which at one time gave promise of uniting all Irishmen of every creed and class...” Historically, Irishmen thought locally, not in terms of national state, though very conscious of being Irish; they allied or didn’t with the English, hated tyrants whether English or Irish; as they learned English, their individuality became stronger (F. Shaw), preferred peaceful evolution toward “independence.”

****1973****

Milward’s Shakespeare’s Religious Background: reviews John Shakespeare recusancy, notes Shakespeare reverence for Catholic things in plays, Catholic schoolmasters, Shakeshafte theory; Hermione echoes Campion defense; notes Persons/Southwell/Hamlet parallels; traces echoes of Geneva Bible and Book of Common Prayer, Smith and Hooker. Chapter 9 parallels Henry VIII / Catherine to Leontes / Hermione, Cymbeline / Imogen, Lear / Cordelia, Othello / Desdemona; “what Hamlet says to Gertrude, Shakespeare ... says to England: ‘Let me wring your heart’;” interprets Jesuit Valladolid censor (see Frye 1963). Reviews: “Chapter IX, ‘Henry VIII and Elizabeth’, ... is historical allegorizing of the most irresponsible sort” (RES ‘75); “The chapter on ‘Henry VIII and Elizabeth’ is frankly controversial ... deserves further investigation” (Heythrop Jnl ‘74); “Much less ... will support be readily given to ... chapter ... IX” (Christian Scholar’s Review ‘75); see Vanita, 2000. Milward is first “to recognize how all the ‘Lancashire’ clues in Shakespeare’s biography support one another” (Honigmann, 1985).

Glynne Wickham, “From Tragedy to Tragi-Comedy: ‘King Lear’ as Prologue” (Shakespeare Survey): revenge conflicts of Romeo and Hamlet reflect religious wars of the time, while the romances reflect James I’s visions of union and peace; Marina, Imogen, etc. reflect Princess Elizabeth coming to court in 1608; and the marriages in the romances reflect the hope that the Princess might marry a Catholic European prince.

Jerome McGann on Abrams’s Natural Supernaturalism: “by taking Wordsworth as his normative

figure, Abrams altogether neglects what we know as the 'Catholic' traditions of Romantic religious experience. Abrams's Protestant traditions carries on into the twentieth century, as he argues; yet it runs parallel not only with the developing tradition of irreligious Romanticisms, but with the continuous history of more so-called 'conservative' Romantic traditions. Chateaubriand is not even mentioned ... ("Romanticism and the Embarrassments of Critical Tradition," Modern Philology)
 N. Tyacke, "Puritanism, Arminianism and counter-revolution" in C. Russell ed. The Origins of the English Civil War: "classic article which first established the undoubted importance of the dominance of English protestant divinity by a Calvinist view of the theology of grace" (Lake, Anglicans and Puritans (1988)).

US Supreme Court Roe vs. Wade decision on Abortion.

Bruce Springsteen, first album "Greetings from Asbury Park, NJ" (1973); see Giles chapter in Transnationalism: Springsteen lacks Giles Gunn's "numinous 'otherness'" and locates divinity as an immanent force (295), stresses the "ordinary" vs. iconoclastic British working-class movement (296), his "Catholicism of the streets" (Fisher) at odds "with the angry voice of apocalypse and regeneration extolled as a national virtue in Bercovitch" (302).

****1974****

G. R. Elton, Reform and Reformation, England 1509-1558, that the reform succeeded only because of official enforcement (vs. Dickens's view that it succeeded because of popular support), "the first serious non-Catholic or non-Anglo-Catholic historian to present the English Reformation as a major struggle" (Haigh).

Bernard and Margaret Pawley, Rome and Canterbury through Four Centuries (new edn. 1981), classic Anglican review of the relationship: "the Reformation was for the Church of Rome a hardening experience, minimizing the benefit which might have come to her from the Renaissance if such as Erasmus, Colet and More had been allowed to guide her destinies;" "Where the two bodies could have edified each other, there was bigotry and prejudice. Rome had a strong, but sometimes naive sense of the supernatural; contemporary Anglicanism had a neurotic terror of superstition."

****1975****

Schoenbaum, William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life, complete edition, dedicated to McManaway (see 1967), settles for a "secular agnosticism" re. John Shakespeare's signing of the testament though "the document is genuine;" notes fact of Campion and Persons bringing testament; reviews Stratford Catholic schoolmasters (Hunt, Cottom); William Shakespeare's own will no argument because "testators, whether Catholic or Protestant, could use the same exordium ... without necessarily regarding it as an avowal of sectarian faith ... Moreover, one may conform outwardly as a matter of convenience, to avoid the law's importunities;" notes minimal anti-papal rhetoric in King John by contrast with Bale; reviews Shakeshafte theory ("Lancaster had a sufficiency of Shakeshaftes"). On Milward's 1973 book: "The facts are ambiguous: too ambiguous to justify a recent Jesuitical commentator's conclusion that Shakespeare felt a positive nostalgia for England's Catholic past, although the same writer is on safer ground when he claims that Shakespeare shows much familiarity but little awkwardness in his treatment of Catholic customs and beliefs" (footnote deleted by Schoenbaum in revised edition).

John Bossy, The English Catholic Community: 1570-1850, "in one giant stride drags the history of the Catholic community in England into the forefront of modern historiography" (L. Stone, NY Rev of Books, 2/3/77); but Bossy minimizes importance of continuation of pre-Reformation Catholicism and insists on novelty of the Catholic sect created by Jesuits, etc. A. G. Dickens had earlier distinguished "survivalism" and "seminarism."

Haigh's Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire, on the network of Catholic families in Lancashire, and the thriving of Catholicism there, resisting Protestant encroachment; this continues a series of studies by Haigh on "slow Reformation."

David Kaula, Shakespeare and the Archpriest Controversy, linking of

Shakespeare plays to factional Catholic tracts, but unconvincing because the subjects are so different; still, the verbal parallels are many, and evoke other such studies of echoes in Shakespeare.

Valerie Cunningham, Everywhere Spoke Against: Dissent in the Victorian Novel (Oxford, 1975); on the vitality and importance of dissenting sectarian traditions, despite their marginalizing in the Victorian novel: a model of revisionist religious scholarship.

Roger Howell, Jr. "The Sidney Circle and the Protestant Cause in Elizabethan Foreign Policy," Renaissance and Modern Studies: Sidney's patriotic Protestantism qualified by his attraction to the ecumenical Christian hermetism of Giordano Bruno, a development of neo-Platonic and cabalistic philosophy which, while denying magic, emphasizes elements in the philosophy of Ficino and Mirandola that argued for a religious synthesis in which all Gentile philosophers pointed toward a unified Christian Doctrine." Also admired Mornay, and others connected with the Pléiade, thus his friendship with Campion, and remark to Greville about joining with Papacy in common cause. His hatred of Spain made him hope that France, and even the Pope, might join in anti-Spanish coalition. Also interested in New world exploration for the faith, like John Dee; and was interested in the Peckham plan for a American colony for Catholics (see 1582).

Leavis, The Living Principle: on Eliot's "Ash Wednesday," "Under a juniper-tree...": "So we have ... the liturgical diction, canorousness and phrasing and the unmistakable invocation of a given Catholic tradition. Such a heuristic poise was of its nature momentary; it couldn't be maintained for long."

****1976****

David Kaula, "Autolycus's Trumpery" (SEL) interesting article, associating Autolycus's "trumpery" and hallowed trinkets with attack on papist trumpery and tokens, by Harsnet and others, versus Perdita's true spiritual worth.

Willem Schrickx, "'Pericles' in a Book-List of 1619 from the English Jesuit Mission ..." (Shakespeare Survey) on Pericles performed before visiting Catholic ambassadors, item discovered in Continental Saint-Omers Jesuit book-list: "the inclusion of such a play ... lends significant support to ... Hoeniger ... that this drama is a Saints's play in which Shakespeare emphasizes the themes of patience and redemption."

David Frey, The First Tetralogy: Shakespeare's Scrutiny of the Tudor Myth: "Shakespeare challenges the efficacy of divine justice ... by presenting Henry VI, throughout his suffering, as completely good ... by altering, underplaying, or redirecting the few negative aspects of Henry's behaviour found in the sources, and at the same time emphasizing and strengthening his piety."

T. A. Birrell, "English Catholic Mystics in Non-Catholic Circles," Downside Review (Jan., April, July), on influence of Benet Canfield, Augustine Baker, and Dame Gertrude More, also Cloud of Unknowing, Julian's Revelations, etc..

ARCIC statement: "Communion with the see of Rome would bring to the churches of the Anglican Communion not only a wider koinonia but also a strengthening of the power to realize its traditional ideal of diversity in unity. Roman Catholics, on the their side, would be enriched by the presence of a particular tradition of spirituality and scholarship, the lack of which has deprived the Roman Catholic Church of a precious element in the Christian heritage."

****1977****

Emrys Jones, The Origins of Shakespeare, demonstrates that climactic scenes of Richard III exploit Catholic beliefs about All Soul's Eve.

Schoenbaum, William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life (see 1970), adds section on Shakeshafte theory ; "I have also profited from ... Milward ... although the latter, a work of special pleading, should be consulted with caution;" in this edn., notes Speed's coupling of Persons and Shakespeare (see 1611).

R. Chris Hassel, "Love versus Charity in Love's Labour's Lost" (Shakespeare Survey), noting the Protestant satire of Catholic monasticism but argues that the play confirms "More's and [Gregory] Martin's Catholic belief that erring man

needs sacramental means to reach that supernatural selflessness which characterizes charity.”

Kathleen Davies, Social History, argues that though Catholic priests considered marriage second best, “their advice on marriage is remarkably similar in tone to that given by Puritan writers,” similar advice about equality of regard, sharing of goods, right to follow conscience, mutual involvement, etc.

Archbishop Coggan of Canterbury visits Pope John Paul II, declare they “have come to recognize, to value and to give thanks for a common faith in God our Father ... common baptism ... Apostles’ and Nicene Creeds.” “Our call to this [restoration of complete communion in faith and sacramental life] is one with the sublime Christian vocation itself, which is a call to communion.”

****1978****

Catholics estimated now to be 11% of English population (5% in 1850); more enrolled Catholic church members than in all Protestant churches.

Edward Said, Orientalism; see Franchot, 1994. But see Bernard Lewis, “The Question of Orientalism,” in Islam and the West (Oxford 1993), rpt. of 1982 NYRB article, on Said over-stereotyping the great complex tradition of Orientalist scholarship, ignoring the Germans, also pre-colonialist scholarship etc.; also Robert Irwin, Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents (2006) (“surprisingly effective in discrediting and demoralizing an entire tradition of scholarship”).

****1979****

Barbara Lewalski, Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric, emphasizes the biblical poetics on which these lyrics depend, the scriptural Calvinist election-justification-sanctification-scrutiny basis of these lyrics, vs. Martz and White: “emphasis upon the constant scrutiny of personal emotions ... is a primary cause of that introspective intensity.” But see R. V. Young, 2000.

Alice-Lyle Scoufos, Shakespeare’s Typological Satire: A Study of the Falstaff-Oldcastle Problem. Exhaustive study, showing that S’s satire of Cobham is a complex satiric intervention in a long history of the Oldcastle controversy and “two centuries of the Cobham family,” Shakespeare siding with Cobham-critics (More, chroniclers, Stow) against his defenders (Tyndale, Bale, Foxe).

Catherine Belsey, “The Case of Hamlet’s Conscience” (Studies in Philology): On “not to be”: “Opposition to Claudius is treason ... and in plotting against him Hamlet risks his own death ... There is no need to suppose that Hamlet is himself contemplating suicide ... His own problem is the opposition between ‘suffering,’ ‘conscience,’ ‘thought’ on the one hand, and ‘opposing,’ ‘resolution,’ ‘enterprises of great pitch and moment’ on the other” (128), the latter involving the temptation of “wrath.”

Mark Gnerro, “Easter Liturgy and the Love Duet in Merchant of Venice V, 1” (ANQ): love duet of Lorenzo and Jessica echoes “This is the night” etc. of Sarum Eastern Liturgy.

Nils Clausson, “English Catholics and Roman Catholicism in Disraeli’s Novels” (NCF): “For Disraeli the true hold of the church is best represented by Sybil, who resolves against a conventual life and enters the political world to work with Egremont for the improvement of society.” “Only by returning to the ideals of England’s past would Victorians solve the problems of the present. Foreign panaceas, whether ultramontane Catholicism or continental liberalism, were not the answer.” Other non-Christian traditions enjoy “a mysterious relationship to the church.”

Pope John Paul II, encyclical Redemptor hominis, insisting that the Spirit operates outside the visible confines of the Church, cites Gaudium et Spes, apply to “all individuals of good will.” See 1986, Assisi.

Bob Dylan, Slow Train, reflecting his evangelical conversion, via the Vineyard Church, CA; followed by Saved (1980), and Shot of Love (1981). Yet note Planet Waves (1977), with “A Night Like This,” a love song, using the Easter liturgy phrase, “Forever Young” (“May God bless you and keep you always ... forever young”). Then Dylan seemed to reject Evangelicalism for being manipulative—as

in “You know sometimes / Satan comes as a man of peace” in the album, Infidels (1984). Religious theme continues in “God Knows,” in Under the Red Sky (1990); also “Handy Dandy” i.e. Jesus., in this album. In 1993 “World Gone Wrong,” “I can’t be good no more, once like I did before.” (Yet see “Lone Pilgrim” on same album.) Recently moved back to Jewish roots in Lubavitch Hasidism, and won’t discuss religion.

Flannery O’Connor, The Habit of Being: Letters: “My mamma asked me the other day if I knew Shakespeare was an Irishman. I said no I didn’t. She said well it’s right there in the Savannah paper; and sure enough some gent from the University of Chicago had made a speech somewhere saying Shakespeare was an Irishman. I said well it’s just him that says it, you better not go around saying it and she said listen SHE didn’t care whether he was an Irishman or a Chinaman.” “I write the way I do because (not though) I am a Catholic ... However, I am a Catholic peculiarly possessed of the modern consciousness, that thing Jung describes as unhistorical, solitary, and guilty.” consciousness* “The priest is right, therefore he can carry the burden of a certain social stupidity. This may be something I learned from Graham Greene.” “At some point reading them [Catholic writers, Bloy, Bernanos, Mauriac, Greene] reaches the place of diminishing returns and you get more benefit reading someone like Hemingway, where there is apparently a hunger for a Catholic completeness in life, or Joyce who can’t get rid of it no matter what the does.” “You know it [“the Sisters at the cancer home”] was founded by Hawthorne’s daughter? My evil imagination tells me that this was God’s way of rewarding Hawthorne for hating the Transcendentalists.” “The Church would as soon canonize a woman as a man and I suppose has done more than any other force in history to free women ...” Misfit on Christ as fulcrum (“thrown everything off balance”): “I’m a Catholic but this is in orthodox Protestantism also, though out of context -- -which makes it grow into grotesque forms. The Catholic, using his own eyes and the eyes of the Church (when he is inclined to open them) is in a most favorable position to recognize the grotesque” “[Waugh] has too narrow a definition of what would be a Catholic novel. He says a novel that deals with the problems of the faith; I’d rather say a Catholic mind looking at anything ...” “All these moralists who condemn Lolita give me the creeps. Have you read Lolita yet? I go by the notion that a comic novel has its own criteria.” “The Church’s stand on birth control is the most absolutely spiritual of all her stands and with all of us being materialists at heart, there is little wonder that it causes unease.” “You are right that enjoy is not exactly the right word for our talking about religion. As far as I know, it hurts like nothing else. We are at least together in the pain we share in this terrible division. It’s the Catholic Church who calls you ‘separated brethren,’ she who feels the awful loss” “I don’t think you should write something as long as a novel around anything that is not of the gravest concern to you and everybody else and for me this is always the conflict between an attraction for the Holy and the disbelief in it that we breathe in with the air of the times.” “The times do seem a bit apocalyptic for anything so sane [as “Christian humanism”]. “St. Catherine of Genoa said ‘God is my best self,’ by which she realized probably what Jung means but a great deal more.” “One of the effects of modern liberal Protestantism has been gradually to turn religion into poetry and therapy, to make truth vaguer and vaguer and more and more relative, to banish intellectual distinctions, to depend on feeling instead of thought, and gradually to believe that God has no power, that he cannot communicate with us, cannot reveal himself to us, indeed has not done so, and that religion is our own sweet invention;” “Our Catholic mentality is great on paraphrase, logic, formula, instant and correct answers. We judge before we experience and never trust our faith to be subjected to reality because it is not strong enough. And maybe in this we are wise. I think this spirit is changing on account of the council but the change will take a long time to soak through;” “the only difference ... is that if you are a Catholic and have this intensity of belief you join the convent and are heard from no more; whereas if you are Protestant and

have it, there is no convent for you to join and you go about in the world getting into all sorts of trouble and drawing the wrath of people who don't believe anything much at all down on your head. // This is one reason why I can write about Protestant believers better than Catholic believers -- because they express their belief in diverse kinds of dramatic action ... His kind of Christianity may not be socially desirable, but it will be real in the sight of God;" "I am more and more impressed with the amount of Catholicism that fundamentalist Protestants have been able to retain. Theologically our differences with them are on the nature of the Church, nor on the nature of God or our obligation to him." "I thought it [Küng's The Council, Reform & Reunion] was wonderful." [In 1961 review of Küng, O'Connor wrote: "Küng distinguished "the restoration that took place during ... the Council of Trent and a genuine reform which would imply creative growth through a real understanding of the Protestant Reformer's demands." "I don't agree much ... about suffering teaching you much about the redemption. You learn about the redemption simply from listening to what the Church teaches about it and then following this to its logical conclusion." "The declaration on the Jews and on religious liberty seems to have got sidetracked at the [Vatican] Council. I hope they manage to get it going again."

Bruce Mansfield, Phoenix of His Age: Interpretations of Erasmus c 1550-1750: "Only when the Europeans drew back from the abyss and attempted a mutual accommodation of the religious differences could the recovery of Erasmus' reputation begin" (see Mansfield and Erasmus refs. throughout chronology).

1979 cont.

Christopher Haigh, "Some Aspects of the Recent Historiography of the English Reformation" (The Urban Classes, ed. Mommsen): critiques Elton and Dickens ("rapid Reformation from below"), argued for slow Reformation imposed from above. "I called what was coming 'revisionism'" (Haigh, Historical Research 2004).

1980

Peter Milward, "Shakespeare and Elizabethan Exorcism" (English Literature and Language (Eibungaku to Eigogaku)): All's Well reflecting perhaps Low Countries 1604-5 controversy over miracles of Virgin Mary at Montaigu and Halle.

R. Chris Hassel, Faith and Folly in Shakespeare's Romantic Comedies: on Love's Labour's Lost: "This elusive play and pull of Catholic versus Protestant positions has permeated the play, sometimes favoring one side, sometimes the other, but neither too seriously nor too long ... Such syncretism, such charitable humor is truly a joyful achievement in any disputatious age."

Louis Montrose, "The Purpose of Playing: Reflections on a Shakespearean Anthropology" (Helios); see Montrose, 1996.

Archbishop Runcie installed at Canterbury, accompanied by several Catholic cardinals; Cardinal Hume read the epistle.

John Chinnici, The English Catholic Enlightenment: John Lingard and the Cisalpine Movement, 1780-1850, on enlightenment reformed devotional tradition, in line with à Kempis, rejuvenated by Lingard and colleagues in these years, see esp. 185ff.

Stephen Greenblatt, Renaissance Self-fashioning : from More to Shakespeare: "the simplest observation we can make is that in the sixteenth century there appears to be an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process." On how certain political and religious forces in fact created the illusion of individual autonomy.

1981

Philip Rieff on Hamlet: "Hamlet is a tragic hero because it is he, more deeply than either his transgress uncle or mother in theirs, who doubts authority in its sacred order ... It is Hamlet who should have got himself to a monastery" ("By What Authority?" in The Problem of Authority in America ed. Diggin and Kann (Phila: Temple Univ. Press, 1981), p. 249; "behind his manifest question of parents, was Hamlet's latent parent question: whether or not he belonged to sacred order ...

behind that parent question is another even more ancient: whether sacred order is or not” (1987, qu Anthony Zondervan, Sociology and the Sacred (Univ. of Toronto Press, 2005); plus see 2006, 2007 works.

Alisdair MacIntyre, After Virtue: A Study in oral Theory (Duckworth and Notre Dame): “We are waiting not for a Godot, but for another—doubtless very different—St Benedict” (last sentence) (cites Rieff’s The Triumph of the Therapeutic, 1966).

Haigh, “The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation” (Past and Present), contra Bossy: “the Marian clergy ... initiated lay recusant Catholicism, which was already well established before the mission from the Continent ... If the new priests did not create post-Reformation Catholicism, they were nevertheless essential for its continued existence.”

Laurence Stone, 1981, The Past and the Present Revisited, responding to Elton’s Policy and Police: “the [small] list of executions is ... only the moraine thrown up and drifting on a great invisible glacier of repression and punitive actions, of floggings, tortures, imprisonments, public humiliations, harassments, etc., carried out by lesser authorities all over the country;” “the challenge of Protestantism forced Rome to adopt a rigid and reactionary posture of centralized authoritarianism from which it is only emerging today.”

David Tracy, The Analogical Imagination: “This power of difference, Tracy declared, ... prevents the idea of analogy from degenerating into an excessively domesticated sense of philosophical coherence; ‘If that power is lost, analogical concepts become mere categories of easy likenesses skipping quietly from their status as similarities-in-difference to mere likenesses, falling finally into the sterility of a relaxed univocity and a facilely affirmative harmony’” (qu. Giles). “[Tracy’s] acceptance of pluralism as an internal and truly beneficial religious and cultural reality ... is clearly distinguished from Murray’s vision of pluralism as a reality external to the church and the self” (Patrick W. Carey, “American Catholicism and the Enlightenment Ethos,” in Knowledge and Belief in America, ed. Shea and Huff (Cambridge UP, 1995)).

John Carey, John Donne: Life, Mind and Art, renews awareness of Donne’s Catholic connections, with Catholic martyrs, his mothers’ descent from Thomas More, his Uncle Jasper Heywood’s incarceration in Tower of London, his recusant brother Henry’s death from plague in Newgate. Then Dennis Flynn, John Donne and the Ancient Catholic Nobility (1995) emphasizing Donne’s struggle with his Catholicism.

****1982****

Pope John Paul II makes historically first papal visit to England: “With profound emotion I remember praying together with the Primate of the Anglican Communion at Canterbury Cathedral; in that magnificent edifice I saw ‘an eloquent witness both to our long years of common inheritance and to the sad years of division that followed’;” they prayed together at site of Becket’s martyrdom. An “almost unbelievable moment” (Adrian Hastings, History of English Christianity).

Peter Holmes, Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics, argues, contra Bossy, for continuity between old and new Catholicism, appellants and Jesuits.

ARCIC Final Report pub.: “the maintenance of visible unity at the universal level includes the episcopate of a universal primate ... Though it is possible to conceive a universal primacy located elsewhere than in the city of Rome, the original witness of Peter and Paul and the continuing exercise of a universal episcopate by the see of Rome present a unique presumption in its favour.”

Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith makes interim reaction to final (1981) ARCIC report, critical of much, but: “This work achieved in common is a singular event in the history of the relations between the two Commissions, and is at the same time a notable effort towards reconciliation,” but “does not yet constitute a substantial and explicit agreement on some essential elements of Catholic faith.”

Linda Peck, Northampton: Patronage and Policy at the Court of King James I (Allen), on a central Catholic loyalist.

John Wasson, “The Morality Play: Ancestor of Elizabeth Drama?” in The Drama of the Middle Ages, ed. Davidson et al: more than the morality play, the medieval saints’ plays, especially about Becket, were a major influence on the history plays. “More plays on Thomas à Becket were performed than on any other subject except the traditional Christmas and Easter plays.” “Becket plays are historically specific not fabulous.”

Patrick Collinson, The Religion of Protestants: “In so far as this book is contentious, two

perceptions are contended for. One concerns the unreservedly protestant character of the Elizabethan and Jacobean religious establishment.” Then by Peter Lake, expressing the “revisionism” of “recent research,” on the “basic protestant consensus” of the Elizabethan period, correcting “views of ‘puritanism’ as an entirely oppositionist force” (in Moderate Puritans and the Elizabethan Church (1982)). Relate this “revisionism” to the revisionism of Haigh and Duffy.

Raymond Carver, “Cathedral” from Cathedral.

At a Lutheran church, Pope John Paul II: “We believe, in the year of the remembrance of the birthday of Martin Luther five centuries ago, that we see as if in a distance the dawning of the advent of a reconstruction of our unity and community. This unity is a fruit of the daily renewal, conversion, and penitence of all Christians.”

****1984****

D. Thomas and N. Evans, “John Shakespeare in the Exchequer” (SQ) reveals that John Shakespeare was rich all along, and so debt excuses must have been a cover. John L. Murphy, Darkness and Devils: Exorcism and King Lear: on Shakespeare’s Catholic incorporation of Harsnett’s vocabulary, reflecting Catholic life driven into darkness and devils; discusses Pericles and King Lear in papist repertoire of recusant players; exorcists were connected with Babington conspiracy, thus religion not disassociated from politics. “Shakespeare accepts the weight of Harsnett’s attack as being, in a sense, justified, and yet writes King Lear in part as an answer.”

Roland Frye, The Renaissance Hamlet: Hamlet’s conflict reflects the agonizing Catholic conflicts over loyalty to Pope (with his assassination plots) and Queen.

Uncein Tamayo and Luis Alberto, “La tumba misteriosa de Shakespeare” (Boletín de la Acad. Nacional de la Historia (Venezuela): curse on Shakespeare’s tomb may protect proof that he was Catholic (article summarized in SQ bibliography for 1987).

Charles Nicholl, A Cup of News: The Life of Thomas Nashe: “Time and again, Nashe’s satirical stance has a Catholic tinge -- the denunciations of Leicester and Raleigh, drawing on Parsons’ Catholic invectives; the oblique celebrations of the Catholic Howard family; the involvement with Strange and Southampton, with Marlowe and Watson; the appearance of Marie Magdalenes Love and Jesus Psalter during his association with [publisher] Danter; the endless abuse of Puritanism, which won him the suspicion of Puritan officials like Beale and the applause of Catholic poets like Campion.”

Kevin L. Morris, The Image of the Middle Ages in Romantic and Victorian Literature: on the “genuinely religious” dimension of “religious medievalism.” “The cuckoo’s egg of religious medievalism [was] . . . laid in the nest of romanticism,” thus straining away from romantic faith in progress and individualism; protestantism seen as gateway to rationalism and enlightenment. Morris cd. have benefited from many recent syncretic synthesizers as ... Frye ... Bloom, ... Hartman ... Wasserman, and ... De Man (Pattern, rev., AHR 1986).

Tillich, The Protestant Era: “The decrease in sacramental thinking and feeling in the churches of the Reformation and in the American denominations is appalling. Nature has lost its religious meaning and is excluded from participation in the power of salvation ... The Protestant protest has rightly destroyed the magical elements in Catholic sacramentalism but has wrongly brought to the verge of disappearance the sacramental foundation of Christianity” (see earlier). Tillich popularized distinction between Catholic spiritual embodiment, and Protestant critical principle protesting such embodiment. “Christianity, he held, is essentially constituted by a Catholic substance and Protestant principle, each needing the other as its own counterpoint”: Tillich’s distinction has “had an enormous influence on authors of many traditions” (But, distinction tends to make Protestantism too negative a principle, and to deny criticalness to Catholicism--Dulles). “Lutherans of our day, such as Jaroslav Pelikan ... continue to warn that the Protestant principle is needed to prevent Catholicism from becoming ossified, magical, demonic, and idolatrous” (these last quotes, from Dulles, Catholicity 1985).

J. J. Scarisbrick, The Reformation and the English People, famous for its epigrammatic opening,

“on the whole, English men and women did not want the Reformation and most of them were slow to accept it when it came;” “the English Reformation came primarily from ‘above’ ... rather than from a groundswell of popular discontent and resentment toward the old religion.”

Kearney, in *Crane Bog* 8.1: “Of Ireland’s Protestant churches it might be asked: Are you prepared to repudiate the colonial stereotype of Irish Protestantism as inherently superior to Irish Catholicism? Are you prepared to live instead by the liberating heritage bequeathed by such Irish Protestants as Berkeley, Tone, David, Mitchel, Ferguson, Parnell, Hyde, Yeats, MacNeice, Hewitt and others? ... Of Ireland’s majority Catholic Church it might be asked: Are you prepared to disavow the stereotype of Irish Catholicism as sole protector of the ‘Holy Name of Ireland’? Are you willing, accordingly, to accept that the doctrinal convictions of one Church should not be enshrined in the laws of the State to the exclusion of the aspirations of minority religions or, indeed, of those citizen who have chosen to have no religion? ... The historical overidentification of Protestantism with the unionist ideology of siege and of Catholicism with the nationalist ideology of grievance has nowhere to go but backwards.” Yves Congar, *Diversity and Communion*: “Even if one could point out some hitches, we would have to say that the Catholic church has ceased to see and above all to commend union purely in terms of ‘return’ or conversion to itself.”

Recent_Scholarship

****1985****

Ernst Honigmann, *Shakespeare: the ‘lost years’* (Manchester UP): on Lancaster years (does not acknowledge Stevenson (1958)); shows Cottom was Hoghton associate, clinches links with Heskeths and Thomas Savage; reviews plays’s esteem for old religion; answers Douglas Hamer’s 1970 attack on “Shakeshafte” theory. D. Kastan: “I remain unpersuaded that Shakespeare was a Catholic, though for a provocative argument making a case for a “Catholic Shakespeare,” see ... Honigmann” (*Shakespeare After Theory*).

Schoenbaum review of Honigmann (TLS): “I touched upon this [Shakeshafte / Lancaster] history ... I must confess, dismissively -- in my *Compact Documentary Life* (1977). Now Honigmann ... makes us uneasy about previous confident appraisals.”

Gary Taylor, “The Fortunes of Oldcastle” (*Shakespeare Survey*), summarizes strength of Catholic case, emphasizes Shakespeare’s Catholic profile, in satire of Protestant Oldcastle, family background, Purgatory of Hamlet, mockery of Puritans in the plays, performances for recusant households, etc.

Patrick Collinson, “The Church: Religion and its Manifestations,” in *William Shakespeare: His World*, ed. John F. Andrews, on John Shakespeare as unreconstructed old Catholic (agrees with De Groot on John Shakespeare’s Catholic recusancy and the Catholic Ardens), on Shakespeare’s early Catholic influences, agrees with Milward and Schoenbaum on the John Shakespeare testament, makes no conclusions about Shakespeare himself; rept. and slightly revised in 1994, as “William Shakespeare’s Religious Inheritance,” in *Elizabethan Essays*.

Greenblatt’s “Shakespeare and the Exorcists,” in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory* ed. Parker and Hartman: Greenblatt argues that *King Lear* is a post-Christian defense of the play’s theatricality as doing what religion, used by exorcists, used to do; but at least Greenblatt joins Murphy, whom he

acknowledges, in agreeing that Shakespeare intends to subvert Harsnett; indeed, Greenblatt concedes the “possibility” of the play being “an allegory in which Catholicism is revealed to be the persecuted, legitimate elder brother forced to defend himself by means of theatrical illusions against the cold persecution of his skeptical bastard brother Protestantism,” and that recusant households saw the play as “strangely sympathetic even, to the situation for persecuted Catholics.”

Charles Stinger, The Renaissance in Rome, on integration of Catholicism and humanism and classical learning, 1443-1527, with Church representing climax of Roman civilization, religious and secular; “to reject Rome was tantamount to betraying civilization itself.” Luther represented a “treasonous act against the whole western tradition,” according to Raffaele Maffei’s tract of 1518-20 (p. 291).

Followed by Counter-Reformation emphasis on sin, orthodoxy, Jesuits, and then by 1600 the baroque splendor “more narrowly religious and propagandistic than its Renaissance predecessor,” accentuating the Christian over classical culture. “Roman humanists ... saw no sharp disjunction between the truths revealed in Christ and the wisdom of human civilization.” Footnotes acknowledge debts to Trinkaus, 1970. Erasmus, Humanism**

Avery Dulles, *The Catholicity of the Church*: “Never since the Reformation has there been such readiness on the part of Protestants, Anglicans, and Orthodox to acknowledge the value of the papacy as a bond of unity.” “In a reunited Church the catholic elements of all the uniting churches would be included, not destroyed.”

1985 cont.

Robert Bellah, et al, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (University of California): “We thus face a profound impasse. Modern individualism seems to be producing a way of life that is neither individually nor socially viable, yet a return to traditional forms would be to return to intolerable discrimination and oppression. The question, then, is whether the older civic and biblical traditions have the capacity to reformulate themselves while simultaneously remaining faithful to their own deepest insights;” had traced individualism out of the Reformation via Locke. “Our ontological individualism finds it hard to comprehend the social realism of the church--the idea that the church is prior to individuals and not just the product of them.” “Habits of the heart”=phrase from de Toqueville.

Jean-Luc Godard, *Hail Mary*, sensuous bodily portrayal of Mary but still orthodox; on DVD cover, Pope JP II: “Deeply wounds the religious sentiments of believers” (ambiguous!).

1986

C. L. Barber, and R. P. Wheeler, *The Whole Journey: Shakespeare’s Power of Development*: “It is almost certain that John Shakespeare had Catholic sympathies, at least briefly,” cites the Borromeo testament; “his tragedies dramatize the post-Christian situation ... but without God and the Holy Family, with only the human family.”

Paul Scott Stanfield, “Yeats and Irish Catholicism” (*Greyfriars*).

Pope John Paul II hosts Day of Prayer for Peace at Assisi, attended by Eastern churches, Reformed Churches, Jews, Hindus, Muslims, Buddhists, Sikhs etc; in 2001 became first Pope to enter a Mosque, in Syria.

1987

Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life*, revised edn. with new postscript (see 1970), expands remarks on Shakeshafte “taking into account ... Honigmann ... which has stirred considerable interest;” notes that Honigmann effectively demolished much of Hamer’s argument though the Lancaster theory is “not ... the most plausible of scenarios;” notes that John Shakespeare’s partner, Edward Grant, was a Catholic landowner to whose home recusants resorted; and Grant’s nephew John Somerville plotted against Queen, and grandson would be implicated in Gunpowder Plot. Shakespeare would have been no more than fifteen or sixteen in Lancaster, but “there is precedent for such

precocity;” notes David George’s discovery that Hesketh inventory shows he did receive instruments; “play-clothes” suggests actors, not musicians.

Frank Brownlow connects Southwell’s bird in cage speech from Epistle of Comfort to Lear (KM 80: A Birthday Album for Kenneth Muir).

Arthur McGee, The Elizabethan Hamlet, sees ghost as demonic, and Hamlet as “Every-Catholic who was ipso facto a follower of Satan;” but notes various Catholic resonances; quotes 1876 Elliot Browne that “Bernardo Bandini and Francesco de’ Pazzi were the assassins of Giulano de’ Medici in the cathedral of Florence;” Wittenberg evoked Faustus rather than Luther who did not much interest English Calvinists; the “matins” had disappeared as part of church ritual by 1552; Ophelia singing “old lauds” in Q2, Lauds also gone by 1552; driving soul to hell part of medieval Italian revenge; poison traditional means of Italian vengeance; many associations of Ophelia with nun (her holding a book, like Annunciation pictures); “rose of May” parallels Virgin as “Mystical Rose,” “Flower of May;” requiem refused Ophelia is Catholic since the “prayer Book makes no provision for a requiem mass” (R. Noble); her flowers like nun’s wedding garment, and her farewell with a Catholic blessing; buttercup symbolizes chalice, and daisy was symbol of humility of nuns, nettle used penitentially, her coronet weeds like crown of thorns, clothed with flowers like a nun at her profession; Laertes “cut his throat i’ the church” evoke assassins of Becket.

1987 cont.

Christopher Haigh, The English Reformation Revised: “The long-term causes of the Reformation -- the corruption of the Church and the hostility of the laity -- appear to have been historical illusions;” instant obedience by the parishes caused by “local recognition of the power and prestige of the monarchy ... Cromwell instituted, if not a reign of terror, at least a reign of nervousness;” “‘Anti-clericalism’... was not a cause of the Reformation; it was a result;” “the imposition of the Reformation by installments implies, as Professor Scarisbrick has noted, that the Tudor State had a formidable coercive capability;” “But the Reformation ... needed some enthusiastic proponents;” “The Reformation had created not a united Protestant England but a deeply divided England” (last sentence). “The revisionist position takes its name, I suppose, from ... The Reformation Revised” (Duffy, Ren Qu 2006).

Margo Todd, Christian Humanism and the Puritan Social Order, acknowledging McConica’s work (1965), sees Catholic Erasmian humanism continuing in the social welfare emphasis of the Puritans. (About their religious doctrines like human depravity, Puritans “would either ignore the contradiction ... or add it to the other theological paradoxes with which they lived.” Catholic humanist emphasis on marriage as a state of intellectual and spiritual companionship, as in Erasmus and Juan Vives, Mary Tudor’s tutor, influenced the Puritans: “There is no evidence that protestants in the sixteenth century were saying anything about women and their role in the household which Catholic humanists had not already said;” cites Davies, 1977, with qualification. “The protestant emphasis on conscience was actually one aspect of Erasmian social ideology, a “‘grass roots’ approach to the problem of order in the commonwealth.” Laud’s Anglicanism and Tridentine Catholicism rejected these social reform ideals.

1988

Patrick Collinson, The Birthpangs of Protestant England: begins “If I were to be asked when Protestant England was born I would answer ... after the accession of Elizabeth I, some considerable time after.” “Collinson has been responsible for a work of revision every bit as momentous as the revisionism I have been describing,” i.e. on Puritanism as “a far from marginal minority, the advance-guard of mainstream Protestantism” (Duffy, 2006).

Kieślowski, The Decalogue, with episode 6 expanded into “A Short Film About Love”: voyeur’s idealization of the woman (“I love you,” “I am not good”) transforms her, à la Mary Magdalen.

Hans Küng, Theology for the Third Millennium trans. (orig. 1987). “But might not Erasmus’s reform program—had it been accepted at the opportune moment by Pope Leo X and the bishops—have prevented the schism in the Church after all? (as might the election of Pole as Pope); “Poor Europe, how much trouble it would have been spared ... if the third force, which he embodied, the force of understanding, had gotten a chance, first of all in

Rome, but finally in the Reformation camp too."

Richard Finn OP, "The Value of Literature:--Shakespeare and the Tudor Homilies," (New Blackfriars): Shakespeare uses phrases from the Homilies, in a parodic way, to undercut the politicized use of such religious phrases in Elizabethan England, undoing Tudor propaganda, on the lines of Southwell's accusation of "heretics ... who change the faith of God's Church into the fables of their own fantasy and seek to set forth their follies with the authority of God's word, wrested by their perverse spirits against its true meaning." "What is taught is a certain scepticism of the black-and-white categories that the Homilist employed and enjoined." The use of anti-Catholic rhetoric in Margaret's condemnation of Henry VI's "Ave-Maries" is an example.

****1989****

F. W. Brownlow, "John Shakespeare's Recusancy" (Shakespeare Quarterly).

Robert Whiting, The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation, on slowly attenuating Catholicism in Devon/Cornwall, brought about by government force, financial inducement, etc., general decline of religious sense: thus middle way between Dickens/Elton and Haigh/Scarisbrick emphases.

Susan Brigden, London and the Reformation: "Though many hated the changes, the great majority silently repined ... The world of shared faith was broken by the Reformation and the Christian community divided" (last sentence).

Lambeth Conference Resolution: "Recognizes the Agreed Statement of ARCIC 1 on Eucharistic Doctrine, Ministry and Ordination, and their Elucidations, as consonant in substance with the faith of Anglicans, and believes that this agreement offers a sufficient basis for taking the next step forward toward the reconciliation of our Churches grounded in agreement in faith."

W. S. F. Pickering, Anglo-Catholicism: A Study in Religious Ambiguity, on the distinction between High churchman, Tractarian, Anglo-Catholic.

Q. D. Leavis, "'That great controversy': the Novel of Religious Controversy in the Nineteenth Century": in Collected Essays: "the subject has been virtually ignored by literary critics and university teachers. Can this be because to admit nowadays that religious controversy can have powered creative works of permanent value would be in bad taste? or that sleeping dogs had better be let lie? ..." (p. 13). "As one who is not and never has been either a Protestant or an Anglican or a Roman Catholic or Nonconformist, I would like to ... [sketch] in these old unhappy far-off things" (p. 13). "George Eliot could not in Middlemarch, which occurs just after the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829), ignore the feeling this had engendered in the country gentry, and that, like the Dreyfus affair in France, it was eventually to cause a national split greater even than the Civil War had brought about in the seventeenth century; for that had been healed by the Augustans, whereas the other became fundamental in the nineteenth century and has not by any means petered out yet" (132-3). Also see Mrs. Inchibald, 1791. Q.D.'s late interest in Catholicism is perhaps a development out of her early anthropological approach (pre-cultural studies) in Fiction and the Reading Public; N. Crook: "The last years brought disappointments and compensations. A projected book on Victorian novels of religion failed to materialise."

C. L. Barber and R. Wheeler, "Shakespeare in the Rising Middle Class," in Shakespeare's Personality, ed. Holland: on Henry VI, "Conceivably the connection between Henry's weakness and his gullible piety is partly shaped by recollections of John Shakespeare's Catholic profession of faith."

1989 cont.

Richard Dutton, William Shakespeare: A Literary Life: "the most persistent piece of speculation about his early years notes the possibility that he was brought up a Roman Catholic;" "but ... nothing of the struggle ... presumably registers in a discernible way in the poems and plays."

R. Waddington, "Lutheran Hamlet" (ELN), on parallels to Luther's character.

Louise Clubb, Italian Drama in Shakespeare's Time: Shakespeare influenced by the Nova Comedia, or commedia grave, which opposed fate (and Calvinist

predestination) with Counter-Reformation emphasis on Providence and free will, with the “idea of a peripety that is not merely another turn of fortune’s wheel but the revelation and unexpected result of a plan for human happiness made by a power greater than luck.” The Italian “figure of the woman as wonder” reflected in Helena; Isabella illustrates free will and choice; tragedia sacra, on saints’s lives, were seen by audience as representing Reformation issues, i.e. Elias and Jezebel representing papacy and Reform forces.

Eric Griffiths, The Printed Voice of Victorian Poetry, on the un-English voices of Newman and Hopkins; chapter 4, “Hopkins: the Perfection of Habit,” on Newman and Hopkins’s deformation of language to convey an alien Catholic idiom in a Protestant culture: “For writers such as Newman and Hopkins, the reciprocal adjustments of sociable locution and liturgical forms make up a central part of learning to live as English Catholics rather than as Anglo-Catholics. Know ways of speaking linguistics habits, had to be faced, and turned in a new direction ... but equally, the unfamiliar language of Catholicism had to be seen and heard as truly an English speech, not as something untenably alien, if the convert’s voice was to be persuasive to the as yet unconverted; converted eloquence had also to be the perfection of habit.”

Erica Veevers, Images of Love and Religion: Queen Henrietta Maria and court entertainments (Camb. UP) on the use of masques by Queen Henrietta to promote religious union. Followed up by Karen Britland, Drama at the Courts of Henrietta Maria (Camb. UP, 2006).

David Tracy, “We still await the Clifford Geertz to write Catholicism Observed in different cultures ... the Wendy Doniger to illuminate the great myths and symbols of Mexican, Polish, Italian, and Irish forms of Catholic life, or the Claude Lévi-Strauss to study the mythemes and binary oppositions typical of a characteristically Catholic analogical imagination across the many different cultures formed by Catholicism” (“The Uneasy Alliance...,” Theological Studies)

A. Alison and D. M. Rogers, bibliography, The Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation between 1558 and 1640, 2 Vols. (Scolar Press) (pub. 1989-94).

Fall of the Communist Regimes of Eastern Europe and Soviet Union.

****1990****

Milward, “Thomas More and William Shakespeare” (Shakespeare Yearbook): “all his plays ... constitute a crescendo of allegorical lament over the departure of Catholic ‘merry’ England ... in the last plays the dramatists look to an ideal reconciliation.”

Debora Shuger, Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance (UCBerkeley): mature book on the internal complications of Protestant theology; move to inwardness secularizes history and the socio-political, though the king is divinized; thus Herbert, inwardness versus emptied out social world.

****1991****

Katherine Duncan-Jones, Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet (Yale UP): on Sidney’s continuing associations with Campion, especially in Prague in 1577, and lingering loyalty and self-division about his Catholic friends; Philanax’s harsh prosecution in penultimate scene of Old Arcadia may reflect racking of Campion; argument later developed in Duncan-Jones’s “Sir Philip Sidney’s Debt to Edmund Campion” (Reckoned Expense, ed. McCoog, 1996), which notes turn in Fourth Act of Arcadia toward themes of political chaos, grief, confusion; then in fifth book, Arcadia, previously a ideal place, becomes place of “dangerous division of men’s minds” and “ruinous renting of all estates;” then prosecutor Euarchus condemns his own son and nephew to death, after perfunctory evidence of intended regicide of which the princes, accused of disguise and deception, are most probably innocent; Philanax like Campion’s persecutors (noted in 1947-9 by K. T. Rowe); at end, only miraculous recovery of supposedly dead Duke, Basilius, leads to happy ending. Duncan-Jones also discusses Sidney’s relation to the Gilbert expedition (see 1582).

Ted Hughes, introd., The Essential Shakespeare: Shakespeare’s mythos “incorporates the violently deadlocked forces of the Reformation in England ... The clairvoyant depth of Shakespeare’s involvement in the national trauma can be estimated from two of his dominant themes: the horror of civil war, and the figure of the regicide who rules as a doomed tyrant ... To understand the ‘fury’,

then, of Shakespeare's works, this lost world of religious war, internalized and expressed in dramatic fictions, has to be taken into account ... Prospero is ... an exemplary Occult Neoplatonist," i.e. who "promised to resolve the Catholic/Protestant quarrel in a union of love."

Peter Milward, "The Morean Counsellor in Shakespeare's Last Plays" (Moreana), More as model for Camillo, Gonzalo and his "utopia."

Thomas M. Greene, "Ritual and Text in the Renaissance" (Canadian Review of Comparative Literature), on the growing self-consciousness and emptiness and nostalgia (and perhaps creative recovery) associated with ceremony, illustrated in Henry V's "And what art thou, thou Idoll Ceremonie?"

Huston Diehl, "Observing the Lord's Supper and the Lord Chamberlain's Men: The Visual Rhetoric of Ritual and Play in Early Modern England" (Renaissance Drama): on how "the institution of the Protestant Lord's Supper might have shaped -- in a constructive way -- the new drama and its audiences;"; thus theatre-goers "must recognize ... that what they see is representation, and not the literal presence of what is represented." Anti-Montrose.

Sandra Cisneros, "Little Miracles, Kept Promises" in Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories, remarkable synthesis of Mexican-American Catholicism and the feminism of the woman speaker: "When I learned your real name is Coatlatxopeuh, She Who Has Dominion over Serpents, when I recognized you as Tonantzin ... when I could see you as Nuestra Señora de la Soledad, Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Nuestra Señora del Perpetuo Socorro, Nuestra Señora de San Juan de los Lagos, Our Lady of Lourdes, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Our Lady of the Rosary, Our Lady of Sorrows, I wasn't ashamed, then, to be my mother's daughter, my grandmother's granddaughter, my ancestors' child."

Paul McCartney and Carl Davis, Liverpool Oratorio, secular allegory of the Nativity; see debate with Lennon, 1969.

Official Roman Catholic Response to ARCIC: "it constitutes a significant milestone ... however ... it is not yet possible to state that substantial agreement has been reached." Diarmaid McCulloch, "The Myth of the English Reformation" [i.e. the myth of Reformation Anglo-Catholicism] (Journals of British Studies): "the Church of England [is] ranged firmly alongside churches in the Reformed and Calvinist tradition rather than those in the Lutheran camp."@ "Hooker [was] the inventor of Anglicanism; his view were virtually unparalleled in the Elizabethan church@."

****1992****

Ted Hughes, Shakespeare and the Goddess of Complete Being, relying on Milward, argues the importance of Shakespeare's Catholic roots: Shakespeare "committed to Catholicism with an instinct that amounted to fanatic heroism ... his whole career can be seen as Shakespeare's record of the suffering of the Goddess, and his heroic, lifelong patient attempt to rescue the Female;"; his mind encompassed both; "the Goddess suffering, and the Puritan that makes her suffer but destroys himself in the process;"; "coincides in its conclusions" with "Milward's Shakespeare's Religious Background" (35).

Tom Paulin, review of Hughes: cites Hughes's "way of shouldering England's history as a burden of desperate Protestant guilt," believes Shakespeare "was a deep, secret, committed Catholic," sees England haunted by "a buried national neurosis ... that is the result of ... the Reformation;"; Lucrece about Protestant rape of a religion, Venus and Adonis about Puritan rejection of the Catholic goddess;

“an enabling interpretation of Shakespeare which hopefully will inspire scholars to apply it;” “Taken together Hughes and Milward promise a welcome counter-reformation in Shakespeare studies.”

Donna Hamilton, Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England: in the Abbess at the end of Comedy of Errors Shakespeare appeals to concept of broad universal church (i.e. in Anglican sense) which takes everyone in, and critiques condemnatory Elizabeth who would condemn nonconformists. In Cymbeline, Belarius, the conflicted subject who finally comes forward and supports the king, is the English Catholic who fights for king, and also surrenders back his sons, i.e. supports the succession by James’s heirs. In return Catholics hoped James would tolerate their connection with Rome.

Bruce W. Young, “Ritual as an Instrument of Grace: Parental Blessings in Richard III, All’s Well That Ends Well, and The Winter’s Tale,” in True Rites and Maimed Rites, ed. Woodridge and Berry: frequency of such parental blessings, increasingly associated with popery, in the plays.

Richard Helgerson, Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England: “An important move [for relating Shakespeare to his contemporaries] was Helgerson’s analysis of the institutions by means of which England fashioned a national identity, a thematized organizational structure that placed Shakespeare both within and in relationship to the larger building blocks -- law, church, theatre, epic, cartography -- of English culture” (Hamilton, “Shakespeare and Religion,” 1999). Helgerson emphasizes the land as alternative source of national identity; thus nature poetry could be subversive, anti-royal.

Patricia Finney, Firedrake’s Eye (novel), with empathy for the old Catholicism, via the narrator Tom O’Bedlam, and its consistency with English patriotism; suggests that Sidney was involved, unclear how wittingly, in the assassination plot against Elizabeth.

1992 cont.

Duffy’s The Stripping of the Altars : Traditional Religion in England, classic work in revisionist Reformation history; see 1409, also Watson and Aers on Arundel’s Constitutions; Aers argues “the naïveté of Duffy’s elision of groups of believers of varying degrees of literacy and sophistication” (cited After Arundel, 59). But see below.

Charles Nicholl, The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe, on the network of Catholic anti-agents and turncoats, probably including Marlowe. Also see David Riggs, The World of Christopher Marlowe (2004).

David Bevington, “Lyly’s Endymion and Midas: The Catholic Question in England” (Comparative Drama): on political allegory in these plays (see 1591): “Reformation issues are fully engaged.” “By the climactic theatrical gesture of Cynthia’s kiss, Lyly implicitly urges Elizabeth to recognize the essential goodness of loyal English Catholics like Oxford and to forgive their indiscreet attachment to the Catholic faith.” In tradition of such interpretations of Endymion, see Bond 1902, Bevington 1968. Also see Bevington, ed., Endymion (1996): “I now wish to argue that Lyly’s play also enfolds in itself a particular issue of great moment in 1587-88,” i.e. Oxford’s possible support for Mary Queen of Scots. If the play followed her execution, “the difference between fact and fiction [i.e. Cynthia pardoning Tellus] may be little more than idealization of what Elizabeth clung to emotionally after acceding to the hard realities of international politics.”

Paul Binding: “Having a Protestant state Church (with a long history of vernacular liturgy) means that the society does not look outside its own frontiers ... in the way that all Catholic societies have perforce to look to Rome. Concepts of national virtue thus get inextricably tangled with those of religious excellence. Even today ... I am strongly struck by how much an Anglican service is a way of worshipping some inherited Platonic England” (St Martin’s Ride)

On Madonna’s religious parodies, see Barbara Bradby, “Like a Virgin-Mother?: Materialism and Maternalism in the Songs of Madonna,” Cultural Studies 6.1 (Jan

1992) (cited Giles, Transnationalism) (not read).

Paul Giles, American Catholic Arts and Fictions: on Catholicism as “ideological force” in American literature, a “residual cultural determinant and one aspect of the social context,” whether concealed or explicit, emphasizing the communal and material against individual autonomy and isolation. Discusses Dressier, Fitzgerald, John Ford, Scorsese, etc., etc. “Catholic anthropology ... works toward patterns of analogy and universalism, conformity and ritual.” Giles tends toward seeing Catholicism as just “one possible fiction among others”, instead of keeping to a neutral historicist approach. Later, James Farrell’s “characters constantly invent legends and fantasies about themselves” and “would prefer to suture the inevitable contradictions of existence with wooden obsessions [associated with Irish Catholicism], rather than confronting these difficulties with an open intelligence.” “‘belief’ is itself a slippery ... scarcely relevant category because it implies a subjective autonomy that is hardly available within the intellectual framework of the post modern condition ... so an author’s (or indeed any person’s) beliefs bear no necessary identity with what he or she intends to believe” (from discussion of Frank O’Hara, a supposedly “black atheist” “One of the consequences of this project will be to problematize that rigid affiliation between American literature and an ideology of romanticism, an affiliation institutionalized by critics from F. O. Matthiessen to Douglas Robinson. Robinson ... nominates the ‘unquestionable mainstream’ American tradition as Emerson (‘our greatest Romantic apocalypticist’), Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, Twain, James, Faulkner, West, Ellison, and Barth. One could, though, establish a competing antiromantic ‘Catholic’ tradition comprising Brownson, Santayana, Dreiser, Farrell, Fitzgerald, Tate, Berryman, Frank O’Hara, Flannery O’Connor, and Barthelme.” [I would re-examine the former list] In Dreiser et al, we see “theology itself becoming secularized, transformed from an explicit dogma into an implicit and unconscious state of mind, but still maintaining itself as a cultural force with power to shape the direction of fictional texts.” Kerouac is “less concerned with any form of abstract vision [as in the Emersonian mainstream] than with imposing a seemingly absurd value upon the most banal worldly goods.” Review: “Giles has ...difficulties with ... Lowell and ... Kerouac, whose preoccupation with their own subjectivity is precisely what many other Catholic writers are so critical of.” “Giles’s model ... tend to obscure the subterranean appropriations that go on all the time between Catholic and Protestant culture.” “It would be far more accurate to speak of a hybridization of American culture in which Protestants, Jews, and Catholics each discover the contested nature of their own idiom” (review, J. Veitch, Contemporary Literature (1995))

Linda Colley, Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837 (Yale UP): “The absolute centrality of Protestantism to British religious experience in the 1700s and long after is so obvious that it has proved easy to pass over. Always reluctant to be seen to be addressing the obvious, historians have preferred to concentrate on the more subtle divisions that existed within the Protestant community itself;” “many ordinary Britons who signed anti-Catholicism petitions in 1828-9 saw themselves, quite consciously, as being part of a native tradition of resistance to Catholicism which stretched back for centuries and which seemed, indeed, to be timeless.” Emancipation-era pamphlets “show just how recent -- and just how precarious -- the Protestant Reformation still seemed to many of its poorer British champions.” “Protestantism was the foundation that made the invention of Great Britain possible.” Anti-Catholicism, linked with ideas of liberty, then abolitionism, shored up British identity. With Protestantism now no longer a key component of British identity, how will that identity continue? Reviews admired the book, but insist on the unresolved complexity of the issue. Colley’s 1992 article, “Britishness and Otherness” (Jrnl. of British Studies), giving as epigraph: “Britain is an invented nation, not so much older than the United States” from Peter Scott, Knowledge and Nation (1990). Colley: “The continuing power of the notion that Catholics were the hereditary enemy needs to be stressed because it is sometimes supposed that it receded after 1700 in the face of growing rationalism.”

Bruce Mansfield, Man on His Own: Interpretations of Erasmus c 1750-1920: Erasmus now

(1992) “appears as a Catholic Christian but, more broadly, as a figure ecumenical, devout, theological.”

Richard Rodriguez, Days of Obligation: An Argument with my Mexican Father: on the conflict between Southern Spanish Catholicism and northern individualist Protestantism: “I am lonely. I tell you I see the disintegration of Catholicism in America and I tell you the Catholic Church does not attend to the paradox of American Catholic lives. We confess a communal faith; we live in an individualistic culture.”

****1993****

Ian Wilson’s Shakespeare: The Evidence, full review, with some additions, of Catholic evidence: “not originally intended” but encouraged by “discovery ... of pioneering and little-known studies by ... Bowden ... Devlin ... Milward and ... Thurston;” but doesn’t believe Shakeshafte theory; valuable on Lord Strange and Southampton connections.

F. W. Brownlow, Shakespeare, Harsnett, and the Devils of Denham, that Shakespeare tried to counter Harsnett’s inventive energy, use seriously his images of human suffering, initiate audience into realities signified by signs of possession, and defend his friends and relations; fills in network of Shakespeare relations: Robert Dibdale from Stratford recusant family, his sister Agnes witnessed Richard Hathaway’s will which left money to Anne Hathaway, Dibdale and Simon Hunt probably associated; at Douay Dibdale met Thomas Cottom (executed with Campion and attacked by Harsnett), younger brother of John Cottom, Shakespeare’s teacher; Harsnett also attacked Edward Arden, a distant cousin of Shakespeare.

Daniel Wright, The Anglican Shakespeare.

Paul Voss, “The Antifraternal Tradition in English Renaissance Drama,” i.e. only Shakespeare deviates from the tradition.

Barbara Lewalski, “Anne of Denmark and the Subversions of Masquing,” Criticism 35 (1993): 341-55: on Queen Anne’s subversive use of the masques, expressing among other things “her Roman Catholic proclivities and intrigues@,” article developed from first chapter of Writing Women in Jacobean England (Harvard 1993), which also discusses Elizabeth Cary among other women who are Protestant. Lewalski is to Queen Anne, as Duncan-Jones is to Sidney.

Alexandra Walsham, Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional in Early Modern England: cryptic Catholics often obtained burial in Anglican consecrated ground.

Francis Edwards, S.J., “Still Investigating the Gunpowder Plot” (Recusant History): “By 1605 it had been evident for some time that any use of force to get toleration for English Catholics was out of the question. ... The only hope for the persecuted, as all from the pope downwards realized, was that James’s government might be persuaded to make some voluntary concession in the direction of liberty of conscience. So it might have, had not the State been directed by Robert Cecil. With the complete logic of his position he saw this not as a time for conciliation, still less reconciliation, but for delivering the final coup de grace to the longstanding enemy within.” “Robert Cecil took a long chance in organizing the ‘gunpowder plot’ and even perhaps even now there is room for doubt if he did so; but by this time, even his most ardent admirers and defenders must surely admit an element of doubt in their own position.”

Edwin Fussell, The Catholic Side of Henry James (Cambridge UP): on among other things, “The Catholic Ménage as Literary Space;” on Turn of Screw’s implicit horror at Catholic other; “The Ambassadors features nice tolerant easygoing nondoctrinal Strether vis-à-vis nice tolerant easy-going nondoctrinal Madame de Vionnet, two different kinds of church-goer, equally yet differently civilized” (150); also how The Golden Bowl attempts a “reconciliation” of “the Catholic-Protestant and American-European antitheses.” Review: “James’s ancestral Protestantism became crossed with a more worldly religious institution ... and his fictions take delight in chronicling differences of approach to what he himself termed ‘the supernatural idea;’” the book “implicitly interrogates time-honored affiliations between

American fiction and the great good places of Protestant self-reliance and freedom.” (Paul Giles, Nineteenth-Century Literature (1994) See Pericles Lewis, 2010.

Christopher Haigh, English Reformations, classic in revisionist history, seeing Reformation as “an act of state;” the last years of the sixteenth century created “a Protestant nation, but not a nation of Protestants.”

John O’Malley, The First Jesuits, on the Jesuits’s complex of integration of Erasmian humanism with Catholicism and *devotio moderna*.

Karen Armstrong, History of God, on the Reformation: “Great reformers gave voice to this disquiet and discovered new ways of considering God and salvation. This split Europe into two warring camps—Catholic and Protestant—which have never entirely lost their hatred and suspicion of one another.” 257

Aidan Nichols, The Panther and the Hind: A Theological History of Anglicanism, proposes an “Anglican Uniate Church,” “united with Rome but not absorbed.”

Margaret Aston, “The Northern Renaissance,” in Faith and Fire: Popular and Unpopular Religion 1350-1600: on the early sixteenth humanist Catholic network of Erasmus, Colet (influenced by Ficino and Mirandola), More, Lefèvre, the Brothers of the Common Life (*Devotio Moderna*), Grocyn, Linacre: “it is impossible to assess the achievement of the Northern Renaissance because it was overtaken at a critical moment by another more impetuous movement ... The delicate, easily, altered balance between the scholarly and the evangelical was pushed down hard on the evangelical side ... The whole Lutheran affair appeared to him [Erasmus] a tragedy which had sprung from ‘hatred of liberal studies’ and threatened the ruin of such work.” “Contemporary scholars, such as Toffanin, Trinkaus, Grassi, Boyle, Camporeale, Mazzotta, have thoroughly discredited the secularist interpretation of Italian humanism. Even Machiavelli ... was a regular churchgoer ... Rabelais was no less a believer ... Marguerite of Navarre ... [was] no less a sincerely devout poet for having also written the ribald Heptameron” (Louis Dupré, Passage to Modernity (Yale UP)).

Evangelicals and Catholics Together: The Christian Mission in the Third Millennium (ECT), a joint declaration: discussed in William M. Shea’s The Lion and the Lamb Evangelicals and Catholics in America, Oxford UP, 2004). Shea: “The Catholic myth [i.e. the story we tell about ourselves] is clerical, hierarchical, organizational, sacramental, analogical, communitarian, and culture-absorbing. The Protestant myth is anticlerical, liberational, dialectical, antimediational, individualist, and culture-suspecting.” “The startling quality in much Protestant polemic is the intensity of hatred of all things Catholic,” by contrast with calmer reaction by Catholics (191.)

****1994****

Gary Taylor, in “Forms of Opposition” (English Literary Renaissance) comprehensively assembles the evidence arguing for Shakespeare’s Catholicism.

J. Hope confirms Cyrus Hoy’s argument for Fletcher’s hand in Henry VIII.

Ronald Hutton, The Rise and Fall of Merry England. The Ritual Year 1400-1700 (Oxford): “as during the early years of Edward, the actions of the [Elizabethan] regime were considerably less moderate than its words ... the impact ... upon ritual was very swift, apparently sweeping away that of the former Church even faster than Edward’s measures had done.”

Peter Milward, “Tudor Drama and the Reformation” (Renaissance Bulletin), on the plays favoring Catholicism; Hamlet’s “anguish ... may well be seen in the contemporary anguish of Elizabethan Catholics;” final romances show “interesting movement ... to an ideal of reconciliation and reunion, such as King James himself professedly aimed at.”

K. Abraham, “Notes on the Phantom: A Complement to Freud’s *Metapsychology*” and “The Phantom of Hamlet” (1975), in The Shell and the Kernel by Abraham and Maria Torok, trans. N. Rand (orig. 1987): “It is the children’s or descendants’ lot to objectify these buried tombs through diverse species of ghosts. What comes back to haunt are the tombs of others. The phantoms of folklore merely objectify a metaphor active in the unconscious: the burial of an unspeakable fact within the love-object ... It [the phantom] passes --

in a way yet to be determined -- from the parent's unconscious into the child's ... The special difficulty of these analyses lies in the patient's horror at violating a parent's or a family's guarded secret, even though the secret's text and context are inscribed within the patient's own unconscious." King Hamlet's ghost secret is "merely a subterfuge. It masks another secret ... resulting from an infamy which the father, unbeknown to his son, has on his conscience;" "Hamlet's fits of indecision tussle with both a fallacious 'truth' forced upon him and a 'true' truth his unconscious has long since guessed."

Daniel Westberg, "Thomistic Law and the Moral Theory of Richard Hooker" (American Catholic Philosophical Quarterly), that Hooker's Protestant emphasis on law and voluntaristic obedience, differs from Aquinas's philosophy of virtue and attraction of the good.

Jenny Franchot, Roads to Rome: The Antebellum Protestant Encounter with Catholicism; on American Protestantism as self-defined by its horror of and fascination with Catholicism; note 2: "My investigation of what Catholicism meant to the antebellum Protestant imagination is indebted to ... Said's Orientalism;" on how orientalism constitutes "a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, and even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world." First sentence: "This book argues that anti-Catholicism operated as an imaginative category of discourse through which antebellum American writers of popular and elite fictional and historical texts indirectly voiced the tensions and limitations of mainstream Protestant culture." Franchot's theme will be applied to Britain in Susan Griffin's Anti-Catholicism and Nineteenth-Century Fiction (Cambridge UP, 2004). Reviews: Franchot does not consider "the formation of antebellum American Catholic culture through dialogue with Protestantism"; "future scholarship might recast Protestants' encounter with the Catholic religion as a genuine dialogue, not an imagined, even solipsistic exchange" (A. Rose, CHR 1998); "relies on Stephen Greenblatt ... presupposes ... that authors express cultural imperative rather than personal intentions" and represent "the double mirror-work of authority as a force at once deposed and reenacted;" assessment of last 4 Catholic converts is "extraordinarily slight, possibly evasive ... nothing is suggested of the conflict over authority that must ... abide within Catholicism", an omission that may encourage seeing the book "as a covert exercise in Roman Catholic apologetics" (W. Scheick, NEQ 1994); counters Puritanism critics who have promoted "an ever more Protestant America" (Ferraro, Amer. Lit. 1995). "Claims to be an antidote to ... Miller ... Bercovitch and Douglas [who attempt?] ... to give us an 'ever more Protestant America'" (P. Kane, Reviews in American history 1995).

Annabel Patterson, Reading Holinshed's Chronicles (U. of Chicago): on the diverse religious allegiances of the writers (which included Catholic-leaning Stanyhurst and Stow) against the monovocal Tudor mythology; the book implicitly defends multivocality and liberty of conscience, verbatim documents, anti-censorship.

Lisa Hopkins, John Ford's Political Theatre (Manchester UP), on Ford's Catholic connections and sympathies (but see Wymer review, 1998). José Casanova, Public Religions in the Modern World (UChicago), classic in the anti-secularization-thesis literature (see David Martin's the Religious and the Secular in the 1960's, Talad Asad in 1990's (also, Formations of the Secular (Stanford UP 2003), Charles Taylor's Secular Age, 2007): cites in the 1980s the Islamic revolution in Iran; the rise of the Solidarity movement in Poland; the role of Catholicism in the Sandinista revolution and others Latin American conflicts; and political Protestant fundamentalism in USA.

1994 cont.

Pope John Paul II, Crossing the Threshold of Hope: "divisions ... to a great degree result from the idea that one can have a monopoly of truth;" "over the centuries contact with different political and cultural climates ... led believers to interpret Christ's message with varying emphases. Nevertheless, these different approaches to understanding and living out one's faith in Christ can, in certain cases, be complementary." "I will never forget the statement I heard during an ecumenical gathering with ... the Protestant community in Cameroon: 'We know we are divided, but we do not know why'." "The road to unity ... is a process ... It is necessary, therefore, to rid ourselves of stereotypes." "Could it not be that these divisions

have also been a path continually leading the Church to discover the untold wealth contained in Christ's Gospel ... It is necessary for humanity to achieve unity through plurality, to learn to come together in the one Church, while presenting a plurality of ways of thinking and acting, of cultures and civilizations" (author's italics).

B. Weller and M. Ferguson, eds., The Tragedy of Mariam by Elizabeth Cary, seminal edition, combining feminist and recusant approaches.

Lentricchia, "Revisiting Mepkin Abbey", Edge of Night: "Five months later, I run across this passage in Merton: 'When a man enters a monastery he has to stand before the community, and formally respond to a ritual question: *Quid petis?*' 'What do you ask?' His answer is not that he seeks a happy life, or escape from anxiety, or freedom from sin, or moral perfection, or the summit of contemplation. The answer is that he seeks *mercy*. I try to, but cannot imagine what the secular world would have to become for that ritual to obtain, for it to be one of ours."

****1995****

Eric Sams, The Real Shakespeare, on John Shakespeare's Catholic recusancy, his testament, the Lancashire connection, the Lucy issue; suggests that Hamlet's ghost quotes come from John Shakespeare's testament.

Katharine Maus, Inwardness and Theater in the English Renaissance: the distinction between interior and exterior, so common later, was highlighted as though a novel thing, "an almost inevitable result of religious oppression;" cites Holinshed story of Friar Forrest swearing to Henry VIII's supremacy: "he answered that he took his oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consenteth thereto;" thus the need for equivocation; provoking an "unprecedented domestic espionage system" under Walsingham. "For the English Renaissance ... spectacle depends upon, sometimes betrays, but never fully manifests a truth that remains shrouded, indiscernible, or ambiguous;" theater is "a form of display that flaunts the limits of display."

David Beauregard, Virtue's Own Feature: Shakespeare and the Virtue Ethics Tradition, on Shakespeare using Aristotle and Aquinas as basis for his characterizations of passion, virtue, and vice; he reflects a moment before "an ethics of the virtues ... was gradually being replaced by an ethics of law and obligation," representing the influence of nominalism, voluntarism, Reformed theology" etc.; see Westberg 1994.

S. M. Buhler, "'By the Mass, our hearts are in trim': Catholicism and British Identity in Olivier's Henry V" (Cahiers Elizabethains), on Olivier promoting a synthesis of British patriotism and Catholic liturgy in his script (somewhat reduced in film), reflecting his belief in intersection of sacramental and theatrical.

C. Richard Desper, "Allusions to Edmund Campion in Twelfth Night" (Elizabethan Review), discusses Feste allusions to old hermit of Prague (see 1991, Sidney), etc.

David Remnick, "Hamlet in Hollywood," New Yorker Nov. 20, on the dispute between scholar Mary Ann McGrail and Hollywood producer Steve Sohmer, over legal ownership of their theory that Hamlet encodes an allegory of Lutheranism against Henry VIII's Catholicizing tendencies, reflecting Foxes's account of Luther (McGrail), thus "hide Fox," St Bernard -- Barnardo -- who is guarding the church?, some sort of communion at end, gravedigger as bible-reader, "reform it all together" (theater as surrogate for church).

De Groot's book reissued with Stanley Jaki postscript.

1995 cont.

Anthony Milton, Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640 (Cambridge): shows convergence of Roman and Anglican doctrines in the Laudian years, and the search for reconciliation. "The removal of the identification of the pope as Antichrist ... allowed Laudians to accept Rome as an erring but basically equal institutional church." "It has often been suggested by historians that the

descriptions by Andrewes, Laud and others of their church as being essentially 'Catholic and Reformed', rather than merely Protestant, marked a distinctive strain of 'Anglican' thought within the Church of England.'

Margo Todd, intro. Reformation to Revolution: "the focus now is on the vast majority of the religious population occupying the middle of the road, struggling to cope both with changes imposed from above and with the demands of the radical reformers on the one hand and reactionaries on the other."

Mary Heimann, Catholic Devotion in Victorian England (Oxford); on the strong continuity in choice of devotion between pre- and post-'Second Spring' Catholicism, thus linking both cisalpine and ultramontane, liberal and conservative Catholics, Irish immigrants and English old Catholics. "The Garden of the Soul, far from being abandoned in the post-1850 period, continued to be the staple devotional text." "It was an invigorated English recusant tradition, not a Roman one, which was most successful in capturing the imagination of Catholics living in England from the middle of the nineteenth century to the early years of the twentieth."

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); see 1409; see After Arundel, below. Watson: "... Duffy's 'traditional religion'—which he sees as having been forced out of existence in the sixteenth century by the self-interested reformism of powerful men—was itself the creation of a movement of reform, a movement that was equally imposed on English society from above ..." (859). Pope John Paul II, Ut Unum Sint: "the elements of sanctification *and truth present in the other Christian Communities, in a degree which varies from one to the other, constitute the objective basis of the communion, albeit imperfect, which exists between them and the Catholic Church. // To the extent that these elements are found in other Christian Communities, the one Church of Christ is effectively present in them;*" "in the other Communities ... certain features of the Christian mystery have at times been more effectively emphasized." "The desire of every Christian Community for unity goes hand in hand with its fidelity to the Gospel." "It is necessary to pass from antagonism and conflict to a situation where each party recognizes the other as a partner."

Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "The Limits of Secularization: On the Problem of the Catholic Revival in Nineteenth-Century Germany," Historical Journal 38.3 (1995): 647-70: populist Catholicism thrived in 19th cent. Germany, including during Kulturkampf; it was clerical, ultramontane (but seen as anti-State), thus not erastian as in France (where Catholicism thus was more vulnerable); but also great influence of laity because of persecution of their clergy. "The catholic community was not the herd of Dostoevsky's grand inquisitor. It was not egalitarian. Its strata were clearly articulated ... But along with differentiation came an equally high valuation of solidarity and mutual dependence that went to the very heart of catholic culture." (668) "German catholics lived in an atmosphere of constant confessional challenge, because they were ... a minority with the 'national' protestant population" [like English Catholics]; "during the Kulturkampf ... the timing of that hostility maximized the stimulus to solidarity and minimized the institutional damage to the church;" thus created their "imagined community" (citing Anderson) (669-70).

Colleen McDaniel, Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America, cites Franchot and Orsi as classics in cultural studies approach.

Terry Eagleton, Heathcliff and the Great Hunger: Studies in Irish Culture (London: Verso): "For what, in fact, if Irish society were in certain respects untotalizable? ... The only culture which will totalize all viewpoints is one which engages no specific interest, and so becomes, like the more hollow of Yeats's poetic postures, a mere empty transcendence." Mid-19th century on, Archbishop Cullen led a Tridentine Catholic revival, i.e. built churches, purged heathen myth etc. "The Irish Catholic Church of the nineteenth century was in fact a thoroughly modern phenomenon, not at all the traditional formation it is often mistaken for; but like many a modern phenomenon it

back-projected a venerable pedigree for itself" (173-4) (Eagleton ignoring continuities back to and before pre-Reformation period (like Bossy)). "Whatever cultural understanding can be built here and there ... should be eagerly pursued ... The enlightened wing of the Anglo-Irish [pace their "paternalism, self-interest and political opportunism"] remains an object-lesson in such rapprochement, and one whose magnanimous spirit Irish history has yet to surpass ... It was the just destiny of the Anglo-Irish to lose their political power in Ireland; their tragedy was to lose their liberalizing influence"

****1996****

Milward, Love and Marriage in Shakespeare's Plays: the final marriage in Measure signifies the "fulfillment of the Messianic Psalm 85: 'Mercy and truth are met together'."

Eamon Duffy, "Was Shakespeare a Catholic?," The Tablet(, on Shakespeare as church papist; replied to by Milward a few weeks later.

Andrew Graham-Dixon, A History of British Art (BBC, also TV series), on the destructive effect of Reformation on British art.

Antonia Fraser, The Gunpowder Plot: Terror and Faith in 1605: portrays the Catholic desperation that led to the Plot, stresses "the terror of governments, directed towards dissident minorities," cites Appellant dispute as typical of dilemma for proscribed Christians in totalitarian countries, plot as typical desperation measure under totalitarianism: "It was indeed 'a heavy and doleful tragedy,' that men of such calibre were driven by continued religious persecution to Gunpowder, Treason and Plot" (last sentence).

Kevin Morris, "John Bull and the Scarlet Woman: Charles Kingsley and Anti-Catholicism in Victorian Literature," Recusant History 23 (1996).

Michael Schiefelbein, "A Catholic Baptism for Villette's Lucy Snow," (Christianity and Literature): "For both protagonist and author, the Roman Church, by effectively incorporating the double tyranny of external authority and romantic spells, proves paradoxically sacramental in mediating rebirth" (see Schiefelbein 2001).

Patricia Parker, Shakespeare from the Margins: Iago as informer reflects Elizabethan web of domestic informers ferreting out recusants.

Debora Shuger, "Subversive fathers and suffering subjects: Shakespeare and Christianity," in Religion, Literature, and Politics in Post-Reformation England, ed. Hamilton and Strier: "those moments in Shakespeare identified by modern critics as radical and subversive derive (however indirectly) from traditions of Christian radicalism ... characteristic of the Church Fathers." i.e. Lear on the poor "does not voice subversive heterodoxies ... but the social teachings of the medieval church."

Louis Montrose, The Purpose of Playing (develops 1980 article): theater became a substitute to satisfy for the loss of the banned Catholic liturgy.

Julia Lupton, Afterlives of the Saints, on Measure for Measure and The Winter's Tale: in Shakespeare, Catholic religious remnants, in continuous dialogue with Protestant iconoclasm, give energy to the plays. Excellent explications, though claiming that Catholicism is -- ultimately -- cancelled out by being emptied into secular energy.

Kenneth Branagh's movie, Hamlet, accentuating the Gothic Catholic elements, echoing Gothic novels (which Hamlet itself influenced).

Blair Worden, The Sound of Virtue: Philip Sidney's Arcadia and Elizabethan Politics, on Sidney's fierce patriotic (though not doctrinal) Protestantism; yet footnote on p. 329: "A forthcoming essay by Katherine Duncan-Jones ... emphasizes the evidence that Sidney may at one stage have been attracted to Roman Catholicism. Though that evidence is far from conclusive, it provides a further reason for asking whether the politics and religion of Sidney's party can have accommodated every aspect of his personality. It may also cast suggestive light on his representation of love as idolatry, a representation which does not invariably seem

unsympathetic.”

Frank Brownlow, Robert Southwell: cites many more parallels than Devlin between St. Peter's Complaint and Rape of Lucrece.

Sheridan Gilley, “The Ecclesiology of the Oxford Movement: A Reconsideration,” in From Oxford to People: “Anglo-Catholicism, the most culturally attractive form of Christianity that I have ever encountered, is bound to be no more than a perparatio evangelica to positions more coherent than itself. In its learning, its devotion, its sheer beauty, it is a preparation without equal, but no more.”

Michael Ondaatje, The English Patient (Knopf), “celebrates the postsecular, neomonastic communities” which offer an image of “participation in a cosmopolitan spiritual community of all saints;” the principals gather in a war-wrecked nunnery, and embody different forms of asceticism. Hana is positioned “at the far edge of a mystical community [like her lover's Sikh India] that she cannot fully embrace but that somehow helps to sustain her nevertheless. This is after all a postsecular story, the story of a ‘limited gift’.” (John McClure, Partial Faiths: Postsecular Fiction in the Age of Pynchon and Morrison (U.GeorgiaPress, 2007).

Religion and the Arts: Special Issue (first issue) on Warhol and his Last Supper paintings, ed. Jane Dillenger. Giles on Fitzgerald, Warhol, O'Hara etc.: not satire which implies possibility of human perfection in this world, or pure celebration, which implies autonomy of secular world, rather “Catholic fictions prefer to negotiate an ironic position where they are neither totally of the world nor totally out of it, and the double-edged form of parody is the most appropriate form within which to express this metaphysical paradox” (Giles).

****1997****

Richard Wilson, “Shakespeare and the Jesuits,” TLS: more on Campion and missionary connection, and charting their journey from Stratford to Houghton Castle; argues importance of Campion influence on Shakespeare, that Campion may have ridden north with this young bright Catholic to Houghton Tower.

Richard Wilson, “Voyage to Tunis: New History and the Old World of The Tempest,” (ELH): the play coincides with feverish diplomacy over proposed marriage of Prince Henry to Caterina, daughter of Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, in order to free Milan from Spanish control; portraits were exchanged, and bride was guaranteed freedom of worship; the Medicis gloated how English Catholics were rejoicing that “the prince now turns to Tuscany for a bride.” Match depended on pardon of exiled duke, Robert Dudley, son of Leicester, who eloped with cousin, converted to Catholicism, was used by Ferdinand as overlord of Tuscan shipyards. Noted for his secret studies, inventions, chart-making, etc., Dudley hoped that Prince Henry would gain his pardon and (with Lord Northampton) urged the marriage. (Dudley had also voyaged to Americas in 1594 when he explored the Orinoco Delta near Trinidad, and named an island Dudleana; his account described a tempest off “the Bermudes,” talked of his miraculous deliverance from the storm.) Author of Arcano del Mare described Dudley: “In this worthy enterprise of bringing two hemispheres into one world, if one man is more eminent than others, it is this Duke of Northumberland, who, to make himself master of marine science, tore himself away from the great house where he had princely birth, and sacrificed full forty years in unveiling the mighty secrets of the sea.” No source agreed on yet for Tempest, and yet Dudley's story is good candidate. Dudley thus might have returned as key Catholic adviser of Prince Henry. Pope reported to believe that “the coming of the princess will ease the suffering of English Catholics” and her “followers will begin to convert England.” First folio, dedicated to two of Dudley's cousins, William and Philip Herbert, puts Tempest first. “It will take time to sort out what we think of Richard

Wilson's ... argument" (Hamilton, "Shakespeare and Religion," 1999).

David Beauregard, "New Light on Shakespeare's Catholicism: Prospero's Epilogue in The Tempest" (Renascence) on the Catholic theology implicit in Prospero's final use of words like "indulgence."

1997 cont.

Milward, The Catholicism of Shakespeare's Plays: seeing Shylock as Puritan relieves Shakespeare from the charge of anti-semitism. "In such snatches [of Ophelia] ... one may find the further implication of lament for the passing of Catholic England." Lucio calls Friar Lodowich (Duke) "the fantastical duke of dark corners," recalling Burghley on "secret lurkings" of Jesuits in Execution of Justice. Fool's "priests are more in word" adapt "Chaucer's Prophecy" ("When faith faileth in priests's saws" etc.) in Verstegan's Declaration of the True Causes (1582), i.e. the spurious "Plowman's Tale" (not in Canterbury Tales). Miracles from Comedy of Errors on culminate "in the Winter's Tale in the supreme miracle of Hermione's resurrection -- however much the dramatist may furnish it with a far-fetched 'natural' explanation. From the Catholic viewpoint, it may point to the conclusion not that 'the Catholic cause is lost' as that 'the Catholic cause can now be saved only by a miracle.'"

Greenblatt, introd., Norton Shakespeare: "Accepting for the moment that William Shakespeare was raised in the recusant faith of his father ..."

Huston Diehl, Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage: "Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists ... create new forms of drama that are both energized and threatened by the anti-theatricality of the new religion."

Lisa Hopkins, "Neighbourhood in Henry V" in Shakespeare and Ireland, ed. Burnett and Ray: how the play reconstructs an older international Catholic community.

John T. McGreevy, "Thinking on One's Own: Catholicism in the American Intellectual Imagination, 1928-1960" (Jrnl. Amer. Hist): how opposition to Catholicism helped define liberalism in these years; cites Franchot, also J.C.D. Clark, The Language of Liberty, 1660-1832, arguing that anti-Catholicism was central to the revolutionary era.

Adrian Hastings, The Construction of Nationhood: "English nationhood preceeded the Reformation@." "I do not think that the Colley thesis adequately respects the continued emotional, intellectual and political dominance of the concept of England over that of Britain." But the "pre-modern ideas of the nation involved only the ruling class" (J. Vogel, review, Jrnl Contemp Hist 35 (2000)).

W. B. Patterson, James VI and I and the reunion of Christendom, even though the 1606 Oath of Allegiance, following the Gunpowder Plot, proved impossibly divisive.

Cardinal Francis Arinze, The Risks and Rewards of Interreligious Dialogue: Meeting with Others.

John Martin, "Inventing Sincerity, Refashioning Prudence: The Discovery of the Individual in Renaissance Europe" (AHR). Distinguishes medieval concordia between inner and outer self, on objective analogy principle, from Protestant sincerity, expressing one's emotions without filter. "Unlike the Protestant theologian who connected sincerity ... with the need to express one's emotion, the Catholic and stoic Montaigne based his ethic of sincerity on the need to be true to one's nature."

Ellis Hanson, Decadence and Catholicism (Harvard UP): "certain 'paradoxes ... made 'decadence' and Catholicism seem for a time partners: spiritualized sensuality, secret and ineffably homoerotic brotherhoods, treasonous internationalisms, the edgy enfolding of Hellenism and medievalism in an argumentative modernity, and above all, the baroque extremes of shame and grace" (Judith Wilt summary)

1998

Park Honan, Shakespeare: A Life, on Shakespeare's Catholic background and

with chapter treating seriously the Lancaster possibility.

Honigmann, Shakespeare: the 'lost years', second edition (see 1985).

Richard Dutton, "Shakespeare and Lancaster" (Shakespeare Quarterly), on Shakespeare's tetralogy influenced by Doleman's Conference.

Amy Wolf, "Shakespeare and Harsnett: 'Pregnant to Good Pity'?" (SEL): Lear exhibit the real suffering and madness that the exorcism victims experienced in their own way, and Lear's ravings ("Down from the waist" etc.) reflect some of Harsnett's language of description. 257 Cordelia administers to him a gentle benediction. Edgar is a sympathetic pretender, unlike Harsnett's deceiving fakes. Genuine sympathy needed to empathize with suffering. [Is Edmund and his cynicism parallel to Harsnett contra Gloucester's superstition?]

Achsa Guibbory, Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton (Cambridge UP), on the longing for these things in the Laudian tradition, and also in Herrick, Browne. Milton desires "a ritual experience that might integrate body and spirit and connect human beings," "Milton's depiction of Edenic love and worship expresses a longing for both the community and the sense of integration that the ceremonialism of the Church of England claimed to provide. Though Milton rejected its worship ... as idolatrous ... he seem to have been at some level repelled by the dualism of a puritan ideology that would split inner and outer, body and soul." But with Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes, "these final, rigorously iconoclastic poems represent the lonely, deconstructive, antisocial, and antihistorical implications of a radical puritan ethos ... the Son ... is a distinctively solitary figure, alone in the desert, obeying a divine Father who gives no material evidence of his presence until ... the end." "The act of divorce is at the center of Samson Agonistes ... concludes with the destruction of the idol-worshiping Philistines and their Temples" versus Dalila as the "figure of idolatry." "The absence of positive forms of worship in Samson represents the ... impossibility ... of Milton's imagining in 1671 what form true ties of worship might take... Samson explicitly distances himself from the idolatrous, treacherous Israelites ... in a way that suggests Milton's own distance from his fellow Englishmen."

Maurice Hunt, "The Hybrid Reformations of Shakespeare's Second Henriad" (Comparative Drama): Henry V finally succeeds by combining Catholic and Protestant traits: "In typically syncretic fashion, Shakespeare melds aspects of two religious systems held to be antithetical during the later sixteenth century"; "The Catholic 'miracle' that at a decisive moment helps to cleanse his [Henry's] heart is Shakespeare's subtle argument for Protestant tolerance of Catholics."

Jessica Slight and Michael Holmes, "Isabella's Order: Religious Acts and Personal Desires in Measure for Measure" (Studies in Philology): Isabella's refusal to conform to heterosexual norms, plus her silent refusal at end, shows "that religion in early modern culture was ... a potentially dynamic zone of self-assertion and cultural critique;" cites multiple articles recently on this theme (i.e. DiGangi 1993, etc.) and on the self-validation of nuns (Bynum 1991, Grundy 1992, Wood 1995, McNamara 1996, etc.).

Theodora Jankowski, "Queer(y)ing Virginité in ... Measure for Measure ..." (Shakespeare Studies): on Isabella, cloistered "virginité represented a queer space," "a threat to the sexual economy" of "the restrictive male/female binary of the early modern Protestant sex/gender system."

Jonathan Bate, The Genius of Shakespeare: "indeed it is not the man, for Falstaff is if anything an embodiment of those ancient Catholic rhythms which were suppressed in the name of Reformation," vs. Hal who is beginning his "reformation."

Harold Bloom, Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human (title paraphrasing

Hazlitt): “G. K. Chesterton [often quoted by Bloom], a wonderful literary critic, insisted that Shakespeare was a Catholic dramatist ... I do not know, and Chesterton did not know either ... I certainly do not have a clue as to whether he favored Protestantism or Catholicism or neither ... His politics, like his religion, evades me, but I think he was too wary to have any.” “I suspect that he had no politics, and no religion, only a vision of the human, or the more human” [yet] “I think part of Shakespeare’s irony, in the play [*Julius Caesar*], is to suggest that no Roman, in good faith, could stand up against the spirit of Caesar, even as no Englishman could stand up against the spirit of Elizabeth.” “Shakespeare, always wary of a state power that had murdered Marlowe and tortured Kyd into an early grave, makes a fine joke of the raging mob’s dragging off the wretched Cinna the poet ... Shakespeare, whatever his nonpolitics, did not want to be torn for his good verses.” “Johnson was massively right, something inhibited Shakespeare, though I cannot believe that it was North’s Plutarch or Roman stoicism. We must look elsewhere, perhaps to the tyrannicide debate, as Robert Miola has suggested. By the time Shakespeare was at work on the play, the popes had excommunicated Elizabeth, and Catholics had plotted to murder her ...” “Shakespeare, in his dying, may have returned to his father’s Catholicism, but like Wallace Stevens’s reputed deathbed conversion, this would have been another instance of the imaginative achievement going one way and the personal life another.”

Edwin Jones, *The English Nation: The Great Myth*, revised paperback edn. 2003. Insists on international Catholic medieval notion of Englishness, linked to other nations by Canon Law (basis of “the great unification of Christian Europe ... in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries”) (vs. indigenous common law emphasis by Henry VIII), and attacks Protestant myth of English insularity and indigenous church, begun by Thomas Cromwell’s preambles to Henry VIII’s Acts. “a false view of the English past was created deliberately by government in the sixteenth century, so as to fabricate an erroneous collective memory for the English people.’ We need to reconsider the old internationalist notion in view of the new global realities and European Union; we need to distinguish patriotism from nationalism. Non-Jurors helped reveal true medieval reality by attacking erastianism (but not nationalism). On canon law and other matters, cites the landmark work of F. W. Maitland, *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* in 1898, to be followed by the medievalist revival in scholars, Tout, Brooke, Powicke, Knowles, Cheney, Pantin, Southern, Stenton etc. Based on Jones’s 1956 MA thesis and 1958 Ph.D thesis. New Afterword praises Tony Blair and European Union as climaxing the move toward a re-Christianized de-nationalized European civilization, as theorized by Maritain and begun by the Christian Democrats like Konrad Adenauer in Germany. Peter Mandler review, *EHR* 2004, queries why England’s post-Reformation national identity, however the result of brainwashing, is less “real” than that medieval internationalism, offered here as another great myth “which edits out the last five hundred years, and claims a much older pedigree.” Reviews: “Did historians dupe their fellow countrymen ... or were they reflecting widespread attitudes, be they ones based on fact or fancy? ... Indeed, in the real world of the last four hundred years England has been an actuality. People thought of themselves as English ...” (*Albion* 1999) “Jones underestimates the extent ... to which the people are themselves complicit in manufacturing myths about their past” (*TLS* 1998). (see Eliot, 1949).

Toni Morrison, *Paradise* (Knopf, 1998). A “convent,” a house used by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart (“Christians—well, Catholics anyway” ?) (“Nobody questioned Sisters Devoted to Indians and Colored People” 223) (who chipped away the pornographic statues of the earlier owners) to house abandoned girls and run a school (sign read “Christ the King School for Native Girls” (225) in Oklahoma but called simply the “convent” by the townspeople, is taken over by a new generation of abused women, who form a community which is eventually destroyed by the rage of the townspeople. “The mansion-turned-Convent was there long before the

town, and the last boarding Arapaho girls had already gone when the fifteen families arrived" (10, i.e. to destroy it). Rev. preaches sermon on "a real earthly home," "not some place you stole from the people living there, but your own home, where, if you go back past ... the whole of Western history ... back when God said Good!" Compare the destruction of the Charlestown Ursuline Convent in 1834. Consolata on Sister Mary Magna: "It was worth getting sick, dying even, to see that kind of concern in an adult's eyes ... The glass beads hanging from her waist or from her fingers winked" (224) Consolata loves "the gorgeous language made especially for talking to heaven. Ora pro nobis ..." (224-5). "For thirty years she offered her body and her soul to God's Son and His Mother as completely as if she had taken the veil herself. To her of the bleeding heart and bottomless love. To her quae sine tactu pudoris..." 225 Re: Consolata and her lover, "a simple mindless transfer. From Christ, to whom one gave total surrender and then swallowed the idea of His flesh, to a living man" (240). Under Lone's influence, Consolata learns to "practice" i.e. healing (Lone: "Don't separate God from His elements ... Don't unbalance the world." 244 Tends Mary Magna at her deathbed. Rev. Cary inciting raid: "The others before them at least had some religion. These here sluts just out there by themselves never step foot in church ..." (276)

William J. Abraham, Canon and Criterion in Christian Theology: "The heart of the Anglican proposal is that theological claims are to be justified by a complex appeal to Scripture, tradition, and reason." "The Reformation effectively created a massive epistemological crisis for the whole of Western culture [see Richard Popkin] ... The Enlightenment was not merely a secular revolt against the authority of the Church or tradition or Scripture; it was a movement created by Christian intellectuals to resolve deep canonical problem which Christians themselves had unwittingly created."

****1999****

Lancaster Conference, Lancaster University/Hoghton Castle Conference. Followed by extensive discussion on the Shakespeare Listserv (Bowie State). See books ed. Dutton et al, 2004. Greenblatt's assessment: in no other conference had he "experienced so much excitement and passion" (qu. Wilson 2004, p. 31). Brownlow review of Lancastrian Shakespeare: Region, Religion and Patronage, ed. Dutton et al (2003): "After all, Shakespeare is the national poet of an officially Protestant and anti-Catholic country with an established church. The news that a large assembly of scholars had met to discuss Shakespeare's Catholic affiliations was reported on all the British TV news programs, surely a first in academic history" (ELN, Dec 2005)

John Berryman, Berryman's Shakespeare, ed. John Haffenden: entertains seriously the Shakeshafte hypothesis in essay written in 1952.

Scott Crider, "Weeping in the Upper World: The Orphic Frame in 5.3 of The Winter's Tale and the Archive of Poetry" (Studies in the Literary Imagination): on the necessity of both theatrical and mythic readings of the final miracle, in the spirit of Ovid's Orpheus on Pygmalion.

David Beauregard, "'Inspired Merit': Shakespeare's Theology of Grace in All's Well That Ends Well" (Renascence), illustrating Catholic theology on miracles, works, interior sanctification, saints, grace, intercessory prayer.

John Tobin "Nashe and Some Shakespearean Sonnets" (N&Q) on many verbal echoes from Nashe's Christes Teares Over Jerusalem and other works. Also see Tobin's "A Touch of Greene, Much Nashe, and All Shakespeare," in Henry VI: Critical Essays, ed. Thomas Pendleton (2001).

David Kastan, "'The Duke of Milan / And his Brave Son': Old Histories and New in The Tempest" in Shakespeare After Theory: "The play is much more obviously a play about European dynastic concerns than European colonial

activitie.” “Alonso’s sadness at having apparently lost his son and married his daughter to a foreign prince might well have seemed a virtual mirror of the situation of [King James],” with James seeking to use marriages of his children to mediate European religious divisions. ‘If the shift in focus from Bermuda to Bohemia, from Harriot to Habsburg, removes the play from the colonial encounter ... it is not to evade or dull its political edges. Indeed, arguably it is to sharpen them, but it is to find them less in the conquest of the new world than in the killing religious conflicts and territorial ambitions of the old, where tragically they can still be found.”

Alison Shell, Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination 1558-1660: how Southwell’s preface influenced subsequent poets (Spenser, Herbert, etc.) to turn to religious themes, on Catholic loyalism, on continental Jesuit plays, on Cary’s Mariam as promoting Catholicism to her husband, on Jacobean drama establishing association of Catholicism with evil, etc. “At some irrecoverable point, a medieval celebration of Corpus Christi or a folk carol about the Virgin would have become a Catholic text to a singer or copyist, not simply a religious one.”

Ian Donaldson, Jonson’s Magic Houses, chapter 4, “Jonson’s Duplicity: The Catholic Years”: Jonson’s Epigram 102 “and scarce one knows, / To which, yet, of the sides himselfe he owes,” due to religious subterfuges; Jonson perhaps protected by Esmé d’Aubigny and lodged in his house in Blackfriars, from where he christened his son Benjamin: “How full of want, how swallow’d up, how dead / I, and this Muse had beene, if thou hadst not / Lent timely succours, and new life begot” (Epigrams 127 to d’Aubigny), i.e. perhaps got him off Gunpowder Plot

Anthony Low, “Hamlet and the Ghost of Purgatory: Intimations of Killing the Father”: Hamlet doesn’t say purgatorial prayers, thus showing his generation’s loss of the doctrine, and thus killing of the father.

Alison Findlay, A Feminist Perspective on Renaissance Drama, that Isabella’s Catholic celibacy is also “a powerful feminist symbol;” her final silence can be read “as an act of resistance rather than consent.”

Thomas Rist, Shakespeare’s Romances and the Politics of Counter-Reformation, arguing for Catholic habits of mind based on Ignatian meditation (see Martz, 1954), Catholic skepticism, miracles, intercessory prayer, etc.

Arthur Marotti, ed., Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts, on the complexities of Protestant anti-Catholicism, on obscure Catholic writings, including Persons’s dream of a Catholic England.

Catholics and Lutherans sign Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification by Faith; Ratzinger helps ‘untie the knots.’

Orthodox Patriarch Teoctist invites Pope John Paul II for a visit to Romania, first such invitation since the Great Schism of 1054.

Charles Taylor et al, A Catholic Modernity? (Oxford UP). “Modern liberal political culture ... characterized by an affirmation of universal human rights” was needed for the Church to attain “this radical unconditionality.” “So a vote of thanks to Voltaire and others ... allowing us to live the gospel in a purer way, free of that ... bloody forcing of conscience which is the sin and blight of all those ‘Christian’ centuries.” “The practical primacy of life has been a great gain for humankind ... this gain was, in fact, unlikely to come about without some breach with established religion.”

Gelpi, “The Catholic Presence in American Culture”(review article, Amer. Literary History: “I can envision a book on modern Catholic writers ... that seeks to pursue the consequences of the Incarnation for the Catholic imagination by concentrating chapters on how they connect with a particular issue in the light of their Incarnational theology. There might, for example, be chapters on the Incarnation and sexuality with Everson as focus, on the Incarnation and the good society with Day or Berrigan as focus, on the Incarnation and Jansenism with Lowell and/or Kerouac as focus, on the Incarnation and asceticism with Merton as focus, or the

Incarnation and violence with O'Connor as focus, on the Incarnation and parish life with Powers as focus, on the Incarnation and post-structural linguistics with Percy as focus, on the Incarnation and sacramentalism with Denise Levertov as focus, and so on."

1999 cont.

Frances Dolan, Whores of Babylon, Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture, that Shakespeare's Cleopatra is made parallel to the allure of the papal Whore of Babylon.

Donna Hamilton, "Richard Verstegan's A Restitution ... A Catholic Antiquarian Replies to John Foxe ..." (Prose Studies); see above 1605.

Donna Hamilton, "Shakespeare and Religion" (Shakespearean International Yearbook): perceptive summary of new currents, acknowledging Dutton, Helgerson (see 1992), Duffy, Annabel Patterson on Holinshed, G. Taylor on Shakespeare's invisibility: "a religious allegiance was [not] necessarily the same as or determined social and political allegiances;" "the early goal of obliterating Catholicism was in part managed by enforcing Catholic silence ... a strategy closely linked to the creation of institutional and discursive worlds which then often succeeded in also representing Catholics as absent. Later historians wrote about what was in view;" Hamlet's "To be or not to be" reflects "What nobleness of courage were nedefull?" passage, in Persons's 1582 An Epistle of the Persecution of Catholickes in Englande: "That soliloquy ... from the perspective of catholic discourse names first their effort to return England to catholicism (the Enterprise of England), and second, the attitude needed to resist conformity."

David Kastan, "'Killed with Hard Opinions': Oldcastle and Falstaff and the Reformed Text of 1 Henry IV," in Shakespeare After Theory: Shakespeare is satirizing not a Protestant Oldcastle, but a ultra-Puritan Oldcastle. Thus "not ... a crypto-Catholic tactic but an entirely orthodox gesture, designed to reflect upon the nonconformity that the Queen herself had termed 'prejudicial to the religion established'." See Paul White, "Shakespeare and Religious Polemic," in Shakespeare's Second Historical Tetralogy, ed. B. Batson (2004): "It now seems likely that he [Cobham] was a moderate Protestant;" "the Drayton-Munday-Hathaway-Wilson Oldcastle play ... carefully distinguish[es] Oldcastle from the separatists and other extremists, placing him in the mainstream of serious Protestantism."

John Klaue, "Politics, heresy, and martyrdom in Shakespeare's Sonnet 123 and Titus Andronicus," in Shakespeare's Sonnets, ed. James Schiffer: for the moderate Catholic audience, "who wished to preserve an integrity of conscience but did not yearn for the glory of martyrdom, both the Machiavellianism of the Goths and the austere Romanitas of Titus were cause for dismay in reminding them of the religious politics of their own time."

ARCIC, Anglican-Roman Catholic commission issues The Gift of Authority, citing areas of agreement, and recommending that Anglicans and Catholic share in the "re-reception" of the Roman primacy.

Lutheran-Catholic Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Salvation.

Robert Clark, memoir, My Grandfather's House, convert to Catholicism from Protestantism, evokes long Reformation history of his family, cites Duffy et al in sources: "I have now come to believe that Mary has a special affinity for overregulated, hyper-intellectualized New England hard cases like Margaret Fuller and Henry Adams, precisely those people to whom Mary ought to be anathema". Clark writes other novels exploring the relation of sexuality and Catholicism, on

turning desire into love: see In the Deep Midwinter (1997); Mr. White's Confession (1998); Love Among the Ruins (2001)

Kenneth Smith, director, Dogma, film comically and sympathetically employing cultural icons of Catholicism. "Smith seems to be searching for a third option—neither an irrelevant institutional faith nor a free-floating spirituality but instead an invigorated, open-minded, spiritual Catholicism" (Amy Frykholm, "Catholicism Wow," in Catholics in the Movies ed. C. McDannell OUP 2008). Early dialogue with Bethany who rejects infantile men but also lesbian relations: "Well, then you need to go back to church and ask God for a third option." Blinding light at the end from the Church, etc. give "a sense of the Catholic church as containing an unexplored mystery, a realm that may very well lead to the holy." Smith "does not exactly urge his readers to embrace Catholicism but rather suggests that it be allowed a place within the discourse of authenticity that contemporary American culture demands of its religious (read: spiritual) forms." Issue of Optional Catholicism.

****2000****

Kenneth Muse, "The Protestant Issue in Hamlet" (Publications of the Missouri Philological Association): Denmark was early Protestant country; James VI had married Protestant Anne of Denmark, marriage in Elsinore, etc. "My best guess, then, is that young Will was exposed in his intimate family context to both religio-cultural value systems ... The effort to make sense of a radical duality of world-views channeling through one's parents can generate a deep and penetrating curiosity ... resulting from the simultaneous sympathy and distance one would feel toward each parent and each world-view. This is certainly what happened to Weber ... The family situation ... would tend to militate against ... a confessional position ... Shakespeare's interest ... is mostly ... in the cultural consequences of religion ... Shakespeare could see ... the imminent demise of an old world, a medieval, traditional, world order, a Catholic/Anglican hierarchical and communal world, and could see the seemingly inevitable overtaking of that world by a Protestant world, a modern, more democratic, and individualist culture and a more entrepreneurial and acquisitive world." Cites Weber's list from Protestant Ethic: loneliness, self-scrutiny, inwardness. Play's emphasis on private familiar matters, shows Protestant degeneration of the state, against which is needed a strong Fortinbras, Henry V redivivus.

David Beauregard, "Shakespeare Against the Homilies: The Theology of Penance in the Comedies" (Ben Jonson Journal): definitive discussion of repentance and penance scenes in the plays; if only Catholic cultural residues, why do the allusions become more emphatic in later plays? If parodied and emptied out, why doesn't Shakespeare emphasize this possibility more? shows that Catholic penance is elided in Protestant privatized version of contrition, confession (to God), faith, and amendment of life: "In using the word 'penance' nineteen times, Shakespeare reflects this [Catholic] aspect of penitential practice, a crucial fact completely overlooked by Noble and Shaheen." S. echoes Catholic structure of auricular confession, absolution, penance, satisfaction. Argues against Alfred Hart's Shakespeare and the Homilies (1934) on S's reliance on the homilies for theories of order and divine right.

Theodora A. Jankowski, Pure Resistance Queer Virginity in Early Modern English Drama (U of Penn): "It is against this Protestant understanding of virginity that I want to set the almost magical power of the estate represented in [Pericles] ... Marina's virginity is shown to carry with it a queer aura of power," "a power [that in Measure] allows virgin characters to be queer, that is to question

both the necessity for and the character of patriarchally mandated marriage.” Thus from a feminist direction, the old Catholic respect for virginity has been reinstated; also adapts “queer theory” to the value of virginity in Shakespeare.

Thomas Rist, “Topical Comedy: On the Unity of Love’s Labour’s Lost” (Ben Jonson Journal), on how the play moves from a first ascetic phase, into a worldly phase, into a second ascetic phase, reconfirming Catholic values; the ending suggests the traditional Catholic distinction between contemplative and active lives, and the Spiritual and Corporal works of mercy.

Peter Milward, Shakespeare’s Apocalypse, on four tragedies.

Velma Bourgeois Richmond, Shakespeare, Catholicism, and Romance, arguing for a habit of mind based on medieval Catholic romance.

2000 cont.

John Bayley, review of Holden and Kermode (New York Review of Books): John Shakespeare “undoubtedly” Catholic; story of the will “one of the few certainties;” “Shakespeare’s youthful consciousness must have been soaked in the old religion, as well as in the violence done to it by the new;” “probable, indeed almost certain, is that thesis of ... Honigmann;” “Catholic critics have usually more sense than to see the Bard as ardent in their cause, but they like to think and with some justification, that he moved in a penumbra of their faith, and mourned desecrated altars and churches.”

Ruth Vanita, “Mariological Memory in The Winter’s Tale and Henry VIII” (SEL): mariological associations of heroines, opting out of heterosexual structures, in late romances which redo Henry/Catherine conflict, celebrating the latter in Hermione, promoting female bonding, contra Henry; the plot which “ensures that Hermione and Leontes spend the best part of their adult lives in celibacy, Hermione living in a women’s community, posits a startling alternative to marriage.”

Clare Asquith, “The Phoenix and the Turtle” (Shakespeare Newsletter), on the poem’s Catholic elements, especially reflecting the eucharistic paradoxes of Aquinas’s hymn as translated by Southwell (“Two in show but one in substance ... Yet is Christ in each kind wholly / Most free from all division ... When the priest the host divideth / Know that in each part abideth / All ...,” specifically reflecting the Palm Sunday “Lauda Sion” (“loudest lay”), perhaps celebrated in a recusant household honoring twin martyrs, Southwell and Walpole, written in Catholic code vs. the “shrieking harbinger” Topcliffe.

Alzada Tipton, “The Transformation of the Earl of Essex: Post-Execution Ballads and ‘The Phoenix and the Turtle’” (Studies in Philology): Essex made the mournful dove who dies for Elizabeth who need not have died childless; instead her rejection led to her own self-immolation and loss of popularity.

Dennis Flynn, “Donne’s Politics, ‘Desperate Ambition,’ and Meeting Paolo Sarpi in Venice” (JEGP): Donne converted to Anglicanism under influence of Sarpi’s argument that secular power should be independent, thus defending Venice’s temporal power against the Pope.

John W. O’Malley, Trent and All That, arguing for the category, “early modern Catholicism” as reflecting the manifold development of post-medieval Catholicism and including therefore ‘Counter Reformation,’ ‘Catholic Reformation,’ ‘Catholic Reform,’ ‘Tridentine Catholicism,’ etc.

Timothy Fitzgerald, The Ideology of Religious Studies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000@) argues, in the Cantwell Smith tradition, that “natural religion” is a reified entity constructed by liberal Protestant and Enlightenment thinking, and is then falsely applied to non-Christian religions. The ideology behind this constructed entity also assumes the distinction of the

2000 cont.

“religious” and the “secular,” as a fundamental dichotomy of social reality, discovered and formalized in the secular religious research of the 19th century and later (“comparative religion”). Compare Newman on “dogma” vs. sentimental “religion” (*Apologia*, 1864).

Thomas Merriam, “The Misunderstanding of Munday as Author of Sir Thomas More” (RES). Argues that Munday was a counter-spy agent provocateur promoting the play to entrap fellow playwrights, like Marlowe and Shakespeare.

Robert B. Bennett, Romance and Reformation: The Erasmian Spirit of Shakespeare’s Measure for Measure: discusses parallel of “dramatic elements in Erasmus’s Christian humanism ... to features of the genre of comic romance;” thus applies 1531 Erasmus statement, “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 inscrutable designs control the affairs of men.”

David Ellis, “Biography and Shakespeare: An Outsider’s View” (Cambridge Quarterly): strong statement insisting on tenuousness of Catholic case.

Randall Martin, “Rehabilitating John Somerville in 3 Henry VI,” and John D. Cox, “Local References in 3 Henry VI” (Shakespeare Quarterly); Somerville, added to sources, assists Warwick, alludes to Somerville and Arden executions, the proximate occasion of Burghley’s Execution of Justice, which sees Somerville incited by Leslie’s A Treatise of Treasons (whose portraits of N. Bacon and Burghley are source for Richard’s soliloquy in 3.2); Richard paralleled by Leslie to their scheming to avert true succession; Leicester’s Commonwealth blamed Leicester for the Somerville trial; also paralleled Burghley wicked counselors to those of Edward II, Richard II, and Henry VI. Allen’s answer to Burghley said the Somerville case was a put-up job by Burghley. “Shakespeare portrays Somerville in a surprisingly positive light, boldly correcting the mildly confused Warwick yet clearly loyal to the Lancastrian cause;” “a coded portrait that challenges the official verdict on his contemporary namesake.” When Warwick (whose importance Shakespeare inflates, tried to work continental marriage, killed trying to defend HVI) assures his Lancastrian allies, “In Warwickshire I have truehearted friends, / Not mutinous in peace, yet bold in war,” “this praise for a local county is rare in Shakespeare;” “To have a Somerville appear as a loyal retainer of the earl of Warwick gives a very different impression of the family than recent history.”) [Notice that these key works by Leslie, Burghley, Persons, Allen are linked by Somerville reference.]

Richard Wilson, “‘The Statue of our Queen’: Shakespeare’s Roman Detour,” La Licorne 54 (2000): 111-23; interesting details on Robinson and Blackfriars.

Lucy Wooding, Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England: on common presence among Tudor Catholics of Erasmus’s enthusiasm for Scripture and church reform and devotion centered on grace not works. “No single definition of Catholic orthodoxy existed before the Reformation, and ... the fifteenth-century had left a rich heritage of intellectual pluralism.” “Catholicism around 1530 was a dynamic and developing creed with strong reform ideas, capable of incorporating much of what Henry VIII was professing.” Justification parallel to Catholic “fides formata” which was central to reformed Catholicism and early Protestantism alike.” “The Marian Church was still engrossed in perpetuating a reformed and humanist brand of Catholicism.” Chapter 6 “examines those elements of Catholic thought in the 1560’s and early 1570’s which might be seen as the last flowering of the earlier intellectual tradition, even as they intermingled with the first stirrings of a new approach.” But because of Protestant success, Catholics started emphasizing papacy, tradition, authority, etc. [Because of Protestantism, Catholicism became what Protestants claimed it was, anti-Bible, anti-laity, anti-freedom, emphasis on saints and

devotions, etc.] “The age of Erasmus ... was being replaced by an age of orthodoxy.” Then boundaries began to harden; the moderate ground was occupied by Protestants; a “Counter-Reformation” approach began. “The earlier ... religious change was more truly a reformation, in that it tried to reform, rather than overthrow, existing belief systems.” Pettegree review (EHR 2002) questions the Erasmian reconciliation but concedes: “the book does raise, at least implicitly, an interesting question: could Catholic evangelism remain a viable option in a scholarly world poisoned by the dialectic confrontation between Luther and the Pope;” yet the French and Italian experiments failed. Haigh review (Hist. Jnl, 2002): “Were Catholic reformers cheerfully dumping outmoded ideas, or just keeping quiet about the unfashionable bits of the faith? They may be rethinking Catholicism -- or putting up the best case they could.” C. Armstrong (JEH 2003): “fails to deal with the far more obviously Erasmian eirenical theologians of Europe ...;” argues anti-Protestant character of 16th century English Catholics bet. HVIII and excommunication of Elizabeth, “a fairly homogeneous group.”

R. V. Young, Doctrine and Devotion in Seventeenth-Century Poetry (Cambridge): while Martz, Helen White and co. ignored the Protestant contexts, Lewalski and co. too easily grouped Donne, Herbert and others with Calvinism. In fact, these poets were retaining much of Catholic insight in so far as they could within the Protestant hegemony. Donne wrestles with different versions of grace; note “his simultaneous discomfort and fascination with this conception of sacramental presence.” “Herbert longed to retain the spiritual consolation and ambiance of the Catholic sacramental system under Protestant auspices.”

M. C. Questier, “What Happened to English Catholicism after the English Reformation” (History): the coming of Jesuits et al in 1580s and early 1590s, radicalizing Catholicism, meant “the disruption of a Catholic ‘puritan’ experiment with separatism.”

John Adams and Peter Sellars, El Nino (“The Nativity” used as title); oratorio about the Luke narrative of the Virgin birth, with various women representing Mary.

****2001****

R. Chris Hassel Jr., “Intercession, Detraction, and Just Judgment in Othello” (Comparative Drama), on the echoes of the medieval Mystery plays like the York play, “Troubles of Joseph” and the N-Town plays, “The Trial of Mary” and “Joseph’s Doubt,” “Trial of Mary and Joseph,” i.e. Mary’s detraction and defense, Joseph’s suspicions, backbiters paralleling Iago. “None has noticed the degree to which Othello’s weighing of Desdemona’s imagined demerit derives from the traditional imagery of Marian lyrics and mediations.”

Stephen Greenblatt, Hamlet in Purgatory (Princeton UP) “an exploration of how a culture can be inhabited by its own spectral leftovers.” “Many historians agree with Christopher Haigh’s summary that ‘[f]or much of the reign of Elizabeth, the Church of England was a prescribed, national Church with more-or-less Protestant liturgy and theology but an essentially non-Protestant (and in some respects anti-Protestant) laity.’” “Does this mean that Shakespeare was participating in secularization process, one in which the theater offers a disenchanted version of what the cult of Purgatory once offered? Perhaps. But the palpable effect is something like the reverse: Hamlet immeasurably intensifies a sense of the weirdness of the theater, its proximity to certain experiences that had been organized and exploited by religious institutions and rituals.” “We do not, however, need to believe that Shakespeare was himself a secret Catholic sympathizer; we need only to recognize how alert he was to the materials that were being made available to him. At a deep level there is something magnificently opportunistic, appropriative, absorptive, even cannibalistic about Shakespeare’s art, as if poor, envious Robert Greene sense something more important than he knew when he attacked the ‘upstart crow, beautified with our feathers’.”

Carol Enos, Shakespeare and the Catholic Religion (Dorrance Publ. Co).

2001 cont.

Shakespeare and Catholicism, special issue of Religion and the Arts includes David **Beauregard**, "Shakespeare on Monastic Life: Nuns and Friars in Measure for Measure," definitive treatment of Shakespeare's favorable treatment of friars, monastic life, celibacy, sacramental confession; Stacey and Thomas **Hibbs**, "Virtue, natural Law, and Supernatural Solicitation: A Thomistic Reading of Shakespeare's Macbeth;" Richard **Wilson**, "A Bloody Question: The Politics of Venus and Adonis," on Venus as Elizabeth, Adonis as recusant, boar as Burghley; Shakespeare wary of the recusant fate; Beauregard, "Shakespeare and the Bible," review of Naseeb Shaheen etc., showing that Shaheen's excessive reliance on Protestant bibles ignores the influence of Catholic biblical translations on Shakespeare, and notes the omission of discussion of key Catholic terms like penance, confession; Dennis Taylor's "Hamlet in Purgatory," review of Greenblatt.

John Klause, "New Sources for Shakespeare's King John: The Writings of Robert Southwell," (Studies in Philology); too many verbal echoes to be coincidental: "That Shakespeare should have had available to himself an outlawed and suppressed publication from a Catholic press (The Epistle of Comfort) and a manuscript that circulated only in the Catholic underground ... (the Humble Supplication) raises intriguing questions about his personal connections and interests."

J. P. Conlan, "Shakespeare's Edward III: A Consolation for English Recusants" (Comparative Drama): critique of the official propaganda sustaining the persecution of English recusants after the Invincible Armada's defeat, by showing how Queen's stubborn Catholic values in the play reform the king and account for ultimate victory.

Shakespeare Survey, "Shakespeare and Religions" section, ed. Peter Holland. Among the essays: **David Daniell**, "Shakespeare and the Protestant Mind": "such revisionism is far from new, being laid down long ago in both historical method and dogma in books of Catholic polemic;" celebrates Bible nurtured Protestant liberty, thus a "popular" movement; celebrates Tyndale-like common language, though his last example is oddly discordant: Hamlet's "extraordinary image of the bell sergeant strictly arresting suggests guilt, and martyrdom, and horror ...;" **Jeffrey Knapp**, "The Religion of the Players": some scholars do assert that "the deepest inspiration in Shakespeare's plays is both religious and Christian [cite Milward 1973] ... but they have had little influence on recent Shakespeare scholarship, in large part because they tend to allegorize the plays crudely." **Donna Hamilton**, "Anthony Munday and The Merchant of Venice": Munday's Zelauto (1580) shows a Catholic Munday; part 1 defends royal supremacy and loyalty, but part 2 critiques that notion by portraying Christians, defended by Zelauto, martyred by Turks; part 3 represents usurer Truculento persecuting maiden and demanding eyes of the young men: they resist successfully; but Munday turned Protestant and informer after Oxford, Munday's patron, recanted Catholicism in 1580, and after Campion's arrest in 1581; but remained a conflicted turncoat (see Hamilton 2005). **Gary Taylor**, "Divine [J]Sences": on relation of pagan and Catholic divinity; in Sejanus, Jonson portrays female image in chapel giving prophecy which is vindicated though ridiculed by

an atheist speaking like Harsnett: “a moment of reverent (Catholic) affect is superceded by a moment of contemptuous (Protestant) affect, but the contempt of a contemptible character only reinforces the reverence of spectators;” “The pagan deities in the romances are not deceiving demons, but benevolent entities with real knowledge and real power, and as such easily understood as allegorical representations of Christian divinity” (cites Rist, 1999, who argued “that the Shakespearean scepticism praised by many critics takes in fact a specifically Counter-Reformation form;” also cites Milward Shakespeare’s Other Dimension 1987 on such allegorical identifications.) “Suggests that pagan ritual ... provides a powerfully coded analogue for old Catholic rites” (Dutton summary, 2005; Shakespeare’s “own late plays follow Jonson’s lead: they give us, not a Brechtian emptying out of Christian mythology, but the commodification of a specifically Catholic affect” (p. 24). **Robert Miola**, ““An Ancient People Clutching Their Gods’?: Shakespeare’s Ancient Religions”: “The allusions do not amount to a manifesto of the playwrights’ personal belief -- biographical Catholicity -- or to a discursive body of dogma advocated openly or secretly -- literary Catholicity. Instead they constitute a cultural Catholicity, which in Shakespeare ancient Rome and Greece, has real presence.” Miola’s review of this volume (in ms.): “The practice of treating Shakespeare’s works as evidence about his life and beliefs seems always to reveal more about the investigator than the investigated. One can easily find as many anti-Catholic passages, moments, and characters, as pro-Catholic. Critics might spend their time more profitably in giving voice to silenced Catholic figures, as Milward has in his impressive two volumes on religious controversies, and to exploring the religious conflicts that constitute the early modern cultural moment.”

R. Chris Hassel, Jr., ““No boasting like a fool”? Macbeth and Herod” (Studies in Philology), on the many parallels to the Herod of earlier liturgical drama.

Paul J. Voss, Elizabethan News Pamphlets: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe & the Birth of Journalism; on flurry of news pamphlets (1589-93), emphasizing Catholic atrocities. “Extant documents from 1584 to 1594 suggest that no other Englishman, including Sir Francis Drake and the Earl of Essex combined, generated as much interest and support in the general press as Navarre ... Navarre’s popularity came to an abrupt halt after his conversion in 1594.” “Shakespeare’s experimental drama, or perhaps ‘imaginative journalism,’ might actually be suggesting a way to end the wars -- with poetry and not pikes.” “The broken oaths of Navarre suggest that Shakespeare either, quite amazingly, anticipates the king’s abjuration, or that the revision of the play took place after July of 1593.” S. “combines bitter enemies and transforms religious perjury into more benign romantic perjury.”

Hildegard Hammerschmidt-Hummel, Die verborgene Existenz des William Shakespeare: on importance of the Flower portrait painted over painting of Virgin Mary and child (a way of protecting Arden heirloom?). [But painting has now been dated later.]

John Davis, “Catholic Envy: The Visual Culture of Protestant Desire”, in The Visual Culture of American Religions, ed. D. Morgan and S. Promey (Berkeley: University of California P, 2001) 105-8: developing Franchot, noting Orville Dewey’s claim that the impression of “sacrality” in St. Peter’s “is socially constituted ... culturally and aesthetically produced” (122); also Geertz

theory that ritual does not require “absolute belief or submission” but invites detached participation (128).

Maurine Sabine, “Fred Zinnemann’s The Nun’s Story and the Pilgrim Soul of Women” (Religion and the Arts).

Michael Schiefelbein, The Lure of Babylon: Seven Protestant Novelists and Britain’s Roman Catholic Revival: on the mixture of attraction and repulsion in such works. Cites Franchot. Discusses Bronte, Eliot, Francis Trollope, Dickens, Scott, Mary Shelley, Kingsley; critiqued in Engelhardt review, Victorian Studies, 2003.

2001 cont.

Pope John Paul II visits Greece, first papal visit since the schism of 1054.

Eamon Duffy, The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village: describing pastor Sir Christopher Highley’s slow reluctant enduring of reforms.

Kimberly VanEsvelde Adams, Our Lady of Victorian Feminism, citing Marina Warner’s Alone of all Her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary (1976), on Madonna admiration in Anna Jameson, Margaret Fuller, George Eliot, on celibate Virgin’s female independence, etc.

Robert Miola, “Ben Jonson, Catholic Poet” (Renaissance and Reformation).

The Pontifical Council For Promoting Christian Unity issues Guidelines for intercommunion between the Chaldean [Catholic] Church and the Assyrian Church of the East. In 1994 Pope John Paul II and Mar Dinkha IV, Patriarch of the Assyrian Church of the East, signed a Common Christological Declaration, “removing the main doctrinal obstacle between the two churches” which “can recognise each other as sister Churches.” “When necessity requires, Assyrian faithful are permitted to receive Holy Communion in a Chaldean celebration of the Holy Eucharist; in the same way, Chaldean faithful ... are permitted to receive Holy Communion in an Assyrian celebration of the Holy Eucharist. In both cases, Assyrian and Chaldean ministers should continue to celebrate the Holy Eucharist according to the liturgical prescriptions and customs of their own tradition especially regarding the use of the Anaphora.” This is not yet “full communion” between the two churches which are “still travelling, with hope and courage, towards that blessed day when full and visible communion will be attained.” [notice this model of intercommunion and “sister” churches.]

Daphne Hampson, Christian Contradictions: The Structures of Lutheran and Catholic Thought (Cambridge UP), that the mindsets are irreconcilable. But see review by Michael Root, Christian Century (Sept 12-19, 2001).

Edwin Jones, John Lingard and the Pursuit of Historical Truth, on case for Lingard as “the greatest historian of England in the second millennium.”

2002

Robert Bearman, ““Was William Shakespeare William Shakeshafte?” Revisited” (Shakespeare Quarterly): renews Hamer’s anti-Shakeshafte argument, traces many Shakeshaftes in Preston, argues that legacy would be given to older servant.

John Klause, “The Phoenix and Turtle in its Time,” in In the Company of Shakespeare, ed. Moisan and Bruster: Shakespeare gives us alternative ideal of strict chastity to the eros-oriented birds of the first part; he idealizes Catholic celibate marriage and prayers for dead. The poem reflects the liturgical language of Skelton’s “Sir Philip Sparrow,” a mock elegy with much Catholic liturgical imagery for young Jane Scrope, a pupil of Benedictine nuns, many elements of the Latin liturgy; cites other Catholic elements, also reflects Southwell’s “A holy Hymne,” an English rendering of Aquinas’s “Lauda Sion, salvatorem” (scholastic distinctions (charted by Cunningham) found in Southwell’s trans. of this work), a liturgical celebration of the Eucharist, detailed parallels of Southwell’s words, esp. from “Epistle of Comfort;” also evokes Southwell’s “Her Spousals,” praises of celibate marriage of Mary and Joseph; also many verbal echoes of Saint Peters Complaint. The poem is “a subtle and enigmatic insult” to Sir John Salusbury, dedicatee of Love’s Martyr with its Protestant content, who is trying to cement

his credentials (vs. his many Catholic relatives) and hop on the Protestant bandwagon.

R. Watson, "Othello as Reforming Tragedy, in In the Company of Shakespeare, ed. Moisan and Bruster: on Othello by implication "endorsing the Protestant Reformation," i.e. Iago undermining Othello's solifidianism by tempting him to look for proofs and works; his agony of faith tortured by works, like that described by Luther. Compares Iago to Jesuits described in C. Bagshaw's A Sparing Discoverie of our English Jesuits (1601): they abuse confidences and turn "the wife against her husband: the husband's against his wife, and the servant of them both ... to tyrannize over them." The homoerotics of Iago's relation to Othello "evoke the sodomital taint of antimonastic polemics."

Gerard Kilroy, "Requiem for a Prince: Rites of Memory in Hamlet" (Downside Review): on prison of Denmark, like prison of England for recusants; thus the spying, distrust of fathers for sons, "bloody question," "Latin requiem mass in "flights of angels," minister refusing Ophelia funeral like Protestants rejecting funeral mass, Hamlet new confessor for mother, parody of eucharist.

John Velz, "Some Amens in Shakespeare" (Shakespeare Newsletter): that Shakespeare's common expression, "say Amen" echoes Southwell's "sweete Jesu, say Amen" in last line of St. Peter's Complaint.

Brian Vickers, 'Counterfeiting' Shakespeare: Evidence, Authorship, and John Ford's Funerall Elegye.

Paul Dean, "Shakespeare and Religion: Authorised and Revised Versions" (The Use of English), summary of the case, review of Holland's 2001 Shakespeare Survey collection.

Knapp, Jeffrey. Shakespeare's Tribe: Church, Nation, and Theater in Renaissance England (UChicago.), on a Protestant Erasmian doctrinal minimalism and inclusiveness.

Ernst Honigmann, "Catholic Shakespeare? A Response to Hildegard Hammerschmidt-Hummel" (Connotations 2002-3): "decoding of hidden meanings too often fails to persuade, and I fear may do more harm than good." But "My Shakespeare was probably (but by no means certainly) brought up as a Catholic, probably continued as a Catholic in his 'lost years,' and possibly returned to his Catholic faith on his death-bed, after (probably) converting to the Church of England when or soon after he started his career in the theatre."

María Elena de las Carreras Kuntz, "The Catholic Vision in Hollywood: Ford, Capra, Borzage and Hitchcock," Film History (suggestive, but needs clearer contrasts with Protestant and secular film-makers). (Hitchcock inspired by Chesterton Fr. Brown stories.)

Stephen Guirgis, drama, "Jesus Hopped the 'A' Train," hero, Angel Cruz, ends in prison gasping Hail Mary and asking forgiveness.

Michael Hollinger, Incorruptible: A Dark Comedy about the Middle Ages, drama, on medieval monasteries manufacturing relics, but ends with true miracle, healing of one-eyed jester (his eye kissed by mistress who pretended to be the Incorruptible saint).

2002 James Simpson, Reform and Cultural Revolution (Oxford Literary History): "the late-medieval cultural scene in England offered a patchwork of overlapping, often competing but long-established jurisdictions, clerical and lay, none able to impose itself and all therefore historically tolerant of, or at least resigned to, diversity. The obligatory formal acknowledgment of the one state and the one church left plenty of room for moral maneuver in most of the realms that matter humanly. By contrast, the sharpened cultural divisions that opened up in the early modern period,

further intensified by unbridgeable religious divisions, created the need for a strong central authority in Henrician England that steadily enlarged the sphere of the non-negotiable by enforcing orthodoxy in matters formerly indifferent. Thus Simpson sees in the early Tudor era a contraction of sympathies and a certain new rigidity of thought” (summary by John Gleason review, RQ 2004, p. 361 (see Duffy, revenge of the medievalists, revisionism, etc.). Simpson: the “evangelical” ecclesiology “centralizes grace in the hands of God, and consequently demolishes institutional and historical stabilities ... In Piers Plowman, by contrast, grace is managed in a thoroughly decentralized way, dependent for its distribution on both the initiative of the individual Christian and the integrity of an Apostolic, demotic Church” (322).

Dennis Taylor, “Wordsworth's Abbey Ruins,” in The Fountain Light: Studies in Romanticism and Religion, ed. J. R. Barth, S. J., on Wordsworth's Catholic remnants.

Richard Rorty, “Anticlericalism and Atheism,” in Religion After Metaphysics, ed. Wrathall: on new relationship between pragmatic non-theist and liberal Catholicism represented by Gianni Vattimo. Praises Vattimo's Belief (trans. 1999) on people coming to believe in God: Rorty: “I think Vattimo might have done better to say: I am becoming more and more religious, and so coming to have what many people would call a belief in God.” Vattimo “turns away from the ... Epistle to the Romans that Karl Barth liked best, and reduces the Christian message to ... 1 Corinthians 12 [on love]. His strategy is to treat the Incarnation as God's sacrifice of all his power and authority, as well as all his otherness. The Incarnation was an act of kenosis, the act in which God turned everything over to human beings. This enables Vattimo to make his most startling and most important claim: that ‘secularization ... is the constitutive trait of authentic religious experience.’ “There is no ... inherent teleology to human history ... only the hope that love may prevail.” Vattimo aims “to save religion from onto-theology.” “This account of the essence of Christianity—one in which God's self-emptying and man's attempt to think of love as the only law are two faces of the same coin—permits Vattimo to see all the great unmaskers of the West, from Copernicus and Newton to Darwin, Nietzsche, and Freud, as carrying out works of love.” With this view, “People like Vattimo will cease to think that my lack of religious feeling is a sign of vulgarity and people like me will cease to think that his possession of such feelings is a sign of cowardice. Both of us can cite 1 Corinthians 12 in support of our refusal to engage in any such invidious explanations.” Vattimo's “sense of the holy is bound up with recollection of that event and of the person who embodied it. My sense of the holy, insofar as I have one, is bound up with the hope that someday, any millennium now, my remote descendents will live in a global civilization in which love is pretty much the only law ... The difference between these two sorts of people is that between unjustifiable gratitude and unjustifiable hope. This is not a matter of conflicting beliefs about what really exists and what does not.”

****2003****

James Ellison, “Measure for Measure and the Execution of Catholics in 1604” (English Literary Renaissance): Angelo's strictures reflect Jamesian crackdown on recusants, revising unused Elizabethan laws; thus ‘nineteen’ (1.2.168) and ‘fourteen’ (1.3.21) year periods take us back to 1585 and 1590, when Elizabethan legislation was most enforced. Fornication also applied to Catholic vice and popish whoring after false gods. Thus Elbow's “woman cardinally given;” coining “heaven's image / In stamps that are forbid.” Ellison argues for moderate Anglican Shakespeare, like the Southampton associated with E. Sandys's irenic Relation of the State of Religion (1605). Vienna seen as key opposition (thus need united Christianity) to Turks, who were temporarily supported by the Protestant king of Hungary; Poland famous for freedom of religion; S. decisively moderates Whetstone source to promote ecumenical spirit. Duke curbs extremes of Catholic Isabella and Puritan Angelo. Promotes James as reconciling Protestant king; marriage with Isabella evokes Luther's.

James Ellison, “The Winter's Tale and the Religious Politics of Europe,” in Shakespeare's Romances, ed. A. Thorne (Palgrave 2003). Recognition of Bohemia as Protestant “allows the union of Bohemia and Sicily at the end of the

play to be seen as emblematic of the hopes of James and his supporters that some kind of reunification between moderate Protestant and moderate Catholics in Europe might be achievable through entirely peaceful means"; cites Rudolf II; questionable arguments.

Patrick H. Martin and John Finnis, "Thomas Thorpe, 'W.S.,' and the Catholic Intelligencers" (ELR): Thorpe guest of Persons in Spain in 1597 -- Persons trusted him, and perhaps used his help in Catholic publishing; interrogated by Exchequer 1597; early published work by Catholic priest, Thomas Wright; other Catholic connections.

Thomas Merriam, "More and Woodstock" (Notes and Queries), on Sir Thomas Moore: "More's high proportion of feminine endings associates it more with Shakespeare's habits of the 1590s than with those of any other playwright, including Munday."

Michael Hays, Shakespearean Tragedy as Chivalric Romance, on the influence in Shakespeare's background of chivalric romances especially the "two most popular chivalric romances in Shakespeare's day, Guy of Warwick (c. 1300) and Bevis of Hampton (c. 1300)," with their exile and return motifs, their emphasis on chastity, faithfulness and heroism, on final reconciliation. Traces influence on Hamlet of Bevis of Hampton: Bevis's mother plots to kill her husband, opposed by Bevis who eventually kills stepfather. Otherwise, specific influences are few, and Catholic dimension is unproven.

2003 cont.

"Catholic/Protestant Presence in ... Julius Caesar, Macbeth, Hamlet," Shakespeare Institute, Wheaton College, Illinois, June 5-7, 2003. Some excerpts: **Grace Tiffany**, "Hamlet and Protestant Aural Theater": Claudius cannot repent, because he illustrates Calvinist predestination, in this "massively Protestant play." Play illustrates Protestant critique of images and spectacle (thus "Mousetrap" works only when heard explained). **Maurice Hunt**, "Reformation/Counter-Reformation Macbeth": equivocation ethics promoted by bloody questions; Macbeth predestined like Claudius; witches match stereotype of Jesuits -- they use parts of dead bodies for incantations: thus Harsnett describes N. Marwood, healed by pieces of Campion's body; Hooker called killing of king a sacramental violation. Henry VIII contrasts false Catholic prophecy (Buckingham, friar) vs. true (Cranmer at end). Infant Christ crowned misleads Macbeth. Yet pro-Catholic elements: Edward the confessor, the royal touch and holy aid, "pious," a Catholic term, miracle-working; 4th vision of witches, on line of kings, is unequivocal; vestiges of Catholic miracles plays. Thus subtle melding of Protestant and Catholic motifs, resulting in impression of tolerance of religious difference. Scourge of God theme goes back to generic Christianity, pre-Catholic/Protestant differentiations. **Robert Miola**, "'I could not say Amen': Prayer and Providence in Macbeth": vs. Protestant reprobate theory, play emphasizes sheer gratuitousness of evil freely chosen. **Peter Milward**, "Topics Awaiting Further Study": Because mainstream criticism is fiercely secular, the ground is wide-open for religious interpretation. Shakespeare turns to what should unite all Christians, which is not the same as "mere Christianity." "Indignatio facit verum" characterizes Shakespeare's works.

Ernst Honigmann, "The Shakespeare/Shakeshafte Question, Continued" (Shakespeare Quarterly): replies to Bearman's 2002 attack, repeats arguments from 1985 lost years book; S. "seems to have had a remarkable talent for

2003 cont.

inspiring friendship,” thus Southampton, Pembroke, Jonson, thus also the eccentric Alexander Hoghton.

Shakespeare and the Reformation, special issue of Religion and the Arts, introd. Dennis Taylor. Includes **Richard Dutton**, “The Comedy of Errors and The Calumny of Apelles: An exercise in source study”: on how Lucian’s theme of slander applies to religious divisions suggested in the play; Katherine Goodland, “‘Obsequious Laments’: Mourning and Communal Memory in Shakespeare’s Richard III”: how women’s laments reflect banned Catholic rituals of mourning for the old Catholic world; **John Klause**, “Catholic and Protestant, Jesuit and Jew: Historical Religion in The Merchant of Venice”: the play, full of Southwellian verbal echoes, shows Shylock as the Puritan Protestant facing two Southwells, the martyr-like Antonio, the reforming Portia; **R. Chris Hassel, Jr.**, “The Accent and Gait of Christians: Hamlet’s Puritan Style”: how Hamlet reflects a conflicted Puritan trying to stay true to an elected conscience; **Maurice Hunt**, “Helena and the Reformation Problem of Merit in All’s Well That Ends Well”: on the irreconcilable Protestant and Catholic views of merit and grace in the play.

Shakespeare and the Christian Culture of Early Modern England, ed. Taylor and Beauregard (Fordham University Press). Includes the previous, plus Clare Asquith, “Oxford University and Love’s Labour’s Lost”: the oath is like the oath of supremacy required for admission to Oxford, and the princess represents a wished-for Elabeth who would re-introduce love; **Jean Christophe Mayer**, “Shakespeare’s Religious Background Revisited – Richard II in a New Context”: the performance of Richard II paralleled Essex to Bolingbroke as parliamentarian; **Timothy Rosendale**, “Sacral and Sacramental Kingship in the Lancastrian Tetralogy”: Protestant fictive symbolism replaces Catholic magical univocalism; **Gary Hamilton**, “Mocking Oldcastle: Notes Toward Exploring a Possible Catholic Presence in Shakespeare’s Henriad”: Falstaff represents the corrupt Protestant counselors of Catholic satire, and his rejection represents the fantasy that the successor to Elizabeth might reject Protestantism; **Regina M. Buccola**, “Shakespeare’s Fairy Dance with Religio-Political Controversy in The Merry Wives of Windsor”: how the play warmly presents the world of faeries, superstition, Catholicism; **John Freeman**, “This Side of Purgatory: Ghostly Fathers and the Recusant Legacy in Hamlet”: how Hamlet reflects the recusant’s antic, hidden, anxious religious life; **Jennifer Rust**, “Wittenberg and Melancholic Allegory: The Reformation and its Discontents in Hamlet”: how Hamlet reflects the new Protestant interiority in a world of interpretative chaos; **David Beauregard**, “Shakespeare on Monastic Life: Nuns and Friars in Measure for Measure”: on the dramatization of Protestant and Catholic values, and their reconciliation; **Lisa Hopkins**, “Paris is Worth a Mass: All’s Well That Ends Well and the Wars of Religion”: the play seeks reconciliation of a Catholic past and Protestant present; **Richard Mallette**, “Blasphemous Preacher: Iago and the Reformation”: on Iago as demonic Protestant preacher; **Paula McQuade**, “Love and Lies: Marital Truth-Telling, Catholic Casuistry and Othello”: on Catholic equivocation in Desdemona in opposition to Protestant companionate marriage. Michael Wood, In Search of Shakespeare (book and TV series): vivid summary

of Shakespeare's Catholic contexts, beautifully illustrated. "Shakespeare was born of a Catholic family, but perhaps lost his parents' religion as an adult, although what he imbibed with his mother's milk and through his Warwickshire roots stayed with him in his heart, as those things shaped by childhood almost always tend to."

Hammerschmidt-Hummel, William Shakespeare: seine Zeit, sein Leben, sein Werk: John Shakespeare sold property in 1578, perhaps to finance William's education; Rheims mentioned in Taming dates play before 1593 when college moved back to Douai. Essex's (unlike Elizabeth, born and bred a Protestant, and so exempt from papal excommunication) expected succession to the throne was the grounds for the hope that Catholicism might be legally tolerated within a Protestant-led England; failure of his Irish mission in 1599 due partly to his willingness to accede to Irish demands in connection with the Catholic religion. There may have been deliberate arson in the burning of the Globe Theatre on the feast of Saint Peter, 29 June 1613 (Old Style), because of the day's papal association and because of Henry VIII's dangerous political content.

Caroline Bicks, Midwiving Subjects in Shakespeare's England (Ashgate), discovers parallels to the banned papist churching of women ceremony at the end of Pericles, The Winter's Tale, The Comedy of Errors.

David Bentley Hart, The Beauty of the Infinite: The Aesthetics of Christian Truth (Eerdmans): "the doctrine of the resurrection opens up another, still deeper kind of pain: it requires of faith something even more terrible than submission ... and acceptance of fate, and forbids faith in the consolation of tragic wisdom; it places all hope and all consolation upon the insane expectation that what is lost will be given back." "In the light of Easter, the singularity of suffering is no longer tragic (which is to say, ennobling), but merely horrible." Lear and Cordelia's "scene of reconciliation (which strains after an eschatological hope) makes the subsequent death of Cordelia more terrible than anything in Attic tragedy: precisely because the spectator has been granted a glimpse of the joy that tragic wisdom is impotent to adumbrate—the restoration of the beloved" (392-3).

Richard Dutton, Alison Findlay & Richard Wilson, eds., Region, Religion and Patronage: Lancastrian Shakespeare (Manchester UP) (appeared 2004): on the non-metropolitan theatre spaces which formed a vital part of early modern dramatic activity; and which Shakespeare may have experienced in Lancaster. Includes, among others, **Richard Dutton**, "Shakespeare and Lancaster" (reprinted, see above, 1998); **Mary A. Blackstone**, "Lancashire, Shakespeare and the construction of cultural neighbourhoods in sixteenth-century England": compares Shakespeare to the "transitional men" described by Anthony Smith, Theories of Nationalism (1971), moving up within Tudor networks of traveling "Preachers [Protestant and Catholic], cartographers, playwrights and some performers;" the "Irish Sea province" was a "contiguous cultural province" to the "Severn/Avon province" (Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Shropshire), and there was much movement across these; traveling players doubled as couriers. Smith described his "transitional man" as perceiving "connections between ... private dilemmas and public issues," exhibiting "the key traits of inconsistency and ambivalence over old and new values and life-styles,"

“torn by the confliction between ‘new aspirations and old traditions’”, and moved most powerfully “by the symbols of ‘nation’ and ‘class’.” Thus Henry V, Harry is like a transitional man, with his unconventional education on the highways, showing ambivalence over old and new values, both pro and anti-Catholicism.

Richard Dutton, Alison Gail Findlay, Richard Wilson, eds. Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare (Manchester UP) (appeared 2004): on the Shakespeare and Catholicism issue. Includes, among others, **Richard Wilson**, “Introduction: A torturing hour: Shakespeare and the martyrs”: “Simpson was pioneering a method that carefully avoided the traps of either exclusively external or internal interpretation, suggesting instead a dialectical tension between Shakespeare’s formal choices and historical determinants,” to dismay of formalist like Furnivall. Tribute to Simpson followed by mature review of evidence. **Eamon Duffy**, “Bare ruined choirs: remembering Catholicism in Shakespeare’s England”: review of the laments for the destruction of monasteries; **Peter Milward**, “Shakespeare’s Jesuit Schoolmasters;” **Robert Miola**, “Jesuit drama in early modern England;” **Jean-Christophe Mayer**, “‘This papist and his poet’: Shakespeare’s Lancastrian kings and Robert Parson’s Conference About the Next Succession;” **Carol Enos**, “Catholic exiles and As You Like It: Or what if you don’t like it at all?”: play reflects exile of Thomas Hoghton I, whose brothers tended to betray him; his son Thomas, in exile with father, debarred from succession and became priest, with his brothers hostile; “The evil brother, Duke Frederick and Oliver are redeemed in the play in an almost ‘wishful thinking,’ fairytale type of resolution that the real Thomas Hoghton I would have welcomed;” “the play was a plea to English Christians, Protestant and Catholics alike, to reconcile their differences in Christian forgiveness and love.” **Arthur Marotti**, “Shakespeare and Catholicism”: mature review. Henry VIII “seems to play down Catholic/Protestant differences, preferring to hold out a model of Jacobean irenicism in Henry’s forcing a final reconciliation of Cranmer and Gardiner;” “Like so many of his contemporaries, Shakespeare was haunted by the symbols, rituals and beliefs of a culturally repressed Catholicism;” “It is as though Isabella were asking at the end of this play ‘Where does Isabella belong?’ and leaving the audience with no easy answer;” “In his plays Shakespeare expresses contradictory attitudes toward supernatural manifestations and signs, the first skeptical if not mocking, the second receptive and admiring;” “What Shakespeare might easily demystify, he remystifies and makes ambiguous, participating in a rehabilitation of magic and the visual that is elaborated in the Stuart Court masque;” “Shakespeare could not, and apparently did not wish to, sever his or his culture’s ties to a Catholic past and its residual cultural presence” “the reverence for relics began to migrate into print culture, where the remains of a person were verbal” **Gary Taylor**, “The cultural politics of Maybe”: “We might begin to suspect that the Shakespeare First Folio was promoted ... by a conspiracy of underground Catholics.” Of the 4 men who wrote commendatory poems, James Maybe and Leonard Digges were hispanophiles, Hugh Holland was openly Catholic; Jonson had been Catholic. “After these Catholic or crypto-Catholic preliminaries, the Folio begins with The Tempest, a tragic-comedy which dramatizes the resolution of inter-state rivalry and political conflict through a dynastic marriage,” like the

Spanish match. Ends with Cymbeline because that play “ends with the happy reunion of Britain and Rome.” Re: the Catholic religious background: “I have argued elsewhere that the early modern theatre was distinguished from all earlier forms of Western drama by the ‘routinized commodification of affect’ ... Shakespeare transformed all that real grief, real pain, real loss, real sacrifice, all that individual and collective religious trauma, into an apparently secular affective commodity.”

Hans Hillerbrand, “Was there a Reformation in the sixteenth century?” (Church History): “At present Reformation studies are at an impasse: theological and social historians face one another as do those who posit dramatic changes in the early part of the sixteenth century and those who do not.”

Alexandra Walsham, “Unclasping the Book? Post-Reformation Catholicism and the Vernacular Bible,” Journal of British Studies (42 (April 2003): 141-66 (see 1582): “The late medieval church was not marked by a monolithic or definitive ban on Bible translation, but by considerable scope for local initiative—by a degree of permissiveness mingled in practice with much distrust and anxiety” (147); “in most part of Europe the Bible had appeared in the vernacular long before Martin Luther burst upon the scene” (148); “Erasmus’s famous call to universal Bible reading can be found in his Paraclesis (1516) ...”. Devotio moderna also called for translations for the laity.

Kathleen Vejvoda, “Idolatry in Jane Eyre,” Victorian Literature and Culture. Rochester associated with Catholic idolatry, opposed to St. John Rivers (but a Protestant form): “the heroine must express and define her identity in the dialectical space between Protestant and Catholic forms of idolatry.”

Steven F. Walker, “The Name of the Madeleine: Signs and Symbols of the Mass in Proust’s In Search of Lost Time” (Religion and the Arts).

Jarlath Killeen, “Mother and Child: Realism, Maternity and Catholicism in Kate Chopin’s The Awakening” (Religion and the Arts).

Alexandra Walsham, “Miracles and the Counter-Reformation Mission to England” (Historical Journal). Use of miracles and such characterized both pre- and post-Reformation Catholicism. Trent “ordered the eradication of all ‘superstition; associated with pilgrimages, images, and relics but vigorously reaffirmed the value of venerating and invoking the saints and their remains and representations ... Vigorous rejection of the Protestant precept that miracles had ceased also became an increasingly prominent feature of English Catholic polemic in the course of Elizabeth’s reign” etc. Argues for this strong continuity between pre- and post-Reformation Catholicism (anti-Bossy).

Ethan Shagan, Popular Politics and the English Reformation; on the successful use of force and persuasion, making compliance into complicity.

Margaret Harvey, “Some Reflections on Recent Scholarship on the English Reformation” (Sewanee Theology Review), excellent reflection on revisionist Reformation history.

John T. McGreevey, Catholicism and American Freedom: on the struggle between Protestant individualism and Catholic communitarianism in American history.

Ralph C. Wood, Contending for the Faith: The Church’s Engagement with Culture (Baylor University Press): “It is such a Catholicized evangelicalism that I believe to be the clamant need of our time, if evangelicals are to produce a convincing religious culture of their own. Evangelical piety and morality linked with Catholic sacramentality could produce a ... Christianity ... that will endure ...”

****2004****

Robert Bearman, “John Shakespeare’s ‘Spiritual Testament’: A Reappraisal” (Shakespeare Survey), arguing likelihood that the testament was a Jordan fabrication.

Dennis Taylor, “Bearish on the Will: John Shakespeare in the Rafters,” Shakespeare Newsletter 54.1 (Spring 2004): 11, 16, 24, 28. See Greenblatt’s 2004 Will in the World: “The case against authenticity [of the John Shakespeare will] ... has been vigorously resumed by Robert Bearman ... but more recent scholarship has cautiously tended to confirm its authenticity” (p. 397). Summary

of the Taylor article: 1) Jordan's possible forgery of the first leaf of the will does not invalidate the five leaves of the will as published by Edmond Malone in 1790. 2) Malone's knowledge of the will was independent of Jordan's intervention, and the will's discovery was attested by several reputable residents of Stratford. 3) The theory that Jordan early conspired with the bricklayer to plant a doctored will in the Henley Street is extremely unlikely for a number of reasons. 4) The discovery of a template for the will, in the Borromeo formulary, was an astonishing confirmation of the historical authenticity of the will's language. 5) The assumption that Jordan concocted the first leaf of the will cannot be taken for granted, despite his unsatisfactory explanation on how he obtained possession. 6) The labeling of the entire will as "Jordan's forgery," a mistake traditionally made by mainstream scholars, is based on an historical myth that needs to be deconstructed. 7) Malone's late and unexplained doubts about the will can be given various explanations and were, arguably, answered by the discovery of the Borromeo template and other later research. 8) William Allen's reference to "testamentis" to be carried into England refers, as is more likely, to copies of the Borromeo template, as shown by examination of other uses of "testamento" and "testamenta" in the Allen correspondence; and also by the enormous bulk entailed by the alternative, 3-4000 Rheims bibles. 9) The conditions of persecution and concealment in the 16th and 17th century explain the gaps in the 'geological record' of such testaments, and also explain the behavior of John Shakespeare in hiding the will. 10) The phrasing in the will, "when I least thought of it," supposed to reflect a later idiom, can in fact be cited in examples nearly contemporary to John Shakespeare.

Maurice Hunt, Shakespeare's Religious Allusiveness: Its Play and Tolerance

(Ashgate): Hunt puts Shakespeare at the center of the Western Catholic/Protestant schism in religious history, and sees him conducting a major exploration, with a view of their possible or impossible harmonizing.

Historical Research, retrospective essays on revisionism: Haigh: "It sometimes seems to me that Reformation history is just a convenient battlefield in the struggle for the soul of the Church of England -- but that is a wicked thought."

Habermas, 2004 essay (acc. to John Allen, Future Church 133-4): "Christianity and nothing else, is the ultimate foundation of liberty, conscience, human rights and democracy, the benchmarks of Western civilization. To this not day, we have no other options. We continue to nourish ourselves from this source. Everything else is idle post-modern chatter."

Katherine Goodland, "'All for Nothing': Male Anxiety over the Portrayal of Female Grief in Shakespeare's Hamlet," talk April 3, Renaissance Society Conference, NYC: on series of interruptions of female mourning (by Hecuba, player Queen, etc.) in the play. To be chapter in forthcoming book.

Julie Maxwell, "Counter-Reformation Versions of Saxo: A New Source for Hamlet?" (Renaissance Quarterly): Argues that an important source of Hamlet, Belleforest's adaptation of Saxo, was influenced by the Swedish Magnus brothers: Johannes Magnus's Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus (History of all the Kings of the Goths and Swedes) which tells the story of Amleth's father, Horvendil; and Olaus Magnus's Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus (Description of the Northern Peoples) which describes the 16th-century conflict of Denmark and Sweden, in which Protestant Denmark (and Norway) led by Christian II takes over Catholic Sweden. Gustav Vaga, Danish

noble in exile, will lead the Swedish revolt against Christian II, and make his way onto the Swedish throne; but the Magnus brothers regard him as a tyrant who has corrupted Sweden with the introduction of Lutheranism. Both Magnus histories are inflected with counter-reformation religious ideology: an illustration in Olaus Magnus shows the soldiers of Danish conqueror Christian II murdering the abbot and monks of Nydala monastery. A later edition of O. Magnus's work (a more proximate source for Belleforest) combined Johannes' account of the Horvendil story with Olaus's later Danish-Swedish contemporary story. Thus Catholic/Protestant division is implicitly imported into the Gothic tale of Horvendil, the ruler appointed for Jutland, who is then slain by his brother Fengo who marries his wife Gerutha, and is in turn slain by Amleth, who will also be slain. Maxwell fills in the Catholic credentials of the Magnuses, and also of Belleforest, protégé of Margaret of Navarre ("Belleforest's English critics ignore the Counter-Reformation sources of his thinking.") Belleforest also saw parallels to the French Catholic-Protestant struggle and the evil of overturning the traditional Catholic religion. A further note finds a likely source for the "sledded Polacks" passage in *Hamlet*, namely Johannes Magnus's description of the battle between Christian II and the sledded Swedish army, apparently reinforced with Polish auxiliaries, and led by Sten Sture, anti-unionist Swedish regent, a battle waged on the ice in which Sture was defeated. Olaus includes remarkable woodcuts of the fighting on the ice. Thus Shakespeare may have known Magnus directly. Maxwell does not see partisan religious Protestant or Catholic ideology in Shakespeare's use of the story; Shakespeare "is interested creatively in both" (email, 6/7/04).

Katherine Duncan-Jones, "Did the Boy Shakespeare Kill Calves?" (MLQ): Aubrey story of how young Shakespeare would kill calves "in high style and make a speech," may be "obscurely disguised recollection" of various things, including Guy of Warwick, slayer of Dun Cow of Dunsmore Heath.

Thomas Merriam, "Taylor's Method Applied to Shakespeare and Fletcher" (*Notes and Queries*); devises test to improve on Gary Taylor and show that for *Henry VIII* the Spedding divisions should be modified with following additions: Shakespeare's also includes beginning and ending of 2.2, also beginning of 3.1, also part of 3.3, 3.2 continuing to line 306, middle of 4.1, and middle of 4.2; Fletcher's includes chamberlains intervention in 2.3.

Thomas Merriam, "King John Divided" (*Literary and Linguistics Computing*): similar statistical tests show that many lines of *King John* can be attributed to another writer, perhaps Marlowe: 1.1.1-1.1.137; 2.1.1-2.1.109; 2.1.201-2.1.424; 3.1.75-3.1.262 (includes King John's "free breath of a sacred king" speech); 4.2.131-4.2.26; 5.2.1-5.6.15.

Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (Norton): "a decisively secular dramatist" (36). "The dream of restoration haunted Shakespeare throughout his life" (81), i.e. for the family name and fortunes (not the more ambitious dream of restoration, of the father's whole religious system). "Many scholars have come to take seriously a controversial claim," i.e. the Lancaster thesis (89). "If his father was both Catholic and Protestant, William Shakespeare was on his way to being neither" (113). Shakespeare's experience of

his son Hamlet's funeral may have influenced the "maimed rites": "it is also possible that he found the service, with its deliberate refusal to address the dead child as 'thou,' its reduction of ritual, its narrowing of ceremony, its denial of any possibility of communication, painfully inadequate" (315). Shakespeare "was part of a very large group, probably the bulk of the population, who found themselves still grappling with longings and fears that the old resources of the Catholic church had served to address ... By the late 1590s, insofar as his faith could be situated in any institution at all, that institution was the theater" (321); "he also believed that the theater ... could tap into the great reservoir of passionate feelings that, for him and for thousands of his contemporaries, no longer had a satisfactory outlet ... Shakespeare drew upon the pity, confusion, and dread of death in a world of damaged rituals (the world in which most of us continue to live) because he himself experienced those same emotions at the core of his being" (321). "He had never found anything equivalent to the faith on which some of his contemporaries had staked their lives. If he himself had once been drawn toward such a commitment, he had turned away from it many years before. To be sure, he had infused his theatrical vision with the vital remnants of that faith, but he never lost sight of the unreality of stage and never pretended that his literary visions could simply substitute for the beliefs that led someone like Campion to his death." (388)

David Salter, "Shakespeare and Catholicism: The Franciscan Connection" (Cahiers Élisabéthains), how Shakespeare's positive valuation of Franciscan friars sharply diverges from the Protestant critique of them. But Shakespeare treats friars not as relevant to religious controversy but as nostalgic "figures who belonged more to the distant past or to far off land."

Richard Wilson, Secret Shakespeare: Studies in Theatre, Religion and Resistance (Manchester UP): Shakespeare a "politique" reacting against Catholic fanaticism and sectarianism in favor of toleration, a "critique of martyrdom." In play after play, "an anti-Jesuit subtext." R.V.Young review: "it is difficult to see how such knowledge enhances the public meaning of the plays or adds to the depth of their meaning or the power of their appeal" (Renaissance Quarterly).

Irene Visser, "Faulkner's Mendicant Madonna: The Light of Light in August" (Literature and Theology), on Lena Grove.

Patrick W. Carey, Orestes A. Brownson: American Religious Weathervane (Eerdmans), major detailed account of Brownson's important interaction with 19th century American thought.

James Deboo, "Wordsworth and the Stripping of the Altars" (Religion and the Arts): Wordsworth seeks continuity between the new currents and old traditions, as in "Tintern Abbey."

Franz Wright, Walking to Martha's Vineyard: Poems, Pulitzer prize, Waltham MA Catholic.

****2005****

Phebe Jensen, "Pastime and Pastoral", paper for SAA Conference 2005 (Bermuda): Distinguishing pruned pastoral from festivity, the paper shows how the folding of festivity back into pastoral, reflects a Catholic point of view (and not just a Sidneyan preference for a purified genre), as illustrated in As You Like It and Twelfth Night. See Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare's Festive World (Cambridge UP, 2008).

Andrew Moran, "Synaesthesia and Eating in The Winter's Tale" (Religion and

the Arts): on the Eucharistic dimensions of the final scene.

Clare Asquith, Shadowplay: The Hidden Beliefs and Coded Politics of William Shakespeare (Public Affairs, Perseus Books): begins with analogy of Chekhov stories performed in 1983 under Soviet rule. Shakespeare “never forgets the country’s original crime, the desertion and mistreatment of its proper spiritual heritage for the sake of an alien faith.” “Throughout his work, he argues not for union of Catholic and Protestant, nor for the ascendancy of one over the other—but for reconciliation and mutual respect,” for example, between Julia and Silvia in Two Gentlemen—“though a return to the fold of universal Christendom is seen as England’s best hope.” Shakespeare is a “Catholic humanist”, the plays are allegoric, coded. Shakespeare appealed to Prince Henry’s love of romances. Shakespeare is a “a uniquely privileged thorn in the flesh of the country’s new religious and political order.” A lively argument that the plays are coded representations, “holograms,” that continually refer to Catholic / Protestant conflict from a Catholic point of view.

David Ellis, That Man Shakespeare: Icon of Modern Culture (East Sussex, Helm Information Ltd., 2005), the most recent anti-speculation book in the Levin-Bearman tradition, mocks biographies for relying on arguments drawn from “absence,” “history,” “proximity,” and the plays and sonnets. Yet concedes: “It could well be that Shakespeare’s parents were among these [“who ... kept the substance of the old beliefs”] and that Shakespeare himself always retained not merely a familiarity with the old ways but a positive fondness for them. That would not however be very interesting from a biographical point of view”, because we don’t know Shakespeare’s commitments. [But note the concession.]

Martin Wiggins, “Shakespeare Jesuited: The Plagiarisms of ‘Pater Clarcus’,” (Seventeenth Century) : at least one later Jesuit dramatist drew on Shakespeare’s history play, 3 Henry VI, to dramatize the king as a saint, in Father Clarke’s c. 1654 play, Innocentia Purpurata seu Rosa Candida et Rubicunda, performed at St Omers. The folio version of Shakespeare’s play was the source of many details used by Clarke, who was impressed by Henry VI’s meeting with Richmond and the prophecy that Richmond will reign and join the roses; other details borrowed from King John. The conclusion with the angel receiving Henry into heaven “is, in effect, a Catholic riposte to the official history of Henry’s death, construing it as the martyrdom of a holy monarch.” The play may reflect unrealized hopes placed on the exiled Prince Charles.

Maurice Hunt, “Reformation/Counter-Reformation Macbeth” (ES) : Protestant elements, equivocation, witches as Harsnett-like in use of body parts, what James I attacked, also like equivocating Jesuits wonder workers, allusion to James I as climactic king. Yet Edward the Confessor “is a distinctly Catholic Monarch”, stress on royal touching. Malcolm uses equivocation. Gatekeeper may be derived from medieval play about harrowing of hell (citing Kranz). Vision of the show of 8 kings is a “true” vision, deriving from a Catholic miracle play (citing Hassel). Thus the play shows “a subtle melding of a multitude of Protestant and Catholic motifs, as I have tried to show in a series of articles written over the last decade.” The result is to give “the impression of tolerance of religious difference.” More

important is the deep non-sectarian message about the “scourge of God.”

Peter Milward, Shakespeare the Papist (Sapientia Press), reviewing “all the plays.” Cites Newman’s “convergence of probabilities”, as echoed by Chesterton in Chaucer (1932) above on “every sort of convergent common sense.”

Peter Lake, “From Leicester his Commonwealth to Sejanus his Fall: Ben Jonson and the politics of Roman (Catholic) virtue” (in Shagan, ed. Catholics and the ‘Protestant Nation’), on the play as Catholic view of Elizabeth/Essex relation.

Harold Bloom, Jesus and Yahweh: The Names Divine (Penguin): “We will never know if Shakespeare, like his father, was a recusant Catholic, but his dependence on the Protestant Bible makes me guess otherwise.” “The need (or craving) for transcendence may well be a great unwisdom, but without it we tend to become mere engines of entropy” (ante-penultimate sentence).

Kevin Gardner ed., Faith and Doubt of John Betjeman: An Anthology of Betjeman’s Religious Verse, important collection, see 1958.

Nicholas Watson, “Chaucer’s Public Christianity” (Religion and Literature), classic description of Chaucer’s defense of middling lay Catholicism, contra Langland and others, in resistance to more “puritan” notions of lay fervor. (Thus Wife of Bath a sort of Falstaff.) On the pilgrims: “In some ways, if read against contemporary perfectionist writings, this community can be described as traditional, even conservative; it still in some sense cherishes figures of purity like St. Cecilia, and has, as I see it, no direct truck with Lollardy or other radical contemporary discourse. In other ways, however, the self-consciously worldly Christianity of The Canterbury Tales contains something new. It is deeply laicized ...”

ARCIC reaches agreement on “Mary: Grace and Hope in Christ.”

Cardinal Ratzinger becomes Pope Benedict XVI, focuses on reunion of Catholic and Orthodox churches.

Doubt: A Parable, drama by John Patrick Shanley, deeply intelligent play about a suspected priest, who is nevertheless warm and enlightened in Vatican 2 style, and a mother superior who is harsh and traditional but cares deeply for her students. All that can be said for (and against) Catholicism in its liberal and traditional aspects is embodied, in this major Broadway event engaging a diverse New York audience.

Nicholas Boyle, Sacred and Secular Scriptures: A Catholic Approach to Literature: uses Hegel’s notion of history of religion as driven by power of reconciliation of sacred and secular (but not climaxing in Hegelian political state). By representing world as worth representing, secular literature shows the world as forgiven, reconciled to God through incarnation; but cannot connect with God like scriptures.

Diarmaid MacCulloch, “Putting the English Reformation on the Map,” Transactions of the RHS 2005: “Elizabeth 1’s religious settlement ... asserted Protestant values with no concessions to Catholicism” and showed “Tudor distrust of assertions of the real presence in the eucharist, a deep animus against images and shrines and a reassertion of the value of law and moral systems within the Reformation structure of salvation ... all three clashed with Luther’s style of Protestantism.” As far as the so called Elizabethan religious compromise is concerned, “it would be more sensible to note how little compromise the queen made in swiftly and decisively setting up an unmistakably Protestant regime in Westminster” footnote: “the settlement is described in detail (including a thorough-going and effective demolition of Sir John Neale’s reconstruction of events in 1558-9) in N. L. Jones, Faith by Statute: Parliament and the Settlement of Religion 1559 (1982).” “The resulting parliamentary settlement was in fact a snapshot of King Edward VI’s Church as it had been in doctrine and liturgy. That meant bringing back the 1552 Prayer Book, not the 1549 Book ... The 1559 legislation made a number of small modifications in the 1552 Book ... centering on liturgical dress and the eucharist. Traditionally in Anglican history, these were called concessions to Catholics. That is absurd. How would these little verbal and visual adjustments mollify Catholic-minded clergy and laity, whom the settlement simultaneously

deprived of the Latin mass, monasteries, chantries, shrines, gilds and compulsory celibate priesthood? ... the alternation were probably aimed at conciliating Lutheran Protestant either at home or abroad.” Not Calvinist, but pre-Calvinist Reform pushed by Cranmer, Laski, Bullinger, Bucer and Martyr; tending to sympathize with Zurich more than Geneva, with Calvinist sort of sacramental theology “regarded as over-sacramentalism by the majority of English divines.” Thus Elizabethans should be distinguished from the “sacramental world of theologians like Lancelot Andrewes, William Laud, the world that still values real presence, bishops and beauty” versus “the other, the world of the Elizabethan Reformation, which rejects shrines and images, which rejects real presence, which values law and moral regulation based on both Old and New Testament precept. These two world [still] contend for mastery within English tradition.” Such is Anglicanism. ‘It will be better for the sanity of the Anglican tradition if neither side manages to win.’ (last sentence)

Robert Bearman, “John Shakespeare: A Papist or Just Penniless?” (SQ), well researched article redoing the traditional argument that John Shakespeare’s difficulties were due to business, not to recusancy. Bearman makes one important mistake, re. John’s “Spiritual Testament”: “the evidence, when scrutinized, merely confirms what Edmond Malone suspected—that this document bears all the hallmarks of an eighteenth-century hoax and that subsequent attempts to link it to the Jesuit Mission of the early 1580s is unjustified.” The suggestion of hoax, associated with the hapless John Jordan, applies only to the first page of the testament; Malone accepted the validity of the rest of the testament, until much later he remarked but never substantiated that he had found “documents” to prove the will not to be John Shakespeare’s. These reasons had nothing necessarily to do with Jordan, but probably concerned the style of the will. In fact, the discovery of later templates answered such doubts: Bearman’s misleading phraseology, “subsequent attempts to link it to the Jesuit Mission of the early 1580s”, implies that the subsequent attempts were simply argumentation and not discovery of actual evidence verifying the validity of the testament as a traditional form used by Catholics. See above Greenblatt 2004, Taylor 2004. Bearman cites D. Thomas and N. Evans 1984 article, “John Shakespeare in the Exchequer” (SQ) but doesn’t directly address their argument that John Shakespeare was rich all along, and so debt excuses must have been a cover.

Richard Dutton, “Jonson, Shakespeare and the Exorcists,” (Shakespeare Survey): In Lear, “theatricality ... is almost always a virtuous mode, not a vicious one—whether in the form of Kent’s disguise, the Fool’s brave ‘performance’ in the face of adversity, or Lear’s ‘trial’ of Goneril and Regan. And this is particularly true in the case of Edgar,” in contrast with Volpone, where “the notion of possession is consistently associated with the intensely theatrical fraud perpetrated by Volpone and Mosca.” Mark Noll and Carolyn Nystrom, Is The Reformation Over? An Evangelical Assessment of Contemporary Roman Catholicism.

David Chandler, “Catholic Shakespeare: The Making of the Argument” (ELN), excellent review of older materials, some incorporated into this Chronology (search “Chandler”).

Donna Hamilton, Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560-1633: on the paradoxical Catholicism and loyalism of this elusive figure; on his “double-voiced strategies” which “allowed not only for loyalty but also for opportunities to reinsert Catholic ideology into mainstream and popular publications”; on Catholic loyalists using anti-papist rhetoric to present Catholic but loyalist views. “Munday qualified his otherwise strictly orthodox message by emphasizing that not all Catholics were traitors”, as part of his “self-reference and self-defence”. [But this passage in fact is much

less conceding, and is only a small thing in a sea of anti-papist rhetoric.]

Jarlath Killeen, The Faiths of Oscar Wilde: Catholicism, Folklore and Ireland (Palgrave): on Wilde's pervasive Catholicism, contra Ellmann's insistence on his merely aesthetic interest. "Both Ireland and Catholicism were considered by many in Wilde's family circle to have absorbed the myths and treasures of the ancient world and the glories of Christianity." 36 Imagines Catholicism, in its association with Irish and the poor, as alternative to British imperialism. 127 Salome, sensuous folkloric Catholicism, against Puritan John the Baptist, all to be resolved in love. Catholicism related to anarchism in emphasizing importance of individual soul.

Into Great Silence, film by Phillip Gröning (Germany), almost three hours in Chartreuse Carthusian monastery.

Pope Benedict XVI on Vatican 2: the Council wished to "set aside oppositions that derived from error or had become superfluous in order to present to our world the demands of the Gospel in its full greatness and purity;" earlier, Benedict had said that it had been time for the Church to "relinquish many of the things that have hitherto spelled security for her and that she has taken from granted. She must demolish long-standing bastions and trust solely to the shield of faith" (qu. J. Komonchak, America 2 Feb. 2009, pp. 13-14).

John Vidmar, English Catholic Historians and the English Reformation, 1585-1954 (2005), on the slow process by which Catholic historians, esp. from Lingard to Hughes, helped create the modern consensus that the change of religion "was the very core of the English Reformation."

Susannah Monta, Martyrdom and Literature in Early Modern England (Cambridge UP): "the ongoing contestations over martyrological rhetoric ultimately contributed to the growing privatization of religion in England."

****2006****

"Hamlet cannot speak and act his sacred self because, long before the occasion of his father's death, he has, as a student, despite his exemplary life in Denmark, found himself inwardly challenging the commanding truths and therefore all sacred orders," p. 183 of Rieff, My Life Among the Deathworks (Charlottesville VA: Univ. of Virginia Press, 2006), interpretation continued in The Crisis of the Officer Class (Charlottesville VA: Univ. of Virginia Press, 2007).

Devon Fisher, "Spurring an Imitative Will: The Canonization of Arthur Hallam" (Christianity and Literature): on Tennyson "creating a secularized version of the saint out of Arthur Hallam.," i.e. the Hallam who wrote "The Influence of Italian Upon English Literature" (see above 1832); thus on Hallam's "relics" etc. Thus Tennyson's "progressive conservatism" desires the Hallam exemplar to be influential.

Cormac McCarthy (raised Catholic), drama, "Sunset Limited," medieval style debate of Unbelief and Belief.

Anglican General Synod votes to ordain women bishops.

Eamon Duffy, "The English Reformation After Revisionism" (Renaissance Quarterly): "while some historians like Diarmaid McCulloch and Andrew Petegree might want to argue for an earlier, wider, and deeper popular dissemination of Protestant ideas than most revisionists would be willing to concede, the broad outline of the revisionist account of the Reformation has been accepted and absorbed in school and university courses."

Ian Morgan Cron (Anglican priest), Chasing Francis: A Pilgrim's Tale, semi-fictional account of evangelical preacher incorporating the insights of St. Francis and negotiating his Catholicism. "St. Francis didn't criticize the institutional church, nor did he settle for doing church the way it had always been done. He rose above those two alternatives and decided that the best way to overhaul something was to keep your mouth shut and simply do it." Quotes book on Francis: "In fact, Francis has been called the 'first Protestant' because of his reform from within the body of the church. He saw such reform as always necessary ..." "I wish I knew more about the arts ... Beauty can break the heart and make it think about something more spiritual ... Francis ... knew that the imagination was a stealth way into people's souls ..." Francis argued for a balance of the Eucharist and the Word: "we threw the baby out with the bathwater." Cron, one of promoters of IAM, International Arts Movement, founded by Makoto Fujimura ("Mako"), to promote evangelical experience of the arts; first "Artists as Reconcilers" conference, 2005.

Jean-Christophe Mayer, Shakespeare's Hybrid Faith: History, Religion and the Stage: the plays wrestle with and do not resolve the religious contradictions of the time; we are kept uncertain whether invocation of supernatural powers, as in witchcraft, in HVI, is fraudulent or real.

Grace Tiffany, Love's Pilgrimage: The Holy Journey in English Renaissance Literature (UDelaware), on how the Catholic pilgrimage was interiorized and secularized by Protestants and Shakespeare.

John E. Curran, "Hamlet", Protestantism, and the Mourning of Contingency (Ashgate): Hamlet's instinctive Catholicity, belief in free choice etc., is eventually overwhelmed by Protestant predestination, i.e. "readiness" for the inevitable.

Patrick O'Malley, Catholicism, Sexual Deviance, and Victorian Gothic Culture (Camb UP 2006)

"But by the end of the nineteenth century, Decadent writers at least could imagine Catholicism as ... an almost faddish assertion of individual identity against the expectations of social norms ... than a real cultural disruption."

Michael Questier, Catholicism and Community in Early Modern England (Cambridge UP), on the intricate and packed Catholic Circles, 1550-1640.

John D. Cox, "Was Shakespeare a Christian, and If So, What Kind of Christian Was He?" (Christianity and Literature 55): supports Shapiro's diminuendo on "the layered nature of what Elizabethans ... actually believed," "somewhere in the middle of the English Church." Interesting poser, on Shakespeare's parents at his baptism: "did they know that this rite was not a literal expulsion of the devil from their child, whereas the traditional rite was, and if so, did they know what the difference meant?" [yet baptism mutually recognized] i.e. Shapiro: "To argue that the Shakespeares were secretly Catholic or, alternatively, mainstream Protestants misses the point that except for a small minority at one doctrinal extreme or the other, those labels failed to capture the layered universe of what Elizabethans, from the queen on down, actually believed" (1599: Year in the Life of William Shakespeare, London 2005)

Children of Men, movie by Alfonso Cuarón, adapted from P. D. James 1992 novel. In a world of globalized chaos, Theo helps Kee have and carry her baby to safety, the first child in 18 years. Powerful crusty postmodern allegory of Joseph and the Nativity story.

Pope Benedict prays at Blue Mosque in Istanbul, with the Grand Mufti of Istanbul and the imam of the mosque.

2007

Tom Merriam, "The Old Castle Conundrum," Renaissance Bulletin, refutes Kastan's Arden edn. claim that Falstaff is satirized as extreme Protestant from Anglican point of view; in fact, Shakespeare's object is the mainstream Protestant forerunner praised by John Foxe, and re-defended as such, contra-Shakespeare, by Munday et al. in 1 Sir John Oldcastle (Munday had attacked Marprelate, who is thus unlikely to be Shakespeare's object of satire, as seen by Munday.) Harpsfield in 1563 had argued against Foxe's celebration of Oldcastle.

Peter Davidson and Thomas McCoog, S.J., "Unreconciled: What Evidence Links Shakespeare and the Jesuits" (TLS 3/16/07); against the John Shakespeare testament; argues that Borromeo (with whom the testament was later associated) himself did not know about the testament, or that Campion and the Jesuits did not carry the testament into England, or that Parsons' "testimenta" were Douai biblical testaments not testaments. Article ignores striking fact of the template confirming basic authenticity of the testament. Article ends with challenge: "no useful further discussion of these subjects can be undertaken unless passive

nostalgia for the ‘Old Religion’ and active participation in the Counter-Reformation are observed to be utterly distinct.” TLS Letters by Duffy and John Shaw (3.30/07) defend the Borromeo Testament.

Carol Enos, Shakespeare Settings, exhaustive encyclopedic account of Shakespeare’s Catholic connections, though “nearly every trail that promises to lead directly to Shakespeare fizzles out” (229).

Michael Alexander, Medievalism: The Middle Ages in Modern England (Yale UP): “Thanks to historical researchers, visionaries, prose romancers and poets, England has since 1760 regained an awareness of and regard for her medieval past, which is now a permanent part of her identity and of her future” (last sentence).

Peter Davidson, The Universal Baroque (Manchester UP, 2007): “the extraordinary contortions of Sir Herbert Grierson, and even the politic reticences of ... T. S. Eliot ... seem to stem from a reluctance to recognize the dividedness of English culture, the existence of two traditions, one intuned and exclusively vernacular, one permeable to external influence and therefore ‘baroque’ and international”

In his “Tuft of Primroses,” “Wordsworth offers a sustained implicit analogy between the significance of poetic retirement, in particular his own poetic retirement to Grasmere, and the devotional retirement of early monasticism” (Simon Jarvis, Wordsworth’s Philosophic Sog (Camb UP, 2007), p. 113.

Tony Claydon, Europe and the Making of England, 1660-1760 (2007), on English Protestantism struggle to integrate an international “catholicity” dimension.

James Simpson, Burning to Read: English Fundamentalism and Its Reformation Opponents (Cambridge MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 2007): “evangelical culture of the first half of the sixteenth century produced an exclusivist, intolerant, persecutory, distrustful, and inevitably schismatic culture of reading ... Thomas More ... promoted a reading culture that recognized the fragilities of the literal sense, trust as the ground of an interpretive community, the inevitable immersion of texts in human history;; and the function of capacious, historically durable institutions in managing unruly canonical texts” (260). On the imprisoning nature of the biblical text which condemns and puts the evangelical reader in a dilemma.

Alison Shell: “Though the notion of Shakespeare as a secular dramatist has a lot of life left in it, there is now a consensus that he was a virtuoso exploiter of Christian cultural currency, drawing on everything from vernacular bibles and the Prayer Book to the residue of pre-Reformation Catholicism which retained so potent an imaginative charge in England at the time he was writing” (“Praying Audience,” rev. of Jean-Christophe Mayer, Shakespeare’s Hybrid Faith, TLS 5433 (May 18, 2007).) Cites Mayer’s “convincing picture of Shakespeare as someone for whom ‘religion ... was not so much a matter of systematic allegiances as one of constant debating and questioning.”

Marian Moments in Early Modern British Drama (Ashgate), ed. Regina Buccola and Lisa Hopkins, essays on such moments in Othello (black Madonna), King Lear (pieta), All’s Well, Tragedy of Mariam, etc.

Frank Brownlow, “A Jesuit Allusion to King Lear” (Recusant History), making connection between The Life and Death of Mr. Edmund Geninges Priest and King Lear; see 1614. Ftn. also clarifies the “To W.S.” inscription in the St Omer edition; see 1616.

Robert Bearman, “The Early Reformation Experience in ... Stratford ... 1530-1580” (Midland History), denying the distinctively Catholic character of Stratford, where town incorporation encouraged a conformity to the Protestant order, arguing an alternative William Butcher and Simon Hunt, questioning Cottam’s Catholicism as based only on relationship (but the mode by which

Protestant characteristics are often established); town protected its papists but only for civil harmony; but acknowledging in general: “For the majority of the population, reluctant acquiescence in the process appears to have been the prevailing attitude, with most people eventually finding themselves able to square their conscience with the requirements of the state” [eventually” being the problematic word]. “Stratford was clearly not a bastion of the Catholic faith and provides no evidence of exceptional forces at work which might have tipped him in that direction.”

Masahiro Takenaka, “Notes on John Shakespeare’s Spiritual Testament,” Renaissance Bulletin, contra Davidson and McCoog, on Borromeo hosting Campion and Persons, on the 3-4000 “Testaments” probably being the Spiritual Testaments, on the apparent accuracy of Jordan’s transcription, in the words “justing” and “like a sharpe cutting razor”, on Malone’s continued respect for Jordan.

“Shakespeare and Faith: Roman, English, or None?” Program arranged by Conference on Christianity and Literature, MLA Convention (Dec, 28): Alison Shell, “Shakespeare, Catholic Writing, and the Rigorist Aesthetic” (Jesuit critiques of Shakespeare); Debora Shuger “The Protesting Catholic Puritan Who Loved Shakespeare” (i.e. Sir John Harington); Richard Strier “Atheistical Theology in Othello and King Lear,” historic session for MLA, debating Catholic, Anglican and secular approaches to Shakespeare. Duffy and Lake revisionist histories cited (by Shuger and Strier, respectively) as reasons for new importance of the term, “Catholicism”, in Shakespeare studies.

Robert Miola’s Early Modern Catholicism: An Anthology of Primary Sources (Oxford UP), making recusant and such material available. Includes portions of Shakespeare’s Hamlet (ghost), Measure for Measure (Angelo vs. Isabel), Pericles (miracle of Thaisa recovered), Henry VIII (Catherine). Last sentence of intro: “H. O. Evennett’s comment over a half-century ago remains all too true: ‘there is a great harvest waiting to be reaped in the literary and other aspects of Recusant history—and indeed, in the whole story of Catholicism in modern England’.”

Glynn Parry, “The Context of Shakespeare’s ‘Recusancy’ Re-examined” (Shakespeare Yearbook): joins the Bearman party; argues that John’s recusancy was really based on economic reasons [does not deal with D. Thomas and N. Evans, “John Shakespeare in the Exchequer,” 1987, showing his wealth], that the commissioners would have been careful to discern real recusancy [minimizing the complexity of social attitudes in Stratford]. Attacks the Testament, for lacking the contentious sectarianism of Parsons’s Brief discourse ... reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church [doesn’t see the presence of another kind of spirituality, represented in Parsons’s Spiritual Directory, also perhaps representing the older Marian Catholicism]; continues Bearman’s mistake of thinking the Testament a Jordan forgery [forgetting that, except for the first page, the Testament was acknowledged by several legitimate people before Jordan entered the scene; and also ignoring the amazing discovery, later (Thurston 1923, McManaway 1967) of a template for the will.] Nevertheless, Parry concedes that the evidence “tends to support the belief that John Shakespeare may have been a church papist after mid-1559 but never became a conscientious recusant.” [Similar ballpark?]

Alison Shell, Oral Culture and Catholicism in Early Modern England Cambridge UP: gathers a

host of Catholic oral material, ballads, broadsides, legends, superstitions etc. and see its making for a continuing counter-cultural tradition, evoking the sacrilege of the stripping of the altars. The Gothic novel rests partly on the fear of a Catholic curse from the spoliation of the abbeys, dooming families who took over the church lands. “An intriguing question, which lies beyond the scope of this chapter [“Abbey ruins, sacrilege narratives and the Gothic imagination”], is the extent to which the sacrilege narrative helped prepare the ground in nineteenth-century England for the wide interest outside Catholic circles in the polemicized connection of Gothic and Englishness associated with ...Milner, and ... Pugin,” i.e. a recovery from sacrilege. Was the Gothic revival motivated by a desire to, finally, put things right? (p. 42); “nothing now is uncannier than Christianity within the confines of literary-critical orthodoxy.” “Catholics’ celebration of martyrdom... can certainly be seen as an elevation of the counter-cultural ... Their very real nostalgia for medieval times ... would be misleading if considered on its own.”

Alister McGrath, “Anglicanism and Protestantism” (Church of Ireland Gazette): “Canon Cameron ... is trying to airbrush out Anglicanism’s Protestant heritage and tradition ... The surprising degree of cohesion within Anglicanism in the past has rested on a number of historical factors—the British colonial legacy ... the British crown as a symbol of unity ... the English language as the Anglican Communion’s lingua franca; the King James Bible of 1611 and the Book of Common Prayer of 1662 as unifying texts ... It now seems very likely that Anglicanism will go the way of other Protestant groups ... [and] usher in a period of local visions of Anglicanism, each faithful to its tradition and adapted to its own specific environment ... The capability of the Protestant vision of the Gospel to adapt to local situations has been one of Protestantism’s great strengths in the past.”

Donald Dietrich, Human Rights and the Catholic Tradition: because of the Holocaust and World War 2, Catholic theologians developed a new sense of human rights discourse, engagement with contemporary culture, and the importance of democracy, that helped lead into Vatican II; whereas anti-modernism had prevented the Church from engaging cultural evils effectively. Guardini, Rahner, Metz, Pius XII, participated in this post-Holocaust development.

Cardinal Sean O’Malley, Boston, “Let us Put a Candle in the Window,” homily, Bicentennial Mass, Dec. 2, 2007, Pilot Dec. 7 (2007): “Last year when I spoke to the men’s conference participants [Homily at Boston Catholic Men’s Conference, March 10 2006], I said, ‘the Church is like Noah’s Ark, a floating zoo.’ Some people have jumped ship, others are seasick. Some are rowing in one direction and others in another. What we must never lose sight of, is that Jesus Christ is the captain of the ship. And he is summoning us, ‘All hands on deck’.” (18)

Norman Mailer, On God: An Uncommon Conversation (with Michael Lennon), 2007, on re-incarnation, God as limited, etc., but with Catholicism as the chief contrasting norm. “The Catholic Church may be the most complex and powerful and manipulative and intricate power system in history.” On importance of a good death, “They’ve been rotten, but maybe they feel a bit of contrition at the end. Catholicism is based on that ... The Catholic Church is a study not only in immense human wisdom but of applied skill at maneuvering our thoughts around the most nonnavigable corners.” But Church wrong to push perfection of God.

2008

Cause for the Beatification of Isaac Hecker, formally opened by Cardinal Edward Egan at Church of St. Paul the Apostle in Manhattan, Jan.

Mother Teresa, Come Be My Light.

Robert Miola, “Shakespeare’s Religion,” First Things (May 2008); “Forbidden Catholicism often functions as a potent fund of myth, ritual and assumption ... The evidence does not amount to a manifesto of the playwright’s personal belief ... But it does ... have real presence.” [whatever “it” is].

Robert Bearman, hosts “Study Day” at Stratford, 26 June, to combat theories of Catholic Shakespeare.

Joseph Pearce, The Quest for Shakespeare (Ignatius Press), author of the

distinguished Literary Converts (1999); Pearce, a new convert to the Shakespeare Catholicism connection, draws much on older material, i.e. Mutschmann and Wentersdorf, and De Groot.

David Beauregard, Catholic Theology in Shakespeare's Plays (Univ. of Delaware Press), a matured deliberation about unexceptionable Catholic dimensions in the plays, especially concerning sacraments (vs. the Homilies), the integration of grace and merit, the importance of Franciscan friars, etc. also "doctrinal issues where there are distinct differences", as opposed to critics who "adduce as evidence some rather commonplace Christian doctrines. The weakness of the flesh, the authority of conscience, predestination, justification by grace, and a number of other overlapping and generalized doctrines common to Catholic and Protestant alike are employed as if they are distinct points of difference." 22 Includes revised versions of earlier essays (some above*), on the Homilies (2000), All's Well (1999*), The Tempest (1997*), Measure for Measure (2001*), Hamlet (2007), The Winter's Tale (2002), "Shakespeare and the English Bible" (2001*).

Steven Justice's "Did the Middle Ages Believe in Their Miracles?" (Representations, Summer, 2008): the medieval structures that made belief a "discipline of fidelity ... to ...putatively true propositions" which the mind itself may find "repellent to natural dispositions", the medieval mind keeping both of these things in balance; "the forms of skeptical reduction that polemicists and historians have performed on miracles stories since the sixteenth century begin as reduction that miracle stories inflict on themselves," i.e. incorporating the consciousness "that there exists a possible deflating explanation."

Brideshead Revisited (Waugh), new movie version, dir. Julian Jarrold: how Julia moves from little girl fear of mother's tyrannic moralism (you're a bad girl)--i.e. Catholic guilt--to a deeper sense of the heart of Christianity, the sense of an awesome God (as in David's Miserere psalm), as a result of her father's death and deathbed repentance, which Charles for the moment doesn't get at all at whom she looks plaintively.

John Klause, Shakespeare, the Earl, and the Jesuit (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press). Continues the remarkable ways in which Shakespeare's language echoes Southwell's; see Klause 2003 and elsewhere. Also discusses the Southampton, Southwell, Shakespeare connections.

Thomas Rist, Revenge Tragedy and the Drama of Commemoration in Reforming England (Ashgate, 2008), on how Spanish Tragedy, Titus, Hamlet, White Devil, etc. rely on anti-Protestant evocations of purgatory, ghosts, prayers for the dead, dead fear being forgotten, "defy the Reformed prohibitions" (25); cites Katharine Goodland's Female Mourning in Medieval and Renaissance English Drama: From the Raising of Lazarus to 'King Lear' (Ashgate, 2005) (see 2003). Compare Purves's revisionist account of Gothic Novel (2009).

Maria LaMonaca, Masked Atheism: Catholicism and the Secular Victorian Home (Ohio State): Victorian women writers engaging with important Catholic images.

First Seminar of the Catholic-Muslim Forum, Rome, Nov. 4-6, 2008, Final Declaration with list of "[p]oints of similarity and of diversity," including #9, "We recognize that God's creation in its plurality of cultures, civilizations, languages, and peoples is a source of richness and should therefore never become a cause of tension and conflict," and #13, "Young people are the future ... Increasingly, they will be living in multicultural and multireligious societies. It is essential that they be well formed in their own religious traditions and well informed about other cultures and religions."

"Mystic Masque: Semblance and Reality in Georges Rouault, 1871-1958," landmark exhibition at

Boston College, McMullen Museum of Art (Fall 2008), exhibiting more than 200 paintings, and works on paper and stained glass, to mark the fiftieth anniversary of Georges Rouault's death. Eamon Duffy, "The Legacy of Queen Mary Tudor and Cardinal Reginald Pole," lecture, Corpus Christi Church, NYC November 17, 2008, part of "Queen Mary Tudor and Cardinal Reginald Pole: A Commemoration of the 450th Anniversary of their Deaths." with a Requiem Mass for Mary and Pole, including music by Thomas Tallis, and later, songs by William Byrd.

Alexandra Walsham, "The Reformation and 'The Disenchantment of the World' Reassessed" *The Historical Journal* 51 (2008): 497-528, masterful summary of Reformation and post-Reformation scholarship, arguing for a continuous cycle of desacralization and resacralization. "The Tridentine Church was itself engaged in a campaign that, in some respects at least, contributed to the developments that have come to be encapsulated in the phrase 'the disenchantment of the world'. It too tried to restrain manifestations of lay enthusiasm, to curtail unorthodox aspects of the cult of the saints, and to subject manifestations of the divine to rigorous testing and investigation, particularly in the first years following Luther's bold protest against indulgences ..." "Thereafter, the Catholic Church re-embraces the miraculous in a manner that made it one of the hallmarks of the baroque, though we should not overlook the scrupulous wariness about authenticating the sacred that remained a continuing thread in ecclesiastical life." 502 "The idea of an enchanted middle ages is gradually evaporating." There is a "nevertheless" quality to Walsham's account; nevertheless, the sacral is sacrificed, nevertheless the sacral reemerges in a new form.

Jonathan Sheehan, "Enlightenment, Religion, and the Enigma of Secularization: A Review Essay", *American Historical Review* 108.4 (2008): 1-, interesting statement of the anti-secularization viewpoint. "If the Enlightenment [seen as a "new constellation of ... practices and institutions ... [that] would encompass ... salons, reading circles, erudition, scholarship and scholarly techniques, translations, book reviews, academies, new... journals and newspapers, new ... dictionaries, encyclopedias, taxonomies" (30)] is no longer read as ... anti-religious movement but rather ... as a set of cultural institutions and practices whose relationship to religion was complicated and diverse, then the Enlightenment no longer can provide the opening move in that inevitable decline of religion called secularization ... If the Enlightenment keeps its status as the cradle of modernity, it will be less as the birthplace of secularism than as the birthplace of a distinctively modern form of religion whose presence and power continues to shape the present." (36)

Regina Schwartz, *Sacramental Poetics at the Dawn of Secularism* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2008): drama became "disguised sacramental cultural expressions," addressing the thirst for Justice once satisfied by the Mass through redemptive suffering. "With the English Church's reluctance to offer sacramental deterrence and remission of sins—that is, sacramental justice—the scene shifted to the theater where justice was taken on imaginatively." "redemption becomes the object of longing—in memory and hope;" "a truly protestant church."

Alec Kyrie, "Paths Not Taken in the British Reformations," *Historical Journal* 52.1 (2009): 1-22, on the failed effort of sixteenth-century England to find a reformed "Catholicity" consistent with Henry VIII's relative conservatism, his "distinctive cocktail of religious policy" (that collapsed with the Edward VI regime, a collapse confirmed from the opposite direction by Bloody Mary): "Antipapal Catholicism was now a suicidally quixotic standpoint." Trent "provided Catholicism with a sharply defined and defensible frontier and so saved it from doubting and debating itself out of existence." 21 Indeed Queen Mary paradoxically saved a distinct English Catholicism and prevented English conservatives from continuing "on their Edwardian road to oblivion. (22) Stephen Gardiner remains a tragic instance of a failed option.

Joseph Kerman, "William Byrd: Catholic and Careerist," *Sacred Music* 135.3 (Fall 2008): 12-19. Good account of Byrd's Catholicism.

2009

Mary Karr, *Lit: A Memoir*, on the alcoholic author's conversion to Catholicism, under influence of Tobias Wolff, etc.

Patricia A. Ward, *Experimental Theology in America: Madame Guyon, Fénelon, and Their Readers* (Waco TX: Baylor Univ. Press, 2009); on Guyon and Fénelon and "how popular evangelical Protestantism continued to make use of Catholic authors, adapting them to its own ends" (187); also influence on Emerson (preparatory to his

more radical self-reliance), Stowe, Bushnell, Whittier, on to the Holiness movement, Pentecostalism, and the Catholic charismatics.

"Manhattan Declaration: A Call of Christian Conscience": "We, as Orthodox, Catholic, and Evangelical Christians, have gathered, beginning in New York on September 28, 2009, to make the follow declaration, which we sign as individuals, not on behalf of our organizations ..." with concluding section on the Conscience Clause.

David Bentley Hart's Atheist Delusions: The Christian Revolution and Its Fashionable Enemies (Yale UP), definitive scholarly response to the New Atheists.

Eamon Duffy, Fires of Faith: Catholic England Under Mary Tudor (Yale UP) on Marian Catholicism, "evolving towards the same heightened interiority and more intense sacramentalism," as an important inspiration for Tridentine Catholicism; also "internalized this unequivocally religious understanding of the papacy." "The revived papalism that was Pole's legacy" inspired the Marian bishops's resistance to Elizabeth and "inspired the generation of ardent activists ... and ... martyrs" (thus anti-Bossy).

Hilary Mantel, Wolf Hall: A Novel (Holt), on Thomas Cromwell and More etc.

'After Arundel' conference, Oxford, see book, below.

Vatican allows Anglicans to enter Catholic Church and keep much of their ritual (Book of Common Prayer) and culture and married priests; creates "personal ordinariates," separate units headed by former Anglican priests or bishops. See Newman, 1876, and De Lisle (passim).

Bob Dylan, Christmas in the Heart. Interview (bobdylan.com). Q: you sure deliver that song [o Little town of Bethlehem] like a true believer. BD: Well, I am a true believer. Q: Do you have a favorite Christmas album? BD: Maybe the Louvin Brothers. I like all the religious Christmas albums. The ones in Latin. The songs I sang as a kid. Q: A lot of people like the secular ones. BD: Religion isn't meant for everybody.

Julia Kristeva, This Incredible Need to Believe (Columbia UP, 2009, orig. 2006). Christ's suffering also means the death of the Father, and thus focuses our impossible desires and their impossibility. Language begins with the need to believe out of the child's struggle with these desires; "this poignant malady of ideality expressed by our outcast adolescents that threatens to submerge us" (23). Jesus teaches us "suffering to death" (93), the basis of compassion, and breaking of narcissism.

Martyr's plaque installed in (Anglican) St Mary the Virgin University Church: "Remember the Martyrs of the Reformation Both Catholic and Protestant Who Lived in Oxfordshire Taught at the University of Oxford or Were Brought Here for Execution." Lists 16 Catholics, 9 Protestants (including Laud). Brian Mountford, university rector: "When religious faith is critical of the state, people often suffer for it, and that was especially true when Catholicism and Protestantism were battling each other."

Maria Purves, The Gothic and Catholicism: Religion, Cultural Exchange and the Popular Novel, 1785-1829, on the Catholic empathy in such novels 1790-1816 (and yet extends back into the earlier 18th century, including poetry, etc.), encouraged by Burke and revolution (which tended to equate threatened Catholicism with Christianity), overturns mainstream assumption that Gothic novels are anti-Catholic; "there were monks and nuns in England throughout the eighteenth century" 42ff.

2010

Jeremy Smith, "Mary Queen of Scots as Susanna in Catholic propaganda," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 73 (2010) 209-220.

George Weigel, Boston Pilot, 27 Aug, 2010, "When Compromise Trumps Apostolic Tradition": "Elements of sanctity, intelligence, and beauty have been nurtured in the Anglican Communion for more than four centuries by the work of the Holy Spirit, who distributes gifts freely, and not only within the confines of the Catholic Church. Thus there have been great Anglican theologians and noble Anglican martyrs in the Anglican Communion, which has also given the world a splendid patrimony of liturgical music and a powerful example of the majesty of the English language as a vehicle of worship."

Pope Benedict XVI, first pope to visit Westminster abbey, and Anglican Archbishop Rowan Williams pray for unity before tomb of St. Edward the Confessor (Sept 17, 2010).

Geert Lernout, Help my unbelief: James Joyce and religion (Continuum, 2010): *that Joyce disbelieved Catholicism (in fact, he hated it); wonderful scholarship. Bloom's attitude is ... Triestine in its catholic attitude to religion, in the original sense of the word" (citing John McCourt 2001). Joyce's women are victims of Catholicism—like Molly Bloom (not!)*

Mark Goldie, "Alexander Geddes at the Limits of the Catholic Enlightenment," Historical Journal 53 (2010), amazing figure in the 18th cent. Cisalpine Club, his influence on Blake earlier noted by Jerome McGann.

Amy Appleford, "Shakespeare's Katherine of Aragon: Last Medieval Queen, First Recusant Martyr," Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies 40.1 (Winter 2010).

David Gelineau, "Following the Leaf through Part of Dryden's Fables, SEL 50 (2010), allegorizing Catholic values in the leaf, against William's brutality against James and Catholics.

Amy Hungerford, Postmodern Belief: American Literature and Religion since 1960 (Princeton UP, 2010). "One of the surprising findings of this book, then, is the importance of the Roman Catholic religious imagination in the literature of this period ..." (24); but it is more the feel of biblical authority in literary style that Hungerford seeks in Cormac McCarthy etc. "I have been consistently surprised ... how often an author whose work demonstrates a mystical understanding of form or language turn out to have encountered Roman Catholicism in some significant way in early life" (24).

Pericles Lewis, Religious Experience and the Modernist Novel (Cambridge UP, 2010), on transformations of Catholic and other religious notions in James, Proust, Kafka and Woolf. In such novels, "[t]he churches themselves whether the novelist is Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish, tend to be Catholic ones, taking advantage of that faith's rich historical associations and tendency would aesthetic splendor" (6). Modernist novel shifts "the forces of enchantment from the public forum of churches to the private world of individual experience" (22).

Movie, Poetry, by Korean filmmaker, Lee Chang-Dong; grandmother seeks to learn poetry, through appreciation of flowers etc. (rotting apricots on pavement are surrendering to death to bring on new life, fellow poetry student says she is overwhelmed by the beauty of the flowers in courtyard of her Catholic Church), increasingly identifies with suicide girl, Agnes, who had been raped by several boys, including her grandson; eventually turns him in (vs. community seeking to hide the crime) for justice and out of communion with the dead girl who now speaks through her poetry, and in that sense is resurrected. Evokes myth of Demeter (Ceres), goddess mother of nature who seeks to rescue her daughter, Persephone (Proserpine), raped by Pluto into the underworld and given pomegranate seed by him (keeps her in Hade half the year). But also sacrificial myth of her offering her grandson up; also context of the Catholic Mass where Agnes is given a requiem. (Ceres, grieved, had nurtured son of Melaneire, whose family builds temple to her; Zeus sends god to rescue Proserpine.)

2011

Alexandra Walsham, The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland: on the transformation of the "holy" Catholic landscape of holy wells etc. into a more diffused symbolic landscape for Protestants; thus the sediments remain.

David Anderson, "The Tragedy of Good Friday: Sacrificial Violence in King Lear" (ELH (2011)); the play attacks persecutory violence, Girard-style; interesting parallels in Foxe for servant interfering with Gloucester execution.

Stephen Greenblatt, The Swerve How the World Became Modern (Norton, 2011), celebrates Lucretius's atheistic atomism, denounces Catholic Christianity as replacing Epicurus's pleasure principle with a pain principle: sharp difference in this treatment of Catholicism (here the hegemony) from the Shakespearean work where C. is the persecuted minority; the evil of Catholicism sometimes an essential thing or blamed on Trent (252); ignores the genius of 'Christian humanism' in authors treated, Poggio, Valla, Petrarch, More, Montaigne, even Bruno, though Raphael's School of Athens (w. Epicurus and the Pope) is cited at end, though Trinkaus is cited in bibliography.

J. Cameron Moore, "What Bell Leaves Out: Moss, Catholicism, and Charity in No Country for Old Men (Literature and Belief 30.2): on Cormac McCarthy.

Mark Roche and Vittorio Hösle, "Cultural and Religious Reversals in Clint Eastwood's *Gran Torino*," *Religion and the Arts* (15.5), on Eastwood's Catholic imagery, in this film the old fashioned Polish Walt's sacrificial death to save his oriental friends from the gangs.

William Barry S. J., *Changed Heart, Changed World: The Transforming Freedom of Friendship with God* (2011): "When I was provincial superior of my province in the 1990s, I said ... only half jokingly: 'When we entered the Society of Jesus, we didn't have to believe in God: we could believe in the Church which was growing by leaps and bounds, or in the Society of Jesus, which was also enjoying the same kind of success. Now, with our number declining and our seminaries and novitiates half empty, we can find out whether or not we believe in God'" (65).

Roger E. Moore, "The Hidden History of *Northanger Abbey*: Jane Austen and the Dissolution of the Monasteries," *Religion and Literature* (Spring 2011); on Austen's Catholic pro-Stuart, anti-dissolution, sympathies.

After Arundel: Religious Writing in Fifteenth-Century England, ed. Gillespie and Ghosh (Brepols, 2011): qualifies the potential anti-Duffyism of Watson's thesis (1995) and opens up a world of vernacular exploration taking place within, though as usual in some tension with, an orthodox setting; see "orthodox reform" (572, also 28) in which, however, "boundaries mattered" (Watson). J. Catto: "The generation which came to maturity after Thomas Arundel's death in 1414 was perhaps the least insular, both in its experience of activity on the European continent and its creative absorption of foreign literary and cultural influence, since the mid-twelfth century ..." (54).

Michael M. Clarke, "Charlotte Brontë's *Villette*, Mid-Victorian Anti-Catholicism, and the Turn to Secularism," *ELH* 78 (2011), on the novel's negotiation of Protestantism and Catholicism.

2012

Thomas DePietro, "Everyday Mysteries," rev. of Don DeLillo, *The Angel Esmeralda: Nine Stories* (America April 30, 2012)

Brad Gregory, *The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society* (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press, Harvard UP, 2012). Quotes Weber: "Who still believes ... that the findings of astronomy or biology or physics or chemistry have something to do with the meaning of the world and indeed could teach us something about it. By what path could one come upon the trace of such a 'meaning,' if any is there?" (qu. 26). Scotus and Occam began the post-medieval process whereby God's biblical creative relation to the world was made univocal so that God became the object of natural science and so disappeared. The Reformation radically dis-authorized Christianity's authoritative maintenance of the biblical God (and sacramentality), and so contributed to the triumph of a "univocal conception of being" (64). "[E]very anti-Roman, Reformation-era Christian truth claim based on scripture fits into this pattern of fissiparous disagreement among those who agreed that Christian truth should be based solely on scripture" (91). "[T]he Reformation is the most important distant historical source for contemporary Western hyperpluralism with respect to truth claims about meaning, morality, priorities, and purpose" (369) "The governing modern ideology of liberalism is failing in multiple respects. It lacks the intellectual resources to resolve any real-life moral disagreements, to provide any substantive social cohesion, or even to justify its most basic assumptions. In a reversal of the situation common in the nineteenth century, now it is many secular academics who tend to be uncritically complacent about the historical genesis of an intellectual ground for their beliefs, oblivious of what Steven Smith has recently exposed as their 'smuggling' of premises and assumption insupportable with naturalist assumptions" (385-6).

Vatican applies to control the new Internet address extension ".catholic" and decide who is allowed to use it. No other group has applied.

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